THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY
JEFFREY HENDERSON

GREEK IAMBIC POETRY

LCL 259

GREEK IAMBIC POETRY

FROM THE SEVENTH TO
THE FIFTH CENTURIES BC

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
DOUGLAS EN GERBER



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS LONDON, ENGLAND

Copyright © 1999 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College All rights reserved

First published 1999 Reprinted 2006

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY $^{\otimes}$ is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 98-20803 CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-674-99581-3

Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts. Printed on acid-free paper and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
BIBLIOGRAPHY	11
ARCHILOCHUS	
testimonia	14
text	76
SEMONIDES	
testimonia	294
text	298
HIPPONAX	
testimonia	342
text	352
ANANIUS	
testimonia	500
text	502
SUSARION	510

CONTENTS

HERMIPPUS	512
SCYTHINUS	520
DIPHILUS	524
PANARCES	528
ADESPOTA	539

PREFACE

This volume aims at providing a text and translation of the main iambic poets contained in the second edition of M. L. West's two-volume Iambi et Elegi Graeci (Oxford 1989 and 1992). Omitted, however, are papyrus fragments too lacunose to provide anything intelligible, poets whose iambic fragments are included elsewhere in the Loeb Classical Library (e.g., Anacreon), and because of limitations of space the minor poets Aeschines, Aristoxenus, Asopodorus, and Euclides. Half-brackets are inserted only when it is important to indicate what is actually attested in the papyrus. I have not attempted to include all the testimonia, but only those which are significant. Similarly the apparatus criticus is reduced to what I have judged most important. In some instances a fragment is cited or referred to in several sources, but only the most important are given. The reader can find the others in West's edition. The numbering of the fragments follows West, that of the testimonia is my own. In my translations I have attempted to provide an English rendering which represents the Greek as closely as possible without being stilted or ambignous.

It remains to express my deep gratitude to Professors

PREFACE

Christopher Brown, Robert Renehan, and Emmet Robbins, who read and commented on substantial portions, and to Robert Fowler, George Goold, and Jeffrey Henderson, who provided assistance on a variety of details. Their generosity and expertise are much appreciated.

University of Western Ontario

Douglas E. Gerber

To Dianne amicae carissimae et fortissimae

The etymology of the word iambus is unclear, but there is no doubt that $ia\mu\beta os$ as a metrical term $(\neg -)$ is secondary and that in origin it described a type of poetry. This is indicated by Archilochus fr. 215, the earliest example of the word, where it can hardly refer exclusively to meter, whatever its precise force may be, and by the fact that the word could be used of trochaic tetrameters (e.g., fr. 111). Significant too is test. 3 (A col. III.38) where on a particular occasion Archilochus' poetry was described as $ia\mu\beta\iota\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\rho ov$, "too iambic," clearly a reference to content rather than to meter (see below).

What type of poetry then does iambus signify^{P1} Plutarch in his *Life of Cato* 7 states that Cato "betook himself to iambic verse, and heaped much scornful abuse upon Scipio, adopting the bitter tone of Archilochus, but avoiding his license and puerility" (Loeb translation). 'Scornful

¹ The nature and purpose of archaic iambic poetry have been examined in some detail by Christopher Brown in his contribution (pp. 13-88) to D. E. Gerber (ed.), A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets (Leiden 1997), and my brief account here is deeply indebted to his analysis. His notes contain all the relevant bibliography, except for one item which came to our attention too late for inclusion, Krystyna Bartol's Greek Elegy and Iambus. Studies in Ancient Literary Sources (Poznań 1993).

abuse,' 'bitter tone,' and (sexual) 'license': these are terms which are frequently used to describe iambus in general and in particular the poetry of Archilochus and Hipponax. The purpose of such poetry, however, is a more complex issue. With Hipponax, a century later than Archilochus, it appears that the purpose was primarily one of entertainment, although this assessment might well change if we had more information at our disposal. But with Archilochus there is evidence to assist us in reaching at least some tentative conclusions. Particularly revealing is the evidence of cult. A figure called Iambe appears in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (perhaps late seventh century) and indulges in insulting language, thereby causing the grieving goddess to laugh (vv. 202-204). Demeter does not play a prominent role in the surviving verses of Archilochus. She and Persephone appear in fr. 323, a fragment which West judges spurious, but test. 65 suggests that Archilochus' family had some connection with the worship of Demeter, and there is ample evidence that Demeter was a major deity in Paros.² Insulting or obscene language (αἰσχρολογία), so typical of iambus, was a common feature of festivals of Demeter.3 In the Hymn to Demeter this insulting language is directed towards a goddess, a behaviour which is the opposite of what is normal in addressing a deity. Such inversion figures in other cults as well and, as Brown points out (p. 41), its purpose "is to re-affirm and strengthen the traditional structures of society and even

² See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), commentary on v. 491.

³ Richardson pp. 213-17.

the natural world. Normality is reinforced by experiencing its opposite."

In addition to the cult worship of Demeter we should consider the possible connection between early iambus and Dionysus. One type of song especially associated with Dionysus is the dithyramb, a word which appears to contain the same root as iambus, and both Dionysus and dithyramb are present in fr. 120. Drunkenness too is present in the fragment and the early dithyramb seems to have been a riotous affair. There is ample evidence that phallic rites were a common feature of the worship of Dionysus and this association is almost certainly found in fr. 251. The source of this fragment is the inscription of Mnesiepes (test. 3) and the inscription goes on, unfortunately in a highly mutilated condition, to state that something, presumably the verses just cited, was "too iambic." Apparently as a result of this criticism the citizens suffered a variety of disasters, until the Delphic oracle told them to appease the anger of Dionysus by honouring Archilochus. "Too iambic" cannot here refer to meter, since fr. 251, whatever its meter, is clearly not iambic. It must refer to the content of the fragment, in all likelihood to its obscenity. Whether the verses also contained insulting language cannot be determined.

It seems a reasonable deduction from all this that in festivals honouring both Demeter and Dionysus there were cult songs of an insulting and/or obscene nature and that from these a poetic genre, what we can call 'literary iambus,' was developed. What role Archilochus played in this development is unknown, but it may have been significant.

When we turn to the question how early iambus was de-

livered, we have at our disposal only the evidence of much later sources. According to Pseudo-Plutarch, for example, "Archilochus introduced the practice whereby some iambics were spoken to musical accompaniment and others sung" (test. 47), but this is surely a deduction "based on the practice of later artists" (West, *Studies* 33). Musical instruments are mentioned in Archilochus (e.g., pipe and lyre in fr. 93a), but nowhere is there an indication that any instrument accompanied his verses. The more lyrical nature of epodes suggests that they were not simply recited and the same may be true for trochaic tetrameters and perhaps for iambic trimeters as well.

With regard to the occasion for the delivery of iambus, we are again lacking secure evidence from the extant verses, but it seems safe to say that one at least of the main occasions was the symposium. The other was presumably festivals. Such is in fact the occasion named in the inscription of Mnesiepes (test. 3) just before fr. 251. We are told that Archilochus could be among those whose works were performed at poetic contests (test. 34; cf. also Plato *Ion* 531a and test. 67) and the same was said of Semonides (test. 4), but in the case of Archilochus it is not clear what meter (or meters) was involved nor is there any evidence that Archilochus himself participated in poetic competition.

⁴ Much has been written in recent years on the symposium and it must suffice here to refer the reader to O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica* (Oxford 1990), and O. Murray and M. Tecusan (edd.), *In vino veritas* (London 1995).

Archilochus

Archilochus was born on Paros, an island in the Cyclades, in the first half of the seventh century (testt. 5-11). His father. Telesicles, was involved in the Parian colonization of Thasos, an island in the north Aegean close to Thrace, and Archilochus' poetry contains numerous references to Thasos and to hostilities between the colonists and Thracian tribes. His poetry also attests to hostilities between Paros and neighbouring Naxos. Many sources record that Archilochus was engaged to marry Neoboule, daughter of Lycambes, that the latter broke off the engagement, and that Lycambes, Neoboule, and one or more additional daughters hanged themselves as a result of the poet's bitter invective against them (see testt. 19-32). Several fragments record the invective, but none the suicide, and it is possible that this was based on verses, no longer extant, which asserted that suicide was the family's only recourse in light of Lycambes' actions. I see no reason to doubt the general veracity of Archilochus' feud with Lycambes, but Brown, who discusses the evidence in considerable detail (pp. 50-69), is surely right to see more than a purely personal response on the part of Archilochus. It must suffice here to quote his conclusion (p. 69): "Consideration of the Lycambes poetry has also provided some support for our earlier contention that the function of iau Bos was similar to that of the religious occasion in which it developed. Lycambes is revealed as an oath-breaker and thus a menace to society; the daughters are exposed as sexually incontinent and so deserving of opprobrium. By subjecting his enemies to invective Archilochus seeks to protect the

community. However personal the insult, Archilochus treats his feud with Lycambes as a matter of public concern, and this public aspect seems to lie very near the heart of $\H{\iota}a\mu\beta$ os."

Lycambes was not the only object of the poet's invective. In fact Archilochus was viewed as early as Pindar (test. 35) as the archetypal poet of blame and according to Critias (test. 33) this was directed against friends and enemies alike. The fragmentary nature, however, of what has survived does not allow us to determine the extent to which blame figured in his poetry. For example, before the publication of P. Oxy. 2310 we had only v. 2 of fr. 25 and it is only the papyrus which allows us to see that the poem contains invective.

There is some evidence that Archilochus belonged to a family involved in the cult worship of Demeter and Dionysus (see above and Brown 45-47) and long after the poet's death he was the recipient of heroic honours. An Archilocheion was established in Paros, and some of the inscriptions set up in it have been found (testt. 3-4). Archilochus was also the subject of two comedies, an ' $A\rho\chi i\lambda o\chi os$ by Alexis and an earlier ' $A\rho\chi i\lambda o\chi o\iota$ by Cratinus, and he is represented anachronistically as Sappho's lover in Diphilus' $\Sigma a\pi \phi \omega$. Unlike the other two major iambographers, Semonides and Hipponax, whose works were assembled in two books each by the Alexandrians, Archilochus is cited by such terms as elegiacs, trimeters, tetrameters, and epodes rather than by book number. For ancient works written on Archilochus see testt. 63-64.

Semonides

Although the evidence for Semonides' date is much less substantial than that for Archilochus', such evidence as there is points to the middle of the seventh century (testt. 1-3). Originally from Samos, he was involved in the colonization of Amorgos, an island at the eastern edge of the Cyclades. According to the *Suda* he composed elegiac as well as iambic poetry, but elsewhere he is cited as an iambographer, and only iambic verses have survived. The one elegiac fragment that some assigned to him has now been shown to be the work of Simonides (frr. 19-20 *IEG*²). Although our sources regularly refer to the iambic poet as Simonides, the grammarian Choeroboscus (test. 5) states that the proper spelling is Semonides. Whether this is correct or not, the distinction in spelling avoids confusion with the much better known lyric poet of the fifth century.

Except for frr. 1 and 7, nothing exceeding three verses has survived. Fr. 1 shows that iambics could also be used for serious meditation on life's vicissitudes, a topic more commonly reserved for elegiacs. Fr. 7, the longest iambic poem we have from the archaic period, describes ten types of wives, all of whom are said to be derived from different animals except for two which owe their origin to earth and sea. Only the last in the series, the bee woman, is praised and it is clear that only she enhances her husband's household. What follows, however, seems to indicate that all wives are a bane and Semonides may be suggesting to his audience that the bee woman is a mirage or at least extremely rare. Although the misogyny of fr. 7 is an appropriate topic for iambics, the tone is more reminiscent of

Hesiod than of Archilochus. Fr. 7 seems to be derived in part from beast fable, as do some of the other fragments, and the fable appears in both Archilochus and Hesiod. In contrast to Archilochus, however, there is in Semonides' remains none of the Parian poet's harsh invective or obscenity.

Hipponax

Hipponax can be assigned with some confidence to the middle of the sixth century (testt. 1-2). A native of Ephesus, he was banished by the city's tyrants and settled in Clazomenae. Ancient sources and several of the poet's fragments attest to bitter invective directed against the sculptors Bupalus and Athenis, especially the former, ostensibly because they caricatured his appearance. Although we have a substantial number of fragments, many are lacunose scraps of papyrus and brief citations of rare words by lexicographers. In spite of this, however, Hipponax is revealed as a forceful poet whose verses contain many colourful, foreign, rare, and obscene words. He is especially fond of depicting the lower levels of society and several fragments attest to his interest in composing parody, primarily of epic poetry. Like Archilochus he employed a variety of meters, but unlike the Parian poet his iambic trimeters usually end in a spondee rather than an iambus, thereby creating a limping effect; hence the term choliambic or lame iambic given to this meter. He was also not above combining iambic and dactylic meters in the same verse (e.g., fr. 35).

Hipponax was much admired by the Alexandrians, especially Callimachus and Herodas, both of whom imitated his meter and style, and his virulent invective was the subject of several poems in the *Palatine Anthology* (testt. 7-10).

Minor Poets

Not enough of the remaining poets in this volume has survived to enable us to form much of an impression of their works.

Ananius, homeland unknown, seems to have been roughly a contemporary of Hipponax, and the two poets are sometimes confused (see n. 4 on fr. 1). Both composed in choliambics and both occasionally included ischiorrhogic lines (see test. 2), the latter apparently being commoner in Ananius than in Hipponax. The only fragment of any length (fr. 5) is in trochaic tetrameters, ten verses on the best season of the year to eat certain meats and seafood.

Susarion of Megara, probably late 6th and/or early 5th century B.C., is credited in several sources with having invented comedy. Nothing, however, has survived, except for one iambic fragment which can hardly be from a comedy. On Susarion see especially West, *Studies* 183-84.

Hermippus of Athens, like Susarion, was also a comic and iambic poet (latter part of the 5th century), but much more has been preserved, especially of his comedies. The few iambic and trochaic fragments extant, in particular frr. 4 and 5, are characterized by puns and rare words.

Scythinus of Teos, perhaps 5th century, was both an iambic poet and a writer of prose. Only one fragment of his poetry has survived.

Among the Adespota there are several fragments which could be assigned to Anacreon (1, 3, 39), Archilochus (35, 38), and Hipponax (51, 52).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list contains works cited either by author's name alone or by author together with a short title. Other works referred to are cited in sufficient detail as they appear in the notes. Journals are cited by the abbreviations given in *L'Année Philologique*. For further bibliography see D. E. Gerber, "Early Greek Elegy and Iambus 1921-1989," *Lustrum* 33 (1991) 7-225 and 401-409.

Bossi = F. Bossi, Studi su Archiloco² (Bari 1990)

Chaniotis = A. Chaniotis, Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie (Stuttgart 1988)

Degani = E. Degani, *Hipponactis Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1983, 1991²)

Degani, Studi = E. Degani, Studi su Ipponatte (Bari 1984)

Henderson = J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy (New Haven 1975, New York 1991²)

IEG = M. L. West, Iambi et Elegi Graeci (Oxford; vol. 1 2nd ed. 1989, vol. 2 2nd ed. 1992)

Masson = O. Masson, Les fragments du poète Hipponax. Edition critique et commentée (Paris 1962)

Miralles-Pòrtulas = C. Miralles & J. Pòrtulas, Archilochus and the Iambic Poetry (Rome 1983)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Mosshammer = A. A. Mosshammer, The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition (Lewisburg 1979)
- Pellizer-Tedeschi = E. Pellizer & G. Tedeschi, Semonide. Introduzione, testimonianze, testo critico, traduzione e commento (Rome 1990)
- SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
- Slings = J. M. Bremer, A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip, S. R. Slings, Some Recently Found Greek Poems (Leiden 1987)
- Tarditi = G. Tarditi. Archiloco. Introduzione, testimonianze sulla vita e sull'arte, testo critico, traduzione (Rome 1968)
- West, Studies = M. L. West, Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus (Berlin 1974)

GREEK IAMBIC POETRY

TESTIMONIA

Inscriptions

1 Inscriptio, SEG 14.565

Γλαύκου εἰμὶ μνῆμα τοῦ Λεπτίνεω· ἔθεσαν δέ με οἱ Βρέντεω παῖδες.

2 Inscriptio (CEG 2.674 Hansen)

Άρχίλοχος Πάριος Τελεσικλέος ἐνθάδε κεῖται, το Δόκιμος μνημήιον ὁ Νεοκρέωντος τόδ' ἔθηκεν.

TESTIMONIA

Inscriptions

1 Inscription

I am the memorial of Glaucus, son of Leptines; the sons of Brentes made me.¹

¹ The inscription, found in Thasos and dated to the late 7th century, was first published (with full discussion) by J. Pouilloux in *BCH* 79 (1955) 75-86. It was written boustrophedon in four lines (I have printed a transliterated text) and clearly refers to the Glaucus whom Archilochus mentions several times (see n. 1 on fr. 15).

2 Inscription

Archilochus of Paros, son of Telesicles, lies here; this memorial for him was set up by Dokimos, son of Neokreon.¹

¹ This inscription, found in Paros and dated to the middle of the 4th century, was first published by A. K. Orlandos in *PAAH* (1960) 255-56. It was written on a capital, a photograph of which can be seen in *Archiloque*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 10 (Geneva 1964) facing p. 44.

IAMBIC POETRY

3 Mnesiepis inscriptio, SEG 15.517

The inscription, found in the valley of the river Elita (hence the designation E) in Paros, was first published by N. M. Kondoleon in 'Arxaiologue' 'Efripher's (1952, appeared in 1955) 32-95. Dated to the 3rd century B.C., it was inscribed on at least two orthostats but is only partially preserved. Each stone contained four columns with 57 lines per column. Of col. I on stone A (= E_1) only a few letters on the right side remain; col. II is almost entirely legible; col. III is missing lines 1-5, then we have the first two

$A(E_1)$, col. I

1 κ]αὶ ὅτε

 $2 \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \Pi] \alpha \rho i \omega \nu$

col. II

Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν ἐν τῶι τεμένει, ὁ κατασκευάζει, ἱδρυσαμένωι βωμὸν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου Μούσαις καὶ

 $\Lambda \pi \delta \lambda [\omega] \nu [\iota]$

Μουσαγέται καὶ Μνημοσύνει θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ύπερδεξίωι, ᾿Αθάναι Ύπερδεξίαι, Ποσειδῶνι ᾿Ασφαλείωι, Ἡρακλεῖ, ᾿Αρτέμιδι Εὐκλείαι.

Πυθῶδε τῶι ἀπόλλωνι σωτήρια πέμπειν. Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν ἐν τῶι τεμένει, ὃ κατασκευάζει, ἰδρυσαμένωι βωμὸν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου Διονύσωι καὶ Νύμφαις

10

5

3 Inscription of Mnesiepes

letters of each of three lines of poetry (= fr. 299, omitted here), and of the rest only 1 to 12 letters per line on the left side remain; col. IV is entirely missing. Of stone $B = \mathbb{E}_2$ we can read only about one-third on the left side of col. I. The inscription must have been originally set up in the Archilocheion, a precinct established in honour of the poet. I have printed the text essentially as it appears in SEG (omitting the most exiguous parts), except that for the oracle in A col. III, lines 47-50, I have printed Parke's tentative restoration. There is an extensive apparatus in Chaniotis 28-29 and a bibliographic survey in Lustrum 33 (1991) 33-36.

 $A(E_1)$ col. I

and when . . . of the Parians . . .

col. II

The god declared to Mnesiepes that it was preferable and better to set up an altar in the precinct which he was constructing and to sacrifice on it to the Muses and Apollo Mousagetes and Mnemosyne, and also to sacrifice and obtain favourable omens from Zeus Hyperdexios, Athena Hyperdexia, Poseidon Asphaleios, Heracles, and Artemis Eukleia, and to send thank-offerings to Apollo at Pytho.

The god declared to Mnesiepes that it was preferable and better to set up an altar in the precinct which he was constructing and to sacrifice on it to Dionysus and the Nymphs and the Seasons, and also to sacrifice and obtain

IAMBIC DOFTRY

	IMMBIC LOETKI
	καὶ "Ωραις· θύειν δὲ καὶ καλλιερεῖν Ἀπόλλωνι
	Προστατηρίωι, Ποσειδῶνι ἀσφαλείωι, Ἡρακλεῖ.
	Πυθῶδε τῶι ἀπόλλωνι σωτήρια πέμπειν.
	Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν
15	τιμῶντι ἀρχίλοχον τὸμ ποιητάν, καθ' ἃ ἐπινοεῖ.
	χρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀπόλλωνος ταῦτα τόν τε
	τόπον
	καλοῦμεν ἀρχιλόχειον καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς
	$i\delta ho\acute{v}\mu\epsilon heta a$
	καὶ θύομεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ᾿Αονιλόνου καὶ

τιμῶμεν αὐτόν, καθ' ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισεν ἡμῖν. περί δὲ ὧν ήβουλήθημεν ἀναγράψαι, τάδε παραδέδοταί τε ήμιν ύπο των άρχαίων και αὐτοί πεπρα-

γματεύμεθα, λέγουσι γὰρ ᾿Αρχίλοχον ἔτι νεώτερον

όντα πεμφθέντα ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελεσικλέους είς άγρόν, είς τὸν δήμον, ὃς καλεῖται Λειμῶνες, ώστε βοῦν καταγαγεῖν εἰς πρᾶσιν, ἀναστάντα πρωίτερον της νυκτός, σελήνης λαμπούσης, [ά]γειν τὴμ βοῦν εἰς πόλιν. ὡς δ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν

τόπον, δς καλείται Λισσίδες, δόξαι γυναίκας [ί]δεῖν ἀθρόας, νομίσαντα δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἀπιέναι

30

25

20

αὐτὰς εἰς πόλιν προσελθόντα σκώπτειν, τὰς δὲ δέξασθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος καὶ

favourable omens from Apollo Prostaterios, Poseidon Asphaleios, and Heracles, and to send thank-offerings to Apollo at Pytho.

The god declared to Mnesiepes that it was preferable and better to honour the poet Archilochus in accordance with his intentions.

Since Apollo declared these things, we call the place the Archilocheion and we set up altars and we sacrifice both to the gods and to Archilochus and we honour him in accordance with the god's oracular response to us. Concerning the matters which we wished to inscribe, these have both been handed down to us by men of old and we have elaborated on them ourselves. They say that when Archilochus was still a young man he had been sent by his father Telesicles into the country, to the district which is called Leimones, to bring a cow for sale. He got up before the end of night, while the moon was shining, and was bringing the cow to town, and when he was at a place which is called Lissides, he thought he saw a group of women. Believing that they were on their way from their work to the town, he approached and bantered with them. They received him with jesting and laughter and asked if

IAMBIC POETRY

[έ]περωτήσαι, εί πωλήσων ἄγει τὴμ βοῦν

[εί]πεῖν, ὅτι αὐταὶ δώσουσιν αὐτῶι τιμὴν ἀξίαν. [ῥη]θέντων δὲ τούτων αὐτὰς μὲν οὐδὲ τὴμ

φήσαντος δὲ

βοῦν οὐκέτι
[φ]ανερὰς εἶναι, πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν δὲ λύραν
δρᾶν αὐτόν.
καταπλαγέντα δὲ καὶ μετά τινα χρόνον ἔννουν
[γ]ενόμενον ύπολαβεῖν τὰς Μούσας εἶναι τὰς
φανείσας
[καὶ] τὴν λύραν αὐτῶι δωρησαμένας· καὶ ἀνελό-
[μ]ενον αὐτὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς πόλιν καὶ τῶι
$\pi a au ho \hat{\iota}$
[τὰ] γενόμενα δηλώσαι. τὸν δὲ Τελεσικλῆν ἀκού-
[σ]αντα καὶ τὴν λύραν ἰδόντα θαυμάσαι· καὶ
$\pi ho\hat{\omega} au \circ \mu$
μὲν ζήτησιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς βοὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν
[τ]ην νησον καὶ οὐ δύνασθαι εύρεῖν ἔπειθ'
\dot{v} $\pi \dot{o} \; au \hat{\omega} u$
[π]ολιτῶν θεοπρόπον εἰς Δελφοὺς εἰρημένον
$\mu\epsilon au\dot{lpha}$
[Λυ]κάμβου χρησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
$\pi ho o heta v \mu \acuteo$ -
[τ]ερον ἀποδημῆσαι, βουλόμενον καὶ περὶ τῶν
[α]ὖτοῖς συμβεβηκότων πυθέσθαι·
ἀφικομένων δὲ
[κ]αὶ εἰσιόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον τὸν θεὸν
εἰπεῖν Τελεσικλεῖ τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε

35

40

45

he was bringing the cow to sell it. When he said he was, they replied that they would themselves give him a fitting price. After these words were spoken, neither they nor the cow were any longer visible, but before his feet he saw a lyre. He was astounded and when he recovered his senses after a while he assumed that it was the Muses who had appeared to him and that they had given him the lyre. He picked it up, went to the town, and revealed to his father what had happened. When Telesicles heard the story and saw the lyre, he was amazed. First he conducted a search for the cow throughout the whole island and was unable to find it. Then, having been chosen by the citizens to go with Lycambes to Delphi to consult the oracle on behalf of the city, he was more eager to make the trip because he wanted to inquire about what had happened to them. After their arrival and entrance to the oracular seat the god gave Telesicles the following response:

IAMBIC POETRY

50 ['A] θάνατός σοι παῖς καὶ ἀοίδιμος, ὧ Τελεσίκλεις, ἔσται ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ὃς ἂμ πρῶτός σε προσείπει νηὸς ἀποθρώισκοντα φίλην εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

παραγενομένων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς Πάρον τοῖς ᾿Αρτεμισίοις πρῶτον τῶν παίδων ᾿Αρχίλοχον ἀπαντήσαντα προσειπεῖν τὸμ πατέρα· καὶ ὡς ἦλθον οἴκαδε, ἐρωτήσαντος τοῦ Τελεσικλέους, εἴ τι τῶν ἀνανκαίων ὑπάρχει, ὡς ἂν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡμέρας

col. III

12 ἀοιδ[ιμ 14 λύραν 15 ἀρχιλο[χ 16 ἐν ἀρχε[$\hat{\iota}$ 17 τε $\hat{\iota}$ δ' έορ[τε $\hat{\iota}$ 18 παρ' ἡμ $\hat{\iota}$ ν 19 φασὶν ἀρ[χίλοχον 20 [αὐτο]σχεδιασ[21 τινας τῶν π[22 διδάξαντα 23 τὰ] παραδεδομ[ένα 24 κεκοσμημέ[ν 25 κή]ρυκος εἰς π[27 καὶ συνακολο[νθ 28 των καὶ ἄλλω[ν 28-29 κατασκεν]ασθέντων τὰ μ[30 πα]ρὰ τοὺς έταίρου[ς

31-35 = fr. 251

55

36 $\lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \omega \nu$ [δὲ τούτων 37 ὡς κακῶς ἀκ[ου 38 ἰαμβικώτερο[ν 39 οὐ κατανοήσ[αντας 40 τῶν] καρπῶν, ἣν τα[41 τὰ] ῥηθέντα εἰς τὴ[ν 42 ἐν τεῖ κρίσει μ[42-43 μετ' οὐ πολὺν] χρόνον γίνεσθ[αι 43-44 ἀσθενεῖς] εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα 45 τὴν πόλιν τινὰς 46 τὸν δὲ θεὸν

47 Τίπτε δίκαις ἀν[όμοις κεχρημένοι ἠδὲ βίηφι ἤλθετε πρὸς Π[υθὼ λοιμοῦ λύσιν αἰτήσαντες;

Immortal and renowned in song among men, Telesicles, will be whichever son of yours first speaks to you as you leap from your ship onto your beloved homeland.

When they arrived in Paros at the festival of Artemis, Archilochus was the first of the sons to meet and speak to his father. And when they returned home and Telesicles asked if any of the necessities (for the festival) were at hand, since it was late in the day

col. III

... renowned in song ... lyre ... Archilochus ... in the beginning ... at the festival ... among us ... they say that Archilochus ... improvised ... some of the ... taught ... what had been handed down ... decorated ... herald to ... and accompanied ... and of others ... equipped(?) ... to the (his) companions ... (fr. 251) ... (when these things) had been said ... that(?) ill-spoken of ... too iambic¹ ... not understanding ... of fruits ... what had been spoken to the ... in the judgement ... (after a short) time became ... impotent ... the city some ... and the god (gave the following oracle?):

Why have you (who use illegal) judgements (and force) come to P(ytho to ask for a release from the

IAMBIC POETRY

οὐκ ἔστιν πρὶν [Βάκχον ἀμείλιχον ἐξιλάσασθαι, εἰς ὅ κεν ἀρχίλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίητε.

51 ἀπαγγελθ[έντων δὲ τούτων 52 μιμνησκομ[52-53 τῶν ἐ]κείνου ῥη[μάτων 54 τὰ] διημαρ[τημένα 55 Διον[υσ

$\mathrm{B}(\mathrm{E}_2)$ col. I

1 νομίσειεν ἄν τις Αρχί[λοχον 2 καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων πο[λλῶν μαρτυρίων 3 ἀνα]γράφειν μακρόν ἐν ὀ[λίγοις 4 δηλωσόμε[θα 4-5 πολέμου γάρ ποτε ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς Να]ξίους ἰσχυροῦ ὄντος 6 ὑπὸ τῶν πολ[ι]τῶ[ν 7 περὶ αὐτῶν 8 ὡς ἔχει πρὸ[ς 9 πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ[ὸ 10 καὶ ἐνεφάνισεν 11 καὶ παρεκάλε[σεν 12 βοηθεῖν ἀπροφασ[ίστως 13 καὶ λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν 14 νῦν πάντες

15-44 = fr. 89

50

45 εὐξαμένωι οὖν 45-46 ὑπή]κουσαν οἱ θεοὶ κα[ὶ 47 τὰς] εὐχάς: πάντες 48 γε]νόμενον αὐτὸν ε[49 ἐν ταῖς μάχαις 50 ἐκ τῆς χώρας κ[51 ὕστερόν τε χρόν[ωι 52 καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν 53 ταις πεντηκοντ[54 τούτων ἐπιπλε[55 ἀνδραγαθοῦντα κα[56 ἀποκτείναντα 57 τὰς δὲ καὶ δυομεν (δυομέν[ας?)

51-57 = fr. 90

pestilence)? It is not possible (to appease harsh Bacchus) until (you honour) Archilochus (servant of the Muses).

When (this) was announced . . . remembering . . . the words of that one [i.e., the god] . . . the errors . . . Dionysus . . .

$B(E_2)$ col. I

One might think that Archilochus . . . also from much additional (evidence) . . . long to inscribe; in (a few words) . . . we will show . . . (when we were once engaged) in a hard-fought (war) with the Naxians . . . by the citizens . . . concerning them . . . how it was with(?) . . . of homeland and by . . . and showed . . . and summoned . . . to help without hesitation . . . and says about them . . . now all . . . (fr. 89) . . . and so to his prayer . . . the gods gave ear and . . . the prayers; all . . . him being . . . in the battles . . . from the land . . . later . . . and of the citizens . . . with fifty (fifty-oared ships?) . . . of these sailing against(?) . . . acting bravely . . . having killed . . . and also the (sinking ships?) . . .

¹ Or "in too iambic a manner." This seems to refer to the contents of fr. 251, presumably its obscene language (see Introduction).

IAMBIC POETRY

4 Sosthenis inscriptio, IG XII 5 n. 445 (+ Suppl. pp. 212-14; W. Peek, ZPE 59 (1985) 13-22)

A col. Ia

- [ἀναγέγραφε] γὰρ [Δ]ημέας οὐ μόνον περὶ Πά[ρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ]
- [περὶ ὧν πέπρ]ακται ὑπὸ ᾿Αρχιλόχου καὶ τῆς ᾿Αρχιλόχ[ου περὶ πάν]-
- [τας τοὺς θεοὺ]ς εὖσ<ε>βείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν πατ[ρίδα σπου]-
- [δης· ἀνέμνησ]ε γὰρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑ[πὸ τοῦ ποιη]-
- 5 [τοῦ πολ]λῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν [ἐκ τῶν]
 - ς τοῦ ἀνηγαγωχότας ταῦτα εἰς αὐ[τὸν τὸν 'Αρχί]-
 - [λοχον]. ἀναγέγραφεν δὲ ὁ Δημέας ἕκαστα τ[ῶν πεπραγμέ]-
 - [νω]ν καὶ γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ ᾿Αρχιλόχου κατ᾽ [ἄρχοντα]
 - έκαστον καὶ ἦρκται ἀπὸ ἄρχοντος πρῶτον Εὐρ[. , ἐφ' οῧ]
- 10 λέγει πεντηκόντορο<ν> Μιλησίων πρέσβεις ἄγ[ουσαν]
 - καὶ ἀνακομιζομένη<ν> ἐγ Μιλήτου διαφθαρῆνα[ι ἐν <τῶι> πορθμῶι]
 - τῶι Ναξιακῶι καὶ σωθηναι ἔνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὧι ὄ[νομα Κοίρα]-

4 Inscription of Sosthenes

The inscription, dated to c. 100 B.C., was first published in 1900 by Hiller von Gaertringen and presumably was once in the Archilocheion along with the inscription of Mnesiepes (test. 3). It consists of two orthostats, but much is now illegible and in addition the execution is much more careless than that of the Mnesiepes inscription. The author of the inscription was a certain Sosthenes who recorded an account of Archilochus' deeds made by Demeas and arranged chronologically by Parian archons. Included are several poems of Archilochus (frr. 7, 7a, 93a, 94-98, 192), mostly of martial content. I have printed the first 20 lines as they appear in SEG 15 n. 518, but much is uncertain. For most of the rest I have followed West's edition of Archilochus and Peek in ZPE 59 (1985) 13-22. There is an extensive apparatus in Chaniotis 64-66.

A col. Ia

For Demeas (has written an account) not only about Paros (but also about the deeds done) by Archilochus and the piety of Archilochus (towards all the gods) and his (zeal) for his country. For he (mentioned) the many deeds done (by the poet) and great benefits . . . who ascribed them to (Archilochus himself). Demeas has written an account of each (of the deeds done) and written about by Archilochus, dating them according to each (archon), and he has begun first with the archon Eur(-, at which time) he says that a fifty-oared ship bringing Milesian ambassadors and returning from Miletus was destroyed (in the strait) of Naxos and that one person, whose (name was Koira)nos,

IAMBIC POETRY

νος, ύπὸ δελφίνος ἀναλημφθέντα καὶ ἐκπεσόν[τα εἰς τὸν]

 $\tau[\hat{\omega}]\nu \ \Sigma \nu \rho i \omega \nu \ [\alpha i] \gamma \iota [\alpha \lambda \delta] \nu \ \epsilon i s \ \tau \iota \ \sigma[\pi] \dot{\eta} \lambda \alpha \iota o \nu$ συνφυ[γε $\hat{\iota}$ ν κα $\hat{\iota}$]

ἐκεῖθεν αὖτ[ις ἐλθεῖν εἰς] τὴν ἰδίαν. τὸ δὲ σπ[ήλαιον]

έτι νῦν ὑ[πάρχει καὶ ἀπ' ἐκ]είνου Κοιράνει[ον καλεί]-

[τ]αι, κ[αὶ ναίει ὁ Ποσειδῶν ὁ τ]ππιος ἔντ[οσθε, καθ]-

[άπερ ὁ ποιητὴς ποιείται αὐτο]ῦ μνήμη[ν λέγων οὔ]-

τ[ω· πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρα]νον ὅΙππ[ιος Ποσει]-

[δ] $\hat{\omega}[\nu$. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γίγνεται πάλι] ν ἄρ $[\chi\omega\nu(?)$. . .]

perierunt 21-39

15

20

40]φονδετοσ[χρή]μ]ατα τοὺς Θρᾶκ[ας λέ]χουσιν Πάριοι ἐαυ[τοῖς
ἀποκαθιστάνα[ι πάλι]ν. διασαφεῖ δὲ τ[οῦτο
τ. αὐτὸς α[

43-49 = fr. 93a

ὅτι τοὺς Θρᾶικας

50 ἀποκτείναντες αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Παρίων ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς τὰς Σάπας <φυγόντες> ὑπὸ τῶν Θρά-

was saved. Lifted up by a dolphin and cast (on to the) shore of the Syrians into a cave he escaped (and) from there he (made his way) back (to) his own land. The cave still (exists) now (and is called) Koiraneion after him. (And Poseidon) Hippios (dwells) within, as (the poet makes) mention (in the following words): "out of fifty men Poseidon Hippios spared Koiranos" (= fr. 192). (And after this Eurwas archon again). (lines 21-39 missing). . . the Parians said that the Thracians were to restore to them (the gold). And (this the poet) himself makes clear, (saying): (fr. 93a), because after the Parians themselves had slain the Thracians some of them were killed by the Parians and others, (having fled) to Sapae [or: to the Sapaeans], were killed by the

κ]ων. μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν γίνεται ἄρχων 'Αμφ[ί]τιμος· καὶ ἐν τούτοις διασαφεῖ πάλιν ὡς ἐνίκησαν καρτερῶς τοὺς Ναξίους, λέγων ο]ὕτω·

55

55-59 = fr. 94

col. IVa δηλοῖ ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐν τούτοις

1-6 = fr. 95

6-8 ὅτι δὲ Γλαῦκ[ος - - - ἀπῆρεν εἰς Θά]σον μάχηι κρατησ[άντων - - -] δηλοῖ ὁ ποιητὴ[ς ἐν τούτοις·

8-13 = fr. 96

--]αν τῆς εἰς τὴν Θάσο[ν - - -]τησε καὶ παρ'

14-22 ἐταί[ρας - - -]νης γαύρας
ἡττ[ή]θη τολ[μ]η[- - -]πλ[...]ς τοιαῦτα ἥ[κ]οντες
[- - -]ν ἀσπίσιν
[κα]ρτε[ρ]ία [- - -] ν τῆς Θάσον και[...] απα[- - -]το ἐκεῖ. ὅτι δ' ἀλη[θῆ - - -]
ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς π[- - -] τάδε·

22 = fr. 97

23-27 ἔ]πειτα γυναῖκας ει[- - -]λαι τι[.]ς τῆς πύλης ἔ[τ]ρεχον εἰς [- - -] ἐκ τῆς
 Θάσο[υ - - -]ψ ὅτι δ' ἀλη[θ]ῆ [- - -] σημ[.]αει τιν[- - -]

Thracians. After this Amphitimus was archon again. And in these verses he makes clear again that they soundly defeated the Naxians, speaking as follows: (fr. 94)

col. IVa

The poet makes clear (in these verses): (fr. 95). And that Glauc(us departed for Tha)sos (when the Thracians) were victorious in battle . . . the poet makes clear (in these verses): (fr. 96) . . . (fr. 97) . . . (fr. 98) 1

¹ I have not attempted to translate what precedes frr. 97 and 98, but there is clearly mention of Thasos, fighting, and women. West's fr. 97a appears in the mutilated section between 97 and 98 and has been omitted.

lineae 28-41 mutilae et omissae 42-58 = fr. 98

B col. (Vb?)

1-4 = frr. 7, 7a

5 ναυμαχίαι μαχομ[6 ἀνἢ]ρ ἀγαθός, πολλοὺς 7 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων 8 ἐτελ]εύτησεν· οἱ δὲ Πάριοι 9 φυγὴν δύο μὲν αὐτῶν 10 κατεπόντι]σαν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς 11 πάλιν εἰς τὴν Πά[ρον 12 μετὰ τ]αῦτα τὸν ἀρχίλοχον 13 μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθα[ψαν 14]ου ποιησάμενοι τὰ ὑ[πὸ 15 ἤ]δεσαν, οὐκ ὀργισθέντες 16 φαῦλον κατὰ τῆς πόλε[ως

col. VII

3 μητρὸς αὐτῆς 8 τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ᾿Αρχιλόχου ἐνταῦθα π[

12 Τίς σὲ τὸν ἐμ πέτρηι Μουσῶν θεράποντ' ἐχάραξεν,

> παῖ Τελεσικλῆος κοῦρε, καταγλαΐσας; λέξω δή σοι ἐγὼ μάλ᾽ ἐτήτυμα, εἰ σὺ μὴ οἶδας· ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ἀρετῆς τ᾽ οὐγ ὑπολειπόμενος

Σωσθεύς Προσθένου υίδς έμὴν πολ[ύυ]μ[νον ἀοι]δὴν

τιμῶν ἀ
εν[άων] αἶσαν ὑπεσπάσατο.

18 Σωφροσύνας οἴακα[21 Πάρος.

15

B col. (Vb?)

(frr. 7, 7a)... fighting in a sea battle... brave (man), many ... by the opponents... he died; and the Parians... flight two of their (ships)... they (sank) and the rest... back to Pa(ros)... (after) this Archilochus... they buried magnificently... deeming(?) the... they knew, not angry... derogatory against the city

col. VII

 \dots of the mother of her [of the mother herself?] \dots of his country and of Archilochus there \dots

Who inscribed you, servant of the Muses, on a stone glorifying you, son of Telesicles?

I will tell you quite truthfully, if you do not know. Sostheus, 2 son of Prosthenes, a noble man and not falling short of excellence, has filched my much celebrated poetry as his portion of everlasting honour.

Ruler of Wisdom³ . . . Paros.

 2 An abbreviated form of Sosthenes for metrical convenience. See A. J. Gossage, "The Family of Prosthenes at Paros," $\it RhM$ 94 (1951) 213-21. $3 Explained by some as denoting an official position held by Sosthenes.

Chronology

5 Tatian. ad Graecos 31 (p. 58 Whittaker)

ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπήγαγον, σὺν ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν ὁ Ομηρον εἰπόντες ὁ δὲ ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἤκμασε περὶ ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδόν, ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις.

6 Proclus ap. Phot. bibl. (v.158.27 Henry)

ὶάμβων δὲ ποιηταὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχός τε ὁ Πάριος ἄριστος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἡμόργιος ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Σάμιος, καὶ Ἱππῶναξ ὁ Ἐφέσιος: ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπὶ Γύγου, ὁ δὲ ἐπ' Ἡργαίου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, Ἱππῶναξ δὲ κατὰ Δαρεῖον ἤκμαζε.

'Αργαίου Clinton, 'Αμύντου Sylburg, 'Ανανίου cod.

7 Hdt. 1.12

. . . Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβφ τριμέτρφ ἐπεμνήσθη.

Chronology

5 Tatian, Address to the Greeks

Others brought down Homer's date, saying that he was a contemporary of Archilochus. And the latter flourished in about the 23rd Olympiad (688-685), at the time of Gyges² the Lydian, 500 years after the Trojan War.

 1 The same dating is given by Syncellus, chron.~340 (p. 211.17 Mosshammer), Eusebius, praep.~ev.~10.11.4 (i.596 Mras), and Cyril, contra~Iulianum~1.14 (p. 132 Burguière & Évieux), whereas Olympiad 29.1 (664-663) is given by Eusebius ap. Hieron. (p. 94b Helm), and 665-664 in the Armenian version (ii.86 Schöne-Petermann). On the complex chronographic tradition see Mosshammer pp. 210-17. 2 Cf. fr. 19 with n. 1.

6 Proclus in Photius, Library

Of the iambic poets Archilochus of Paros was the best, then Semonides of Amorgos or, as some say, of Samos, and Hipponax of Ephesus. The first of these flourished in the time of Gyges, the second in the time of Argaeus¹ of Macedon, and Hipponax in the time of Darius.²

 1 Ruled 684-647. See Degani, Studi 85 n. 5. 2 Ruled 522-486.

7 Herodotus, Histories

- . . . Gyges whom Archilochus of Paros, a contemporary, mentioned in iambic trimeters.¹
- $^{\rm 1}$ Some consider everything after Gyges' name a later insertion.

8 Clem. Strom. 1.131.7-8

Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς (FGrHist 765 F 30) περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος (FGrHist 231 F 3) περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην, Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι, ὡς εἶναι συμφανὲς τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἤδη γνωρίζεσθαι ὀλυμπιάδα· μέμνηται γοῦν καὶ τῆς Μαγνήτων ἀπωλείας προσφάτως γεγενημένης. Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ ᾿Αρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλίνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῷ· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἀπολωλότων, ὁ δὲ εὐημερούντων μέμνηται.

9 Ps.-Plut. de musica 5.1133a

μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν ἀρχίλοχος παραδίδοται γενέσθαι.

10 Cic. Tusc. disp. 1.1.3

Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo.

8 Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies

Xanthus of Lydia records that Thasos was founded about the 18th Olympiad (708-705), but about the 15th (720-717) according to Dionysius, with the result that clearly Archilochus was already known after the 20th (700-697). At any rate he mentions the destruction of the Magnesians as a recent occurrence. Semonides is assigned to the time of Archilochus, but Callinus is a little older, since he mentions the Magnesians as prosperous whereas Archilochus mentions their destruction.²

¹ Presumably Dionysius of Halicarnassus. ² See fr. 20 and Strabo ad loc.

9 Pseudo-Plutarch, On Music

Tradition has it that Archilochus came after Terpander¹ and Clonas.

¹ For the various dates assigned to Terpander see Campbell's Loeb *Greek Lyric* ii.294-99, and Mosshammer 226-33. In 1132e ps.-Plutarch cites Glaucus of Rhegium for the same chronological relationship between Archilochus and Terpander, whereas Phaenias of Eresos (fr. 33 Wehrli) makes Terpander younger.

10 Cicero, Tusculan Disputations

Homer and Hesiod lived before the founding of Rome, Archilochus during the reign of Romulus.¹

 1 A period of 37 years after about the middle of the 8th century (Cic. $\it de\ re\ publica\ 2.10.17,\ 2.30.52).$

11 Corn. Nepos ap. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. 17.21.8

Archilochum autem Nepos Cornelius tradit Tullo Hostilio Romae regnante iam tunc fuisse poematis clarum et nohilem.

Death

12 *Suda* (i.376.11 Adler) = Aelian. fr. 80 Hercher

ότι τῶν σπουδαίων οὐδὲ θανόντων οἱ θεοὶ λήθην τίθενται. Άρχίλοχον γοῦν ποιητὴν γενναῖον τἄλλα, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰσχροεπές καὶ τὸ κακορρήμον ἀφέλοι, καὶ οίονεὶ κηλίδα ἀπορρύψαι, ὁ Πύθιος ἡλέει τεθνεῶτα καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῶ πολέμω, ἔνθα δήπου ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καὶ ότε ήκεν ο αποκτείνας αὐτόν, Καλώνδας μεν ὄνομα, Κόραξ δὲ ἐπώνυμον, τοῦ θεοῦ δεόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδεῖτο, οὐ προσήκατο αὐτὸν ἡ Πυθία ὡς ἐναγῆ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δήπου τὰ θρυλούμενα ἀνεῖπεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρα προεβάλλετο τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας καὶ ἔλεγεν, ώς ἡκεν ἐς αμφίβολον η δρασαι η παθείν, όσα έπραξε, καὶ ηξίου μη ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τῶ θεῷ εἰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονι ζῆ, καὶ έπηρᾶτο, ὅτι μὴ τέθνηκε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ταθτα ὁ θεὸς οἰκτείρει καὶ αὐτὸν κελεύει ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ταίναρον, ένθα Τέττιξ τέθαπται, καὶ μειλίξασθαι τὴν τοῦ Τελεσικλείου παιδὸς ψυχὴν καὶ πραϋναι χοαῖς. οξς ἐπείσθη, καὶ τῆς μήνιδος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξάντης έγένετο.

11 Nepos in Aulus Gellius, Attic Nights

Cornelius Nepos records that as early as the reign of Tullus Hostilius¹ at Rome Archilochus was famous and celebrated for his poetry.

¹ Traditionally dated to 673-642.

Death

12 Suda = Aelian

Not even in death do the gods forget the good. At any rate Archilochus, a noble poet in other respects if one were to take away his foul mouth and slanderous speech and wash them away like a stain, was pitied by the Pythian after his death, even though this occurred in battle where doubtless the war god is impartial. And when his slayer, named Calondas² but with the nickname Corax, came and made certain requests of the god, the Pythia did not give him admittance on the ground that he was polluted and spoke those words which are no doubt common knowledge.3 But he put forward as a plea the fortunes of war, said that what he had done was a question of kill or be killed, begged that he not incur the god's hatred if he lived according to his own destiny, and cursed himself for not preferring death to killing. And the god took pity on him for this and bade him go to Taenarus where Tettix had been buried and appease the soul of the son of Telesicles and soothe him with libations. He obeyed and became free of the god's anger.

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf. fr. 110. 2 Callondes in Plutarch (test. 13). 3 They are cited by Galen (test. 14).

13 Plut. de sera num. vind. 17.560e

ό γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῆ μάχη τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλώνδης, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν δ᾽ αὐτῷ Κόραξ ἐπωνύμιον. ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνηρηκώς, εἶτα χρησάμενος λιταῖς τισι καὶ προστροπαῖς μετὰ δικαιολογίας ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττιγος οἴκησιν ἱλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ ᾿Αρχιλόχου ψυχήν. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἦν ὁ Ταίναρος ἐκεῖ γάρ φασιν ἐλθόντα μετὰ στόλου Τέττιγα τὸν Κρῆτα πόλιν κτίσαι καὶ κατοικῆσαι παρὰ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον.

14 Galen. protrept. 9.22 (i.118.3 Marquardt)

ό δ' αὐτὸς οὖτος θεὸς καὶ τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον τεθνεῶτα φαίνεται τιμῶν οὐ τὰ μέτρια. τὸν γοῦν φονέα βουλόμενον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ διεκώλυσεν εἰπών· "Μουσάων θεράποντα κατέκτανες, ἔξιθι νηοῦ."

15 Heracl. Lemb. π. πολιτείων (p. 22 Dilts)

'Αρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν Κόραξ ὄνομα ἔκτεινε, πρὸς ὅν φασιν εἰπεῖν τὴν Πυθίαν, "ἔξιθι νηοῦ," τοῦτον δ' εἰπεῖν· "ἀλλὰ καθαρός εἰμι, ἄναξ, ἐν χειρῶν γὰρ νόμφ ἔκτεινα."

16 Dio Chrys. 33.11-12

καὶ μὴν ὅσῳ τὸ λοιδορεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τὴν

13 Plutarch, On the slowness of divine vengeance

The one who slew Archilochus in the battle was called Callondes, as it seems, but his nickname was Corax. At first he was expelled by the Pythia on the ground that he had killed a man sacred to the Muses, but then after resorting to certain prayers and entreaties together with pleas of justification, he was ordered to go to the dwelling of Tettix and propitiate the soul of Archilochus. This was Taenarus, since they say that Tettix the Cretan came with a fleet and founded a city by the place where souls are conjured up.

14 Galen, Exhortation to learning

This same god clearly holds Archilochus in no moderate honour after his death. At any rate when his slayer wished to enter Apollo's temple, he prevented him with the words: "You killed the servant of the Muses; depart from the temple."

15 Heraclides Lembus, On Constitutions

A man named Corax killed the poet Archilochus and they say that the Pythia said to Corax, "Leave the temple," and that he replied, "But, lord, I am undefiled, since I killed him in hand-to-hand combat."

16 Dio Chrysostom, Orations

And indeed how much better it is to revile and to reveal

έκάστου καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν φανερὰν ποιεῖν κρεῖττόν έστι τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι διὰ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις θρύπτειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκεῖθεν εἴσεσθε. δύο γὰρ ποιητῶν γεγονότων ἐξ ἄπαντος τοῦ αἰῶνος. οξς οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμβάλλειν ἄξιον, Όμήρου τε καὶ ᾿Αρχιλόχου, τούτων "Ομηρος μὲν σχεδὸν πάντα ένεκωμίασε . . . Άρχίλοχος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἧκε, τὸ ψέγειν, δρών, οἶμαι, τούτου μᾶλλον δεομένους τοὺς άνθρώπους, καὶ πρώτον αύτὸν ψέγει, τοιγαροῦν μόνος καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι τῆς μεγίστης έτυχε μαρτυρίας παρά τοῦ δαιμονίου, τὸν μέν γε ἀποκτείναντα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων έξελαύνων ἐκ τοῦ νεὼ Μουσῶν αὐτὸν ἀνεῖπε θεράποντα ἀνηρηκέναι. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ως ἀπελογείτο ἐν πολέμω λέγων ἀποκτείναι, πάλιν Μουσῶν θεράποντα ἔφη τὸν ἀρχίλοχον, τῶ πατρὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρωμένω πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀθάνατόν οί παίδα γενήσεσθαι προείπεν.

17 Aristides or. 46 (ii.380 Dindorf)

οὐδέ γε . . . (scil. ᾿Απόλλων) τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ᾿Αρχίλοχον, ὃς τὸ πάντων ἔξοχον καὶ δυσχερέστερον εἶδος τῆς ποιήσεως μετεχειρίζετο, τοὺς ἰάμβους, ἐξεῖργεν ἂν τοῦ νεὼ φάσκων οὐκ εἶναι καθαρόν, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν πολέμω τοῦ φόνου συμβάντος. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐτίμησε τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον καὶ Μουσάων γε θεράποντα προσεῖπεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων διάκονον οὐδενός. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ᾽ ᾿Αρχίλοχος περὶ τὰς βλασφημίας οὕτω διατρίβων

each person's stupidity and baseness than to court favour through one's words and corrupt listeners with praise, you will learn best from what follows. For of the two poets who for all time deserve to be compared with no other, namely Homer and Archilochus, Homer praised nearly everything ... But Archilochus went to the opposite extreme, to censure, seeing, I suppose, that men are in greater need of this, and first of all he censures himself. Consequently, he alone, both after his death and before his birth, won the highest commendation from heaven. In fact Apollo drove his slayer from the temple, asserting that he had killed a servant of the Muses. And a second time, when the slayer defended himself by stating that he had killed him in war, Apollo again said that Archilochus was a servant of the Muses. And when the father of Archilochus consulted the oracle before his birth, Apollo proclaimed that he would have an immortal son.1

¹ Cf. test. 3, col. ii.50.

17 Aelius Aristides, Orations

Nor (if it was a bad thing) would Apollo keep from his temple the slayer of Archilochus who practised a form of poetry that stands out from all others and is rather disagreeable, the lampoon, asserting that his slayer was impure even though the killing took place in war. Nevertheless Apollo honoured Archilochus and called him a servant of the Muses and not in the service of any man. Therefore even Archilochus who was so involved in defamation did not slander the best and most distinguished of the

τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους ἔλεγε κακῶς, ἀλλὰ Λυκάμβην καὶ Χαρίλαον (Liebel pro Χειδὸν) καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τὸν μάντιν, καὶ τὸν Περικλέα τὸν καθ' αὐτόν, οὐ τὸν πάνυ, καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἔλεγε κακῶς.

18 Oenomaus (pp. 71-72 Hammerstaedt) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 5.32.2-33.9

φέρε δὲ τούτοις προσθῶμεν καὶ δι' ὧν αὖθις ὁ ᾿Απόλλων θαυμάζει τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον, ἄνδρα παντοίαις κατὰ γυναικῶν αἰσχρορρημοσύναις καὶ ἀρρητολογίαις, ἃς οὐδ᾽ ἀκοῦσαί τις σώφρων ἀνὴρ ὑπομείνειεν, ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ποιήμασι κεχρημένον . . . (33.1)

'Αθάνατός σοι παῖς καὶ ἀοίδιμος, ὧ Τελεσίκλεις, ἔσσετ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις·

ό δὲ παῖς ἦν ᾿Αρχίλοχος . . . (33.5) τί ποτ' οὖν ἦν τοῦτο δι' ὅ σοι ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἔδοξεν ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; . . . (33.8) οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄρα σοι καὶ Μουσῶν θεράπων ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ ὁ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄξιος εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰσόδου οὐδὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν φωνῆς, ἄνδρα φωνάεντα ἀποκτείνας. οὔκουν ἄδικος ἡ πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αρχίαν ἀπειλὴ οὐδ' ἄκαιρος ἡ Πυθία τιμωροῦσα ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ καὶ κελεύουσα ἐξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν ἐναγῆ· "Μουσάων" γὰρ ἀπέκτεινεν "θεράποντα."

Greeks, but he slandered Lycambes, Charilaus, so-and-so the seer, Pericles—his contemporary, not the famous one—and such men.

18 Oenomaus in Eusebius, Evangelical Preparation

Come, let us add to these oracles those in which Apollo again shows his admiration for Archilochus, a man who in his own poems makes use of every kind of foul and unspeakable language against women, language which no man of discretion would even bear to hear . . .

Immortal and renowned in song among men will be your son, Telesicles.¹

The son was Archilochus . . . What then was it that made Archilochus seem to you to be worthy of heaven? . . . ² It is not unreasonable then that he seemed to you to be a servant of the Muses and that his slayer was not worthy of entrance to you, the gods, or of hearing your voice, since he had killed a man endowed with voice. Therefore, not unjust was the threat to Archias³ and not inappropriate the vengeance of the Pythia for Archilochus, long since dead, and the command for the accursed one to leave the temple. For he had killed "the servant of the Muses."

 1 Cf. test. 3, col. ii.50-51. 2 The first part of fr. 294 belongs here. 3 Presumably an error for Calondas (test. 12) or Callondes (test. 13), perhaps resulting from confusion with the Archias of fr. 293.



Lycambes and His Daughters

19 P.Dublin inv. 193a (ed. Bond, *Hermathena* 80 [1952] 3-11) = SH 997

col. i εἰς τὰς τοῦ Λυκά]μβεω παρθένους

] πρὸς βίην λαλεύσας
]εις ὁδῖτα
Λυκ]άμβεω θύγατρες
]υς λίθος πολίτης
]..αμετρ' ἰάμβωι
α]ψάμεσθα δειρὰς
]σηις ἐς ἡμᾶς
]σι καὶ γῆ

col. ii

ω[
αφημ[
καὶ λειρίοισι . . . [
περισφυροι [
5 οὐδ' εἰχομε[
αλλημε[
καπνευ[
ηδεν[
εφρον[
10 πραπ[
κοσμ[

5

Lycambes and His Daughters

19 Dublin papyrus (late 3rd cent. B.C.) (On the) virgin daughters of Lycambes

col. i

(Behold the maidens who died?) violently, saying $^1\ldots$ way-farer \ldots daughters of Lycambes \ldots country's(?) stone $^2\ldots$ immoderately in iambics \ldots we fastened our necks (in nooses?) \ldots to (against?) us \ldots both (and?) earth

col. ii4

. . . and lily 5 . . . about the ankles 6 . . . and we were not able (?) . . . but one (of us) (?) . . . and lifeless (?) . . . the other (?) . . . 7

¹ The daughters of Lycambes are represented as speaking from the grave (in iambic tetrameters catalectic). ² Perhaps a way of referring to the Parian marble under which they were buried. ³ Part of an oath? ⁴ Col. ii is probably part of the same poem. ⁵ More probably an adjective modifying (e.g.) eyes or voice than a noun. ⁶ Either a compound adjective or noun, perhaps in the dative plural, or a prepositional phrase. Cf. fr. 206. 7 The beginnings of the last three verses seem to refer to intellect and adornment.

i 6 ἄμετρ'? 9 μαρτυροῦ]σι Bond
ii 4 περίσφυροι, περισφύροι[σι, περὶ σφυροῖ[σι, περὶ σφύρ' οι[
6 ἀλλ' ἡ μὲ[ν ? 7 κἄπνευ[σεν Bond, κἄπνευ[στος
Peek 8 ἡ δ' ?

20 Anth. Pal. 7.351 = HE 1555-64 (Διοσκορίδου)

Οὐ μὰ τόδε φθιμένων σέβας ὅρκιον αἴδε Λυκάμβεω,

αἳ λάχομεν στυγερὴν κληδόνα, θυγατέρες οὔτε τι παρθενίην ἠσχύναμεν οὔτε τοκῆας οὔτε Πάρον, νήσων αἰπυτάτην ἱερῶν,

άλλὰ καθ' ἡμετέρης γενεῆς ῥιγηλὸν ὄνειδος φήμην τε στυγερὴν ἔφλυσεν Άρχίλοχος.

'Αρχίλοχον, μὰ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, οὕτ' ἐν ἀγυιαῖς

εἴδομεν οὔθ' Ἡρης ἐν μεγάλῳ τεμένει.
εἰ δ' ἦμεν μάχλοι καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἤθελεν ἐξ ἡμέων γνήσια τέκνα τεκεῖν.

21 Anth. Pal. 7.352 = HE 4742-49 (ἀδέσποτον vel Μελεάγρου)

Δεξιτερὴν 'Αίδαο θεοῦ χέρα καὶ τὰ κελαινὰ ὅμνυμεν ἀρρήτου δέμνια Περσεφόνης, παρθένοι ὡς ἔτυμον καὶ ὑπὸ χθονί πολλὰ δ' ὁ πικρὸς

αἰσχρὰ καθ' ἡμετέρης ἔβλυσε παρθενίης 'Αρχίλοχος: ἐπέων δὲ καλὴν φάτιν οὐκ ἐπὶ καλὰ ἔργα, γυναικεῖον δ' ἔτραπεν ἐς πόλεμον.

Πιερίδες, τί κόρησιν ἔφ' ὑβριστῆρας ἰάμβους ἐτράπετ', οὐχ ὁσίῳ φωτὶ χαριζόμεναι;

5

10

5

20 Palatine Anthology (Dioscorides)

We here, the daughters of Lycambes who gained a hateful reputation, swear by the reverence in which this tomb of the dead is held that we did not shame our virginity or our parents or Paros, pre-eminent among holy islands, but Archilochus spewed forth frightful reproach and a hateful report against our family. We swear by the gods and spirits that we did not set eyes on Archilochus either in the streets or in Hera's great precinct. If we had been lustful and wicked, he would not have wanted to beget legitimate children from us.

21 Palatine Anthology (anonymous or Meleager)

We swear by the right hand of the god Hades and the dark bed of Persephone whom none may name that we are truly virgins even beneath the earth. But bitter Archilochus spewed forth much that is shameful against our virginity. He turned the fine utterance of his verses to war with women rather than to noble deeds. Muses, why did you direct his violent iambics against girls, favouring an impious man?

22 Anth. Pal. 7.71 = FGE 197-202 (Γαιτουλίχου)

Σημα τόδ' 'Αρχιλόχου παραπόντιον, ὅς ποτε πικρὴν

Μοῦσαν Ἐχιδναίφ πρώτος ἔβαψε χόλφ, αἰμάξας Ἑλικώνα τὸν ἥμερον. οἶδε Λυκάμβης, μυρόμενος τρισσών ἄμματα θυγατέρων. ἤρέμα δὴ παράμειψον, ὁδοιπόρε, μή ποτε τοῦδε κινήσης τύμβφ σφῆκας ἐφεζομένους.

23 Anth. Pal. 7.69 (Ἰουλιανοῦ)

Κέρβερε, δειμαλέην ύλακὴν νεκύεσσιν ἰάλλων, ἤδη φρικαλέον δείδιθι καὶ σὰ νέκυν· ᾿Αρχίλοχος τέθνηκε· φυλάσσεο θυμὸν ἰάμβων δριμύν, πικροχόλου τικτόμενον στόματος. οἶσθα βοῆς κείνοιο μέγα σθένος, εὖτε Λυκάμβεω νηῦς μία σοι δισσὰς ἤγαγε θυγατέρας.

24 Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 11.277 (1684.45)

ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πολλῶν προσώπων ἁψαμένων βρόχους ἐπὶ λύπαις ἔπαθον οὕτω κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν καὶ αἱ Λυκαμβίδαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ᾿Αρχιλόχου ποιήμασι, μὴ φέρουσαι τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν ἐκείνου σκωμμάτων ἢν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ δεινὸς ὑβρίζειν ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω σκώπτειν εὐφυῶν τό, ᾿Αρχίλοχον πεπάτηκας, ὡς εἴ τις εἴπη, σκορπίον ἢ ὄφιν ἢ κακὴν ἄκανθαν.

5

5

22 Palatine Anthology (Gaetulicus)

This tomb beside the sea belongs to Archilochus who was the first to dip a bitter Muse in Echidna's gall and to stain mild Helicon with blood. Lycambes attests to it, bewailing the hanging of his three daughters. Wayfarer, pass by quietly, lest you stir up the wasps that settle on his tomb.

¹ The only source to record three daughters. Cf. test. 23.

23 Palatine Anthology (Julian, Prefect of Egypt)

Cerberus, whose barking strikes the shades with terror, now even you must fear a horrifying shade: Archilochus is dead. Be on your guard against the pungent iambic wrath engendered by the bitter anger of his tongue. You know the mighty potency of his outbursts, since a single boat brought Lycambes' two daughters.

24 Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

It should be recognized that many people have hanged themselves out of grief and that according to the ancient account the daughters of Lycambes did so because of Archilochus' poetry, since they could not bear the onslaught of his gibes. For the man was skilful at insulting, and hence "you have stepped on Archilochus" is a proverb with reference to those who are adept at such gibes, as if one were to say that you have stepped on a scorpion or snake or painful thorn.

25 Hor. epod. 6.11-14

cave cave, namque in malos asperrimus parata tollo cornua, qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener aut acer hostis Bupalo.

26 Pseudacronis schol. ad loc. (i.404 Keller)

Lycambes habuit filiam Neobulen. hanc cum Archilochus in matrimonium postulasset, promissa nec data est a patre. hinc iratus Archilochus in eum maledicum carmen scripsit; quo tanto est dolore compulsus ut cum filia vitam laqueo finiret.

Lycambes filiam suam promisit Archilocho daturum uxorem, quod postea denegavit. qua de causa iratus Archilochus carmina scripsit in Lycamben et eius filias, ita ut ex dolore carminum eius filiae laqueo vitam finirent.

27 Hor. epist. 1.19.23-31

Parios ego primus iambos ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben. ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes, quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem, temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho, temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,

25

25 Horace, Epodes

Beware, beware, for with the utmost ferocity I lift my ready horns against evildoers, just like the scorned son-inlaw of treacherous Lycambes or the impassioned enemy¹ of Bupalus.

¹ Hipponax.

26 Pseudo-Acron on the passage

Lycambes had a daughter Neoboule. When Archilochus sought her hand in marriage, she was promised by her father but not given to him. In anger at this Archilochus wrote an abusive poem against him and the latter was so grief-stricken that he hanged himself along with his daughter.

Lycambes promised to give Archilochus his daughter as wife and afterwards refused. Because of this Archilochus in anger wrote poems against Lycambes and his daughters, as a result of which his daughters in grief hanged themselves.

27 Horace, Epistles

I was the first to show Latium the iambics of Paros, following the rhythms and spirit of Archilochus, but not the subject matter and words that assailed Lycambes. And lest you adorn me with a scantier wreath because I was afraid to change the measures and verse form, manly Sappho shapes her Muse by the rhythm of Archilochus, as does Alcaeus, though his subject matter and arrangement are different, since he does not seek a father-in-law to smear

nec socerum quaerit, quem versibus oblinat atris nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.

28 Ov. Ibis 53-54

30

postmodo, si perges, in te mihi liber iambus tincta Lycambeo sanguine tela dabit.

29 Schol. C ad loc. (p. 10 La Penna)

Lycambes Neobulen, filiam suam, Archilocho desponsavit et dotem promisit; quam quia postea negavit, Archilochus in iambico metro invectivam in ipsum fecit et tam turpia de eo dixit quod ipsum et uxorem et filiam ad laqueos coegit: maluerunt enim mori quam sub turpibus obprobriis vivere.

30 Ov. Ibis 521-24

utque repertori nocuit pugnacis iambi, sic sit in exitium lingua proterva tuum. utque parum stabili qui carmine laesit Athenin invisus pereas deficiente cibo.

523 Athenas codd., corr. Alciatus

31 Schol. ad loc. (pp. 156 sq. La Penna)

Archilochus propter filiam Hipponactis Lycambi datam, quam antea desponsaverat ipsi Archilocho, commotus ad iram composuit in eum, scilicet Lycamben, invectiones

with malevolent verses nor does he weave a noose for his bride-to-be with defaming poetry.

¹ See Sappho test. 17 (Campbell).

28 Ovid, Ibis

Afterwards, if you continue, my unrestrained iambics will launch against you shafts tinged with the blood of Lycambes.

29 Scholia on the passage

Lycambes betrothed his daughter Neoboule to Archilochus and promised a dowry. Because afterwards he refused, Archilochus abused him in the iambic meter and said such vile things about him that he forced him, his wife, and his daughter to hang themselves; for they preferred to die rather than live subjected to vile reproaches.

30 Ovid, Ibis

And as it harmed the inventor of the combative iambus, so may a violent tongue bring about your death. And like him who injured Athenis¹ with his halting verses, may you perish, hated and starved.

1 Hipponax's enemy.

31 Scholia on the passage

Because the daughter of Hipponax whom he had previously betrothed to Archilochus had been given to Lycambes, Archilochus was moved by anger to compose invective in the iambic meter against him, i.e., Lycambes, and

iambico metro scriptas, quibus eum coegit ad mortem . . . postea autem lingua sua sibi fuit in exitium.

Archilochus, iamborum inventor, postquam Lycamben coegerat ad suspendium, ab amicis eius persecutus, se ipsum interfecit.

Archilochus, inventor iambi, propter linguae suae pravitatem, missus est in exilium.

Archilochus ab inimicis suis interfectus fuit, quia fecit contra eos invectiones iambico metro.

32 Mart. 7.12.5-8

quid prodest, cupiant cum quidam nostra videri, si qua Lycambeo sanguine tela madent, vipereumque vomat nostro sub nomen virus, qui Phoebi radios ferre diemque negat?

The Verdict of Antiquity

33 Critias 88 B 44 D.-K. ap. Aelian. V.H. 10.13 (= fr. 295 West)

αἰτιᾶται Κριτίας ᾿Αρχίλοχον ὅτι κάκιστα ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν. εἰ γὰρ μή, φησίν, ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτην δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐς τοὺς Ἦληνας ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὕτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἢν τῆς δούλης, οὕθ᾽ ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἢλθεν ἐς Θάσον, οὕθ᾽ ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε.

this drove him to death . . . Afterwards, however, Archilochus' own tongue destroyed him.

After Archilochus, the inventor of iambies, forced Lycambes to hang himself, he was pursued by the latter's friends and killed himself.

Because of his vicious tongue Archilochus, the inventor of iambics, was sent into exile.

Archilochus was killed by his enemies, because he composed invective in the iambic meter against them.

¹ A highly garbled version. See Degani, Studi 107 n. 175.

32 Martial, Epigrams

What does it avail me when certain people wish to pass off as mine whatever shafts drip with the blood of Lycambes, and one who admits that he cannot stand the rays of the sun and the light of day spews forth his viper's venom under my name?

The Verdict of Antiquity

33 Critias in Aelian, Historical Miscellanies

Critias censures Archilochus because he spoke very ill of himself. For if, he says, Archilochus had not made public among the Greeks such an opinion of himself, we should not have learned that he was the son of Enipo, a slavewoman, that because of poverty and difficult straits he left Paros and went to Thasos, that upon his arrival he became an enemy of the inhabitants, and in addition that he spoke ill of friends and enemies alike. And furthermore, he says,

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἢ δ᾽ ὅς, οὕτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἢν ἤδειμεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὕτε ὅτι λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἴσχιον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἄρα ἢν ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος μάρτυς ἐαυτῷ τοιοῦτον κλέος ἀπολιπὼν καὶ τοιαύτην ἐαυτῷ φημήν. ταῦτα οὐκ ἐγὼ ᾿Αρχίλοχον αἰτιῶμαι, ἀλλὰ Κριτίας.

34 Heraclitus 22 B 42 D.-K. ap. D.L. 9.1

τόν τε "Ομηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.

35 Pind. Pyth. 2.52-56

ἐμὲ δὲ χρεῶν φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν. εἶδον γὰρ ἑκὰς ἐῶν τὰ πόλλ᾽ ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ ψογερὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν πιαινόμενον·

36 Callim. fr. 380 Pf.

εἴλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὀξύ τε κέντρον σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος.

we should not have known that he was an adulterer, if we had not learned it from him, nor that he was lecherous and arrogant, nor what is still more shameful than this, that he threw away his shield.⁴ Therefore, by leaving behind such a report and such an account of himself Archilochus was not a good witness on his own behalf. It is Critias who censures him for this, not I.

 1 Cf. test. 16. 2 This statement, along with at least some of those that follow, is very probably an erroneous deduction based on a faulty understanding of Archilochus' poetry. 3 Among his friends we should presumably number Pericles (cf. fr. 16 with n. 1) and Glaucus (cf. fr. 15 with n. 1); the most obvious enemy is Lycambes. 4 Cf. fr. 5.

34 Heraclitus in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*

He said that Homer deserved to be banished from the contests and flogged, and Archilochus likewise.

35 Pindar, Pythians

But I must shun the deep bite of slander. For at a far remove I have seen fault-finding Archilochus many times in his helplessness fattening himself on harsh words of hatred

36 Callimachus

Archilochus drew in (?) the dog's pungent bile and the wasp's sharp sting, and he has his mouth's venom from both.

37 Theoer. *epig*. 21 Gow = *HE* 3434-39 (*Anth. Pal.* 7.664)

'Αρχίλοχον καὶ στᾶθι καὶ εἴσιδε τὸν πάλαι ποιητὰν τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων, οὖ τὸ μυρίον κλέος διῆλθε κἠπὶ νύκτα καὶ ποτ' ἀῶ.

ἦ ῥά νιν αἱ Μοῦσαι καὶ ὁ Δάλιος ἠγάπευν ᾿Απόλλων,

ως ἐμμελής τ' ἐγένετο κἠπιδέξιος ἔπεά τε ποιεῖν πρὸς λύραν τ' ἀείδειν.

38 "Long." de subl. 13.3

5

μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὁμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων . . .

39 "Long." de subl. 33.5

Έρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Ἡριγόνη (διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀμώμητον τὸ ποιημάτιον) ἀρχιλόχου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνοικονόμητα παρασύροντος, κἀκείνης τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος ἢν ὑπὸ νόμον τάξαι δύσκολον, ἄρα δὴ μείζων ποιητής;

37 Theocritus, Epigrams

Stop and look upon Archilochus, the iambic poet of old, whose vast fame has spread from the sun's rising to its setting. In truth the Muses and Delian Apollo loved him, so musical was he and skilful in composing verses and singing them to the lyre.¹

¹ Cf. also Anth. Pal. 4.1.37-38 and 9.185.

38 "Longinus," On Sublimity

Was Herodotus alone the most Homeric? No, earlier still there were Stesichorus and Archilochus, and more Homeric than any of these was Plato . . .

¹ The author may be thinking of such passages as frr. 131 and 134 which are closely modeled on Homer. Cf. also frr. 219-221. Comparisons between Homer and Archilochus are implied by testt. 16, 34, 41, 63. Cf. also *Anth. Pal.* 7.674 and 11.20.

39 "Longinus," On Sublimity

Was Eratosthenes, whose little poem *Erigone* is absolutely faultless, a superior poet to Archilochus who sweeps along much that is ill-arranged in that outpouring of the divine spirit which with difficulty is made subordinate to the rule of law?¹

 $^{\rm l}$ On the passage as a whole see D. A. Russell's edition of "Longinus" (pp. 158 f.).

40 Plut. de curiositate 10.520a-b

φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἐπιὼν τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλαμβάνοι τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βιβλίον ἔχοι συντεταγμένον, οἶον 'Ομηρικῶν στίχων ἀκεφάλων καὶ τραγικῶν σολοικισμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπ' 'Αρχιλόχου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀκολάστως εἰρημένων, ἑαυτὸν παραδειγματίζοντος, ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τραγικῆς κατάρας ἄξιος, "ὅλοιο θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς;" (fr. adesp. trag. 388 K.-S.)

41 Philostr. VS 6.620 (ii.119 Kayser)

έσπούδαζε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρχιλόχου καλῶν τὸν μὲν "Ομηρον φωνὴν σοφιστῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀρχίλοχον πνεῦμα.

42 Orig. c. Celsum 3.25 (ii.58.15 Borret)

καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς δὲ τοῦ Πυθίου εὕροις ἃν προστασσόμενά τινα οὐκ εὕλογα. ὧν δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παραθήσομαι . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ Μουσῶν θεράποντα εἰπὼν τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον, ἄνδρα ἐν κακίστη καὶ ἀσελγεστάτη ὑποθέσει ἐπιδειξάμενον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιητικὴν καὶ ἦθος ἀσελγὲς καὶ ἀκάθαρτον παραστήσαντα, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ θεράποντα εἶναι Μουσῶν, νομιζομένων εἶναι θεῶν, εὐσεβῆ τινα ἀνηρόρευσεν. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ τυχὼν τὸν εὐσεβῆ φήσει μὴ πάση κεκοσμῆσθαι μετριότητι καὶ ἀρετῆ, καὶ κόσμιος τοιαῦτα λέγοι ἄν, ὁποῖα περιέχουσιν οἱ μὴ σεμνοὶ τοῦ ᾿Αρχιλόχον ἰάμβοι.

40 Plutarch, On being a busybody

Come now, if someone were to go through the writings of the ancients, pick out the worst that is in them and compile a book, for example, of Homer's headless verses and solecisms in tragedy and the unseemly and lewd utterances directed towards women whereby Archilochus makes a spectacle of himself, is he not deserving of the curse found in a tragedy, "May you be damned for singling out the misfortunes of mortals"?

41 Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists

He (sc. Hippodromus¹) was also a serious student of Archilochus, calling Homer the voice of the sophists, but Archilochus their breath.

 1 A sophist active from the latter part of the 2nd cent. A.D. to the early part of the 3rd.

42 Origen, Against Celsus

And even among the oracles of the Pythian you can find some injunctions that are not reasonable. For the present I shall cite two of them . . . But also by calling Archilochus a servant of the Muses, a man who displayed his poetic skill in a subject matter that is extremely base and lewd and who revealed a character that is licentious and impure, in so far as he was a servant of the Muses, who are judged to be goddesses, Apollo proclaimed him to be a man of piety. I do not know whether the common person will say that the man of piety is not adorned with every moderation and virtue and whether a decent person would speak such things as the irreverent iambics of Archilochus encompass.

43 Iulian. Imp. *or.* 7.207b-c

ό δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ᾿Αρχίλοχος ὥσπερ ἤδυσμά τι περιτιθεὶς τἢ ποιήσει, μύθοις <οὐκ> ὀλιγάκις ἐχρήσατο ὁρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπόθεσιν, ἢν μετήει, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσαν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποιία μόνον ἐστίν, ἐστέρηται δέ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται ποίησις ἡδύσματα ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκέ γε αὐτὸς τούτου χάριν, ὅπως μὴ σιλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς νομισθείη.

44 Philostr. imag. 1.3 (ii.298 Kayser)

φοιτῶσιν οἱ μῦθοι παρὰ τὸν Αἴσωπον, ἀγαπῶντες αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖται. ἐμέλησε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ μύθου καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἡρχιλόχῳ πρὸς Λυκάμβην ἀλλ Αἰσώπῳ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκμεμύθωται.

45 Quint. inst. orat. 10.1.60

summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validae tum breves vibrantesque sententiae, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum, adeo ut videatur quibusdam, quod quoquam minor est, materiae esse non ingenii vitium.

43 The Emperor Julian, Speeches

And Archilochus after him (sc. Hesiod) not infrequently made use of fables, putting a seasoning as it were round his poetry, because he presumably saw that the subject matter which he was pursuing needed such an attractiveness and because he knew clearly that poetry deprived of fable is merely versification and lacks, one might say, its real self, since poetry no longer remains. He culled these seasonings from his poetic Muse and served them up himself in order that he might be deemed a poet, not some writer of lampoons.

44 Philostratus, Pictures

Fables gather about Aesop, loving him because he is devoted to them. For although both Homer and Hesiod took an interest in fable, and Archilochus as well in his verses against Lycambes, Aesop has put into his fables all aspects of human life.

45 Quintilian, Principles of Oratory

We find in him (sc. Archilochus) the greatest force of expression, sententious statements that are not only vigorous but also terse and vibrant, and a great abundance of vitality and energy, to the extent that in the view of some his inferiority to anyone results from a defect of subject matter rather than poetic genius.

46 Val. Max. 6.3, ext. 1 (p. 291 Kempf)

Lacedaemonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari iusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur: noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret quam ingeniis prodesset. itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisam obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt.

Meter

47 Ps.-Plut. *de musica* 28.1140f-1141b (p. 124 Lasserre)

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος τὴν τῶν τριμέτρων ρυθμοποιίαν προσεξεῦρε καὶ τὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ρυθμοὺς ἔντασιν καὶ τὴν παρακαταλογὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα κροῦσιν. πρώτω δ΄ αὐτῷ τά τ΄ ἐπωδὰ καὶ τὰ τετράμετρα καὶ τὸ κρητικὸν καὶ τὸ προσοδιακὸν ἀποδέδοται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἡρώου αὕξησις, ὑπ΄ ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἥ τε τοῦ ἰαμβείου πρὸς τὸν ἐπιβατὸν παίωνα ἔντασις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ηὐξημένου ἡρώου εἴς τε τὸ προσοδιακὸν καὶ τὸ κρητικόν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κροῦσιν τὰ δ᾽ ἄδεσθαι ᾿Αρχίλοχόν φασι καταδεῖξαι, εἶθ᾽ οὕτω χρήσασθαι τοὺς τραγικοὺς ποιητάς. Κρέξον δὲ λαβόντα εἰς διθύραμβον ἀγαγεῖν. οἴονται δὲ καὶ τὴν κροῦσιν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ψδὴν τοῦτον

46 Valerius Maximus, Memorable Deeds and Sayings

The Spartans ordered the works of Archilochus to be removed from their state, since they believed that their text was shameful and indecent. They did not want the minds of their children to be defiled by it, lest it harm their morals more than it benefited their talents. Accordingly, by banishing his poetry they punished the best of poets, or at least the next to best, because he had ripped to shreds with foul abuse a house hateful to him.

¹ Cf. Plutarch's introduction to fr. 5.

Meter

47 Pseudo-Plutarch, On Music

Furthermore, Archilochus in addition devised the rhythmical pattern of the (iambic) trimeter, combinations involving heterogeneous rhythms, recitative, and the instrumental music associated with this. And he is the first to be credited with epodes, (trochaic) tetrameters, the cretic, the prosodiac, and the augmented heroic verse, and according to some the elegiac couplet as well, and in addition the combination of iambic verse with the epibatic paeon and that of the augmented heroic verse with the prosodiac and the cretic. Furthermore, they say that Archilochus introduced the practice whereby some iambics were spoken to musical accompaniment and others sung, and that afterwards the tragic poets made use of this procedure, as did Crexus who took it over and applied it to the dithyramb. And it is also thought that Archilochus was the first to invent musical accompaniment that is under the

εύρειν, τοὺς δ' ἀρχαίους πάντας πρόσχορδα κρούειν.

48 Orion etym. s.v. ἔλεγος (col. 58.8 Sturz)

εύρετὴ<ν> δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου οἱ μὲν τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον, οἱ δὲ Μίμνερμον, οἱ δὲ Καλλῖνον παλαιότερον.

49 Hermog. π . ἰδε $\hat{\omega}\nu$ (p. 319.23 Rabe)

ό δὲ ᾿Αρχίλοχος αὐτὸ καὶ σαφέστερον ἐποίησε καὶ γοργότερον οἱ γὰρ τετράμετροι αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οἷμαι καὶ γοργότεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκοῦσι, διότι τροχαϊκῶς σύγκεινται τρέχει γὰρ ὡς ὄντως ἐν τούτοις ὁ ῥυθμός.

50 Mar. Vict. (= Aphthonius), *Gramm. Lat.* vi.104.7 Keil

nam perfecto poetae levia et sonora sectanda sunt; quae autem fragosa et aspera, dicis causa, non ut imitentur, sed ut vitentur, noscenda sunt. quorum, sicut et aliorum complurium, auctor et parens fertur Archilochus singularis artificii in excogitandis ac formandis novis metris, qui primus epodos excitavit alios breviores, alios longiores, detrahens unum pedem seu colum metro, ut illi subiceret id quod ex ipso detractum esse videbatur.

melody, whereas all the earlier poets used musical accompaniment in unison with the voice. 2

 $^{\rm 1}$ See Orion below. $^{\rm 2}$ For the terminology used throughout this passage see A. Barker, Greek~Musical~Writings I (Cambridge 1984) 234 f.

48 Orion, Lexicon

Some say that the elegiac couplet originated with Archilochus, others with Mimnermus, and others with Callinus at an earlier time.

49 Hermogenes, On Types of Style

Archilochus demonstrated this (sc. the effect of trochees) even more clearly and more rapidly. His tetrameters in my opinion seem to be more rapid and more prosaic than those of others because they are composed of trochees; for the rhythm literally runs in these verses.

50 Marius Victorinus (= Aphthonius), Grammar

For a consummate poet the metrical breaks should be smooth and melodious; those which are uneven and harsh should be learned for the sake of form, not so that they might be imitated but so that they might be avoided. The originator and parent of the latter, as of several others also, is said to have been Archilochus, who had a unique talent for devising and forming new meters and who was the first to construct epodes, some shorter, some longer, withdrawing one foot or colon from the meter, so that what seemed to be withdrawn from it might be placed underneath. 1

¹ The source then cites Hor. Odes 4.7.1-2 as an example.

51-60

The grammarians record a variety of meters used by Archilochus. For what follows I restrict myself to citing the sources and to providing the metrical patterns attested therein. See also the meters prefixed to frr. 168-171, 172-181, 182-187, 188-192, 193-194, 195, 196-196a, 197. Additional metrical testimonia can be found in Tarditi pp. 212-16.

- 51 Terent. Maur., Gramm. Lat. vi.379.1801-1808 Keil
- **52** Diom., Gramm. Lat. i.516.13 Keil
- 53 Mar. Vict. (= Aphthonius), Gramm. Lat. vi.122.23 Keil
- **54** Id., vi.142.31
- **55** Id., vi.143.3

- **56** Id., vi.143.5
- 57 Diom., Gramm. Lat. i.509.3 Keil

51 Terentianus Maurus, On Meters (= fr. 198 West)

¹ The meter of Hor. Odes 4.7.

52 Diomedes, *Grammar* (= fr. 199 West)

 $^{\rm l}$ The meter of Hor. Epod. 13.2, where a dactylic hexameter precedes.

53 Marius Victorinus (= Aphthonius), *Grammar* (= fr. 314 West)

54 The same (= fr. 315 West)

55 The same (= fr. 316 West)

56 The same (= fr. 317 West)

57 Diomedes, *Grammar* (= fr. 318 West)

1 The meter of Hor. Odes 1.8.1.

58 Id., i.510.11

- 59 Id. (ex Varrone), i.515.14
- **60** Id., i.516.4

Miscellaneous

- 61 Diphilus (fr. 71 K.-A.) ap. Ath. 13.599d
- Δίφιλος ὁ κωμφδιοποιὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν Σαπφοῖ δράματι Σαπφοῦς ἐραστὰς ᾿Αρχίλοχον καὶ Ἱππώνακτα.
- **62** Callim. (fr. 544 Pf.) ap. Eust. in Hom. *Il.* 6.135 (ii.262.2 V.d.Valk)
- τοῦ <ਾ> μεθυπλῆγος φροίμιον ᾿Αρχιλόχου ᾿Αντιλόχου Eust., corr. Ruhnken
- 63 Heracl. Pont. (fr. 178 Wehrli) ap. D. L. 5.87
- . . . Περὶ ἀρχιλόχου καὶ ὑμήρου α'β'.

58 The same (= fr. 319 West)

¹ The meter of Hor. Odes 1.18.

59 The same (= fr. 320 West)

60 The same (= fr. 321 West)

Miscellaneous

- **61** Diphilus in Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*The comic poet Diphilus in his play *Sappho* represented Archilochus and Hipponax as lovers of Sappho.
- **62** Callimachus in Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad* the prelude of Archilochus smitten with wine¹

 ¹ Cf. fr. 120.
- 63 Heraclides Ponticus in Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers: Diogenes lists among the writings of Heraclides a work entitled

On Archilochus and Homer, in two books.

64 Hesychii Milesii vita Aristotelis (p. 16 Rose, 87 Düring)

'Απορήματα 'Αρχιλόχου Εὐριπίδου Χοιρίλου ἐν βιβλίοις γ΄.

65 Paus. 10.28.3

Τέλλις μὲν ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγονῶς φαίνεται, Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν Τέλλιν τοσοῦτον ἤκουσα ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἀπόγονος εἴη τρίτος Τέλλιδος, Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὅργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρώτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν.

66 Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος (p. 303 Meineke)

ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἸΑερία ἡ Θάσος, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος πατρὶ τοῦ ἸΑρχιλόχου·

ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεες, ὥς σε κελεύω νήσφ ἐν Ἡερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ.

67 Ath. 14.620c

Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου (fr. 28 Wehrli)

64 Hesychius of Miletus, Life of Aristotle

Problems in Archilochus, Euripides, and Choerilus in three books.¹

¹ The list of Aristotle's writings given by Diogenes Laertius does not include this work. Both Apollonius Rhodius (Athenaeus 10.451c) and Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 367 Slater) wrote on the "grieving message-stick" of fr. 185.2. See Slater's edition of Aristophanes (pp. 132 f.). Aristarchus (Clem. Strom. 1.21.117) wrote a commentary on Archilochus.

65 Pausanias, Description of Greece

Tellis appears to be in his late teens, Cleoboea as still a girl and she has on her knees a chest of the sort that they are accustomed to make for Demeter. With regard to Tellis I heard only that he was the grandfather of Archilochus and they say that Cleoboea was the first to introduce the rites of Demeter to Thasos from Paros.¹

¹ Pausanias is describing a painting by Polygnotus, part of which depicts Tellis and Cleoboea on Charon's boat.

66 Stephanus of Byzantium, Lexicon of Place Names

It is clear from the oracle given to Archilochus' father that Thasos was also called Aeria:

Announce to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you found a conspicuous city in the island Eeria.¹

¹ The same oracle is recorded in Euseb. praep. ev. 6.7.8.

67 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Chamaelion in his On Stesichorus says that not only

καὶ μελφδηθήναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὁμήρου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ ᾿Αρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ γρίφων (fr. 92 Wehrli)· τὰ ᾿Αρχιλόχου, φησίν, Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐρραψῷδει.

FRAGMENTA

1-17. Elegi

1 Ath. 14.627c

Άρχίλοχος γοῦν ἀγαθὸς ὢν ποιητὴς πρῶτον ἐκαυχήσατο τῷ δύνασθαι μετέχειν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγώνων, δεύτερον δὲ ἐμνήσθη τῶν περὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων·

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

Plut. Phocion 7.6

καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἐφαίνετο κατὰ τὸν ἀρχίλοχον

ἀμφότερον θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο θεοίο καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατῶν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

Homer's verses were set to music, but also tho and Archilochus and also Mimnermus and And Clearchus says in the first of his two work that Simonides of Zacynthus used to recite unconditional actions while sitting on a stool in the theatres.

FRAGMENTS

1-17. Elegiac Poems

1 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

At any rate Archilochus who was a fine poet boasted first of his ability to participate in civic struggles and mentioned second his talent for poetry, saying:

I am the servant of lord Enyalius¹ and skilled in the lovely gift of the Muses.

Plutarch, Life of Phocion

In fact each of these men showed himself to be, in the words of Archilochus.

both a servant of the god Enyalius and skilled in the gift of the lovely $Muses.^2$

¹ God of war. ² Plutarch's text is inferior. He has removed the first-person reference to avoid conflict with his introductory $\tilde{\epsilon}$ καστος, "each."

2 Ath. 1.30f

'Αρχίλοχος τὸν Νάξιον τῷ νέκταρι παραβάλλει (fr. 290)· δς καί πού φησιν·

έν δορὶ μέν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος

'Ισμαρικός· πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος.

1-2 Synes. epist. 130 (p. 717 Hercher, 223 Garzya), Suda s.v. \dot{v} πνομαχ $\hat{\omega}$ (iv.666.6 Adler) et s.v. Ἰσμαρικὸς οἶνος (ii.669.25)

1 μοι Synes., τοι Suda, om. Ath.

3 Plut Theseus 5.2-3

οί δ' "Αβαντες ἐκείραντο πρῶτοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον . . . ὄντες πολεμικοὶ καὶ ἀγχέμαχοι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων εἰς χεῖρας ώθεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις μεμαθηκότες, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος ἐν τούτοις.

οὖτοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται, οὐδὲ θαμειαὶ σφενδόναι, εὖτ' ἃν δὴ μῶλον ''Αρης συνάγη ἐν πεδίῳ ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δάμονές εἰσι μάχης δεσπόται Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί.

4 δαήμονες codd. (δαίμονες recc. duo), corr. Fick 5 Εὐβοίας codd., corr. Schneidewin

5

2 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Archilochus compares Naxian wine to nectar (fr. 290) and he also says somewhere:

On board ship I have kneaded barley bread, on board ship Ismarian wine,¹ and I drink it while reclining on board ship.²

 1 From Ismaros in Thrace. 2 The meaning of $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta o\rho \acute{\iota}$ is much disputed and the phrase is often translated "on my spear," but see Bossi 68-76 and n. 3 on fr. 4. If "on board ship" is incorrect, it is probably best to translate by "under arms."

3 Plutarch, Life of Theseus

The Abantes¹ were the first to cut their hair short in this manner . . . since they were warlike and fought at close quarters and had learned better than all others to press forward into hand-to-hand combat with their enemies, as Archilochus attests in these verses:

Not many bows will be stretched nor will there be numerous slings, whenever Ares brings together the press of battle on the plain; it will be the woeful work of swords. This is the warfare in which those spear-famed lords of Euboea are skilled.²

¹ A tribe in Euboea (see *Il.* 2.536-45). ² Often assumed to refer to the Lelantine War between Eretria and Chalcis, but there is much uncertainty. See V. Parker, *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1997).

4 P. Oxy. vi.854

ουτ εμοι ωσαι!
ἀλλ' ἄγε σὺν κώ[θωνι θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς
φοίτα καὶ κοίλ[ων πώματ' ἄφελκε κάδων,
ἄγρει δ' οἶνον [ἐρυθρὸν ἀπὸ τρυγός· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἡμεῖς
νηφέμεν [ἐν φυλακῆ τῆδε δυνησόμεθα.

Ath. 11,483d

5

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κώθωνος) καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐν ἐλεγείοις ὡς ποτηρίου, οὕτως· "ἀλλ' ἄγε—δυνησόμεθα," ὡς τῆς κύλικος λεγομένης κώθωνος.

2 $\phi \rho \acute{a}$ [ζεο Lasserre 9 $\nu \acute{\eta} \phi \epsilon \iota \nu \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ Ath., $\nu \acute{\eta} \phi \epsilon \iota \nu \stackrel{\hat{\epsilon}}{\epsilon} \nu$ Musurus

5 Plut. *instit. Lac.* 34.239b (excidit v. 3, αὐτον—μέλει)

Άρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενόμενον αὐτῆς ὥρας ἐδίωξαν, διότι ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα ὡς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαΐων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνω,

4 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd c. AD)

Observe(?)¹ . . . strangers(?) . . . a meal . . . nor for me . . . But come, make many a trip with a cup through the thwarts² of the swift ship, pull off the covers of the hollow casks, and draw the red wine from the lees; we won't be able to stay sober on this watch.³

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Archilochus in his elegies refers to the $\kappa \omega \theta \omega \nu$ as a cup, thus (vv. 6-9), where the $\kappa \omega \theta \omega \nu$ is like what is called a $\kappa \nu \lambda \iota \xi$.

¹ A paragraphus and coronis in the margin show that a new poem began here. Nothing of what precedes is legible.

² Or "across the deck."

³ Some connect frr. 2 and 4 (see Bossi on fr. 2).

5 Plutarch, Ancient Customs of the Spartans

When the poet Archilochus arrived in Sparta, they drove him out at once, because they learned that in his poetry he had said that it was better to throw away one's arms than to be killed:

Some Saian1 exults in my shield which I left—a

ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων· αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπὶς ἐκείνη; ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

1-3 (—ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος) Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. hypot. 3.216; (—ἐξέσάωσα) Ar. Pax 1298-99, 1301 (ubi schol. ἀΑρχιλόχου ἐστὶ τὸ δίστιχον κτλ.). 1-2 Strabo 10.2.17, 12.3.20; Vita Arati (p. 77.1 Maass). 3-4 (—ἐρρέτω) Olympiod. in Pl. Gorg. (p. 141.1 Westerink); Elias proleg. philos. 8 (Comm. in Arist. Graeca xviii.22.21); Ps.-Elias in Porph. isagogen 12.19 (p. 16 Westerink)

1 ἀσπίδα . . . ἀνείλετο (ἀγείλετο, ἀνείλατο, ἀφείλατο) τὴν Strabo περὶ θάμνον Strabo 12.3.20 3 αὐτὸς δ΄ ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος Sext. Emp., ψυχὴν δ΄ Aristophanes (def. V. Di Benedetto, Είκαsmos 2 [1991] 13-27, fort. recte), αὐτόν μ΄ fere Neoplatonici τί μοι μέλει; ἀσπὶς ἐκείνη ἐρρέτω malunt quidam 4 ἐξαῦθις Plut. (-τῆς cod. unus), corr. Schaefer

6 Schol. Soph. El. 96, "φοίνιος "Αρης οὐκ ἐξένισεν" ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν. ξένια γὰρ "Αρεως τραύματα καὶ φόνοι. καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος

ξείνια δυσμενέσιν λυγρὰ χαριζόμενοι

Suda s.vv. ἐξένισεν (ii.307.1 Adler) et ξένια καὶ ξενίζω (iii.493.1)

χαριζόμενος Suda utroque loco

faultless weapon—beside a bush against my will. But I saved myself. What do I care about that shield? To hell with it! I'll get one that's just as good another time.

¹ A Thracian tribe.

6 Scholiast on Sophocles, Electra

"murderous Ares did not present his guest-gifts" instead of 'did not kill.' For the guest-gifts of Ares are wounds and slaughter. Cf. Archilochus:

favouring the enemy with guest-gifts of grief

 $^{\rm l}$ Electra's lament is that Agamemnon was killed by his wife rather than in war.

7 Fragmentum Sosthenis inscriptionis (v. test. 4), ed. W. Peek, ZPE 59 (1985) 14

έ]πὶ δυσμεν[έας ἀ]μείλιχον ἐν []ευάμενος.

7a πο[λλῶν δ' ἀθυμησάντων πάλιν λέ]γει·

έξ έλάφων ν[

- (7) 1 ἴτω πᾶς έ]πὶ Peek, ἢι' έ]πὶ Slings 2 ἄλκιμον ἢτορ ἔχων καὶ ἀ]μείλιχον ἐν [φρεσὶ θυμόν West, ἐν [φρεσὶν ἦτορ Slings 3 ἀλ]ευάμενος Treu, σ]ευάμενος Slings (7a) ν[όον ἔσχετ' ἐνὶ φρεσί Peek
- 8 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.824 (p. 71 Wendel), "θεσσάμενοι" ἐξ αἰτήσεως ἀναλαβόντες, αἰτήσαντες· θέσ<σασ>θαι γὰρ τὸ αἰτῆσαι καὶ ἰκετεῦσαι . . . καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

πολλὰ δ' ἐυπλοκάμου πολιῆς άλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεσσάμενοι γλυκερὸν νόστον ¤ -□□ -

'Αρχίλοχος cod. L, 'Αντίλοχος P

9 P. Oxy. xxiii.2356a et Plut. quomodo aud. poet. 6.23b (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 108) ὅταν δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς άδελφῆς ἤφανισμένον ἐν θαλάσσῃ καὶ μὴ τυχόντα νομίμου ταφῆς θρηνῶν λέγει μετριώτερον ἂν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνεγκεῖν,

7 Fragment of the inscription of Sosthenes

 \dots against the enemy \dots implacable in (heart?) \dots avoiding(?)

7a (and when many were disheartened he says again): from deer¹. . .

¹ Perhaps an image for lack of courage. Cf. fr. 280.

8 Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius

 θ εσσάμενοι means 'getting upon request, requesting,' since θ έσσασ θ αι means 'to ask for, to beg for' . . . Cf. Archilochus:

and praying often (earnestly?) to the fair-haired (goddess)¹ on the expanse of the white-capped sea for a sweet homecoming

¹ Many treat "fair-haired" as an epithet of the sea.

9 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd c. AD)¹ and Plutarch, *How* the young man should study poetry

But when Archilochus, lamenting his sister's husband who had been lost at sea and had not obtained funeral rites, says that he would have borne the disaster² with greater moderation,

εἰ κείνου κεφαλὴν καὶ χαρίεντα] μέλεα Ἡφαιστος καθαροῖσιν ἐν εἴμασιν] ἀμφεπον[ήθη, τὸ πῦρ οὕτως, οὐ τὸν θεὸν προσηγόρευκε.

10 P.Oxy. 2356b

2]θια δέ σφεας 4 ἐξ]απίνης γὰρ 6]α γυναικῶν

11 Plut. quomodo aud. poet. 12.33a-b

πάλιν ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος οὐκ ἐπαινεῖται λυπούμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διεφθαρμένῳ κατὰ θάλασσαν, οἴνῳ δὲ καὶ παιδιᾳ πρὸς τὴν λύπην μάχεσθαι διανοούμενος. αἰτίαν μέντοι λόγον ἔχουσαν εἴρηκεν

οὖτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἰήσομαι, οὐτε κάκιον θήσω τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας ἐφέπων.

1-2 Tzetz. alleg. Hom. Ω 130 sq. (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 215)

 $2 \theta \alpha \lambda i \alpha \nu$ Boissonade $(\theta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu$ Tzetzes)

12 Schol. Aesch. PV 616 (p. 166 Herington), "δωρεάν" τὸ "δωρεά" ἐπὶ συμφορᾶς λαμβάνεται. καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος

if Hephaestus had tended to his head and lovely limbs wrapped in pure white raiment,

he meant by this not the god, but fire.

 1 This contains the remnants of 18 verses, too tattered to be translated. Plutarch's lines occurred in vv. 10-11. 2 It is possible that frr. 9-13 (or 8-13) come from the same poem or at least refer to the same disaster.

10 Oxyrhynchus papyrus

2 them

4 for suddenly

6 of women

11 Plutarch, How the young man should study poetry Again, Archilochus is not praised for intending to fight with wine and amusements the grief he felt over the loss of his sister's husband at sea. He has, however, given a reasonable explanation:

for I shall cure nothing by weeping nor shall I make matters worse by pursuit of pleasures and festivities

12 Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* The word $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{a}$ ('gift') is used for misfortune, as by Archilochus:

†κρύπτομεν† ἀνιηρὰ Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος δῶρα.

1 κρύπτωμεν <δ'> Liebel (-ῶμεν cod. V) Ποσειδάωνος Liebel: -δῶνος cod. Φ, -δῶνα (et ἄνακτα) Μ

13 Stob. 4.56.30

'Αρχιλόχου.

5

10

κήδεα μὲν στονόεντα, Περίκλεες, οὔτε τις ἀστῶν μεμφόμενος θαλίης τέρψεται οὖδὲ πόλις: τοίους γὰρ κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης ἔκλυσεν, οἰδαλέους δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνης ἔχομεν πνεύμονας. ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γὰρ ἀνηκέστοισι κακοῖσιν, ὧ φίλ', ἐπὶ κρατερὴν τλημοσύνην ἔθεσαν φάρμακον. ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας ἐτράπεθ', αἰματόεν δ' ἔλκος ἀναστένομεν, ἐξαῦτις δ' ἑτέρους ἐπαμεύψεται. ἀλλὰ τάχιστα τλῆτε, γυναικεῖον πένθος ἀπωσάμενοι.

4 ἀμφ' ὀδύνη ἴσχομεν cod. S, ἴσχομεν ἀμφ' ὀδύνη Par. 1985, corr. Gaisford 9 ἐταίρους S, corr. Frobenius

14 Orion etym. col. 55.22 Sturz (sine versibus Et. Gen., Et. Mag.)

ἐπίρρησις· ὁ ψόγος, καὶ ἡ κακηγορία· ἔνθεν λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπίρρητος. ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐν ἐλεγείοις·

Αἰσιμίδη, δήμου μὲν ἐπίρρησιν μελεδαίνων

let us conceal(?) the painful gifts of lord Poseidon¹

 1 If the context is that given in Plutarch's introduction to frr. 9 and 11, the verb cannot mean 'bury.' Perhaps 'keep silent about.'

13 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

There will be no disapproval of our mourning and lamentation, Pericles, when any citizen or even state takes pleasure in festivities, since such fine men did the wave of the loud-roaring sea wash over, and our lungs are swollen from pain. But, my friend, for incurable woes the gods have set powerful endurance as an antidote. This woe comes to different people at different times. Now it has turned upon us and we bewail a bloody wound, but later it will pass to others. Come, endure with all haste, thrusting aside womanly mourning.

14 Orion, Lexicon

 $\epsilon \pi i \rho \rho \eta \sigma \iota s$ means 'blame' or 'slander;' moreover, from there comes also $\epsilon \pi i \rho \rho \eta \tau o s$. Cf. Archilochus in his elegiacs:

No one, Aesimides, will experience very many de-

οὐδεὶς ἂν μάλα πόλλ' ἱμερόεντα πάθοι.

1 Αἰσιμήδη δηλοῦμεν cod., corr. Elmsley ἐπίρρησι cod., corr. Ruhnken

15 Arist. Eth. Eudem. 7.1236a33

τούτων (sc. τῶν φιλιῶν) ἡ μὲν διὰ τὸ χρήσιμόν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν πλείστων φιλία: διὰ γὰρ τὸ χρήσιμοι εἶναι φιλοῦσυν ἀλλήλους, καὶ μέχρι τούτου, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία:

Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ τόσσον φίλος ἔσκε μάχηται.

 $\tau \dot{o} \nu \ \sigma o \phi \dot{o} \nu \ \phi i \lambda o \nu \ codd., corr. Fritzsche ~ \ \, \check{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \epsilon \ Fick$

16 Stob. 1.6.3

πάντα Τύχη καὶ Μοῖρα, Περίκλεες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν.

17 Syrianus in Hermog. (i.6.12 Rabe)

καὶ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ὁ θεός "οὐδὲν ἄνευ καμάτου πέλει ἀνδράσιν εὐπετὲς ἔργον" (Ps.-Phocyl 162) καὶ πάλιν

πάντα πόνος τεύχει θνητοῖς μελέτη τε βροτείη.

cf. Io. Sicel. in Hermog. (Rhet. Gr. vi.96.5 Walz)

lights, if he is concerned about the people's censure.

15 Aristotle, Eudemian Ethics

Of these friendships the one that is based on usefulness is the friendship of most people; for they are friends of one another only as long as they are useful, as the proverb goes:

Glaucus, an ally is a friend only as long as he fights.1

¹ Generally assigned to Archilochus because of the name Glaucus (cf. frr. 48.7; 105.1; 117; 131.1; test. 1).

16 Stobaeus, Anthology

Fortune and Destiny, Pericles, give a man everything.¹

¹ Assigned by some to Archilochus because of the name Pericles (cf. fr. 13.1, introduction to fr. 124a, and test. 17).

17 Syrianus on Hermogenes

And in Miletus the god (Apollo) says: "nothing is easily accomplished by men without toil;" and again:

Hard work and human effort accomplish everything for mortals.¹

 1 Assigned to Archilochus by John of Sicily, but rejected by some on metrical grounds $(\tau \breve{\epsilon}~\beta \rho).$

18-87. Trimetri

18 Eust. in Hom. Il. 5.31 (ii.15.24 V.d.Valk) = Herodian. (ii.639.24 Lentz)

κλίνεται δὲ καὶ ώς σπονδειακόν, Ἄρης Ἄρου· ὅθεν κατὰ Ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας Ἀρχίλοχος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς τριμέτροις

παῖδ' Ἄρεω μιηφόνου

19 Plut. de tranqu. animi 10.470b-c

εἶθ' οὕτως ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες οὐδέποτε τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς χάριν ἔχουσιν.

οὖ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, οὖδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζηλος, οὖδ' ἀγαίομαι θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὖκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος· ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν.

"Θάσιος γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνος." ἄλλος δέ τις Χίος, ἄλλος δὲ Γαλάτης ἢ Βιθυνὸς οὐκ ἀγαπῶν εἰ . . .

Arist. Rhet. 3.17.1418b28

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἦθος, ἐπειδὴ ἔνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ ἐπίφθονον ἢ μακρολογίαν ἢ ἀντιλογίαν ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ἢ λοιδορίαν ἢ ἀγροικίαν, ἔτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰλντιδόσει, καὶ ὡς Ἰλρχίλοχος ψέγει ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν

18-87. Iambic Trimeters

18 Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

It is also declined as a spondee, "Apŋs "Apov, and hence by extending it in accordance with the Ionic dialect Archilochus said in his trimeters

son of bloodthirsty Ares

19 Plutarch, On tranquillity of mind

Accordingly, since they always lack what is beyond them, they are never grateful for what befits their station.

The possessions of Gyges¹ rich in gold are of no concern to me, not yet have I been seized with jeal-ousy of him, I do not envy the deeds of the gods, and I have no love of tyranny. That is beyond my sights.

"Yes, since he was a Thasian," someone will say. Yet others, a Chian, Galatian, or Bithynian, are not content if . . .

Aristotle, Rhetoric

And with regard to character, since to say some things about oneself results in jealousy or longwindedness or controversy and since to say some things about another results in abuse or boorishness, it is necessary to represent another as speaker, as Isocrates does in *Philippus* and in *Antidosis*, and as Archilochus censures. For he represents the

πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ "χρημάτων—ἀπώμοτον" (fr. 122.1), καὶ τὸν Χάρωνα τὸν τέκτονα ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ οὖ ἡ ἀρχή "οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω."

2 ἀγάζομαι Plut. codd. S²V 3 ἐρ $\hat{\omega}$ codd., corr. Schneidewin

20 Herael. Lemb. π. πολιτείων 50 (p. 30 Dilts)

οὖτοι δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀτυχημάτων πολλὰ ἐκακώθησαν. καί που καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχός φησι·

κλαίω τὰ Θασίων, οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά.

Strabo 14.1.40

καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὐτυχήσαντας πολὺν χρόνον, τῷ δ΄ ἐξῆς ἔτει Μιλησίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλῖνος μὲν οὖν (fr. 3) ὡς εὐτυχούντων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ, ᾿Αρχίλοχος δὲ ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, κλαίειν ‹φάσκων τὰ> (add. West) Θασίων οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά. ἐξ οὖ καὶ τὸ νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν.

cf. Ath. 12.525c, Clem. Strom. 1.131.7-8 (= test. 8)

τὰ Θασίων Tyrwhitt, θ αλασσών Heracl., θ άσων, θ άσσον, θ είων codd. Strabonis

father as speaking about his daughter in the iambic poem (fr. 122.1) and Charon the carpenter in the iambic poem whose beginning is "The possessions of Gyges are of no (concern) to me."

¹ Gyges ruled over Lydia 687-652.

20 Heraclides Lembus, On Constitutions

They (sc. the Magnesians) were greatly afflicted because of excessive misfortunes. And somewhere Archilochus says:

I bewail the woes of the Thasians, not those of the Magnesians.

Strabo, Geography

And in ancient times it happened that the Magnesians, who had long been prosperous, were utterly destroyed, and that in the following year the Milesians took possession of the place. Now Callinus mentions the Magnesians as still prosperous and as successful in their war with the Ephesians, but Archilochus is clearly already aware of the disaster that befell them, (since he says that) he bewails the woes of the Thasians, not those of the Magnesians. As a result one may infer that he is later than Callinus.¹

 1 But only a short period may have elapsed between the two poets' references to the Magnesians.

21 Plut. de exilio 12.604c

ἀλλ' ήμεῖς, καθάπερ 'Αρχίλοχος τῆς Θάσου τὰ καρποφόρα καὶ οἰνόπεδα παρορῶν διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἀνώμαλον διέβαλε τὴν νῆσον εἰπών·

ήδε δ' ὥστ' ὄνου ῥάχις ἔστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρίης ἐπιστεφής,

οὕτω τῆς φυγῆς πρὸς εν μέρος τὸ ἄδοξον ἐντεινόμενοι παρορῶμεν τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην κτλ.

 $2 \, \mathring{a} \gamma \rho \acute{\iota} a \varsigma$ Plut., corr. Liebel

22 Ath. 12.523d

καὶ ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπερτεθαύμακε τὴν χώραν τῶν Σιριτῶν διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. περὶ γοῦν τῆς Θάσου λέγων ὡς ἤσσονός φησιν

οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ' ἐφίμερος οὐδ' ἐρατός, οἶος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς.

ἀνομάσθη δὲ ἡ Σῖρις, ὡς μὲν Τίμαιός φησιν (FGrHist 566 F 52) καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππη (fr. 496 N.) ἀπὸ γυναικός τινος Σίριδος, ὡς δὲ ἀρχίλοχος ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ.

23 P. Oxy. xxii.2310 fr. 1 col. i.1-21, ed. Lobel

γὰρ ἐργματ[ιχα ω[

21 Plutarch, On exile

But just as Archilochus disregarded the fruitful fields and vineyards of Thasos and attacked the island because of its ruggedness and unevenness, saying,

this (island) stands like the backbone of an ass, covered with a wild forest.

so we, concentrating on one aspect of exile, the absence of fame, overlook the absence of politics etc.

22 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And the poet Archilochus had great admiration for the land of the Sirites because of its prosperity. At any rate, speaking about Thasos as an inferior place, he says:

for it is not at all a fair, desirable, or lovely land, like that round about the stream of Siris.¹

According to Timaeus and Euripides in his *Melanippe Bound* it was called Siris after a woman named Siris, but according to Archilochus after a river.

¹ Athenaeus is referring to Siris on the gulf of Tarentum, but Archilochus' acquaintance with this area is surprising and some argue for a reference to a river, elsewhere called Syros, which flows into the Propontis.

23 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (mid 2nd c. AD)1

. . . for deeds . . . I replied: "Lady, have no fear of

την δ' έγωνταμειβόμ[ην. "γύνα[ι], φάτιν μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπω[ν κακὴν μη τετραμήνηις μηδέν άμφὶ δ' εὔφ[ρονι. έμοὶ μελήσει [θ]υμὸν ἵλαον τίθεο. 10 ές τοῦτο δή τοι τῆς ἀνολβίης δοκ[έω ήκειν: ἀνήρ τοι δειλὸς ἆρ' ἐφαινόμην. ού δ' οδός είμ' έγω [α] ύτος ούδ' οίων ἄπο. έπ]ίσταμαί τοι τὸν φιλ[έο]ν[τα] μὲν φ[ι]λεῖν. τὸ]ν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε [κα]ὶ κακο[15 μύ]ρμηξ. λόγωι νυν τ[ῶιδ' ἀλη]θείη πάρ[α. $\pi \delta]\lambda \iota \nu \delta \hat{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \hat{\nu} \tau \eta [\nu] [\hat{\epsilon}]\pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho \hat{\epsilon} [\phi \epsilon \alpha] \iota [$ ού]τοι ποτ' ἄνδρες έξε[πόρθη]σαν, σὺ δ[è $\nu | \hat{v} \nu | \epsilon \hat{i} \lambda \epsilon_S$ $\alpha \hat{i} \chi \mu \hat{\eta} i \kappa \alpha [\hat{i} \mu \epsilon \gamma' \epsilon] \xi \hat{\eta} \rho(\omega) \kappa [\lambda] \epsilon o_S.$ κείνης ἄνασσε καὶ τ[υραν]νίην ἔχε. 20 $\pi[o]\lambda[\lambda o\hat{\iota}]\sigma[\hat{\iota} \theta]\eta[\nu \zeta]\eta\lambda\omega\tau\delta\varsigma \hat{a}[\nu\theta\rho]\hat{\omega}\pi\omega\nu \check{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota.$

9 εὔφ[ρονι Bossi, εὖφ[ρόνηι West 8 κακὴν Lobel 11 ἀνολβείης pap., corr. Chan- $10 \tau \iota \theta \epsilon \hat{v}$ pap., corr. West 13 $[a]\dot{v}\tau\dot{o}s$ Lobel, $[o]\dot{v}\tau os$ West traine 14 φ[ι]λέειν 15 κακο[στομέειν Lobel, κακο[îς δακεῖν pap., corr. West Bossi, alii alia 16 $M\dot{\nu}$ $\rho\mu\eta\xi$ aliqui $\tau[\hat{\omega}\iota\delta]$ $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ $\theta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta$ 18 οὖ] τ οι Lobel, ἐχθ] ρ οί Bossi, alii alia, cetera Lobel $19 \nu \hat{v}$ West $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\gamma} \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\xi} \hat{\eta} \rho a \int \text{Lobel} -ao \text{ Adrados},$ Lobel 20 suppl. Lobel 21 π[ο]λ[λοῦ]σ[ι Peek, -ω West θ]n[ν West

24 P. Oxy. 2310 fr. 1 col. i.22-39, ed. Lobel

]νηὶ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῆι μέγαν πόντον περήσ]ας ἦλθες ἐκ Γορτυνίης

the evil rumour that people spread. As for kindly report(?),² that will be my concern. Make your heart propitious. Do you think I have reached such a degree of misfortune? I seem to you then to be a base man, not the sort of person I am and my ancestors were. Indeed I know how to repay love with love and hatred with hate and biting abuse(?) like an ant. There is truth then in what I say. You move about this city (which?) men have never sacked, but now you have captured it with the spear and you have won great glory. Rule over it and retain your dominance; in truth you will be the envy of many people."

 1 Some treat frr. 23 and 24 as one poem (no paragraphus is visible), but it is difficult to reconcile their subject matter. For the many attempts to explain both fragments (also 25 and 26), see Bossi 88-113. 2 West's supplement "as for a (or the) night" is suitable if, as he argues (Studies 118-20), the poem is erotic and if there was an earlier reference in the poem to night. For another interpretation see Luppe, APF 41 (1995) 20-23, who also argues that a new poem commences at v. 11.

24 Same papyrus

 \dots (after crossing) the large (sea) in a small ship you arrived from the region of $Gortyn^1 \dots I$ am glad of

]σ ουτιτ γεπεστάθη[[ν]] [καὶ τόδ' άρπαλ[ί]ζομ[αι] κρ]ηγύης ἀφίκ[5 $\lambda \mu o i \sigma i \nu \epsilon \xi [...]$]χειρα καὶ π[αρ]εστ[ά]θης]ουσας: φ[ο]ρτίων δέ μοι μέ[λ]ει] ος είτ' ἀπώλετο ήκιστα,]ν ἐστι μηχανή 10 δ' ἂν ἄλ]λον οὕτιν' εύροίμην ἐγώ εί σ ε κυμ' άλος κατέκλυσεν ή] ν χερσίν αἰχμητέων ὕπο $\tilde{\eta} | \beta \eta \nu \, d\gamma \lambda [a] \tilde{\eta} \nu \, d\pi [\omega] \lambda \epsilon \sigma [a] s.$]θεῖ καί σε θε[ὸς ἐρ]ρύσατο 15] [] κάμὲ μουνωθέντ' ίδ Ιν. ἐν ζόφωι δὲ κείμενοςς> αὖτις] έ[ς] φά[ος κ]ατεστάθην.

2 suppl. Adrados 5 Lasserre 7 Adrados 9 init. West 11 Steffen et $\phi \hat{i} \lambda o \nu$ vel $\gamma \alpha \mu \beta \rho \hat{o} \nu$ init. West 12 Peek et $\tau o \iota o \hat{\nu} \tau o \nu$ init. West 13 init. Peek 15 init. Schiassi 18 Peek

25 P. Oxy. 2310 fr. 1 col. i.40-48, ed. Lobel

]τις ἀνθρώπου φυή, ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλωι κα]ρδίην ἰαίνεται.
] τ[.] Μελησά[νδρω]ι σάθη
]ε βουκόλωι Φαλ[αγγ]ιωι.
τοῦτ' οὔτις ἄλλ]ος μάντις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἶπέ σοι

5

this . . . you came on a good (ship?) . . . (a god held over you?) his hand and you got here . . . I am (not at all) concerned about the cargo . . . whether it was lost (or) . . . there is a means . . . I could not find another . . . (if?) the waves of the sea had washed over you (or) . . . at the hands of spearmen . . . you had lost the splendid prime of your youth. (But as it is) . . . and a god saved you . . . and me left alone . . . prostrate in the gloom . . . I am restored to the light of day.

 $^{\mathrm{1}}$ Presumably the Gortyn in Crete.

25 Same papyrus¹

...human nature, but different people are warmed at heart by different things . . . for Melesa(nder) prick . . . for the herdsman Phal(ang)ios.² I, (no other) prophet, proclaimed (this) to you . . . for to

]γάρ μοι Ζεὺς πατὴρ 'Ολυμπίων ἔ]θηκε κἀγαθὸν μετ' ἀνδράσι οὐ]δ' ἂν Εὐρύμας διαψέγο[ι

2 Schol. Hom. Od. 14.228, Sext. Emp. adv. math. 11.44, Clem. Strom. 6.7.3-5

2 ἀλλ' Clem., om. Sext. et schol. Hom. ἄλλ ϕ ἐπ' ἔργ ϕ Sext. κραδίην Clem., schol. Hom., v.l. in Sext. 3,4 suppl. West 5 τ οῦτ' West, οὕτις ἄλλ]ος Lobel 8 init. Lobel, fin. Lasserre

26 P. Oxy. 2310 fr. 1 col. ii, ed. Lobel

δναξ "Απολλον, καὶ σὺ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους πήμαινε καί σφας ὅλλυ' ὥσπερ ὁλλύεις, ἡμέας δὲ [

Macr. Sat. 1.17.9-10

alii cognominatum Apollinem putant $\dot{\omega}s$ $\mathring{a}\pi o\lambda\lambda\acute{v}\nu\tau a$ $\tau\grave{a}$ $\zeta\hat{\varphi}a$: examimat enim et perimit animantes, cum pestem intemperie caloris immittit, ut Euripides in Phaethonte (224-25 Diggle) . . . item Archilochus: " $\mathring{a}\nu a\xi$ — $\mathring{o}\lambda\lambda\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota s$."

5 ωνξ π. [pap., ἄναξ Macr. 6 πημαιν[pap., σήμαινε Macr. (πημ- corr. Camerarius) σφας codd. primarii, σφεας rec. unus 7 Lobel

29 P. Oxy. 2310 fr. 4, ed. Lobel

2 αρθμιάδεω 4 γάρ εἰς 5 ἀνθ]ρώπων ἔτι 7]ειδ' ὅπηι δύνε[αι 8 θαυμαστός εἰς

me Zeus father of the Olympians . . . made and good among men . . . (nor) would Eurymas³ find fault.

 1 We have the beginning of the poem, since above v. 1 the papyrus preserves meager traces of ink which do not leave enough room for a trimeter and so suggest a title. 2 Presumably two men are named who find erotic pleasure in different parts of the body. There may be a contrast between homosexual and heterosexual preferences. 3 "Eurymas annoyed Castor with malicious accusations against Polydeuces" (West, *Studies* 122).

26 Same papyrus

You too, lord Apollo, bring ruin upon the guilty and destroy them as you do, but us \dots ¹

Macrobius, Saturnalia

Others think that Apollo got his name because he destroys $(\mathring{a}\pi o\lambda \lambda \acute{\nu} \nu \tau a)$ living creatures; for he deprives of life and kills the living when he sends a pestilence as a result of excessive heat, as in Euripides' *Phaethon* . . . Similarly Archilochus

 $^{\rm l}$ The two emendations required to make Macrobius' citation agree with the papyrus do not inspire confidence that both texts are the same. Traces of 4 verses before and 8 after what is printed here are discernible in the papyrus.

29 Same papyrus

... Arthmiades(?) ... for you are ... men(?) still ... where(ver) you can ... you are astounding

30 Ps.-Ammonius *de adfin. vocab. diff.* 431 (p. 111 Nickau)

ρόδον καὶ ροδωνιὰ καὶ ροδη διαφέρει, ρόδον μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἄνθος, ροδωνιὰ δὲ ὁ τόπος, ροδη δὲ τὸ φυτόν. ἀρχίλοχος

έχουσα θαλλὸν μυρσίνης ἐτέρπετο ῥοδῆς τε καλὸν ἄνθος.

cf. schol. Theocr. 4.45 (p. 147.12 Wendel), Et. Gen. (p. 29 Calame), Et. Mag. 441.48, Ath. 2.52f, Eust. in Hom. Od. 24.341 (1963.48)

1 μυρρίνης schol. Theocr., Et. Mag.; μυρίνης Et. Gen.

31 Synes. laudatio calvitii 11.75b (ii.211.12 Terzaghi)

οὐκοῦν ἄπαντες οἴονταί τε καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτοφυὲς εἶναι σκιάδειον τὴν κόμην καὶ ὁ κάλλιστος ποιητῶν ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐπαινέσας αὐτήν, ἐπαινεῖ μὲν οὖσαν ἐν ἑταίρας σώματι, λέγει δὲ οὕτως

ή δέ οἱ κόμη ἄμους κατεσκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα.

2 κατασκιάζει codd., corr. Bentley

32 Et. Gen. (p. 25 Calame) = Et. Mag. 324.17 (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 46)

καὶ πάλιν

διὲξ τὸ μύρτον,

30 Pseudo-Ammonius, On similar but different words $\dot{\rho}\dot{\rho}\dot{\delta}\partial\nu$, $\dot{\rho}\dot{\rho}\partial\omega\nu\iota\dot{\alpha}$, and $\dot{\rho}\dot{\rho}\dot{\delta}\hat{\eta}$ are different. $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\delta}\partial\nu$ is the rose flower, $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\delta}\omega\nu\iota\dot{\alpha}$ the rose garden, and $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\delta}\hat{\eta}$ the rose bush. Cf. Archilochus:

she took delight in holding a sprig of myrtle and the lovely flower of the rose bush

31 Synesius, Praise of baldness

Therefore all think and say that hair is a natural sunshade. And Archilochus, the finest of poets, when he praises the hair, praises it on the body of a courtesan, speaking as follows:

and her hair cast a shade over her shoulders and back¹

¹ Many combine this with fr. 30.

32 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

And again

right through the myrtle spray,1

ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ τὸ μύρτον (σημαίνει δὲ τὴν μυρσίνην).

33 Ps.-Luc. amores 3 (iii.86.24 Macleod)

ἔναγχος γοῦν διηγουμένου σου τὸν πολὺν ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ κατάλογον ὧν ἀρχῆθεν ἠράσθης ἱλαραὶ μὲν τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ βολαὶ τακερῶς ἀνυγραίνοντο, τὴν φωνὴν δ' ἴσην τῆ Λυκάμβου θυγατρὶ λεπτὸν ἀφηδύνων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σχήματος εὐθὺς δῆλος ἦς οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦς μνήμης ἐρῶν.

34 Ap. Dysc. de adverb. (Gramm. Gr. ii.i.i.161)

ότι γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τοῦ ῖ (sc. γράφεται) σαφὲς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαλέκτων . . . καὶ ἔτι τῆς παρεπομένης ἔσθ' ὅτι συστολῆς, ὅπερ ἵδιον τῶν διχρόνων. τὸ γοῦν ἀρχιλόχειον συνεστάλη,

άμισθὶ γάρ σε πάμπαν οὐ διάξομεν.

35 Et. Gen. (p. 35 Calame); Et. Gud. col. 339.30 Sturz; Et. Mag. 530.28

κορωνός ὁ γαθρος καὶ ὑψαυχενῶν . . . ᾿Αρχίλοχος ·

with $\delta \iota \acute{e} \xi$ instead of $\delta \iota \acute{a}$ (by $\mu \acute{\nu} \rho \tau \circ \nu$ he means myrtle spray).

¹ Probably here a metaphor for the female genitals.

33 Pseudo-Lucian, Affairs of the Heart

Just now at any rate, when in Hesiodic fashion you were going through the long catalogue of your loves from the beginning, the merry glances of your eyes grew meltingly moist, and giving a delicate sweetness to your voice so that it matched that of Lycambes' daughter you made it immediately clear from your very manner that you were in love not just with them but also with your memory of them.

34 Apollonius Dyscolus, On adverbs

For that such words are written with a long iota is clear from the dialects . . . And yet sometimes shortening occurs, as is characteristic of syllables with variable length. At any rate Archilochus shortened the iota,

for on no account will we ferry you without payment

- $^{\rm l}$ Probably a metaphor for sexual intercourse, perhaps placed in the mouths of the daughters of Lycambes.
- 35 Etymologicum Genuinum, Gudianum, and Magnum κορωνός means proud and with neck held high . . . Cf. Archilochus:

βοῦς ἐστιν ἥμιν ἐργάτης ἐν οἰκίῃ, κορωνός, ἔργων ἴδρις, οὐδαρ()

1 ήμιν pro ἡμιν West 2 οὐδαρ Et. Gen. A, οὐδαμως Et. Gen. B (om. Gud., Mag.), οὐδ' ἀροῦν κακός tent. West, alii alia

36 Harpocr. s.v. παλίνσκιον (p. 200 Keaney)

'Ισαίος μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς ὀργεῶνας (fr. 112 Sauppe, 26 Thalheim) "μήτε παλίνσκιον γίγνεσθαι τὸ χωρίον," ἀντὶ τοῦ σύσκιον, 'Αρχίλοχος δὲ τριμέτροις

πρὸς τοῖχον ἐκλίνθησαν ἐν παλινσκίῳ

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν σκοτεινῷ, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Ἰνάχῳ (fr. 289 Radt) "χειμῶνι σὺν παλινσκίῳ" ἀντὶ τοῦ ζοφερῷ.

 ϵ κινήθησαν codd., corr. Toup

37 Porphyrius in Hom. Il. 9.90 (p. 134 Schrader)

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν Λαέρτου οἶκον (Od. 24.208) περιέχεσθαι πανταχόθεν (sc. φησὶν Δωρόθεος ὁ ᾿Ασκαλωνίτης) ὑπὸ τοῦ κλισίου, κατὰ μέσον ὠκοδομημένον. τὸ γὰρ περιθεῖν τοῦτο δηλοῖ, οἷον καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος δηλοῖ ποιήσας

τοῖον γὰρ αὐλὴν ἔρκος ἀμφιδέδρομεν.

38 Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 11.786 (iii.280 Erbse), "γενεῆ μὲν ὑπέρτερός ἐστιν ἀχιλλεύς"

ὅτι ἀρχίλοχος ὑπερτέραν τὴν νεωτέραν ἐδέξατο·

we have in the stable 1 a work-ox, proud, a skilled worker, and not . . .

¹ Or "house," if the ox is a metaphor. For a possible sexual connotation of the word for 'work,' cf. fr. 208.

36 Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators

Isaeus in Against the members of a religious association uses $\pi \alpha \lambda' \nu \sigma \kappa \iota \nu \nu$ instead of $\sigma' \nu \sigma \kappa \iota \nu \nu$, "and that the plot of land not be thickly shaded," and Archilochus in his trimeters uses it instead of $\sigma \kappa \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \hat{\omega}$,

they leaned against a wall in the shadow,1

and Sophocles in Inachus uses it instead of $\zeta o \phi \epsilon \rho \hat{\varphi}$, "with a gloomy winter."

 1 West suggests a reference to the daughters of Lycambes and the precinct of Hera (see test. 20).

37 Porphyry on Homer, Iliad

Dorotheus of Ascalon¹ says that in the same way the house of Laertes was surrounded on all sides by the lean-to(?), with the house built in the middle. For $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ makes this clear, as Archilochus also makes clear when he composed

for such an enclosure runs round the courtyard2

¹ Grammarian of the 1st cent. A.D. ² West tentatively suggests that frr. 36-37 be combined.

38 Scholiast A on Homer, *Iliad* ("Achilles is superior in birth")

For Archilochus uses $\dot{\nu}\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ to mean $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$:

οἴην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέραν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν νεωτέραν.

οἴην? Maas, σχοίην Jurenka Αυκάμβεος cod., corr. Elmsley

39 Ath. 3.122b

Κηφισόδωρος γοῦν ὁ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητὴς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς ἸΑριστοτέλην λέγει ὅτι εὕροι τις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἢ καὶ σοφιστῶν εν ἢ δύο γοῦν πονηρῶς εἰρημένα, οἶα παρὰ μὲν ἸΑρχιλόχῳ τὸ πάντα ἄνδρα ἀποσκολύπτειν, Θεοδώρῳ δὲ (fr. 754 SH) τὸ κελεύειν μὲν πλέον ἔχειν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τὸ ἴσον, Εὐριπίδη δὲ (Hipp. 612) τὸ τὴν γλῶτταν ὀμωμοκέναι φάναι.

40 Schol. Ar. *Pac*. 1148 (p. 164 Holwerda), "παρδακὸν τὸ χωρίον"

δίυγρον. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἀρχίλοχος,

παρδακὸν δ' ἐπείσιον,

καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδη τῷ ᾿Αμοργίῳ (fr. 21)

παρδοκὸν δι' ἐπιοῖον cod., corr. Hecker; fort. παρδακῶν δ' ἐπεισίων, cf. fr. 67.11 et Hesych. παρδάκων διύγρων

only the superior daughter of Lycambes, instead of younger.¹

 1 In the Homeric passage ὑπέρτερος was incorrectly taken to mean 'younger' and Archilochus was cited, also incorrectly, in support. Archilochus meant physically or morally superior or less probably, with West (Studies 123), that she had the 'upper' position in sexual intercourse. Some assign the line to the lost beginning of fr. 196a.

39 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

At any rate Cephisodorus, the pupil of the orator Isocrates, says in the third book of his *Against Aristotle* that one can find at least one or two vulgar sayings in other poets or even sophists, such as in Archilochus the $\mathring{a}\pi o\sigma \kappa o\lambda \acute{v}\pi\tau \epsilon \iota v^1$ every man, in Theodorus the urging to acquire more while praising equality, and in Euripides the saying that the tongue has sworn.

¹ The verb can mean both 'to pull back the foreskin' and 'to injure' in a variety of ways (cf. fr. adesp. iamb. 45). The precise form of Archilochus' words cannot be determined. For a full discussion see Bossi 123-26.

40 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Peace ("the area is sodden")

παρδακόν means 'wet,' as in Archilochus,

a moist pubis,

and in Semonides of Amorgos.

41 Schol. Arat. 1009 (p. 481.13 Martin), "ἀπτερύονται"

η . . . ἀντὶ τοῦ διασείουσι τὰς πτέρυγας ὑποστρέψαντες διακινοῦσι δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας ήτοι ὑφ' ἡδονης,
τὴν κοίτην καταλαβόντες, η τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διατινάσσοντες ἰκμάδα. καὶ παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ ἡ ὑφ' ἡδονης
σαλευομένη †κορώνη ὤσπερ

κηρύλος πέτρης ἐπὶ προβλῆτος ἀπτερύσσετο ὥσπερ: ὥστε Wilamowitz. ὡς Edmonds

42 Ath. 10.447b

τὸν δὲ κρίθινον οἶνον καὶ βρῦτόν τινες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμω (fr. 610 Radt) "βρῦτον δὲ χερσαῖον †οὐ δυεῖν†," καὶ ἀρχίλοχος

ὥσπερ αὐλῷ βρῦτον ἢ Θρέϊξ ἀνὴρ ἢ Φρὺξ ἔμυζε κύβδα δ᾽ ἦν πονεομένη.

l init. $\langle \acute{\eta} \ \delta \'\rangle$ Lattimore, alii alia $\Theta \rho \grave{a} \iota \xi$ cod., corr. Wilamowitz $2 \ \check{\epsilon} \beta \rho \nu \check{\zeta} \epsilon$ cod., corr. Wilamowitz $\pi o \nu \epsilon \nu \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta$ cod., corr. Fick

43

ή δέ οἱ σάθη ×-□ -× ὥστ᾽ ὄνου Πριηνέως κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρεν ὀτρυγηφάγου.

41 Scholiast on Aratus, Phaenomena

or . . . by the word $\mathring{a}\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\mathring{\nu}o\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ is meant that they flap their wings upon their return. They flap their wings either from pleasure at reaching their nest or because they are shaking off moisture from the air. And in Archilochus the crow¹ bouncing around from pleasure like

a kingfisher flapped its wings on a protruding rock

¹ West (Studies 123-24) may well be right in treating $\kappa ο ρ ωνη$ as a corruption for something like πόρνη ('prostitute') or κόρη ('girl') and the protruding rock as an erect penis.

42 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Some call barley wine $\beta\rho\hat{v}\tau\sigma\nu$, as Sophocles in *Triptolemus*, "beer of the mainland . . . ," and Archilochus:

she was sucking like a Thracian or Phrygian sucking beer through a tube, and she was bent over working hard¹

 $^{\rm I}$ The fragment almost certainly describes a woman engaged in fellatio.

43 his prick . . . swelled like that of a Prienian grain-fed breeding ass¹

¹ The meter is uncertain (many do not assume a lacuna and adopting Bergk's emendation treat the meter as a combination of iambic trimeter and dimeter) and a few argue for two separate fragments (see Bossi 132-35 and W. Luppe, *Hermes* 123 [1995] 247-49). Priene lay across the bay north of Miletus.

Et. Gud. (i.230.15 de Stefani)

ἀτρύγετος· ἄκαρπος . . . τρύγη δέ ἐστιν ὁ Δημητριακὸς καρπός. ἀρχίλοχος· "οἱ δέ οἱ σάθη ὅση τ' ὄνου κήλωνος ὀτρυγηφάγου," περιττεύοντος τοῦ ο, ὡς καὶ ὀκρυόεις.

cf. Et. Gen. (pp. 17, 23, 38, 40 Calame), Et. Mag. 167.21, Et. Sym. cod. V (Gaisford ad Mag. 271.26), Eust. in Hom. Il. 15.27 (iii.696.22 V.d.Valk), Hesych. s.vv. ἀτρυγηφάγου et ὀτρυγηφάγου

Eust. in Hom. Od. 8.335 (1597.28)

κήλων καὶ λάγνης (ἢ λάγνος διὰ τοῦ ο) καὶ οἰφόλης καὶ Τιτὰν καὶ μάχλος ὧν αἱ χρήσεις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, οῖ φασιν ὡς κήλων μὲν πεποίηται ἀπὸ τῶν ὀχευτῶν ὄνων. ᾿Αρχίλοχος "ὧστ' ὄνου Πριηνέως κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρον."

cf. Suet. de blasph. (p. 49 Taillardat)

1 ἡ δέ οἱ Schneidewin, οἱ δέ οἱ Et. Gud., οἰδέοι Gallavotti 2 ὤστ' Eust., ὄση τ' fere Etymologica, ὡσεί τ' Bergk ut sit dimeter 3 ἐπλήμυρον Eust., corr. Bergk

44 Ar. Lys. 1254 sqq.

άμὲ δ' αὖ Λεωνίδας ἆγεν ἆπερ τὼς κάπρως θάγοντας οἰῶ τὸν ὀδόντα, πολὺς δ' ἀμφὶ τὰς γένυας ἀφρὸς ἤνσεεν, πολὺς δ' ἀμᾶ κὰτ τῶν σκελῶν {ἀφρὸς} ἵετο.

Etymologicum Gudianum

ἀτρύγετος means 'without fruit' . . . and τρύγη is the fruit of Demeter. Cf. Archilochus, οί . . . ἀτρυγηφάγου, with pleonastic omicron as in ἀκρυόεις.

Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

κήλων and λάγνης (or λάγνος with omicron) and οἰφόλης and Τιτάν and μάχλος: these words are used by the ancients who say that κήλων comes from asses kept for breeding purposes. Cf. Archilochus, $ιστ^2 ... επλήμυρον$.

44 Aristophanes, Lysistrata

And Leonidas led us, sharpening our teeth I imagine like wild boars, and much foam billowed round our jaws and much also poured down our legs.

Schol. ad loc. (p. 54 Hangard) πρὸς τὸ παρὰ τῷ ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ, πολλὸς δ᾽ ἀφρὸς ἦν περὶ στόμα. πολὺς codd., corr. Porson

45 Phot. lex. s.v. κύψαι (i.362 Naber) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπάγξασθαι. ᾿Αρχίλοχος· κύψαντες ὕβριν ἁθρόην ἀπέφλυσεν. ἀπέφλοσαν cod., corr. Schleusner

46 Schol. A Hom. Il. 9.7 (ii.398.2 Erbse), "παρέξ"
. . . μετὰ γοῦν τῆς διά οὖσα ἡ ἐξ οὐ τρέπει τὸ ξ·
διὲξ σωλῆνος εἰς ἄγγος.

 $Et.\ Gen.\ (p.\ 25\ Calame) = Et.\ Mag.\ 324.14 = Herodian.$ (ii.402.29 Lentz)

έκ 'Ρώμης ή έξ πρόθεσις, ὅταν αὐτῆ σύμφωνον ἐπιφέρηται, τρέπει τὸ ξ εἰς κ. δεῖ δὲ προσθεῖναι χωρὶς εἰ μὴ εὐρεθῆ ἡ ἐξ πρόθεσις μετὰ τῆς διὰ παρέλκουσα, οἶον ὡς παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ, "διὲξ σωλῆνος," καὶ πάλιν (sequitur fr. 32).

Scholiast on the passage

This refers to the passage in Archilochus,

and there was much foam round the mouth¹

¹ West translates "her mouth" and includes the fragment among those of an erotic nature, but the mouth cannot be identified.

45 Photius, Lexicon

κύψαι for ἀπάγξασθαι ('to hang oneself'). Cf. Archilochus:

stooped over they spewed out all their insolence1

¹ The interpretation of the fragment is much disputed. For a full discussion see Bossi 135-37.

46 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("alongside")

... At any rate when it is combined with $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ the preposition $\grave{\epsilon}\xi$ does not change the ξ :

right through the pipe into the container1

¹ Probably a reference to ejaculation, with 'pipe' standing for penis and 'container' for vagina.

Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

From $(\dot{\epsilon}\kappa)$ Rome: the preposition $\dot{\epsilon}\xi$, whenever a consonant follows, changes the $\dot{\xi}$ to κ , but not, one must add, if the preposition $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\xi}$ is found lengthened with $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}$, as in Archilochus, "right through the pipe," and again (fr. 32).

47 P. Oxy. xxxvii.2811 fr. 5.3-6

"στυπάζει" 'Αμμ[ώνιος]. στύπ[ει] παίε[ι] ξυλοκοπήσω[ν. τοιοῦ]τόν ἐστ[ι] καὶ τ[ὸ] παρ' 'Αρχιλόχω[ι

]ε παρθένοι

θυρέων ἀπεστύ| παζ |ον.

cf. Et. Gen. (pp. 15, 39, 44 Calame), Et. Mag. 120.3, 633.30, 731.45, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1117

1 μ]ε (vel αί δ]è) Bossi, σ]è West 2 θυρέων, θύραισιν, ὀρέων, οὐρέων etym.

48 P. Oxy. xxii.2311 fr. 1a, ed. Lobel

τροφὸς κατ [[ἐσμυριχμένας κόμας καὶ στῆθος, [ὡς ἂν καὶ γέρων ἠράσσατο ὧ Γλαῦκ [

15 ἐρχ[ε]θ[18 ἐβουλόμην 19 ἀπαγγελου[20 ψιῆισιν[

 $21 \phi_0 i \tau \hat{a} \nu$ $22 \pi \hat{a} \sigma a i$ $23 \epsilon \rho \delta \epsilon i \nu$

25 ἀκάτιᾳ· καὶ β[27 πολλῶν 32 ἐγὼ

Ath. 15.688c

5

τῷ δὲ τοῦ μύρου ὀνόματι πρῶτος ᾿Αρχίλοχος κέχρηται λέγων "οὐκ ἂν μύροισι γραῦς ἐοῦσ' ἠλείφετο" (fr. 205) καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δ' ἔφη "ἐσμυριχμένας—ἠράσσατο."

5 κατ $\hat{\eta}$ [γεν West ἐσμυριχμένας Fick, ἐσμυρισμένας Ath. cod. A (μυριχμένας cod. B); huc fort. spectat Hesych. ἐσ-

47 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early 2nd c. A.D.)

 $\sigma \tau \nu \pi \acute{a} \zeta \epsilon \iota$ according to Amm(onius¹ . . .) means 'hits with a stump,' 'seeking to beat with a club.' Such is the passage in Archilochus:

 \dots the maidens 2 were driving me (you?) away from the door with cudgels

¹ A grammarian of the 2nd c. B.C. ² "Perhaps virgin priestesses of Hera" (West, *Studies* 125). Cf. test. 20.

48 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (mid 2nd c. A.D.)

... their nurse (brought?) them,¹ with scented hair and breasts, so that even an old man would have been enamoured of them. O Glaucus ... come ... I wanted ... from a messenger(?) ... frolic(?) ... to roam about ... all ... to do ... light vessels(?);² and ... of many ... I ...

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Archilochus is the first to use the word $\mu \nu \rho \rho \nu$ ('perfume'), saying: (fr. 205). And also elsewhere he said: "with scented hair . . . enamoured of them."

¹ Perhaps the daughters of Lycambes. Some deny any connection between the papyrus and the fragment cited by Athenaeus. ² Or "shoes"(?).

μυριχμέναι· μεμυρισμέναι (= fr. adesp. iamb. 61) κόμην West

49 P. Oxy. 2311 fr 1b, ed. Lobel

γυνη τ[*έ*χθιστε[καὶ πατ[φιλήτα ν|ύκτωρ περί πόλιν πωλεόμενε $o \tilde{v} \tau$ $\tilde{\omega}$

Eust. in Hom. Od. 20.185 (1889.1)

φιλήτου δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου χρησις μὲν παρά τε Ἡσιόδω (Ορ. 375), καὶ παρὰ ἀρχιλόχω ἐν τῷ "φιλήτα πωλευμένω," ήγουν κλέπτη νυκτιλόχω.

7 φιλήτα—πολευμένω Eust.: $\pi\omega\lambda$ - Liebel, -μενε anon. 8 ὧ[ν Lobel

51 P. Oxy. xxii.2312 fr. 1, ed. Lobel

 $4 \pi \nu o \alpha i \phi \epsilon \rho [$ $6 \epsilon \rho \epsilon \tau [$ $3 \nu \hat{v} \nu$

54 P. Oxy. 2312 fr. 4

 $\mu \epsilon \nu \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota$]ιδε μέν δυ[]δ' έγω γεραιτ[ερ] ν []ς ἐδεξάμην[Ιαὐχέν' ήδε δ' αζ[

5

5

49 Same papyrus¹

... woman ... most hateful ... and father(?) ... you thief who prowls about the city at night; nor ...

Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

The use of the aforesaid $\phi \iota \lambda \dot{\eta} \tau \eta s$ is found in Hesiod (*Op.* 375) and in Archilochus in his "thief—at night," that is, a thief lying in wait at night.

¹ Perhaps from the same poem as fr. 48 and so the subject matter may be the Lycambides. Some see no connection between the papyrus and the fragment cited by Eustathius.

- 51 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (late 2nd or early 3rd c. A.D.)
 - \dots now \dots breezes \dots oars(?) \dots
- **54** Same papyrus¹
 - ... I older ... I received ... neck; and (but?) she

] ψ δὲ δὴ π[ει]ρήσεται[
]ἄλλοτ', ὧ καχ[....]ε
Λυκά]μβα· μηδεμ[.]γουν[
]κακ[]. φαι[
]ν λύρην π[
]οσεστι φιλ[
]νσεβουλο[
]δε παρθέ[ν
]χε και μ[
].μοσω.[
]χεξ[

5 de ἄζ[νγα (fr. 262) cogit. Lobel 6 suppl. West 8 init. Lobel $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon$ $\mu[\mathring{\ \eta}]$ γουν[άζεο tent. West 9 $\lambda\omega\beta\eta\tau[\grave{\ o}]\nu$ vel $-\tau\eta\nu$ Lobel 14 ο] $\mathring{\ o}$ s $\mathring{\ e}\beta$ ουλό[$\mu\eta\nu$ vel ο] $\mathring{\ o}$ σε β ούλο[$\mu\alpha\iota$ tent. West

57 P. Oxy. 2312 fr 5a

]ταφρος αμ[
]κται πᾶσα φι[
]ἀγρίουσκι[
]ασα μαιν[
]νουη[
Δω]τάδεω πατρ[
]πάντα δ' ἤείδ[ει
]ραφεῖσα τὰ[

5

10

15

... she will be penetrated(?) ... at another time oh ... Lycambes(?); and do not entreat me(?) ... outraged (outrageous)(?) ... lyre ... whom I wanted(?)² ... maiden ...

 1 Apparently we have a combination of abuse directed against Lycambes and a description of an erotic encounter with one of his daughters. 2 Or "I do not want you"(?).

57 Same papyrus

... ditch(?), foam(?)... all... wild... mad(?)... $Dotades(?)^1$... knew everything(?)...

 $^{\rm l}$ I.e., Lycambes, if the supplement, based on Hesychius, is correct.

 1 τάφρος vel τ' ἀφρὸς Lobel 7 suppl. Lobel cl. Hesych. Δωτάδης· Δώτου υίός, ὁ Λυκάμβας

58 P. Oxy. 2312 frr. 6 + 7 + 8

5

]γίνετα[ι]θυμίης]διατελε[]προσω[]ε $]\tau\epsilon \ \delta\eta \ddot{\imath}\omega\nu[\ldots]\rho\theta[$ ο]ὖκ ἀποτρ[τ]έχνην πᾶσα[ν

10

]ὀφρύκ[νησ]το[ν]ν ἐμεωυτο[ἄιδων] ὑπ' αὐλητῆ[ρος

5 προθυμίης Lobel στον ἐρυθριῶντα

10 West ex Hesych. ὀφρύκνη-

60 P. Oxy. 2312 fr. 9

2]ρων λυκ[6 ὧ τρι]σμακά[ριος ὅστις 7 τοι]αῦτα τέκ[να

2 $\Lambda \nu \kappa [a\mu \beta \text{ Lobel}]$ 6-7 suppl. West

66 Epimer. Hom. (p. 322 Dyck)

 $\phi \dot{\nu} \omega \ldots , \dot{\alpha} \phi' \ o \dot{v} \ o \dot{v} \delta \dot{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \ \tau \dot{o} \ \phi \upsilon \tau \dot{o} \nu \ldots (Il.\ 18.57),$ $\dot{a}\phi'$ oỗ $\dot{\eta}$ $\phi\acute{v}\sigma\imath\varsigma$. . . (Od. 10.303), $\dot{a}\phi'$ oỗ $\tau\grave{o}$ $\phi\^{v}\mu a$

μηρῶν μεταξύ

Άρχίλοχος.

58 Same papyrus

- ... becomes ... eagerness(?) ... enemy ... not ... every skill ... blushing(?) ... myself ... singing to the accompaniment of a piper 1 ...
- 1 Both the scholiast to Aristophanes, Birds 1426, and to Iliad 18.492 cite the last three words as an example of $\acute{v}\pi\acute{o}$ instead of $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{a}$.

60 Same papyrus

- \dots Lycambes(?) \dots (oh) thrice-blessed¹ (who) \dots such children \dots
- Perhaps sarcastic.

66 Homeric Parsings

 ϕ ύω ('grow'), from which are derived the neuter ϕ υτόν ('plant'), ϕ ύσις ('nature'), and ϕ υ̂μα ('growth'),

between the thighs,

as in Archilochus.1

 1 Although some form of $\phi \hat{v} \mu \alpha$ clearly occurred in the vicinity of the citation, iambic meter and a connection with fr. 67 need not be assumed. A metaphor for the penis seems likely.

67 P. Oxy. 2312 fr. 14

5

10

] τομηι
]λήσομαι
ἐσθλὴν γὰρ ἄλλην οἶδα τοιού]του φυτοῦ
ἴησιν
]δοκέω
]κακά:
ἐ]πίφρασαι:
]ήσομαι
]ου λίνου
]ταḍη
]ν†μενοινιω[
] εισιω[

Schol. Theocr. 2.48/49d (p. 281.19 Wendel), "
 $i\pi\pi \sigma\mu a\nu\grave{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\phi\nu\tau\acute{o}\nu$ "

ἴσως φυτὸν αὐτὸ ἔφη ὁ Θεόκριτος οἱονεὶ φῦμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πώλοις, ὥς φησιν ᾿Αριστοτέλης (Η. Α. 6.22.577a9). λέγει γὰρ καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος τὸ φῦμα φυτόν· "ἐσθλὴν—†εἴκασιν."

4 ἴησιν Schneidewin, εἴκασιν codd. 10 μενοινέων? Peek 11 ἐ]πεισίω[ι tent. Lobel

67 Same papyrus as for fr. 51

 $\label{eq:continuous_surgery} \begin{array}{lll} \dots \ surgery(?) \dots \ for \ I \ know \ another \ good \ cure \ for \\ such \ a \ growth^1 \dots I \ seem \dots \ evil \dots \ devise \dots \\ flax(?) \dots desiring \ eagerly(?) \dots pubic \ area(?)^2 \dots \end{array}$

Scholiast on Theocritus

Perhaps by $\phi \nu \tau \acute{o}\nu$ Theocritus meant $\phi \hat{\nu} \mu a$, from a growth on horses, as Aristotle says. For Archilochus also uses $\phi \nu \tau \acute{o}\nu$ for $\phi \hat{\nu} \mu a$: "I know . . . growth."

¹ Presumably an erect penis which intercourse will 'cure.'

² Some treat fr. 40 as belonging here.

82 P. Oxy. xxii.2319 fr. 4, ed. Lobel

]ακ[..]χετα[ι
]εθων
]ακ[..]ρίης
]νώξυνες σάθης
]ην ἐγὼ δίκην
]οσεστάθης
]. ελάγχανες
].μελες ἀρκέσειν
]. ἐλάγχανες
].ματι.
]θενειάδη[]
εκ]αλλυνας πόλιν[
]α γὰρ φρονεῖς[

10

5

88-167. Tetrametri

88 Anon. Ambros. de re metr. (*Anecd. Varia Graeca* p. 223.2 Studemund)

τροχαίος δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι τροχαλὸν ἔχει τὸν ῥυθμόν καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀρχίλοχος ἐπὶ τῶν θερμῶν ὑποθέσεων αὐτῷ κέχρηται, ὡς ἐν τῷ

Έρξίη, πῆ δηὖτ' ἄνολβος ἁθροΐζεται στρατός;

cf. Anecd. Chis. (p. 206.5 Studemund), Hephaest. Ench. 6.2, schol. Hephaest. (p. 271.6 et 21 Consbruch), Et. Gen. (p. 26 Calame), Et. Symeon. (Gaisford ad Et. Mag. 376.51), Et. Mag. 376.52

82 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (mid 2nd c. A.D.)

 $\label{eq:continuity} \begin{array}{ll} \dots \mbox{ you were stimulating(?)} \dots \mbox{ of (my?) prick} \dots \mbox{ I} \\ \mbox{ (was demanding?) justice} \dots \mbox{ you stood(?)} \dots \mbox{ you} \\ \mbox{ warded off(?)} \dots \mbox{ to ward off(?)} \dots \mbox{ it was your lot} \dots \\ \mbox{ you beautified(?) the city} \dots \mbox{ for you understand} \dots \end{array}$

88-167. Trochaic Tetrameters

88 Anonymous, On Meter

The trochee got its name because the rhythm rolls along (cf. test. 49). For Archilochus has used it on the subject of hasty intentions, as in his

Erxies, 1 to what end (how? where?) is the hapless army assembling this time?

¹ Mentioned also in fr. 89.28. The Etymologica implausibly derive the name from $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ('to do') and hence meaning $\dot{\delta}$ πρακτικός, 'the man of action.' See Bossi 149.

89 Mnesiepis inscriptio B (E_2) col. I 15-44 (v. test. 3)

```
άμφικαπνίουσιν[
       νηυσίν, ὀξεῖαι δ[
       δηΐων, αὐαίνετ[αι
       ήλίωι, θράσος τε
       οἳ μέγ' ἱμείροντες[
 5
       Ναξίων δῦναι φ [
       καὶ φυτών τομην[
       ανδρες ἴσχουσιν[
       τοῦτό κεν λεὼι μ[
       ώς άμηνιτεί παρη[
10
       καὶ κασιγνήτων [
       τέων ἀπέθρισαν[
       ήριπεν πληγηισιδ[
       ταῦτά μοι θυμὸς[
       νειόθεν οβ δε[
15
       άλλ' ὅμως θανον[
       γνῶθί νυν, ϵἴ τοι
       ρήμαθ' δς μέλλε[ι
       οί μεν εν Θάσωι [
       καὶ Τορωναίην[
20
       οί δ' ἐν ὠκείηισ[ι
       και , ἐκ Πάρου τ[
       καὶ κασιγνη[τ
       θυμὸς αλ [
       πῦρ ὁ δὴ νῦν ἀμφι [
25
       έν προαστίωι κε[
```

89 Inscription of Mnesiepes

They will surround with smoke . . . ships, piercing (cries?, rays of the sun?) . . . of the enemy, is (are?) being parched . . . by the sun, and boldness . . . who greatly desiring . . . of the Naxians to get into . . . and a cutting down of trees . . . men hold back . . . this would on the army . . . so that without anger . . . and of brothers . . . of whom (which) they cut off . . . fell under blows . . . these things my heart . . . from its depths . . . but nevertheless dead . . . know then if . . . words who is going to . . . some in Thasos . . . and Torone¹ . . . and others in swift (ships) . . . from Paros . . . and brothers . . . heart . . . fire which now round . . . in the suburb . . . they despoil the land . . .

γην ἀεικίζουσιν Έρξίη, καταδραμ[τω 'ς όδὸν στελλ[

μηδέ δεξιούς επ[30

90 (v. test. 3, B col. I 51-57)

91 P. Lit. Lond. 55 (vv. 1-46) + P. Oxy. xxii.2313 fr. 10 (vv. 2-13)

> Ιον παθείν ν]ήπιοι φρένα]τ' ἀκήρατος]σημάντορες αί χμητής έών]ευμενος. Ιδρης τελείν ο μνύων, ὅτε]ν ἀκούσεαι α]ντίον·]πολει·

10

15

5

[έχειν]σμενος

μηδ' ὁ Τα]ντάλου λίθος τῆσδ' ὑπὲρ νήσου κρεμάσθω]] ς ἔχων

16-23: omisi

παντ[]ηνες γενέσθαι[

132

Erxies, ² ravaging(?) . . . therefore(?) preparing for a journey . . . and do not (wait for?) favourable (omens?) . . .

- 1 A town on the southern end of the central peninsula of Chalcidice, southwest of Thasos. 2 See note on fr. 88.
- 91 London and Oxyrhynchus papyri (3rd c. B.C. and 1st or 2nd c. A.D.)
 - ... to suffer ... foolish at heart ... pure (gold?) ... commanders ... being a spearman ... to complete ... swearing, when ... you will give ear ... opposite (against?) ... city(?) ... to have(?) ... let the stone of Tantalus not hang over this island¹ ... having ...

25 φαίνο[μαι]τωνδ' εν μ. [
εἰ γὰρ ω[.....].ν μ. []... [
χωρὶς ᾳ[....]νπε. ᾳ ζ[
συνια[...] ω ιων[.] . ᾳ [
ειτοὸ[]υ[] (.)ον (.)νεθειμ... [
30 ἐς μέσον, τάλαντα δὲ Ζεὺ[ς] εχ[
μήτε τῶν καινῶν μετωπασμ[
γῆ φόνωι χλκ.ονδενηεὸ[

33-46; omisi

Plut. praec. gerendae reip. 6.803a

δέχεται δ' ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος δικανικοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ μύθους καὶ μεταφοράς, αἷς μάλιστα κινοῦσιν οἱ χρώμενοι μετρίως καὶ κατὰ καιρόν, ὡς . . . ᾿Αρχίλοχος, "μηδ'—κρεμάσθω."

cf. schol. Pind. Ol. 1.91a (i.37,22 Dr.), Paus. 10.31.12

2 sscr. ομοιοι π]αμσιν P. Lond. 7 fort. Οἰστύ]δρης (cf. fr. 92) 9 ακουσεαι P. Οχν.,]νσεται P. Lond. 25 φαίνο[μαι Blass 30 vel ξλκ[εν West 31 vel κλίνων West

92 Comm. in Callim., P. Univ. Mediol. 18 col. v 9 (fr. 104 Pf.), "Οἰσύδρεω Θρήϊκος ἐφ' αἵματι πολλὰ Θάσοιο"

φησὶν Παρίους Οἰσύδρην τὸν Θρậκα φονεύσαντας διαπολιορκηθῆναι Θασι[... ἔ]ως τὸ ἀρέσκον Βεισάλταις [ἐ]πιτίμιο[ν] τείνειν ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός οἱ δετει-

to become . . . I seem . . . would that . . . apart . . . into the middle, and Zeus (held?) the scales . . . nor the front-line(?) of the new(?) . . . the earth with blood . . .

Plutarch, Precepts of Statecraft

And political oratory, much more than that used in a court of law, admits maxims, historical and mythical tales, and metaphors, by means of which those who use them moderately and at the appropriate time move their audience exceedingly, as . . . did Archilochus, "let the stone of Tantalus not hang over this island."

- ¹ The scholiast on Pindar cites Alcaeus (fr. 365 V.), Alcman (fr. 79 *PMGF*) and Archilochus as sources for the stone hanging over Tantalus. The island is presumably Thasos, since the tattered end of the fragment seems to include a mention of it.
- **92** Milan papyrus on Callimachus, "because of the murder of the Thracian Oesydres many (misfortunes befell the people of?) Thasos"

He says that because the Parians murdered the Thracian Oesydres they were beseiged...until(?) the god declared that they pay the penalty that was satisfactory to the Bisal-

χο [...]χαυνοθ ..[...]Θασίοις ἐρωτωισι [...]ειν η [...]πέμπειν πα[

93a Sosthenis inscriptio A col. Ia 43-49 (v. test. 4)

ωντολα []ειπεασ[...]ιων πάϊς Πεισιστράτου ἄνδρας ...(.)ωλεῦντας αὐλὸν καὶ λύρην ἀνήγαγεν ἐς Θάσον κυσὶ Θρέϊξιν δῶρ' ἔχων ἀκήρατον χρυσόν, οἰκείωι δὲ κέρδει ξύν' ἐποίησαν κακά—

5 $[\epsilon \hat{v} \ \nu] \omega \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \alpha s$ Leo $\dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\eta} \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon \nu$ Jensen: -γον vel -γων lapis 6 $\epsilon \iota s$ lapis, corr. Lasserre Θρηιξ $\iota \nu$ lapis, corr. Hiller v. Gaertringen 7 οικειως lapis, corr. Wilamowitz

93b Paus. 7.10.6

5

καὶ ἐπί τε «Σαπαίους καὶ» Σαπαίων τὸν βασιλέα ᾿Αβρούπολιν στράτευμα ἀγαγὼν (ὁ Περσεὺς) ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους, Ἑρωμαίων συμμάχους ὅντας. Σαπαίων δὲ τούτων καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ (v.l. -ίῳ, sc. -είω) μνήμην ἔσχε.

94 Inscriptio eadem A col. Ia 55-59 + P. Oxy. xxii.2313 fr. 2 (v. test. 4)

τῶν δ' ᾿Αθηναίη μάχηι ἵλαος παρασταθεῖσα παῖς ἐρικτύπου Διὸς καρδίην ἄρινεν †αὐτῆς τῆς πολυκλαύτου λεώ. [...]υτων[...]αλλα κείνης ἡμέρης ἐπὶ χθ[όν]α

tae1... Thasians... to send

¹ A Thracian tribe. Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 104 suggests an allusion to Archilochus' account of fighting on Thasos. The name Oesydres may occur in fr. 91.7.

93a Inscription of Sosthenes

- ... the son of Pisistratus brought back men well-versed(?) in pipe and lyre to Thasos, bearing pure gold for Thracian dogs; but for personal profit they did public harm—¹
- ¹ I have omitted scraps of three preceding verses. After the fragment of Archilochus the inscription goes on to mention some Parians who were killed by the Thracians at Sapae and it is to this that fr. 93b may refer.

93b Pausanias, Description of Greece

And after leading an army against the Sapaeans, Rome's allies, and their king Abroupolis, Perseus drove them from their land. And Archilochus also mentioned these Sapaeans in his iambics.

94 Same inscription

In their battle Athena, daughter of loud-thundering Zeus, standing propitiously by their side, roused the hearts . . . of the much-lamented army¹ . . . in the course of that day over the land other . . . ; for so

5 ἄλλον †ἤεἰσεν· τόσους γὰρ ἐξεχώρησεν γύας νηλε[...]παντος· ἀλλὰ θεῶν ՝Ολυμπίων νόωι νη[

95 Inscriptio eadem A col. IVa 1-6

]δ' ἐπὶ στρατ..[
νῦν ἐεργμέν.[
πημεσωσερ.[
ἀλκίμωι σ[

 $4~\pi\hat{\eta}~\mu$ '
έσωσ' Έρμ[η̂ς Zieliński (cl. Hor. Carm.~2.7.13)

96 Inscriptio eadem A col. IVa 8-13

Γλαῦκε, τίς σε θεῶν νό]ον καὶ φρένας τρέψ[ας γῆς ἐπιμνήσαιο τ[ῆσδε δει]νὰ τολμήσας μεθ[-□ -] ἣν εἶλες αἰχμῆι καὶ λ[-□ -×-]σον {δ} ἔσκεν καὶ χαλ[

1 Γλα $\hat{\nu}$ κε et νό]ον Hiller v. Gaertringen, cetera West 3 fin. West 4 init. Hiller v. G.

97 Inscriptio eadem A col. IVa 22

χειλίους γὰρ ἄν[δ]ρας [.]κ[

χιλιους lapis, corr. Diehl $[\hat{η}]κ[αν$ Peek

5

5

much land did it give up \dots ; but the mind of the Olympian gods \dots

l Of the various emendations for $\alpha \dot{\nu} r \hat{\eta}_S$ perhaps the most attractive is $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \iota_S$ (West) $\gamma \hat{\eta}_S$ (Steffen), "roused again the hearts of the much-lamented land's army."

95 Same inscription

 \dots army (general?) \dots now hemmed in(?) \dots how Hermes saved me(?) \dots brave \dots

96 Same inscription

(Glaucus, which one of the gods) turning your mind and thoughts . . . may you remember this land . . . daring dangerous deeds . . . you captured with the spear and . . .

97 Same inscription

for (they sent?) a thousand men . . .

98 Inscriptio eadem, A col. IVa 42-58 (vv. 1-17); P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 3a (vv. 12-21)

]τ' ἢ κέρδει ν[□]εταξυι[- □]σὺν δενι[□]λ' ἀμφὶ δ[- □]ων δούρατ' ἐκπ[× - □]ε τῶν δ' ἐδάμν[αμ]εν ν[όον
παῖς] ᾿Αθηναίη Διός

χρημ[κ]εῖτο πύργος ἀμφα[ή]ς, ḍαν[μ]α[] ἐκ λίθων ἐδε[ίμαμ]ε[ν - □ - ἄν]Ṣ[ρ]ε[ς] αὐτοὶ Λεσβίω[...]ει[- □ - τῶ]ν δ' ἀ[μ]φ[ιθ]έντες χερσὶν ο[...]Ṣια ιμενωι. []ων ἐσο[.(.)]σει Ζεὺς 'Ολυμπίω[ν.]ο.ι[- □ αἰχμ]ῆ[ι]σιν θοῆισι πημονὴν ἐπήγομ[εν ει εθ[]ότ' ἀμφὶ πύργον ἔστασαν πονε[όμενοι κλίμακας, μ]έγαν δ' ἔθεντο θυμὸν ἀμφε[βαρὺ δ' ὑπεβρ]όμε[ι σίδ]ηρον εἰμένη καλ[ἀ]μειπτή· πολλὰ δ' ἐρρύ[η βέλεα]φαρέτραι Ṣ' οὐκέτ' ἔκρυ[πτον φόνον]σαν ἰῶν· οἷ δ' ἐπε[

20]σαν ἰῶν· οἳ δ' ἐπε[στρέψα]ντες ῗνας καὶ ταν[ύσσαντες βιούς

6 ἐδάμν[αμ] εν Slings ν[όον Peek $7 \pi a \hat{\imath}s$] Maas 8 ὑψ[ηλὰς ἐπάλξεις West ἤρ]κεσαν Maas $\pi [a] \tau \rho i \eta [s$ Peek 10 fin. Hiller v. G. $14 \alpha i \chi \mu] \hat{\eta}[\iota] \sigma \iota \nu$ Tarditi

5

10

15

98 Same inscription + Oxyrhynchus papyrus¹

... profit ... spears ... we were breaking their spirit ... Athena daughter of Zeus; round about the lofty battlements they warded off in defence of their homeland . . . there was set a tower visible on all sides, a marvel(?) ... from stones we built ... men of Lesbos ... putting round their arms(?) ... Zeus the Olympians' ... we were inflicting misery with our swift spears ... when(?) round about the tower they strenuously set ladders, their spirits high ... loud crashed the ironclad ... alternating(?); and missiles streamed in abundance ... and the quivers no longer kept slaughter concealed ... of arrows; but they ... twisting sinews and drawing bows ...

 1 Except for v. 5 I have printed and translated West's text, but it must be emphasized that many of the supplements and readings are highly uncertain, and that 1-4 may be prose.

¹⁵ τ]ότ' vel ὅτ' $\epsilon \sigma \tau a \sigma a \nu$ pap., $\iota \sigma \tau a \sigma a \nu$ lapis fin. Hiller v. G. 16 init. West 17 init. West $\sigma \iota \delta$] $\eta \rho o \nu$ Peek 18 $\epsilon \rho \rho \nu$ [η Peek $\beta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon a$ West 19 fin. West 21 Peek et West

101 Plut. Galba 27.9

ώς δέ φησιν Άρχίλοχος,

έπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οθς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσίν,

χείλιοι φονῆές εἰμεν,

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφαψάμενοι, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες, ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς ἤτουν.

2 χίλιοι codd., corr. Fick $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ codd., corr. Renner

102 Strabo 8.6.6

καὶ ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ (FGrHist 244 F 200) μόνους τοὺς ἐν Θετταλία καλεῖσθαί φησιν ελληνας "Μυρμιδόνες δ' ἐκαλεῦντο καὶ Ελληνες" (Il. 2.684) 'Ησίοδον μέντοι καὶ ἀρχίλοχον ἤδη εἰδέναι καὶ Έλληνας λεγομένους τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ Πανέλληνας, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν Προιτίδων λέγοντα ὡς Πανέλληνες ἐμνήστευον αὐτάς (fr. 130 M.-W.), τὸν δὲ ὡς

Πανελλήνων ὀϊζὺς ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν.

nonnulli ώς ex Strabone Archilocho tribuunt

101 Plutarch, Life of Galba

But as Archilochus says,

a thousand of us are the slayers of the seven who fell dead, overtaken by us in pursuit,

similarly then many who had no part in the murder bloodied their hands and swords and showed them to Otho, asking for rewards.

102 Strabo, Geography

And Apollodorus says that only those in Thessaly are called Greeks: "The Myrmidons were also called Greeks." He says, however, that Hesiod and Archilochus already knew that they were collectively spoken of as Greeks and as All-Greeks, the former saying with regard to the daughters of Proetus that All-Greeks were their suitors and the latter that

the misery of All-Greeks has rushed to Thasos

105 Heracl. Alleg. Hom. 5.2

ό γὰρ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος, ἔτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων, ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται· καθάπερ Άρχίλοχος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Θρακικοῖς ἀπειλημμένος δεινοῖς τὸν πόλεμον εἰκάζει θαλαττίφ κλύδωνι, λέγων ὧδέ πως·

Γλαῦχ', ὅρα· βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἴσταται νέφος, σῆμα χειμῶνος, κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.

2cf. Theophrast. $de\ signis\ temp.$ (fr. 6.45 Wimmer), Plut. $de\ superstit.$ 8.169b, Syrian. in Hermog. (i.73.8 Rabe), Cic. $ad\ Att.$ 5.12.1

2 γυρέων, γυρών, γυρεῦον, γυρεύωρν Plut., γύρεον fere codd. Heracliti, THPEON vel TNPEON fere codd. Ciceronis

106 P. Lit. Lond. 54, ed. Milne

]νται νήες ἐν πόντωι θοαί
π]ολλὸν δ' ἱστίων ὑφώμεθα
λύσαν]τες ὅπλα νηός· οὐρίην δ' ἔχε
]ρους, ὄφρα σεο μεμνεώμεθα
]ἄπισχε, μηδὲ τοῦτον ἐμβάληις
]ν ἵσταται κυκώμενον
]χης· ἀλλὰ σὺ προμήθεσαι
]υμος

2 suppl. Körte

3 suppl. Diehl

105 Heraclitus, Homeric Allegories

Allegory derives its name from the device whereby one thing is said but another meant. In exactly this way Archilochus, embroiled in Thracian troubles, likens the war to a storm at sea, speaking, I think, as follows:

Look, Glaucus! Already waves are disturbing the deep sea and a cloud stands straight round about the heights of Gyrae, ¹ a sign of storm; from the unexpected comes fear.

 1 Either the promontory on Tenos or a mythological allusion to the rocks on which the Lesser Ajax met his death (*Od.* 4.500 ff.).

106 London papyrus (3rd c. B.C.)

... swift ships on the sea ... let us lower much of the sails... loosening the ship's tackle; and keep the wind favourable... so that we may remember you ... hold off, and do not hurl this ... stands churned up ... but take thought ... ¹

 1 Authorship and meter are uncertain. Some treat the meter as iambic and argue for a Hellenistic date, while others assign the fragment to Archilochus, either as a sequel to fr. 105 or as a separate poem.

107 Plut. quaest. conv. 3.10.2.658b (διὰ τί τὰ κρέα σήπεται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὸν ἥλιον)

τὴν γὰρ σελήνην ἠρέμα χλιαίνουσαν ἀνυγραίνειν τὰ σώματα, τὸν δ' ἥλιον ἀναρπάζειν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων τὸ νοτερὸν διὰ τὴν πύρωσιν πρὸς ὃ καὶ τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον εἰρηκέναι φυσικῶς·

έλπομαι, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν Σείριος καθαυανεῖ ὀξὺς ἐλλάμπων.

108 Plut. quomodo aud. poet. 6.23a

χρῶνται τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ποτὲ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφαπτόμενοι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ, ποτὲ δὲ δυνάμεις τινάς, ὧν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσι καὶ καθηγεμόνες, ὁμωνύμως προσαγορεύοντες. οἷον εὐθὺς ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος, ὅταν μὲν εὐχόμενος λέγῃ.

κλῦθ' ἄναξ Ἡφαιστε, καί μοι σύμμαχος γουνουμένω ἴλαος γενέο, χαρίζεο δ' οἶά περ χαρίζεαι,

αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ὅταν δέ κτλ. (quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 9)

2 γενοῦ codd., corr. Fick χαρίζεται codd. nonnulli

107 Plutarch, *Table Talk* (why flesh rots more under the moon than under the sun)

For the moon with its slight warmth softens corpses, whereas the sun instead takes up the moisture from corpses because of the burning heat. In light of this Archilochus has spoken scientifically:

many of them, I expect, will be dried up by the Dog Star's $^{\rm l}$ fierce rays

 $^{\rm 1}$ Not the sun, as Plutarch states, but the brightest star in the constellation Dog (Canis). See D. Kidd, $Aratus,\ Phaenomena$ (Cambridge 1997) 305-10.

108 Plutarch, How the young man should study poetry

When the poets employ the names of the gods, sometimes their intent is to refer to the gods themselves and sometimes they call by the same name certain properties of which the gods are the givers and in which they are preeminent. To take the first example that comes to mind, when Archilochus prays with the words,

Lord Hephaestus, give ear to my entreaty, be my propitious ally and grant the kind of favour that you grant,

it is clear that he is calling upon the god himself; but when . . . (see on fr. 9).

109 Ar. Pax 603 sq.

ὧ σοφώτατοι γεωργοί, τάμὰ δὴ ξυνίετε ρήματ', εἰ βούλεσθ' ἀκοῦσαι τήνδ' ὅπως ἀπώλετο.

Schol. ad loc. (p. 95 Holwerda)

πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Πυτίνη πεποίηκεν (fr. 211 Κ.-Α.) "ὧ λιπερνῆτες πολῖται, τάμὰ δὴ ξυνίετε." ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀρχιλόχου

<ω» λιπερνήτες πολίται, τάμὰ δὴ συνίετε ρήματα.

1 $\mathring{\omega}$ add. Liebel ξυνίετε schol., corr. Bergk 2 vel ρ΄ήματ΄

110 Clem. Strom. 6.6.1 (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 127) καθάπερ ἀμέλει κἀκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος, "ξυνὸς ἐνυάλιος· καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα" (Il. 18.309), μεταποιῶν αὐτὸς ὧδέ πως ἐξήνεγκεν·

†ἔρξω ἐτήτυμον γὰρ ξυνὸς ἀνθρώποις Ἄρης.

'Ερξίων Bergk, 'Ερξίην Tarditi, ἔρξον οὖν Deuticke (ώς vel ὧν vel ὧδ' Hoffmann) $\dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \dot{\omega} \pi \sigma \iota \sigma \iota \nu \text{ cod., corr. Brunck}$

109 Aristophanes, Peace

"Farmers most wise, 1 take note of my words if you wish to hear how Peace has disappeared."

Scholiast on the passage

With reference to this Cratinus in *Pytine* has composed: "Indigent citizens, take note of my words." And this comes from Archilochus:

Indigent² citizens, take note of my words.³

 1 σοφώτατοι ('most wise') is apparently an error for $\lambda\iota$ -περνήτες. 2 The etymology of $\lambda\iota$ πέρνης and $\lambda\iota$ περνήτης was much debated. See P. Hummel, *Philologus* 141 (1997) 145-48. 3 Perhaps an encouragement to emigrate to Thasos.

110 Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies

Just as doubtless adapting the well-known verse, "the war god is impartial and slays the would-be slayer," he came out with something like the following:

Erxies(?);1 for in truth Ares is impartial towards men

 $^{\rm 1}$ Some form of the name Erxies (cf. frr. 88 and 89.28) seems likely.

111 Pergit Clemens

έτι κάκεινο μεταφράζων "νίκης άνθρώποισι θεών έν †πείρα κείται" (cf. Il. 7.102 νίκης πείρατ' έχονται έν άθανάτοισι θεοίσι) διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ἰάμβου δηλός ἐστι-

καὶ νέους θάρσυνε νίκης δ' ἐν θεοῖσι πείρατα.

θαρρῦναι Clem., corr. Elmsley

112 P. Oxy. xxii.2314 col. i + 2313 fr. 27 (coniunxit Dervisopoulos)

>]ηρας έλπομαι γάρ, έλπομαι ά]νόλβο[ι]ς ἀμφαϋτήσει στρατός] αγγες κοιτον άρκαδοσσονον] α, πολλὰ δ' ἔλπονται νέοι] α διὰ πόλιν Κουροτρόφος]τατα[]εθ αεισεται] ν αν ἀγκάσεαι]τοιγει [] τονοχλο βητεται]ν· τέωι προσέρχεται []εθε ως 'Αφροδίτηι (δή) φίλος γων ἄτ' ὅλβιος [ερον

10

5

3] ν ολ β ο σ ι pap., corr. Lobel: vel $\tilde{a}\nu$ ολ β ος? ὄσσ' ὄνον Latte

 $5 \theta \epsilon \lambda \gamma o \nu \tau a \iota$ Lobel dubitans

4 Άρκάδ'

150

 $11 < \delta \hat{\eta} > add$. Treu

111 Clement continues

Moreover he is clearly adapting in iambic meter the well-known verse, "the . . . of victory for men depends on the gods":1

and encourage the young, but the accomplishment of victory rests with the gods

¹ Clement's citation is corrupt and it is uncertain what passage he had in mind.

112 Oxyrhynchus papyri¹

... for I expect, I expect ... the host² will raise a shout round about the wretched (the wretched host will raise a shout?) ... like(?) an Arcadian ass³ ... the young men have high expectations ... through the city Kourotrophos⁴ ... you will lift up your arms ... to whom approaches ... dear to Aphrodite ... as if blessed ...

¹ The subject matter may be a sarcastic description of a wedding.
² Not necessarily military.
³ Proverbial for simplemindedness, if the scholiast to Callim. fr. 1.43 Pf. is to be interpreted in this way.
⁴ Nurse of the young (Aphrodite?).

113 P. Oxy. xxii.2314 col. ii

7 ἀρχὸς εὖ μᾳθ[ὼ]ν ἄκοντι τ[πειρέαι; λίην λιάζεις κυρ[ἴσθι νυν, τάδ᾽ ἴσθι...χγο[

7 ἄρχ' δς Lobel $\mu\alpha\theta[\hat{\omega}]\nu$ Peek $\tau[\hat{\iota}$? West 8 $\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota$ ($\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho\omega$) editores, $\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota$ ($\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho\hat{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$) West $\lambda\iota\alpha\nu$ pap., corr. Tarditi

114

οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδὶ ὑπεξυρημένον, ἀλλά μοι σμικρός τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν ροικός, ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποσσί, καρδίης πλέως.

Dio Chrys. 33.17

ό δὲ ᾿Αρχίλοχος, ὅν φημι τῷ ᾿Απόλλωνι ἀρέσαι, περὶ στρατηγοῦ λέγων οὕτω φησίν· "οὐ φιλέω—ὑπεξυρημένον," ἀλλά μοι, φησίν, εἴη ῥαιβός, ἀσφαλῶς βεβηκὼς καὶ ἐπὶ κνήμαισιν δασύς. μὴ οὖν αὐτὸν οἴεσθε στρατηγὸν μὲν μὴ ἀγαπῶν οἷον εἴρηκε, μηδ᾽ ἐν σώματος μεγέθει καὶ κόμη τίθεσθαι τὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὄφελος, πόλιν δ᾽ ἄν ἐπαινέσαι ποτὲ εἰς ταῦτα ὁρῶντα, ποταμοὺς καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ κρήνας καὶ στοὰς καὶ πλῆθος οἰκιῶν καὶ μέγεθος; κόμη γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ βοστρύχοις ταῦτα ἔοικεν. ἀλλ᾽ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μᾶλλον

113 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (3rd c. A.D.)

A commander 1 well versed in the javelin, (why?) do you make trial of . . . 22 You are too enthusiastic . . . know then, know this . . .

Or a proper name (Archus).
 In West's view (Studies 129-30) the subject is marriage and a "thrusting weapon" (sensu erotico) is being contrasted with a throwing spear.

114

I have no liking for a general who is tall, walks with a swaggering gait, takes pride in his curls, and is partly shaven. Let mine be one who is short, has a bent look about the shins, stands firmly on his feet, and is full of courage.

Dio Chrysostom, Discourses

But Archilochus who, I say (cf. test. 16), found favour with Apollo, speaks as follows about a general (vv. 1-2). Rather, he says, let mine be bowlegged, with a firm stand, and with thick hair on his shins. Therefore do not think that Archilochus, who did not love the sort of general he has described and did not reckon a general's usefulness by the size of his body and by his hair, would ever have praised a city with an eye on these features, rivers, baths, fountains, porticoes, multitude of houses and vast size, since these things are simply like curls. But to me at least it seems that

αν τούτων προκρίναι σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλίγην σωφρόνως οἰκουμένην καν ἐπὶ πέτρας.

Galenus in Hippocr. π . $\alpha \rho \theta \rho \omega \nu$ (xviii (1) 604 Kühn)

... ὅστε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων τοὺς ρ΄αιβοὺς ἢ ρ΄οικοὺς ὀνομαζομένους ἀσφαλέστερόν τε καὶ δυσανατρεπτότερον ἴστασθαι τῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐχόντων τὰ σκέλη ὀρβά. δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο κάξ ὧν ᾿Αρχίλοχος εἶπεν· "οὐ φιλέω—πλέως."

ibid. p. 537

τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ κ λεγόμενον ροικὸν οἶδα καὶ παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ γεγραμμένον ἔνθα φησί· (4.49), καὶ παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ "ἀλλά—πλέως."

cf. Erotian. p. 112.11 Nachmanson, schol. Theocr. 4.49a (p. 148.19 Wendel)

Pollux 2.192

ραιβοὺς δὲ καλοῦσιν, οῗς καμπύλα εἰς τὸ ἔνδον τὰ σκέλη, βλαισοὺς δὲ οἷς τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων εἰς τὸ ἔξω ἀπέστραπται. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρχίλοχος, τὸ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει (de re equ. 1.3)

1 διαπεπλεγμένον Dio, -πεπηγμένον Gal., corr. Hemsterhuys 3 σμικρός Erotian., μικρός Gal. κατὰ κνήμην schol. Theocr., ἐπὶ κνήμασιν δασύς Dio 4 ῥαιβός Dio, Pollux

instead of these things he would have preferred a city that is small in size and population and is wisely governed, even if it is on a rock.

Galen on Hippocrates, On Joints

... with the result that those who have bent or curved legs, as they are called, stand more firmly and are more difficult to overturn than those who have perfectly straight legs. This is clear from what Archilochus said (vv. 1, 3-4).

Galen as above1

For I know that $\dot{\rho}o\iota\kappa\dot{o}s$ is also written with a kappa in Theocritus (4.49) and in Archilochus (vv. 3-4).

¹ The texts of Galen are with minor corrections those preserved in the oldest MS, Laurentianus gr. Plut. 74.7 (from which the others are derived), except that in the second citation there is a lacuna in the MS between $\dot{\rho}$ οι- and -οκρίτφ. I am indebted here to my colleague, Paul Potter.

Pollux, Vocabulary

They call $\hat{\rho}a\iota\betaoi$ those whose legs are curved inward and $\beta\lambda a\iota\sigma oi$ those whose area from the knees is turned outward. Archilochus speaks of the former, Xenophon of the latter.

115 'Herodian.' de figuris (Rhet. Gr. viii.598.16 Walz, iii.97.8 Spengel)

πολύπτωτον δέ, ὅταν ἤτοι τὰς ἀντονομασίας ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς πάσας τὰς πτώσεις μεταβάλλοντες διατιθώμεθα τὸν λόγον, ὡς παρὰ Κλεοχάρει· . . . ἔστι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα καὶ παρά τισι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ καὶ ᾿Ανακρέοντι. παρὰ μὲν οὖν ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ.

νῦν δὲ Λεώφιλος μὲν ἄρχει, Λεωφίλου δ' ἐπικρατείν,

Λεωφίλω δὲ πάντα κεῖται, Λεώφιλον δ' †ἄκουε.

παρὰ δὲ ἀνακρέοντι ἐπὶ τριῶν (fr. 359 PMG).

1 Λεωφίλου et Λεώφιλος ἐπικρατεῖ codd., corr. West, ἐστὶ κράτος Murru 2 πάντ' ἀνεῖται Bergk Λεώφιλον, -ε, -ος codd.

116 Ath. 3.76b

τῶν δ' ἐν Πάρῳ τῆ νήσῳ—διάφορα γὰρ κἀνταῦθα γίνεται σῦκα τὰ καλούμενα παρὰ τοῖς Παρίοις αἰμώνια . . .—'Αρχίλοχος μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως·

ἔα Πάρον καὶ σῦκα κεῖνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον.

115 'Herodian', On Figures of Speech

There is polyptoton whenever we arrange what is said by changing all the cases of pronouns or nouns, as in Cleochares: . . . Such a figure is found also in some of the poets as in Archilochus and Anacreon. In Archilochus:

Now Leophilus is in charge, power rests with Leophilus, everything depends on Leophilus, and \dots Leophilus.¹

And in Anacreon with three cases.

¹ In the example omitted from 'Herodian' above, the name Demosthenes appears in the order nom., gen., dat., acc. and voc., and it is likely that the same sequence is present in Archilochus, but no satisfactory emendation for the end of the fragment has been proposed.

116 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

The figs on the island of Paros—for there too there are excellent ones, called *haimonia* by the Parians . . .—are mentioned by Archilochus who speaks as follows:

Good-bye to Paros and those figs and life on the sea

117 Schol. (b)T Hom. Il. 24.81 (v.536 Erbse), " β oòs $\kappa \epsilon \rho \alpha$ s"

οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι κέρας τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν τριχῶν ὁμοίαν κέρατι.

τὸν κεροπλάστην ἄειδε Γλαῦκον.

Άρχίλοχος.

118 Plut. de E apud Delphi 5.386d

"εἰ γὰρ (ἄφελον)," φησὶν ἕκαστος τῶν εὐχομένων· καὶ ἀρχίλοχος·

εἰ γὰρ ὢς ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοβούλης θιγεῖν.

 $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho \iota$ Elmsley

119 Schol. Eur. Med. 679, "ἀσκοῦ με τὸν προύχοντα μὴ λῦσαι πόδα"

άσκὸν τοίνυν λέγει τὸν περὶ τὴν γαστέρα τόπον. 'Αρχίλοχος·

καὶ πεσεῖν δρήστην ἐπ' ἀσκόν, κἀπὶ γαστρὶ γαστέρα προσβαλεῖν μηρούς τε μηροῖς,

"δρήστην" λέγων οἷα δράσαντά τι.

προσβάλλειν cod., corr. Matthiae

117 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("horn of an ox")

Later authors use the word horn to describe the horn-like intertwining of the hair.

sing of Glaucus who arranges his hair in horns So Archilochus.

118 Plutarch, On the E at Delphi

"Would that" says everyone who prays. Cf. Archilochus:

Would that I might thus touch Neoboule on her hand¹

¹ Or "touch Neoboule with my hand," if Elmsley's emendation, accepted by a number of critics, is adopted.

119 Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea* ("that I was not to loosen the projecting foot of the wineskin")

By $\alpha\sigma\kappa\delta$ he means the region of the stomach. Cf. Archilochus,

and to fall upon her wineskin¹ that works for hire² and to thrust belly against belly, thighs against thighs,³

meaning by $\delta \rho \dot{\eta} \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ one who did some work.

 1 Metaphor for the genital area. 2 Cf. fr. 208, but $\delta\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$ may be subject of the infinitive, the "labourer" as a metaphor for penis. 3 Many combine frr. 118 and 119.

120 Ath. 14.628a

Φιλόχορος δέ (FGrHist 328 F 172) φησιν ώς οἱ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντες οὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθη, τὸν δ' ᾿Απόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. ᾿Αρχίλοχος γοῦν φησιν·

ώς Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνφ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

1 Διονύσοιο cod., corr. Bentley: Διωνύσου Hermann

121 Ath. 5.180d-e

οὖ γὰρ ἐξάρχοντες οἱ κυβιστητῆρες (Il. 18.606 = Od. 4.19), ἀλλ᾽ ἐξάρχοντος τοῦ ἀδοῦ πάντες ἀρχοῦντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τῆς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον. διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἡσίοδός φησιν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασπίδι (205) "θεαὶ δ᾽ ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες," καὶ ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα.

122 Stob. 4.46.10 (Άρχιλόχου) + P. Oxy. xxii.2313 fr. 1a, ed. Lobel

χρημάτων ἄελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲ θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδὴ Ζεὺς πατὴρ 'Ολυμπίων ἐκ μεσαμβρίης ἔθηκε νύκτ', ἀποκρύψας φάος ἡλίου †λάμποντος, λυγρὸν† δ' ἦλθ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους δέος

120 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And Philochorus says that when the ancients pour libations they do not always sing dithyrambs, but whenever they pour libations, they do so singing of Dionysus amid wine and drunkenness, Apollo quietly and with good order. Archilochus at any rate says:

for I know how to take the lead in the dithyramb, the lovely song of lord Dionysus, my wits thunderstruck with wine²

 1 Possibly $\dot{\omega}_S$ belongs to Athenaeus ("that"). 2 Cf. test. 62.

121 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

For it was not the tumblers who took the lead, but they all danced while the singer led, since taking the lead is the lyre's proper function. That is why Hesiod says in the *Shield*, "and the divine Muses of Pieria were taking the lead in the song," and Archilochus:

I myself taking the lead in the Lesbian paean to the pipe's accompaniment

122 Stobaeus, *Anthology*, and Oxyrhynchus papyrus¹ From Archilochus:

Nothing is to be unexpected or sworn impossible or marvelled at, now that Zeus father of the Olympians has made night out of the noonday, hiding away the light of the shining sun,² and clammy(?) fear came

έκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κἀπίελπτα γίνεται ἀνδράσιν μηδεὶς ἔθ' ὑμέων εἰσορέων θαυμαζέτω μηδ' ἐὰν δελφισι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομὸν ἐνάλιον, καί σφιν θαλάσσης ἠχέεντα κύματα φίλτερ' ἠπείρου γένηται, τοι̂σι δ' ὑλέειν ὅρος.

'Αρ]χηνακτίδης]ητου πάϊς]τυθη γάμωι

cf. Arist. Rhet. 3.17.1418b28 et schol. ad loc. (Comm. in Arist. Graeca xxi(2).255.31), Plut. de facie lun. 19.931e; v. ad fr. adesp. iamb. 59

1 δ' post χρημάτων Arist. codd. recc. 3 μεσημβρίας Stob., corr. Hoffmann 4 λαμπόν, τοσοῦτον Mähly, ὑγρὸν Valckenaer, ὡχρὸν Bentley, αὖον Kamerbeek, αἰνὸν Marcovich 5 οὐκ ἄπιστα Stob., καὶ πιστὰ Liebel 6 ὑμῶν Stob., corr. Renner 7 ἵνα Stob., ἐὰν Valckenaer 8 σφι Stob., corr. Gaisford 9 ἡδὺ ῆν (sic) Stob.,] $\epsilon \iota \nu$ pap., ὑλ $\epsilon \epsilon \iota \nu$ Lobel (ὑλ $\epsilon \iota \nu$ Bergk)

124 Ath. 1.7f-8b

ότι περὶ Περικλέους φησὶν ᾿Αρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος ποιητὴς ὡς ἀκλήτου ἐπεισπαίοντος εἰς τὰ συμπόσια

(a) Μυκονίων δίκην.

δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Μυκόνιοι διὰ τὸ πένεσθαι καὶ λυπρὰν νῆσον οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ γλισχρότητι καὶ πλεονεξία διαβάλλεσθαι . . .

5

10

over people. From now on men can believe and expect anything; let none of you any longer marvel at what you see, not even if wild animals take on a briny pasturage in exchange with dolphins and the crashing waves of the sea become dearer to them than the land, the wooded mountain dearer to dolphins . . . Archeanactides 3 . . . child of . . . marriage

¹ According to Aristotle (see on fr. 19) Archilochus here represents a father as speaking about his daughter. ² Generally taken to be the eclipse of 648, but some prefer that of 689 or 711. ³ Identity unknown. Some explain him as the one to whom Lycambes gave Neoboule in marriage after breaking off her engagement to the poet. The papyrus continues for a further five verses, but only $a\nu$ δράσιν ('men') can be translated.

124 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Archilochus, the poet of Paros, speaks of Pericles¹ as bursting into drinking parties uninvited

(a) like the people of Myconos

It seems that the Myconians had a bad name for stinginess and greed because of their poverty and because they lived on a wretched island . . .

(b) πολλον δὲ πίνων καὶ χαλίκρητον μέθυ, οὕτε τῖμον εἰσενείκας <- □ - × - □ -> οὐδὲ μὲν κληθεὶς <□ -×> ἦλθες οἷα δὴ φίλος, ἀλλά σεο γαστὴρ νόον τε καὶ φρένας παρήγαγεν εἰς ἀναιδείην,

'Αρχίλοχός φησιν.

5

(b) 1 μεθύων codd., corr. Casaubon 2 εἰσήνεγκας codd., corr. Kaibel 3 <Περίκλεις> post κληθεὶς suppl. Diehl, alii alia 4 σευ codd., corr. West

125 Ath. 10.433e

τὸ δίψος γὰρ πᾶσιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμποιεῖ τῆς περιττῆς ἀπολαύσεως. διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς φησι (fr. 763 Radt)· "διψῶντι γάρ τοι πάντα προσφέρων σοφὰ / οὐκ ἂν πλέον τέρψειας ἢ πιεῖν διδούς." καὶ ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

μάχης δὲ τῆς σῆς, ὥστε διψέων πιεῖν, ὡς ἐρέω.

126 Theophilus ad Autolycum 2.37 (p. 94 Grant)

ήδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες ὡσπερεὶ λόγια ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεῖπον ταῦτα καὶ εἰς μαρτύριον τοῖς τὰ ἄδικα πράσσουσιν, λέγοντες ὅτι μέλλουσι κολάζεσθαι . . . ὁμοίως καὶ ἀρχίλοχος

(b) Although you consumed a large quantity of unmixed wine, you did not contribute to the cost . . . nor again did you come invited . . . as though a friend, but your belly led astray your mind and wits to shamelessness.²

Archilochus says.

¹ Cf. test. 17. ² The number and location of the lacunae are uncertain; see Bossi 181-83.

125 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

For thirst arouses in everyone a strong desire for abundant satisfaction. Therefore Sophocles says: "though you offer a thirsty man every wise saying, you cannot please him more than by giving him something to drink." And Archilochus says:

as when I am thirsty for drink, so I long to do battle with you. 1

¹ The context may be either erotic or martial.

126 Theophilus, To Autolycus

Now some of the poets made these statements as if they were oracles for themselves and as testimony against those who act unjustly . . . similarly Archilochus:

εν δ' ἐπίσταμαι μέγα, τὸν κακῶς <μ'> ἔρδοντα δεινοῖς ἀνταμείβεσθαι κακοῖς.

2 μ add. Hecker $\delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a$ cod., corr. Turyn $\delta \acute{\epsilon} \nu \nu o \iota s$ Herzog

127 Clem. Strom. 6.6.1

αὖθίς τε ὁ ἀρχίλοχος τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο μεταφέρων, "ἀασάμην, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι· ἀντί νυ πολλῶν" (Il. 9.116), ὧδέ πως γράφει·

ήμβλακον. καί πού τιν' ἄλλον ἥδ' †ἄτη 'κιχήσατο.

 $\dot{\eta}$ ἀάτη (cum syniz.) Meineke, ἄση Bentley, ἀρὴ Liebel, ἄλη vel ἄγη Hermann, ἡ δύη Wilamowitz

128 Stob. 3.20.28

Άρχιλόχου·

θυμέ, θύμ', ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, †ἀναδευ δυσμενῶν† δ' ἀλέξεο προσβαλῶν ἐναντίον στέρνον †ἐνδοκοισιν† ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθεὶς

κατασταθείς ἀσφαλέως καὶ μήτε νικέων ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο, μηδὲ νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο, ἀλλὰ χαρτοῖσίν τε χαῖρε καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα μὴ λίην, γίνωσκε δ' οἶος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.

5

but one great thing I know, to repay with terrible harm one who does me harm

127 Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies

And again Archilochus, adapting that Homeric line "I was infatuate and I myself admit it; worth many," writes somewhat as follows:

I erred, and perhaps this infatuation(?) has come upon another

128 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

My heart, my heart, confounded by woes beyond remedy, rise up(?) and defend yourself, setting your breast against your foes(?) as they lie in ambush(?) and standing steadfastly near the enemy. Do not exult openly in victory and in defeat do not fall down lamenting at home, but let your rejoicing in joyful times and your grief in bad times be moderate. Know what sort of pattern governs mankind.

¹ Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 106 (ii.69.9 et 171.22 Us.-Rad.) 2 Hesych. ἔνδοκος· ἐνέδρα 6-7 Apost. 18.8a (Paroem. Gr. ii.718)

² ἄνα δέ Liebel, ἄνα σύ Pfeiffer, ἀνὰ δ' ἔχευ (vel ἀναδύευ) μένων δ' Bergk, δυσμενέων Lasserre 3 δοκοίσιν codd. SA, δόκοισιν Μ, ἐνδόκοισιν Valckenaer (cf. Hesych. supra), λόχοισιν Klinger 4 νικῶν codd., corr. Lasserre 6 ἄσχαλλε SA, Apost., ἄσχαλε Μ, corr. Grotius

129 Arist. Pol. 7.7.1328a1

πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ὁ θυμὸς αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας, ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας. διὸ καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος προσηκόντως τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν·

σὺ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεαι.

οὐ codd., corr. Schneider παρὰ Par. 1858 et versio Guilielmi de Moerbeka, περὶ ceteri ἀπάγχεαι, ἀπέγχεαι, ἀπέγχεαι, ἀπάγχε(τ)ο, ἀπέγχεο codd.

130 Stob. 4.41.24

'Αρχιλόχου.

τοῖς θεοῖς †τ' εἰθεῖάπαντα πολλάκις μὲν ἐκ κακῶν ἄνδρας ὀρθοῦσιν μελαίνη κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλάκις δ' ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' εὖ βεβηκότας ὑπτίους, κείνοις <δ'> ἔπειτα πολλὰ γίνεται κακά, καὶ βίου χρήμη πλανᾶται καὶ νόου παρήορος.

1 τιθείν ἄπαντα Jacobs, τέλεια Hommel, πείθοι' West, alii alia 4 κινοῦσ' codd., κλίνουσ' Valckenaer (postea interpungens), κείνοις Blaydes $\langle \delta' \rangle$ add. West post h. v. lacunam stat. Meineke

5

129 Aristotle, Politics

For one's heart, when it thinks it is being slighted, rises up more against friends and acquaintances than against strangers. Therefore when Archilochus accuses his friends it is fitting that he address his heart:

for you are being strangled by your friends

130 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

Everything is . . . for (to, by) the gods. Often when men are lying prostrate on the dark earth they raise them upright from their misery, and often they overturn on their backs even those whose stance was very firm. Then much misery is theirs and a man wanders about in need of livelihood and distraught in mind.

131 Stob. 1.1.18

τοίος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνεω πάϊ, γίνεται θνητοίς, ὁποίην Ζεὺς ἐφ' ἡμέρην ἄγη.

cf. Ps.-Plut. de vita et poesi Hom. (B) 155 (vii.424.24 Bernardakis), Theon, Progymn. (Rhet. Gr. i.152.24 Walz, ii.62.22 Spengel), Sext. Emp. adv. math. 7.127, Diog. Laert. 9.71, Sud. s.v. Πυρρώνειοι (iv.278.28 Adler), Syrian. in Hermog. (i.30.24 Rabe), Rhet. Gr. vii.934.9 Walz

1 θυμός Ps.-Plut., Theon, Stob.: νόος vel νοῦς (ex Od. 18.136) Diog. L., Suda, Syrian., Rhet. 2 ὁποίην Sext.: ὁκοίην Diog. L., Suda, Syrian., Rhet. v.l. (οἰκοίην Stob.): ὁκοῖον Ps.-Plut., Theon, Rhet. cod. unus ἄγη Stob., Syrian. v.l.: ἄγει cett.

132 Ps.-Plat. *Eryxias* 397e

όποιοι γὰρ ἄν τινες ὧσιν οι χρώμενοι, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτοις ἀνάγκη εἶναι. καλῶς δέ, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ ᾿Αρχιλόχου πεποιῆσθαι

καὶ φρονέουσι τοῦ ὁποίοις ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν.

cf. Stob. 4.31.117, Apostol. 12.97d, Herael. 22 B 17 D.-K.

133 Stob. 4.58.4

'Αρχιλόχου·

οὖτις αἰδοῖος μετ' ἀστῶν †καὶ περίφημος† θανῶν γίνεται χάριν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ζοοῦ διώκομεν

131 Stobaeus, Anthology

Glaucus, son of Leptines, the mood of mortals varies with the day that Zeus brings on

¹ See test. 1.

132 Pseudo-Plato, Eryxias

For of whatever sort friends are, such must their actions be. And, he said, it seems to me that the line of Archilochus was well composed:

and their thoughts match whatever events they encounter¹

 $^{\rm 1}$ Jacobs plausibly combined fr. 132 with 131 and many have followed him.

133 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

Once dead no one is held in respect among the citizens even though he be powerful(?). ¹ Instead we the

<οί> ζοοί, κάκιστα δ' αἰεὶ τῷ θανόντι γίνεται.

1 καίπερ ἴφθιμος Porson, οὐδε π. Hiller 2-3 ζο- pro ζω-Porson 3 <οί> anon. ap. Gaisford δ' αἰεὶ idem, δέει cod. M (δὲ S)

134 Schol. Hom. Od. 22.412, "οὐχ ὁσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι εὐχετάασθαι"

ἔνθεν καὶ ἀρχίλοχός φησιν

οὐ γὰρ ἐσθλὰ κατθανοῦσι κερτομεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν.

135-166 Frag. pap. minora (P. Oxy. 2313)

139 P. Oxy. xxii.2313 fr. 5

]χ' ἀσπιδ[
]ν ἴσην τὴν[
]δ[..]χθεὶς ἔργον[
]δ' ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς τέκμ[αρ
]ς ἔντος δηϊοισεμ[
]ν ἀκόντων δοῦπον ου[
]εν[.]ονα[.]ει τήνδεκαλ[
]βων ῥήματ' οὐκετ[
]γὰρ [ο]ὐδὲν εἰδόσ[ιν

 $3 \delta[a\ddot{i}]\chi\theta\epsilon$ is tent. West

9 εἰδόσ[ιν West

5

living curry the favour of the living and the dead are always the worst off.

- ¹ With Porson's emendation; with Hiller's, "nor is he celebrated."
- 134 Scholiast on Homer, *Odyssey* ("it is not sanctioned by divine law to boast over the dead")

Hence Archilochus says:

for it is not good to jeer at the dead

- 135-166 Scraps of an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (Those containing nothing of significance have been omitted.)
- 139 Oxyrhynchus papyrus
 - ... shield ... equal ... (slain?) ... deed ... there is no (no one) ... end (sign?) ... weapon ... enemy ... thud of javelins ... words no longer ... for knowing nothing ...

140 P. Oxv. 2313 fr. 6

1 αὐ]χένα σχεθών 3 κ]αρτερὸν

6] ενην έχων 7] αρμονέων

9 Ιδόμους

142 P. Oxv. 2313 fr. 8a

 $3 \mid \nu \mid \Pi \beta \rho i \circ \nu$ $4 \mid \alpha \sigma \chi \epsilon \theta \circ \iota$ $9 \mid \chi \rho \epsilon \omega$

11]ς ἔλπομα[ι 13] ους ἕπεις

15]ροις ἔχων

9 " $\chi \rho \epsilon \dot{\omega}$ potius quam $\chi \rho \dot{\epsilon} \omega$ (imperat.)" West

144 P. Oxv. 2313 fr. 9

 $1 \nu \epsilon o \varsigma$

2 |κίνει ταλαν[τ 4 τερπε]

2 κίνει imperat. vel $\dot{\epsilon}$]κίνει imperf.

145 P. Oxy. 2313 frr. 11 + 12

 $7 \stackrel{?}{\epsilon} \nu \stackrel{?}{\zeta} 000 \stackrel{?}{\delta} 000 \stackrel{?}$

146 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 13

5

]προσβαλόντε[ς]σ[] ν ξεινίων φειδοίατ[ο]ων άθρόοι γενοίμεθ[α]σης τεύχεσιν πεφρ[]σφας ἀμφικουρίη λάβ[

140 Same papyrus ... holding the neck (aslant?) ... mighty ... having \dots agreements(?) \dots homes \dots 142 Same papyrus ... Imbrian ... may he(?) hold ... need ... I expect ... you are busying yourself with¹ ... having ... ¹ Probably a compound verb with tmesis (ἀμφέπεις, διέπεις etc.). 144 Same papyrus ... young ... move (moved) the scales ... delight(s) 145 Same papyrus ... among the living ... defence (prowess) ... 146 Same papyrus . . . striking against . . . were sparing of guestgifts(?)1 . . . we were all together . . . fortified(?) by arms . . . capture by encirclement(?) . . . ¹ Cf. fr. 6.

- 148 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 15

 - 2 δ]έννος ὕβριν 4]ρους ἀλκίμους
 - 2 Lobel
- 4 κού ρους Peek
- 151 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 17
 - 2 |υ γαμ[
- 3 Ιάδεω[
- 2 ο δυ γάμ ου Peek
- 3 Δωτ]άδεω Peek
- 152 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 21
 - 2 γυναί κα βινέων[
 - 2 Peek
- 163 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 34
 - 2 τρισο]ιζυρη[
 - 2 Lasserre, qui cum fr. 228 coniunxit
- 166 P. Oxy. 2313 fr. 38
 - 3 ίμ ερτή Πάρ ος
 - 3 Lobel

148 Same papyrus
abuse insolence(?) stout-hearted (youths?)
151 Same papyrus
\dots (no?) marriage \dots Dotades(?) ¹
¹ See note on fr. 67.
152 Same papyrus
fucking a woman
163 Same papyrus
thrice-wretched (city?)

... longed-for Paros ...

167 Ath. 10.415d

περὶ δὲ Θυὸς τοῦ Παφλαγόνων βασίλεως, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πολυφάγος, προειρήκαμεν . . . ᾿Αρχίλοχος δὲ ἐν τετραμέτροις Χαρίλαν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια διαβέβληκεν, ὡς οἱ κωμφδιοποιοὶ Κλεώνυμον καὶ Πείσανδρον.

cf. test. 17

168-204. Epodi

168-171

x - 00 - 00 - -- 0 - 00 - -

Hephaest. Ench. 15.1-3

γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἀσυνάρτητα, ὁπόταν δύο κῶλα μὴ δυνάμενα ἀλλήλοις συναρτηθήναι μηδὲ ἔνωσιν ἔχειν ἀντὶ ἐνὸς μόνου παραλαμβάνηται στίχου. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τούτοις Ἡρχίλοχος κέχρηται. πἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἔκ τε ἀναπαιστικοῦ ἐφθημιμεροῦς καὶ τροχαϊκοῦ ἡμιολίου τοῦ καλουμένου ἰθυφαλλικοῦ "Ἐρασμονίδη—γελοῖον." τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἔγραψαν. οὖτος μὲν γὰρ τἢ τε τομἢ δι' ὅλου κέχρηται (τοῦ ἐφθημιμεροῦς), καὶ σπονδείους παρέλαβεν ἐν τῷ ἀναπαιστικῷ κώλῳ, οἷον "ἀστῶν—πολλοί." οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τἢ μὲν τομῆ ἀδιαφόρως ἐχρήσαντο, ὥσπερ Κρατῖνος (fr. 360 K.-A.)

167 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

With regard to Thys, king of the Paphlagonians, we have already said that he was a glutton . . . And Archilochus in his tetrameters attacked Charilaus on the same grounds, ¹ just as the comic poets attacked Cleonymus and Pisander.

¹ Probably from the same poem as fr. 168 in spite of the reference to tetrameters. See note 5 on frr. 168-171.

168-204. Epodes

168-171

Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And there are also unconnected meters, whenever two cola which cannot be connected with each other and form a unity are used instead of one single line. Archilochus was the first to use these too, since in some places he composed out of the anapaestic hephthemimer and the trochaic hemiolion called ithyphallic $E\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\nu\nui\delta\eta$ — $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\hat{o}\nu$ (fr. 168.1-2). But those who came after him did not write this in the same way as he did, since he used the caesura throughout and he introduced spondees in the anapaestic colon, as in $a\sigma\hat{c}\hat{\omega}\nu$ — $\pi\lambda\lambda\hat{o}i$ (fr. 170), whereas those who came after him used the caesura indiscrimi-

χαῖρ' ὧ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ὅμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις, τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτὴς ἄριστε πάντων . . .

. . . καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς σπονδείους παρητήσαντο τοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσω.

Ib. 8.7 de paroemiaco

πρώτος δὲ ἀρχίλοχος ἐχρήσατο τῷ μεγέθει τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς τετραμέτροις προτάξας αὐτὸ τοῦ ἰθυφαλλικοῦ. τὸ γὰρ "Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε" ἑφθημιμερές ἐστιν ἀναπαιστικόν. ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ποδὶ καὶ ἰάμβῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείγματός ἐστι δῆλον, καὶ σπονδείῳ, "Δήμητρί τε χεῖρας ἀνέξων."

168

Έρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρημά τοι γελοΐον ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἐταίρων, τέρψεαι δ' ἀκούων.

nately, as in Cratinus: "all hail, throng that laughs untimely on the day after the festival, best of all judges of our poetic skill" . . . and they also avoided spondees in the middle.

Hephaestion (on the paroemiac)

But Archilochus was the first to use this (metrical) length, placing it in front of the ithyphallic in his tetrameters. For Ερασμονίδη Χαρίλαε (fr.168.1) is an anapaestic hephthemimer. But for the first foot he used both an iambus, as is clear from the example, and a spondee, Δήμητρίτε χείρας ἀνέξων (fr. 169).

- ¹ There is disagreement on whether these unconnected meters should be printed as one line or two.

 ² Literally, 'consisting of seven half parts,' i.e., three and a half feet.
- ³ Literally, 'a half and a whole.' By 'whole' Hephaestion here means a pair of trochees.

 ⁴ I.e., word-end always occurred after the hephthemimer.

 ⁵ Ancient sources sometimes use this term for epodes.

168

Charilaus, son of Erasmon, by far the dearest of my companions, I shall tell you something funny and you will be delighted to hear it.

Hephaest. Ench. 15.2 ut supra; 1 etiam 8.7, 15.4

Hephaest. Ench. 15.6

ύπονοήσειε δ' ἄν τις καὶ τρίτην διαφορὰν εἶναι τῷ ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ πρὸς τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, καθ' ἢν ἀναπαιστῷ δοκεῖ τῷ πρώτῳ χρῆσθαι· "ἐρέω—ἀκούων," "φιλέειν—διαλέγεσθαι," ῷ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο ἐκεῖνοι. φαίνεται δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς κεχρημένος· δύναται γὰρ ἀμφότερα κατὰ συνεκφώνησιν εἰς ἴαμβον περιίστασθαι.

1-2 cum 3-4 coniunxit Koen

169 Hephaest, Ench. 8.7 ut supra Δήμητρί τε χείρας ἀνέξων.

170 Hephaest. Ench. 15.2 ut supra

ἀστῶν δ' οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοί.

171 Hephaest. Ench. 15.6 (v. ad fr. 168)

φιλεῖν στυγνόν περ ἐόντα μηδὲ διαλέγεσθαι.

φιλέειν Hephaestion

Hephaestion as above (vv. 1-2)

Hephaestion

One might suspect that Archilochus has also a third difference from those who came after him, in that he seems to use an anapaest in the first foot $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ — $a\kappa\omega\omega$ (fr. 168.3-4), $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ — $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (fr. 171), which they did not use. But it is clear that he himself did not use it either, since both can be turned into an iambus by synecphonesis.

 $^{\rm 1}$ No doubt a coined patronymic which might be rendered as 'Darlingson.'

169 Hephaestion as above and about to lift up hands to Demeter

170 Hephaestion as above

some of the citizens were behind, but the majority

171 Hephaestion (on fr. 168)

to be his friend, hateful though he is, and (but?) not to converse

172-181 Fabula de Vulpe et Aquila

× - 0 - × - 0 - × - 0 -

X - 0 - X - 0 -

Aesop. fab. 1 (Perry)

ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι πλησίον έαυτῶν οἰκεῖν διέγνωσαν, βεβαίωσιν φιλίας την συνήθειαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ δη ὁ μὲν ἀναβὰς έπί τι περίμηκες δένδρον ένεοττοποιήσατο, ή δε είσελθούσα είς τὸν ὑποκείμενον θάμνον ἔτεκεν. ἐξελθούσης δέ ποτε αὐτῆς ἐπὶ νομήν, ὁ ἀετὸς ἀπορῶν τροφής καταπτάς είς τὸν θάμνον καὶ τὰ γεννήματα άναρπάσας μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεοττῶν κατεθοινήσατο. ή δὲ ἀλώπηξ ἐπανελθοῦσα, ὡς ἔγνω τὸ πραχθέν, οὐ μαλλον ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν νεοττῶν θανάτω ἐλυπήθη ὅσον ἐπὶ τῆ ἀμύνη· χερσαία γὰρ οὖσα πτηνὸν διώκειν ἡδυνάτει. διόπερ πόρρωθεν στάσα, δ μόνον τοῖς άδυνάτοις καὶ ἀσθενέσιν ὑπολείπεται, τῶ ἐχθρῶ κατηρᾶτο. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἀσεβείας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δίκην ύποσχείν. θυόντων γάρ τινων αίγα ἐπ' ἀγροῦ, καταπτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ σπλάγχνον ἔμπυρον ἀνήνεγκεν οὖ κομισθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν καλιὰν σφοδρὸς έμπεσων ἄνεμος έκ λεπτοῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ κάρφους λαμπρὰν φλόγα ἀνῆψε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφλεχθέντες οί νεοττοί, καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἔτι <ά>πτῆνες {ἀτελεῖς}, ἐπὶ την γην κατέπεσον, καὶ ή ἀλώπηξ προσδραμοῦσα ἐν όψει τοῦ ἀετοῦ πάντας αὐτοὺς κατέφαγεν.

172-181 Fable of the Fox and the Eagle

Aesop, Fable

An eagle and a fox became friends and decided to live near each other, thinking that their friendship would be strengthened by cohabitation. And so the eagle flew up into a very tall tree and made its nest, while the fox went into a thicket that lay beneath and gave birth. One day, when the fox had gone out to forage, the eagle, at a loss for food, flew down into the thicket and seizing the cubs dined on them along with its nestlings. The fox, upon returning and realizing what had been done, was more distressed by the inability to exact vengeance than by the death of its cubs, since as a land animal it was unable to pursue one that had wings. Therefore, standing far away, it cursed its enemy, the only thing left for the powerless and weak. And it happened that the eagle soon paid the penalty for its sacrilege against friendship. Some people were sacrificing a goat in the countryside and the eagle flying down carried off from the altar a burning entrail. When it had been brought to the nest, a strong gust of wind kindled a bright flame from the thin and aged straw. Because of this the nestlings were set on fire and since they were not yet capable of flight they fell to the ground. The fox ran up within sight of the eagle and devoured them all.

172

πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε; τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας ἦς τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα; νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς ἀστοῖσι φαίνεαι γέλως.

Schol. Hermog., Rhet. Gr. vii.820.17 Walz

έστι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπφδὸν βραχύτερον τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στίχου συλλαβὰς τέσσαρας, οἷον στίχος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ἤγουν στροφὴ ἤτοι κῶλον, οἷον "πάτερ—τόδε," εἶτα τὸ ἐπφδόν, "τίς—φρένας," εἶτα ἀντίστροφος ἤτοι κῶλον, "ἦς—πολύς," εἶτα πάλιν ἐπφδόν, "ἀστοῖσι—γέλως."

- 1-2 Hephaest. de poem. 7.2 (v. ad fr. 182)
- 3 ἢρήρεισ θ a schol. Hermog., corr. Bergk

173 Orig. c. Celsum 2.21 (i.314 Borret)

τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι πολλοὶ κοινωνήσαντες ἀλῶν καὶ τραπέζης ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς συνεστίοις; καὶ πλήρης ἐστὶν ἡ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἱστορία τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων καὶ ὀνειδίζων γε ὁ Πάριος ἰαμβοποιὸς τὸν Λυκάμβην μετὰ ἄλας καὶ τράπεζαν συνθήκας ἀθετήσαντά φησι πρὸς αὐτόν

ὄρκον δ' ἐνοσφίσθης μέγαν ἄλας τε καὶ τράπεζαν.

172

Father Lycambes, what did you mean by this? Who unhinged your wits which previously were sound? Now you seem to the townspeople a source of much laughter.¹

Scholiast on Hermogenes

The epodic line is always four syllables shorter than the line before it,² such as, for example, the first line (or strophe or colon) $\pi \acute{a}\tau \epsilon \rho - \tau \acute{o}\delta \epsilon$ (v. 1), then the epodic line $\tau \acute{\iota}s - \phi \rho \acute{\epsilon} \nu a s$ (v. 2), then the antistrophic line or colon $\mathring{\eta}s - \pi o \lambda \acute{v}s$ (v. 3), and then again the epodic line $\mathring{a}\sigma \tau o \hat{\iota}\sigma \iota - \gamma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda \omega s$ (v. 4).

 $^{\rm 1}$ These verses seem to have begun the poem. $^{\rm 2}$ As a generalization this is clearly untrue.

173 Origen, Against Celsus

For who does not know that many who have shared salt and table have conspired against their fellow diners? And the history of the Greeks and barbarians is full of such examples. It is in fact the reproach which the iambic poet of Paros levels against Lycambes for having broken an agreement after salt and table:

you have turned your back on salt and table by which you swore a solemn oath

174 Herenn. Philo de diversis verborum significationibus (pp. 142 sq. Palmieri)

αἶνος καὶ παροιμία διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἶνός ἐστι λόγος μυθικὸς ἐκφερόμενος ἀπὸ ἀλόγων ζώων ἢ φυτῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων παραίνεσιν, ὥς φησι Λουκίλλιος ὁ Ταρραῖος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ παροιμιῶν. οἷον ἀπὸ μὲν ἀλόγων ζώων ὡς παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ,

αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, ὡς ἆρ᾽ ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνεωνίην ἔμειξαν,

καὶ τὰ έξης.

Ap. Dysc. de coniunct. (Gramm. Gr. I.i.223.24)

ἄρα. οὖτος κατὰ πᾶσαν διάλεκτον, ὑπεσταλμένης τῆς κοινῆς καὶ τῆς ἀττικῆς, "ἦρα" λέγεται . . . ἀρχίλοχος μέντοι κοινότερον ἔφη "ὡς—ξυνωνίην."

2 ξυνωνίην vel -aν codd., corr. Fick 3 ξμιξαν ή, καθ' έτέραν γραφήν, ἔθεντο Eust. in Hom. Od. 14.508 (1768.58), ξμειξαν Fick

175 P. Oxy. xxii.2315 fr. 1, ed. Lobel

× - □ ἐς παῖ]δᾳς φέρων δαῖ]τα δ' οὐ καλὴν ἐπ[ὶ

 \times - \Box $\mathring{a}\pi\tau]\hat{\eta}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{v}o$

 \times - ∇ - \times] $\gamma \hat{\eta}[\varsigma] \dot{\epsilon} \phi$ $\dot{\nu} \psi \eta \lambda \hat{\omega} \iota \pi [\dot{\alpha} \gamma \omega \iota$

 \times – $\overline{\cup}$ –] ν εοσσι $\hat{\eta}$ ι

5

174 Herennius Philo, On the Different Meanings of Words

Fable and proverb differ. For the fable is a mythical tale delivered by animals or plants as advice to humans, as Lucillius¹ of Tarrha says in his first book *On Proverbs*. An example involving animals is in Archilochus,

There is a fable men tell as follows, that a fox and an eagle joined in friendship, etc.²

Apollonius Dyscolus, On Conjunctions

In every dialect except Koine and Attic $\tilde{a}\rho a$ occurs in the form $\tilde{\eta}\rho a$. . . Archilochus, however, is more in keeping with Koine when he said (v. 2).

¹ Ammonius (p. 5 Nickau) has Lucius (Λούκιος) and Eustathius Lucillus (Λούκιλλος). The latter is probably the correct form.
² Philo proceeds immediately to a second example from Archilochus (fr. 185).

175 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early 2nd c. A.D.)

... (the eagle) carrying to its young ... and for the unlovely meal (eagerly waited?) two fledgelings ... on the land's lofty crag (where they had their?) nest¹

× -
$$\overline{\upsilon}$$
 -]προύθηκε, τὴν δ [× - $\overline{\upsilon}$ -
× - $\overline{\upsilon}$ -].εχο.[$\overline{\upsilon}$ -
× - $\overline{\upsilon}$ -] $\alpha\delta\epsilon$...[$\overline{\upsilon}$ - × - $\overline{\upsilon}$ -
× - $\overline{\upsilon}$ - ×] $\phi\omega\lambda$ δ [δ -

1 suppl. Lasserre 2 δα $\hat{\imath}$]τα Lasserre κὰκηνοπ[pap., sscr. λ et ϵ : $\hat{\epsilon}\pi[\iota$ Lobel, fort. recte 3 ὥρμησαν suppl. West (vix apte, ut opinor) ἀπτ] $\hat{\eta}$ ν ϵ s Lobel 4 π[άγ ω) West 9 West

176 Atticus fr. 2 (p. 41 des Places)

μιậ γὰρ ὁδῷ βαδίζοντα, ἥτις ἄγειν πέφυκεν ἐπί τι τῶν μικρῶν καὶ ταπεινῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ ἐν ΰψει κείμενα.

όρᾶς ἵν' ἐστὶ κεῖνος ὑψηλὸς πάγος, τρηχύς τε καὶ παλίγκοτος; ἐν τῷ κάθηται, σὴν ἐλαφρίζων μάχην.

ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον τὸ δριμὰ καὶ πανοῦργον ἐκεῖνο θηρίον ἀνελθεῖν ἀδύνατον ἴνα δ' εἰς ταὐτὸν ἔλθῃ τοῖς ἀετοῦ γεννήμασιν ἀλώπηξ, ἢ τύχῃ τινὶ δεῖ χρησαμένους ἐκείνους πονηρῷ καταπεσεῖν εἰς γῆν, τῶν οἰκίων αὐτοῖς φθαρέντων, ἢ φύσασαν αὐτὴν ἃ μὴ πέφυκε φύειν "λαιψηρὰ κυκλῶσαι πτερά" (cf. fr. 181.11), καὶ οὕτως ἀρθεῖσαν ἐκ γῆς ἀναπτέσθαι πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον.

1 ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος codd., corr. Schneidewin 3 κάθημαι Meineke

- ... the eagle set before (them the fox's cubs?) and ... the den ...
- ¹ In the margin opposite "nest" there is a scholium containing the word $\pi \nu \rho \delta s$ 'fire' (cf. fr. 180).

176 Atticus

For if one follows a single path which is to lead to something insignificant and paltry, it is not possible to reach greater goals set on the heights.

Do you see where that lofty crag is, rugged and hostile? On it (the eagle) sits, making light of your assault.¹

To climb this lofty crag was an impossibility for that shrewd and sly creature. In order for the fox to get to the same place as the eagle's nestlings, either they had to meet up with some mischance and fall to the ground, their nest destroyed, or the fox, contrary to its nature, had "to wheel on nimble wings" and rising from the earth in this way fly up to the lofty crag.

¹ Perhaps the fox is addressing herself.

177 Stob. 1.3.34

ὧ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
 σὺ δ᾽ ἔργ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ὁρậς
 λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
 ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

1-4 Clem. Strom. 5.127.1, Euseb. praep. ev. 13.13.54

 $2 \, \dot{a}\nu\theta\rho\dot{\omega}\pi$ ους Clem., Euseb. $3 \, \kappa a\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu$ ιστας Stob., καὶ $\dot{a} \, \theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu$ ις Clem., $\tau\epsilon$ καὶ $\dot{a}\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu$ ιστα Euseb., corr. Matthiae et Liebel

178 Porphyrius in Hom. Il. 24.315 (p. 275.1 Schrader)

εἴωθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος μελάμπυγον τοῦτον καλεῖν (sc. τὸν μέλανα αἰετόν)·

μή τευ μελαμπύγου τύχης.

άλλος γὰρ ὁ πύγαργος, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ μέλας ὅλος.

Tzetz. in Lyc. 91 (ii.50.23 Scheer), " $\pi \acute{v} \gamma a \rho \gamma o \nu$ "

εἰσὶ γὰρ μελάμπυγοι ‹καὶ› πύγαργοι εἴδη ἀετῶν κατ ᾿Αρχίλοχον . . . ὁ δὲ δειλὸς πάλιν πύγαργος λέγεται, ὡς λευκὴν ἔχων τὴν πυγήν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τῷ παροιμίᾳ, "οὖπω μελαμπύγῳ τετύχηκας" . . . Θεία δὲ ἡ ᾿Ωκεανοῦ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοῦτο παισὶν εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, "οὖπω μελαμπύγῳ τετυχήκατε."

Zenob. Athous 2.85 (Miller, Mélanges 367)

μελαμπύγω συνέτυχες παρὰ ᾿Αρχιλόχω κεῖται. ὁ γὰρ

177 Stobaeus, Anthology¹

Zeus, father Zeus, yours is the rule in heaven, you oversee men's deeds, wicked and lawful, and both the violence and the justice of beasts are your concern.²

 1 Stobaeus ascribes the fragment to Aeschylus, Clement to Archilochus. 2 No doubt spoken by the fox.

178 Porphyry on Homer, Iliad

Archilochus too used to call this (sc. the black eagle) black-rumped:

lest you encounter one that is black-rumped1

For another is white-rumped and another all black.

Tzetzes on Lycophron, "white-rumped"

For according to Archilochus there are black-rumped and white-rumped varieties of eagles . . . The cowardly one is called white-rumped, since its rump is white, in contrast to the proverb "not yet have you encountered the black-rumped" . . . And Theia, daughter of Oceanus, said this to her own children, "not yet have you encountered the black-rumped."

Zenobius of Athos

"You have met with the black-rumped." This is found in

Ήρακλης καὶ λάσιος καὶ μελάμπυγος ἐγένετο. λέγουσι δὲ ὅτι τῶν Κερκώπων ἡ μήτηρ προύλεγεν αὐτοῖς τὸν μελάμπυγον φυλάξασθαι μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συλληφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος καὶ δεθέντες τοὺς πόδας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς κρεμαμένας εἶχον ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτὸν μελάμπυγον ἐγέλασαν. καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἐρωτηθέντες τῆς μητρὸς τὴν πρόρρησιν εἶπον, καὶ οὕτω φιλανθρωπίας ὥς φασιν ἔτυχον.

Hesych.

μή τευ μελαμπύγου τύχοις· μή τινος ἀνδρείου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ τύχοις.

τύχης Porph., alii; τύχοις Hesych., alii

179 Et. Mag. 32.26

αἰηνές τὸ δεινὸν καὶ πολύστονον. Ἀρχίλοχος προύθηκε παισὶ δεῖπνον αἰηνὲς φέρων.

180 Schol. Ar. Ach. 278 (p. 48 Wilson), "ἐν τῷ φεψάλῳ" ἐν τῷ καπνῷ. φέψαλοι γὰρ οἱ σπινθῆρες . . . καὶ παρὰ ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ δὲ κεῖται

πυρὸς δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φεψάλυξ.

 δ ' $\hat{\eta}\nu$ schol., corr. Schneidewin

Archilochus. For Heracles was hairy and black-rumped. And they say that the mother of the Cercopes warned them to be on their guard against the black-rumped. Afterwards, when they were seized by Heracles and their feet were tied together, they had their heads hanging from his shoulders. And seeing his black rump they burst into laughter. When asked the reason they told him their mother's warning, and so, it is said, they met with kind treatment.

Hesychius, Lexicon

May you not encounter one who is black-rumped: may you not encounter one who is strong and powerful.

¹ Most of the many sources (see Bossi 191-96) connect this fragment with the tale of Heracles and the Cercopes, but the words are appropriate in the mouth of the fox, warning the eagle that it may encounter one who is stronger (in this case, Zeus).

179 Etymologicum Magnum

αἰηνές: terrible and lamentable, as in Archilochus:

(the eagle) carried and set before its young a woeful meal

180 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Acharnians ("in the sparks")

In the smoke, for $\phi \dot{\epsilon} \psi \alpha \lambda o_i$ are sparks . . . And the word is also found in Archilochus:

a spark of fire (was) in it

181 P. Oxy. xxii.2316, ed. Lobel

] τάτην[
μ]έγ' ἦείδει κακ[όν
φ]ρέ[ν]ας
] δ' ἀμήχανον τ.[
] ακον·
] .ανων μεμνημένος[
] .ην κλύσας
κέ]λευθον ὧκέως δι' αἰθέρος[

g.

10

5

κε]λευθον ωκεως δι αιθερος[λαιψηρὰ κυ]κλώσας πτερά]ν ήσ · σὸς δὲ θυμὸς ἔλπεται

11 cf. Atticum (ad fr. 176), Plut. de garrul. 10.507a, Plut. amat. 3.750b

4 init. suppl. Lasserre, fin. Peek 8 ὀρ] ϕ ανῶν Lobel 9 κ[] $\dot{\nu}\sigma$ ας pap., sscr. λ 10 init., de τ άμνων cogit. Lobel

182-187

182 Hephaest. de poem. 7.2 (p. 71 Consbruch)

εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ οἱ ἀρρενικῶς οὕτω καλούμενοι ἐπωδοί, ὅταν μεγάλω στίχω περιττόν τι ἐπιφέρηται, οἷον "πάτερ—φρένας (fr. 172.1-2), καὶ ἔτι

181 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (3rd c. A.D.)

... (the eagle?) became aware of the great disaster ... heart ... helpless ... mindful of ... washing away(?)... (cleaving?) a path swiftly through the air, wheeling on nimble wings ... your heart expects ...

182 Hephaestion, On Poems

And there are also in poetry the so-called epodes $(\epsilon\pi\omega\delta\circ\iota)$ with masculine termination, whenever some surplus is added to a long line, such as (fr. 172.1-2) and also

εὖτε πρὸς ἆθλα δῆμος ἡθροΐζετο, ἐν δὲ Βατουσιάδης.

1 εὖ τι vel εὖ τοι codd., corr. Bentley ἄεθλα codd., corr. Fick

183

Σελληΐδεω

Hesych. Σελληΐδεω· Σελ<λ>έως υίός, ὁ μάντις, Βατουσιάδης τὸ ὄνομα.

184 Plut. de primo frig. 14.950e

οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοὐναντίον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθείρεται τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα . . . ὁ δ' ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐπὶ τῆς τἀναντία φρονούσης οὐ κακῶς εἶπε·

τῆ μὲν ὕδωρ ἐφόρει δολοφρονέουσα χειρί, θἠτέρη δὲ πῦρ.

185-187 Fabula de Vulpe et Simio

Aesop. fab. 81 (Perry)

έν συνόδω των ἀλόγων ζώων πίθηκος ὀρχησάμενος

198

when the people gathered for the games, and among them Batousiades¹

1 See fr. 183.

183

of the son of Selleus¹

Hesychius, Lexicon s.v. Σελληΐδεω: son of Selleus, the seer named Batousiades.

¹ Probably a mock patronymic with reference to the Selloi, prophets of Zeus at Dodona (cf. *Il*. 16.234 f.). Aristides (test. 17) states that Archilochus "slandered Lycambes, Charilaus, so-and-so the seer . . ." In general see Bossi 207-210.

184 Plutarch, The Principle of Cold

For when anything is destroyed, it does not perish into its opposite but by the action of its opposite, as fire perishes into air by the action of water . . . And Archilochus expressed himself well on a woman who had opposing thoughts:

with deceitful intent she was carrying water in one hand, fire in the other

185-187 Fable of the Fox and the Monkey

Aesop, Fable

A monkey danced in a gathering of animals and having

καὶ εὐδοκιμήσας βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐχειροτονήθη. ἀλώπηξ δὲ αὐτῷ φθονήσασα, ὡς ἐθεάσατο ἔν τινι πάγη κρέας κείμενον, ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔλεγεν ὡς εὑροῦσα θησαυρὸν αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, γέρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας τετήρηκε, καὶ παρήνει αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ ἀμελήτως ἐπιόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παγίδος συλληφθέντος, αἰτιωμένου τε τὴν ἀλώπεκα ὡς ἐνεδρεύσασαν αὐτῷ, ἐκείνη ἔφη "ὧ πίθηκε, σὺ δὲ τοιαύτην πυγὴν (ita Buchholtz: τύχην codd.) ἔχων τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων βασιλεύεις;"

185 Herenn. Philo (v. ad fr. 174)

καὶ πάλιν ὅταν λέγη

ἐρέω τιν' ὕμιν αἶνον, ὧ Κηρυκίδη, ἀχνυμένη σκυτάλη,

 $\epsilon \hat{i} \tau$ $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \phi \dot{\epsilon} \rho \epsilon \iota$

πίθηκος ἤει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς μοῦνος ἀν' ἐσχατιήν, τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῆ συνήντετο, πυκνὸν ἔχουσα νόον.

186 Et. Gen. (p. 44 Calame) = Et. Mag. 715.44 σκανδάλιθρον τὸ πέτευρον τῶν παγίδων . . . ἔστι δὲ

won their esteem was elected king by them. A fox was envious and when he saw meat lying in a trap he led the monkey there and told him he had found a treasure. He said that he had not made use of it himself but had kept watch over it as a prerogative of royalty, and he urged him to take it. When the monkey thoughtlessly approached, he was caught in the trap, and when he accused the fox of having laid an ambush for him, the latter replied: "Monkey, with a rump like that, are you king of the animals?"

185 Herennius Philo (continuing immediately after citing fr. 174)

And again when he says

A grieving message stick, I shall tell you people a fable, Cerveides. 2

Then he continues:

A monkey was on his way alone in the outback apart from the animals, when a crafty fox with guileful mind met him

 1 Some of the sources record the dative, but this is difficult to construe. It seems more likely that the phrase is in apposition to the subject of the verb than to the vocative. In general, see S. West, CQ 38 (1988) 42-48, and n. 1 on test. 64. 2 Probably a mock patronymic, 'Herald's son.'

186 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum σκανδάλιθρον: the spring of traps . . . and it is the bent

τὸ ἐν τῆ παγίδι καμπύλον ξύλον ὧ ἐρείδεται. Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ῥόπτρον ἔφη, οἶον

ρόπτρω ἐρειδόμενον.

187 Ar. Ach. 119-20

ὧ θερμόβουλον πρωκτὸν ἐξυρημένε, τοιόνδε δ', ὧ πίθηκε, τὸν πωγῶν' ἔχων κτλ.

Schol. ad loc. (p. 25 Wilson)

καὶ τοῦτο παρώδηκεν ἐκ τῶν ᾿Αρχιλόχου ἐπ<ῳδ>ῶν" τοιήνδε δ᾽, ὦ πίθηκε, τὴν πυγὴν ἔχων.

188-192

188 P. Colon. 58.36-40, ed. Merkelbach-West, $ZPE\ 14$ (1974) 97

οὖκέ]θ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἁπαλὸν χρόα· κάρφετα[ι γὰρ ἤδη

ὄγμο]ς: κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ] ἀφ' ἱμερτοῦ δὲ θορὼν γλυκὺς ἵμερος π[ροσώπου

....]κεν ἢ γὰρ πολλὰ δή σ' ἐπῆιξεν πνεύμ]ατα χειμερίων ἀνέμων, μάλα πολλάκις δ' ε[

5

wood in the trap on which it presses. Archilochus called it $\dot{\rho} \dot{\rho} \pi \rho \rho \nu$, as in

pressing on the trap spring

187 Aristophanes, Acharnians 119-20

"You who have shaved your hot-desiring arse-hole, and, you monkey, with a beard like yours . . ."

Scholiast on the passage

And this is a parody of Archilochus' epodes:

monkey, with a rump like yours

188 Cologne papyrus (2nd c. A.D.)

No longer does your skin have the soft bloom that it once had; now your furrow is withered, the . . . of ugly old age is taking its toll, and sweet loveliness (has gone?) with a rush from your lovely face. For in truth many a blast of wintry winds has assaulted you, and many a time . . .

 $^{\rm I}$ I.e., the sexual vitality of youth. See C. G. Brown, QUCC n.s. 50 (1995) 29-34.

cf. Hephaest. Ench. 6.3 (v. 1), Ench. 5.3 (v. 2), Atil. Fortunat. (Gramm. Lat. vi.298.6 Keil)

² ὄγμος Hephaest., ολμον Atil., ὄγμοις Snell κακὸν Atil. $3 \pi \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau$ suppl. Slings $4 \beta \dot{\epsilon} \beta \eta$ κεν Lebek

189 Ath. 7.299a

'Ομήρου δὲ εἰπόντος "τείροντ' ἐγχέλυές τε καὶ ἰχθύες" (Il. 21.353), ἀκολούθως ἐποίησε καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

πολλὰς δὲ τυφλὰς ἐγχέλυας ἐδέξω.

οί δὲ ἀττικοί, ὡς Τρύφων φησί (fr. 21 Velsen), τὰς ἐνικὰς χρήσεις ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τοῦ υ τὰς πληθυντικὰς οὐκέτι ἀκολούθως ἐπιφέρουσιν.

έγχέλως Wilamowitz

190 Hephaest. *Ench*. 15.8 (p. 50 Consbruch)

γίνεται δὲ ὁ τελευταῖος τῆς τετραποδίας διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλους ἀδιάφορον καὶ κρητικός·

καὶ βήσσας ὀρέων δυσπαιπάλους, οἷος ἦν ἐφ' ήβης.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\pi$ ' v.1.

191 Stob. 4.20.43

'Αρχιλόχου

τοῖος γὰρ φιλότητος ἔρως ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθεὶς πολλὴν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν, κλέψας ἐκ στηθέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας.

189 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

When Homer said, "the eels and fishes were in distress," Archilochus also composed accordingly:

you received many blind eels1

But although Attic writers, as Tryphon says, know the singular with upsilon, they no longer follow this practice in the plural.²

¹ Probably erotic, 'you received (in your body) many penises.' ² It seems clear that Athenaeus cites Archilochus as a parallel for the Homeric declension. To avoid the synizesis in -υας West adopts Wilamowitz's emendation, but probably the synizesis should be tolerated.

190 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And the last foot of the tetrapody, because the syllable at the end is indifferent, becomes also a cretic:

and $rugged^1$ mountain glens, 2 such was I^3 in my youth

 1 The adjective is judged corrupt by those who reject a cretic in this position. 2 Treated by West (Studies 134 f.) as a metaphor for a woman's body. 3 Or "he in his youth."

191 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

For such a desire for sex coiled itself up under my heart, poured a thick mist down over my eyes, and stole the weak wits from my breast.

192 Plut. sollert. anim. 36.984f

ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ περὶ Κοίρανον ὅντα μυθώδη πίστιν ἔσχε. Πάριος γὰρ ὢν τὸ γένος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ δελφίνων βόλον ἐνσχεθέντων σαγήνη καὶ κινδυνευόντων κατακοπηναι πριάμενος μεθηκε πάντας. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔπλει πεντηκόντορον ἔχων, ὡς φησι, Μιλησίων (Rohde ex Aeliano, ληστῶν Plut.) ἄνδρας ἄγουσαν ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὲ Νάξου καὶ Πάρου πορθμῷ τῆς νεὼς ἀνατραπείσης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφθαρέντων ἐκεῖνον λέγουσι δελφῖνος ὑποδραμόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνακουφίζοντος ἐξενεχθηναι τῆς Σικύνθου (Σικίνου Palmerius pro ignoto Σικύνθου, alii alia) κατὰ σπήλαιον ὁ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν καὶ καλεῖται Κοιράνειον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ λέγεται ποιῆσαι τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον·

πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἵππιος Ποσειδέων.

έπεὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης οἱ προσήκοντες ἔκαιον, ἐπεφαίνοντο πολλοὶ δελφῖνες παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ὥσπερ ἐπιδεικνύντες ἑαυτοὺς ἤκοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ παραμείναντες ἄχρις οὖ συνετελέσθησαν.

cf. test. 4

Ποσειδῶν Plut., corr. Schneidewin

192 Plutarch, The Cleverness of Animals

As a result of this the fabulous story about Koiranos gained credence. A Parian by birth he bought in Byzantium a catch of dolphins that had been entangled in a net and were in danger of being carved up, and he set them all free. Shortly afterward he was sailing, they say, in a penteconter carrying men from Miletus. In the strait between Naxos and Paros the ship capsized and although the others drowned they say that a dolphin raced under Koiranos, lifted him up and carried him opposite a cave in Sicynthos(?). The cave is pointed out up to the present and is called Koiraneion. And it is said that on this man Archilochus composed the line:

out of fifty men Poseidon Hippios spared Koiranos

And when later he died and his relatives were burning his body near the sea, many dolphins appeared along the shore, as though showing that they had come for his funeral and were waiting until it had been completed.¹

 $^{\rm l}$ The story is also told by Phylarchus (FGrHist 81 F 26) and Aelian (H.A. 8.3), but without mentioning Archilochus. Phylarchus makes Koiranos a Milesian and places the shipwreck off Myconos.

193, 194(?)

193 Stob. 4.20.45

'Αρχιλόχου·

δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθω, ἄψυχος, χαλεπῆσι θεῶν ὀδύνησιν ἕκητι πεπαρμένος δι' ὀστέων.

194 Grammaticus ap. Nauck, Lexicon Vindob. p. 269 βακχεία, καὶ

ἔξωθεν ἕκαστος

ἔπινεν, ἐν δὲ βακχίη,

Άρχίλοχος.

195 Hephaest. Ench. 7.2 (p. 21 Consbruch)

καὶ τὸ τετράμετρον (δακτυλικὸν) εἰς δισύλλαβον καταληκτικόν, ὧ πρῶτος μὲν ἐχρήσατο ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐν ἐπφδοῖς·

φαινόμενον κακὸν οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι,

193 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Archilochus:

I am in the throes of desire, miserable and lifeless, pierced through my bones with grievous pangs thanks to the gods.

194 Anonymous Grammarian

βακχεία, and in Archilochus,

outside each one was drinking, and inside (there was?) bacchic revelry¹

¹ Colometry uncertain. The grammarian is concerned with words that can be spelled differently, in this instance words that can end either in $-\epsilon \iota a$ or in $-\iota a$.

195 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And the dactylic tetrameter¹ with disyllabic close, first used by Archilochus in epodes:

to bring home for oneself a manifest evil,2

ύστερον δε καὶ ᾿Ανακρέων τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ ὅλα ἄσματα συνέθηκεν.

196-196a

196 Hephaest. *Ench.* 15.9 (p. 50 Consbruch)

τρίτον δ' ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ ἀσυνάρτητον ἐκ δακτυλικοῦ πενθημιμεροῦς καὶ ἰαμβικοῦ διμέτρου ἀκαταλήκτου

ἀλλά μ' ὁ λυσιμελής, ὧταῖρε, δάμναται πόθος.

196a P. Colon. 58.1-35, ed. Merkelbach-West, ZPE 14 (1974) 97-112

πάμπαν ἀποσχόμενος·
ἶσον δὲ τολμ[
εἰ δ' ὧν ἐπείγεαι καί σε θυμὸς ἰθύει.
ἔστιν ἐν ἡμετέρου
ἡ νῦν μέγ' ἱμείρε[ι

καλὴ τέρεινα παρθένος δοκέω δέ μι[ν εἶδος ἄμωμον ἔχειν τὴν δὴ σὰ ποίη[σαι φίλην,"

5

and later Anacreon composed even whole poems in this meter.³

¹ Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat.* i.520.15 Keil) states that Horace's seventh ode, consisting of a dactylic hexameter followed by a tetrameter, is in the Archilochian meter, and presumably this tetrameter was also preceded by a hexameter.

² Possibly a wife.

³ Hephaestion quotes Anac. fr. 394.

196 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

A third asynartete in Archilochus is formed from a dactylic penthemimer and an acatalectic iambic dimeter:

but, my friend, limb-loosening desire overwhelms $\mathrm{me}^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$

¹ Perhaps vv. 2-3 of fr. 196a.

196a Cologne papyrus (2nd c. A.D.)1

"... holding off completely; and endure (I shall endure?)... likewise.

But if you are in a hurry and desire impels you, there is in our house one who now greatly longs for (marriage?).

a lovely tender maiden.² In my opinion she has a faultless form; make her your (loved one)."

	τοσαῦτ' ἐφώνει· τὴν δ' ἐγώνταμει[βόμην·
10	"'Αμφιμεδοῦς θύγατερ,
	$\dot{\epsilon}\sigma heta\lambda\hat{\eta}$ ς τε καὶ [
	γυναικός, ἣν νῦν γῆ κατ' εὐρώεσσ' ἔ[χει,
	τ]έρψιές εἰσι θεῆς
	πολλαὶ νέοισιν ἀνδ[ράσιν
15	παρέξ τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα τῶν τις ἀρκέσε[ι.
	τ]αῦτα δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίης
	$\epsilon \hat{v} au' \hat{a} u \mu \epsilon \lambda a u heta \hat{\eta} [\iota$
	έ]γώ τε καὶ σὺ σὺν θεῶι βουλεύσομεν.
	π]είσομαι ὥς με κέλεαι·
20	πολλόν μ' ε[
	$ heta ho$]ιγκοῦ δ' ἔνερ $ heta\epsilon$ καὶ πυλέων ὑπο ϕ [
	$\mu]\dot{\eta}$ τι μ έγαι $ ho\epsilon$, ϕ ίλ η ·
	σχήσω γὰρ ἐς ποη[φόρους
	κ]ήπους· τὸ δὴ νῦν γνῶθι. Νεοβούλη[ν
25	<i>ἄ]λλος ἀνὴρ ἐχέτω</i> ·
	αἰαῖ, πέπειρα, δὶς [τόση,
	ἄν] $ heta$ ος δ' ἀπερρύηκε παρ $ heta$ ενή $ ilde{i}$ ον
	κ]αὶ χάρις ἡ πρὶν ἐπῆν·
	κόρον γὰρ ουκ[
30]ης δὲ μέτρ' ἔφηνε μαινόλις γυνή.
	ές] κόρακας ἔπεχε
	μὴ τοῦτ' εφιταν[
	ő]πως ἐγὼ γυναῖκα τ[o]ṭαύτην ἔχων
	γεί]τοσι χάρμ' ἔσομαι
35	πολλον σε βούλο[μαι

Such were her words, and I replied: "Daughter of Amphimedo, a worthy and (prudent?)

woman, whom now the mouldy earth holds, many are the delights the goddess³ offers young men

besides the sacred act;⁴ one of these will suffice. But at leisure, whenever . . has become dark,⁵

you and I will deliberate on these matters with heaven's help. I shall do as you bid me. (You arouse in me?) a strong (desire?).

But, my dear, do not begrudge my . . . under the coping and the gates. For I shall steer towards the grassy

garden;6 be sure now of this. As for Neoboule, let (some?) other man have her. Ugh, she's overripe,

twice your age,

and her girlhood's flower has lost its bloom as has the charm which formerly was on it. For (her desire is?) insatiable,

and the sex-mad woman has revealed the full measure of her (infatuation?). To hell with her! (Let) no (one bid?) this,

that I have such a wife and become a laughingstock to my neighbours. I much prefer (to have?) you,

σὺ] μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' ἄπιστος οὕτε διπλόη, η διε μάλ' δευτέρη, πολλούς δὲ ποιείτα[ι φίλους. δέ δοιχ' ὅπως μη τυφλά κάλιτήμερα σπ ουδηι ἐπειγόμενος 40 τως ωσπερ ή κίνων τέκω." τοσ αῦτ' ἐφώνεον παρθένον δ' ἐν ἄνθε σιν τηλ]εθάεσσι λαβών ἔκλινα· μαλθακῆι δ[έ μιν χλαί]νηι καλύψας, αὐχέν' ἀγκάληις ἔχω[ν, 45]ματι παυ[σ]αμένην τως ώστε νεβρ[μαζ ων τε χερσίν ήπίως έφηψάμην ρέφηνε νέον ήβης ἐπήλυσιν χρόα 50 απαν τ]ε σώμα καλον αμφαφώμενος]ον ἀφῆκα μένος ξανθής ἐπιψαύ[ων τριχός.

1 ανασχ sser. πο 2 τόλμ[ησον Snell, τολμ[ήσω West 5 fin. γάμου M.-W., σ' ἔχειν Slings 8 Ebert-Luppe 11 [σ αόφρονος Marcovich 15 cf. Hesych. π αρὲξ τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα· ἔξω τῆς μίξεως 16 $\hat{\epsilon}$ πησυχιησ pap. 20 ἐ[πορνύεις πόθον Slings 21 ὑπο ϕ [θάνειν West, ὑποφ[λύσαι Slings et Latacz 24 fin. δέ τις M.-W. 26 explevit West ex Hesych. (cf. fr. 242) 29 οὐκ [ἔχει πόθων Austin, οὐ κ[ατέσχε πω Μ.-W. $30 \, \tilde{a}\tau \, \eta_{\rm S} \, {\rm Snell}$ 32 $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\tau'$ Marcovich, $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\hat{\iota}\iota'$ West, $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha[\dot{\iota}]\eta$ Koenen 35 fin. πάρος Μ.-W., λαβεῖν Slings 38 fin. M.-W., δόλους Bonanno 42 εφωνευν pap. 46-47 εύγ ματι παρ- $[\phi]$ $\alpha\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$. . . $\nu\epsilon\beta\rho[\dot{\rho}\nu$ $\dot{\epsilon}i\lambda\dot{\rho}\mu\eta\nu$ Slings $49 \, \tilde{\eta} \iota \pi \epsilon \, \rho \, \text{Page}$

since you are neither untrustworthy nor twofaced, whereas she is quite precipitous and makes many (her lovers).

I'm afraid that if I press on in haste (I may be the parent) of blind and premature offspring just like the proverbial bitch."

So much I said. I took the maiden and laid her down in the blooming flowers. With a soft

cloak I covered her, holding her neck with my arm, . . . as she ceased(?) just like a fawn . . . $,^7$

and with my hands I gently took hold of her breasts (where?) she revealed her young flesh, the approach (bewitchment?) of her prime,

and caressing all her lovely body I let go my (white?) force, 8 touching her blond (hair).

- ¹ I have listed only a few of the many supplements and readings that have been proposed. For a much larger list and a judicious commentary see Slings 24-61. Supplements unidentified by author's name are those given in the first edition. Some follow the papyrus and print in two-line stanzas.

 ² Presumably Neoboule, the speaker's sister.

 ³ Aphrodite.
- $^{\rm 4}$ Sexual intercourse, according to Hesychius' gloss on the phrase.
- ⁵ Perhaps the lacuna contains a reference to some part of the girl's body, with the verb in the sense of 'to ripen.'
- 6 'Coping,' 'gates' and 'grassy garden' are almost certainly sexual metaphors, for 'pubic bone,' 'vagina' and 'pubic hair.'
- ⁷ With Slings' proposed text the translation would be: "as she tried to persuade me with entreaty I caught her just like a fawn."

8 Clearly a reference to ejaculation.

197 Hephaest. *Ench*. 6.2 (p. 18 Consbruch)

τρίμετρον δὲ (τροχαϊκὸν) καταληκτικόν, οῗόν ἐστι τὸ ἀρχιλόχου, ὅ τινες ἀκέφαλον ἰαμβικὸν καλοῦσι·

Ζεῦ πάτερ, γάμον μὲν οὐκ ἐδαισάμην.

198-199 = testt. 51-52

200 Et. Gen. (pp. 41-42 Calame) = Et. Mag. 689.1 = Suda (iii.55.23 Adler) = Zonaras p. 1573 T.

προΐκτης· . . . τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἵξεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι δωρεάν τινα λαμβάνειν, ὡς ἀρχίλοχος· (ἀριστοφάνης Casadio)

έμέο δὲ κεῖνος οὐ καταπροΐξεται.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\hat{v}$ vel $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\hat{ov}$ codd. ($\epsilon\hat{v}$ Suda), corr. West

201 Zenob. 5.68 (*Paroem. Gr.* i.147.7 L.-S.)

πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχ $\hat{\iota}ν$ ος $\hat{\epsilon}ν$ μέγα.

μέμνηται ταύτης `Αρχίλοχος ἐν ἐπῳδῆ, γράφει δὲ καὶ "Ομηρος τὸν στίχον . . . λέγεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πανουργοτάτων.

197 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And the catalectic trochaic trimeter, such as that of Archilochus, which some call an acephalous iambic (trimeter):

Father Zeus, I had no wedding feast

200 Etymologica

προΐκτης: ... according to some from $\mathring{ι}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, to receive some gift, as in Archilochus:

he will not get off scot-free from me

¹ The Et. Gen. goes on to cite a second etymology (see fr. 296).

201 Zenobius

The fox knows many tricks, the hedgehog one, but it's a big one.¹

Archilochus mentions this proverb in an epode and Homer also writes the line $^2\dots$ The proverb is said of the greatest scoundrels.

¹ Some identify the fox with Archilochus, but it is more probably the hedgehog, unless neither refers to the poet himself.
² West prints the verse also as "Homer," *Margites* (fr. 5).

202 Schol. Nic. Th. 322 (p. 142 Crugnola), "κεράων ἔμπλην δέμας ἄμμορον"

τὸ δὲ ἔμπλην δύο σημαίνει, τὸ χωρὶς καὶ τὸ πλησίον ἀντὶ τοῦ χωρὶς παρ' Ἀρχιλόχ ψ

ἔμπλην ἐμέο τε καὶ φίλου.

cf. Apoll. Soph. p. 67.30 Bekker $\phi(\lambda o \nu, \phi \delta \lambda o \nu, \dot{\epsilon} \phi' \, \delta \lambda o \nu \, \text{schol.}, \, \phi(\lambda o \nu \, \text{Apoll.}$

204 Steph. Byz. (p. 507.5 Meineke) = Herodian. (i.189.26 Lentz)

Πάρος· νῆσος, ἣν (v.l. ἢ) καὶ πόλιν Ἀρχίλοχος {αὐτὴν} καλεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐπῳδοῖς.

205-295. Incerti Generis

205 Ath. 15.688c

τῷ δὲ τοῦ μύρου ὀνόματι πρῶτος ᾿Αρχίλοχος κέχρηται λέγων

οὖκ ἂν μύροισι γρηῦς ἐοῦσ᾽ ἠλείφεο. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δ᾽ ἔφη: (fr. 48.5-6)

cf. Plut. Pericles 28.7

 $\gamma \rho \alpha \hat{v}$ ς Ath., corr. Schneidewin $\mathring{\eta}$ λεί ϕ εο Plut., -ετο Ath.

202 Scholiast on Nicander, Theriaca ("its deadly body is without horns")

 $\tilde{\epsilon}\mu\pi\lambda\eta\nu$ has two meanings, 'without' and 'near'; in Archilochus it means 'without':

near1 me and a (my) friend2

¹ In its one Homeric occurrence (Il. 2.526) the preposition means 'near' and so probably in Archilochus too. The Alexandrians may have assumed a connection with $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\nu$. ² Some read Φόλου and see a reference to the myth of Heracles and the centaur (cf. Stes. fr. 181 = S 19).

204 Stephanus of Byzantium, *Lexicon of Place Names* Paros: an island which Archilochus also calls a city in his epodes.

205-295. Of Uncertain Classification

205 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Archilochus is the first to use the word $\mu\nu\rho\rho\nu$ ('perfume'), saying:

you, an old woman, would not be anointing yourself with perfume¹

And also elsewhere he said (fr. 48.5-6).

¹ Presumably something like "if you had not lost your senses" is to be understood. 206

περὶ σφυρὸν παχεῖα, μισητὴ γυνή

 π ερίσφυρος? West (v. Bossi 216-19)

Eust. in Hom. Od. 10.114 (1651.1)

ἄλλοι δὲ μισήτην βαρυτόνως, πρὸς διαστολὴν τῆς ὀξυτονουμένης, τὴν κοινὴν καὶ ῥαδίαν, λέγοντες καὶ χρῆσιν αὐτῆς εἶναι παρὰ Κρατίνῳ (fr. 354 K.-A.) καὶ Σώφρονι (fr. 130 Kaibel). χρᾶται δὲ αὐτῆ καὶ παροιμία ἐν τῷ "περὶ σφυρὸν παχεῖα μισήτη γυνή."

Herenn. Philo de diversis verborum significationibus (p. 194 Palmieri, 83 Nickau Ammonius)

μισητη ὀξυτόνως καὶ μισήτη βαρυτόνως διαφέρει παρὰ ἀττικοῖς, ὥς φησι Τρύφων (fr. 10 Velsen) ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀττικῆς προσφδίας. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ὀξυτονήσωμεν, φησίν, τὴν ἀξίαν μίσους δηλοῖ, ἐὰν δὲ βαρυτονήσωμεν, καταφερὴς πρὸς συνουσίαν. τὴν ⟨δὲ⟩διαφορὰν τ[ῶν σημαινο]μένων καὶ παρὰ Δωριεῦσί φησι φυλάττεσθαι καὶ παρὰ Ἰωσιν· "μισήτη γυνή" ὁ ἀρχίλοχος.

Eust. in Hom. Il. 23.775 (iv.836.1 V.d.Valk)

... Αρχίλοχος δὲ παχεῖαν καὶ δῆμον ἤγουν κοινὴν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐργάτιν, ἔτι καὶ μυσάχνην πρὸς ἀναλογίαν τοῦ άλὸς ἄχνη, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον.

206

a revolting woman, fat about the ankles1

 $^{
m 1}$ Only a selection of the many testimonia is recorded here. For the others see West's edition.

Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

Others record $\mu \omega \dot{\eta} \tau \eta$ without oxytone accent in distinction from the word with it, i.e., a common woman of easy morals, mentioning its use in Cratinus and Sophron. It is also used in the proverb, "a lewd woman fat about the ankles."

Herennius Philo, On the Different Meanings of Words

μισητή with oxytone accent and μισήτη without it are different in Attic, as Tryphon says in the second book of his *On Attic Prosody*. For if we accent it with oxytone, he says, it indicates one who is deserving of hatred, but if we do not so accent it, it is one who is lewd. The distinction in meanings, he says, is preserved in Doric and in Ionic. Cf. Archilochus. "lewd woman."

Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

And Archilochus (spoke abusively of a prostitute) as "fat" and a "public woman," i.e., common property of the people, and a "worker for hire" and in addition "froth of defilement" on the analogy of froth of the sea, and such like.

Hesych.

ἐργάτις· τὴν Νεοβούλην (-λιαν cod.) λέγει. καὶ παχεῖαν.

207 V. Eust. in Hom. $\it{Il}.$ ad fr. 206 $\delta\hat{\eta}\mu o\varsigma$

208 Ut supra

ἐργάτις

209 Ut supra

μυσαχνή

210 Et. Gen. (p. 44 Calame) + Et. Sym. cod. V marg. (Gaisford ad Et. Mag. 752.17) + Epimer. in Hom. (p. 697 Dyck)

τοῦτο τὸ τέο τετόλμηκεν ἀρχίλοχος καὶ τεοῦ, οἶον τίς ἆρα δαίμων, καὶ τέου χολούμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ τίνος.

 \mathring{a} ρa codd., corr. Dübner $\tau\epsilon$ ο \hat{v} Etym. ($\tau\epsilon$ Epimer.), corr. Bergk

211 Ammon. in Porph. isag. (Comm. in Arist. Graeca iv(3).9.8, cf. addenda p. 134)

έπειδη γαρ έκεινοι σοφον ωνόμαζον τον ήντιναοῦν

Hesychius, Lexicon

A worker for hire: the reference is to Neoboule. Also (she is called) fat.

207 Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad* a public woman

208 As above

a worker for hire

209 As above

froth of defilement¹

 1 We should not assume that these three words occurred in the nominative or even in the same poem.

210 Etymologica

Archilochus has ventured on this $\tau \epsilon o$ and $\tau \epsilon o \hat{v}$, as in what god and in anger at whom instead of $\tau i \nu o s$.

211 Ammonius on Porphyry, Introduction to Aristotle's Categories

For they called $\sigma \circ \phi \circ s$ ('skilled') one who pursued every

έπιόντα τέχνην ὧν εἶς ἦν καὶ ἀρχίλοχος λέγων τρίαιναν ἐσθλὸς καὶ κυβερνήτης σοφός. ἐσθλὸς cod. D, ἐσθλὴν cett.

212 Et. Gen. (p. 28 Calame) = Et. Mag. 424.18 ἠκή· ἡ ὀξύτης τοῦ σιδήρου· ᾿Αρχίλοχος· ἴστη κατ᾽ ἠκὴν κύματός τε κἀνέμου. ἤκην et ἠκὴν codd.

213 Schol. Ar. *Ran*. 704 (p. 296 Dübner), "τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις"

Δίδυμός (p. 249 Schmidt) φησι παρὰ τῷ Αἰσχύλῳ (cf. Cho. 587); ἔστι δὲ ὄντως παρ' ἀρχιλόχῳ·

ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις.

214 Hesych. s.v. σάλπιγξ

σιγὴν ἡ σάλπιγξ· ἀντὶ τοῦ κῆρυξ (cf. Aesch. Eum. 566-71). τινὲς δὲ ὄρνιν ποιόν, καὶ ὅργανον πολεμικόν, καὶ θαλασσίαν σάλπιγγα· παρ' ἀρχιλόχῳ δὲ τὸν στρόμβον ἐκδέχονται· ‹ἔστι› (suppl. Bossi) δὲ καὶ Σάλπιγγος ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν παρὰ ἀργείοις.

 $\sigma\iota\gamma\eta\nu\sigma\sigma\acute{a}\lambda\pi\iota\gamma\xi$ Hesych., corr. Heinsius

craft, and among them was Archilochus who says good with fishing spear and a skilled helmsman

212 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum $\mathring{\eta} \kappa \mathring{\eta}$, the sharpness of iron, cf. Archilochus:

he set 1 (the ship?) against the edge of wave and wind 2

 $^{\rm 1}$ Or imperative. $^{\rm 2}$ Possibly imagery for a critical situation.

213 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Frogs ("and this too when we have the city in the embrace of the waves")

Didymus says that this occurs in Aeschylus, but it actually occurs in Archilochus:

with their lives in the embrace of the waves

214 Hesychius, Lexicon

 σ άλπιγ ξ : the trumpet creates silence in place of a herald. Some explain σ άλπιγ ξ as a kind of bird, and as an instrument of war, and as a trumpet of the sea¹ (i.e., a conch). And in Archilochus it is explained as a conch. There is also a temple of Athena of the Trumpet among the Argives.

 1 θαλασσίαν (corrected to -ίην) is attributed by some to Archilochus, but Bossi 220-22 is probably right to assign it to Hesychius, and also to explain the accusative σ άλπιγγα as determined by the wording of the gloss rather than necessarily as the case found in Archilochus.

215 Tzetz. alleg. Hom. Ω 125 sqq.

ποιει ὅπερ και ὕστερον ἀρχίλοχος ἐκείνος· σφῆς ἀδελφῆς γὰρ σύζυγον πνιγέντα τῆ θαλάσση περιπαθώς ἀδύρετο, γράφειν μὴ θέλων ὅλως, λέγων πρὸς τοὺς βιάζοντας συγγράμμασιν ἐγκύπτειν·

καί μ' οὖτ' ἰάμβων οὖτε τερπωλέων μέλει.

Quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 11.

216 Schol. Plat. *Lach*. 187b (p. 117 Greene), "ἐν τῷ Καρὶ ὑμῦν ὁ κίνδυνος"

παροιμία, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισφαλέστερον καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κινδυνευόντων. Κάρες γὰρ δοκοῦσι πρῶτοι μισθοφορῆσαι, ὅθεν καὶ εἰς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς προέταττον . . . μέμνηται δ' αὐτῆς ᾿Αρχίλοχος λέγων

καὶ δὴ ἀπίκουρος ὥστε Κὰρ κεκλήσομαι.

217 Et. Gen. (p. 24 Calame)

έγκυτί . . . ὀξυτόνως τὸ ἐγκυτὶ ἐπίρρημα γέγονε, κείμενον παρ' Ἀρχιλόχω

χαίτην ἀπ' ὤμων ἐγκυτὶ κεκαρμένος. ἐγκυτὶς Bergk

215 Tzetzes, Homeric Allegories

He does what that Archilochus did later; for when his sister's husband was drowned at sea, he mourned intensely, refusing to compose at all and saying to those who were pressuring him to devote himself to his compositions:

and I have no interest in iambi1 or amusements

¹ See Introduction.

216 Scholiast on Plato, Laches ("your risk is put on the Carian")

A proverb, used of those who run a particularly dangerous risk on behalf of others. For the Carians seem to have been the first mercenaries and as a result they used to be assigned the front rank in war . . . Archilochus mentions the proverb when he says

and what's more I shall be called an auxiliary like a Carian

217 Etymologicum Genuinum

The adverb $\epsilon \gamma \kappa \nu \tau i$ has an oxytone accent, present in Archilochus:

with hair shorn away from the shoulders close to the skin

218 Schol. Pind. Ol. 12.10 (i.351.19 Dr.), "σύμβολον"

a. σύμβολον ἀρσενικῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως. b. συμβόλους δὲ λέγομεν πταρμούς, ἢ φήμας, ἢ ἀπαντήσεις, ὡς ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

μετέρχομαί σε σύμβολον ποιεόμενος.

cf. schol. bT Hom. Il. 23.199

ποιούμενος, -μένη, -μαι codd. schol. Pind., πονεύμενος schol. T Hom. (om. b)

219 P. Hibeh 173 = P. Lond. inv. 2946

'Ομήρ[ου· "τεῖ]χος δ' οὐ χραίσμ[ησε τετυγμένον οὐδέ τι τάφος" (ΙΙ. 14.66).] 'Άρχι[λόχου·]

χραίσμησε δ' οὔτεπ[π[ύργος οὔτε (Lasserre) τείχεα (Slings)

220

'Ομήρου' "ὧς π[οτ]
έ τις ἐρέει· τότε μοι χ[άνοι εὐρεῖα χθών" (Il. 4.182).] 'Αρχιλόχου·

]. ἐμοὶ τόθ' ἥδε γῆ χ[$\chi [\text{άνοι Lasserre}, \chi [\text{ασμωμένη West}]$

218 Scholiast on Pindar, Olympian 12

a. There is a masculine $\sigma \acute{\nu} \mu \beta o \lambda o s$ and a neuter $\sigma \acute{\nu} \mu \beta o \lambda o \nu$. b. We use the term $\sigma \acute{\nu} \mu \beta o \lambda o \iota$ for sneezes or sayings or meetings, as in Archilochus:

I go in search of you, considering it an omen1

 $^{\rm l}$ Translation uncertain. Perhaps the meaning is, 'I consider my meeting you an omen.'

219 Hibeh papyrus (3rd c. B.C.)

Homer: "Neither the wall that had been constructed nor the ditch provided a defence." Archilochus:

neither the (tower nor the wall?) provided a defence

220 Same papyrus

Homer: "Thus one will say; then may the wide earth gape open for me." Archilochus:

... then may this earth (gape open?) for me

221

'Ομήρου' [...... ἀ]θανάτοισι θεο[îς] 'Αρχιλόχου' ἐξουδένιζ' ἔπειτα σὺν θεοί[ς κουδεισδ leg. Turner, ξουδενιζ West (redarguit Slings)

222 Et. Gud. col. 390.42 Sturz

μήδεα· τὰ αἰδοῖα. παρὰ τὸ μέδειν καὶ ἄρχειν τῆς γενέσεως, <*μέδεα,> καὶ μέζεα κατὰ μετάθεσιν τοῦ δ εἰς ζ. ἢ *μέδεα καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ ε εἰς η μήδεα . . . ἢ καὶ <μέζεα τὰ> μέσα τοῦ σώματος· <ʿΗσίοδος> (Op. 512), "οὐρὴν δ' ὑπὸ μέζε' ἔθεντο," ὡς καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

ίνας δὲ μελέων <τῶν μέσων> ἀπέθρισε.

 $\langle \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \; \mu \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \omega \nu \rangle$ add. West

223

τέττιγος έδράξω πτεροῦ

e Leone et Constant. restituit Diels $\pi \tau \epsilon \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ e Constant. Wilamowitz $\tau \acute{\epsilon} \tau \iota \nu \alpha \delta \acute{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \eta \phi \alpha \varsigma \ \pi \tau \epsilon \rho o \hat{v}$ e Luciano Bergk

Luc. Pseudolog. 1 (iii.133.6 Macleod)

τὸ δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αρχιλόχου ἐκεῖνο ἤδη σοι λέγω, ὅτι τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας, εἴπερ τινὰ ποιητὴν ἰάμβων ἀκούεις ᾿Αρχίλοχον, Πάριον τὸ γένος, ἄνδρα κομιδῆ

221 Same papyrus

Homer: "... immortal gods ..." Archilochus:

... then with the gods ...

222 Etymologicum Gudianum

 $\mu\eta\hat{\delta}\epsilon\alpha$: the genitals. From $\mu\epsilon\hat{\delta}\epsilon\nu$ ('to rule over') and to begin procreation we have $\langle *\mu\epsilon\hat{\delta}\epsilon\alpha \rangle$, and, with exchange of delta and zeta, $\mu\epsilon\hat{\zeta}\epsilon\alpha$. Either $*\mu\epsilon\hat{\delta}\epsilon\alpha$ and, with eta for epsilon, $\mu\eta\hat{\delta}\epsilon\alpha$... or also $\langle \mu\epsilon\hat{\zeta}\epsilon\alpha$ the \rangle middle parts of the body. Cf. Hesiod, "they put their tails under their genitals," and Archilochus:

severed the sinews of (the middle) parts1

¹ Text of source and fragment uncertain. I have followed West, but with no great confidence. Cf. West, *Studies* 136, and Bossi 224-25.

223

you caught1 a cicada by the wing

Lucian. The Mistaken Critic

I now say to you what Archilochus said, that you have caught a cicada by the wing, if in fact you have heard of an iambic poet Archilochus, a Parian by birth, a man who was

έλεύθερον καὶ παρρησία συνόντα, μηδèν ὀκνοῦντα ὀνειδίζειν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα λυπήσειν ἔμελλε τοὺς περιπετεῖς ἐσομένους τῆ χολῆ τῶν ἰάμβων αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν πρός τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούσας κακῶς τέττιγα ἔφη τὸν ἄνδρα εἰληφέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ, εἰκάζων ἑαυτὸν τῷ τέττιγι ὁ ᾿Αρχίλοχος φύσει μὲν λάλῳ ὅντι καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀνάγκης, ὁπόταν δὲ καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ ληφθῆ, γεγωνότερον βοῶντι. "Καὶ σὰ δή," ἔφη, "ὧ κακόδαιμον ἄνθρωπε, τί βουλόμενος ποιητὴν λάλον παροξύνεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας ζητοῦντα καὶ ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ἰάμβοις;"

(2) Ταῦτά σοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπειλῶ, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία τῷ ἀρχιλόχῳ εἰκάζων ἐμαυτόν—πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω—σοὶ δὲ μυρία συνειδὼς ἰάμβων ἄξια βεβιωμένα, πρὸς ἄ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδ' ἀν ὁ ἀρχίλοχος αὐτὸς διαρκέσαι, προσπαρακαλέσας καὶ τὸν Σιμωνίδην καὶ τὸν Ἱππώνακτα συμποιεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ κἂν ἔν τι τῶν προσόντων σοι κακῶν, οὕτω σύ γε παῖδας ἀπέφηνας ἐν ἀπάση βδελυρία τὸν 'Οροδοκίδην καὶ τὸν Λυκάμβην καὶ τὸν Βούπαλον, τοὺς ἐκείνων ἰάμβους.

cf. Leon. Philosoph. (Anecd. Gr. p. 557.26 Matranga) τέττυγος ἐδράξαντο τοῦ πτεροῦ, Constant. Rhod. (ib. p. 628.36) ἐπεὶ πτερῶν τέττυγος ἐδράξω

224 Ath. 9.388f

πέρδιξ . . . ἔνιοι συστέλλουσι τὴν μέσην συλλαβήν, ώς ἀρχίλοχος

quite independent, outspoken and not at all reluctant to be abusive, even if he was going to inflict the greatest pain on those who would encounter the bitterness of his iambics. Well, when one such person spoke ill of him, Archilochus said that the man had caught a cicada by the wing, likening himself to the cicada which is by nature vociferous even without any compulsion and which cries out more loudly whenever it is caught by the wing. "Ill-starred fellow," he said, "what reason do you have for provoking against you a vociferous poet who is in search of themes and subject matter for his iambics?"

These same threats I make to you, not, by Zeus, likening myself to Archilochus (how could I? I am far from doing that!), but aware that in your life you have done countless things deserving of iambics. Not even Archilochus, I think, could have responded adequately, though he invited both Semonides and Hipponax to help him in dealing with just one of your evil traits, such children in every kind of abominable behaviour did you make Orodocides² and Lycambes and Bupalus, who were the butts of their iambics.

 1 The verb used by Archilochus is uncertain. For a full discussion of the fragment see Bossi 226-34. 2 The name of Semonides' enemy is judged corrupt by many on metrical grounds and the MSS offer variant readings. See Degani, $Studi\,111\,n.\,213.$

224 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Partridge . . . Some shorten the middle syllable, as does Archilochus:

πτώσσουσαν ὥστε πέρδικα.

225 Ath. 14.653d

γενναΐα λέγει τὰ εὐγενῆ ὁ φιλόσοφος (Plat. Leges 844d), ὡς καὶ ἀρχίλοχος ·

πάρελθε, γενναῖος γάρ εἰς.

226 Phot. lex. s.v. λεωκόρητος

λεωκόρητος (λεώλεθρος Naber)· ἐξωλοθρευμένος. τὸ γὰρ λέως ἐστὶ τελέως. ἀρχίλοχος·

λέως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐφρόνεον.

227 Schol. Hom. *Od.* 15.534, "καρτεροί" ἐγκρατεῖς, τὸ κράτος ἔχουτες. καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

ό δ' Άσίης καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου.

cf. Eust. in $Od.\ 15.534\ (1790.7),$ schol. Eur. $Med.\ 708\ (ii.179$ Schwartz)

'Ασίη τε schol. Eur. κρατερὸς schol. Hom.

cowering like a partridge1

¹ West suggests a reference to the fox's cub carried off by the eagle (frr. 174-181), but comparison with a woman seems likelier. On the length of the middle syllable see Slater, *Arist. Byz. Fragmenta* p. 119.

225 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

By γενναῖα the philosopher means 'first-rate,' as also Archilochus:

go ahead, for you are noble1

 1 West suggests a reference to the fox bidding the monkey take the treasure he had found (frr. 185-187).

226 Photius, Lexicon

λεωκόρητος: utterly destroyed, since $\lambda \hat{\epsilon} \omega \varsigma$ means 'completely.' Cf. Archilochus:

for they were (I was) completely without sense

Some sources record λέως, others λείως.

227 Scholiast on Homer, Odyssey

καρτεροί means 'powerful,' 'having power.' Cf. Archilochus:

he has power over sheep-rearing Asia1

¹ Often assumed to refer to Gyges (cf. fr. 19).

228 Eust. in Hom. Od. 5.306 (1542.45)

ίστέον δὲ ὅτι αἱ συνθέσεις τοῦ τρίς ἐπιρρήματος ποτὲ μὲν . . . αὐτόχρημα τριάδα δηλοῦσιν . . . ποτὲ δὲ πλήθος σημαίνουσιν, ὡς . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ "ἀλλ' ὧ τρισκεκορημένε Σμερδίη" παρ' 'Ανακρέοντι (fr. 366 PMG), ἤγουν πολλάκις ἐκσεσαρωμένε, καὶ

Θάσον δὲ τὴν τρισοιζυρὴν πόλιν παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ, ἤτοι λίαν ὀϊζυράν.

229 Porphyrius in Hom. Il. 5.568 (p. 58 Sodano)
καὶ "ἔγχεα ὀξυόεντα" τὰ ἐξ ὀξύης τοῦ δένδρου, ὡς καὶ

'Αρχίλοχος· ὀξύη ποτᾶτο.

άλλ' οὐ τὰ ὀξέα, ὡς οἱ γραμματικοὶ ἀποδεδώκασιν.

όξείας et όξείη codd., corr. Villoison $^{\circ}$ ποτᾶτο Bergk

230 Et. Gen. (p. 17 Calame)

αὐόνη· ξηρότης. ἀρχίλοχος, οἷον κακήν σφιν Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν αὑονήν.

231 Schol. Nic. Th. 158 (p. 91 Crugnola), "ἀμυδρότατον δάκος ἄλλων"

ἀμυδρὸν νῦν τὸ χαλεπὸν λέγεται, ὡς καὶ ἀρχίλοχος·

228 Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

Know that compounds of the adverb $\tau\rho$ is ('thrice') sometimes . . . indicate exactly the number three . . . and sometimes signify a large number, as in "thrice-swept Smerdies" in Anacreon, i.e., often swept out, and

Thasos the thrice-wretched city in Archilochus, i.e., exceedingly wretched.

229 Porphyry on Homer, Iliad

Also, $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\alpha$ $\delta\xi\nu\delta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ are spears made from the beech tree, as in Archilochus,

the beech spear was flying, and not sharp spears as the grammarians have explained it.

230 Etymologicum Genuinum $a\dot{v}\acute{o}v\eta^1$ means 'dryness,' as in Archilochus:

Zeus gave them an evil drought

¹ Both breathing and accent are disputed.

231 Scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca* ("the most dangerous(?) of all snakes")

 \mathring{a} μνδρόν here means 'dangerous'(?), as in Archilochus:

άμυδρην χοιράδ' έξαλεόμενος.

ἀμυδρὰν et -ῶν codd., corr. Bergk ἐξαλεύμενος, -ευάμενος, -εύμενον codd.

232 Heraclides Lembus π . πολιτειῶν 14 (p. 18 Dilts)

ότι δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἡ Κρητική, ἐμφαίνει καὶ Ὁμηρος λέγων τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν "εὖ ναιεταώσας" (Il. 2.648), καὶ ἀρχίλοχος ἐν οἶς ἐπισκώπτων τινάς (v.l. τινά) φησιν

νόμος δὲ Κρητικὸς διδάσκεται.

νόμους δὲ Κρητικοὺς Cragius

233 Plut. de garrulitate 2.503a

προσκείται γὰρ ἁπανταχοῦ τῶν ἱματίων ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, τοῦ γενείου, τὴν πλευρὰν θυροκοπῶν τῆ χειρί.

πόδες δὴ κεῖθι τιμιώτατοι,

κατὰ τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον, καὶ νὴ Δία κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν ᾿Αριστοτέλην. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπ᾽ ἀδολέσχου . . . λέγοντος "οὐ θαυμαστόν, ᾿Αριστότελες," "οὐ τοῦτο," φησί, "θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις πόδας ἔχων σὲ ὑπομένει."

avoiding a dimly seen1 reef

¹ Whatever the adjective means in Nicander, its basic meaning 'faint' or 'indistinct' is appropriate in Archilochus. Perhaps an infinitive has been lost after $\chi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \pi \dot{\nu} \nu$, so that the scholiast may have said $\dot{a}\mu\nu\delta\rho\dot{\nu}\nu$ means something like 'hard to detect.'

232 Heraclides Lembus, On Constitutions

That the constitution of the Cretans is the most ancient is shown both by Homer who speaks of their cities as "well situated" and by Archilochus who, in ridicule of some (someone), says

the Cretan law teaches1

 $^{\rm 1}\,\rm Emendation$ to the accusative plural is attractive, "he is learning Cretan laws."

233 Plutarch, On Talkativeness

For (the garrulous man) attaches himself to you everywhere, grasping your cloak and beard and knocking on your ribs with his hand as though they were a door.

Feet are most valuable there,

according to Archilochus and by Zeus according to the wise Aristotle. For when he was being annoyed by a babbler . . . who kept saying, "Isn't it surprising, Aristotle?," he replied, "This is not surprising, but it is if anyone who has feet puts up with you."

234 Ath. 3.107f

δασυντέον . . . τὸ ἦπαρ, καὶ γὰρ ἡ συναλοιφή ἐστιν παρ' Ἀρχιλόχφ διὰ δασέος. φησὶ γάρ

χολην γαρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ήπατι.

235 Pollux 10.135

καὶ ἶπος τὸ πιέζον τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐν τῷ κναφείῳ, ὡς ἀρχίλοχος·

κέαται δ' ἐν ἵπφ.

cf. Poll. 7.41

- **236** *Epim. in Hom.* (p. 745 Dyck) = Herodian. (ii.277.30 Lentz)
- ή φθειρσί δοτικὴ συνέστη παρὰ ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ, φθειρσὶ μοχθίζοντα.
- **237** Erotian. lex. Hippocr. σ 25 (p. 79 Nachmanson)

σκύτα· τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τενόντων τοῦ τραχήλου . . . καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος λέγων

πῶς †ἀπέπρησεν τὰν σκύταν†

ἀπέπρισε tacite Eustacchi σκύτα vel σκύτεα vel σκύτην Bergk

234 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

The word $\hat{\eta}\pi\alpha\rho$ ('liver') should be given a rough breathing, since Archilochus elides with an aspirate. For he says:

for you have no gall¹ in your liver

¹ I.e., bitter anger.

235 Pollux, Vocabulary

And $\hat{t}\pi\sigma_{S}$ is that which presses clothes in a fuller's shop, as in Archilochus:

they lie in a press1

¹ Perhaps a metaphor for those who are 'squeezed' in some way rather than a literal reference to clothes.

236 Homeric Parsings

The dative $\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\sigma\iota$ occurs in Archilochus,

afflicted by lice

¹ The point made by the source is that the dative of $\phi\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho$, unlike that of $\chi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\rho$, always retains the diphthong.

237 Erotian, Lexicon on Hippocrates

σκύτα: the part between the tendons of the neck . . . Cf. Archilochus who says:

how he sawed off(?) the nape of the neck

238 Pollux 2.23

καὶ οὐλότριχες παρ' Ἡροδότῳ (2.104). Ἡρχίλοχος δὲ ἀναστρέψας τρίχουλον εἴρηκεν.

239 Pollux 2.27

βόστρυχος· ἀφ' οὖ καὶ τὸ διαβεβοστρυχωμένον παρ' Άρχιλόχφ.

διαβεβοστρυχωμένον, βεβ-, -ημένον, -ασμένον codd.

240 Pollux 2.34

καὶ διεκτενισμένον μὲν εἴρηκεν ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐκτενισμένοι cod. Α

241 Ath. 2.49e

κοκκύμηλα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα, ὧν ἸΑρχίλοχός (ἄλλος codd., corr. Bergk) τε μέμνηται καὶ Ἱππῶναξ (fr. 60)

242 Hesych.

δὶς τόση

τῆ ἡλικία. ἀρχίλοχος.

238 Pollux, Vocabulary

And οὐλότριχες occurs in Herodotus, but Archilochus reversed the order and said

curly-haired

239 Pollux, Vocabulary

βόστρυχος ('curl'), from which we find the word with hair all in ringlets in Archilochus.

240 Pollux, Vocabulary

And Archilochus said

thoroughly combed

241 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

These are $κοκκύμηλα^1$ ('plums'), which are mentioned by Archilochus and Hipponax.

 $^{\rm l}$ Pollux 1.232 attributes the word to Archilochus and cites it in the genitive plural.

242 Hesychius, Lexicon

twice as great1

with reference to age. Archilochus.

 $^{\rm 1}$ West, probably correctly, inserts this in fr. 196a.26.

243 Hesych.

ήμισυ τρίτον

δύο ήμισυ. Άρχίλοχος.

244 Cyril. *lex.*, cod. Bodl. Misc. gr. 211 f. 233° (W. Bühler, *Hermes* 96 [1968] 232-36)

όθνείος· ξένος, ἀλλότριος, ἀλλογενής. <καὶ> ὁθνέος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀρχίλοχος

όθνέην όδόν.

<rp> <καὶ> ὀθνέος West (ὀθνεῖος cod.) ἀρχίλογος ὁθένοδον cod., corr. Bühler

245 Schol. Nic. Th. 213 (p. 107 Crugnola), "ἀργίλιπες" ἤτοι ἔκλευκοι, ὡς ἀρχίλοχος·

άργιλιπης δ' έφάνη.

δὲ φάνη, δὲ φάσις, δ' ἐφᾶ, φησιν codd.

246 Et. Gen. (p. 16 Calame) = Et. Mag. 152.47

ἀσελγαίνει . . . Ἐπαφρόδιτος δὲ παρὰ τὸ λέχος λεχαίνειν, τὸ λέχους ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν λεγαίνειν, ἔνθεν ἀρχίλοχος

λέγαι δὲ γυναῖκες

άντὶ τοῦ ἀκόλαστοι.

243 Hesychius, Lexicon

a half third

means two and a half. Archilochus.

244 Cyril, Lexicon

 $\dot{\delta}\theta\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ os: foreign, strange, of another race. Also $\dot{\delta}\theta\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ os, since Archilochus has

foreign road

245 Scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca* $\mathring{a}\rho\gamma \acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ means 'very white,' as in Archilochus:

he(?) appeared all in white

246 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

behaves licentiously: . . . and Epaphroditus derives from $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \chi o s$ ('bed') $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \chi \alpha \dot{\iota} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \iota \nu$ ('to desire the bed') and by a change $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha \dot{\iota} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \iota \nu$, whence Archilochus:

and $\lambda \epsilon \gamma a \iota$ women

with the meaning 'lewd.'1

 $^{\rm 1}\, {\rm The}$ etymology is implausible and the text may be corrupt.

247 Eust. in Hom. *Il*. 11.385 (iii.218.2 V.d.Valk)

'Αριστοτέλης δέ, φασί (Arist. Pseudepigraphus p. 166 Rose), κέραι ἀγλαὸν (Il. 11.385) εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰδοίῳ σεμνυνόμενον . . . καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ σκορπιώδης τὴν γλῶσσαν 'Αρχίλοχος ἁπαλὸν κέρας τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπὼν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν λέξιν πορίσασθαι.

248 Hesych.

Καρπάθ<ι>ος τὸν μάρτυρα· παροιμία "Καρπάθιος δὲ ⟨τὸν⟩ λαγών" (κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἐπηγάγετο). διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἶναι λαγωοὺς ἐν τῷ χώρᾳ ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτοί, καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ὥστε τόν τε σῖτον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους ὑπ' αὐτῶν βλάπτεσθαι. ὁ γοῦν 'Αρχίλοχος παρὰ ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν ἔφη

Καρπάθιος τὸν μάρτυρα.

 $Kaρπάθ < \iota > oς$ Alberti $< \tau ο \nu >$ Bossi e paroemiogr.

249 Phot. lex. = Suda (iii.422.17 Adler)

μυδαλέον

δίυγρον, παρ' ἀρχιλόχω, διάβροχον.

250 Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 17.455 (1828.9)

ἐνταῦθα δὲ χρήσιμα ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τὸ κίμβιξ

247 Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

And Aristotle, they say, claimed that $\kappa \epsilon \rho a \dot{\alpha} \gamma \lambda a \dot{\partial} \nu$ meant he was proud of his penis¹ . . . And it seems that when the scorpion-tongued Archilochus called the penis

a soft horn

he derived the expression from there.

 $^{\rm l}$ The Homeric passage is almost certainly a reference to hair-style. Cf. fr. 117.

248 Hesychius, Lexicon

A Karpathian (introduced) his witness. There is a proverb "A Karpathian (introduced) the hare," with ellipse of the word 'introduced.' For because there were no hares in the land they introduced them, and they became so numerous that the grain and vines were damaged by them. At any rate Archilochus, with a play on this proverb, said:

- a Karpathian¹ (introduced) his witness
- ¹ Karpathos is an island between Rhodes and Crete.

249 Photius, Lexicon = Suda

 $\mu\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}o\nu$, meaning 'moist,' 'sodden,' occurs in Archilochus.

250 Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey* (on miserly people) Words used in this sense by the ancients are $\kappa i\mu \beta \iota \xi$

. . . καὶ ῥυποκόνδυλος, καὶ συκοτραγίδης παρ' Ἱππώνακτι (fr. 167) καὶ Ἡρχιλόχω διὰ τὸ εὐτελές, φασί, τοῦ βρώματος.

251 V. test. 3

5

ό Διόνυσος τ[ουλαστυαζ[ὄμφακες α[σῦκα μελ[Οἰφολίωι ερ[

4 μελ[ιχρὰ Peek

252 Choerob. *can.* i.158.9 Hilgard = Herodian. *Anecd. Ox.* iii.231.5 Cramer (i.61.6, ii.679.5 Lentz)

(μύκης) σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὅπερ καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως ἔκλινεν ἀρχίλοχος εἰπὼν

άλλ' ἀπερρώγασι μύκεω τένοντες.

 $\stackrel{\circ}{a}$ π ϵ ρρώγασί \langle μοι \rangle Cobet, \langle οί \rangle Hauvette

253 Philod. de musica (p. 20 Kemke)

τὸ μέλος καὶ [.....]αι ταραχῶν εἶν[αι κ]αταπ[α]νστικόν, ὡς ἐπι[....]των καὶ τῶν ζώι[ων]σθαι καταπραϋνο[μένω]ν διὸ καὶ τὸν ᾿Αρχίλο[χον λ]έγειν.

('skinflint') . . . and $\dot{\rho}\nu\pi$ οκόνδυλος ('with dirty knuckles') and $\sigma\nu$ κοτραγίδης ('son of a fig-eater') in Hipponax and Archilochus, because, as they say, it was cheap food.

 1 A mock patronymic, perhaps with obscene connotation, since $\sigma \hat{\nu} \kappa o \nu$ ('fig') can be a metaphor for the vagina (see on fr. 251.4).

251 Inscription of Mnesiepes

Dionysus . . . unripe grapes . . . sweet(?) figs 1 . . . Oipholios 2 . . .

 1 Grapes and figs may be sexual metaphors, for young or small breasts and vaginas. 2 Presumably an epithet of Dionysus and derived from the root oldownolderownoodle, denoting sexual intercourse. On vv. 1-2 see W. Luppe, Glotta 71 (1993) 143-45.

252 Choeroboscus, On the Canons of Theodosius $\mu \dot{\nu} \kappa \eta s$ means the male sex organ and Archilochus declined it with the same number of syllables¹ when he said:

but the sinews of (his, my) cock were ruptured

1 Rather than the trisyllabic μύκητος.

253 Philodemus, On Music

Song has the power to cause . . . disturbances to cease, since . . . and animals are pacified. Therefore Archilochus says:

κηλωταιδοτισ[..(..)..]ων ἀοιδαῖς

κηλέιται Kemke (sed cf. Hesych. κηλόω· κηλέω) δέ τις Sitzler κηλώ
 ν>ται δ΄ ὅτις / [ἀστ]ῶν Gigante, κηλῶται δ΄ ὅ τι / σ
[ειρήν]ων (hoc cum Sitzler) Pizzocaro

254 Schol. Arat. 1 (p. 37.6 Martin), "ἀρχώμεσ θ α"

τὸ δὲ ἀρχώμεσθα μετὰ τοῦ σ· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἀρχαϊσμός. "Ομηρος· "δόρπα τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα" (Il. 8.503, al.). καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος·

ούτοι τοῦτο δυνησόμεσθα.

255 Hesych. s.v. Θαργήλια

Θαργήλια· 'Απόλλωνος έορτή, καὶ ὅλος ὁ μὴν ἱερὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῦς Θαργηλίοις τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν φαινομένων ‹καρπῶν› (add. Liebel) ποιοῦνται καὶ περικομίζουσι, ταῦτα δὲ θαργήλιά φασι. καὶ μὴν Θαργηλιών. καὶ τὴν εὐετηρίαν ἐκάλουν ‹θαργήλια, καὶ ἄρτον› (add. West) θάργηλον. καὶ 'Αρχίλοχός φησιν

†ώς φαίε νῦν ἄγει τὰ θαργήλια.†

fort. $\dot{\omega}$ s Hesychii est $Ta\rho\gamma\dot{\eta}\lambda\iota a$ pro $\tau\dot{a}$ Θ . ci. Schmidt

- **256** Schol. Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 295a (p. 177 Greene) = *Anecd. Par.* iv.84.11 Cramer
- (å) σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ μέγα, ὡς παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ,

... is charmed by songs of ... 1

¹ There is a full discussion of the text by M. Gigante, "Filodemo e Archiloco," *BCPE* 23 (1993) 5-10.

254 Scholiast on Aratus, *Phaenomena* ("let us begin") ${}^{\dot{\alpha}}\rho\chi\dot{\omega}\mu\epsilon\sigma\theta a$ with a sigma is an archaism. Cf. Homer: "let us prepare our meal." And Archilochus:

we shall not be able to do this

255 Hesychius, Lexicon

Thargelia: a festival of Apollo. And the whole month is sacred to the god. At the Thargelia they offer and carry round the first-fruits of the ripening (grain), and these are called *thargelia*. And there is the month Thargelion. They called a good season (*thargelia* and bread) made from the first-fruits *thargelos*. And Archilochus says:

... now he celebrates the Thargelia(?)

256 Scholiast on Plato, *Hippias Maior* \hat{a} also means 'much' and 'big,' as in Archilochus:

†ἆ ἔαδε εἴς† τε ταύρους

ἀθαλέας West, ἀειλέας Bossi

257 Herodian. π. διχρόνων (ii.9.30 Lentz)

τὰ εἰς ιψ μονοσύλλαβα ἐκτείνεται . . . τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν συστέλλεται. θέλουσι δὲ πεδότριψ ἐκτείνειν, πλανώμενοι ἐκ τοῦ παρ' Ἀρχιλόχω

†άνδρες ώς† ἀμφιτρίβας.

ἄνδρες codd. ABC, ἄνδρας D ώς BCD, ές A

258 Et. Gen. (p. 34 Calame)

†κοπάεν† ξίφος

παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιλόχω ἀπὸ τοῦ κοπάειν.

cf. Et. Mag. 529.13, Et. Sym. cod. V (Gaisford ad Et. Mag. loc. cit.) κοπόεν· κόπος κοπόεις κοπόεν, ὡς στόνος στονόεις στονόεν

κοπτάεν Et. Mag. cod. Μ, κοπόεν Edmonds et Lasserre ex Et. Sym., κωπῆεν Sylburg τὸ ᾿Αρχιλόχου Et. Gen. Α, τὸ ᾿Αντιλόχου Β, corr. Calame κοπάγειν Et. Mag., fort. κοπάζειν West

259 Aristid. or. 45 (ii.137.17 Dindorf)

καὶ ὁ μέν γε κατ' ἰσχὺν προφέρων, εἰ καὶ ένὸς εἴη κρείττων, ὑπὸ δυοῖν γ' ἂν αὐτὸν κατείργεσθαί φησι καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος καὶ ἡ παροιμία.

... and ... bulls

257 Herodian, On Doubtful Quantities

Monosyllables in $-\psi$ have a long iota . . . But it is short in words exceeding one syllable. They wish to lengthen the iota in $\pi\epsilon\delta\delta\tau\rho\psi$, misled by the passage in Archilochus:

men(?) worn all round1

¹ Sense uncertain. LSJ translate by 'practised knave,' comparing Hesychius s.v., but the word need not be derogatory. For the corruption and meter see West, *Studies* 137.

258 Etymologicum Genuinum

the sword (that cuts?, grows weary?)

in Archilochus from κοπάειν.1

¹ No such verb is known.

259 Aelius Aristides, Orations

Both Archilochus and the proverb state that he who is superior in strength, even though he should be stronger than one, would be overcome by two.

Schol. ad loc. (iii.429.17 Dindorf)

ή μεν παροιμία φησίν "οὐδε Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς δύο·" τὸ δε ἀρχιλόχου ρητὸν οἷον μεν ἐστιν οὐκ ἴσμεν, ἴσως δε ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτον.

261 Eust. in Hom. Il. 2.654 (i.489.3 V.d.Valk)

ἀγέρωχοι δὲ οἱ ἄγαν γέρας ἔχοντες . . . δηλοῖ δέ, φασίν, οὕτως ἡ λέξις τοὺς σεμνούς, ὡς ᾿Αλκμὰν βούλεται (cf. PMGF 5 fr. 1(b).4, 10(b).15). ᾿Αλκαῖος δέ, φασί (fr. 402 V.), καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἀγέρωχον τὸν ἄκοσμον καὶ ἀλάζονα οἶδε.

262 Hesych.

ἀζυγέα

άζευκτον. Άρχίλοχος.

ἀζυγία cod., corr. Latte ἄζυγα Salmasius

263 Hesych.

ἀηδόνιον . . . ἀηδόνος νεοσσός. καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον παρὰ ἀΑρχιλόχφ.

ἀηδόνιον Perizonius (ἀηδόνων cod.)

264 Schol. Hom. \emph{Il} . 7.76 (P. Oxy. viii.1087.22 sqq.), "ἐπὶ μάρτυρας ἔστω"

τὸ δὲ μάρτυρος παρώνυμον [τῆι γ]ενικῆ[ι] τοῦ

Scholiast on the passage

The proverb states: "Not even Heracles against two." We do not know what Archilochus' words were, but probably they were something like this.

261 Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

ἀγέρωχοι are the over privileged . . . And so, they say, the word clearly denotes the proud, as in Alcman. Alcaeus, they say, and Archilochus know that ἀγέρωχος is one who is unruly and boastful.

262 Hesychius, *Lexicon* άζυγέα means 'unyoked,' as in Archilochus.

263 Hesychius, Lexicon

åηδόνιον¹... is the nightingale's young and in Archilochus a woman's genitals.

 $^{\rm 1}$ For the problems associated with Hesychius' text see Bossi 253-56.

264 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("let him be witness thereto")

The word $\mu \acute{a}\rho \tau \nu \rho o s$ (nom.) is derived from the genitive

πρωτοτύπου συμ[πέ]πτωκεν, ώς . . . τὸ ἄτμενος παρ' Άρχιλόχ ω .

Hesych.

ἄτμενος (ἀγόμενος cod., corr. Nauck)· δοῦλος παρ' Άρχιλόχφ.

265 Hesych.

γυμνόν· ἀνυ<πό>δητον, ἢ ἀπεσκυθισμένον ὡς ᾿Αρχίλοχος.

266 Hesych.

ἔτρεψεν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἠπάτησεν, παρέτρεψεν. Ἀρχίλοχος.

267 Cyril. lex. apud Anecd. Par. iv.183.21 Cramer

†θριαθρίκη· ἀρχίλοχος, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ Θριῶν τῶν Διὸς θυγατέρων διωνομάσθησαν, ὡς Φερεκύδης (FGrHist 3 F 49) ἱστορεῖ. ἐπεὶ τρίαι εἰσίν, οἷον τρισσαὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν.

 $\begin{array}{ll} \textbf{268} & \textit{Epim. in Hom.} \; (\text{p. 449 Dyck}) = \text{Herodian.} \; (\text{i.494.13} \\ \text{Lentz}) \end{array}$

παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθι κεῖθι καὶ

κεî.

παρὰ ἀρχιλόχω,

256

of the original form $(\mu\acute{a}\rho\tau\nu\rho)$, as . . . the word $\~{a}\tau\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma^1$ ('slave') in Archilochus.

Hesychius, Lexicon

 $\alpha\tau\mu\epsilon\nu$ os: slave in Archilochus.

 1 I.e., the nominative ιτμένος is derived from ιτμένος, genitive of ιτμήν. See also Ananius fr. 6.

265 Hesychius, Lexicon

γυμνόν means 'barefoot' or, as in Archilochus, 'shaved bare.'

266 Hesychius, Lexicon

ἔτρεψεν means 'entrusted'(?), 'deceived,' 'misled.' Cf. Archilochus.¹

Only the last two glosses, it seems, refer to Archilochus.

267 Cyril, Lexicon

†θριαθρίκη: Archilochus. They (sc. θριαί) were named after the Thriae, daughters of Zeus, as Pherecydes relates. (Or) because they were $\tau \rho i \alpha \iota$, i.e., three in number. 1

¹ Text and meaning highly uncertain. It seems that the etymology of $\theta \rho \iota a \iota$, pebbles used in divination, is being discussed.

268 Homeric Parsings

Besides $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath} \theta \imath$ and $\kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath} \theta \imath$ we find $\kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath}$

there

in Archilochus.

- 269 Pollux 4.71 (i.222 Bethe)
- ό δὲ τοῖς αὐλοῖς χρώμενος αὐλητής, καὶ κεραύλης κατὰ τὸν ἀρχίλοχον.
- **270** Schol. Lyc. 771 (ii.245.3 Scheer), "μύκλοις"
- οί δὲ μύκλους φασὶ τοὺς κατωφερεῖς εἰς γυναῖκας εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ ένὸς Μύκλου αὐλητοῦ κωμφδηθέντος ὑπ᾽ ᾿Αρχιλόχου ἐπὶ μαχλότητι.
- **271** Steph. Byz. (p. 383.21 Meineke) = Eust. in Dion. Per. 498 (ii.310.31 Müller) = Herodian. (i.342.16, ii.226.7 Lentz)

Κρήτη· ή μεγίστη νήσος. ήν Κρεήτην ἔφη ᾿Αρχίλοχος κατὰ πλεονασμὸν <τοῦ ε>.

'Αρχίας in Eust. pro 'Αρχίλοχος

- **272** Schol. A in Hom. *Il*. 6.507 (ii.217 Erbse), "πεδίοιο κροαίνων"
- ή διπλή ὅτι ἐλλείπει ἡ διά, καὶ <ὅτι> τὸ κροαίνων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιθυμῶν, ὡς ᾿Αρχίλοχος ἐξέλαβεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπικροτῶν τοῖς ποσὶ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου. ἄλλως, οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπιθυμεῖν τὸ κροαίνειν. καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος.

269 Pollux, Vocabulary

The one who performs on the pipes is called a piper and, according to Archilochus, a

horn blower

270 Scholiast on Lycophron

They call $\mu\dot{\nu}\kappa\lambda\omega$ those who have a propensity for women. The word is derived from one named Myclus, a piper satirized by Archilochus for his lewdness.

271 Stephanus of Byzantium, Lexicon of Place Names Crete ($K\rho\dot{\eta}\tau\eta$): the largest island. It is called $K\rho\epsilon\dot{\eta}\tau\eta$ by Archilochus with pleonastic epsilon.

272 Scholiast on Homer, Iliad

The marginal note is used because there is an ellipse of the preposition $\delta\iota\acute{a}$ and because $\kappa\rhooa\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ does not mean 'desiring,' as Archilochus understood it, but clattering with hooves over the plain. A different explanation. Later authors use $\kappa\rhooa\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ to mean 'desire.' So Archilochus.

273 Pollux 10.160 (ii.238 Bethe)

άλλὰ μὴν καὶ κύρτη (σιδηρᾶ) ἀγγεῖόν τι οἶον οἰκίσκος ὀρνίθειος, παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ (1.191) καὶ Ἡρχιλόχῳ.

 $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\hat{a}$ del. Reitzenstein Κρατίνος ᾿Αρχιλόχοις Marzullo

274 Schol. Ar. Pl. 476 (p. 89 Chantry) = Suda (iii.223.6 Adler)

κύφων δὲ δεσμός ἐστι ξύλινος . . . ἔνθεν καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος κύφων τάσσεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων . . . ᾿Αρχίλοχος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ κακὸς καὶ ὀλέθριος.

275 Pollux 6.79 (ii.23 Bethe)

τὰ δὲ ἐπιδορπίσματα . . . ἦν δὲ τρωγάλια, κάρυα, μυρτίδες, μέσπιλα ἃ καὶ ὅα καλεῖται καὶ τοὕνομά ἐστι παρὰ Πλάτωνι τοῦτο (τὰ ὅα, Conv. 190d), ὡς παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ ἐκεῖνο.

276 Hesych.

μουνόκερα

τὸ μηκέτι ἔχον τὴν ἀλκήν, ὡς ᾿Αρχίλοχος.

277 Phot. lex. a 808 (Theodoridis)

σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὀργᾶν <τὸ> πάνυ ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ 260

273 Pollux, Vocabulary

But κύρτη is a receptacle such as a birdcage in Herodotus and Archilochus.

274 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Plutus

κύφων is a wooden constraint (i.e., a pillory) . . . and hence a wicked man is called κύφων. It is also used of all who are disagreeable and harmful. And in Archilochus it means evil and harmful.

275 Pollux, Vocabulary

Food for dessert . . . this consisted of fruits, nuts, myrtle-berries, and medlars $(\mu \epsilon \sigma \pi \iota \lambda a)$ which are also called sorbapples (δa) . The latter name is found in Plato, the former in Archilochus.

276 Hesychius, Lexicon

one-horned

of that which no longer has its strength, as in Archilochus. 1

 1 Perhaps a reference to Heracles' fight with Achelous in bull-form. Cf. frr. 286-87.

277 Photius, Lexicon

 $\dot{o}\rho\gamma\hat{a}\nu$ means to be highly excited to do or hear something.

πρᾶξαί τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι. καθόλου δὲ ποικίλως χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βρέξαι, ὡς ἀρχίλοχος, Αἰσχύλος (fr. 435a Radt) δὲ κτλ.

278 Lex. Messan. de iota adscripto (ed. Rabe, *RhM* 47 [1892] 408) ex Ori *Orthographicis*

όρεσκῷος . . . ὁτὲ γοῦν γίνεται ὀρέσκοος ὡς παρ' ἀρχιλόχῳ, καὶ προπαροξύνεται.

279 Pollux 10.27 (ii.197 Bethe)

'Αριστοφάνης (Lys. 265) "προπύλαια πακτοῦν," ἢ πάλιν (fr. 737 K.-A.) "κἀπιπακτοῦν τὰς θύρας," ἢ ὡς 'Αρχίλοχος

πακτῶσαι

τὸ κλεῖσαι.

280 Eust. in Hom. *Il*. 8.248 (ii.575 V.d.Valk)

λέγει δὲ <ὁ> αὐτὸς (Arist. Byz. u.v., fr. 186 Slater) καὶ τὰς πρόκας παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ ἐπὶ ἐλάφου τεθεῖσθαι, παρ' ὧ καί τις διὰ δειλίαν προσωνομάσθη πρόξ.

Generally the word is used in a variety of senses. It has the force of

to moisten

in Archilochus,1 and Aeschylus etc.

¹ The entire extract suggests that Archilochus may have used some form of $\delta\rho\gamma$ άζειν rather than $\delta\rho\gamma$ âν.

278 Lexicon Messanense, On the iota adscript $\dot{\delta}\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\hat{\phi}$ os . . . sometimes it is used in the form $\dot{\delta}\rho\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa$ oos mountain-dwelling

as in Archilochus, and it has the proparoxytone accent.

279 Pollux, Vocabulary

Aristophanes has "to make fast the propylaea" or again "to shut close the door" or as in Archilochus where $\pi a \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma a \iota$ means

to lock

280 Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

The same one states that $\pi\rho\delta\kappa\epsilon$ s ('roe deer') are regarded as meaning 'red deer' in Archilochus who gave the name

red deer

to someone because of his cowardice.

281 Choerob. can. (i.296.5 Hilgard) = Herodian. (ii.744.22 Lentz)

ρὰξ δ' ἐστιν ὁ κόκκος τῆς σταφυλῆς. εὐρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σταφυλῆς διὰ τοῦ ω λεγόμενον, οἷον ρωξ ρωγός παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχω.

282 Hesych.

σκελήπερον

νήπιον. ἀρχίλοχος.

283 Erotian lex. Hippocr. τ 13 (p. 85.7 Nachmanson) τράμιν τὸν ὅρρον, ὅνπερ καὶ ὑποταύριον καλοῦμεν, ὡς καὶ Ἱππῶνάξ φησιν (fr. 114a) . . . μέμνηται καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος.

284 Herodian. apud Eust. in *Od.* 13.401 (1746.9) = i.445.17 Lentz (cf. i.393.31, ii.903.14)

. . . φλύος παρ' 'Αρχιλόχφ ἐπὶ φλυαρίας.

285 Ath. 3.86a-b

έν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ʿΩλιεὺς (Sophron fr. 44 Kaibel) τὸν ἀγροιώταν (κόγχον) χηράμβας ὀνομάζει. καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος δὲ τῆς χηράμβης μέμνηται.

281 Choeroboscus, On the Canons of Theodosius $\dot{\rho}\dot{\alpha}\xi$ is the seed of a grape. And we also find it with an omega $(\dot{\rho}\dot{\omega}\xi\ \dot{\rho}\omega\gamma\dot{\phi}s)$ with reference to the

grape

in Archilochus.

282 Hesychius, Lexicon $\sigma \kappa \epsilon \lambda \dot{\eta} \pi \epsilon \rho o \nu$ means

foolish

in Archilochus.

283 Erotian, Lexicon on Hippocrates $\tau \rho \acute{a}\mu \iota s$ is what we call the perineum, as Hipponax says . . . Archilochus also mentions it.

284 Herodian in Eustathius on Homer, *Odyssey* . . . ϕ λύος in Archilochus for ϕ λυαρία ('nonsense')

285 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

In the mime entitled *The Fisherman* Sophron calls the wild conch $\chi\eta\rho\acute{a}\mu\beta\eta$. And Archilochus also mentions the $\chi\eta\rho\acute{a}\mu\beta\eta$.

286 Dio Chrys. 60.1

ἔχεις μοι λῦσαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν, πότερον δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν τῷ ᾿Αρχιλόχῳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νέσσον καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν, ἢ οὕ; φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον ληρεῖν ποιοῦντα τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κενταύρου πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ῥαψφδοῦσαν, ἀναμιμνήσκουσαν τῆς τοῦ ᾿Αχελώου μνηστείας καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων, ὥστε πολλὴν σχολὴν εἶναι τῷ Νέσσῳ ὅτι ἐβούλετο πρᾶξαιοί δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ πεποιηκέναι τὴν τοξείαν, διαβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἔτι τὸν ποταμόν (Tr. 562 sqq.).

287 Schol. Hom. *Il.* 21.237, "μεμυκώς ἠΰτε ταῦρος"

έντεῦθεν ὁρμηθέντες τὸν ἀχελῷον ἐταύρωσαν Ἡρακλεῖ ἀγωνιζόμενον. ἀρχίλοχος μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἀχελῷον ὡς ποταμὸν Ἡρακλεῖ συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ ὡς ταῦρον, Ὅμηρος δὲ πρῶτος ποταμοῦ καὶ ἤρωος ἠγωνοθέτησε μάχην. ἑκάτερος οὖν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμέτρησε τῆ δυνάμει.

288 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212-1219a (p. 110 Wendel)

φεύγων οὖν τὸν φόνον καὶ σὺν τῆ γαμετῆ στελλόμενος ἀνεῖλεν ἐν Εὐήνῳ ποταμῷ Νέσσον Κένταυρον, ὡς καὶ ἀρχίλοχος ἱστορεῖ.

286 Dio Chrysostom, Orations

Can you solve this problem for me, whether or not some are right to find fault with Archilochus and others with Sophocles for their treatment of Nessus and Deianeira? For some say that Archilochus is talking nonsense when he makes Deianeira speak at length to Heracles while she is being sexually assaulted by the centaur, as she reminds him of the wooing of Achelous and of the events that took place then, with the result that Nessus had ample time to do what he wanted. And others say that Sophocles introduced the shooting of the arrow too early, while they were still crossing the river.

287 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("bellowing like a bull")

From this starting point they represented Achelous as a bull in his fight with Heracles. Archilochus did not dare to pit Achelous as a river against Heracles, but as a bull, whereas Homer was the first to make river and hero contend in battle. Each therefore adapted the same topic to his own talent.

288 Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius

Fleeing then from the murder (of Cyathus) and setting out with his wife (Deianeira) Heracles killed the centaur Nessus in the river Euenus, as Archilochus relates.

289 Plut. de Herod. malign. 14.857f

καίτοι τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ λογίων ἀνδρῶν οὐχ "Ομηρος, οὐχ 'Ησίοδος, οὐκ 'Αρχίλοχος, οὐ Πείσανδρος, οὐ Στησίχορος, οὐκ 'Αλκμάν, οὐ Πίνδαρος Αἰγυπτίου ἔσχον λόγον 'Ηρακλέους ἢ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἔνα τοῦτον ἴσασι πάντες 'Ηρακλέα τὸν Βοιώτιον ὁμοῦ καὶ 'Αργεῖον.

290 Ath. 1.30f

Άρχίλοχος τὸν Νάξιον (οἶνον) τῷ νέκταρι παραβάλλει. Sequitur fr. 2.

291 Harpocr. s.v. $\Sigma \tau \rho \acute{\nu} \mu \eta$ (p. 242 Keaney)

μνημονεύει τῶν Θασίων πρὸς Μαρωνείτας περὶ τῆς Στρύμης ἀμφισβητήσεως Φιλόχορος ἐν ε΄ (FGrHist 328 F 43), ἀρχίλοχον ἐπαγόμενος μάρτυρα.

292 Plut. Marius 21

Μασσαλιήτας μέντοι λέγουσι τοῖς ὀστέοις περιθριγκῶσαι τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, τὴν δὲ γῆν, τῶν νεκρῶν καταναλωθέντων ἐν αὐτῆ καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος ὅμβρων ἐπιπεσόντων, οὕτως ἐκλιπανθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι διὰ βάθους περίπλεω τῆς σηπεδόνος ἐνδύσης ὥστε καρπῶν ὑπερβάλλον εἰς ὥρας πλῆθος ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ ἀρχιλόχῳ λέγοντι πιαίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ τοιούτου τὰς ἀρούρας.

289 Plutarch, On the Malice of Herodotus

And yet of the ancient storytellers neither Homer nor Hesiod nor Archilochus nor Pisander nor Stesichorus nor Alcman nor Pindar made mention of an Egyptian or Phoenician Heracles,¹ but they all know this one Heracles who is both Boeotian and Argive.

¹ Cf. Herodotus 2.43 f.

290 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner
Archilochus compares Naxian wine to nectar.

291 Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators

Philochorus in Book 5, adducing Archilochus as witness, mentions the contention between the Thasians and the Maronites¹ over Stryme.²

- ¹ Maroneia is a coastal town in Thrace N-E of Thasos.
- 2 Stryme is an island which, according to Harpocration, served as a trading post for the Thasians.

292 Plutarch, Life of Marius

Nevertheless they say that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones and that the land, when the corpses had been consumed in it and the rains had fallen throughout the winter, became so rich and so full of putrified matter that sank deeply into it that as a result it produced an exceptional harvest for season after season and bore witness to Archilochus who said that fields are fattened by such a means.

293 Ath. 4.167d

τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὧς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος (fr. 73 Gaede)· οὖ μνημονεύει ἀρχίλοχος. ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ οὖτος, μετ' ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ὅτε ἔμελλε κτίζειν Συρακούσας, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ μελιτούττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον ὃν ἐν Συρακούσαις λαχὼν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν.

294 Oenomaus apud Euseb. praep. ev. 5.33.5

τί πράττειν κελεύεις ήμᾶς; ἢ δηλαδὴ τὰ ᾿Αρχιλόχου, εἰ μέλλομεν ἄξιοι φανεῖσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστίας, λοιδορῆσαι μὲν πικρῶς τὰς οὐκ ἐθελούσας ἡμῖν γαμεῖσθαι, ἄψασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν κιναίδων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων πονηρῶν πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν, οὐχὶ δίχα μέτρου; . . . (13) εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτοιμοι κωμωδεῖσθαι καὶ †Σαβαῖοι (Σαπαῖοι?, cf. fr. 93b) καὶ Λυκάμβαι κτλ.

295 = test. 33

295a (v. Hippon. fr. 29a)

293 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Such (a spendthrift) too, as reported by Demetrius of Scepsis, was Aethiops of Corinth whom Archilochus mentions. For because of his love of pleasure and his lack of self-control Aethiops, while sailing with Archias to Sicily at the time when the latter was going to found Syracuse, sold to his messmate for a honey cake the share which he had drawn by lot and was to have in Syracuse.

294 Oenomaus in Eusebius, Evangelical Preparation

What then do you bid us do? Clearly, if we are going to show ourselves worthy of your hearth, to revile bitterly in meter in the manner of Archilochus those who are unwilling to marry us and also to attack pathics, since they are by far the most wicked of all? . . . Even now the Sapaeans(?) and Lycambeses are ready subjects of comedy etc.¹

¹ On this passage see J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus* (Frankfurt am Main 1988) 112-17.

296-321. Dubia

These fragments, as well as those judged spurious by West (frr. 322-33), are discussed in detail by V. Casadio, I "dubbi" di Archiloco (Ospedaletto 1996). He defends the authenticity of frr. 296-97, 299-303, 314-21, 323-24, 331 and 333, and in the process he assigns fr. 200 to Aristophanes and 273, in all probability, to Cratinus.

296 Et. Gen. (pp. 41 sq. Calame)

. . . ὁ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸς (i.xxxii Lentz) παρὰ τὸ ἴσσω, ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος

προτείνω χειρα καὶ προΐσσομαι.

297 Orion, *etym*. (col. 37.4 Sturz) = *Et*. *Mag*. 184.49 = *Et*. *Gen*. et *Sym*. β 3 (pp. 1-2 Berger)

βάβαξ· λάλος, φλύαρος . . . 'Αρχίλοχος·

κατ' οἶκον ἐστρωφᾶτο μισητὸς βάβαξ.

'Αρχίλοχος Orion, 'Αριστοφάνης Et. Gen. et Mag. μισητὸς Et. Gen. et Mag., δυσμενής Orion

298 Aristides, *or.* 45 (ii.51.17 Dindorf)

οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως, οἶμαι, οἴ τε θεοὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἴσασι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι φάσκουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἃ μέλλουσι ποιεῖν ἐπίστανται καὶ πρόκειται τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. διὰ τοῦτο

296-321. Doubtful Works

296 Etymologicum Genuinum

... but Herodian derives $\pi \rho o \tilde{\iota} \kappa \tau \eta s$ from $\tilde{\iota} \sigma \sigma \omega$, as in Archilochus:

I stretch forth my hand and beg

¹ For the etymology cited previously, see on fr. 200.

297 Orion, Etymologicum

βάβαξ: talker, babbler . . . Archilochus:

the loathsome babbler roamed about the house

298 Aelius Aristides, Orations

The gods, I think, do not know the future in the same way as men claim to. For the gods know what they are going to do and events lie before them as though before their eyes. Because of this

Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖσι μάντις ἀψευδέστατος,

καὶ ὅτι γε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὁ αὐτὸς οὖτος ποιητὴς μαρτυρεῦ τὸ γὰρ δεύτερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ

καὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ἔχει.

302 Ael. V.H. 4.14

πολλάκις τὰ κατ' ὀβολὸν μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων συναχθέντα χρήματα κατὰ τὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον εἰς πόρνης γυναικὸς ἔντερον καταίρουσιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐχίνον λαβεῖν μὲν ῥάδιον, συνέχειν δὲ χαλεπόν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

cf. Nicet. Chon. Hist. (p. 230 van Dieten)

303 Eustrat. in Arist. Eth. Nic. 6.7 (Comm. in Arist. Graeca xx.320.36)

παράγει δ' εἰς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ εἶναι τὸν ὅλως σοφὸν ἔτερον παρὰ τόν τινα σοφὸν καί τινα ποίησιν Μαργίτην ὀνομαζομένην 'Ομήρου. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ποιητικῆς (1448b30), ἀλλὰ καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος καὶ Κρατῖνος (fr. 368

Zeus is the most truthful prophet among the gods, and this same poet testifies to this as follows, since his second verse is

and he himself holds the fulfilment1

¹ Blass assigned these verses to Archilochus. A scholiast on the passage named Euripides as author, but the meter, which is the same as that of frr. 182-87, is unlikely to have been used by Euripides. Attribution to Euripides, however, is defended by V. Casadio, *MCr* 25-27 (1990-93) 31-35.

302 Aelian, Historical Miscellanies

Often money amassed with much toil obol by obol goes down into the intestines of a prostitute, according to Archilochus. For money is like a hedgehog, easy to catch but difficult to hold on to.¹

 $^{\rm 1}$ See West, $\it Studies~138,$ on Archilochian authorship.

303 Eustratius on Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics

And he brings in a poem of Homer entitled *Margites* as evidence of another who is wholly wise in comparison with one who is wise in such and such. The poem is mentioned not only by Aristotle himself in the first part of his *Poetics*, but also by Archilochus¹ and Cratinus and Callimachus in

Κ.-Α.) καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν (fr. 397Pf.), καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν εἶναι Ὁμήρου τὸ ποίημα.

304 Hesych.

πυρριχίζειν· τὴν ἐνόπλιον ὅρχησιν καὶ σύντονον πυρρίχην ἔλεγον. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Πυρρίχου τοῦ Κρητός . . . οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ ἀχιλλέως· ἐφησθέντα γὰρ τῷ Εὐρυπύλου φόνῷ ὀρχήσασθαί φησιν ἀρχίλοχος.

305 Malalas, *chron.* 4 (p. 68.1 Dindorf)

τῶν δὲ ᾿Αργείων μετὰ τὸν Ἰναχον ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Φορωνεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἔως τῆς βασιλείας Λυγκέως τοῦ ἀγαγομένου τὴν Ὑπερμνήστραν γυναῖκα τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων. ὅστις Λυγκεὺς πολεμήσας τῷ Δαναῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτον ἐφόνευσε καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ᾿Αρχίλοχος ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγράψατο.

307 Phot. lex.

εύδοντι δ' αίρει κύρτος.

παροιμία. καθεύδουσι γὰρ καθέντες τοὺς κύρτους. παρὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησε Κρατῖνος ᾿Αρχιλόχοις (fr. 3 K.-A.) "εὕδοντι δ' αἰρεῖ πρωκτός."

his epigrams, and they testify that the poem is Homer's.

1 Cf. fr. 201.

304 Hesychius, Lexicon

πυρριχίζειν: they gave the name πυρρίχη to a vigorous, martial dance. Some derive the word from Pyrrhicus the Cretan . . . others from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles. Archilochus¹ says that Pyrrhus danced for joy at the slaying of Eurypylus.

¹ An error for Aristophanes? So Casadio pp. 37-38.

305 Malalas, Chronography

After Inachus Phoroneus and many others ruled over the Argives until the kingship of Lynceus who married Hypermnestra, one of the daughters of Danaus. This Lynceus made war on king Danaus, slew him, and took the kingship and his daughter, according to the account of the wise Archilochus.¹

An error for Aeschylus? So Casadio pp. 39-42.

307 Photius, Lexicon

The fish trap does the catching while one sleeps.

A Proverb. For after letting down the fish traps they sleep. As a parody of this Cratinus in *Archilochi* composed "his anus does the catching while he sleeps."¹

 $^{\rm l}$ The proverb may have occurred in Archilochus, given the title of Cratinus' play.

308 Hesych.

ἐπ' Αἰννύρων ὁδῶν· Αἴννυρα χωρίον τῆς <Θάσου κατεναντίον τῆς Σαμο>θράκης, ἀπὸ Αἰννύρου ὀνομασθέν.

 $\langle\Theta\acute{a}\sigma ov-\Sigma a\mu o\rangle$ inseruit West ex Herodoto 6.47

309 Hesych.

μύσχης: †εὖρος, ὡς ἀρχίλοχος. μύσχον· τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ γυναικεῖον μόριον.

310 Pollux 6,100

όλκαίου δὲ (μέμνηται) ἀντίοχος· ἔστι δ' όλκαῖον ὧ τὰ ἐκπώματα ἐναπονίπτουσιν.

'A $\rho\chi i\lambda o\chi o\varsigma$ pro 'A $\nu\tau io\chi o\varsigma$ Ruhnken

311 Hesych.

πάγη δέ τις παγὶς δέ τις

312 Hesych.

ψαυστά· †ψαυστά. Άρχίας.

308 Hesychius, Lexicon

On the roads of Aennyra. Aennyra is a place in (Thasos opposite Samo)thrace, named after Aennyrus.

¹ Or "Roads in the direction of Aennyra."

309 Hesychius, Lexicon

The first gloss, a corrupt definition of $\mu\dot{\nu}\sigma\chi\eta s$, gives Amphilochus, emended by Alberti to Archilochus, as a source. The second gloss defines $\mu\dot{\nu}\sigma\chi o\nu$ as the male and female genitals.

310 Pollux, Vocabulary

Antiochus¹ mentions $\delta\lambda\kappa\alpha\hat{\iota}o\nu$. It is a basin in which cups are washed.

¹ Meineke proposed ἀντίδοτος for ἀντίοχος and the fragment is printed by Kassel-Austin as Antidotus fr. 5 (dubium). An Antiochus is cited as the author of *Anth. Pal.* 11.412 and 422.

311 Hesychius, Lexicon

 $\pi \acute{a} \gamma \eta$ is defined as $\pi a \gamma \acute{\iota} s$, both words meaning 'trap' or 'snare.' Bergk assigned the gloss to Archilochus, comparing frr. 185-87.

312 Hesychius, Lexicon

A corrupt gloss on $\psi a \nu \sigma \tau \acute{a}$, emended by Musurus to $\psi a \iota \sigma \tau \acute{a}$ "ground up." The source, Archias, was emended to Archilochus by Bergk.¹

 $^{\rm l}$ There were several poets named Archias: see Gow-Page, GP ii.432-35.

313

πύγαργος

Tzetz. in Lyc. 91 (ii.50.23 Scheer)

314-321 Testimonia de metris (v. testt. 53-60)

322-333. Spuria

322 Hephaest. *Ench.* 15.16 (pp. 52 sq. Consbruch)

άλλο ἀσυνάρτητον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀντιπάθειαν, ἐξ ἰαμβικοῦ διμέτρου ἀκαταλήκτου καὶ τροχαϊκοῦ ἐφθημιμεροῦς τοῦ καλουμένου Εὐριπιδείου, οἶόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις εἰς ᾿Αρχίλοχον Ἰοβάκχοις

Δήμητρος άγνης καὶ Κόρης την πανήγυριν σέβων.

323 Steph. Byz. p. 166.11 Meineke

χρυσοέθειρ

παρ' Ἀρχιλόχω ἐν Ἰοβάκχοις, ὅπερ ἀποκέκοπται τοῦ χρυσοέθειρος.

ARCHILOCHUS

313

white-rumped

See Tzetzes on fr. 178.

322-333. Spurious Works

See introduction to "Doubtful Works" (frr. 296-321).

322 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

Another unconnected meter involving the first opposition is constructed from an iambic dimeter acatalectic ($\times - \triangledown - \times - \triangledown -$) and a trochaic hephthemimer ($- \triangledown - \triangledown - \triangledown - \neg -$), called Euripidean, as in the *Iobacchi* ascribed to Archilochus

celebrating the festival of pure Demeter and Core

323 Stephanus of Byzantium, Lexicon of Place Names Becheir, a Scythian tribe, like Sapeir . . . Ligeir, a river in Galatia, $\chi\rho\nu\sigma o\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\rho$

golden-haired

a shortened form of $\chi \rho \nu \sigma \sigma \epsilon \theta \epsilon \iota \rho \sigma s$, as in the *Iobacchi* of Archilochus.

τήνελλα καλλίνικε Χαι̂ρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις, αὐτός τε καιόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύω.

Pind. Ol. 9.1-4

τὸ μὲν ἀρχιλόχου μέλος / φωνᾶεν ὁΟλυμπία, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδως, / ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ ὅχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι / κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστως σὺν ἐταίροις.

Schol. ad loc. (i.268.14-23 Dr.)

Έρατοσθένης δέ (FGrHist 241 F 44) φησι μὴ ἐπινίκιον εἶναι τὸ ᾿Αρχιλόχου μέλος ἀλλ᾽ ὕμνον εἰς Ἡρακλέα· "τριπλόον" δὲ (οὐ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τριῶν στροφῶν συγκεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ) διὰ τὸ τρὶς ἐφυμνιάζεσθαι τὸ "καλλίνικε." περὶ δὲ τοῦ "τήνελλα" Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν ὅτι ὅτε ὁ αὐλητὴς ἢ ὁ κιθαριστὴς μὴ παρῆν, ὁ ἔξαρχος αὐτὸ μεταλαβὼν ἔλεγεν ἔξω τοῦ μέλους, ὁ δὲ τῶν κωμαστῶν χορὸς ἐπέβαλλε τὸ "καλλίνικε," καὶ οὕτω συνειρόμενον γέγονε τὸ "τήνελλα καλλίνικε." ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ μέλους ἐστίν· "ὧ καλλίνικε χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες."

324

The text of this fragment is highly uncertain and ascription to Archilochus improbable. For discussion see West, Studies 138-39, and for variant readings see his edition. I have printed the text as in West and translated the major sources. The first two sources reflect the explanation offered by Eratosthenes, the next three that by Aristarchus, and the last seems to be independent of either critic.

Tenella gloriously triumphant, hail lord Heracles, both you and Iolaus, a pair of warriors.

Pindar, Olympian 9.1-4

The song of Archilochus that is uttered at Olympia, the triumphal song that rings out thrice sufficed to lead the way past the hill of Cronus for Epharmostus as he celebrated with his dear companions.

Scholia on the passage

Eratosthenes says that the song of Archilochus is not an epinician but a hymn to Heracles, and that the word $\tau \rho \iota \pi \lambda \acute{o}$ s does not result from the song's being composed of three strophes but from the triple refrain $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \acute{\iota} \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon$. With regard to $\tau \acute{\eta} \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha$ Eratosthenes says that when the piper or lyre player was not present, the choral leader took it up and uttered it outside the song and the chorus of revellers followed with $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \acute{\iota} \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon$. In this way the combination $\tau \acute{\eta} \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha \kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \acute{\iota} \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon$ arose. The beginning of the song is $\mathring{\omega} \kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \acute{\iota} \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon \chi \alpha \acute{\iota} \rho \epsilon \mathring{\alpha} \nu \alpha \xi$ 'H $\rho \acute{\alpha} \kappa \lambda \epsilon \epsilon s$.

Schol. ad loc. (i.267.1-12 + 268.2-5 Dr.)

δ Άρχίλοχος, πρὸ τούτων τῶν λυρικῶν γενόμενος. θελήσας υμνον ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῆ 'Ολυμπία, ἀπορήσας κιθαρωδοῦ διά τινος λέξεως μιμήσασθαι τὸν ρυθμὸν καὶ τὸν ἦχον τῆς κιθάρας ἐπεχείρησε. συντάξας οὖν τοῦτο τὸ "τήνελλα," οὕτω τὰ έξης ἀνεβάλλετο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸν ἦχον τῆς κιθάρας ὑποκρινόμενος ἔλεγεν ἐν μέσω τὸ "τήνελλα." καὶ <δ χόρος> τὰ ἐπίλοιπα, οἷον "καλλίνικε χαῖρε άναξ 'Ηράκλεις," καὶ εἴ τι ἔτερον, οἷον "αὐτός τε καὶ Ιόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο." {τήνελλα} τὸ λοιπὸν οί άποροῦντες κιθαρωδοῦ τούτω τῶ κόμματι έχρῶντο, τρίς αὐτὸ ἐπιφωνοῦντες. κεκράτηκεν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντων νικηφόρων παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νίκης ἐπάδεσθαι τὸ κόμμα. . . . ἔθος δὲ ἦν κωμάζειν τὴν νίκην ἐσπέρας τοῖς νικηφόροις μετὰ αὐλητοῦ μὴ παρόντος δὲ αὐλητοῦ εἶς τῶν ἐταίρων ἀνακρουόμενος ἔλεγε "τήνελλα καλλίνικε"

Schol. ad loc. (i.269.11-12 Dr.)

"τριπλόος" δὲ ἤτοι ὁ τρὶς ἐπαδόμενος, ἢ τρίστροφος ὢν κατὰ Ἀρίσταρχον.

Schol. ad loc. (i.268.5-10 + 12-14 Dr.)

τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος, ὃ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐπήδετο, ἦν τρίστροφον, κοινῶς δυνάμενον ἁρμόζειν ἐπὶ παντὸς νικηφόρου διὰ τὸ κατὰ τῆς πράξεως αὐτῆς

ARCHILOCHUS

Additional scholia

Archilochus, who was born before these lyric poets, wished to strike up a hymn to Heracles at Olympia, but lacking a lyre-player he tried to imitate the rhythm and sound of the lyre by means of a word. He therefore composed this word $\tau \hat{n} \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda a$ and in this way struck up what followed. And he himself in imitation of the sound of the lyre uttered the word $\tau \acute{\eta} \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda a$ in the middle of the song and the chorus sang the rest, such as καλλίνικε χαίρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες, and whatever else there was such as αὐτός τε καὶ Ἰόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο. Afterwards those who lacked a lyre-player made use of this coinage, speaking it three times. Consequently it has been the practice for all winners to sing out the coinage right at the moment of victory . . . It was customary for winners to celebrate the victory in the evening with a piper. But if a piper was not present, one of the companions struck up the words τήνελλα καλλίνικε.

Additional scholia

 $\tau \rho \iota \pi \lambda \delta$ os refers either to threefold singing or according to Aristarchus to three strophes.

Additional scholia

The song of Archilochus, which was sung at Olympia for the winners, consisted of three strophes and was able to suit every winner alike since it did not mention the event

ψιλον ἔχειν τον λόγον, μήτε δὲ ὄνομα μήτε ἰδίωμα ἀγωνίσματος. ἐφυμνίω δὲ ἐχρῶντο τούτω, "τήνελλα καλλίνικε." . . . τὸ δὲ "τριπλόος" ὅτι τρὶς ἐπεκελάδουν τὸ "καλλίνικε·" οὐ καθόλου δὲ τρίς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τριπλῆν ἔχει τὴν στροφὴν καὶ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνεται.

Schol. Pind. Nem. 3.1 (iii.41.16-20 Dr.)

ό μεν οὖν 'Αρίσταρχός φησιν, ἤτοι τὸν χορὸν ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νίκης αὐτοσχέδιόν τινα ἐπίνικον ἆσαι, ἢ τὸν 'Αρχιλόχου καλλίνικον, οὖ καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον μνημονεύειν διὰ τούτων· "τὸ μεν 'Αρχιλόχου μέλος φωνᾶεν" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Schol. Ar. Aves 1764 (p. 241 Holwerda), " $\tau \acute{\eta} \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha$ "

τὸ "τήνελλα" μίμησίς ἐστι φωνῆς κρούματος αὐλοῦ ποιᾶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφυμνίου ὁ εἶπεν ᾿Αρχίλοχος εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἄθλων αὐτοῦ (μετὰ τὸν ἄθλον αὐτοῦ V, μεγιστῶν ἄθλων αὐτοῦ R: correxit West)· "τήνελλα—δύω." δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος ᾿Αρχίλοχος νικήσας ἐν Πάρῳ τὸν Δήμητρος ὕμνον ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο ἐπιπεφωνηκέναι.

325 Anth. Pal. 7.441 (538-39 Page, FGE)

'Αρχιλόχου·

ύψηλοὺς Μεγάτιμον ᾿Αριστοφόωντά τε Νάξου κίονας, ὧ μεγάλη γαῖ᾽, ὑπένερθεν ἔχεις.

ARCHILOCHUS

or the name of the winner or the nature of the contest. And they used this refrain $\tau \eta \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha \kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda i \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon$. . The word $\tau \rho \iota \pi \lambda \delta \delta \sigma$ occurs because they sing out $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda i \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon$ three times, not three times one after the other, but it's the strophe that is threefold and the refrain is picked up again (in each strophe).

Scholia on Pindar, Nemean 3.1

Aristarchus says that either the chorus sang an improvised epinician at the moment of victory or the triumphal song $(\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \ell \nu \iota \kappa \sigma \nu)$ of Archilochus and that Pindar alludes to the latter with these words $\tau \delta \mu \epsilon \nu$ 'A $\rho \chi \iota \lambda \delta \chi \sigma \nu \mu \epsilon \lambda \sigma s \phi \omega \nu \hat{a} \epsilon \nu$ etc.

Scholia on Aristophanes, Birds

The word $\tau \eta \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha$ is an imitation of a certain musical sound of the pipe, derived from the refrain which Archilochus uttered in honour of Heracles after the greatest of his exploits: $\tau \eta \nu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \alpha - \delta \nu \omega$. It seems that Archilochus was the first to apply this refrain to himself after his victory in the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros.

325 Palatine Anthology

From Archilochus:

Great earth, you hold beneath you Megatimus and Aristophon, lofty pillars of Naxos.

326 Anth. Pal. 6.133 (536-37 Page, FGE)

'Αρχιλόχου

'Αλκιβίη πλοκάμων ίερην ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην "Ηρη, κουριδίων εὖτ' ἐκύρησε γάμων.

327 Cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 69 f. 104r (G. Tarditi, *RCCM* 3 [1961] 311-16)

Άρχιλόχου

5

σίδηρός ἐστι μοῦνος ὃν στέργει Κάπυς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λῆρος ἦν ἄρ' αὐτῷ πλὴν πέους ὀρθοστάδην δύνοντος ἐς γλουτῶν μυχούς καὶ μέχρι τοῦδ' ἐραστὴν ἀσμένως ὁρᾳ, ἔως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τέρπεται κεντούμενος. ἐπὰν δὲ λήξη τοῦτο, τὸν πάρος φίλον ἀφεὶς ὀχευτὰς εὖρε νευρωδεστέρους. ὅλοιτο τοίνυν κάξόλοιτο, Ζεῦ, γένος ἄπιστον ἄστοργόν τε τῶν κινουμένων.

328 Ibidem

Αρχιλόχου

ίσος κιναίδου καὶ κακῆς πόρνης ὁ νοῦς·
χαίρουσιν ἄμφω λαμβάνοντες κέρματα κινούμενοί τε καὶ διατρυπώμενοι βινούμενοι τε καὶ διεσπεκλωμένοι γομφούμενοι τε καὶ διασφηνώμενοι

5

ARCHILOCHUS

326 Palatine Anthology

From Archilochus:

Alcibia dedicated to Hera the sacred veil of her tresses, when she met with a lawful marriage.

327 Vatican manuscript

From Archilochus:

It is only the sword¹ that Capys loves. After all, he considers everything else trifling except for an upright cock plunging into the recesses of his buttocks. And he looks fondly on a lover only as long as he finds pleasure in being stabbed by him. But whenever the pleasure ceases, he discards his former friend and finds better-hung mounters. And so, Zeus, may the treacherous and loveless race of pathics be destroyed, utterly destroyed.

¹ Here a metaphor for the penis.

328 Same manuscript

From Archilochus:

The mind of a pathic and a foul whore is the same. Both delight in taking cash, in being screwed and bored through, fucked and penetrated,¹ doweled

χορδούμενοί τε καὶ κατασποδούμενοι. άμφοῖν δ' όχευτης οὐκ ἀπέχρησέν ποθ' εξς, άλλ' αἰὲν άλλο κάλλο λασταύρων ὅλον τειδήνοντ εκφορούντες ήδονται πέος. πειρώμενοί τε μειζόνων καὶ πασσόνων 10 νεύρων κυβιστώντων τε διφώντων θ' δμοῦ απαντα τάνδον σύν τε δηούντων βαθύ δεινού βερέθρου χάσμα, καὶ διαμπερές μέσου προκοπτόντων παράχρις ὀμφαλοῦ. τοιγάρ καπρώσα μαχλάς ἄρδην έρρέτω 15 πασχητιώντων εὐρυπρώκτων σὺν γένει. ήμιν δὲ Μουσῶν καὶ βίου σαόφρονος μέλοι †φρέαρ τε†, τοῦτο γινώσκουσ', ὅτι ήδ' ἐστὶ τέρψις, ήδ' ἀκίβδηλος χαρά, ήδ' ήδονη πέφυκε, μη συνειδέναι 20 αίσχρα ποθ' ήδυνθεῖσιν αύτοῖς ήδονή.

8 λαυσταύρων cod., corr. Garzya

9 ἐσδῦνον Garzya

329 Et. Gen. α 149 (cod. B), Mag. α 394 L.-L. = Herodian. (ii.523.8 Lentz)

άθ $\hat{\varphi}$ ος· . . . ἔχει δὲ τὸ ι ἐκ παραδόσεως, ἐπειδὴ εὔρηται θωϊή, ὡς παρ' Ἀρχιλόχ $\hat{\varphi}$

ῶς δ' ἄν σε θωϊὴ λάβοι.

 $\dot{\omega}$ s Et. Gen. et Mag., $\dot{\omega}$ s Norsa et Vitelli

ARCHILOCHUS

and wedged apart, stuffed¹ and pounded. For both of them one mounter is never enough, but they always derive pleasure from gulping down all the way one plunging(?)² cock after another of their fuckers,³ from trying for bigger and thicker rods which plunge about, seek out all their insides, rend the gaping depths of the dread pit, and advance right to the middle of the navel. Therefore to hell with the randy⁴ slut together with the wide-assed race of pathics. May our concern be for the Muses and a chaste life . . .⁵ in the knowledge that this is delight, this is genuine joy, this is pleasure, never to be acquainted with those who indulge in shameful pleasure.

 1 The precise meaning of both verbs is uncertain. 2 A translation of Garzya's emendation. 3 Elsewhere of pathics, but here the word must have an active force. 4 Literally, "boar-seeking." 5 The obelized words ("and a well") seem to be corrupt, since neither sense nor grammar is suitable.

329 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

 $\hat{a}\theta\hat{\varphi}os:\dots$ it has the iota in accordance with the tradition, since $\theta\omega\ddot{\imath}\dot{\eta}$ is found, as in Archilochus:

you would thus receive punishment

¹ Archilochus is an error for Callimachus: cf. Callim. fr. 195.22 Pf.

330 Et. Gen. (Miller, Mélanges 210)

μακκοᾶν·...οἷον

βίος δ' ἀπράγμων τοῖς γέρουσι συμφέρει, μάλιστα δ' εἰ τύχοιεν ἀπλοῦ τοῖς τρόποις ἢ μακκοᾶν μέλλοιεν ἢ ληρεῖν ὅλως, ὅπερ γερόντων ἐστίν.

331 Ath. 13.594c-d (540-41 Page, FGE)

έφ' οῗς *Ίωνες ἀγασθέντες, ὥς φησι Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναθημάτων (FHG iv.452), Πασιφίλαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν Πλαγγόνα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ †'Αρχίλοχος† περὶ αὐτῆς ἐν τούτοις·

συκή πετραίη πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας, εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλη.

332 Hesych.

ἄκομψον· ἀπάνουργον, ἁπλοῦν. ἀρχίλοχος, οὐκ εὖ διακείμενον.

<Κρατίνος> 'Αρχιλόχοις Schmitt

333 Syrianus in Hermog., i.47.21 Rabe (*Rhet. Gr.* vii. 984.11 Walz)

καὶ μέλη δέ τινα ἐκάλουν ἰθυφαλλικά, εὐφημίας περιέχοντα τοῦ θεοῦ (Διονύσου), οἶα καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος γέγραφεν.

ARCHILOCHUS

330 Etymologicum Genuinum¹

An idle life suits the elderly, and especially if they happen to be simple in their ways or are likely to be stupid or to speak utter nonsense, as is typical of the elderly.

¹ The source explains μακκοῶ ('be stupid') as derived from an unattested ἀκκοῶ, related to ἀκκίζομαι ('feign ignorance'), and with a pleonastic μ . The Byzantine historian Cedrenus (ii.612.5 Bekker) cites Archilochus for the general subject matter of these verses, but they are probably comic (fr. adesp. 174 K.-A.).

331 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

From admiration of these acts the Ionians, as Menetor says in his work *On Votive Offerings*, called Plangon Pasiphila. And Archilochus bears witness to her in these verses:

Like a fig tree¹ on rocky ground that feeds many crows, good-natured Pasiphile takes on strangers.²

 1 An erotic metaphor, since the fig $(\sigma \hat{\nu} \kappa \nu \nu)$ can denote the female genitals (see note on fr. 250). 2 Ascription to Archilochus is frequently rejected: see West, Studies 139-40, and M. S. Silk, Eos 73 (1985) 239-46. The couplet is probably Hellenistic.

332 Hesychius, Lexicon

ἄκομψον: naive, simple. Archilochus.¹ Not elegantly presented.

¹ Kassel and Austin print as Cratinus fr. 15. One of Cratinus' comedies was entitled *Archilochoi*.

333 Syrianus on Hermogenes

And they called some songs containing praise of Dionysus, ithyphallic, songs such as Archilochus composed.

TESTIMONIA

1 Suda (iv.363.1 Adler)

Σιμωνίδης Κρινέω, 'Αμοργίνος, ἰαμβογράφος. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν ἐν βιβλίοις β΄, ἰάμβους. γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ γ΄ καὶ υ΄ ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν. ἔγραψεν ἰάμβους πρῶτος αὐτὸς κατά τινας.

2 Suda (iv. 360.7 Adler)

Σιμμίας 'Ρόδιος, γραμματικός. ἔγραψε Γλώσσας, βιβλία γ' ποιήματα διάφορα, βιβλία δ' ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σάμιος, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀποικισμῷ τῆς 'Αμοργοῦ ἐστάλη καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. ἔκτισε δὲ 'Αμοργὸν εἰς τρεῖς πόλεις, Μινώαν, Αἰγιαλόν, 'Αρκεσίνην. γέγονε δὲ μετὰ υς' ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν. καὶ

TESTIMONIA

1 Suda

Semonides, son of Crines, from Amorgos, an iambic poet. He wrote elegiac poetry in two books¹ and iambics. He flourished 490 years after the Trojan War.² According to some he was the first writer of jambics.

 1 See n. 4 on test. 2. 2 I.e., 693 B.C., if Eratosthenes' dating of the war is being followed. Perhaps here, in contrast to the Suda's common practice, $\gamma \acute{\epsilon} \gamma o \nu \epsilon$ means 'was born' rather than 'flourished,' since this would make the date agree with those sources which assign the poet's floruit to the 660s (see test. 3).

2 Suda

Simmias of Rhodes, a grammarian. He wrote *Glosses* in three books and a variety of poems in four books. In origin he was from Samos, but in the colonization of Amorgos he was sent out as leader by the Samians. In Amorgos he founded three cities, Minoa, Aegialos and Arcesine. He flourished (was born?) 406 years after the Trojan War.

έγραψε κατά τινας πρώτος ἰάμβους, καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα, Ἀρχαιολογίαν τε τῶν Σαμίων.

3 Cyrill. contra Iulian. 1.14 (p. 132 Burguière & Évieux) εἰκοστῆ ἐννάτη ᾿Ολυμπιάδι Ἱππώνακτα καὶ Σιμωνίδην φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν μουσικὸν ᾿Αριστόξενον.

4 Ath. 14.620c

Λυσανίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἰαμβοποιῶν Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψῳδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

5 Choerob. ap. Et. Mag. 713.17

Σιμωνίδης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰαμβοποιοῦ διὰ τοῦ η γράφεται

296

According to some he was the first writer of iambics, and he wrote various other kinds of poetry, including a *History of Samos*.⁴

 1 It is clear that what follows pertains to Semonides and has been erroneously included under Simmias. 2 Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. A $\mu\rho\rho\gamma\delta$ s states that Semonides came from Minoa, perhaps suggesting a tradition which associated the poet only or primarily with this settlement. The other two cities were actually founded by Naxos (Klio 21 [1927] 313-14). 3 I.e., 777 B.C., but one MS provides the same date as in the entry above (693). 4 This may have been in elegiacs, but nothing of this or of any other elegy has survived.

3 Cyril, Against Julian

They say that Hipponax, Semonides, and the musician Aristoxenus flourished in the 29th Olympiad (664-661 B.C.).¹

¹ Hipponax is presumably an error for Archilochus. Eusebius ap. Hieron. (p. 94b Helm) dates Semonides to 664-663 and in the Armenian version (p. 86 Schöne-Petermann) to 665-664. For other references to his date see Arch, testt. 6 and 8.

4 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

In the first book of his *On the Iambic Poets* Lysanias states that the rhapsode Mnasion in his public performances declaimed some of the jambics of Semonides.

5 Choeroboscus in Etymologicum Magnum

Semonides: with reference to the iambic poet the name is

(καὶ ἴσως παρὰ τὸ σῆμα ἐστίν), ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λυρικοῦ διὰ τοῦ ι (καὶ ἴσως ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὸ σιμός ἐστιν). Χοιροβοσκός.

FRAGMENTA

1 Stob. 4.34.15

Σιμωνίδου.

ὦ παῖ, τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει βαρύκτυπος πάντων ὅσ' ἐστὶ καὶ τίθησ' ὅκη θέλει. νοῦς δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ' ἐπήμεροι ά δη βοτά ζώομεν, οὐδεν είδότες δκως ξκαστον έκτελευτήσει θεός. 5 έλπὶς δὲ πάντας κάπιπειθείη τρέφει άπρηκτον δρμαίνοντας οί μεν ήμερην μένουσιν έλθειν, οι δ' έτέων περιτροπάς. νέωτα δ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ δοκεῖ Βροτῶν πλούτω τε κάναθοῖσιν ἵξεσθαι φίλος. 10 φθάνει δὲ τὸν μὲν γῆρας ἄζηλον λαβὸν πρὶν τέρμ' ἵκηται, τοὺς δὲ δύστηνοι βροτῶν φθείρουσι νοῦσοι, τοὺς δ' Ἄρει δεδμημένους πέμπει μελαίνης 'Αΐδης ύπο χθονός. οί δ' ἐν θαλάσση λαίλαπι κλονεόμενοι 15

spelled with an eta (perhaps derived from *sema*, 'sign'), but with reference to the lyric poet it is spelled with an iota (perhaps because it is derived from *simos*, 'snub-nosed'). So Choeroboscus.¹

 1 With rare exceptions (see Pellizer-Tedeschi p. 10) our sources give $\Sigma\iota\mu\text{-}$, but to avoid confusion with Simonides of Ceos, the lyric poet, I have consistently used the spelling Sem-.

For the name of Semonides' presumed enemy see Arch. fr. 223 with n. 2.

FRAGMENTS

1 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

Boy, loud-thundering Zeus controls the outcome of everything there is and disposes it as he wishes. There is no intelligence among men, but we live like grazing animals, subject to what the day brings, with no knowledge of how the god will bring each thing to pass. Yet hope and confidence nourish all in our eagerness for the impossible. Some wait for the morrow to come, others for the revolving seasons, and there is no one who does not expect that he will arrive at the next year as the friend of wealth¹ and prosperity. But unenviable old age comes first and seizes one man before he reaches his goal, while the miserable illnesses that beset mortals destroy others, and Hades sends beneath the dark earth others laid low by the war god. Others die at sea tossed

καὶ κύμασιν πολλοῖσι πορφυρῆς άλὸς θνήσκουσιν, εὖτ' ἂν μὴ δυνήσωνται ζόεινοι δ' ἀγχόνην ἄψαντο δυστήνω μόρω καὐτάγρετοι λείπουσιν ἡλίου φάος. οὕτω κακῶν ἄπ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μυρίαι βροτοῖσι κῆρες κἀνεπίφραστοι δύαι καὶ πήματ' ἐστίν. εἰ δ' ἐμοὶ πιθοίατο, οὐκ ἂν κακῶν ἐρῷμεν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν κακοῖς ἔχοντες θυμὸν αἰκιζοίμεθα.

2 ὅπη(ι) codd., corr. Ahrens 3 ἐφημέριοι codd., corr. Grotius (ἐφ-), Fick 4 δὴ βροτοὶ et αϊδη (ἄδη Α) βοτὰ codd., ἃ δὴ Ahrens ζώομεν codd., ζώουσιν Ahrens, ζόουσιν West, ζόωμεν Fick (omnia metri causa) 12-13 νόσοι φθείρουσι θνητῶν codd. SM, ν. φ. βροτῶν cod. A, corr. Ahrens 17 ζώειν codd., corr. Porson (fort. injuria)

2 Stob. 4.56.4

Σιμωνίδου·

20

τοῦ μὲν θανόντος οὐκ ἂν ἐνθυμοίμεθα, εἴ τι φρονοῖμεν, πλεῖον ἡμέρης μιῆς.

2 ημέρας μιᾶς codd., corr. Welcker et Schneidewin

3 Stob. 4.53.2

Σιμωνίδου.

πολλὸς γὰρ ἥμιν ἐστὶ τεθνάναι χρόνος,

about by a gale and the turbulent sea's many waves, whenever they are unable to gain a livelihood (on land), and others fasten a noose in a wretched death, leaving the sun's light by their own choice. Thus nothing is without misery, but countless death spirits and unforeseen sorrows and disasters exist for mortals. But if they were to take my advice, we would not long for misfortune nor would we torment ourselves by having our hearts set on bitter pain.²

 1 Some personify, the god of wealth. 2 Many argue that the poet must have gone on to give some positive advice, an obviously possible but not necessarily correct assumption.

2 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

If we had some sense, we would not concern ourselves with the dead for more than a single day.

3 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

For we have a long time to be dead, but we live years

ζῶμεν δ' ἀριθμῷ παῦρα †κακῶς ἔτεα.

1 ἡμῖν codd., corr. West 2 <καὶ> κακῶς Welcker, <παγ>κακῶς Meineke, alii alia

4 Stob. 4.41.7

Σιμωνίδου.

πάμπαν δ' ἄμωμος οὔ τις οὖδ' ἀκήριος.

5 Plut. de prof. virt. 14.84cd

ἄθηλος ἵππω πῶλος ὡς ἄμα τρεχ-

άλλ' ὅ γε προκόπτων ἀληθῶς μᾶλλον ἔργοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τελείου παραβάλλων έαυτὸν . . . καὶ μεστὸς ὢν ὁρμῆς οὐκ ἡρεμούσης οἶός τ' ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην "ἄθηλος—τρέχειν," τῷ ἀγαθῷ μονονουχὶ συμφῦναι γλιχόμενος.

cf. Plut. de tuenda san. 24.136a, de virt. moral. 7.446de, an seni gerenda resp. 12.790f, de esu carn. 2.2.997d, fr. 210 Sandbach ap. Stob. 4.50.19 = Paroem.~Gr.~ii.541.20~L.-S.

τρέχειν, τρέχει, τρέχη Plut.

6 Clem. Strom. 6.13.1

'Ησιόδου δὲ εἰπόντος (Op. 702 sq.) "οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληΐζετ' ἄμεινον / τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὖ ῥίγιον ἄλλο," Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν

few in number and we live them badly.1

1 Some combine frr. 2 and 3.

4 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

No one is utterly free from blame or affliction.

5 Plutarch, Progress in Virtue

 $(to) run(s)^1$ like an unweaned colt beside its mother

But the one who is truly making progress, comparing himself rather with the deeds and actions of a good and perfect man... and being filled with an urging that does not rest, is able in the words of Semonides "to run—mother," craving virtually to unite with the good man.

¹ Since Plutarch accommodates the verb to his various contexts, we cannot tell what form Semonides used. The fragment became a proverbial recommendation to the young to follow the example of their elders.

6 Clement of Alexandria, Miscellanies

Hesiod said, "for a man carries off nothing better than a good wife and in turn nothing more horrible than a bad one," and Semonides:

γυναικὸς οὐδὲν χρημ' ἀνηρ λητίζεται ἐσθλης ἄμεινον οὐδὲ ῥίγιον κακης.

Porph. ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 10.3.18

ἢ ὡς Ἡσιόδου "οὐ μὲν γάρ—ἄλλο," ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν Σιμωνίδης ἐν τῷ †ένδεκάτῳ† μετήνεγκε λαβὼν οὕτως· "γυναικὸς—κακῆς."

(Porph.) $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\hat{\omega}$ a' Welcker, $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\dot{\iota}\acute{a}<\mu\beta$ ois> Schmidt

7 Stob. 4.22.193

Σιμωνίδου·

χωρὶς γυναικὸς θεὸς ἐποίησεν νόον τὰ πρῶτα. τὴν μὲν ἐξ ύὸς τανύτριχος, τῷ πάντ' ἀν' οἶκον βορβόρω πεφυρμένα ἄκοσμα κεῖται καὶ κυλίνδεται χαμαί αὐτὴ δ' ἄλουτος ἀπλύτοις ἐν εἵμασιν ἐν κοπρίησιν ἡμένη πιαίνεται.

τὴν δ' ἐξ ἀλιτρῆς θεὸς ἔθηκ' ἀλώπεκος γυναῖκα πάντων ἴδριν· οὐδέ μιν κακῶν λέληθεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἶπε πολλάκις κακόν, τὸ δ' ἐσθλόν· ὀργὴν δ' ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοίην ἔχει. τὴν δ' ἐκ κυνός, λιτοργόν, αὐτομήτορα, ἡ πάντ' ἀκοῦσαι, πάντα δ' εἶδέναι θέλει, πάντη δὲ παπταίνουσα καὶ πλανωμένη λέληκεν, ἣν καὶ μηδέν' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶ.

5

10

15

A man carries off nothing better than a good wife nor more horrible than a bad one.¹

¹For other sources of the fragment and for parallel passages see fr. ¹ Pellizer-Tedeschi

Porphyry in Eusebius, Evangelical Preparation

Or how, when Hesiod said "for a man—bad one," Semonides took up this sentiment in his . . . and altered it as follows: "a man—bad one."

7 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

In the beginning the god¹ made diverse the female mind.² One woman he created from a long-bristled sow. Throughout her house everything lies in disorder, befouled with mud, and rolls about on the floor, and she herself unwashed, in clothes unwashed, sits in the dung and grows fat.

Another the god made from a wicked vixen, a woman who has expertise in everything. Nothing of what is bad escapes her notice, nor even of what is good, since she often calls the latter bad and the former good. Her mood is different at different times.

Another is from a bitch, ill-tempered, her mother all over again. She wants to hear everything and to know everything and peering and prowling everywhere she yaps even if she sees no one. A man can't

¹ I.e., Zeus (cf. vv. 72, 96). ² Some prefer, "made the female mind different (from the male)."

παύσειε δ' ἄν μιν οὕτ' ἀπειλήσας ἀνήρ. οὐδ' εἰ χολωθεὶς έξαράξειεν λίθω όδόντας, ούδ' ἂν μειλίχως μυθεόμενος, οὐδ' εἰ παρὰ ξείνοισιν ἡμένη τύχη, άλλ' έμπέδως ἄπρηκτον αὐονὴν ἔχει. 20 την δε πλάσαντες γηΐνην 'Ολύμπιοι έδωκαν άνδρὶ πηρόν· οὔτε γὰρ κακὸν οὖτ' ἐσθλὸν οὐδὲν οἶδε τοιαύτη γυνή: έργων δε μοῦνον έσθίειν έπίσταται. κώταν κακὸν χειμώνα ποιήση θεός, 25 ριγῶσα δίφρον ἄσσον ἔλκεται πυρός. την δ' έκ θαλάσσης, η δύ' έν φρεσίν νοεί. την μεν γελά τε καὶ γέγηθεν ημέρην έπαινέσει μιν ξείνος έν δόμοις ίδών "οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη τῆσδε λωΐων γυνὴ 30 έν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν οὐδὲ καλλίων." την δ' ούκ άνεκτος ούδ' έν όφθαλμοῖς ίδεῖν οὖτ' ἄσσον ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μαίνεται τότε ἄπλητον ὥσπερ ἀμφὶ τέκνοισιν κύων, αμείλιχος δε πασι καποθυμίη 35 έχθροῖσιν ἶσα καὶ φίλοισι γίνεται ώσπερ θάλασσα πολλάκις μεν άτρεμης ξστηκ', ἀπήμων, χάρμα ναύτησιν μέγα, θέρεος ἐν ὥρη, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται βαρυκτύποισι κύμασιν φορεομένη. 40 ταύτη μάλιστ' ἔοικε τοιαύτη γυνη

όργήν φυὴν δὲ πόντος ἀλλοίην ἔχει.

stop her with threats, nor even if in anger he should knock out her teeth with a stone, nor can he by speaking to her soothingly, not even if she happens to be sitting among guests, but she constantly keeps up her yapping which nothing can be done about.

Another the Olympians fashioned from earth and gave her maimed to her man; for such a woman knows neither what is bad nor what is good. The only thing she knows how to do is to eat. And whenever the god sends harsh winter, she shivers and draws her chair nearer the fire.³

Another is from the sea, a woman with a twofold mind. One day she sparkles and is happy. A guest who sees her in the house will praise her: "there is no other woman better than this among all mankind nor one more beautiful." But another day she is unbearable even to look at or come close to; then she rages, unapproachable as a bitch round her pups, implacable and at odds with everyone, friends and enemies alike. Just as the sea often stands without a ripple, harmless, a great joy to sailors, in the season of summer, but often rages, tossed about by the loud-crashing waves, such a woman seems very much like this in temperament. The sea has a variable nature.⁴

³ If Schneidewin's emendation is accepted, the earth-woman is even more inert: "not even if the god sends a harsh winter does she feel the cold and draw her chair nearer the fire." ⁴ The line has been variously emended and is excised by some. See H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species* (London 1975) 72-73 and Pellizer-Tedeschi 129-30.

τὴν δ' ἔκ †τε σποδιῆς† καὶ παλιντριβέος ὄνου, ἢ σύν τ' ἀνάγκῃ σύν τ' ἐνιπῆσιν μόγις ἔστερξεν ὧν ἄπαντα κἀπονήσατο ἀρεστά: τόφρα δ' ἐσθίει μὲν ἐν μυχῷ προνὺξ προῆμαρ, ἐσθίει δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ. ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἀφροδίσιον ἐλθόντ' ἐταῖρον ὁντινῶν ἐδέξατο.

τὴν δ' ἐκ γαλῆς, δύστηνον οἰζυρὸν γένος κείνη γὰρ οὕ τι καλὸν οὐδ' ἐπίμερον πρόσεστιν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οὐδ' ἐράσμιον. εὐνῆς δ' ἀληνής ἐστιν ἀφροδισίης, τὸν δ' ἄνδρα τὸν παρεόντα ναυσίη διδοῦ. κλέπτουσα δ' ἔρδει πολλὰ γείτονας κακά, ἄθυστα δ' ὑρὰ πολλάκις κατεσθίει.

τὴν δ' ἵππος άβρὴ χαιτέεσσ' ἐγείνατο, η δούλι' ἔργα καὶ δύην περιτρέπει, κοὕτ' ἃν μύλης ψαύσειεν, οὕτε κόσκινον ἄρειεν, οὕτε κόπρον ἐξ οἴκου βάλοι, οὕτε πρὸς ἰπνὸν ἀσβόλην ἀλεομένη ἵζοιτ'. ἀνάγκη δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρης ἄπο ῥύπον δίς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται, αἰεὶ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ βαθεῖαν, ἀνθέμοισιν ἐσκιασμένην. καλὸν μὲν ὧν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνη ἄλλοισι, τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίνεται κακόν, ην μή τις η τύραννος η σκηπτοῦχος η,

őστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται.

45

50

55

60

65

70

Another is from an ash-coloured (?) ass that is the object of repeated blows. When forced and berated she with difficulty consents to everything and does acceptable work. But meanwhile all day and all night she eats in an inner room and eats at the hearth. And similarly with regard to lovemaking she accepts any companion who comes along.⁵

Another is from the weasel, a wretched and sorry creature, since there is nothing associated with her that is fair, desirable, pleasing or lovable. She is mad for the bed of love, but she turns the stomach of the man who is at her side. She does much harm to her neighbours by her thieving and she often eats up sacrifices left unburned.

Another a dainty, long-maned mare engendered. She pushes servile tasks and trouble onto others, and she wouldn't touch a millstone, lift a sieve, throw dung out of the house, or sit by the oven since she avoids soot. And she forces a man to be her lover. Twice every day, sometimes three times, she washes the dirt off her and anoints herself with scents, and she always wears her hair combed out and long, shaded with flowers. Such a woman is a beautiful sight to others, but for the man who has her as wife she is a plague, unless he is some tyrant or sceptre bearer whose heart delights in such things.

⁵ The meaning seems to be that her appetite for sex is as strong as her appetite for food and is equally undiscriminating.

⁶ I.e., a man cannot resist her beauty, however much he may disapprove of her behaviour. According to some the sentence is ironical: "and she makes a man the friend of Necessity."

τὴν δ' ἐκ πιθήκου· τοῦτο δὴ διακριδὸν Ζεὺς ἀνδράσιν μέγιστον ὅπασεν κακόν. αἴσχιστα μὲν πρόσωπα· τοιαὑτη γυνὴ εἶσιν δι' ἄστεος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γέλως· ἐπ' αὐχένα βραχεῖα· κινεῖται μόγις· ἄπυγος, αὐτόκωλος. ἆ τάλας ἀνὴρ ὅστις κακὸν τοιοῦτον ἀγκαλίζεται. δήνεα δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπους ἐπίσταται ὥσπερ πίθηκος· οὐδέ οἱ γέλως μέλει· οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ὁρậ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἡμέρην βουλεύεται, ὅκως τι κώς μέγιστον ἔρξειεν κακόν.

τὴν δ' ἐκ μελίσσης· τήν τις εὐτυχεῖ λαβών· κείνη γὰρ οἴη μῶμος οὐ προσιζάνει, θάλλει δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κἀπαέξεται βίος, φίλη δὲ σὺν φιλέοντι γηράσκει πόσει τεκοῦσα καλὸν κἀνομάκλυτον γένος. κἀριπρεπὴς μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ γίνεται πάσησι, θείη δ' ἀμφιδέδρομεν χάρις. οὐδ' ἐν γυναιξὶν ἤδεται καθημένη ὅκου λέγουσιν ἀφροδισίους λόγους. τοίας γυναίκας ἀνδράσιν χαρίζεται Ζεὺς τὰς ἀρίστας καὶ πολυφραδεστάτας·

τὰ δ' ἄλλα φῦλα ταῦτα μηχανῆ Διὸς ἔστιν τε πάντα καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσιν μένει. Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν, γυναῖκας ἡν τι καὶ δοκέωσιν ἀφελεῖν ἔχοντι, τῷ μάλιστα γίνεται κακόν

75

80

85

90

95

Another is from a monkey. This is absolutely the worst plague that Zeus has given to men. Her face is extremely ugly; such a woman is an object of laughter to everyone as she goes through the town. She is short of neck, moves awkwardly, has no rump, and is all legs. Ah, pity the man who embraces such a plague. She knows every trick and scheme, just like a monkey. Being laughed at doesn't bother her and she wouldn't do anyone a good turn, but she has her eyes on and plots every day how she can do the greatest harm possible.

Another is from the bee. The one who gets her is lucky, since on her alone blame does not settle. Under her management his livelihood flourishes and increases, and she grows old in love with a loving husband, the mother of a handsome and distinguished family. She stands out among all women and a divine grace surrounds her. She takes no pleasure in sitting among women in places where they talk about sex. Such women are the best and the most sensible whom Zeus bestows as a favour on

But by the contrivance of Zeus all these other species exist and remain among men. For the greatest plague that Zeus has created is this—women; if they seem to be of some benefit to the one who has them, to him especially do they turn out to be a

men.

οὐ γάρ κοτ' εὐφρων ἡμέρην διέρχεται άπασαν, όστις συν γυναικὶ †πέλεται, 100 οὐδ' αἶψα Λιμὸν οἰκίης ἀπώσεται, έχθρον συνοικητήρα, δυσμενέα θεών. άνηρ δ' όταν μάλιστα θυμηδείν δοκή κατ' οἶκον, ἢ θεοῦ μοῖραν ἢ ἀνθρώπου χάριν, εύροῦσα μῶμον ἐς μάχην κορύσσεται. 105 όκου γυνη γάρ έστιν οὐδ' ές οἰκίην ξείνον μολόντα προφρόνως δεκοίατο. ήτις δέ τοι μάλιστα σωφρονείν δοκεί. αύτη μέγιστα τυγχάνει λωβωμένη. κεχηνότος γὰρ ἀνδρός, οἱ δὲ γείτονες 110 χαίρουσ' όρωντες καὶ τόν, ώς άμαρτάνει. την ην δ' έκαστος αινέσει μεμνημένος γυναίκα, τὴν δὲ τοὐτέρου μωμήσεται ίσην δ' έχοντες μοίραν οὐ γινώσκομεν. Ζεὺς γὰρ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν κακόν, 115 καὶ δεσμὸν ἀμφέθηκεν ἄρρηκτον πέδην, έξ οὖ τε τοὺς μὲν ἀίδης ἐδέξατο γυναικός είνεκ' αμφιδηριωμένους.

cf. Ath. 5.179d (v. 56), Ael. H.A.~16.24 (vv. 57-70), Ael. H.A.~11.36 (v. 64)

5 ἄπλυτος codd., corr. Valckenaer 6 είμένη codd., corr. Trincavelli 18 μυθεύμενος codd., corr. Fick 19 είμένη codd., corr. Trincavelli 20 αὐονὴν West 25 χ΄ οταν cod. S, κοὕτ᾽ ἂν codd. MA, κοὐδ᾽ ἢν Schneidewin, κὅταν Ahrens 26 ἆσσον codd., corr. Jacobsohn 29 μὲν codd., corr. Valckenaer 30 λώϊον codd., corr. Gesner

plague. For whoever lives (?) with a woman never goes through a whole day in good spirits, nor will he quickly thrust from the house Hunger, a hostile housemate, enemy of the gods. And whenever a man seems to be especially enjoying himself in his home, either through divine dispensation or the kindness of men, she finds fault and puts on her helmet for battle. For where there is a woman, men may not readily welcome even a stranger who has come to the house.7 I tell you, the woman who seems most respectable, she's the very one who commits the greatest outrage. For while her husband stands open-mouthed, 8 the neighbours delight in seeing how he too is mistaken. Each man will be mindful to praise his own wife, but will find fault with another's. We do not realize that we have an equal lot. For this is the greatest plague that Zeus has created, and he has placed round us in bondage fetters unbreakable, ever since Hades received those who fought on account of a woman.9

⁷ I.e., let alone a neighbour. ⁸ An open mouth can denote lack of attention (through carelessness he does not notice how she behaves) or gullibility (he is so naïve that her behaviour leaves him incredulous) or a strong desire (he is so infatuated with her that he is blind to her real nature).

⁹ Generally assumed to be Helen. Many treat the poem as incomplete, assuming that at least one $\tau o \hat{v} \hat{s} \delta \hat{\epsilon}$ followed. This is possible, but not obligatory.

40 φορευμένη codd., corr. Fick 42 $[\dot{o}\rho\gamma\dot{\eta}\nu]$ φυ $\dot{\eta}\nu$ δε πόντος <ἄλλοτ'> ἀλλοίην Renehan, alii alia $43 \tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \phi \rho \hat{\eta} s$ Meineke, τεφρῆς τε Brunck 45 ὧν codd., corr. Gesner καὶ 49 ὁντινοῦν codd., corr. Bergk $\pi o \nu$ - codd., corr. Ahrens $54 \pi \alpha \rho \acute{o} \nu \tau \alpha$ codd., corr. Renner διδεί et δίδει codd., corr. 57 χαιτάεσσ' Aelian., χαιτείης Stob. cod. Trincavelli S, χαιτήεις codd. MA, corr. Meineke 61 $\dot{a}\lambda\epsilon\nu\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ codd.. corr. Fick 65 ἀεὶ codd., corr. Hertel $67 \text{ ov} \nu \text{ codd.}$ corr. Brunck 76 αὐόκωλος Haupt 82 τί χ' ώς codd.. corr. West, τιν' ώς Meineke 86 ϕ ιλεῦντι codd., corr. Fick 87 κοὖν- codd., corr Smyth 95 μενεῖ Bergk 97 δοκῶσιν codd., corr. Ahrens 102 $\theta \epsilon \delta \nu$ Grotius 106 οἰκίαν codd., corr. Koeler 107 μολώντα codd., corr. Trincavelli $\delta \epsilon \chi$ - codd., corr. Schneidewin 116 $\pi \epsilon \delta \eta(\iota)$ codd., (κἄρρηκτον) πέδην Crusius, πέδης Koeler (+ ἀρρήκτου Bothe)

8 Ath. 7.299c

Σιμωνίδης δ' ἐν ἰάμβοις.

ὥσπερ ἔγχελυς κατὰ γλοιοῦ

9 Pergit Ath.

καὶ τὴν αἰτιατικήν

έρωδιὸς γὰρ ἔγχελυν Μαιανδρίην τρίορχον εὐρὼν ἐσθίοντ᾽ ἀπείλετο.

2 ἀφείλετο cod., corr. Fick

8 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And Semonides in his iambics:

like an eel¹ down in the slime

 1 Athenaeus cites this passage and the next in his discussion of the declension of the word for eel. For possible explanations of the fragment see *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 22-23.

9 Athenaeus continues

And the accusative:

For a heron found a buzzard eating a Maeandrian eel^1 and took it away.

 $^{\mbox{\scriptsize 1}}$ Eels from the river Maeander in Caria were a prized delicacy.

10 Schol. Eur. Phoen. 207 (i.277.17 Schwartz), "κατενάσθην"

τινèς ἀντὶ τοῦ κατανασθήσομαι· καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἰάμβοις

 $<\times$ – \triangledown –> τί ταῦτα διὰ μακρῶν λόγων ἀνέδραμον;

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναδραμεῖν μέλλω.

10a Herennius Philo, de diversis verborum significationibus (p. 186 Palmieri, 73 Nickau, Ammonius)

κομᾶν τοῦ γαυριᾶν διαφέρει. <κομᾶν γὰρ> ἐπί τινι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, φησὶ Τρύφων (fr. novum), τὸ δὲ νῦν κομᾶν κουριᾶν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἐν πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ.

καὶ μήτ' ἄλουτος γαυρία σύ, μήτ' ὕδωρ θαύμαζε, μηδὲ κουρία γενειάδα, μηδὲ ῥύπφ χιτῶνος ἔντυε χρόα.

(Herenn.) <κομᾶν γὰρ> suppl. Nickau, <κομᾶν μὲν τὸ γανριᾶν> Palmieri κουριᾶν, ὡς West (κυρίως cod.), κυρίως <τὸ κουριᾶν> Palmieri (Sem.) 1 καὶ μήτ ἀλλ οὕτως γὰρ ᾶν εὖ μεθ' ὕδωρ cod., corr. West 2 κούρη cod., corr. West 3 μηδὲ ρυποχίτων ἔση ἔν τε χώρα cod., corr. West, ρύπο<τ> χιτῶνα ἔσσον ἐν χροΐ Palmieri

10 Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae* ("I dwelled") According to some this is equivalent to 'I shall dwell.' And Semonides says in his iambics

Why did I recount this with a lengthy discourse? which is equivalent to 'I am going to recount.' 1

 1 Without a context we cannot comment on the scholiast's explanation of the aorist. The text is disputed on metrical grounds, but if printed as two verses (so Pellizer-Tedeschi following West's suggestion), the caesura is restored. The resolved iambus (-a $\delta\iota\dot{a}$) is not found elsewhere in Semonides, but it occurs in other early iambographers.

10a Herennius Philo, On the Different Meanings of Words

 $κομ\hat{a}ν$ differs from $γανρι\hat{a}ν$.¹ For in ancient times, according to Tryphon, ² $<κομ\hat{a}ν$ meant 'to put on airs' > over something, but now $κομ\hat{a}ν$ has the meaning of $κονρι\hat{a}ν$ 'to need a haircut,' as in the first book of Semonides' iambics:

Don't take pride in being unwashed, don't stand in awe of water, don't let your beard need trimming, and don't deck out your body in a filthy tunic.

 1 γαυρι 2 ν is presumably an error for κουρι 2 ν. See West, Maia 20 (1968) 196. 2 A grammarian of the time of Augustus.

11 Ath. 2.57d = Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 11.299 (1686.51)

"ὤεα" δὲ ἔφη Ἐπίχαρμος (fr. 152 Kaibel), "ὤεα χανὸς κἀλεκτορίδων πετεηνῶν." Σιμωνίδης ἐν δευτέρῳ ἰάμ-βων·

οἷόν τε χηνὸς ὤεον Μαιανδρίου.

12 Choerob. can. (i.267.10 Hilgard) = Herodian. (ii.626.30 Lentz)

ἴκτινος ἡ εὐθεῖα . . . τούτου ἡ γενικὴ ἰκτίνου, ὡς παρὰ Σιμωνίδη·

σπλάγχ' ἀμπέχοντες αὐτίκ' ἰκτίνου δίκην.

ἀμφέποντες Bergk

13

<> -> τὸ δ' ἥμιν ἐρπετὸν παρέπτατο τὸ ζωΐων κάκιστον ἔκτηται βίον.

Et. Gen. (p. 28 Calame) = Et. Mag. 413.20 = Zon. (p. 967 T.; hinc Herodian. ii.516.7 Lentz)

ζωιον· . . . γράφεται δὲ διὰ τοῦ ι, ἐπειδὴ εὕρηται κατὰ διάστασιν, ὡς παρὰ Σιμωνίδη· φησὶ γὰρ "τὸ δ' ἡμῖν ἑρπετὸν παρέπτατο ζώϊον κάκιστον."

11 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Epicharmus said $\delta \epsilon a$ (for $\phi \dot{a}$), "eggs of a goose and winged hens." Cf. Semonides in the second book of his iambics:

like the egg of a Maeandrian goose

12 Choeroboscus, On the Canons of Theodosius

The nominative is $\emph{\'{i}}\kappa\tau\iota\nu os$. . . its genitive $\emph{\'{i}}\kappa\tau\acute\iota\nu o\nu$, as in Semonides:

straightway embracing1 the entrails like a kite

 $^{\rm I}$ Perhaps a colourful way of describing the greedy seizure of entrails, but many adopt Bergk's emendation, "being busy with."

13

and there flew to us that beetle¹ which among (all) creatures leads the worst way of life

 $^{\rm l}$ The scarab or dung beetle. Some assume a fable is being related.

Etymologicum Genuinum

 $\zeta\hat{\omega}\iota o\nu$: it is written with an iota, since it occurs with diaeresis, as in Semonides. For he says τὸ δ'—κάκιστον.

Schol. T Hom. Il . 18.407b (iv.515 Erbse), " $\zeta \omega \acute{\alpha} \gamma \rho \iota \alpha$ "

χαριστήρια τοῦ εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἦχθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ <ι>, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φησὶ "τὸ ζώϊον κάκιστον κέκτηται βίον," περὶ τοῦ κανθάρου.

1 ἡμ $\hat{\imath}$ ν libri, corr. West 2 ζώϊον Etym., ζώον schol. Hom., corr. Bekker κέκτηται schol., corr. Bekker

14 Galen, in Hippocr. epid. 6.2.1 (CMG v.10.2(2) p. 60.8)

διὸ καὶ τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν τοῦ "στενυγρῶσαι" ψιλοῦντας, οὐ δασύνοντας, ἀναγνωστέον ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ ἔγκειται τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει, καθάπερ ἄν τις οἰηθείη μὴ γινώσκων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰωνων τὸ στενὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι στενυγρόν· ἀλλὰ τούτο<υ> γε μαρτύριόν ἐστιν αὔταρκες τὸ παρὰ τῷ Σιμωνίδη γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῦσδε τοῦς ἔπεσιν·

οὐκ ἄν τις οὕτω δασκίοις ἐν οὕρεσιν ἀνὴρ λέοντ' ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ πάρδαλιν μοῦνος στενυγρῆ συμπεσὼν ἐν ἀτραπῷ.

cf. Galen. in Hippocr. de artic. (xviii(1).411 Kühn)

1 οὔπω τις de artic.

3 στενυγρώ συντυχών de artic.

15 Ath. 3.106d

κουρίδας δὲ τὰς καρίδας εἴρηκε Σώφρων ἐν Γυναικείοις (fr. 26 Kaibel) . . . Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Γᾳ καὶ Θαλάσσα (fr. 31 Kaibel), ἐν δὲ Λόγφ καὶ Λογίνα (fr. 89)

Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("reward for a life saved") Thank-offerings for one's life. The word has an iota, since Semonides says $\tau \delta \zeta \omega i o \nu - \beta i o \nu$, concerning the beetle.

14 Galen on Hippocrates, Epidemics

Therefore one must read the second syllable of $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\nu\nu\gamma$ - $\rho\hat{\omega}\sigma$ a ι with a smooth, not rough breathing. For $\dot{\nu}\gamma\rho\delta\nu$ is not part of the word, as might be thought if one did not realize that $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\delta\nu$ ('narrow') is called $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\nu\gamma\rho\delta\nu$ by the Ionians. But there is self-sufficient evidence of this in what has been written by Semonides in the following verses:

a man who all alone met up with a lion or a leopard on a narrow path in the shadowy mountains would not have been so afraid

15 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Sophron in Women's Mimes called καρίδες κουρίδες as did Epicharmus in Land and Sea, but in Logos and Logina

διὰ τοῦ ω εἴρηκεν . . . Σιμωνίδης δέ· θύννοισι τευθίς, κωβιοῖσι κωρίδες.

16 Clem. Paed. 2.8.64.3-4

τούτων δὲ τῶν μύρων ἄπειροι διαφοραί, βρένθειον καὶ μετάλλιον καὶ βασίλειον, πλαγγόνιόν τε καὶ ψάγδας Αἰγύπτιος. Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις οὐκ αἰδεῖται λέγων

κάλειφόμην μύροισι καὶ θυώμασιν καὶ βακκάρι καὶ γάρ τις ἔμπορος παρῆν.

cf. Ath. 15.690c

1 κὴλ- et ἠλ- Ath. θ υμιάμασιν Clem. 2 βάκκαριν Clem.

17 Et.Gen. (p. 40 Calame) = Et. Mag. 633.58

ὀρσοθύρη· θυρὶς δι' ἦς εἰς ὑπερῷον ὑπάρχει ἀνάβασις . . . λέγει δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης κακοσχόλως·

καί τῆς ὅπισθεν ὀρσοθύρης < > ἠλσάμην.

κὰτ Hemsterhuys ὀρσοθυρίδος Sylburg, ὀρθύρης Bergk, alii alia <δι>ηλσάμην Lobeck

he used the form with omega, as did Semonides:

for tunny squid, for gudgeons shrimps1

¹ The point of the collocation is unknown. Perhaps one creature is a meal for the other.

16 Clement of Alexandria, The Schoolmaster

And of these unguents there are countless varieties, *brentheion*, *metallion*, *basileion*, *plangonion*, and Egyptian *psagdas*. And Semonides does not blush at saying in his iambics:

and I was anointing myself² with unguents and scents and *baccaris*;³ for in fact a merchant was present

 $^{\rm 1}$ Passages in which these various unguents occur are cited by Athenaeus 15.690d-691a. $^{\rm 2}$ It cannot be determined whether the speaker is a woman (hetaera?) or the poet himself. $^{\rm 3}$ A Lydian unguent made from hazelwort.

17 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

 $\dot{o}\rho\sigma o\theta \dot{v}\rho\eta$: a little door which gives access to an upper storey . . . Semonides gives a vulgar meaning to the word:

and I drove through (?) the back door1

¹ The 'back door' is no doubt the anus, but the text is highly uncertain. $\dot{\delta}\rho\sigma\sigma\theta\acute{\nu}\rho\eta s$ is suspect on metrical and other grounds (see West, *Studies* 179).

18 Et. Gen. (pp. 22-23 Calame) = Et. Mag. 270.44 = Zon. (p. 539 T.)

διασαυλούμενος άβρυνόμενος καὶ διαθρυπτόμενος παρὰ τὸν σαῦλον τὸν τρυφερὸν καὶ γαῦρον. Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἰάμβοις

καὶ σαῦλα βαίνων ἵππος ὡς †κορωνίτης.

κορωνι \hat{q} ς, -ι \hat{q} dub. West, alii alia

19 Pollux 2.65

σκνιπὸν δὲ τὸν ἀμυδρῶς βλέποντα Σιμωνίδης ὁ ἰαμβοποιός·

ἢ τυφλὸς ἤ τις σκνιπὸς ἢ μέγα βλέπων.

μόγις pro μέγα West, alii alia

20 Schol. Hom. Od. 14.435, "τὴν μὲν ἴαν Νύμφησι"

ώς ποιμενικοῖς προστάταις καὶ Σιμωνίδης θύειν αὐτούς φησι Νύμφαις καὶ

Μαιάδος τόκω.

οὖτοι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν αἷμ' ἔχουσι ποιμένων.

cf. Eust. ad loc. (1766.2)

1 θύουσι Νύμφαις τ $\hat{\varphi}$ τε suppl. Barnes ($\mathring{\eta}$ δ $\grave{\epsilon}$ Ahrens)

18 Etymologicum Genuinum

διασανλούμενος: putting on airs and having an affected manner . . . from $\sigma a \hat{v} \lambda o s$ which means effeminate and haughty. Cf. Semonides in iambics:

with mincing gait and arched neck like a horse's1

 1 Cf. Anac. frr. 452, 458 \it{PMG} . Whatever the correct reading of the last word is, the fragment presumably describes a man who puts on airs.

19 Pollux, Vocabulary

σκνιπός is used by the iambic poet Semonides of one who has weak eyesight:

one who is blind or has weak eyesight or sees well

20 Scholiast on Homer, *Odyssey* ("one portion for the Nymphs")

as guardians of shepherds. And Semonides says that they sacrifice to the Nymphs and

to the son of Maia; for they 1 have in their care the race of shepherds

¹ I.e., the Nymphs and Hermes. I have followed the explanation of Eustathius, but according to West 'they' are those sacrificing: "for they are of shepherd stock."

21 Strabo 13.2.6

τὰς δὲ δυσφημίας τῶν ὀνομάτων φεύγοντές τινες ἐνταῦθα μὲν (sc. Πορδοσελήνη) Ποροσελήνην δεῖν λέγειν φασίν, τὸ δὲ ᾿Ασπόρδηνον ὅρος τὸ περὶ Πέργαμον, τραχὰ καὶ λυπρὸν ὄν, ᾿Ασπόρηνον, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐνταῦθα τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ᾿Ασπορηνῆς. τί οὖν φήσομεν τὴν πόρδαλιν καὶ τὸν Σαπέρδην καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν; ‹ἀλλὰ ἔτερον σημαίνει, ὅπερ› (add. West) καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου

(a) σὺν πορδακοῖσιν ἐκπεσόντες εἵμασιν,

ἀντὶ τοῦ διαβρόχοις, καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀρχαίᾳ που κωμφδίᾳ (Ar. Pax 1148) "πορδακὸν τὸ χωρίον" τὸ λιμνάζον.

Schol. Ar. ad loc. (p. 164 Holwerda)

παρδακὸν (ita codd. Ar.) δὲ δίυγρον· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος, "παρδακὸν δ' ἐπείσιον" (fr. 40), καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδη τῷ ᾿Αμοργίῳ·

(b) σὺν παρδακοῖσιν εἵμασιν σεσαγμένοις

παρδακῆσιν schol. Ar. ίμάσιν libri utrimque, corr. Toup et Tyrwhitt σεσαγμένοι Welcker

21 Strabo, Geography

So as to avoid the indecency of the names some state that one ought to say here Poroselene (for Pordoselene), and Asporenon for Aspordenon, the rugged and wretched mountain round Pergamum, and that the temple there belongs to the Asporene Mother of the Gods. What then shall we say of *pordalis* ('leopard') and Saperdes and Perdiccas?¹ < But a different meaning > is found in Semonides

(a) cast forth (on the shore?) with *pordakoisin* clothing,

instead of sodden, and somewhere in early comedy "the area is *pordakon*," i.e., marshy.

Scholiast on Aristophanes, Peace

pardakon means wet; so too in Archilochus (fr. 40) and in Semonides of Amorgos:

- (b) weighed down by sodden clothing²
- ¹ The point of what precedes is that such changes avoid the roots *pord* and *perd* which occur in words denoting the act of farting. Although Strabo mentions only the roots *pord* and *perd*-, he seems to imply that *pard* could also be considered indecent, since all three roots occur in the various tenses of $\pi\epsilon\rho\delta o\mu\alpha\iota$, 'fart.'
- ² Many, probably correctly, treat (a) and (b) as one fragment, reading (with Welcker) σὺν παρδακοῖσιν ἐκπεσόντες εἴμασιν/ σεσαγμένοι, "cast forth weighed down by sodden clothing." It seems likely that the correct form of the adjective is pardakos.

22 Ath. 14.658b

(τυρὸς Τρομιλικός) οὖ καὶ Σιμωνίδης μνημονεύει ἐν ἰάμβφ οὖ ἡ ἀρχή

 $\langle \mathring{\eta} \rangle$ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ προυκπονέαι, Τηλέμβροτε, γράφων

23

ένταῦθα μέν τοι τυρὸς ἐξ ᾿Αχαΐης Τρομίλιος θαυμαστός, ὃν κατήγαγον.

 $\hat{\eta}$ (22) add. Hemsterhuys $\pi \rho o \epsilon \kappa \pi o \nu \hat{\eta}$ cod., $\pi \rho o \nu \kappa$ - Fick, -έ $a\iota$ Hiller

24 Ath. 14.659d-f

οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν παράδοξον εἰ καὶ θυτικῆς ἦσαν ἔμπειροι οἱ παλαίτεροι μάγειροι. προίσταντο γοῦν καὶ γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν . . . καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδη δέ φησιν ἔτερος (μάγειρος)·

κώς <ὖν> ἀπεῦσα κώς ἐμίστυλα κρέα ἱρωστί· καὶ γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἐπίσταμαι.

1 χως ἄφευσα χως cod., κὼς . . . κὼς Schneidewin $\langle \hat{v} v \rangle$ add. Bergk ἄπευσα Fick, corr. Hiller 2 εἰδώς· τί cod., corr. Hecker

22 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

(Tromilian cheese) which Semonides mentions in the iambic poem whose beginning is

Much indeed is the work you do in advance, Telembrotus,

where he writes

23

here, take note, is wonderful Tromilian cheese from Achaea, which I brought back

24 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

There's nothing surprising, therefore, if the cooks of old were skilled in the art of divining. At any rate they managed both weddings and sacrifices . . . and another cook says in Semonides:

and how I singed off the hair of a pig and how I cut up the meat in the manner prescribed by ritual; for in fact I'm quite knowledgeable in that I''

25 Ath. 10.424c

καλοῦνται δὲ (οἱ κύαθοι) καὶ ἀρυστῆρες καὶ ἀρύστιχοι. Σιμωνίδης·

έδωκεν ούδεὶς ούδ' άρυστήρα τρυγός.

26 Ath. 11.460b

ποτήρια δὲ πρῶτον οἶδα ὀνομάσαντα τὸν ᾿Αμόργιον ποιητὴν Σιμωνίδην ἐν ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

ἀπὸ τράπεζαν εἶλε †νιν ποτήρια.

καὶ pro νιν Meineke, εἷλεν ἢ dub. West, alii alia

27 Schol. Hom. *Il*. 2.219 (i.230 Erbse), "φοξός"

εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμικῶν ἀγγείων, τῶν ἐν τῆ καμίνῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπωξυμμένων, καθά φησι καὶ Σιμωνίδης·

αὕτη δὲ φοξὴ χεῖλος Ἀργείη κύλιξ.

cf. Apoll. Soph. (p. 164.19 Bekker), Et. Gen. (p. 46 Calame), Et. Mag. 798.17, Et. Gud. (col. 560.20 Sturz), Zon. (p. 1817 T.), Epimer. in Hom. (p. 720.18 Dyck), Orion etym. (col. 159.12 Sturz), Ath. 11.480cd, Eust. in Hom. Il. 2.219 (i.316.1 V. d. Valk)

φοξή χείλος Vat. gr. 28 (schol. Hom.), Apoll. Soph. (χειρὸς), φοξίχειλος schol. Hom. primarii, Et. Gen., Et. Mag., Ath., Eust., φοξύχειλος Et. Gud., φοξόχειλος Zon.

25 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

κύαθοι ('ladles') are also called ἀρυστῆρες and ἀρύστιχοι. Cf. Semonides:

no one gave even a ladleful of dregs

26 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

I know that the term $\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho \iota a$ was first used by the poet Semonides of Amorgos in his iambics as follows:

(s)he cleared away the table \dots cups

27 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* ("pointed")

The word is said of vessels made from pottery which have been brought to a point in the kiln from the fire, as Semonides says:

this is an Argive cup with tapered lip1

 1 Some prefer the reading $\phi o\xi i\chi \epsilon \iota \lambda os,$ but the meaning will be the same.

28 Schol. Ar. Ach. 740 (p. 97 Wilson), "τὰς ὁπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων"

οὖ μόνον ἀριστοφάνης ἐπὶ τῶν χοίρων τὰς ὁπλὰς εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁμοίως ἐπὶ χοίρου·

όπλὰς ἐκίνει τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν.

29 Bergk = 514 PMG

30 Et. Gen. (Miller, Mélanges 82) = Et. Mag. 250.18 δαύω· τὸ καίω, παρὰ Σιμωνίδη·

μηρίων δεδαυμένων.

παρὰ τὸ δαίω, τροπῆ τοῦ ι εἰς υ.

31a Et. Gen. (p. 26 Calame)

έπληντ' άλλήλησι. ἐκ τοῦ *πλῶ τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ πλησιάζω. ὁ παρακείμενος πέπληκα, λέγεται δὲ καὶ πέπλακα ὁ παθητικὸς πέπλημαι πέπληται, καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδη πεπλήαται

τὰ δ' ἄλλα πεπλέαται ξύλα.

cf. Et. Mag. 367.37, Zon. (p. 850 T.) $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ Et. Gen. et Et. Mag., corr. Renner

31b Schol. Lyc. 634 (p. 212.16 Scheer), "σισυρνοδῦται" σίσυρνα δὲ παχὺ περιβόλαιον ἢ δερμάτινον ἱμάτιον,

28 Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* ("the hooves of the pigs")

Not only does Aristophanes use $\delta\pi\lambda\alpha\iota$ ('hooves') with regard to pigs, but so does Semonides:

it moved the hooves of its back feet1

¹ Perhaps said of a pig being sacrificed. Cf. fr. 24.

30 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

δαύω means 'burn' in Semonides:

of burnt thigh bones

Equivalent to $\delta\alpha i\omega$ ('burn'), with iota changed to upsilon.

31a Etymologicum Genuinum

They (sc. shields) came near one another (Il. 4.449). From $*\pi\lambda\hat{\omega}$ meaning 'come near.' The perfect is $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$ and also $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha$, the passive $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ and in Semonides $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$:

and the other wood has come near (the fire?)

31b Scholiast on Lycophron ("wearers of leather coats") $\sigma i\sigma \nu \rho \nu a$ is a thick mantle or leather coat, the so-called

ή λεγομένη γοῦννα, ἥντινα Σιμωνίδης ὑποκοριστικῶς εἶπε "σίσυν παχεῖαν."

παχείην et παχείαν codd., corr. Bergk

32 Schol. AB Hom. Il. 13.103

ἥϊα δὲ τὰ βρώματα, οὐ τὰ ἐν οἴκῳ δὲ ἐσθιόμενα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πλῷ. "δεῦτε φίλοι, ἥϊα φερώμεθα" (Od. 2.410). Σιμωνίδης.

33 Hesych.

κάρκαρα· †οὖλα ὁ διήτω† καὶ τὰ ποικίλα τῇ ὄψει καὶ †ἐπιτυρὰ† παρὰ Σιμωνίδη (-δει cod., corr. Musurus). ἔνιοι τοὺς μάνδρας.

34 Suet. de blasph. (pp. 53-54 Taillardat)

Κέρκωπες οἱ πανοῦργοι ἀπατηλοί . . . καὶ κερκωπία ἡ ἀπάτη κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην.

35 Antiattic. (*Anecd. Gr.* i.105.3 Bekker) κορδύλη· τὸ ἔπαρμα. Σιμωνίδης δευτέρω.

γοῦννα, which Semonides used in diminutive form a thick leather coat

32 Scholiast on Homer, Iliad

ηia are victuals, not those eaten at home, but on a journey or voyage. "Come here, friends, let us carry the provisions" ($Od.\ 2.410$). Cf. Semonides.¹

¹ The citation has not been preserved, but clearly some form of the word was contained in it. The poet is probably the iambographer, since the word is also found in Arch. fr. 79.1, with long iota as sometimes in Homer.

33 Hesychius, Lexicon

The gloss is too corrupt to be translated. If Musurus' emendation of $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\nu\tau\nu\rho\dot{\alpha}$ to $\pi\dot{\nu}\tau\nu\rho a$ is accepted, it seems that Semonides (or the lyric poet) used $\kappa\dot{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha\rho a$ with the meaning 'bran.'

34 Suetonius, On Defamatory Words

Κέρκωπες are deceitful scoundrels . . . and κερκωπία means 'deceit' in Semonides. 1

¹ Perhaps the lyric poet.

35 Anti-Atticist

κορδύλη means a 'swelling.'¹ Cf. Semonides in his second book.

 1 According to the scholiast on Arist. Clouds 10 κορδύλη is properly a swelling on the head as the result of a blow.

36 Phot. *lex.* (i.355 Naber)

κύβηβον Κρατίνος Θράτταις (fr. 87 K.-A.) τὸν θεοφόρητον. Ἰωνες δὲ τὸν μητραγύρτην καὶ γάλλον νῦν καλούμενον οὕτως Σιμωνίδης.

37 Harpocr. (pp. 178 sq. Keaney)

Μυσῶν λείαν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος (18.72). παροιμία τίς ἐστιν οὕτω λεγομένη, ἤν φησι Δήμων ἐν α΄ περὶ παροιμιῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν καταδραμόντων ἀστυγειτόνων τε καὶ ληστῶν τὴν Μυσίαν κατὰ τὴν Τηλέφου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδημίαν (FGrHist 327 F 4). κέχρηνται δὲ τῆ παροιμία ἄλλοι τε καὶ Στράττις ἐν Μηδεία (fr. 36 K.-A.) καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἰάμβοις.

38 Et. Gud. (col. 408.40 Sturz)

νήστης· οὕτως εἴρηται παρὰ Σιμωνίδη. παρὰ τὸ ἔδω . . . τὸ ἐσθίω, οὖ ὁ μέλλων *ἔσω, *ἐστής, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νε στερητικοῦ *νεέστης, οὖ παρώνυμον νήστης. οὕτως 'Ηρωδιανὸς ἐν ἐπιμερισμοῖς (i.xxxi Lentz).

39 Et. Mag. 764.25

τρασιά παρὰ τὸ τέρσω τὸ ξηραίνω, τερσιά, καὶ ταρσιά, ὡς παρὰ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν τρασιά.

cf. Hesych. ταρσιήν· τὴν τρασιάν

36 Photius, Lexicon

κύβηβοs is said of one possessed by a god in Cratinus, *Thracian Women*. But the Ionians use the word of what is now called μητραγύρτηs ('begging priest of Cybele') and γάλλοs ('priest of Cybele' or 'eunuch'). So Semonides.

37 Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators

Booty of the Mysians. Demosthenes in his speech *On behalf of Ctesiphon*. There is a proverb in this form which Demon, in Book 1 of his *On Proverbs*, says originated from the raids into Mysia by the neighbouring peoples and robbers during the absence of king Telephus. Others use the proverb, including Strattis in *Medea* and Semonides in his iambics.¹

 1 The proverb, said of anything that can be plundered with impunity, is frequently cited (see West ad loc.). Presumably Semonides used the Ionic form $\lambda\eta\dot{t}\eta(\nu)$, as Hoffmann proposed.

38 Etymologicum Gudianum

νήστης: so in Semonides. It is from $\check{\epsilon}\delta\omega$ ('eat') . . . $\check{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\iota\omega$, whose future is ${}^*\check{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$, ${}^*\check{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta$ s, and with the privative $\nu\epsilon$, ${}^*\nu\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta$ s, the by-form of which is $\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\eta$ s ('one who fasts'). So Herodian in *Parsings*.

39 Etymologicum Magnum

τρασιά: from τέρσω meaning 'dry' we get τερσιά, and ταρσιά as in Semonides, and by transposition τρασιά ('crate for drying figs'). 1

¹ Semonides would have used the Ionic form $\tau \alpha \rho \sigma \iota \dot{\eta}$, but Hesychius' gloss need not mean that it occurred in the accusative.

40 Orion *etym.* (col. 168.9 Sturz)

ψηνὸς ὁ φαλακρὸς εἴρηται. Σιμωνίδης.

- 41 Zenob. Ath. 3.70 cod. A, ed. Kugéas apud O. Crusius, Paroemiographica, *Sitz.-Ber. bay. Ak.* 1910 (4), p. 23 (= *Corp. Paroem. Suppl.* [1961] V)
- ό Λέσβιος Πρύλις· ταύτη καθ' όμοίωσιν Σιμωνίδης κέχρηται·

†έν εὐδετέω† ὥσπερ Λέσβιος Πρύλις.

δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ Πρύλις Ἑρμοῦ παῖς γενέσθαι καὶ μάντις. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ αὐτόν τινες Πυρσόν.

cf. Paroem. Gr. i.327.18 L.-S.

ἐνεύδετ(ε) Crusius, ἐν δευτέρφ Pellizer (libro altero frag. tribuens)

42 Stob. 2.1.10

Σιμωνίδου.

ρεία θεοὶ κλέπτουσιν ἀνθρώπων νόον.

40 Orion, *Lexicon* ψηνός means 'bald headed.' Cf. Semonides.

41 Zenobius, Proverbs

The Lesbian Prylis. Semonides used this proverbial expression in a comparison:

... like Lesbian Prylis

It seems that Prylis was the son of Hermes and a seer. I Some call him Pyrsus.

 $^{\rm 1}$ According to Lycophron 219 and the scholia ad loc., Agamemnon sailed off to Lesbos and Prylis revealed to him the stratagem of the wooden horse.

42 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Semonides:

Gods easily deceive the mind of mortals.1

¹ Attribution to Semonides has been doubted or denied by many (it is Sim. fr. 525 *PMG*), but the only cause for suspicion is the choriambic anaclasis in the first metron and this has been adequately defended, both here and in fr. 1.4, by R. Renehan, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 5-11.

Dubium

43 Ar. Pax 697-699

Τρ. ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.

Ερ. Σιμωνίδης; πώς;

Τρ. ὅτι γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρὸς κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

Schol. ad loc. (p. 108 Holwerda)

χαριέντως πάνυ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ διέσυρε τῆς β΄ τοῦ ἰαμβοποιοῦ καὶ μέμνηται ὅτι σμικρολόγος ἦν. ὅθεν Ξενοφάνης "κίμβικα" αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει (Xenoph. fr. 21 West).

Doubtful Work

43 Aristophanes, Peace

Trygaeus: He's changing from Sophocles to Simonides.

Hermes: Simonides? How so?

Trygaeus: Because now that he's old and decayed, he'd even sail on a mat of wickerwork for the sake of profit.

Scholiast on the passage

Aristophanes very elegantly ridiculed Simonides with the same words of the second book of the iambic poet and records that Simonides was miserly. Hence Xenophanes calls him a skinflint.¹

1 E. Pellizer, QUCC n.s. 9 (1981) 47-51, argues that the scholiast is attributing Peace 699 to Semonides, since Simonides is never called an iambic poet. This appears as fr. 4 in the edition of Semonides by Pellizer and Tedeschi, with $\kappa\epsilon\rho\delta o\nu s$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ emended to $\kappa\epsilon\rho\delta os \tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\tau\iota$. Holwerda's edition of the scholia prints $\tau o\nu s$ δvo for $\tau \eta s$ β' , but Pellizer informs me that the latter is the correct reading. Holwerda assumes a lacuna in front of $\mu\epsilon\mu\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ and West supplies $Xa\mu\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$ on the basis of Athenaeus 656d.

HIPPONAX

TESTIMONIA

Chronology

1 Plin. NH 36.4.11

fuerat in Chio insula Melas scalptor, dein filius eius Micciades ac deinde nepos Archermus, cuius filii Bupalus et Athenis vel clarissimi in ea scientia fuere Hipponactis poetae aetate, quem certum est LX Olympiade fuisse.

2 Ps.-Plut. de musica 6.1133d

ἔνιοι δὲ πλανώμενοι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν <αὐτὸν> χρόνον Τερπάνδρφ Ἱππώνακτα γεγονέναι. φαίνεται δ' Ἱππώνακτος καὶ Περίκλειτος ὢν πρεσβύτερος.

 $^{^1}$ See n. 1 on Arch. test. 9. 2 A Lesbian cithara singer who won at the Carneia in Sparta c. 600 (Lasserre, *Plutarque*, *De la musique* p. 34). 3 On Hipponax's date see also Arch. test. 6 and Sem. test. 3.

HIPPONAX

TESTIMONIA

Chronology

1 Pliny, Natural History

There lived in the island of Chios a sculptor Melas who was succeeded by his son Micciades and his grandson Archermus;¹ the latter's sons, Bupalus and Athenis, had the very greatest fame in that art (i.e., sculpture) at the time of the poet Hipponax who was clearly alive in the 60th Olympiad (540-537).²

 1 Archermus and his father Micciades had their names inscribed on the pedestal of a statue (now lost) in Delos, dated to c. 550-530. See Hansen, CEG I no. 425. 2 The Parian Marble, although only partially preserved at the mention of Hipponax, dates the poet to 541-540 according to Jacoby, Das Marmor Parium p. 171.

2 Pseudo-Plutarch, On Music

Some erroneously think that Hipponax lived at the same time as Terpander. But even Periclitus² was clearly older than Hipponax.³

Life and Physique

3 Suda (ii.665.16 Adler)

Ίππῶναξ· Πυθέω καὶ μητρὸς Πρώτιδος, Ἐφέσιος, ἰαμβογράφος· ὤκησε δὲ Κλαζομενὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ᾿Αθηναγόρα καὶ Κωμᾶ ἐξελαθείς. γράφει δὲ πρὸς Βούπαλον καὶ Ἅθηνιν ἀγαλματοποιούς, ὅτι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας πρὸς ὕβριν εἰργάσαντο.

4 Plin. NH 36.4.12

Hipponacti notabilis foeditas vultus erat; quamobrem imaginem eius lascivia iocosam hi proposuere ridentium circulis, quod Hipponax indignatus destrinxit amaritudinem carminum in tantum ut credatur aliquis ad laqueum eos compulisse; quod falsum est, complura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere, sicut in Delo, quibus subiecerunt carmen, non vitibus tantum censeri Chion sed et operibus Archermi filiorum.

HIPPONAX

Life and Physique

3 Suda

Hipponax, son of Pytheas¹ and Protis, from Ephesus, an iambic poet. Banished by the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas, he settled in Clazomenae. He wrote against the sculptors Bupalus and Athenis,² because they made insulting likenesses of him.

 1 It may be significant that in Herodas 1.76 Metriche gives Pytheas as her father, since Herodas was obviously indebted to Hipponax and actually names him in 8.78. 2 On Athenis see also Arch. test. 30. In contrast to Bupalus, who figures prominently in the remains of Hipponax's poetry, there is only one reference to Athenis (fr. 70.11).

4 Pliny, Natural History

The face of Hipponax was notoriously ugly; on account of this they¹ impudently exhibited a humorous likeness of him to a circle of laughing spectators. In anger at this Hipponax unsheathed such bitter verses that some believe he drove them to the noose.² This is untrue, since later they made several statues in neighbouring islands, for example in Delos,³ and set under them verses to the effect that Chios was to be celebrated not only for its vines, but also for the works of the sons of Archermus.

¹ I.e., the sculptors Bupalus and Athenis, sons of Archermus. ² Presumably on the analogy of Lycambes and his daughters (Arch. testt. 19-32). ³ See n. 1 on test. 1.

5 Ath. 12.552e-d; hine Eust. in Hom. *Il*. 23.844 (iv.847.55 V.d.Valk)

Μητρόδωρος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος (FGrHist 184 F 6) ἐν δευτέρφ Περὶ ἀλειπτικής Ἱππώνακτα τὸν ποιητὴν οὐ μόνον μικρὸν γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεπτόν, ἀκρότονον δ' οὕτως ὡς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κενὴν λήκυθον βάλλειν μέγιστόν τι διάστημα, τῶν ἐλαφρῶν σωμάτων διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἀέρα τέμνειν οὐκ ἐχόντων βιαίαν τὴν φοράν.

The Verdict of Antiquity

6 Callim. fr. 191.1-4 Pf.

'Ακούσαθ' 'Ιππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἥκω ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῦν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν, φέρων ἴαμβον οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντα τὴν Βουπάλειον [

7 Theor. epig. 19 Gow = HE 3430-33 (Anth. Pal. 13.3)

ό μουσοποιὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἱππῶναξ κεῖται.
εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχευ τῷ τύμβῳ·
εἰ δ' ἐσσὶ κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν,
θαρσέων καθίζευ, κἢν θέλης ἀπόβριξον.

HIPPONAX

5 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Metrodorus of Scepsis¹ in the second book of his *On the Art of Training* says that the poet Hipponax was not only small of body but also thin² and yet was so muscular that in addition to other feats he threw even an empty oil flask a very great distance,³ although light objects because of their inability to cleave the air do not have a strong momentum.

¹ A philosopher and rhetorician, born c. 160 B.C.

² Aelian (VH 10.6) also records that Hipponax was small and thin, but adds that he was ugly ($ai\sigma\chi\rho\delta s$). ³ R. M. Rosen, Eikasmos 1 (1990) 11-15, suggests that this anecdote is based on a poem of Hipponax which "illustrated the unreliability of physical appearance as a judge of reality" and that his model was the Euryalus-Odysseus scene in Od. 8.158-90.

The Verdict of Antiquity

6 Callimachus, Iambi

Listen to Hipponax, for it is I in fact who have come¹ from the place where they sell an ox for a penny,² bearing iambics that do not sing of the fight with Bupalus.

¹ See n. 1 on fr. 1.

² I.e., from Hades.

7 Theocritus, Epigrams

Here lies the poet Hipponax. If you are a scoundrel, do not approach the tomb; but if you are honest and from worthy stock, sit down in confidence and, if you like, fall asleep.

8 Anth. Pal. $7.405 = GP\ 2861-66\ (\Phi\iota\lambda\iota\pi\pi o\nu)$

ὧ ξεῖνε, φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζεπῆ τάφον τὸν φρικτὸν Ἱππώνακτος, οὖ τε χὰ τέφρα ἰαμβιάζει Βουπάλειον ἐς στύγος, μή πως ἐγείρης σφῆκα τὸν κοιμώμενον, ὃς οὐδ᾽ ἐν Ἅιδη νῦν κεκοίμηκεν χόλον, σκάζουσι μέτροις ὀρθὰ τοξεύσας ἔπη.

9 Anth. Pal. 7.408 = HE 2325-30 (Λεωνίδα)

ἀτρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῷ πικρὸν ἐγείρητε σφῆκ' ἀναπαυόμενον ἄρτι γὰρ Ἱππώνακτος ὁ καὶ τοκεῶνε βαΰξας ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίη. ἀλλὰ προμηθήσασθε· τὰ γὰρ πεπυρωμένα κείνου ῥήματα πημαίνειν οἶδε καὶ εἰν Ἰλίδη.

10 Anth. Pal. 7.536 = HE 76-81 (ἀΑλκαίου)

οὐδὲ θανὼν ὁ πρέσβυς έῷ ἐπιτέτροφε τύμβῷ βότρυν ἀπ' οἰνάνθης ἥμερον, ἀλλὰ βάτον καὶ πνιγόεσσαν ἄχερδον ἀποστύφουσαν ὁδιτῶν χείλεα καὶ δίψει καρφαλέον φάρυγα. ἀλλά τις Ἱππώνακτος ἐπὴν παρὰ σῆμα νέηται, εὐχέσθω κνώσσειν εὐμενέοντα νέκυν.

HIPPONAX

8 Palatine Anthology (Philip of Thessaloniki)

Stranger, flee from the grave with its hailstorm of verses, the frightful grave of Hipponax, whose very ashes utter invective to vent his hatred of Bupalus, lest somehow you arouse the sleeping wasp who has not even now in Hades put to sleep his anger, he who shot forth his words straight to the mark in limping meter.

9 Palatine Anthology (Leonidas of Tarentum)

Go quietly past the tomb, lest you arouse the bitter wasp who is resting. For the wrath of Hipponax that snarled even at his parents has just been stilled in peace. But take care, since his fiery verses know how to injure even in Hades.

10 Palatine Anthology (Alcaeus of Messene)

Even after his death the old man does not rear upon his tomb cultivated clusters of grapes from the vine, but brambles and the choking wild pear that constricts the lips of travellers and their throat parched with thirst. But whenever anyone goes past the tomb of Hipponax, let him pray that his corpse be kindly disposed and sleep.

11 Pseudacronis schol. (i.404 Keller) ad Hor. epod. 6.14 (v. Arch. test. 25)

Hipponactem significat qui Bupali filiam nuptum petiit et pro deformitate contemptus est. illud tamen verius volunt fuisse: Bupalum pictorem fuisse apud Clazomenas, civitatem Asiae. hic Hipponactem quendam poetam deformem pro risu pinxit: quo ille furore commotus tali eum carmine perculit ut se laqueo suspenderet. unde nunc similis carminis vim maledico minatur Horatius.

Meter

12 Demetr. *de eloc*. 301

καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ διαλελυμένον σχήμα δεινότητα ποιεί, ώς προλέλεκται, οὕτω ποιήσει ἡ διαλελυμένη ὅλως σύνθεσις. σημείον δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἱππώνακτος. λοιδορήσαι γὰρ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔθραυσεν τὸ μέτρον καὶ ἐποίησεν χωλὸν ἀντὶ εὐθέος καὶ ἄρυθμον, τουτέστι δεινότητι πρέπον καὶ λοιδορίᾳ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρρυθμον καὶ εὐήκοον ἐγκωμίοις ἂν πρέποι μᾶλλον ἢ ψόγοις.

13 Hephaest. Ench. 5.4 (p. 17.1 Consbruch)

έστιν ἐπίσημον ἐν τοῖς ἀκαταλήκτοις καὶ τὸ χωλὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ τινὲς μὲν Ἱππώνακτος, τινὲς δὲ Ἰλνανίου εὕρημά φασι, διαφέρει δὲ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ, ἢ ἐκεῖνο μὲν τὸν τελευταῖον ἵαμβον ἔχει ἢ πυρρίχιον διὰ τὴν

HIPPONAX

11 Pseudo-Acron on Horace, Epodes

He means Hipponax who sought the daughter of Bupalus in marriage and was scorned because of his ugly features. But people are of the opinion that the following is closer to the truth, that Bupalus, a painter in Clazomenae, a city in Asia, painted a certain poet Hipponax as ugly in order to rouse laughter. The latter, incensed by this, assailed him with such verses that he hanged himself. Whence now Horace threatens an evildoer with the violence of similar poetry.

¹ See n. 2 on test. 4. See also Arch. test. 31.

Meter

12 Demetrius, On Style

And just as the disjointed form of speech produces a vigorous effect, as has already been said, so will disjointed composition in general. The poetry of Hipponax provides an example. In his desire to abuse his enemies he shattered the meter, making it lame instead of-straightforward, and unrhythmical, i.e., suitable for vigorous abuse, since what is rhythmical and pleasing to the ear would be more suitable for words of praise than blame.

13 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

Worthy of mention among the acatalectic (iambic) meters is also the one called 'lame,' an invention of Hipponax according to some, of Ananius according to others. It differs from the straight (i.e., pure iambic) meter, which has as its last foot an iambus or a pyrrhic because of the indif-

άδιάφορον, τοῦτο δὲ ἢ σπονδεῖον ἢ τροχαῖον. Quae sequuntur v. ad fr. 84.17.

FRAGMENTA

1 Iuba Artigraphus ap. Rufinum, comm. in metra Terent. (vi.562.19 Keil)

est autem proceritatis eiusdem versus qui unius pedis differentia nomen amittit. nam quod sexto loco . . . non iambus sed spondeus vel trochaeus accipitur et a longa syllaba incipit, claudum carmen facit et choliambus nominatur, ut est:

ἇ Κλαζομένιοι, Βούπαλος κατέκτεινεν.

ἀκούσαθ' ἱππώνακτος, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἥκω (Callim. fr. 191.1 Pf.)

cf. Mar. Plot. Sac. (vi.522.15 Keil) κάτεινε et κάθηινε Plot., unde <τε> κἄθηνις Bergk

2 Tzetz. Chil. 10.370-374 (pp. 402 sq. Leone) περὶ τῶν Μιλησίων μὲν ἔφαν πολλοὶ ἐρίων περὶ ἐρίων Κοραξῶν ἐν πρώτῳ δὲ ἰάμβῳ Ἱππῶναξ οὕτως εἴρηκε μέτρῳ χωλῶν ἰάμβων-

Κοραξικὸν μὲν ἠμφιεσμένη λῶπος.

ferent (final syllable), by having a spondee or trochee (in this position).

See also Arch. fr. 223, Arch. test. 61, and Anan. test. 2.

FRAGMENTS

1 Juba in Rufinus, Commentary on the Meters of Terence

But there is a verse of the same length (as the iambic trimeter) which differs in one foot and so loses its name. For because a spondee or a trochee rather than an iambus is admitted in the sixth position . . . and begins with a long syllable, this makes the poem lame and it is called a choliambus, such as:

People of Clazomenae, Bupalus has killed

Listen to Hipponax, for it is I in fact who have come.1

¹ Plotius cites the verses in reverse order and some follow him, treating them as contiguous. Critics disagree on whether Callimachus might have taken over his fr. 191.1 intact from Hipponax. See Degani, *Studi* 241-43, and E. Redondo, *Veleia* 7 (1990) 258-64, who assigns both verses to Hipponax. Hephaestion also cites the verse of Callimachus in conjunction with Hipp. fr. 84.17.

2 Tzetzes, Chiliads

Many have mentioned Milesian wool, but Hipponax mentions Coraxian wool in the first book of his iambics, using the choliambic meter as follows:

she clad in a Coraxian mantle

τοὺς Κοραξοὺς δὲ καὶ Σινδοὺς ἔθνη τυγχάνειν νόει.

2a Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.321 (p. 284.5 Wendel)

τὸ δὲ Σίνδοι Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ ς' τῆς Καθόλου (i.142.20 Lentz) βαρυτονεῖν φησι δεῖν τινὲς δὲ ὀξυτονοῦσιν, οὐκ εὖ. καὶ Ἱππῶναξ δὲ μνημονεύει πρώτῳ.

Σινδικὸν διάσφαγμα.

(Schol.) $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\tau\dot{\omega}$ pro $\pi\rho\dot{o}s$ $\tau\dot{o}$ Meineke, probb. Degani et al.

3 Tzetz. in Lyc. 219 (p. 102.16 Scheer)

Μαίας δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ἑρμῆς, ὡς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ τῶν Λιθικῶν . . . καὶ ὁ Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Βουπάλου πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ.

ἔβωσε Μαίης παίδα, Κυλλήνης πάλμυν.

ἐβόησε codd., corr. Dindorf

3a Tzetz. ad Chil. 1.147 (p. 547 Leone)

τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει, ὥσπερ Ἱππῶναξ δείκνυσι γράφων ἰάμβφ πρώτφ

Be aware that the Coraxi and Sindi¹ are tribes.

¹ Both are Scythian tribes.

2a Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes

In the sixth book of his *Universal Prosody* Herodian says that $\Sigma i \nu \delta o \iota$ should have a paroxytone accent, but some wrongly make it oxytone. Hipponax also mentions the Sindi in his first book:

Sindian fissure¹

l Hesychius glosses the same two words with τὸ τῆς γυναικός, 'female genitals.' Similarly Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Σίνδοι. Some retain $\pi\rho$ ὸς τὸ of the scholiast, assign it to Hipponax, supply γυμνὴ δὲ in front of it ("naked up to the Sindian fissure") and combine the line with fr. 2. But see Degani, Studi 243 f.

3 Tzetzes on Lycophron

Hermes is the son of Maia and Zeus, as Orpheus says at the beginning of his *On Stones* . . . and Hipponax in his first book of iambics against Bupalus:

he called upon Maia's son, sultan1 of Cyllene2

1 πάλμυς is a Lydian word with the general meaning of 'king.' West's 'sultan' catches well the comic tone.

2 A mountain in Arcadia where Hermes was born.

3a Tzetzes on Chiliads

Candaules is a Lydian word meaning 'dog throttler,' as Hipponax shows when he writes in his first book of iambics:

Έρμη κυνάγχα, Μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα, φωρῶν ἐταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι.

fragmento 3 subiunxit Schneidewin 2 τί μοι codd., corr. Dübner $\sigma \kappa \alpha \pi \epsilon \rho \delta \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma a \iota$ Meineke, $\sigma v \mu \mu \alpha \chi \hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota$ sscr.

4 Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 14 (p. 76.8 Hermann)

ην δάφνην οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ἡλίου, ἤτοι μάντεις καὶ μάγοι, οἷος ην καὶ ὁ Χρύσης, στεφανούμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, καθὼς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Βουπάλου ἰάμβῳ.

Κίκων δ' ὁ πανδάλητος ἄμμορος καύης †τοιόνδε τι δάφνας κατέχων

4a Hesych.

Κίκων ὁ Κίκων ᾿Αμυθάονος ἦν, οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων.

 $^{^1}$ Amythaon was the father of the seer Melampous and various attempts have been made to emend Hesychius' A. $\hat{\eta}\nu$ so as to incorporate it as a mock patronymic in the fragment (see Degani's fr. 188). The fragment has been plausibly assigned to Hipponax because of the name Cicon (cf. frr. 4, 78.7).

Hermes, dog throttler, ¹ Candaules in Maeonian, ² companion of thieves, come give me a hand (?). ³

 1 So as to overcome guard-dogs. 2 Maeonian = Lydian. Tzetzes' evidence for Candaules as 'dog throttler' is probably based solely on Hipponax and the word may instead be simply a Lydian equivalent of Hermes. 3 Text and meaning of the verb are much disputed. Many see a connection with $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\delta\alpha$, a kind of tug-of-war, and adopt Meineke's emendation. If the verb is cognate with $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\epsilon\nu$ ('dig'), it may allude to the practice of thieves digging through the wall of a house.

4 Tzetzes on Homer, Iliad

Laurel which the priests of the sun, i.e., prophets and wise men, like Chryses, wore as a wreath when they walked about, as Hipponax makes clear in his iambics against Bupalus:

Cicon the . . . ¹ ill-starred priest² (with his laurel)

 1 The word $\pi a \nu \delta \acute{a} \lambda \eta \tau o s$ is not found elsewhere and has been variously interpreted or emended. It may be a patronymic, 'son of Pandales.' 2 καύη seems to be a Lydian word for 'priest.' Tzetzes elsewhere glosses it with λάροs, a sea bird which often served as a metaphor for greedy or foolish people, presumably suggesting a connection with κήξ, another sea bird.

4a Hesychius, Lexicon

Cicon: Cicon was the son of Amythaon,1

prophesying nothing auspicious

5 Tzetz. *Chil.* 5.728 sqq. (pp. 196 sq. Leone)

ό φαρμακὸς τὸ κάθαρμα τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ πάλαι. ἄν συμφορὰ κατέλαβε πόλιν θεομηνία, εἴτ' οὖν λιμὸς εἴτε λοιμὸς εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο, τὸν πάντων ἀμορφότερον ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν εἰς καθαρμὸν καὶ φάρμακον πόλεως τῆς νοσούσης εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸν πρόσφορον στήσαντες τῆν θυσίαν, τυρόν τε δόντες τῆ χειρὶ καὶ μᾶζαν καὶ ἰσχάδας, ἐπτάκις τε ραπίσαντες ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ πέος σκίλλαις συκαῖς ἀγρίαις τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀγρίων, τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις, καὶ τῆν σποδὸν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρραινον εἰς ἀνέμους εἰς καθαρμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς νοσούσης ὁ δὲ Ἱππῶναξ ἄριστα σύμπαν τὸ ἔθος λέγει·

πόλιν καθαίρειν καὶ κράδησι βάλλεσθαι.

6 Pergit Tzetzes

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δέ πού φησι πρώτω ἰάμβω γράφων

βάλλοντες ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ῥαπίζοντες κράδησι καὶ σκίλλησιν ὥσπερ φαρμακόν.

1 λειμῶνι Schneidewin

5 Tzetzes, Chiliads

The *pharmakos* was an ancient form of purification as follows. If a disaster, such as famine or pestilence or some other blight, struck a city because of divine wrath, they led the ugliest man of all as if to a sacrifice in order to purify and cure the city's ills. They set the victim in an appropriate place, put cheese, barley cake and dried figs in his hand, flogged him seven times on his penis with squills, wild fig branches, and other wild plants, and finally burned him on wood from wild trees and scattered his ashes into the sea and winds in order to purify the city of its ills, as I said . . . But Hipponax describes the whole custom best:

to purify the city and to be struck with fig branches

¹ On the ritual see also fr. 118E with n. 1.

6 Tzetzes continues

And somewhere else he says in his first book of iambics:

in winter¹ striking and flogging him with fig branches and squills as though a scapegoat²

 1 Many adopt Schneidewin's emendation ('in a meadow'), perhaps rightly (cf. *Chil.* 5.733 on fr. 5). 2 Photius (ii.256 Naber) says that the Ionians lengthen the penultimate syllable in $\phi a \rho \mu a \kappa \delta s$ and he names Hipponax as proof.

7 Pergit Tzetzes

καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις τόποις δὲ ταῦτά φησι κατ' ἔπος· δεῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς φαρμακὸν ἐκποιήσασθαι.

8 Pergit Tzetzes

κάφη παρέξειν ἰσχάδας τε καὶ μᾶζαν καὶ τυρόν, οἷον ἐσθίουσι φαρμακοί.

1 κάφη (= καὶ ἔφη) Welcker

9 Pergit Tzetzes

πάλαι γὰρ αὖτοὺς προσδέκονται χάσκοντες κράδας ἔχοντες ὡς ἔχουσι φαρμακοῖς.

1 προσδέχονται codd., corr. Schneidewin 2 έχοντας codd., corr. Meursius

10 Pergit Tzetzes

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δέ πού φησιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἰάμβῳ.

λιμῷ γένηται ξηρός· ἐν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ φαρμακὸς ἀχθεὶς ἐπτάκις ῥαπισθείη.

 $1 \theta \dot{\nu} \mu \phi$ Schneidewin $2 \dot{\phi}$ ante ϕ . del. Blomfield

7 Tzetzes continues

And again in other places he says word for word:

it is necessary to make1 him into a scapegoat

 $^{\rm 1}$ Translation of the infinitive is doubtful and emendations are numerous (see Degani's fr. 27).

8 Tzetzes continues

and to provide within his grasp dried figs, barley cake and cheese, such as scapegoats eat

9 Tzetzes continues

for they have long been waiting for them, ¹ openmouthed, ² holding fig branches as they do for scapegoats

 1 Assumed by some to be the poet's enemies, Bupalus and Athenis. 2 I.e., in eager anticipation.

10 Tzetzes continues

And somewhere else he says in the same book of iambics:

(so that?, until?) he become withered from hunger, and led like a scapegoat may he be flogged seven times on his manhood¹

¹ Many adopt Schneidewin's emendation (there is some evidence that $\theta \hat{v} \mu o_{S}$ can mean 'penis'), but $\theta v \mu \hat{\phi}$ may be an ironic substitute for penis (see Degani's fr. 30).

12 Tzetz. ad Posthom. 687, "θήπεον"

ἐθαύμαζον. τὸ θέμα θήπω. καὶ Ἱππῶναξ·

τούτοισι θηπέων τοὺς Ἐρυθραίων παῖδας ὁ μητροκοίτης Βούπαλος σὺν ᾿Αρήτῃ †καὶ ὑφέλξων τὸν δυσώνυμον ἄρτον.†

1 θήπων codd., corr. ten Brink 2 ὁ ματροκοίτης HV, οὕς φησι μητροκοίτας L, corr. Masson 3 κνίζων ὑφέλξον Η, καὶ φελίζων L, ὑφέλξων V δαρτόν Masson

13 Ath. 11.495c-d = Eust. in Hom. Od. 5.244 (1531.57)

πέλλα ἀγγεῖον σκυφοειδὲς πυθμένα ἔχον πλατύτερον, εἰς ὁ ἤμελγον τὸ γάλα . . . τοῦτο δὲ Ἱππῶναξ λέγει πελλίδα·

έκ πελλίδος πίνοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆ κύλιξ, ὁ παῖς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν κατήραξε,

δηλον οἶμαι ποιῶν ὅτι ποτήριον μὲν οὐκ ἦν, δι᾽ ἀπορίαν δὲ κύλικος ἐχρῶντο τῆ πελλίδι.

12 Tzetzes on Posthomerica

θήπεον means 'they marveled.' The primary form is θήπω. Cf. Hipponax:

Bupalus, the mother-fucker with Arete, ¹ fooling² with these words (by these means?) the Erythraeans, ³ preparing to draw back⁴ his damnable foreskin⁵

1 Presumably the name of Bupalus' mother. 2 Tzetzes' explanation of the verb makes little sense here. Hesychius glosses $\theta\eta\pi\hat{\omega}\nu$ with $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\xi}\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ ('deceiving'). 3 Erythrae is on the mainland opposite Chios. For a possible sexual allusion in the name, as well as in $Bo\dot{\nu}\pi\alpha\lambda$ os = $Bo\dot{\nu}$ - $\phi\alpha\lambda\lambda$ os, see R. M. Rosen, TAPA 118 (1988) 35-37. 4 The future participle is difficult and there are many emendations. 5 Translating Masson's emendation.

13 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

πέλλα is a cup-shaped vessel with a rather broad base which was used as a milk pail . . Hipponax calls this πελλίς:

drinking (plural) from a pail; for she had no cup, since the slave had fallen on it and smashed it.

making it clear, I think, that it was not a drinking cup, but that they used it for lack of a cup.

14 Pergit Ath.

καὶ πάλιν

ἐκ δὲ τῆς πέλλης ἔπινον· ἄλλοτ' αὐτός, ἄλλοτ' ᾿Αρήτη προύπινον.

15 Choerob. can. (i.268.32 Hilgard) = Herodian. (ii.301.11 et 628.3 Lentz)

ὄτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ τάλας "τάλαντος" ἦν ἡ γενική, δηλοῖ ὁ Ἱππῶναξ εἰπών·

τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλῳ συνοίκησας; συνώκησας NC, -οικήσας V, corr. Bergk

16 Herodian. π . $\mu o \nu$. $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \xi$. (ii.924.14 Lentz)

(ἐρῳδιός) λέγεται δὲ ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τρισυλλάβως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι

έγὼ δὲ δεξιῷ παρ' ᾿Αρήτην κνεφαῖος ἐλθὼν ᾽ρῳδιῷ κατηυλίσθην.

cf. Epimer. in Hom. (p. 743.18 Dyck)

1 παρὰ ἡητὴρ cod., corr. Schneidewin 2 ἡόδην συνηυλίσθην Epimer.

14 Athenaeus continues

And again:

they were drinking from the pail; now he and now Arete were drinking a toast

15 Choeroboscus, On the Canons of Theodosius

And that also the genitive of $\tau \acute{a}\lambda \alpha \varsigma$ was $\tau \acute{a}\lambda \alpha \nu \tau o \varsigma$ is clear from Hipponax who says:

Why did you¹ cohabit with the wretched Bupalus?

¹ Perhaps Arete (cf. fr. 12).

16 Herodian, On Anomalous Words

Sometimes $\epsilon \rho \omega \delta \iota \delta s$ is trisyllabic, as the passage in Hipponax shows:

with a heron on the right $^{\rm l}$ I went to Arete in the dark and took up lodging

 $^{\rm I}$ I.e., as a favourable sign. Several sources associate the heron with Aphrodite.

17 Et. Gen. à 156 Adler-Alpers (p. 36 Calame)

λέγεται ἀρσενικῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως, ὁ λύχνος καὶ τὸ λύχνον. Ἱππῶναξ·

κύψασα γάρ μοι πρὸς τὸ λύχνον ἀρήτη.

19 Herodian. π . $\pi \alpha \theta \hat{\omega} \nu$ ap. Et. Gen. A (Reitzenstein, Index lect. in Acad. Rostock. 1890/91, 7; p. 16 Calame)

ἀσκαρίζειν σημαίνει τὸ κινεῖσθαι. Ἱππῶναξ·

τίς ὀμφαλητόμος σε τὸν διοπλῆγα ἔψησε κἀπέλουσεν ἀσκαρίζοντα;

20 Choerob. in Hephaest. (p. 199.12 Consbruch)

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀσθενέστερά εἰσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων, καὶ εὐρέθη ποιοῦντα σπανίως κοινὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πτ καὶ τὸ κτ, οἷον παρὰ τῷ ποιητῆ· "Αἰγυπτίη, τῆ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα" (Od. 4.229). καὶ πάλιν παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἰάμβων (ita Hoffmann pro τῶ τρόπω ἴαμβον):

δοκέων ἐκεῖνον τῆ βακτηρίη κόψαι.

ἐκτεῖνον cod., corr. Hörschelmann, ἰκτῖνον Maas (def. Medeiros) - βακτηρία cod., corr. Hoffmann, βατηρίη Κποχ

17 Etymologicum Genuinum

There is both the masculine $\lambda \dot{\nu} \chi \nu \sigma s$ and the neuter $\lambda \dot{\nu} \chi \nu \sigma \nu$. Cf. Hipponax:

for Arete, having stooped over 1 for me towards the $lamp^2$

 $^{\rm 1}$ Probably a reference to the sexual position in which the woman is on her hands and knees or at least bent over.

² The lamp is frequently mentioned in erotic scenes.

19 Herodian, On Inflexions

ἀσκαρίζειν means 'to move.' Cf. Hipponax:

What navel-snipper¹ wiped and washed you as you squirmed about, you crack-brained creature?

¹ I.e., midwife.

20 Choeroboscus on Hephaestion

Concerning mute consonants one can say that they are weaker than other consonants, and among them the combinations $\pi\tau$ and $\kappa\tau$ are rarely found making a syllable either long or short, as in Homer: "Of Egypt where the fertile earth produces the greatest number (of medicines)." And again in Hipponax in the first book of his iambics:

thinking to whack him with my (his) stick1

¹ Many adopt, perhaps rightly, Knox's emendation, primarily on the basis of Herodas 8.60 τ $\hat{\eta}$ βατηρίη κό[ψω. But see Degani, Studi 245 f.

21 Pergit Choerob.

καὶ πάλιν παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ.

ἡμίεκτον αἰτεῖ τοῦ φάλεω κολάψαι έ.

κολάψαιε cod., dist. West, κολάψασα Knox, alii alia

22 Tzetz. ad π . $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho \omega \nu$ (Anecd. Ox. iii.308.19 Cramer)

τὸ μέτρον τὸ Δωρικὸν παρέλευψα λήθη. δέχεται δὲ πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων ἰαμβικῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν β΄ χώραν ἢ καὶ δ΄ ἢ ς΄ σπονδεῖον, σπανιάκις δὲ καὶ δάκτυλον ὡς ἰσόχρονον τῷ σπονδείῳ. Δωρικὸν Ἱπ-πώνακτος·

(καὶ) τὴν ῥινα καὶ τὴν μύξαν ἐξαράξασα.

καὶ del. Schneidewin

23 Prisc. $de\ metr.\ Ter.\ (iii.426.22\ Keil)$ ex Heliodoro (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 35)

in eodem:

τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὀδύνη †πιαλλιρειτιαε†

iste iambus habet in secundo loco spondeum, et in <tertio et in > quarto dactylum.

(Prisc.) <tertio et in> Bergk et Diehl

 $^{^1\,\}rm The\ end\ of\ the\ citation\ contains\ several\ variant\ readings\ (see$ Degani's fr. 11) and is hopelessly corrupt, but it seems likely that

21 Choeroboscus continues

And again in the same poet:

he asks eight obols1 for pecking him2 on his prick

¹ According to Pollux 9.62 ἡμίεκτον, lit. 'half a sixth (of a medimnus),' can also signify eight obols. Rather than an initial dactyl, as Choeroboscus assumes, the iota may be consonantalized.

² I have translated West's text, but the reading is highly uncertain. With Knox's emendation the subject is a woman.

22 Tzetzes on On Meter

I forgot and omitted the Doric meter. More than other iambic meters it admits a spondee in the second, fourth, or sixth position and rarely a dactyl with the same time units as a spondee. A Dorian verse¹ of Hipponax:

she, bashing her (his?) nose and knocking out the mucus²

- 1 It seems that Tzetzes (wrongly) treated the final syllable of $\mu \dot{\nu} \xi a \nu$ as long. $^2 \acute{\rho} i s$ can occasionally stand for 'penis' and $\mu \dot{\nu} \xi a$ for 'wick,' but I doubt that West (Studies 143) is right in seeing a connection with fr. 17.
- **23** Priscian, *On the Meters of Terence*, citing Heliodorus in the same book:

these men pain . . . 1

That iambic verse has a spondee in the second position and a dactyl in the third and fourth.

we have a hexameter or partial hexameter in a choliambic poem (cf. fr. 35).

24 Erot. *lex. Hippocr.* σ 10 (p. 77.17 Nachmanson)

σαπρά· σεσηπότα, ως καὶ Ἱππωναξ ἐν πρωτῳ ἰάμβων (-ῳ v.l.) φησί·

μυδῶντ' ἤδη

καὶ σαπρόν.

μαδῶντα δὴ codd., corr. et dist. Degani (μνδῶντα iam Stephanus)

ύπερβατόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰωνικόν, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἱππῶναξ·

"ἀπό σ' ὀλέσειεν "Αρτεμις."—"σὲ δὲ κὼπόλλων."

Sequitur fr. 47. Cf. Tzetz. ad fr. 70.7-8.

26 Ath. 7.304b

Ίππῶναξ δέ, ὡς Λυσανίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἰαμβοποιῶν παρατίθεται, φησίν

ό μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡσυχἢ τε καὶ ῥύδην θύνναν τε καὶ μυσσωτὸν ἡμέρας πάσας δαινύμενος ὥσπερ Λαμψακηνὸς εὐνοῦχος

24 Erotian, Glossary on Hippocrates

 $\sigma \alpha \pi \rho \acute{a}$ means 'rotted,' as Hipponax says in his first book of iambics:

already clammy and putrid1

¹ Probably of a corpse.

25 Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad ("laid a command upon him")

Transposition of words (i.e., tmesis). This is also an Ionic practice, since Hipponax says:

"May Artemis damn you"—"And Apollo you."

¹ Presumably uttered in turn by a female and a male. Some emend so as to remove the fifth-foot anapaest because Hephaestion (p. 17.5 Consbruch) says that choliambics do not admit a trisyllabic fifth foot. But Tzetzes (Anecd. Ox. iii.309.23 Cramer) explicitly refutes him, citing frr. 25, 40 and 42, although he does not realize that synizesis removes the anapaest in the last two.

26 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And Hipponax, as Lysanias¹ mentions in his books on the iambic poets, says:

For one of them, dining at his ease and lavishly every day on tuna and savoury sauce² like a eunuch from Lampsacus,³ ate up his inheritance; as a result

κατέφαγε δὴ τὸν κλῆρον· ὥστε χρὴ σκάπτειν πέτρας {τ'} ὀρείας, σῦκα μέτρια τρώγων καὶ κρίθινον κόλλικα, δούλιον χόρτον.

2 μυττωτὸν codd., corr. Bergk 4 σκληρόν cod., corr. Dalecampius 5 τ' del. Schweighäuser, γ' Marzullo

26a Ath. 14.645c

5

τοῦ δὲ ἀττανίτου Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τούτοις μνημονεύει

οὖκ ἀτταγέας τε καὶ λαγοὺς καταβρύκων, οὖ τηγανίτας σησάμοισι φαρμάσσων, οὖδ᾽ ἀττανίτας κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτων.

cf. Ath. 9.388b (v. 1), Tzetz. (v. ad fr. 70.7-8)

1 αττας Ath. 645c, ἀτταγᾶς 388b, corr. Knox λαγως 645c, λαγούς Tzetzes διατρωγων 388b 2 τηγανίας cod., corr. Casaubon

27 Anon. π . βαρβ. καὶ σολοικ. (pp. 177 sq. Valckenaer, ed. Ammon.² 1822) = Anecd. Gr. ii.177 Villoison = anon. Mutin. (ed. Bühler, MCr 4 [1969] 11)

σολοίκους δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ γὰρ ἀνακρέων φησί "κοίμισον δὲ Ζεῦ σόλοικον φθόγγον" (fr. 423 PMG). καὶ Ἱππῶναξ

καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους ἢν λάβωσι περνᾶσι, Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύσοντας.

cf. Eust. in Hom. Il. 2.867 (i.580.2 V.d.Valk)

1 ἴν' ἐθέλουσι Eust. 2 εἰς codd., corr. Bergk

he has to dig a rocky hillside, munching on cheap⁴ figs and coarse barley bread, fodder for slaves.

¹ An Alexandrian scholar of the 2nd cent. B.C. Athenaeus is here citing passages on the tuna as a delicacy. ² See note 4 on Ananius fr. 5. ³ Lampsacus is a town in the Troad on the Hellespont. Why a eunuch from this area should be mentioned is unclear. ⁴ Or "a few."

26a Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And Hipponax mentions the waffle in these verses:

not champing on partridges and hares, not seasoning pancakes with sesame, and not dipping waffles in honey $^{\rm l}$

 1 Many consider this a continuation of fr. 26, with or without an intervening lacuna.

27 Anonymous, On Non-Greek Words and Solecisms

The ancients called barbarians 'soloeci.' For Anacreon says: "Zeus, put to rest solecian speech." And Hipponax says:

and if they catch the soloeci they sell them, Phrygians¹ to Miletus to grind barley

 1 Often a generic term for slaves, but in view of $\mu \acute{e} \nu$ the poem probably went on to list at least one other non-Greek race.

28 Tzetz. ad Antehom. 168 (Morelli, Iliacum carmen p. 8 + ten Brink, Philologus 6 [1851] 36)

παράδειγμα δέ σοι δασέως έκτείνοντος έξ Ἱππώνακτος εν παραθήσω, έκ των κατὰ Μιμνῆ τοῦ ζωγράφου χωλιάμβων, τὰ έξ ἔθους (v.l. έτέρων) παραδείγματα εἰακώς·

Μιμνη κατωμόχανε, μηκέτι γράψης ὄφιν τριήρεος ἐν πολυζύγω τοίχω ἀπ' ἐμβόλου φεύγοντα πρὸς κυβερνήτην αὔτη γάρ ἐστι συμφορή τε καὶ κληδών, νικύρτα καὶ σάβαννι, τῷ κυβερνήτη, ἢν αὐτὸν ὄφις τώντικνήμιον δάκη.

cf. Tzetz. <code>exeg. Il.</code> A 273 (Masson, PP5 [1950] 74 sq.), Tzetz. in Lyc. 425 (p. 156.22 Scheer); (v. 6) Tzetz. in Lyc. 234 (p. 107.20) et in Epist. 1 (p. 158.14 Leone)

1 vv.ll. κατωμήχανε, κακομήχανε, sim. 2 ὅπφιν West 4 ἔσται Bergk 5 vv.ll. σάμ(μ)αννι, σαβαννί, σάβωνι, σάμαννι: σαρωνί (cf. fr. 82.3) Tarditi coll. Hesych. σάρων λάγνος. τινὲς δὲ τὸ γυναικεῖον 6 ὅπφις Bergk δήκη Tzetz. in Lyc. 234 cod. H (cf. $\it Et. Mag. 260.56$ δήκω τὸ δάκνω), δάκνη Hermann

29a Phot. lex. ined.

έβορβόρυζε δ' ὥστε κύθρος ἔτνεος.

έβορβόριζεν et έτνε cod., corr. West

5

28 Tzetzes on Antehomerica

I shall provide you with one example of an aspirate that lengthens [i.e., $\delta\phi\iota_S$ v. 6] from the choliambics of Hipponax against the painter Mimnes, omitting the customary examples:

Mimnes, you who gape open all the way to the shoulders, ¹ don't paint again on a trireme's many-benched side a serpent that runs from the ram to the helmsman; for this is a dangerous omen for the helmsman, you slave born of a slave² and . . . , ³ if the serpent bites him on the shin. ⁴

 1 An hyperbole for εὐρύπρωκτος 'wide-arsed.' 2 A translation of Hesychius' gloss νικύρτας· δουλέκδουλος. 3 Neither σάβαννι nor any of the variant readings occurs elsewhere. 4 Perhaps a complete poem.

29a Photius, Lexicon

 $\chi \acute{\upsilon}\tau \rho a \nu$: also some of the Ionians, such as Archilochus. $\kappa \acute{\upsilon}\theta \rho a \nu$ in Hipponax:

(his stomach) gurgled like a pot of soup

30 Tzetz. ad π . μέτρων (Anecd. Ox. iii.308.26 Cramer); quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 22

δέχονται καὶ τρισυλλάβους εἰς ς', πλὴν τοὺς ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχομένους, τὸν χορεῖόν φημι καὶ τὸν ἀνάπαιστον, ὡς ὁ Ἱππῶναξ·

οὔ μοι δικαίως μοιχὸς ἁλῶναι δοκεῖ Κριτίης ὁ Χῖος ἐν †τῷ κατωτικῷ† δούμῳ.

1 δοκέει codd., corr. Fick 2 τ $\hat{\phi}$ κατωτικ $\hat{\phi}$ ut glossema secl. Masson δούλ ϕ codd., corr. Masson

32

5

Έρμη, φίλ' Έρμη, Μαιαδεῦ, Κυλλήνιε, ἐπεύχομαί τοι, κάρτα γὰρ κακῶς ῥιγῶ καὶ βαμβαλύζω . . . δὸς χλαῖναν Ἱππώνακτι καὶ κυπασσίσκον καὶ σαμβαλίσκα κἀσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσοῦ στατῆρας ἑξήκοντα τοὐτέρου τοίχου.

30 Tzetzes on On Meters

They admit also words of three syllables in the sixth position except for those beginning with a short, I mean the tribrach and the anapaest, as Hipponax shows:

I don't think that Critias the Chian was justly apprehended as an adulterer in the . . . assembly of women¹

1 δοῦμος is a Phrygian word which according to Hesychius s.v. δοῦλος (corr. Wackernagel) denotes a gathering of women (συν-έλευσιν τῶν γυναικῶν). West suggests something like κατώγεφ τῷ ('underground') for the preceding corruption to account for Tzetzes' citation, τῷ δούμφ being a trisyllabic word-group.

32

Hermes, dear Hermes, son of Maia, Cyllenian, I pray to you, for I am shivering violently and terribly and my teeth are chattering . . . Give Hipponax a cloak, tunic, sandals, felt shoes and 60 gold staters on the other side. 4

¹ Cf. fr. 3. ² The force of the diminutives for tunic, sandals and shoes is perhaps to minimize their value for humorous effect. ³ Value unknown. The numeral is presumably generic (cf. fr. 36.3). ⁴ Variously interpreted. Perhaps best explained as referring to the other side, i.e., scale pan of the balance. In Tzetzes' text the phrase is glossed with τουνερτέροννμέρονς, "the lower part" (of the scales?). If this is correct, Hipponax is in effect asking that his accounts be balanced. Or does he hope to dig through to the other side of a wall and steal the objects?

Prisc. de metr. Terent. (iii.428.24 Keil) ex Heliodoro

Hipponactem etiam ostendit Heliodorus iambos et choliambos confuse protulisse: " $E\rho\mu\hat{\eta}$ — $\hat{\rho}i\gamma\hat{\omega}$." nam $\hat{\rho}i\gamma\hat{\omega}$ spondeus est.

Tzetz. in Lyc. 855 (quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 34)

ἢ χρεία σοι καὶ ἐτέρας μαρτυρίας; ἄκουσον. "ὧ φίλ' Ἑρμῆ—Κυλλήνιε," καὶ μετά τινά φησιν "δὸς—τοίχου."

confuse Plut. Sto. paradox. 6.1058d

ό δ' ἐκ τῆς Στοᾶς βοῶν μέγα καὶ κεκραγώς "ἐγὼ μόνος εἰμὶ βασιλεύς, ἐγὼ μόνος εἰμὶ πλούσιος," ὁρᾶται πολλάκις ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίαις θύραις λέγων "δὸς χλαῖναν 'Ιππώνακτι, κάρτα—βαμβαλύζω."

1 Έρμ $\hat{\eta}$ φίλ' Prisc., $\hat{\omega}$ φίλ' Tzetzes Μαιαδε \hat{v} Prisc., Μαιάδε $v\sigma$ os, -δερος, -δος codd. Tzetz. 3 βαμβακύζω codd. Plut., corr. Schneidewin; cf. fr. adesp. iamb. 60 4 κυπασίσκον codd., corr. Gaisford

34 Tzetz. in Lyc. 855 (p. 277.10 Scheer)

ἀσκέραι δὲ κυρίως τὰ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ πιλία ἤτοι ἀρτάρια λέγονται. ὧ Λύκοφρον, γίνωσκε ὅτι τὰς μὲν λέξεις ἀπὸ Αἰσχύλου κλέπτεις, ἐξ Ἱππώνακτος δὲ πλέον. ἐπιλήσμων δὲ ὢν ἢ μὴ νοῶν ταύτας ἄλλην ἄλλως τίθησιν ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσω τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν σοφὸν ποιητήν. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὧ Λύκαφρον, ὅτι, ὅτε σὺ τὴν Ἱπ-

Priscian, On the Meters of Terence

Heliodorus has shown that Hipponax also produced a mixture of iambic and choliambic lines: "Hermes—I am shivering." For $\dot{\rho}\iota\gamma\hat{\omega}$ is a spondee.

Tzetzes on Lycophron

Or do you need additional proof? Listen. "Dear Hermes— Cyllenian," and after a bit he says "Give—side."

Plutarch, The Stoics talk more paradoxically than the poets

The Stoic philosopher, shouting in a loud voice and crying "I alone am king, I alone am rich," is often seen at other people's doors saying "Give a cloak to Hipponax, for I am shivering violently and terribly and my teeth are chattering."

34 Tzetzes on Lycophron

πώνακτος κατείχες βίβλον, κατόπιν σου έστηκὼς έγὼ έώρων σε τὰς αὐτοῦ λέξεις ἀναλεγόμενον. καὶ τὸ ἀσκέρας δὲ ἐκείσε εὔρηκας, καὶ οὕτω τέθεικας μὴ προ<σ>σχὼν (corr. West) μηδ' εἰς νοῦν ἔχων τὰ ῥήματα. ἀλλ' ἄκουε πῶς φησιν Ἱππῶναξ, καὶ μάθε ὅτι ἀσκέραι οὐ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἀλλὰ πιλία ἤτοι τὰ ἀρτάρια λέγονται, ὡς καὶ Ἱππῶναξ.

έμοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωκας οὕτε κω χλαιναν δασειαν ἐν χειμῶνι φάρμακον ῥίγεος, οὕτ' ἀσκέρησι τοὺς πόδας δασείησιν ἔκρυψας, ὥς μοι μὴ χίμετλα ῥήγνυται.

ἔγνως ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν δασείας τὰς ἀσκέρας τὰ ἀρτάριά φησιν;

1 χωλεύαν, χωδαΐνε, χλαΐναν, τὴν χλαΐναν codd., corr. Schneidewin (πω iam Scaliger) 4 μή μοι codd., corr. Hartung caesurae causa ρήγνυται codd. dett. (ρίγνυται cod. H), γίγνηται codd. potiores

35 Prisc. de metr. Terent. (iii.426.16 Keil) ex Heliodoro

Heliodorus metricus ait: Ἱ $\pi\pi\hat{\omega}\nu\alpha\xi$ πολλὰ παρέβη τ $\hat{\omega}\nu$ ωρισμένων ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις, hoc est: Hipponax multa praeteriit, id est praetermisit, praefinita in iambis. Hipponax in primo:

 $\epsilon \rho \epsilon \omega \gamma \alpha \rho$ οὕτω· "Κυλλήνι ϵ Μαιάδος Έρ $\mu \hat{\eta}$." iste enim versus cum sit choliambus, in quarto loco et

when you were holding the book of Hipponax I was standing behind you and watching you as you read his words. You found $\dot{a}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ there and so you used it, without paying attention or keeping in mind what was being said. But listen to what Hipponax says and know that $\dot{a}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ do not mean sandals but felt shoes or $\dot{a}\rho\tau\dot{a}\rho\iota\alpha$, as Hipponax shows:

For you haven't yet given me a thick cloak¹ as a remedy against the cold in winter nor have you covered my feet with thick felt shoes, so that my chilblains not burst.

Do you realize that by calling the $\mathring{a}\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho a\iota$ thick he means $\mathring{a}\rho\tau\acute{a}\rho\iota a$?

 1 A thick cloak was the prize awarded to the victor in the games at Pallene in honour of Hermes (see the proverb cited under Sim. fr. 514 in Campbell's Loeb edition and the app. crit. to Degani's fr. 43). Some, perhaps rightly, combine frr. 32 and 34

35 Priscian, *On the Meters of Terence*, citing Heliodorus Heliodorus the metrician says: "Hipponax overstepped many of the boundaries in his iambics," i.e., Hipponax passed over, that is neglected, many of the limitations in his iambics. Cf. Hipponax in his first book:

for I'll speak thus: "Cyllenian Hermes, son of Maia" 1 For although that verse is a choliambus, it has dactyls in

quinto habuit dactylos, cum in utroque debuerit a brevi incipiens pes poni.

οὕτω· Κυλλήνιε Putschen (vv.ll. in codicibus: v. Degani fr. 10)

36 Tzetz. in Ar. Pl. 87 (p. 30b1 Massa Positano)

τυφλὸν δὲ τὸν Πλοῦτόν φησιν ἐξ Ἱππώνακτος τοῦτο σφετερισάμενος. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως Ἱππῶναξ·

έμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος—ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός ἐς τῷκί' ἐλθὼν οὐδάμ' εἶπεν "Ίππῶναξ, δίδωμί τοι μνέας ἀργύρου τριήκοντα καὶ πόλλ' ἔτ' ἄλλα·" δείλαιος γὰρ τὰς φρένας.

1 λίαν cod., corr. Herwerden 3 μν \hat{a} ς cod., corr. Meister \hat{a} ργυρίου cod., corr. Bergk

37 Choerob. in Hephaest. (p. 195.22 Consbruch); quae praecedunt v. ad frr. 43-44

εἶτα πάλιν ὁ αὐτός.

ἐκέλευε βάλλειν καὶ λεύειν Ἱππώνακτα,

τὴν λευ ἐν τετάρτῳ ποδί· λεύειν δέ φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ λιθοβολεῖν.

the fourth and fifth positions, whereas a foot beginning with a short syllable ought to have been placed in both positions.

¹ Both here and in fr. 23 the mixture of rhythms is for comic effect. We can assume that the surrounding verses were normal choliambics.

36 Tzetzes on Aristophanes, Plutus

Aristophanes says that Plutus is blind, borrowing this from Hipponax. For Hipponax speaks as follows:

Wealth—for he is exceedingly blind¹— never came into my house and said: "Hipponax, I'm giving you 30 minas of silver² and much else besides." For he has a coward's mind.³

After Aristophanes the blindness of Plutus is a commonplace.
 Value unknown. The numeral is generic as in fr.
 32.6.
 Some take the last phrase to mean that Plutus is dim-witted.

37 Choeroboscus on Hephaestion

Then again the same poet says:

gave orders to pelt and stone Hipponax,

with $\lambda \epsilon v$ in the fourth foot. He says $\lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} \epsilon i \nu$ instead of $\lambda \iota \theta \circ \beta \circ \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ ('pelt with stones').

¹ The line is cited to illustrate the correption of the diphthong $\epsilon \nu$ in $\lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} \epsilon \nu \nu$, but there may be the same correption in $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \epsilon \nu \epsilon$, since initial tribrach is much commoner than an anapaest.

38 Tzetz. in Lyc. 690 (p. 227.25 Scheer)

ή δὲ λέξις ὁ πάλμυς ἐστὶν Ἰώνων, καὶ χρῆται ταύτη Ἱππῶναξ λέγων·

ὧ Ζεῦ, πάτερ <Ζεῦ>, θεῶν Ὁλυμπίων πάλμυ, τί μοὖκ ἔδωκας χρυσόν, ἀργύρου †πάλμυ;

 $1 Z \epsilon \hat{v}$ alterum add. Meineke

2 πάλμυν codd. PH

39 Tzetz. ad π . $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho \omega \nu$ (Anecd. Ox. iii.308.30 Cramer); praecedit fr. 30

καὶ πάλιν (ita Meineke pro καὶ π \hat{a} , sim.)·

κακοίσι δώσω τὴν πολύστονον ψυχήν, ἢν μὴ ἀποπέμψης ὡς τάχιστά μοι κριθέων μέδιμνον, ὡς ἂν ἀλφίτων ποιήσωμαι κυκεῶνα πίνειν φάρμακον πονηρίης.

3 ἄλφιτον codd. (def. Degani ut dupl. accus.), corr. Bergk 4 πίνων codd., corr. Ahrens πονηρίης Α, πονηρίοις BC

38 Tzetzes on Lycophron

The word $\pi \acute{a} \lambda \mu \nu s$ belongs to the Ionians and Hipponax uses it when he says:

Zeus, father Zeus, sultan¹ of the Olympian gods, why have you not given me gold, ...²?

 1 See n. 1 on fr. 3. 2 The ending, 'sultan of silver,' gives implausible sense and both words have been variously emended. If the last word is an instance of dittography, it may have replaced something totally dissimilar.

39 Tzetzes on On Meters

And again:1

I will surrender my grieving soul to an evil end,² if you do not send me a bushel of barley as quickly as you can, so that I may make a potion³ from the groats to drink as a cure for my suffering.

 1 Tzetzes wrongly assumes that $\kappa \rho \iota \theta \acute{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ in v. 2 is trisyllabic. 2 Apparently a way of saying that he will lose all hope and commit suicide. 3 On $\kappa \nu \kappa \epsilon \acute{\omega} \nu$ see R. M. Rosen, AJP 108 (1987) 416-26.

40 Tzetz. ad π . μέτρων (Anecd. Ox. iii.308.30 Cramer); quae praecedunt v. ad frr. 25 et 42

καὶ πάλιν (ita Meineke pro καὶ πᾶσα)·

{`Αθηνᾶ} Μαλὶς †κονισκε†, καί με δεσπότεω βεβροῦ λαχόντα λίσσομαί σε μὴ ῥαπίζεσθαι.

1 'A $\theta\eta\nu\hat{a}$ del. Bergk, 'A $\theta\eta\nu\hat{a}$ ίη / Μαλὶς dub. Bergk (prob. Degani)]νισκε sscr. χαιρε Α, κονὶς κελαῖρε Β, κονίσκε C, fort. μ ' ὅνισκε West δεσπότεα codd., corr. Schneidewin

41 Et. Gen. (p. 16 Calame)

δεί γινώσκειν ὅτι ἀρειῶ ἀρειᾳ· σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ἀπειλῶ, ὡς παρ' Ἱππώνακτι·

καὶ νῦν ἀρειᾳ σύκινόν με ποιῆσαι,

τουτέστιν ἀπειλεῖ σύκινόν με ποιῆσαι.

cf. $\it Et.$ $\it Sym.$ cod. V (Gaisford ad $\it Et.$ $\it Mag.$ 139.36) = Herodian. (i.454.11 Lentz)

 $\mathring{a}ρει\mathring{a}ς$ (et $\mathring{a}πειλείς) Εt. Sym. (prob. Degani)$

42 Tzetz. ad π . μέτρων (Anecd. Ox. iii.310.19 Cramer); quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 25

καὶ πάλιν (ita Meineke pro καὶ πᾶ)·

†τέαρε[. . . .]δεύειε† τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν ᾿Αττάλεω τύμβον

40 Tzetzes on On Meters

And again:1

O Malis, 2 help me (?), and since it is my lot to have a demented 3 master I beg of you that I not get a beating.

¹ Tzetzes wrongly assumes that $-\pi \acute{o} \tau \epsilon \omega$ is trisyllabic. ² Hesychius glosses $Ma\lambda \acute{\iota}s$ with $\mathring{A}\theta \eta \nu \mathring{a}$ and Malis may be a Lydian goddess identified with Athena. ³ $\beta \epsilon \beta \rho \acute{o}s$ appears elsewhere only in Hesychius who glosses it with $\psi \nu \chi \rho \acute{o}s$ ('coldhearted') and $\tau \epsilon \tau \nu \phi \omega \mu \acute{e}\nu o s$ ('demented').

41 Etymologicum Genuinum

It should be realized that $\grave{a}\rho\epsilon\imath\hat{\omega}$ means 'I threaten,' as in Hipponax:

and now he (she?) threatens to make me a weakling1

 1 σύκινον is literally 'of a fig tree,' but is often glossed with ἀσθενής ('weak'), ἀχρεῖος ('useless') etc. because of the poor quality of the wood. Without a context its precise significance cannot be determined here.

42 Tzetzes on On Meters

And again:1

...² go along the road to Smyrna through Lydia past the tomb of Attalus³ and the gravestone of Gyges⁴

καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ †μεγάστρυ† στήλην καὶ μνῆμα Τωτος, Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος, πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

1 ὅδενε Schneidewin 2 ἰθὰ Knox, rec. West (cf. Studies 86) 3 γήγεω codd., corr. Cramer Σεσώστριος Bergk, rec. West (μεγάστρυ ex gloss. μεγάλου ad μυτάλιδι, cf. Hesych. μυττάλυτα· μεγάλου) 4 τ' ὅτος codd., corr. Bergk (Τῶτος vel Τωτὸς) Μυταλίδεω Masson

43 Choerob. in Hephaest. (p. 195.15 Consbruch)

όμοίως καὶ τὴν ευ (δίφθογγον) εὐρίσκομεν ποιοῦσαν κοινήν, οἷον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ Ἱππώνακτος ἔνθα φησί:

μάκαρ ὅτις < > θηρεύει †πρήσας.

την ρευ έν τετάρτω ποδί συνέστειλε.

μάκηρ' ὅτις U, μακάριος ὅστις K, corr. Perrotta θηρεύει μὴ τηρήσας e.g. West

 $\langle \tau \iota \rangle$

44 Pergit Choeroboscus

καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ ποδὶ τὴν ευ

καί τοί γ' εὔωνον αὐτὸν εἰ θέλεις δώσω.

καί τι γ' εὔγονον U, καίτοι γ' εὔωνον K, corr. Latte

5

and the column of . . . 5 and the memorial of Tos, 6 sultan at Mytalis, 7 turning your belly towards the setting sun.

¹ Tzetzes wrongly assumes that $-\dot{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ (v. 2) is trisyllabic. ² The poet is giving directions to someone travelling from the interior to Smyrna on the coast. The first word has been variously explained or emended, some treating it as a proper noun. If the second word is emended to $\delta\delta\epsilon\nu\epsilon$ ('travel'), it will be necessary to read Knox's $i\theta \hat{v}$ ('straight') in v. 2. 3 Brother of king Alyattes, the father of Croesus. ⁴ Cf. Arch. fr. 19. The schol. on Nic. Th. 633 says that Hipponax mentions the gravestone of Gyges in his first book. ⁵ For the Sesostris of Bergk's emendation cf. Hdt. 2.106. ⁶ Person unknown. 7 Place unknown (or with Masson's genitive, person unknown).

43 Choeroboscus on Hephaestion

Similarly we find the diphthong ϵv treated as either long or short, as in the first book of Hipponax's iambics where he says:

blessed is he who hunts . . .

He has shortened $\rho \epsilon v$ in the fourth foot.

44 Choeroboscus continues

And again the same poet shortens ϵv in the second foot: and if you like I'll give him to you cheap

47 Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 25 (p. 84.1 Hermann); quae praecedunt v. ad fr. 25

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ.

παρ' ῷ σὰ λευκόπεπλον ἡμέρην μείνας πρὸς μὲν κυνήσεις τὸν Φλυησίων Ἑρμῆν.

2 κυνήσειν codd., corr. Welcker "Φλυησίων obscurum, cf. Hesych. Φλυήσιος: ὁ Ἑρ μ η̂ς, unde possis τὸν Φλυήσιον πάλ μ υν" West Φλυήσιον < > / Ἑρ μ η̂ν Degani

48 Ath. 3.78b = Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 24.341 (1964.14 sqq.)

Φερένικος δὲ ὁ ἐποποιός, Ἡρακλεώτης δὲ γένος, ἀπὸ Συκῆς τῆς Ὀξύλου θυγατρὸς προσαγορευθῆναι (τὴν συκῆν)· "Οξυλον γὰρ τὸν 'Ορείου ʿΑμαδρυάδι τῆ ἀδελφῆ μιγέντα μετ' ἄλλων γεννῆσαι Καρύαν, Βάλανον, Κράνειαν, Μορέαν, Αἴγειρον, Πτελέαν, "Αμπελον, Συκῆν, καὶ ταύτας ʿΑμαδρυάδας νύμφας καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ τῶν δένδρων προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἱππώνακτα φάναι

συκήν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην.

μελαίνης dub. Degani, cl. Babr. 19.1 μελαίνης ἀμπέλου

49 P. Berol. 12605 (ostr., III a.c.), ed. Wilamowitz, Sitz.-Ber. preuss. Akad. (1918) 739 sqq.

ώρος· ἐνιαυτός. "ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοί γε" (Od. 11.311). Ἱππώνακτος·

47 Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad

And elsewhere:

after awaiting at his side the dawn of white-robed day you will make obeisance to Hermes of the Phlyesians¹

¹ Not attested elsewhere.

48 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Pherenicus the epic poet and a Heracleot by birth says that the fig tree got its name from Syke, the daughter of Oxylus; for he says that Oxylus, the son of Oreius, had intercourse with his sister Hamadryas and begat among others Carya (hazel), Balanus (walnut), Craneia (cornel), Morea (mulberry), Aegeirus (poplar), Ptelea (elm), Ampelus (vine), and Syke (fig tree), that these are called Hamadryad nymphs, and that many trees got their names from them. Hence, he states, Hipponax spoke of

the black fig tree, sister of the vine1

 1 For the figure of speech cf. frr. 103.10 and 144 (also Aesch. *Agam.* 494 f., *Septem* 494). Elsewhere it is rare.

49 Potsherd

 $\hat{\omega}\rho$ os means 'year.' "For nine years old" (Od. 11.311). Cf. Hipponax:

πονηρὸς []..[. . .].οι πάντας ᾿Ασωποδώρου παΐδα κ[

1 πονηρὸς [ἄρους Wilamowitz

50 Strabo 14.1.4 (quae praecedunt v. ad Callini frr. 2-2a)

Σμύρνα δ' ἦν 'Αμαζων ἡ κατασχοῦσα τὴν "Εφεσον, ἀφ' ἦς τοὕνομα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ πόλει, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Σισύρβης Σισυρβῖταί τινες τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέγοντο. καὶ τόπος δέ τις τῆς Ἐφέσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἱππῶναξ·

οἴκει δ' ὅπισθε τῆς πόλιος †ἐν Σμύρνη μεταξὺ Τρηχέης τε καὶ Λεπρῆς ᾿Ακτῆς.

έκαλείτο γὰρ Λεπρὴ μὲν ἀκτὴ ὁ Πριὼν ὁ ὑπερκείμενος τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ἔχων μέρος τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς τὰ γοῦν ὅπισθεν τοῦ Πριῶνος κτήματα ἔτι νῦν λέγεται ἐν τῷ ᾿Οπισθολεπρίᾳ. Τραχεῖα δ᾽ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ ὑπὲρ τὸν Κορησσὸν παρώρειος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν περὶ τὸ ᾿Αθήναιον τὸ νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὂν κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Ὑπέλαιον ὥστε ἡ Σμύρνα ἦν κατὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον, ὅπισθεν μὲν τῆς νῦν πόλεως, μεταξὸ δὲ Τρηχείης τε καὶ Λεπρῆς ᾿Ακτῆς.

1 ὤκει codd., corr. Schneidewin $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\dot{\iota}$ vel $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $<\tau\hat{\eta}>$ prop. West 2 $\Gamma\rho\eta\chi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ codd., corr. Knox

bad . . . all the son of Asopodorus . . . 1

 1 It must be assumed that Hipponax used some form of $\hat{\omega}\rho os$ 'year.' West suggests that the sense may have been: "may misfortune befall the son of Asopodorus all his years."

50 Strabo, Geography

Smyrna was an Amazon who took possession of Ephesus and both the people and the city derived their name from her, just as some of the Ephesians were called Sisyrbitae after Sisyrbe. And also a certain place in Ephesus was called Smyrna, as Hipponax makes clear:

he (she) lived behind the city in Smyrna between Tracheia¹ and Lepra Acte.²

For Lepra Acte was the name given to Prion³ which lies above the present city and contains a portion of the city wall. At any rate the property behind Prion is still to the present day said to be in Opistholepria (Behind Lepra). And the district on the side of the mountain above Coressus was called Tracheia. In ancient times the city was round the Athenaeum which is now outside the city opposite what is called the Hypelaeus, with the result that Smyrna was opposite the present gymnasium, behind the present city, but between Tracheia and Lepra Acte.

 1 Lit., 'Rugged (Height).' 2 Lit., 'Scabby Height.' 3 The precise form is uncertain. The MSS of Strabo record both $\Pi \rho \iota \dot{\omega} \nu$ and $\Pi \rho \eta \dot{\omega} \nu$ and Pausanias 7.5.10 has $\Pi \iota \omega \nu$.

51 Harpocr. s.v. μάλθη (p. 169 Keaney)

ό μεμαλαγμένος κηρός. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου (46.11). Ἱππῶναξ·

ἔπειτα μάλθη τὴν τρόπιν παραχρίσας.

 $\tau \rho \acute{o} \pi \eta \nu$ et $\tau \rho \acute{o} \pi \iota \nu$ codd.

52 Schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 494b (p. 157 Greene) = Schol. marg. in Olympiod. ad loc. (p. 157.25 Westerink)

χαραδριὸς ὄρνις τις ὃς ἄμα τῷ ἐσθίειν ἐκκρίνει εἰς ὅν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὡς λόγος, οἱ ἰκτεριῶντες ῥῷον ἀπαλλάττονται. ὅθεν καὶ ἐγκρύπτουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πιπράσκοντες, ἵνα μὴ προῖκα ὡφελῶνται οἱ κάμνοντες.

καί μιν καλύπτει μῶν χαραδριὸν περνάς;

ώς φησιν Ἱππῶναξ.

cf. schol. Ar. Av. 266d (p. 47 Holwerda), Sud. iv.787.10 Adler $\mu \iota \nu$ schol. Plat., $\mu \dot{\gamma} \nu$ schol. Ar. et Suda καλύπτη (καλύπτει codd. G et B) Suda, καλύπτει schol. Plat. et Ar., καλύπτεις Ruhnken, καλύπτεαι West ώς pro $\mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ schol. Ar. $\pi \epsilon \rho \nu \hat{q} \varsigma$ Suda

53 Et. Gen. (p. 25 Calame) = Et. Mag. 334.1 = Et. Sym. (Gaisford ad Et. Mag. 334.1) = Zonaras (p. 706 T.)

έμβιβάξαντες παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι,

51 Harpocration, Lexicon of the Ten Attic Orators $\mu \acute{a}\lambda \theta \eta = \text{softened wax. Cf. Demosthenes } On the Crown and Hipponax:}$

then smearing the keel with pitch1

 1 $\mu \acute{a}\lambda \theta \eta$, here only in a nautical context, is presumably a mixture of wax and pitch. The imagery may be sexual: see Henderson 145 f., 164.

52 Scholiast on Plato, Gorgias

 $\chi a \rho a \delta \rho \iota \delta s$ is a bird which defecates while it eats. If those suffering from jaundice look upon it, as the story goes, they gain relief more easily. Consequently those who sell it keep it covered, so that patients may not derive benefit free of cost.

and he keeps it covered; not selling a plover, is he? as Hipponax says.

53 Etymologicum Genuinum ἐμβιβάξαντες, in Hipponax,

άλλ' αὐτίκ' άλλήλοισιν ἐμβαβάξαντες,

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμβοήσαντες. ἀπὸ τοῦ βάζω βάξω, *βιβάξω, *βιβάξας *βιβάξαντος, καὶ ἐμβιβάξαντες.

ἐμβιβάξαντες Etym., corr. Schneider

54 Et. Gen. (p. 35 Calame) = Et. Mag. 539.1 (ex Herodiano; ii.803.11 Lentz) = Et. Gud. (col. 347.27 Sturz) = Epimer. in Hom. (p. 476.72 Dyck) = Zonaras (p. 1258 T.)

καὶ ἡηματικὸν ὄνομα κριγή, ὡς παρ' Ἱππώνακτος, οἶον

κρίγη δὲ νεκρῶν ἄγγελός τε καὶ κῆρυξ.

56 Pollux 6.19

καὶ σίφωνα μὲν ὅτῷ ἐγεύοντο (τὸν νέον οἶνον) Ἱπ π ῶναξ εἴρηκεν·

σίφωνι λεπτῷ τοὐπίθημα τετρήνας.

τέτρηνας codd., corr. Salmasius

57 Pollux 10.75

καὶ ὁ σάκος ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυγοίπου εἰρημένος, καὶ ὁ ὑλιστήρ. Ἱππῶναξ δέ φησι

στάζουσιν ὥσπερ †ἐκ τροποίιον† σάκκος.

ἐκ τροποίιον, ὡσπερεὶ τροπηίον codd., ἐκτροπήϊον Salmasius (rec. West)

but straightway yammering at one another,

instead of 'shouting.' From $\beta \acute{a} \zeta \omega$, $\beta \acute{a} \xi \omega$, $\beta \iota \beta \acute{a} \xi \omega$, $\beta \iota \beta \acute{a} \xi \omega \tau o s$, and $\dot{\epsilon} \mu \beta \iota \beta \acute{a} \xi \alpha \nu \tau e s$.

¹ The sources have confused the rare $\beta a\beta \acute{a}\zeta \omega$ with the common $\beta \iota \beta \acute{a}\zeta \omega$. Cf. Arch. fr. 297.

54 Etymologicum Genuinum

There is also a verbal noun $\kappa \rho \iota \gamma \dot{\eta}$, as in Hipponax:

a screech owl,1 messenger and herald of the dead

¹ There is disagreement on the accentuation of $\kappa\rho\iota\gamma\eta$. It seems probable from a gloss in Hesychius s.v. that $\kappa\rho\iota\gamma\eta$ is a screech owl and $\kappa\rho\iota\gamma\dot{\eta}$ any strident sound. See Degani, Studi 257 f. In any event a bird is more appropriate in the context.

56 Pollux, Vocabulary

And Hipponax speaks of a siphon with which they tasted (the new wine):

piercing the lid with a thin pipe1

 1 Explained by some as sexual imagery (pipe = penis and lid = vagina or anus), but without a context this is merely a possibility.

57 Pollux, Vocabulary

And σάκος said of a strainer, also ὑλιστήρ ('filter'). Hipponax says:

they are dripping as a strainer drips . . . 1

 1 With West's text we have a reference to sour wine which he treats as "a metaphor for the vaginal secretion" (*Studies* 142).

58 Pollux 10.87

έν δὲ τοῖς Δημιοπράτοις λέκος εὐρίσκομεν, Ἱππώνακτος εἰπόντος

κάλειφα ρόδινον ήδὺ καὶ λέκος πυροῦ.

 $\pi\nu\rho\hat{\omega}\nu$ dub. West

59 Erotian. lex. Hippocr. φ 19 (p. 92.6 Nachmanson)

καλοῦσι δὲ φῷδας τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς γινόμενα (μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἐκ ψύχους ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καθίσωσι) στρογγύλα ἐπιφλογίσματα . . . καὶ Ἱππῶναξ δέ φησι

πρὸς τὴν μαρίλην τὰς φοΐδας θερμαίνων οὐ παύεται.

cf. Tzetz. in Ar. Pl. 535 (p. 130.2 Massa Positano)

1 τὰς φωΐδας Tzetz. (φο- Hoffmann), τοὺς παΐδας codd. Erot. (πόδας cod. Κ)

60 Ath. 2.49e

κοκκύμηλα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα· ὧν ἸΑρχίλοχός τε (fr. 241) μέμνηται καὶ Ἱππῶναξ·

†στέφανον εἶχον κοκκυμήλων καὶ μίνθης.

<καὶ> στέφανον Gaisford, στέφανον ἔχοντες Bossi

58 Pollux, Vocabulary

And we find $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \kappa o_S$ in The Goods Confiscated and Sold and in Hipponax:

and a sweet unguent made from roses and a pan of wheat 1

 $^{\rm 1}$ G. Tedeschi, MCr 13/14 (1978/79) 169 f., plausibly suggests that we have here the ingredients for a medical prescription.

59 Erotian, Glossary to Hippocrates

They use the word $\phi\hat{\varphi}\delta\varepsilon_{S}$ of the round inflammations caused from fire (and especially whenever people sit by the fire after being cold) . . . and Hipponax also says:

he doesn't stop warming his blisters by the charcoal embers

60 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

These are κοκκύμηλα, mentioned by Archilochus and Hipponax:

I (they?) wore a wreath of plums and mint

61 Et. Gen. (p. 40 Calame) = Et. Mag. 615.12 (versu omisso)

οὐδὸν ἐς λαύρην (Od. 22.127 sq.)· τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδόν. λαύρην δὲ Φιλόξενος (fr. 572 Theodoridis) τὴν ῥύμην φησί . . . τινὲς δὲ τὸν κοπρῶνα, ὡς Ἱππῶναξ·

έκρωζεν <ώς> κύμινδις έν λαύρη.

 $\langle \epsilon \lambda \theta \hat{\omega} \nu \ \hat{\omega} \varsigma \rangle$ Bergk, $\langle \times - \rangle \ \epsilon \kappa \rho$. $\langle \hat{\omega} \varsigma \rangle$ Hoffmann $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ λαύρη Et. Gen. A $(-\rho \eta$ Reitzenstein), $\dot{\epsilon} \varsigma$ λαύρην B

62 Et. Gen. (p. 46 Calame)

χαμεύνιον έπὶ τοῦ κραβάτου τάσσεται. Ἱππῶναξ·

έν †ταμείω τε καὶ χαμευνίω γυμνόν.

cf. Did. lex. Plat. (Miller, Mélanges 402) ταμείφ Didymus, μίφ Εt. Gen., φορμίφ dub. West (cl. fr. 170)

63 D. L. 1.107

μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἱππῶναξ εἰπών

καὶ Μύσων, ὃν ʿΩπόλλων ἀνεῖπεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων.

61 Etymologicum Genuinum

"Threshold to the street," i.e., to the public road. Philoxenus says that $\lambda\alpha\nu\rho\eta$ means 'street' . . . but some say it means 'privy,' as does Hipponax:

(he?) squawked like a kymindis1 in the privy

¹ The bird cannot be securely identified, but seems to be some kind of owl.

62 Etymologicum Genuinum

 $\chi a \mu \epsilon \acute{\nu} \nu \iota o \nu$, a term applied to a mattress. Cf. Hipponax: naked on a . . . and a mattress

63 Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers
And Hipponax also mentions him (i.e., Myson). saying:
and Myson¹ whom Apollo proclaimed as the most sensible of all men

¹ A shadowy figure whom Plato (*Prot.* 343a) includes among the Seven Sages. Most of our information about him is derived from Diogenes 1.106-108.

64 Stob. 3.29.42

Ίππώνακτος.

χρόνος δὲ φευγέτω σε μηδὲ εἶς ἀργός.

cf. Append. Vat. 2 nr. 53 Sternbach (Ίππῶναξ ἔφη), Apostol. 18.41d (Δημώνακτος)

65 Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 314 (Masson, PP 5 [1950] 74), "καὶ εἰς ἄλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον"

εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὸ ἀπολουτήριον ὕδωρ ἔχεον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς διὰ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θυσίας ἀποιχομένοις οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὡς εἰς θυσίαν δῆθεν τοῦτο τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἦτοι τῆς θαλάσσης, καθά φησιν καὶ Ἱππῶναξ·

πρύμνης ἀπ' ἄκρης ἐς θάλασσαν σπένδοντες.

ἄκρας cod., corr. Adrados

 σ πεύδοντες cod., corr. Maas

66 Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 363 (Masson, PP 5 [1950] 74)

καὶ μετὰ ὑποτακτικῶν μορίων οὐχ ὑποτάσσει (ἡ Ἰωνικὴ διάλεκτος), ὡς παρ' Ἱππώνακτι

κούκ ώς κύων λαίθαργος ὕστερον τρώγει.

κρυφιοδάκτης post κύων cod., del. Masson ut gloss. λάθαργος cod., corr. Masson

64 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Hipponax:1

let no time idly slip by you

- ¹ Rightly denied to Hipponax by most editors, including West and Degani. Perhaps the work of an Alexandrian choliambic poet or of Demonax of Cyprus, a Cynic philosopher (2nd c. A.D.).
- **65** Tzetzes, *Commentary on Iliad* ("and they threw the offscourings into the sea")

They poured into the sea the water used for washing. For it was the custom of those who went across the sea for a sacrifice to do so, as an offering, I suppose, to Poseidon or the sea, as Hipponax says:

pouring an offering from the tip of the stern into the sea

66 Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad

The Ionic dialect, as in Hipponax, does not use postpositives:

and he does not chew to pieces(?) afterwards like a treacherous dog^1

¹ Meaning obscure.

67 Et. Gen. (p. 46 Calame)

χάλις ὁ οἶνος.

όλίγα φρονέουσιν οἱ χάλιν πεπωκότες.

cf. Tzetz. in Lyc. (p. 199.20 Scheer), in Hes. Op. 336 (p. 221.8 Gaisford), in Ar. Pl. 435 (p. 109.9 Massa Positano) $\phi\rho\rho\nu\rho\hat{v}\sigma\nu$ testes, corr. Hiller

68 Stob. 4.22.35 + P. Berol. 9773 verso (*BKT* V(2).130)

Ίππώνακτος.

δύ ἡμέραι γυναικός εἰσιν ἥδισται, ὅταν γαμῆ τις κἀκφέρη τεθνηκυῖαν.

70 P. Oxy. xviii.2174 fr. 1 col. ii (ed. Lobel)

ωσ[ημε[ανδ[ταρσ[φερο[γρύζουσ' .[τὸν θεοῖσ[ιν ἐχθρὸν τοῦτον, ὃς κατευδούσης

τον θεοισ[ιν εχθρον τουτον, ος κατευδοι της μητρ[ος ἐσκύλευε τον βρύσσον

5

67 Etymologicum Genuinum

χάλις is wine.

those who drink wine have few wits about them²

 $^1\,\chi\acute{a}\lambda\iota s$ is presumably a very potent wine, perhaps from Thrace. $^2\,The$ fragment is attributed to Hipponax in the citations by Tzetzes.

68 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Hipponax:

Two days in a woman's life are sweetest, whenever she is married and whenever she is carried out dead.¹

 $^{\rm 1}$ Attribution to Hipponax is rejected by many, but on inadequate grounds.

70 Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (early 2nd c. A.D.)

... she grunting (they are grunting?) ... this godforsaken fellow who used to despoil his sleeping mother's sea urchin¹... blind ... and crippled ...

¹ Clearly a metaphor for the genitals. Some prefer "despoiled the sea urchin (of the daughter) while the mother slept," but cf. fr. 12.2. τυφλὸν π[καὶ χωλὸν [

10

5

"Ωθηνι κυ[ἐπ' ἦισεπ[ἔστησα [

Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 118 (Masson 72, v. ad fr. 65)

ἀλλ' οἱ Ἰωνες ψιλοῦσι τὰ δασέα ὡς τὸ (fr. 72.5) καὶ τὸ (fr. 26a.1) καὶ τὸ "τὸν θεοῖς—βρύττον" καὶ τὸ (fr. 25). καὶ τί τὸν Ἱππώνακτα νῦν λέγω μόνον; πάντας ψιλωτὰς τοὺς Ἰωνας σὰ νόει.

7 θεοῖς cod., corr. Masson 8 ἐσκάλευσε Kassel βρύττον cod., corr. Masson <κάτω> βρύσσον Gallavotti $12 \, \hat{\eta}_{\rm I} \, {\rm vel} \, \hat{\eta}_{\rm IS}$

72 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 3

ἐπ' [άρμάτων τε καὶ Θρεϊκίων πώλων λε[υκῶν †ὀείους κατεγγὺς† Ἰλίου πύργων ἀπ[ηναρίσθη 'Ρῆσος, Αἰνειῶν πάλμυς

Tzetz. ad Hom. 190 (Schirach, Tz. carm. Il. p. 65)

ό δὲ Ῥῆσος Αἰνειῶν Θράκης ἦν βασιλεύς, νίὸς Στρύμονος ἢ Ἡιονέος καὶ Τερψιχόρης . . . τοὺς ἵππους δὲ Ῥήσου Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης ἐλήισαν, λευκοὺς ὄντας, ὡς Ὅμηρός φησι (Il. 10.437 sqq.) . . . καὶ Ἱππῶναξ "ἐπ' . . . πάλμυς."

Athenis² . . . I (they?) set up . . .

Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad

But the Ionians smooth aspirated consonants as in frr. 72.5, 26a.1, 70.7-8, and 25. And why do I now speak only of Hipponax? Know that all the Ionians do this.

 2 A paragraphus and coronis in the margin indicate the beginning of a new poem. Athenis was the brother of Bupalus (see test. 3 n. 2).

72 Same papyrus

... (while sleeping near?) the towers of Ilium by his chariot and white Thracian foals Rhesus, sultan of the Aeneians, was despoiled of them . . .

Tzetzes on Homerica

Rhesus was king of the Aeneians in Thrace, the son of Strymon or Eïoneus and Terpsichore . . . Odysseus and Diomedes carried off Rhesus' horses which were white as Homer says . . . and Hipponax (72.5-7).

Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 15 (p. 78.1 Hermann)

καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δασέων ψιλὰ ἐξεφώνουν ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀρχαία Ἰωνική, "ἐπιβρύκων" (fr. 104.15) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιβρύχων, καὶ τὸ "ἐπ'—πώλων," καὶ "μεταρμόσας" (fr. 161).

cf. Tzetz. ad fr. 70.7-8, Tzetz. ad Hes. $Op.~157~(\dot{\epsilon}\pi^{\prime}~\dot{\alpha}\rho\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ tantum)

5 Θρηϊκίων Tzetz., corr. Fick 6 Tzetz. ad Hom. $\grave{i}\grave{\omega}\nu$ κατεγγὺς (cod. L) et καθεύδων ἐγγὺς, unde \id ιαύων ἐγγὺς Mayor 7 \id λινίων ten Brink \id πάλμυς Schneidewin, \id παλάμας cod. M, \id βασιλεύς HLV

73 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 4

τῷι πλ[
ἄ]μειξε δ[' αἷμα καὶ χολὴν ἐτίλησεν
ἐγὰ δεγ[[οἱ δέ μεο ὀδόντες

δν ταῖς γ[νάθοισι πάντες ‹ἐκ›κεκινέαται.
φοιτὰ δ[
δέδοικ' α[
κεῖνος δ[
καλῶς .[

Et. Gen. (p. 39 Calame) = Et. Mag. 624.4

όμιχεῖν σημαίνει δὲ τὸ οὐρεῖν . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ βαρύτονον ῥῆμα, ὀμίχω, ὁ μέλλων ὁμίξω, ὡς παρ' Ἱππώνακτι, οἷον "ὤμιξεν—ἐτίλησεν."

Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad

And instead of aspirated consonants they pronounced them smooth as does ancient Ionic, $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\rho\acute{\nu}\kappa\omega\nu$ for $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\rho\acute{\nu}\kappa\omega\nu$ and (fr. 72.5) and $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\mu\acute{o}\sigma\alpha$ s (for $\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\rho\mu\acute{o}\sigma\alpha$ s).

73 Same papyrus

... he pissed blood and shat bile; but I... and all the teeth in my jaws have been dislodged. I roam about ... I am afraid ... (but?) he ... well ...

Etymologicum Genuinum

ομιχεῖν means 'to urinate' . . . And there is also the uncontracted form ομίχω, future ομίξω, as, for example, in Hipponax (73.3).

 1 The line is cited in numerous sources (see Degani's fr. 73). 2 Degani rejects the insertion of vv. 4-5 here, treating them as a separate fragment (his 132). Instead of 'dislodged' (from blows) perhaps simply 'fallen out' from old age or disease, or if the prefix is incorrectly supplied the verb's literal meaning 'have moved' may be a reference to eating or fear. For other sources of vv. 4-5 see Degani's fr. 132.

Epimer. in Hom. (p. 509.37 Dyck)

μεμετρέαται· τοῦτο Ἰωνικόν ἐστιν . . . καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι· "οἱ δέ—κεκινέαται."

3] μ īξεδ[pap., ιμιξεν (vel ιμηξεν) codd., corr. Diehl 4 ιμεν codd., corr. Fick 5 τμισγ[pap., τοισι codd. ιεκ- add. Ahrens

74 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 5

οδυ[

 $O\delta\nu[\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ - Lobel

75 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 6

].ζων φυκι[]αν αὐτὸν ὅστις ϵ[]ἐπεὶ τὸν ψωμὸ[ν]ϵρεῦσι τὴν γενὴ[ν

77 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 8

]υψου [
] αιηκασ[
]επλοωσεν[
]ασιος ὥσπερ βου[
]υτο φρενώλης τ[
]θεν διδάξων γ[
]ο κορσιππ[

5

Homeric Parsings

μεμετρέαται ('have been measured'); this is Ionic . . . and in Hipponax (73.3-4).

74 Same papyrus

Apparently a title containing some form of the word Odysseus, and frr. 75 and 77 would suit the context of a poem dealing with the wanderings of Odysseus, presumably in a mock-heroic manner.

75 Same papyrus

 \dots seaweed \dots him who \dots after \dots the morsel \dots they inquire into his lineage \dots

77 Same papyrus

 \dots Phaeacians(?) \dots like (Bupalus?) \dots frenzied \dots (came?) to teach \dots lotus root \dots

2 Φαίακας Lobel 4 Βού[παλος Diehl 6 $\mathring{\eta}$ λ] θ εν Adrados

78 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 9 + 10 + addit. (xix p. 150)

]ομβρ[]εινος γι[

ὥσπερ τραγω[ὖ]πέατι καί μιν[ὥσπερ Κίκωνα[

5

10

15

] έδυσφήμει τε κα [

] as μαρίλην ἀνθρ[άκων

...]ς δὲ κ[α]ὶ πῦρ οὖκ ἐσέρχε[... π]υρρ[όν ἀ]θερίνην ἐς Καβείρ[ων] φοίτε[σκε τὸν λ[..]ριῶνα μῆνα κα[ν]θαρο[ἐ]λθὼν δ' ἐς οἶκον, συκάμινα δ[ει]π[νήσας, καὶ τῶι κιμαίωι τόν[δε] ρῖνα φοινίξα[ς ἐπιπτύσας τρὶς καὶ τ[ἀ]π' ὧν ἐδέψατ' ὡς [

4 κλείνος Adrados 5 τραγώ[ν Diehl, τράγω[ν δοράς vel ἀσκοὺς Miralles 6 suppl. Lobel 7 vel Κίκων α[8 in fine $\pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} \nu$ suppl. Masson e fr. 78a 9 suppl. 10 $\sigma \epsilon \lambda a$ West $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\rho\chi\dot{\epsilon}[\tau\alpha\iota\,\pi]\nu\rho\rho[\dot{\epsilon}\nu\,Adrados,$ 11 \dot{a}] θ ερίνην Lobel, in init. θ ύων $-\chi \epsilon [\tau] \circ \tilde{v} \pi] v \rho \rho [\delta \nu \text{ West}]$ δ ' e.g. West $\kappa \alpha \beta \iota \rho$ [pap., suppl. Adrados (- $\beta \epsilon \acute{\iota}$ - Medeiros) in fine suppl. West 12 Λ[αυ]ριῶνα Bossi 13 δ[ει]π[νήσας West 14 τόν $\delta \epsilon$ Adrados 16 å]π' Diehl $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\dot{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\tau'$ Scheller ($\epsilon\delta\epsilon\psi\hat{\alpha}\tau'$ pap.)

78 Same papyrus¹

... like ... with an awl and ... like Cicon²... he used indecent language and ... embers of charcoal ... and he did not approach ... the flaming fire (and offering?) a smelt he would go to the temple of the Cabiri³ throughout the month of ...⁴ dung beetle(s) ..., and going into his house he dined on mulberries, and dyeing this⁵ red at the nose with the juice he spat three times and ... jerked off ...

¹ Although many of the details are obscure, it seems clear that the fragment describes magical procedures to cure impotence. See West, *Studies* 142 f., and Miralles in Miralles-Pòrtulas 9-21.

² Cf. frr. 4, 4a.

³ Divinities somewhat similar to the Dioscuri in their attributions and worshipped especially in Samothrace, Lemnos and Miletus. See also n. on fr. 155b.

⁴ Bossi's supplement, based on fr. 92.10, is highly probable. If correct, Laurion is a parody of the month name Taureon known from several cities in Ionia and a translation might be something like "throughout the month of Bull Shit."

⁵ Presumably his penis, with 'nose' denoting its tip. For the imagery see Henderson 243.

78a Erotian. lex. Hippocr. μ 24 (p. 61.10 Nachmanson) μάλλον δὲ ἡ θερμοσποδιὰ μαρίλη λέγεται, ὡς καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἐν ᾿Αχαρνεῦσί φησιν (350 sq.). καὶ Ἱππῶνάξ φησι

πολλην μαρίλην ἀνθράκων.

79 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 11 col. i (1-17)

ἀ]λοιᾶσθα[ι
τῆς] ἀνοιΐης ταύτη[ς
τῆς] ἀνοιΐης ταύτη[ς
τῆ]ν γνάθον παρα.[
]ι κηρίνους ἐποι[
]κἀνετίλησε[
]χρυσολαμπέτωι ῥάβδωι
]αν ἐγγὺς ἑρμῖνος.
Έρμῆς δ' ἐς Ἱππών]ακτος ἀκολουθήσας
το]ῦ κυνὸς τὸν φιλήτην
]ώς ἔχιδνα συρίζει
]αξ δὲ νυκτὶ βου[
]καὶ κατεφράσθη[
]δευς κατεσκη.[
ἐμερ]μήριξε· τῶι δὲ κ[η]λητ[ῆι
]ς παῦνι, μυῖαν .[
ὁ δ' αὐτίκ' ἐλθ]ὼν σὺν τριοῦσι μ[άρτυσιι

15

20

10

5

]ς παθνι, μυθαν [
ό δ' αὐτίκ' ἐλθ]ών σὺν τριοθσι μξάρτυσιν ὅκου τὸν ἔρπιν ὁ σκότος καπηλεύει, ἄνθρωπον εὖρε τὴν στέγην ὀφέλλοντα—
οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ὄφελμα—πυθμένι στοιβῆς.

43

78a Erotian, Glossary to Hippocrates

But rather hot ashes are called $\mu\alpha\rho i\lambda\eta$, as Aristophanes says in *Acharnians*. And Hipponax says:

many embers of charcoal

79 Same papyrus as for frr. 70-781

... to be cudgeled ... of this foolishness ... (striking?) his jaw ... made of wax² ... and he shat upon³ ... staff gleaming with gold⁴ ... near the bed post. And Hermes providing an escort to the house of Hipponax ... the dog-stealer⁵ ... hisses like a viper ... (Hipponax deliberating?) at night ... and devised ... pondered; and to the charmer ... small(?), 6 (like?) a fly⁵ ... With three witnesses he went at once to the place where the swindler⁵ sells wine⁵ and found a fellow sweeping the room with a stock of thorn, since no broom was at hand.

1 See West, Studies 143 f., for an attempt to explain the se-² Probably metaphorical here. Those auence of events. who are afraid can be described as 'waxen,' i.e., 'soft as wax' or 'pale as wax.' ³ No doubt from fear, as in Arist. Ach. 350 f. 4 West takes the staff to belong to a seer (Cicon), but the epithet 5 West prefers "(had kept safe) the bursuggests Hermes. glar from the dog." 6 Hesychius glosses παυνί and παῦνις with 'small,' 'big,' 'good' and 'sufficient.' The word does not oc-⁷ With Bossi's supplement 'fly' will describe cur elsewhere. something of little value. 8 The meaning of σκότος is uncertain (West renders it as 'bastard'), but Latin tenebrio, describing one who works under cover of darkness, is a close parallel. ⁹ An Egyptian word, probably for a wine of poor quality.

Et. Gen. (p. 13 Calame)

ἀκολουθήσας: "Ερμῆς—ἀκολουθήσας," ἔκτασις τοῦ α. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (ii.1240 Lentz)

Tzetz. in Lyc. 1165 (p. 338.27 Scheer), "ὀφελτρεύσωσι" σαρώσωσι. σάρον γὰρ καὶ ὄφελμα καὶ ὀφελμος ἡ σκοῦπα λέγεται. καὶ τοῦτο Ἱππῶνάξ φησιν· "ὁ δ'— στοιβῆς."

cf. Eust. in Hom. *Il.* 1.340 (i.178.7 V.d.Valk), Tzetz. in Lyc. 579 (p. 199.24 Scheer), Schol. vet. ad loc. (p. 199.18 Scheer), Tzetz. in Ar. *Pl.* 435 (p. 109.9 Massa Positano)

2 suppl. Lobel 3 τη̂s] Diehl ταύτη[s Lobel 4 τη̂]ν Diehl παρακ[ρούσας e.g. West 5 ἐποί[ησε Lobel 9 δὲ σιμώνακτος Et. Gen., corr. Lehrs 10 το] \hat{v} Lobel 12 Ἱππων]αξ Diehl in fine βου[λεύων e.g. West 14 Μαια]δενς κατέσκηψ[ε Lobel 15 suppl. Lobel 16 in fine $\hat{\omega}$ [ς Bossi 18 ἔρπιν codd., corr. Masson

82 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 14

]οιον στρυμ[κυσ]οχήνηι πολλα[ἔ]βηξε καὶ σαρων[]ν σελήνην ει[

1 Στρυμ
[Lobel 2-3 suppl. Lobel 3 σαρων
[ίσας Diehl

Etymologicum Genuinum

ἀκολουθήσας: (v. 9), with lengthening of the alpha. So Herodian.

Tzetzes on Lycophron

όφελτρεύσωσι means 'they will sweep clean.' For a broom is called σάρον and ὄφελμα and ὄφελμος. And Hipponax says (17-20).

82 Same papyrus

- ... Strymon(?) 1 ... gaping anus(?) 2 ... coughed and ... 3 moon . . .
- 1 If the next word is correctly translated, a pathic's gaping anus may be compared to the river Strymon, but there is also the word $\sigma\tau\rho\dot{\nu}\mu o\xi$ which Hesychius defines as a piece of wood used for crushing grapes. 2 Another definition given by Hesychius is 'pillory for prostitutes,' but $\kappa\nu\sigma\dot{o}s$ and compounds of it elsewhere designate the anus (Henderson 131). 3 Hesychius defines $\sigma\dot{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$ as 'lecherous' or 'female genitals,' but both the form of the word here and its meaning are obscure.

84 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 16 col. ii + addit. (xix p. 150)

δ' ἦλθεν οι[
]ειου[]ακεσ[
γληχῶνος[
κ]αί μ' εἴρετ' ό[
]εἰπασ [
]κοὐδιψ[
ἀλλ' ἐστεγυ[
χαμαὶ ἀπιφ[
ἐκδύντες α[
ἐδάκνομέν τε κἀφ[ιλέομεν
διὲκ θυρέων βλέ[ποντες
μὴ ἤμεας λάβ[
γυμνοὺς ἐρυ [
ἔσπευδε δ' ἡ μ[ὲν
ἐνὰ δ' ἐβίνε[ον

έγω δ' ἐβίνε[ον]τε κα[ὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἔλκ[ων ὤσπε]ρ ἀλλα[ντα ψύχων,]κλαίειν κελεψ[ων Βού]παλο[ν]κ[αί] μ' αὐτίκ' ἐξ[..(.)]σεν ἐκ δεπ[]καὶ δη ἀπὶ τοῖς ἔργοισιν εἴχομ[εν

]ἐγὼ μὲν ὥσπ[ερ ρ]υσὸν ἱστι...[σφάζειν ὑπέτ[.....]φαλουτ[

Hephaest. Ench. 5.4

τὸ δὲ χωλὸν οὐ δέχεται τοὺς παραλήγοντας τρισυλλάβους πόδας, οὖτε δάκτυλον οὖτε πρίβραχυν οὔτε ἀνάπαιστον, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν ἵαμβον, ὅτε καὶ

5

10

15

20

84 Same papyrus

... (she?) came ... pennyroyal¹ ... and asked me ... saying ... and not ... but ... on the ground ... with our clothes off ... we were biting and kissing(?) ... looking through the doors ... in case we be caught naked ... she was in a hurry² ... and I was fucking ... pulling out to the tip as though drying(?) a sausage³ ... bidding Bupalus go to hell ... and at once she ... me and I(?) ... And after our exertions we had (a rest?). I ... like a wrinkled sail⁴ ...

 1 Perhaps here a metaphor for the pubic area (see Henderson 135). 2 Or "she was urging me on." 3 Chosen presumably because of its resemblance to a penis, but the participle ('drying by exposure to the breeze') is judged inappropriate by many. Knox's supplement is rendered by 'skinning a sausage' in the Supplement to LSJ, not an obvious meaning of the word. See R. M. Rosen, TAPA 118 (1988) 38 f. 4 Presumably an image for a detumescent penis.

Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And the choliambic does not admit penultimate feet of three syllables, dactyl, tribrach, or anapaest, but prefers an

εὐπρεπές ἐστιν "ἀκούσαθ' Ἱππώνακτος, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' η̈κω" (Callim. fr. 191.1 Pf.) <math>
ϵσθ ὅτϵ δϵ καὶ σπονδϵῖον. ότε καὶ τραχύτερον γίνεται "εἰς-ψύχων."

cf. schol. Hephaest. (p. 269.4 Consbruch)

2 in init. $\dot{\eta}$ West $5 \epsilon i \rho \epsilon \theta o$ [pap., unde $\epsilon i \rho \epsilon \theta'$ \dot{o} Lobel: corr. Medeiros 11, 12, 15 suppl. West 16 εβείνε[pap., corr. et suppl. Lobel 17 $\epsilon i s$ codd. Hephaest., $\epsilon \pi$ pap., codd. schol. Hephaest. ψήχων Knox (rec. West) 18 κελεύ[ων West Bού]παλο[ν Lobel 19 $\dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon} [\dot{\epsilon} \lambda \nu] \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \nu$. $\dot{\epsilon}$ κ δ' $\dot{\epsilon}$ π[λήμυρα e.g. West ("she pushed me out, and I brimmed 20 in fine $\pi a \hat{\nu} \lambda a \nu$ e.g. West over") 21 ρ Ιυσον West ίστίον Masson

85(e) P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 17

2] $\dot{a}\pi a \lambda \lambda a \chi \theta \epsilon i \varsigma [$ 3 $\chi \lambda a i \nu a \varsigma$ 8 $\dot{\epsilon}] \xi \epsilon \delta i \phi \eta \sigma [$

86 P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 18

2 Ιτιλησας 3 π Ιεριτρώνων

4 φωλεοί

92 P.S.I. 1089 col. ii, ed. Coppola (5-9 frustula P. Oxy. 2174 fr. 24 + addit. (xix p. 150))

ηύδα δὲ λυδίζουσα "βασκ κρολεα." πυγιστί: "τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[καί μοι τὸν ὄρχιν τῆς φαλ[κ]ράδηι συνηλοίησεν ὥσπ[ερ φαρμακῶι

iambus when it is fitting. "Listen to Hipponax, for it is I in fact who have come" (see on fr. l); but sometimes also a spondee, when it becomes rather harsh (v. 17).

85(c) Same papyrus

2 set free

3 cloak

8 ferreted out

86 Same papyrus

2 shat

3 gnawing round about

4 lairs

92 Papyri¹

She spoke in Lydian: "Faskati krolel," in Arsish,3 "your arse . . ." and my balls . . . she thrashed with a fig branch as though (I were a scapegoat) . . . fas-

5] τοις διοζίοισιν ἐμπεδ[καὶ δὴ δυοίσιν ἐν πόνοισ[ι ή τε κράδη με τοὐτέρωθ[εν άνωθεν έμπίπτουσα, κ[παραψιδάζων Βολβίτωι[ὧζεν δὲ λαύρη κάνθαρο ι δὲ ροιζέοντες 10 ηλθον κατ' όδμην πλέον ες η πεντήκοντα. τῶν οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτοντε[ς κατέβαλον, οί δὲ τοὺς οδ [οί δ' έμπεσόντες τὰς θύρα[ς τοῦ Πυγέλησι 15]ρυσσον οία[]αροιμο[]ω δ' ἐς υμν[

Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 273 (Masson, PP 5 [1950] 75) de ϵv Ionico

(fr. 28), καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· "ὧζεν—πεντήκοντα."

 $|\epsilon \nu \tau|$

4 suppl. Coppola 5 ἐμπεδ[ωθέντι Knox 8 κ[ἄνθεν ὁ πρωκτὸς Latte 9 παραψιάζων Degani 13 ὀδό[ντας ἄξυνον Knox

tened securely by forked pieces of wood(?) . . . and (I was caught?) between two torments . . . On the one side the fig branch . . . me, descending from above, (and on the other side my arse?) spattering with shit . . . and my arse-hole stank. Dung beetles came buzzing at the smell, more than fifty of them. Some attacked and struck down(?) . . . , others (whet their teeth?), and others falling upon the doors⁴ . . . of the Arsenal⁵ . . .

Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad (on Ionic ϵv) (fr. 28), and elsewhere (vv. 10-11)

 1 It seems that a Lydian woman is treating Hipponax (for impotence?, cf. fr. 78) by blows from a fig branch (cf. frr. 5-10) and by inserting something into his anus which causes him to defecate. Commentators compare Petronius 138, but the state of the papyrus leaves much in obscurity. Opposite v. 14 there is the numeral 800, i.e., of Book 1 or 2. 2 A rendering in the Greek alphabet of something in Lydian. See West, Studies 144 f. 3 West's translation of a word modeled on $\Delta\omega\rho\iota\sigma\tau i$ ('in Doric'), 'Ia $\sigma\tau i$ ('in Ionic') etc. 4 Perhaps the dung beetles are attacking three parts of his body. For 'door' as anus see Henderson 199, but the plural is surprising in this sense. 5 West's rendering. There seems to be a pun on Pygela, a town inland near Ephesus.

95 P. Oxy. xxii.2323 + xviii.2174 fr. 27

]ήσαιτο κα[
]κ Βουπάλωι[
]υ Βούπαλου[
]υοι τον κ[
ἄλ]λος ἄλλοθευ[
]ελθόντες.[
]. ύσοντές τε καλ[
π]αρεκνημοῦντ[ο
]ων.[
]πκεβ[
κ]ατείλε[
]αὐτίκ' ειρ[
]ητες ἐγγυ[
Βο]υπάλωι κ()[

10

5

15

Tzetz. exeg. Il. A 17 (p. 79.21 Hermann)

Ίππῶναξ "παρεκνημοῦντο" φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπορεύοντο.

14 ἐγγὺ[ς Adrados

95a Tzetz. in Lyc. 436 (p. 160.20 Scheer)

ότι δὲ άγης ὁ μυσαρός . . . Ἱππῶνάξ φησιν

ῶς οἱ μὲν †άγεῖ Βουπάλω κατηρῶντο.

ώς Gaisford

<ἐν>αγεῖ vel ἀγέϊ Fix

95 Oxyrhynchus papyri¹

... Bupalus ... Bupalus ... one from one place, one from another ... coming ... they were advancing ... seized(?) ... at once ... near by ... Bupalus ...

Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad

Hipponax says $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \kappa \nu \eta \mu o \hat{\nu} \nu \tau o$ instead of $\epsilon \pi o \rho \epsilon \hat{\nu} o \nu \tau o$ ('they advanced').

¹ It seems that a crowd of people have come from different directions to inflict some kind of harm on Bupalus (cf. fr. 95a).

95a Tzetzes on Lycophron

Hipponax says that $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\dot{\eta}s$ denotes one who is polluted:

Thus some were calling down curses upon the polluted Bupalus $^{\rm l}$

1 Some insert this line in fr. 95.15.

102 P. Oxy. xviii.2175 fr. 1

[κωτιλλησ[]]ν ἀποπνίξηι υνηκεων ν τὸ μήνυτρον *ἄ*]λλο τι π[ρ]η̂σσε]αὐχενοπλῆγα $\int d\nu \theta \rho [\omega] \pi o \nu$ πυ κταλίζουσι σπονδή τε καὶ σπλάγχνοι]σιν άγρίης χοίρου] ύδρον έν Λέρνηι κ]α[ρ]κίνον συνέτριψε]νεσθαι φιλήτην]κατηρῆσθαι· $]\phi\rho\sigma\nu\alpha\pi[$ $]\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\nu$ $][[\iota]]\nu[][$]Κίκων..[

15

10

5

Ath. 9.375c

χοῖρον δὲ οἱ Ἰωνες καλοῦσιν τὴν θήλειαν, ὡς Ἱππῶναξ· ὅπονδῆ—χοίρου." (ἐν σπονδῆ Α, corr. Dindorf: ἐν <α΄> Bergk)

102 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (late 2nd or early 3rd c. A.D.)¹

... chatters (wheedles?) ... throttles² ... the reward for information ... was doing something else ... struck on the neck^3 ... man ... they box ... with a libation and entrails of a wild sow ... serpent at Lerna ... he crushed the crab ... thief⁴ ... to curse ... Cicon ...

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

The Ionians call the female pig $\chi o \hat{i} \rho o s$, as in Hipponax (v. 9).

¹ It is clear that some of the labours of Heracles are being related, but the connection between them and the seer Cicon (cf. frr. 4, 4a) is obscure.

² The Nemean lion?

³ Geryon?

⁴ Of Cerberus?

103 P. Oxy. 2175 fr. 2

]λάσας τὸν τράχ[ηλον
]ν ἐς Μίλητον ἐξεκ[
]ν νησῖδα τερματιζ[
]. σφιν κἀγορη[] πεπο[
].[.]ν οὐκ οἶδ, ηκ[.]. ειτ[
]...ήσαντο καὶ δ.[.]απρ[
ἐ]γγὺς τῆς θαλά(σ[σ)η]ς αι[
] ενς κ[α]ρκίνωι κ[..]ηρα[
]ν ἱερεψ[.(.)]ν κοτ[..]κατ[
]ἀ[σ]βόλ[ου] κασιγ[νητ
πασ]πα[λ]ηφάγον γ[ρόμφιν
]κυνα[

Phot. lex. (ii.67 Naber)

πασπάλη· τὸ τυχόν. οἱ δὲ κέγχρον, οἱ δὲ τὰ κέγχρινα ἄλευρα. Ἱππῶναξ· "πασπαληφάγον γρόμφιν."

1 ἀνακ]λάσας Degani τράχ[ηλον Lobel 2 Λάδη]ν Diehl 4 κάγορὴ πεπο[ίηται Diehl ("nisi καγορη[ι]" West) 7 θαλατ[pap.

104 P. Oxy. 2175 fr. 3 + 4 (xviii p. 184)

10

5

10

δακ]τύλους μεταστρέψας]ος τε καὶ ρύδην] ων δ' αὐτὸν ἀσκαρίζοντα]ν ἐν τῆι γαστρὶ λὰξ ἐνώρουσα·

103 Same papyrus

... (bending back?) the neck ... to Miletus ... boundary(?) of the islet 1 ... and an assembly has been held(?)...do(es) not know... near the sea... crab ... sister of soot 2 ... millet-fed grunter 3 ...

Photius, Lexicon

 $\pi \alpha \sigma \pi \acute{a} \lambda \eta$ means a scrap. Some say it is millet, others millet meal. Cf. Hipponax (v. 11).

 1 Perhaps the small island Lade off Miletus. 2 Cf. frr. 48 and 144, also 138. Lobel suggests that $\mu a \rho i \lambda \eta \nu$ 'charcoal embers' (cf. frr. 59.1, 78.9) preceded. 3 An onomatopoeic word, defined by Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 169 Slater), citing Hipponax, as either any sow or an old sow.

104 Same papyrus¹

... bending back his fingers ... and abundantly ... him as he squirmed ... I jumped on his stomach ...

¹ More than one poem may be represented in these verses.

15] ις μὴ δοκῆι με λασθαίνειν]δευν ἐπιβρύκων]ηιον καταπλ[ί]ξας
] ήρον καταπητίζας έ] ξέδυσα την χλαίναν
	πό]δας περιψήσας
	ποιοας περιφήσας την] θύρην ἐπάκτωσα
20] τὸ πῦρ κατακρύψας
20	βακκάρμ δὲ τὰς ῥίνας
	ήλειφον †έστι δ'† ο ἵηνπερ Κροῖσος·
	ηκειφού γεστι ο γ σχιηνίτερ Κροισσς.]ν Δασκυλείωι
]ξιωνυ[]ωι[
25]μβολα[]δοντε[ς
20]ωιωνα[]
	$[\pi_{.}\chi_{.}\sigma\kappa\delta ho[\dots]]$
]λόγων κα[]κιζ[
0.0]οσυλασ[
30]ανδροσον[
]ται κα θ η.[.] α ι
	ν]ενυχμένωι πρωκτῶ[ι
] ι σημαίνων
]σελλη πόρνη
35]ε αλσιν έξορύξειαν[
]ακι ρεψει νήσου
]ες κατὰ κνίσην
]ν κισκυητιμεσνάρ.[
] σαμου λοφορρῶγας[
40] αιπαλώντ[.] σσ.[
]τατον δι[

so that he might not have a mind to curse me . . . gnashing my teeth . . . with legs apart . . . I took off my cloak . . . wiping my feet cleam . . . I barred the door . . . covering the fire . . . and I anointed my nostrils with perfume . . . such as Croesus had . . . Daskyleion² . . . stabbed arse-hole . . . giving a sign . . . prostitute . . . they dig out . . . island . . . at the smell of roasted fat . . . with shoulders broken off . . .

 2 There were several towns in Asia Minor with this name (see Stephanus of Byzantium s.v.). Perhaps it is here the town in Bithynia a few miles south of the Propontis.

45

ό δ' ἐξολισθὼν ἰκέτευ]ε τὴν κρά[μ]βην τὴν ἑπτάφυλλον, ἣν θύεσ]κε Πανδώρ[ηι Ταργηλίοισιν ἔγκυθρον] πρὸ φαρμακ[οῦ

> μέ]τωπον καὶ πλ[ευράς]ριοσανσ[]πη[

50

Ath. 15.690a-b

παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν κωμφδοποιῶν ὀνομάζεταί τι μύρον βάκκαρις οὖ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἱππῶναξ διὰ τούτων "βακκάρι—Κροῖσος."

Ath. 9.370a

μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νίκανδρος μάντιν κέκληκε τὴν κράμβην ἱερὰν οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις ἐστί τι λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον· "ὁ δ'—φαρμακοῦ." καὶ ἀνάνιος δέ φησιν (fr. 4).

10 suppl. Lobel 15 v. Tzetz. ad fr. 70.5 18-19 suppl. Lobel 22 ἔστι δ' vel ἐσθ' οἵηπερ κρόκ(κ)ος codd. 32 suppl. Lobel 48 $\mathring{\eta}$ θ. πανδώρη codd., $\mathring{\eta}$ θ. Πανδώρη Schmidt 49 θαργιλίοισιν, γαργηλ-, γαργιλ- codd., unde Θαργηλίοισιν Dalecampius (Ταργ- Schneidewin) ἔκχυτον codd., ἔγχυτον

feet-tripping . . . Slipping, he besought the seven-leafed cabbage³ which he used to offer in a pot to Pandora⁴ at the Thargelia in front of(?) the scape-goat . . . forehead and ribs . . .

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

A certain perfume is called *bakkaris* by many comic poets. Hipponax also mentions it in these words (vv. 21-22).

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Perhaps Nicander (fr. 85.7 Gow-Schofield) has called the cabbage a prophet because it is sacred, since something of this sort is said in the iambics of Hipponax (vv. 47-49). And Ananius also says (fr. 4).

³ The oath 'by the cabbage' $\langle \nu \alpha \hat{\iota} \mu \hat{\alpha} \tau \hat{\eta} \nu \kappa \rho \hat{\alpha} \mu \beta \eta \nu \rangle$ is found in the comic poets (Ath. 9.370b), but its significance is unclear. ⁴ Presumably here a name for the Earth goddess (cf. Arist. *Birds* 971), but the text is uncertain (see Degani, *Studi* 269) and some treat Pandora as a fictitious name for a woman.

Salmasius, ἔγχυτρον Schmidt, ἔγκυθρον West φαρμάκου cod., corr. Meineke 50 in init. suppl. Lobel, in fine Diehl

105 P. Oxy. 2175 fr. 5

3 σελλεαν[6 Βάραγχος ἀρτεμ[8 κ]αὶ στατῆρας πέν[τε 9 κυνὸς 10 μυσαχνὸν

 $\it Et.$ $\it Gen.$ $\it \beta$ 40 (p. 23.4 Berger, 20.5 Calame); cf. $\it Et.$ $\it Mag.$ 188.8

"Βάραγχος" Ἱππῶναξ μάλιστα, οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Βράγχος Ἱππῶναξ <δὲ> πλεονασμῷ τοῦ α. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τοῖς περὶ παθῶν (ii.220.22 Lentz).

3 Σελλέα Diehl (cf. Arch. fr. 183) 6 Callim. fr. 104.31 Pf. (de Brancho) ἀρτεμέας ἐποίησεν cont. Lobel

114a Erotian. lex. Hippocr. τ 13 (p. 85.7 Nachmanson) τράμιν· τὸν ὄρρον, ὄνπερ καὶ ὑποταύριον καλοῦμεν, ὡς καὶ Ἱππῶνάξ φησιν·

†έξ τίλλοι τις αὐτοῦ τὴν τράμιν †ὑποργάσαι.

μέμνηται καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος (fr. 283).

έξ<άκις> τίλλοι τις αὐτὸν τὴν τράμιν <θ'> ὑποργάσσαι Meineke (-ήσαι ten Brink, -άζοι Sitzler)

114b Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 17.219 (1817.19)

'Αριστοφάνης γοῦν ὁ γραμματικὸς (fr. 197 Slater) ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῶν ἀγρίων ὑῶν τὰ νέα οἱ μὲν κολόβρια οἱ δὲ μολόβρια καλοῦσιν, ἐπάγει

105 Same papyrus

... Baranchos (restored them?) to health $\!\!\!^1$... and five staters ... of a dog ... debauched $\!\!\!^2$...

Etymologicum Genuinum

Hipponax above all uses the form Baranchos, the others Branchos. Hipponax has a pleonastic alpha. So Herodian in *On Inflexions*.

¹ The seer Branchos was said to have founded the oracle of Apollo at Didyma and to have freed the inhabitants of Miletus from a pestilence. ² Cf. Arch. fr. 209.

114a Erotian, Lexicon on Hippocrates

 $\tau \rho \acute{a}\mu \iota \varsigma$ is what we call the perineum, as Hipponax says:

may someone pluck his anus (and soften it up?)

Archilochus also mentions it.

114b Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

At any rate Aristophanes the grammarian who says in his On Age Names that some call the young of wild pigs $\kappa o \lambda \delta \beta \rho \iota a$, others $\mu o \lambda \delta \beta \rho \iota a$, concludes that Hipponax

ώς καὶ Ἱππῶναξ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν μολοβρίτην που λέγει ἐν τῷ

κρέας ἐκ μολοβρίτεω συός.

μολοβρίτου Eust., corr. Schneidewin

114c Suet. $de \ blasph$. (p. 62 Taillardat) = Eust. in Hom. $Od.\ 18.55\ (1837.42)$

μεσσηγυδορποχέστης

ό μεσοῦντος τοῦ δείπνου πολλάκις ἀποπατῶν, ὅπως πάλιν ἐμπίμπληται ὁ αὐτός.

μεσηγυ- Renner

-χέστα Knox

115-118 Epodi

115 P. Argent. 3 fr. 1.16, ed. Reitzenstein

κύμ[ατι] πλα[ζόμ]ενος κάν Σαλμυδ[ησσ]ῷι γυμνὸν εὐφρονέσ[τατα Θρήϊκες ἀκρό[κ]ομοι λάβοιεν—ἔνθα πόλλ' ἀναπλήσει κακὰ δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων—

5

somewhere speaks of his own son¹ as $\mu o \lambda o \beta \rho i \tau \eta s$ in the meat of a young pig

 1 Eustathius' text is no doubt corrupt, with $\upsilon \hat{\iota} \hat{o} \nu$ ('son') an error for $\hat{v} \nu$ ('pig').

114c Suetonius, On Defamatory Words

an interprandial pooper1

Of one who often retires to defecate in the midst of a meal so that he may fill himself up again.

 $^{\rm l}$ West's translation, which catches well the comic flavour. The word is cited anonymously in Suetonius, but attributed to Hipponax by Eustathius.

115-118 Epodes

The authorship of frr. 115-117 is much disputed, some attributing them to Archilochus, some to Hipponax, and some assigning fr. 115 to Archilochus and 117 to Hipponax (fr. 116 is omitted here, since no complete word is preserved).

115 Strasburg papyrus

...¹ drifting about on the wave. And at Salmydessus² may the top-knotted Thracians give him naked a most kindly reception—there he will have full measure of a multitude of woes, eating the bread of slaves—stiff from cold. As he comes out from the

ρίγει πεπηγότ' αὐτόν ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χν<ό>ου
10 φυκία πόλλ' ἐπιχ<έ>οι,
κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας, ὡς [κ]ὑων ἐπὶ στόμα
κείμενος ἀκρασίηι
ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμα.....
ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν ἰδεῖν,
15 ὅς μ' ἦδίκησε, λ[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐφ' ὁρκίοις ἔβη,
τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖρος [ἐ]ών.

4 κύμ[ατι] Reitzenstein, κύμ[ασι] Cantarella 5 εὐφρονέσ[τατα Diels, alii alia 7 ένθαναπλησει pap., sscr. πο]λλαναπλησει κα, ἀναπλήσαι West 9 χνον pap., corr. Masson 10 ἐπέχοι Reitzenstein, probb. West alii, επιχοι leg. Schwartz, corr. Masson 15 ἐπ΄ Blass ὁρκίοις Reitzenstein, ὁρκίοισ΄ Diehl

117 P. Argent. 3 fr. 2

ή χλαῖν[α]αστινη[
κυρτον ε[.....]φιλεῖς
ἀγχοῦ καθῆσθαι ταῦτα δ' Ἱππῶνα[ξ □ ο]ῗδεν ἄριστα βροτῶν,
οἶ]δεν δὲ κἀρίφαντος ἆ μάκαρ ὅτ[ις
μηδαμά κώ σ' ἔιδε
τ]ρ[άγ]ου πνέοντα φῶρα. τῶι χυτρεῖ [δὲ νῦν
Αἰσχυλίδηι πολέμει
ἐκεῖνος ἤμερσεί[ν σε]ης,
πᾶς δὲ πέφηνε δό[λος.

4 $\Pi \pi \hat{\omega} \nu \alpha [\xi \text{ Reitzenstein}, -\alpha [\kappa \tau i \delta \eta \varsigma \text{ Maas}]$

 $8\tau \rho [\dot{\alpha}\gamma] ov$

5

10

foam may he vomit much seaweed and may his teeth chatter while he lies on his face like a dog at the edge of the surf, his strength spent, . . . This is what I'd like him to experience, who treated me unjustly by trampling on his oaths, he who was formerly my friend

Only three letters of what precedes are preserved.
 On the southwest coast of the Black Sea. For more details see J. P. Stronk, "Wreckage at Salmydessos," *Talanta* 18-19 (1986-87) 63-75.

117 Same papyrus

... the cloak 1... fishing basket $(?)^2$... you are in the habit of sitting nearby. Hipponax ... knows this better than anyone and so does Ariphantus. 3 Ah, blessed is he who has never yet seen you, you thief with the stench of a goat (?). Now wage war with the potter Aeschylides. He robbed (you?) of ... and all your deceit has been revealed.

¹ Perhaps stolen by the thief of v. 8. ² If accented $\kappa \acute{\nu} \rho \tau o \nu$, but probably 'hunchbacked' if accented $\kappa \nu \rho \tau \acute{\nu} \nu$. ³ Apparently a friend of Hipponax rather than the name of the thief.

Diehl, $\gamma] \rho [\acute{a}\sigma] o \nu$ Wilamowitz fin. suppl. Reitzenstein $10 - \acute{\epsilon} [\nu \ \sigma \epsilon \ Blass \ \tau \hat{\eta} s \ \dot{a}\pi a \rho \tau \acute{\iota}] \eta s$ West 11 Diels

118 P. Oxy. xviii.2176, ed. Lobel

- α ὧ Σάνν', ἐπειδὴ ρίνα θεό[συλιν]εις
 καὶ γαστρὸς οὐ κατακρα[τείς,
 τοὖς μοι παράσχες, ὧ[].ν
 σύν τοί τι βουλεῦσαι θέ[λω
- **b** λαιμᾶι δέ σοι τὸ [χεῖ]λος ώς [ἐρωι]διοῦ
- c τοὺς] βρα[χίονας καὶ τὸ]ν τράχ[ηλον κα[μή σε γαστρίη[
- d πρώτον μέν έκδὺς νε.[
- e]αὐλήσει δέ σοι Κίκων τὸ Κωδάλου [μέλος
- b Schol. Nic. Th. 470, "μαιμώσσων" (p. 191 Crugnola)
 . . . γράφεται καὶ λαιμώσσων ἀντὶ τοῦ πεινῶν, ὡς Ἱππῶναξ "λαιμῷ δέ σου χεῖλος ὡς ἐρῳδιοῦ."

118 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd c. A.D.)

The order of the lemmata and of the fragments of the commentary is disputed. For the former I have adopted the order in which Degani prints them (his fr. 129), since this agrees with the commentary, and my text of both lemmata and commentary is essentially that of Degani. Degani's apparatus and Slings' study should be consulted for supplements. Those scraps which contain little or nothing intelligible have been omitted.

- a O Sannus, since you (sport?) a sacrilegious nose¹ and have no control over your appetite, lend me your ear, O . . . , I want to give you some advice
- b your beak is as ravenous as a heron's
- ${f c}$ your arms and neck (are wasted?) . . . see that you don't (get?) colic
- d first strip . . .
- e Cicon² will pipe for you the tune of Codalus

- **b** Scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca* ("being very eager")
- ... λαιμώσσων is also written [i.e., is a variant reading], the equivalent of $\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\hat{\omega}\nu$ ('being hungry') as in Hipponax ("your beak—heron's")

e Ath. 14.624b

διὸ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἦλησιν αὐλητὰς Φρυγίους καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχειν, οἶός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ ἀλκμᾶνι (fr. 109 PMGF, 206 Calame) Σάμβας καὶ Ἄδων καὶ Τῆλος, παρὰ δὲ Ἱππώνακτι Κί<κ>ων καὶ Κώδαλος, καὶ Βάβυς, ἐφ' ῷ καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αὐλούντων, "κάκιον ἢ Βάβυς αὐλεῖ."

a 1 θεό[συλιν Lobel φορέ]εις Luppe 2 fin. Lobel b λαιμώσσων, λαιμώσσει, λαιμῷ codd., corr. Schneidewin c 1,2 suppl. Lobel 2 fin. ἔφθίσαι suppl. West 3 fin. λά $\beta\eta$ Snell, Lobel e 2 fin. Latte

Commentarii fragmenta

A (fr. 1 col. i + fr. 9, cf. P. Oxy. xix p. 153)

"ὧ Σάνν', ἐπειδὴ ρίνα θεό[συλιν εις, καὶ γαστρὸς οὐ κατακρα[τείς" κύρι-ο]ν ὄνομα ὁ Σάννος, ὧ⟨ι⟩ λοιδορ[εῖται πεποιῆσθαί φασιν παρὰ τὴ[ν σαννάδα. Κρ[ῆτ]ας δὲ τὰς ἀγρίας αἶγας λέγειν σαννάδας φη]σὶν Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς 'Αντίγονον κα]ὶ 'Αδαῖον τὰς δὲ αἶγας ἐπι-

]ποπλήκτους εἶναι καιναι]καὶ ἐν τῶι βίωι το[ὺ]ς εὐή-] μεν[. . ἀ]λλ' οὐδὲ του]ν· "ὧ Σά[ν]ν', ἐπειδὴ ῥῖνα

10 $\theta \epsilon \iota \varsigma$

5

e Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

For this reason pipers among the Greeks have names that are Phrygian and appropriate to slaves. Examples are Sambas in Alcman and Adon and Telus and in Hipponax Cicon and Codalus and Babys who gave rise to the proverb said of those whose pipe-playing always gets worse, "he pipes worse than Babys."

 1 Perhaps his penis (see n. 5 on fr. 78), but it's not clear why it would be called "sacrilegious." Slings (pp. 84 f.) suggests that Sannus is "one who steals food from altars," but then mention of his nose seems strange. 2 See frr. 4, 4a, 78.7. Presumably both the piping and the tune are of poor quality.

Fragments of the Commentary

A

"O Sannus, since you (sport?) a sacrilegious nose and have no control over your appetite." Sannus is a proper name as a term of abuse. (Some?) say that it is derived from sannas ('wild goat'). Polemon in his Address to Antigonus and Idaeus¹ says that the Cretans call wild goats sannades; and . . . that goats are stupid(?) . . . and in (everyday) life simpletons (are so called?)² . . . "O Sannus, since you (sport?) a sacri-

θεόσυλιν]ς τοὖς μοι παράσχες, ὧ
].ν σύν τοί τι βουλεῦσαι θέλω·]ς τὴν ἱερόσυλιν ῥῖνα
]ννε[.]ακοντος αὐτοῦ
]ν ἀπὸ παν]ν τάχα δε
]νετομε

B (frr. 3 + 5 + 4, cf. P. Oxy. xviii p. 184)

"]λαιμᾶι δέ σοι τὸ χεῖ]λος ὡς [ἐρω]διοῦ" [ἀπὸ] τοῦ λαιμοῦ ωσαν ...]..σει.[]ε λέγε[ι. ἀρπ]ακτικὸν δὲ τὸ ὅρνεο]ν ὁ ἐρωδιό[ς, ὅθεν] κ[αὶ] τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Ο-δυ[σσ]έᾳ ἐν τ[ῆι] νυκτ[ηγρ]εσίαι 'Αθηνᾶ ἐπιπέμπ[ε]ι τ[οῦτο]ν τὸν [οἰ]ωνὸν ἀρπασομένοις δηλονότι γα[να ὥσπερ καὶ γει[ἐρωδιόν. Παλ(αμήδης) γρά[φει εὖ. "ὡς ἐρωδιοῦ" ω[ος ἐκτιθεὶς τα.[καθηγησαμεν[νησον ταύτην[

C (fr. 1 col. ii)

τοὺς] βρα[χίονας καὶ τὸ]ν τράχ[ηλον κα[____] μή σε γαστρίη [□ -"· στρό-

15

5

10

legious nose, lend me your ear, O . . . ; I want to give you some advice." . . . the sacrilegious nose . . .

 $^{\rm 1}$ Polemon of Ilium (2nd c. B.C.) ascribed the invention of epic parody to Hipponax (see on fr. 128) and wrote against the art historians Antigonus and Adaeus. $^{\rm 2}$ That Sannus is a nickname for an idiot is substantiated by Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 1 Slater).

В

... "your beak is as ravenous as a heron's"; he derives 'is ravenous' from the word for gullet ... The heron is a rapacious bird and hence Athena sent this bird to Odysseus and his companion [i.e., Diomedes] who were about to go on a raiding expedition during the night 1 ... like ... heron. Palamedes 2 writes ... (not?) well. "A heron's" ... set forth(?) ... this island(?) 3 ...

 1 A reference to *Iliad* 10.274 ff. 2 According to the *Suda* s.v., Palamedes of Elea (date uncertain) was a grammarian who, among other things, was a collector of words (ὀνοματολόγος). 3 If 'island' is the correct reading, as seems likely, there may be a reference to the island called Diomedea where Diomedes' companions were said to have been turned into herons. See D'A. W. Thompson, A *Glossary of Greek Birds*, pp. 88-91.

C

...your arms and neck (are wasted?)... See that you don't (get?) colic." (He means?) a twisting of the

5 φο[........γ]αστρὸς ἀλγηδ.[
 μωι συνεχόμενοι εἰώθασ[ι
 τὴν γαστέρα εἰς ἀπόδ<ελιξιν[νενε κρῶσθαι. ἴδε σου, φησίν, τοὺς β[ραχίονας
 καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὅτι ἐφθιν[
10 καὶ κατεσθίεις καὶ μή σε κατα[
 μός. "πρῶτον μὲν ἐκδὺς νε.[" παραι νεῖ αὐτῶι πρῶτον χειρονομ[ήσαντι τὸ
 φάρμακον πιεῖν ῥαιδίως γὰρ ο[ὕτως τὸ
 φάρμακον ποιεῖν καὶ ἀναδοθ[
15 "αὐλήσει δέ σοι Κίκων τὸ Κωδά[λου μέλος"
 σκευ[άσα]ι δὲ τὸν Κίκωνα κ

D (fr. 6)

5

10

]ς χηραμὸν ποιοι ἐπνοὶ κ]αίονται λέγει δὲ τὰς καμίνους. ἐπ]νὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξιποῦν τὸ συνεστρ]αμμέν[ο]ν ἐν τῶι στατὶ ὕδωρ] ν διτουλη η̂[.] φησιν] εσθαι χ.ορ.[..

] ε γυναικ[ο] π[ί] πην· λ[
] . ώματα, τὰ ἐναπολ[ειφθέντα τῶι κλι] βάνωι περικαύματα φλυκτ] αίνας, οὖς ἔνιοι ἀττ[αράγους καλοῦσιν] [...] νισ[...] αρα[...] η[

bowels and stomach pain . . . those afflicted with . . . are in the habit of . . . their stomach as proof of its (their?) deathlike state. See, he says, how your arms and neck are wasted (even though?) you eat up, ¹ and see to it that you don't . . . "First strip . . ."; he advises him first to do hand exercises and drink the medicine, for in this way the medicine works more readily and is spread throughout the body. "Cicon will pipe for you the tune of Codalus." To get ready Cicon . . .

¹ It seems that, in spite of the glutton's voracious appetite, he is becoming emaciated. West, *Studies* 147, compares Erysichthon in Callim. *Hymn* 6.88-93.

\mathbf{D}^1

... hole ... ipnoi are being fired up. By this he means ovens. Ipnos is derived from squeezing out (exipoun) the water that has collected in dough ... he says ... ogler of women²... the charred remains left in the oven ... blisters which some call attaragoi³...

Presumably a commentary on a different poem.
 Apparently a continuation of the etymological discussion of *ipnos*.
 The name given to the blister-like protrusions on the top of baked bread. See Degani, *Studi* 274 f.

E (frr. 2 + 8 + Addenda + P. Oxy. x.1233 fr. 29; cf. P. Oxy. xviii p. 185, xix p. 153) τρ[ιτα] ιον έκ κήρυ [κο]ς ἀσμε[ν] έ μιν Commentarii fragmentum αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ χρόνο[ν.....] ἔως τ[ὸ σ]ώμα ψύχηται νῦν δ[è è]πὶ ἄμμον θαλα]σσίαν ἐ[κ]βάλλουσι. "τρ[ιτα]ῖον ἐκ κήρυκο]ς ἀσμε[ν...]
έ $\mu \iota \nu$ "· πρ[...] αὐτὰ τὰ ἀνδρ[$[-\dot{\eta}\nu]$ εγκεν $α\dot{v}$ τ $[\dot{o}]$ ν τριτα \hat{i} ον $\nu \pi \rho o[\sigma] \kappa \eta \rho v$ το κάν τοῖς]νημος δαρέκ κήρυκος ε-Ιομοῖον τῶι] τανησαν ντες ἀσσον]γράφουέγγνης της θα- $\sigma\iota$ λάσσης $\omega \epsilon$ ἐκβά]λλουσι] πατήρ]ς διασκευ-]ν νεκρὸν ε-**Ι**αιωι ὀστέωι

] Αρ[ι]στοφάν]πολ[]ανδρει] λονων

5

10

15

20

 \mathbf{F}^1

on the third day at the hands of the herald (and?) gladly him . . . $\,$

Commentary

... them for a time ... until the body grows cold; and now they cast it forth on the sand of the sea. "On the third day at the hands of the herald (and?) gladly him." (To?) the very ... he [i.e., the herald?] brought him on the third day ... also in the ... at the hands of the herald ... (dis)similar to the ... nearer,² they write ... near the sea ... they cast forth ... father ... corpse ... bone ... Aristophanes³ ... common burial place(?) ...

1 It seems clear from the commentary that the poem dealt with the *pharmakos* or scapegoat ritual, on which see Slings 89-91, and cf. frr. 5-10.
 2 Possibly a quotation from Hipponax.
 3 Presumably the grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium.

118a Pollux 10.18

τοὖνομα δὲ ἡ ἀπαρτία ἔστι μὲν Ἰωνικόν, ἀνομασμένων οὕτω παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν κούφων σκευῶν ἃ ἔστι παραρτήσασθαι . . . εἰ μέντοι ἐν βιβλίω τινὶ τοὔνομα τὴν ἀπαρτίαν εὐρεῖν ἐθέλοις, . . . , εὑρήσεις ἔν τε τῷ δευτέρω τῶν Ἱππώνακτος ἰάμβων,

ἀκήρατον δὲ τὴν ἀπαρτίην ἔχει,

καὶ παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Νόμων.

119 Hephaest. Ench. 5.3 (p. 16.16 Consbruch)

καταληκτικὸν . . . τετράμετρον [sc. ἰαμβικὸν] δὲ οἶον τὸ Ἱππώνακτος·

εἴ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρεινα.

120-127 Tetrametri

120 Suda i.487.10 Adler

Βούπαλος· ὄνομα. 'Αριστοφάνης· "εἰ νὴ Δία τις τὰς γνάθους τούτων δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἔκοψεν ὥσπερ Βουπάλου,

118a Pollux, Vocabulary

The word $\mathring{a}\pi a \rho \tau i a$ is Ionic, the name given by the Ionians to light utensils which can be fastened at one's side . . . If however you should wish to find the word $\mathring{a}\pi a \rho \tau i a$ in a book, . . . , you will find it in the second book of Hipponax's iambies.

he has his utensils undamaged,2

and in the tenth book of Theophrastus' Laws.

 1 Only here and in fr. 142 is book 2 explicitly given as a source. 2 Masson, whose enumeration West followed, assigned the line to the epodes because it is a pure trimeter, but there are several examples of such verses among the choliambics.

119 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

An example of the iambic tetrameter catalectic is the line of Hipponax:

If only I might have a maiden who is both beautiful and tender¹

¹ Perhaps a contamination of Arch. frr. 118 and 196a.6. Since Hephaestion tends to quote from the beginning of a poem, this may be its first verse.

120-127 Trochaic Tetrameters

120 Suda

Bupalus, a name. Cf. Aristophanes: "By Zeus, if anyone had struck their jaws two or three times like that of Bu-

φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ϵἶχον" (Lys. 360 sq.). παρὰ τῷ Ἱππώνακτι (τὸ Ἱππωνάκτειον Degani)

λάβετέ μεο ταἰμάτια, κόψω Βουπάλου τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

cf. Sud. iii.155.24 Adler

 $\mu o \hat{v}$ codd., corr. Fick $\theta o l \mu \acute{a} \tau \iota o \nu$ codd., corr. Schneidewin $\Theta o \nu \pi \acute{a} \lambda \phi$ Suda iii.155, rec. West

121 Erotian. lex. Hippocr. a 31 (p. 15.8 Nachmanson)

ἀμφιδέξιος Βακχεῖός φησιν ἀμφοτεροδέξιος, ὡς ἀμφήκης ὁ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἠκονημένος. σαφὲς δ' αὐτὸ ποιεῖ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἱππολύτῳ (780) λέγων "ἀμφιδέξιον σίδηρον" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν τέμνοντα. ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκράτης (Aph. 7.43) οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφήκους ἀλλὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐχρήστου τίθεται κατὰ ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη. διδάσκει δὲ καὶ ὁ ποιητής, τὸ μὴ καθ' ὲν μόνον μέρος εὔχρηστον περιδέξιον λέγων (Il. 21.163). ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Ἱππῶνάξ φησιν

άμφιδέξιος γάρ είμι κούκ άμαρτάνω κόπτων.

cf. Galen. in Hippocr. $Aph.\,$ (xviii(1).147 sq. Kühn) et $lex.\,$ $Hippocr.\,$ (xix.78 K.)

καὶ οὐχ codd., corr. ten Brink κόπτων om. Gal. utroque loco

palus, they wouldn't have any voice." It is a parody of Hipponax,

take my cloak, I'll hit Bupalus in the eye1

¹ Combined by many with fr. 121, perhaps rightly.

121 Erotian, Lexicon on Hippocrates

amphidexios. Bacchius says amphoterodexios, with the meaning 'two-edged,' i.e., sharp on both sides. Euripides clearly does this in *Hippolytus* when he speaks of an "amphidexios sword" instead of a sword that cuts on both sides. In Hippocrates it does not mean 'two-edged' but having ready use of limbs on both sides. And the poet [i.e., Homer] proves this when he uses peridexios of what is not readily useful in one part only. Similarly Hipponax says:

for I have two right hands and I don't miss with my punches

122 Hephaest. Ench. 6.2 (p. 18.16 Consbruch); praecedit Arch. fr. 88

τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τετράμετρον [sc. τὸ καταληκτικὸν] γίνεται καὶ χωλόν, τοῦ παρατελεύτου ποδὸς σπονδείου γενομένου, οἶόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ

Μητροτίμω δηὖτέ με χρη τῷ σκότω δικάζεσθαι.

cf. schol. p. 271.13 Consbruch, Io. Sicel. in Hermog. $\it Rhet.~Gr.$ vi.240.13 Walz

Μητρόδημε et κολάζεσ θ αι Io. Sicel.

123 Strabo 14.1.12

έκ Πριήνης δὲ ἦν Βίας, εἶς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, περὶ οὖ φησιν οὕτως Ἱππῶναξ·

καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως κρέσσον.

cf. Diog. Laert. 1.84, Sudam i.470.19, ii.93.21 Adler

δικάσασθαι Strabo Πριηνέος Diog. cod. Β κρέσσον Strabo, Diog. ${\rm B}^{\rm ac}$, κρείσσον Diog., κρείσσων ${\it Suda}$ (rec. Degani)

124 Sext. Emp. adv. math. 1.275

έχοι δ' ἄν τινα, φασίν, [ἡ γραμματική] ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ταῖς τῶν μανθανόντων αὐτὴν πατρίσιν ἀναγκαῖα. Λεβεδίων γοῦν διαφερομένων πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας περὶ Καμανδωλοῦ ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ Ἱππωνάκτειον παραθέμενος ἐνίκα

122 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

This catalectic tetrameter also occurs in 'limping' form, with the penultimate foot becoming a spondee, as in

Once again I must take the swindler¹ Metrotimus² to court³

 1 See n. 8 on fr. 79. 2 Treated by some as a fictitious name ironically alluding to the μητροκοίτηs Bupalus of fr. 12.2. 3 Although cited anonymously, the verse is commonly assigned to Hipponax because the same infinitive occurs in fr. 123 and because a Metrotime appears in the choliambics of Herodas 3.

123 Strabo, Geography

Bias, one of the Seven Sages, came from Priene. Hipponax speaks about him as follows:

and to have a better judge than Bias of Prienel

¹ Joined by some to fr. 122. Bias appears also in Callimachus fr. 191.73 Pf., a poem which begins with an address to Hipponax (see fr. 1 above).

124 Sextus Empiricus, Against the Professors

And grammar, they say, can contain some things which are especially necessary for the countries of those who learn it. At any rate when the Lebedians were quarreling with their neighbours over Camandolus, the grammarian won the day by citing the verse from Hipponax:

μηδε μοιμύλλειν Λεβεδίην ἰσχάδ' έκ Καμανδωλοῦ.

 $μοι μ \hat{v} λαλ \hat{\epsilon}(\nu)$ codd., corr. Meineke ex Hesych. $μοι μ \hat{v} λλ \hat{\epsilon} \iota \nu$ $\theta ηλ \hat{\alpha} \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu$, $\hat{\epsilon} \sigma \theta \hat{\iota} \epsilon \iota \nu$ Καμανδωδοῦ in test. et v.l. in versu

125 Strabo 8.3.8

καὶ τὸ Βουπράσιον μὲν δὴ μέρος ἦν τῆς Ἦλιδος, ποιητικῷ δέ τινι σχήματι συγκαταλέγειν τὸ μέρος τῷ ὅλῷ φασὶ τὸν "Ομηρον ὡς τὸ "ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον "Αργος" (Il. 2.615) . . . χρώνται δὲ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, Ἱππῶναξ μέν·

Κυπρίων βέκος φαγούσι κάμαθουσίων πυρών

—Κύπριοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ ᾿Αμαθούσιοι—καὶ ᾿Αλκμὰν δέ· (fr. 55 PMGF, 121 Calame).

καὶ Άμ. codd., corr. Hermann

127 Hesych.

Κυβήβη· ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἡ ἸΑφροδίτη . . . < ὑπὸ Λυδῶν> (suppl. ten Brink e Phot. i.355 Naber) ἢ (del. Degani) καὶ Φρυγῶν. π αρ' ὃ καὶ Ἱπ π ῶνάξ φησι·

καὶ Διὸς κούρη Κυβήβη καὶ Θρεϊκίη Βενδῖς.

ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄρτεμιν.

διόσκουρος κυβήκη cod., corr. Bergk θ ρηίκη βένδιν cod., corr. Bergk (Θρε- Fick)

and not to suck on a Lebedian dried fig 1 from Camandolus 2

¹ Probably = vagina (see nn. on Arch. frr. 250, 251.4 and Henderson 22), especially if Bartalucci, Maia 16 (1964) 248, is right in analysing μοιμύλλειν as both 'suck' and 'fuck, I pray' (μοι μύλλειν). ² Site unknown, but presumably in the territory of Lebedos which lay between Teos and Colophon.

125 Strabo, Geography

And although Buprasium was a part of Elis, they say that by a kind of poetic figure Homer includes the part with the whole, in "throughout Greece and the middle of Argos" . . . And more recent poets also use the figure, as for example Hipponax:

those who ate the bread¹ of Cyprian and Amathusian wheat

- —for the Amathusians are also Cyprians—and Aleman.
 - ¹ A Phrygian word according to Herodotus 2.2.

127 Hesychius, Lexicon

Cybebe: the Mother of the Gods, and identified with Aphrodite by the Lydians and Phrygians. Compare what Hipponax says:

and the daughter of Zeus, Cybebe, and Thracian Bendis.

Others identify her with Artemis.

128-129a Hexametri

128 Ath. 15.698b

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον περὶ τῶν τὰς παρῳδίας γεγραφότων ἱστορῶν τάδε γράφει "καὶ τὸν Βοιωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὕβοιον τοὺς τὰς παρωβίας γράψαντας λογίους ἂν φήσαιμι διὰ τὸ παίζειν ἀμφιδεξίως καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ποιητῶν ὑπερέχειν ἐπιγεγονότας, εύρετὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους Ἱππώνακτα φατέον τὸν ἰαμβοποιόν, λέγει γὰρ οὖτος ἐν τοῖς ἑξαμέτροις.

Μοῦσά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεω τὴν ποντοχάρυβδιν, τὴν ἐγγαστριμάχαιραν, δς ἐσθίει οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἔννεφ', ὅπως ψηφῖδι <κακῆ> κακὸν οἶτον ὅληται βουλῆ δημοσίη παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο.

1 Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα Α (rec. West), corr. Wilamowitz 3 κακῆ suppl. Musurus, κακὸς Cobet, κακῶς Kalinka ὀλεῖται Cobet (rec. West)

 $^{^1\,\}mathrm{See}$ n. 1on fr. 118A. $^2\,\mathrm{On}$ this topic see Athenaeus 15.698a-699c and especially Degani's introduction (pp. 5-36) to his *Poesia parodica greca* (Bologna 1982). 3 Boeotus of

128-129a Dactylic Hexameters

128 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Polemon, inquiring into the composers of parody, writes as follows in the twelfth book of his Address to Timaeus: "I should say that both Boeotus and Euboeus³ who composed parodies are skilled in words because they play with double meanings and, although born later, outstrip the poets who preceded them. It must be said, however, that the iambic poet Hipponax was the founder of the genre. For he speaks as follows in hexameters:

Tell me, Muse,⁵ of the sea swallowing,⁶ the stomach carving⁷ of Eurymedontiades⁸ who eats in no orderly manner, so that through a baneful vote determined by the people he may die a wretched death along the shore of the undraining(?) sea.⁹

Syracuse and Euboeus of Paros wrote in the 4th c. B.C. Almost nothing has survived.

4 Arist. Poetics 1448a12 calls Hegemon of Thasos (5th c.) the founder of parody, but by this he means that Hegemon made parody a profession.

5 The first of several epic parodies in the poem. For the opening cf. Hymn to Aphrodite 1.

6 Literally 'the sea-Charybdis,' i.e., his drinking is compared to the famous whirlpool which "sucks up the dark water" (Od. 12.104).

7 Literally 'the knife-in-thestomach,' i.e., he does not take the time to cut up food before eating it, relying on his stomach to perform the function of a knife.

 8 There was a Eurymedon, king of the Giants (Od. 7.58 f.), but it is unclear what relevance, if any, this has for identifying the patronymic. 9 It sems that Hipponax is alluding to the pharmakos ritual (cf. fr. 5). For an excellent discussion of the

poem see Degani, Studi 187-205, 216-225.

129 Gramm. in cod. Voss. gr. Q 20 (Reitzenstein, Geschichte der gr. Etymologika 367)

οί δὲ Ἰωνες αὐτῆν [sc. τὴν αἰτιατικὴν] εἰς τὴν ουν ἐποίουν, Σαπφοῦν καὶ Λητοῦν, ὡς δηλοῦσιν αἱ χρήσεις . . . ὁμοίως καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι

πῶς παρὰ Κυψοῦν ἦλθε.

129a Suet. π . π αιδιῶν (p. 65 Taillardat)

σκιράφεια δ' ἐκάλουν τὰ κυβευτήρια· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πανούργους σκιράφους ἐκάλουν Ἱππῶνάξ τε καὶ ἔτεροι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις δηλονότι ῥαδιουργίας.

Eust. in Hom. Od. 1.107 (1397.24)

καὶ ὅτι ἐσπουδάζετο ἡ κυβεία, οὐ μόνον παρὰ Σικελοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾿Αθηναίοις, οἳ καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀθροιζόμενοι ἐκύβευον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τῆς Σκιράδος ᾿Αθηνᾶς τῷ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ. ἀφ᾽ οὖ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κυβευτήρια σκιράφεια ἀνομάζετο. ἐξ ὧν καὶ πάντα τὰ πανουργήματα διὰ τὴν ἐν σκιραφείοις ῥαδιουργίαν σκίραφοι ἐκαλοῦντο. Ἱππῶναξ·

τί με σκιράφοις ἀτιτάλλεις;

129 Anonymous Grammarian

The Ionians formed the accusative (of feminine nouns ending in $-\omega$) in $-\omega\nu$, e.g. $\Sigma\alpha\pi\phi\circ\hat{\nu}\nu$ and $\Lambda\eta\tau\circ\hat{\nu}\nu$, as the usage shows . . . Similarly also in Hipponax:

how he came to Cypso¹

¹ Perhaps a parody of Kaλυψοῦν (Calypso) with obscene intent (cf. fr. 17 with n. 1 and Arch. fr. 45). The same word may be present in fr. 77.1. Some treat the fragment as interrogative.

129a Suetonius, On Greek Games

They used to call dicing places *skirapheia*. Clearly because of the trickery that went on in them Hipponax and others called tricksters *skiraphoi*.

Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

And they say that dice playing was taken seriously not only by the Sicilians but also by the Athenians who gathered together and played dice even in temples, and especially in the temple of Athena Skiras in the district Skiron. As a result other dicing places were called *skirapheia* and all acts of trickery were called *skiraphoi* because of the trickery in the *skirapheia*. Cf. Hipponax:

why do you raise me on trickery?1

¹ Of the two meanings, trickster and trickery, given by the sources, the latter seems more appropriate for the fragment.

130 Hesych.

άβδης· μάστιξ παρ' Ίππώνακτι.

131 Hesych.

'Αγχαλέη· τόπου ὄνομα παρ' Ίππώνακτι.

132 Eust. in Hom. Od. 12.281 (1721.62)

ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἀδῶ ἀδήσω καὶ αὐτόχρημα τὸ ἥδεσθαι δηλοῖ ποτε, δῆλον ἀπὸ χρήσεως Ἱππώνακτος, ἡν Ἡρακλείδης προφέρει, εἰπόντος

ἄδηκε βουλή,

ήγουν ήρεσκε τὸ βούλευμα.

133 Io. Philop. τονικὰ παραγγέλματα (p. 38.11 Dindorf; hinc Herodian. i.511.6 Lentz)

τὰ εἰς ας μὴ παραληγόμενα τῷ ε σὺν ἀμεταβόλῷ ὀξύνεται . . . τὸ δὲ ἄλιας παρ' Ἱππώνακτι <προ>παροξύνεται, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλις πλεονάσαν τὸ α.

130 Hesychius, Lexicon $\mathring{a}\beta \delta \eta_{S}$, 'whip,' occurs in Hipponax.

131 Hesychius, Lexicon

'Aγχαλ $\epsilon\eta$, the name of a place in Hipponax.

¹ Unidentified and hence often emended (see fr. 149 Degani)

132 Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

That $\dot{a}\delta\hat{\omega}$ $\dot{a}\delta\hat{\eta}\sigma\omega$ and in fact $\mathring{\eta}\delta\epsilon\sigma\theta$ au explain it (i.e., $\mathring{a}\delta\eta\kappa\delta\tau as$) is clear from the usage of Hipponax (cited by Heraclides¹) who said

the plan pleased,2

i.e., the resolution was pleasing.

 1 A grammarian from Miletus (1st c. A.D.). 2 The perfect of $\dot{a}\nu\delta\dot{a}\nu\omega$, formed apparently from the aorist infinitive $\dot{a}\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ as though it were a present.

133 Ioannes Philoponus, Rules of Accentuation

Words ending in $-\alpha s$ which do not have ϵ in the penultimate syllable are oxytone without any change . . . But $\Tilde{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha s$ in Hipponax is proparoxytone since it is from $\Tilde{\alpha}\lambda\iota s$ ('in abundance') with pleonastic α .

134 Orion, etym. col. 30.14 Sturz

ἀλίβας· ὁ νεκρός, παρὰ τὸ λιβάδα καὶ ὑγρότητα μὴ ἔχειν. ἔστι παρ' Ἱππώνακτι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄξους.

cf. Et. Gen. a 489, Et. Sym. a 592, Et. Mag. a 847 L.-L., etc.

135 ἀνασεισίφαλλος

135α ἀνασυρτόλις

135b βορβορόπη

Eust. in Hom. Il. 23.775 (iv.835.13 V.d.Valk)

ένταῦθα δὲ οὖκ ἄκαιρον εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι στόμα τὸ οὕτως ἀποπτύον ὄνθου λεχθείη ἂν καὶ βορβόρου ὀπή, ὅπερ κατὰ παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν συνθεῖς ὁ βαρύγλωσσος Ἱππῶναξ "βορβορόπην" ὕβρισε γυναῖκά τινα, σκώπτων ἐκείνην εἰς τὸ παιδογόνον ὡς ἀκάθαρτον. ὃς καὶ "ἀνασεισίφαλλον" ἄλλην τινὰ διέσυρεν, ὡς ἀνασείουσαν, φασί, τὸν φάλητα.

134 Orion, Etymologicum

 $\dot{a}\lambda i\beta as$ is 'corpse,' from lack of $\lambda \iota \beta \dot{a}s$ ('moisture') and wetness. In Hipponax¹ it also means 'vinegar.'

¹ Probably Hipponax is an error for Callimachus, since the etymological lexica cite the latter (fr. 216 Pf.) for the meaning 'vinegar' (i.e., dead wine?). Or perhaps Callim. fr. 216, $\xi\beta\eta\xi\alpha\nu$ of ov (of vov codd., corr., Bentley) ἀλίβαντα πίνοντες, "they coughed as though drinking vinegar," should be assigned to Hipponax.

135 cock-shaker

135a self-exposer

135b opening of filth1

Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

Here it is not inappropriate to say that a mouth that spits out in this way might be described as an opening of dung and filth, a combination which according to ancient information the bitter-tongued Hipponax formed when he insultingly called a woman 'opening of filth,' jeering at her for her impure child-bearing. He also tore to pieces another woman, calling her a 'cock-shaker.'

 1 βορβορόπη is the form given by Eustathius. Other sources give $-\omega\pi\eta$, $-\delta\pi\iota s$, $-\delta\kappa\eta$, $-\omega\pi\delta s$. By 'opening' Hipponax is referring to the vagina. For a full treatment of the other testimonia on these three words see frr. 151, 152, 158 Degani.

Suda iii.429.15 Adler

Ίππῶναξ δὲ "βορβορόπιν" ὡς ἀκάθαρτον ταύτην φησίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βορβόρου, καὶ "ἀνασυρτό{πο}λιν" ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνασύρεσθαι.

135c Eust. in Hom. *Il*. 9.129 (ii.678.2 V.d.Valk)

'Αντιφάνης δέ, φασί, "κασωρίτιν" ἔφη τὴν ἐπὶ τέγους προεστῶσαν (fr. 310 K.-A.). οὔτω δὲ καὶ Ἱππῶναξ.

136 Antiattic. in Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i.82.13

ἀνδριάντα· τὸν λίθινον ἔφη Ἱππῶναξ Βούπαλον <τὸν> (suppl. Diehl) ἀγαλματοποιόν.

137 Et. Gen. (p. 14 Calame) = Et. Mag. 99.14

ἀναρριχᾶσθαι·... εὐρίσκεται καὶ χωρὶς τῆς αν συλλαβῆς παρ' Ἱππώνακτι, ἀρριχῶμαι. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν (ii.387.5 Lentz, cf. 475.27)

138 Phryn. praep. soph. p. 28.1 von Borries (Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i.17.22)

ἄσβολος· θηλυκῶς λέγουσιν, Ἱππῶναξ δὲ ἀρσενικῶς. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσβόλην.

$Suda^2$

Hipponax calls her 'opening of filth' as of one who is impure, from βόρβοροs 'filth,' and 'self-exposer' from ἀνασύρεσθαι 'to pull up one's clothes.'

 2 In what immediately precedes the Suda cited Arch. frr. 207-209.

135c Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

They say that Antiphanes called a prostitute in a brothel *kasoritis*. So also Hipponax.

136 Anti-Atticist

Hipponax called the sculptor Bupalus a statue made of stone.¹

¹ It is unclear whether 'statue made of stone' (i.e., blockhead?) or only 'statue' is to be attributed to Hipponax.

137 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

ἀναρριχᾶσθαι: it is found also without the syllable $a\nu$ in Hipponax, ἀρριχῶμαι 'I clamber up with hands and feet.' So Herodian in On the Modification of Words.

138 Phrynichus, Sophistic Preparation

 $\mathring{a}\sigma\beta$ ολος 'soot' is feminine, but masculine in Hipponax. ¹ Some use the form $\mathring{a}\sigma\beta\acute{o}\lambda\eta$.

¹ Perhaps a reference to fr. 103.10, but the gender there cannot be determined.

138a Phot. β 68

βαρεία χείρ· Ἱππῶναξ τὴν δεξιάν.

139 Hesych.

βασαγικόρος· ὁ θᾶσσον συνουσιάζων παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι.

140 Antiattic in Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i.85.20 βατταρίζειν Ἱππῶναξ.

141 Hesych.

βεβρενθυμένον παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι ὀργιζόμενον.

βεβρενθυόμενον cod., corr. (dub.) Alberti, βρενθυόμενον Dindorf

142 Antiattic. in Bekker, Anecd. Gr. i.85.23

βικος Ίππῶναξ δευτέρφ. Ἡρόδοτος πρώτφ (194).

βίκος pro βίκος Dindorf

138a Photius, Lexicon

βaρεῖa χείρ ('heavy hand'): Hipponax uses it of the right hand.

¹ A surprising gloss. More natural is Hesychius' gloss of the same two words as μιαιφόνος 'bloodthirsty.'

139 Hesychius, Lexicon

βασαγικόρος is used by Hipponax of one who is quick (too quick?) to have sexual intercourse.

¹ The word is not found elsewhere and various emendations have been suggested (see fr. 154 Degani). Some postulate a Lydian origin, comparing fr. 92.1.

140 Anti-Atticist

βατταρίζειν ('to stammer') is found in Hipponax.

 1 For a detailed study of this and related words see O. Masson, ${\it Clotta}~54~(1976)~84\text{-}98.$

141 Hesychius, Lexicon

βεβρενθυμένον meaning 'angry' is found in Hipponax.

¹ Degani (fr. 156) prefers Dindorf's emendation, since only the present and imperfect of this verb are attested elsewhere.

142 Anti-Atticist

 $\beta \hat{i}_{\kappa o s}$ occurs in the second book of Hipponax and the first book of Herodotus.¹

¹ The word, perhaps of Egyptian origin, is used to describe various kinds of containers for liquids or food (see fr. 16 Degani).

143 Diog. Laert. 4.58

γεγόνασι δὲ Βίωνες δέκα . . . δέκατος ἀγαλματοποιὸς Κλαζομένιος ἢ Χίος, οὖ μέμνηται καὶ Ἱππῶναξ.

144 Et. Gen. β 178 = Et. Sym. β 151 (pp. 95-96 Berger) = Et. Mag. 204.28 (hinc Herodian. ii.282.7, 482.32 Lentz) = Zonaras (p. 401 T.)

βόλιτον βόλβιτον δὲ Ἰωνες, οἴ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἱππωναξ, οἷον

βολβίτου κασιγνήτην.

144a Tzetz. Chil. 13.636

καὶ δοῦλος δὲ τῷ ποιητῆ κλῆσιν ὑπῆρχε Βύκκων.

Tzetz. ad loc. (p. 602 Leone)

βύκκων δὲ ὁ βρύχων ἤτοι ὁ ὄνος παρά τε Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' Έφεσον Ίωσι λέγεται.

145 Ath. 9.374e

(δέλφαξ) ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν τοὕνομα τάττει ᾿Αριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς (fr. 520.6 K.-A.) . . . καὶ Ἱππῶναξ δ᾽ ἔφη·

τώς τ Ἐφεσίη δέλφαξ.

 $\mathring{\omega}\sigma\langle\pi\epsilon\rho\rangle$ vel $\mathring{\omega}\varsigma\langle\mathring{a}\nu\rangle$ Meineke, $\mathring{\omega}\varsigma\langle...\rangle$ Έ. Welcker

143 Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers

There were ten named Bion . . . The tenth was a sculptor from Clazomenae or Chios, mentioned by Hipponax.

144 Etymologicum Genuinum, Symeonis, Magnum, Zonaras

βόλιτον: the Ionians, including Hipponax, use the form βόλβιτον, as in

sister of cow manure1

¹ For the figure cf. frr. 48 and 103.10.

144a Tzetzes, Chiliads

And also the poet [Homer] had a slave named Byccon.

Tzetzes ad loc.

βύκκων is used by the Lydians and the Ionians in Ephesus of one who eats greedily(?) or of an ass.¹

1 It is only a possibility that the word occurred in Hipponax.

145 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Aristophanes in *The Broilers* treats $\delta \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \phi \alpha \xi$ as feminine . . . And also Hipponax said:

(like?) an Ephesian sow¹

1 With reference to a woman?

146 Hesych.

έμβάφιον ὀξύβαφον παρ' Ἱππώνακτι.

146a Hesych.

"ἐμπεδης <δὲ> γαμόρος <ἔ>μαρψεν "Αιδης" (Trag. adesp. 208 K.-Sn.). ἔμπεδον ἔλεγον τὸν "Αιδην, ὡς ἱππῶναξ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν πέδω καὶ χθόνιος.

ἀντίον τοῦ οὖν ἐμπέδου χθόνιος cod., corr. West (ἀντὶ iam Heinsius), ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ (vel ῶν) ἐν πέδῳ, χθόνιος Degani (fr. 159)

146b Phot. lex. i.241 Naber

έ<μ>ψίουσα· τροφὰς διδοῦσα χόνδρου, καὶ τὰ ἑψητά. Αἰσχύλος ἐν Τροφοῖς (fr. 246b Radt)· "βιοτὴν αὔξιμον ἐ<μ>ψίουσα." Ἱππῶναξ.

 $\dot{\epsilon}$ ψιοῦσα cod., corr. Lobeck

147 Suet. *de blasph.* (p. 63 Taillardat)
παρ' Ἡππώνακτι δὲ καὶ "ἐπτάδονλος."

Ex eodem fonte Eust. in Hom. *Il.* 8.488 (ii.623.9 V.d.Valk); praecedit Arch. fr. 228

Ίππῶναξ δὲ τὸν τρία ὑπεραναβὰς ἀριθμὸν "ἐπτάδουλον" ἔφη τινά.

146 Hesychius, Lexicon

 ϵ μβάφιον is used by Hipponax¹ of a saucer for vinegar.

 1 Perhaps an error for Hippocrates, since the same gloss appears in Galen, *Lexicon to Hippocrates* (xix.97 Kühn).

146a Hesychius, Lexicon

"Hades the landowner under the earth seized." They called Hades $\xi\mu\pi\epsilon\delta$ os, as did Hipponax, instead of 'in the ground' and 'under the ground.'

146b Photius, Lexicon

 $\vec{\epsilon} \leftarrow \mu \rightarrow \psi i o \nu \sigma \alpha$: giving food consisting of gruel, and what is boiled. Cf. Aeschylus in *Nurses* (of Dionysus): "feeding gruel as growth-promoting sustenance." So Hipponax.¹

1 Presumably only ἐμψιόνσα (or some form of the verb) is to be attributed to Hipponax. The vox nihili ἑψιοῦσα is generally emended on the basis of Hesychius' ἐμψιοῦσα (ἐμψίουσα corr. Lobeck)· ἐρέγματα διδοῦσα, i.e., 'giving crushed grain.'

147 Suetonius, On Defamatory Words

And in Hipponax there is also $\epsilon \pi \tau \acute{a} \delta o \nu \lambda o \varsigma$.

Eustathius on Homer, Iliad

And Hipponax, exceeding the number three, called someone ἐπτάδουλος.

Eust. in Hom. Od. 5.306 (1542.49)

τρίδουλος . . . Ἱππῶναξ δὲ ὑπεραναβὰς τοῦτό φησιν

ἀφέω τοῦτον

τὸν ἐπτάδουλον;

148 Suda i.344.22 Adler

ἄρρεν· καὶ ἀρρενικῶς καὶ ἡμίανδρος καὶ ἡμιγύναιξ καὶ διγενὴς καὶ θηλυδρίας καὶ έρμαφρόδιτος καὶ ἴθρις . . . ΄Ιππῶναξ δὲ ἡμίανδρον, τὸν οἶον ἡμιγύναικα.

148a Pollux 4.169 = 10.113

κύπρον δὲ τὸ οὕτω καλούμενον μέτρον εὕροις ἂν παρ' ᾿Αλκαίω ἐν δευτέρω μελῶν (fr. 417A Voigt). καὶ ἡμίκυπρον παρ' Ἱππώνακτι ἐν τῷ πρώτω τῶν ἰάμβων.

149 Hesych.

θεύτιν (θεῦτιν Bergk, θευτίν Smyth) †σκαράδιν. † Ίπ
- πῶναξ.

Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

 $\tau \rho i \delta o \nu \lambda o s$ ('thrice a slave') . . . and Hipponax, exceeding this, says:

Am I to excuse this sevenfold slave?1

¹ Since this sentence occurs in Herodas 5.74, some consider Hipponax an error for Herodas, but it is possible that Hipponax also used the word $\epsilon \pi \tau \hat{\alpha} \delta o \nu \lambda o s$.

148 Suda

male: and in the manner of a male and half-man and halfwoman and of doubtful sex and effeminate and hermaphrodite and eunuch . . . and Hipponax calls

half-man

one who is, as it were, half-woman.

148a Pollux, Vocabulary

You can find the measure called 'cyprus' in the second book of Alcaeus' lyric poems, the

half-cyprus

in the first book of Hipponax's iambics.1

¹ The 'cyprus' is said to have been a grain measure used by those in the Pontic area. Hesychius s.v. $\dot{\eta}\mu\dot{\iota}\kappa\nu\pi\rho\rho\nu$ defines it as half a medimnus, i.e., about 25 litres as an Attic measure.

149 Hesychius, Lexicon

A corrupt gloss on the word for 'squid.'

150 Pollux 10.184

κάνναι δὲ πλεγμάτιόν τι ἐστίν . . . , τὸν μέντοι ταύτας πλέκοντα †καννηνοποιὸν† Ἱππῶναξ κέκληκεν.

ita CLB, καννακοποιὸν Α, ὁ ποιῶν FS, κανητοποιὸν Bergk

151a 'Diogen.' 5.69 (*Paroem. Gr.* i.264.13 L.-S.)

Κωδάλου χοινιξ· ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλοις μέτροις κεχρη-μένων.

151b Erotian. fr. 17 (p. 103 Nachmanson)

κοχώνην οἱ μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν, οἱ δὲ τὰς κοτύλας τῶν ἰσχίων, ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν ᾿Αριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός (fr. 341 Slater). Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἰσχόμαχος καὶ Ἱππῶναξ τὰ ἰσχία.

152 Hesych.

κραδησίτης φαρμακός, ὁ ταῖς κράδαις βαλλόμενος.

150 Pollux, Vocabulary

κάνναι are a kind of wickerwork . . . Hipponax called one who plaits them a

maker of reed mats1

¹ The precise form of the word is uncertain, but the meaning is reasonably clear.

151a Pseudo-Diogenianus, Proverbs

A 'choenix' of Codalus: 1 of those who use large measures.

 $^1\,\mathrm{A}$ 'choenix' was a dry measure, 1/48 of an Attic medimnus (see n. on fr. 148a). Codalus is named in fr. 118e, but that is no guarantee that the proverb was used by Hipponax.

151b Erotian, Lexicon on Hippocrates

Some take $\kappa o \chi \acute{\omega} \nu \eta$ to mean the tail bone, others (among them Aristophanes the grammarian) the sockets of the hip joints. Glaucias, Ischomachus and Hipponax¹ take it to mean the haunches.

¹ Almost certainly not the poet. Perhaps the grammarian mentioned by Athenaeus 11.480f or an error for the medical writer Hippon (see Degani's edition p. 186).

152 Hesychius, *Lexicon*

κραδησίτης: scapegoat, one struck by fig branches.1

 $^{\rm 1}$ Attribution to Hipponax is suggested by frr. 5, 6, 9, 92.4 and 92.7.

153 Ps.-Plut. de musica 8.1133f

καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὄν φησιν Ἱππῶναξ Μίμνερμον αὐλῆσαι. ἐν ἀρχῆ γὰρ ἐλεγεῖα μεμελοποιημένα οἱ αὐλῳδοὶ ἦδον.

Hesych.

κραδίης νόμος νόμον τινὰ ἐπαυλοῦσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις φαρμακοῖς, κράδαις καὶ θρίοις ἐπιραβδιζομένοις.

154 Prisc. Inst. 7.7 (ii.289.5 Keil)

nec mirum, cum Graecorum quoque poetae similiter inveniantur protulisse vocativos in supra dicta terminatione. ἀνακρέων· ἥλιε καλλιλαμπέτη (fr. 451 PMG) posuit pro καλλιλαμπέτα. Ἱππῶναξ·

εύηθες κρίτη

pro κρίτα.

ευητες, ευντες, ευγες, ειτνετες, ειγνετες codd., corr. Krehl καριτη et καριτα codd., corr. Putschen

155 Herodian. π . καθολ. προσφδ. in cod. Vind. hist. gr. 10 f. 5 $^{\circ}$ (ed. H. Hunger, JÖByzG 16 [1967] 23)

κρεκύδειλος ὄνομα προπαροξύνεται ἐπὶ τοῦ (σαύ)ρου τιθέμενον παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσιν, ὥσπερ παρ᾽ Ἱππώνακτι

153 Pseudo-Plutarch, On Music

And there is also another ancient melody called Cradias, which Hipponax says Mimnermus performed on the pipe. For in the beginning singers to the pipe sang elegies set to music.

Hesychius, Lexicon

κραδίης νόμος: a melody they pipe over those escorted out as scapegoats, whipped with fig branches and fig leaves.

1 Literally, 'melody of the fig branch.'

154 Priscian, Grammar

Nor is it surprising, since Greek poets are also found to lengthen vocatives in the same way with the above-mentioned termination. Cf. Anacreon: "fair-shining sun," with $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \lambda \alpha \mu \pi \acute{\epsilon} \tau \eta$ instead of $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \lambda \alpha \mu \pi \acute{\epsilon} \tau a$. Cf. Hipponax:

simple-minded judge, with $\kappa\rho i\tau\eta$ for $\kappa\rho i\tau a$.

155 Herodian, On General Accentuation

The noun κρεκύδειλος, applied to the lizard by the Ionians as by Hipponax, has the proparoxytone accent:

κατέπιεν ὥσπερ κρεκύδειλος ἐν λαύρη.

(Herod.) του τ. . (.)ρου τιθεμενου cod., suppl. et corr. West (Hipp.) κατέπιεν West, κατε \hat{i} ρπεν (= καθε \hat{i} ρπεν) Tsopanakis κερκύδιλος West (metri causa)

155a Pergit Herodianus

καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις.

η κρεκύδειλον η πίθηκον.

κερκύδιλον West (metri causa)

155b Pergit Herodianus

προπερισπᾶται τὸ Κασμῖλος παρ' Ἱππώνακτι . . . τοιοῦτο (-φ cod., corr. West) δὲ καὶ τὸ Καδμῖλος·

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὸν Καδμῖλον

156 Tzetz. in Lyc. 1170 (p. 339.15 Scheer), "στερρ $\grave{\alpha}\nu$ κύβηλιν"

ό Ἱππῶναξ Κύβηλιν τὴν Ῥέαν λέγει, παρὰ τὸ ἐν Κυβέλλα πόλει Φρυγίας τιμᾶσθαι.

156a Hesych.

κυλλήβην· †κολοβόντα. οἱ δὲ κέρατα κολόβια† παρ' Ἱππώνακτι

cf. eundem κυληβίς· κολοβή ·

drank like a lizard in a privy1

¹ So West (cf. fr. 61) who assumes the lizard is drinking urine (*Studies* 149), but such a simile does not seem very appropriate.

155a Herodian continues

And elsewhere:

either a lizard or an ape

155b Herodian continues

Kασ μ îλος has a circumflex on the penultimate syllable in Hipponax . . . So too Kαδ μ îλος:

no, by Cadmilus1

 1 Ascription to Hipponax is uncertain, but Herodian may have found both spellings (K $a\sigma$ - and K $a\delta$ -) in the source he was using. For these and other spellings see Pfeiffer on Callim, fr. 723. The figure is often identified with Hermes and associated with the mysteries at Samothrace.

156 Tzetzes on Lycophron, "hard axe"

Hipponax calls Rhea Cybelis, from her being honoured in Cybella, a city in Phrygia.

¹ It is possible that Tzetzes was misled by Lycophron's κύβηλιν ('axe') to record Κύβηλιν rather than Κυβελίν. Both spellings are attested (see fr. 167 Degani).

156a Hesychius, Lexicon

A highly corrupt gloss on an unknown word which may itself be corrupt. A reference to docked horns is possible.

157 Schol. Nic. Alex. 465b (p. 163 Geymonat), "λαγοῖο" τοῦ θαλασσίου λαγωοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἶδος ἰχθύος, καὶ Ἱππῶναξ μνημονεύει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀσθένειαν ἀφρῷ παραπλήσιος, μέλας δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, θανάσιμος δὲ βρωθείς.

158 Epim. in Hom., p. 473.71 Dyck (hinc Lentz, Herodian. i.108.6)

τὸ λαὸς ἄτρεπτος ἔμεινε παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, καίτοι τῆ μεταγενεστέρᾳ Ἰάδι τραπέν

ληὸν ἀθρήσας.

 $\Pi \pi \hat{\omega} \nu \alpha \xi$.

159 Cyril. lex., Anecd. Par. iv.185.30 Cramer (cf. W. Bühler, Hermes 96 [1968] 233 n. 2)

λὶς ὁ λέων, καὶ λιὸς ἡ γενική, ὡς κίς, κιός, ὡς Ἱπ π ῶναξ.

160 Hesych.

μαυλιστήριον παρ' Ἱππώνακτι, Λύδιον †λέμισμα† λεπτόν τι.

νόμισμα Palmerius

157 Scholiast on Nicander, Alexipharmaca ("hare")

The sea hare, which is a kind of fish. Hipponax mentions it. It has the weakness of foam, is dark in appearance, and deadly when eaten.

 $^{1}\,\text{Hipponax}$ would have used some form of $\lambda\alpha\gamma\delta\varsigma$ (cf. fr. 26a.1).

158 Homeric Parsings

The word $\lambda \alpha \delta s$ did not undergo change (i.e., to $\lambda \eta \delta s$) in Homer, but in later Ionic it did. Cf. Hipponax:

looking at the people

159 Cyril, Lexicon

 λ ίς = λ έω ν ('lion') and the genitive is λ ιός, like κ ίς ('wee-vil'), genitive κ ιός, as in Hipponax.¹

 $^{\rm 1}$ It is unclear which word was used by Hipponax, or in which case.

160 Hesychius, Lexicon

μαυλιστήριον: in Hipponax. It is a Lydian coin(?) of little value.¹

 1 μανλιστήριον can also mean 'brothel,' but here it seems to be 'prostitute's fee.' Good discussion in Masson's edition (pp. 178 f.).

161 Tzetz. exeg. Il. (v. ad fr. 72.5)
μεταρμόσας

162 Pollux 2.188

γόνατος δὲ τὸ μὲν τῷ τοῦ μηροῦ τέλει συνηρμοσμένον κνήμης κεφαλή, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπικείμενον πλατὺ καὶ περιφερὲς ὀστοῦν, ὥσπερ φράγμα τοῦ γόνατος, ἐπιγονατίς τε καὶ κόγχη καὶ κόγχος καὶ μύλη, κατὰ δὲ Ἱπποκράτην (μοχλ. Ι, ii.245.13 Kühlewein) ἐπιμυλίς, κατὰ δὲ Ἱππώνακτα μυλακρίς.

163 Pollux 4.79

τὸ δὲ νηνίατον (sc. μέλος) ἔστι μὲν Φρύγιον, Ἱππῶναξ δὲ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει.

164 Tzetz. in Lyc. 1162 (p. 338.19 Scheer)

τὸ δὲ "παπταλώμεναι" ἀδεία Λυκοφρονεία ἐλέχθη. Ἱππώνακτος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ λέξις, καὶ δηλοῖ τὸ περιβλέπουσαι ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος παμφαλῆσαι τὸ ἰδεῖν λέγει, οὐ παπταλῆσαι ὥσπερ νῦν φησιν οὖτος.

Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.123-129e, " $\pi\delta\lambda\lambda$ ' έπιπαμφαλό
<ωντες>

πολλὰ ἐπιβλέποντες καὶ μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ· παμφαλᾶν γὰρ τὸ μετὰ πτοιήσεως ἐπιβλέπειν. κέχρηται δὲ τἢ λέξει καὶ Ἱππῶναξ καὶ ἀνακρέων (fr. 482 PMG).

161 Tzetzes, Commentary on Iliad μεταρμόσας (for μεθαρμόσας)

making a change¹

 $^{\rm l}$ It is not clear from Tzetzes whether he found the word in Hipponax.

162 Pollux, Vocabulary

The part of the knee that is joined to the end of the thigh bone is the top of the shin bone, and the part that lies outside is a broad and curved bone, a defence as it were for the knee, the knee cap, called $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \nu \lambda \iota s$ by Hippocrates, $\mu \nu \lambda \alpha \kappa \rho \iota s$ by Hipponax.

163 Pollux, Vocabulary

The $\nu\eta\nu i\alpha\tau$ os song, mentioned by Hipponax, is Phrygian.

 1 Presumably a dirge in view of the Latin nenia. See J. A. C. Greppin, $AJP\ 108\ (1987)\ 487-90.$

164 Tzetzes on Lycophron

παπταλώμεναι was said by Lycophron with his typical excess. For the word occurs in Hipponax and means 'to look around,' but he used $\pi \alpha \mu \phi a \lambda \hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota$ 'to see,' not $\pi \alpha \pi \tau a \lambda \hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota$ as Lycophron now does.

Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes ("often glancing over")

Often looking at in an ecstatic manner. For $\pi \alpha \mu \phi \alpha \lambda \hat{a} \nu$ means 'to gaze excitedly.' Hipponax and Anacreon used the word.

165 Phot. lex. ii.137 Naber

ρυφείν τὸ ροφείν Ίωνες, οὕτως Ἱππῶναξ.

165a Et. Gud. i.199.16 de Stefani

άρμαλιά . . . ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἴρω . . . ὡς δὲ καθαίρω καθαρμός, σαίρω σαρμός παρὰ Ἱππώνακτι.

165b Ar. Pax 481-483

έλκουσιν δ' όμως / γλισχρότατα σαρκάζοντες ὥσπερ κυνίδια. /—ὑπὸ τοῦ γε λιμοῦ νὴ Δί' ἐξολωλότες.

Schol. ad loc. (pp. 78 sq. Holwerda)

σαρκάζοντες ήτοι έξισχνούμενοι καὶ ήτονηκότες καὶ διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἕλκοντες μόλις . . . καλῶς δ' ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτο τηρῆσαι πρὸς τὸ Ἱππωνάκτειον οὕτως ἔχον,

†σαρκοκύων λιμόν

οὐ γάρ ἐστι τῶν σαρκῶν, ὥσπερ ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων τινές παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν εἴη αὐτὸ ὑπεναντίον ἑαυτῷ. ἔργον γὰρ τοῦ λιμοῦ οὐ σάρκας ἐμποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἀπισχνοῦν τὰ σώματα καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν παραιρεῖσθαι τὸν ὄγκον.

σαρκῶν . . . <ώς> κύων λιμῷ tent. West

165 Photius, Lexicon

 $\dot{\rho}υ\phi\epsilon \hat{\iota}\nu$: Ionic for $\dot{\rho}ο\phi\epsilon \hat{\iota}\nu$ ('to gulp down'). So Hipponax.

165a Etymologicum Gudianum

άρμαλιά ('food') . . . Or from αἴρω ('raise up') . . . like $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha \rho \mu \delta s$ from $\kappa \alpha \theta \alpha i \rho \omega$, and $\sigma \alpha \rho \mu \delta s$ ('sweepings') in Hipponax from $\sigma \alpha i \rho \omega$ ('sweep').

165b Aristophanes, Peace

"And yet they are pulling with much tenacity, their mouths open like puppies."—"Yes, by Zeus, because they are perishing from hunger."

Scholiast on the passage

 σ αρκάζοντες: i.e., wasting away and exhausted and pulling with difficulty because of hunger . . . And one can clearly see that this is the meaning from Hipponax,

... hunger

For it is not from the word for flesh $(\sigma \acute{a}\rho \kappa o_{s})$, as some commentators claim. This would give exactly the opposite meaning, since the action of hunger is not to produce flesh, but the opposite, i.e., to dry out the body and to reduce the size of the flesh.¹

¹ It seems from the scholiast that Hipponax used a form of σ αρκάω (not σ αρκόω 'to make fleshy'), but it is unlikely that it could mean 'waste away.' Another scholiast on the passage explains σ αρκάζοντες as ὑποσεσηρότες ('open-mouthed') and Hesychius glosses σ αρκῶν in a similar way (σ εσηρώς).

166 Ath. 7.324a; hine Eust. in Hom. \it{Il} . 23.31 (iv.676.16 V.d.Valk)

Ίππώνακτος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις εἰπόντος

σηπίης ὑπόσφαγμα,

οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τὸ τῆς σηπίας μέλαν ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὑπόσφαγμα, ὡς Ἐρασίστρατός φησιν ἐν Ὁψαρτυτικῷ, ὑπότριμμα.

167 Eust. in Hom. Od. 17.455 (1828.9); v. ad Arch. fr. 250 συκοτραγίδης

168 Ath. 2.69d

Ίππώνακτα δὲ τετρακίνην τὴν θρίδακα καλεῖν Πάμφιλος ἐν Γλώσσαις φησί (fr. xxxiv Schmidt), Κλείταρχος δὲ Φρύγας οὕτω καλεῖν.

169 Ath. 7.327b

(ὕκης) Έρμιππος δὲ ὁ Σμυρναῖος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἱππώνακτος (fr. 93 Wehrli) ὕκην ἀκούει τὴν ἰουλίδα εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν δυσθήρατον, διὸ καὶ Φιλίταν φάναι "οὐδ' ὕκης ἰχθὺς ἔσχατος ἐξέφυγε" (fr. 20 Powell).

166 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

When Hipponax in his iambics spoke of

the cuttle fish's ὑπόσφαγμα,

commentators explained $\imath \pi \delta \sigma \phi \alpha \gamma \mu a$ as the cuttle fish's ink. But, as Erasistratus says in his Cookbook, it is a kind of stew.¹

 1 Athenaeus goes on to cite Erasistratus' explanation of ὑπόσφαγμα as a mixture of cooked meat, blood, honey, cheese, salt, cummin, silphium, and vinegar.

167 Eustathius on Homer, Odyssey

son of a fig eater1

¹ See note on Arch. fr. 250.

168 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Pamphilus in his *Glosses* says that Hipponax called lettuce $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho a \kappa i \nu \eta$, and Clitarchus says that it was a word used by the Phrygians.

169 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Hermippus of Smyrna in his *On Hipponax* understands $""" \kappa \eta s^1$ to be the rainbow wrasse. He says that it is hard to catch, as a result of which Philitas says: "not even the last *hyces* fish escaped."

 $^{\rm I}$ It is a reasonable assumption that the word occurred in Hipponax.

170 Schol. Plat. Lys. 206e (p. 457 Greene)
φορμίον δὲ πλέγμα τι ψιαθώδες παρ' 'Ιππώνακτι.

171 Pollux 2.152 (de compositis a χειρο-)

χειροπέδας 'Ηρόδοτος ('Ηρώδας Bossi) εἴρηκεν, 'Ιππῶναξ δὲ χειρόχωλον τὸν τὴν χεῖρα πεπηρωμένον.

172 *Suda* iv.797.10 Adler

χελιδόνων φάρμακον.

παρ' Ίππώνακτι τὸ φίλτρον τὸ διαπινόμενον (διαγινόμενον cod., corr. Degani) ἐπειδὰν χελιδόνα πρῶτόν τις ἴδη.

172a Cyril. lex. in cod. Matr. Univ. Z-22.116 (cf. M. Naoumides, GRBS 9 [1968] 276)

χιλιάγρα ζωύφιον, ώς Ἱππῶναξ, καὶ νόμισμα.

173 Pollux 10.99

έν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἱππώνακτος ἰάμβων εἴρηται χυτροπόδιον, ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ (Op. 748) "μηδ' ἀπὸ χυτροπόδων ἀνεπιρρέκτων ἀνελόντα." ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔτερόν τι δηλοῖ.

170 Scholiast on Plato, Lysis ϕ ορμίον is a plaited rush mat in Hipponax.

171 Pollux, Vocabulary (on compounds of $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho o$ 'hand')

Herodotus (Herodas?) used the word 'handcuffs' and Hipponax used $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\delta\chi\omega\lambda$ os of one whose hand is maimed.

172 Suda

a remedy against swallows

In Hipponax the charm that is drunk whenever the first swallow is seen.¹

¹ Perhaps because the sight of a swallow could portend misfortune. So Degani, *Studi* 287-89, who discusses the passage in detail.

172a Cyril, Lexicon

χιλιάγρα: a little animal, 1 as in Hipponax, and a coin.

¹ If the word means literally 'with a thousand claws,' Naoumides' identification with the centipede is appropriate.

173 Pollux, Vocabulary

In the first book of Hipponax's iambics $\chi \nu \tau \rho \sigma \pi \delta \delta \iota \sigma \nu^1$ ('little pot') is mentioned, as in Hesiod, "and do not take from unconsecrated pots." But this signifies something different.²

 1 In Hipponax the form would be κυθροπόδιον (so Renner), as in fr. 29a. 2 I.e., different from the other meaning of the word, 'stand for a pot.'

174 Tzetz. in Ar. *Ran.* 516 (p. 840.7 Koster), "κἄρτι παρατετιλμέναι"

νεοξυρείς τον δορίαλον, το {ν} μύρτον, τον χοίρον, τον κύσθον, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ὁ Σώφρων καὶ ὁ Ἱππῶναξ καὶ ἔτεροι λέγουσι.

175-181 Metra Varia

175 Hephaest. *Ench.* 10.2 (p. 32.18 Consbruch)

δίμετρον δὲ ὑπερκατάληκτον (ἀντισπαστικὸν) τὸ καλούμενον Σαπφικὸν ἐννεασύλλαβον ἢ Ἱππωνάκτειον, οἷον

καὶ κνίση τινὰ θυμιήσας.

176 Mar. Plot. Sac. ars gramm. 3.4 (vi.523.3 Keil)

duplex clodum hipponactium trimetrum acatalectum fit hoc modo, cum tertii pedis quattuor syllabae sint longae, ut est exemplum hoc:

174 Tzetzes on Aristophanes, Frogs ("freshly depilated") Newly shaved as to the $\delta o \rho i a \lambda o s$, 1 $\mu i \rho \tau o \nu$, $\chi o \hat{\imath} \rho o s$, $\kappa \dot{\nu} \sigma \theta o s$, 2 and all such expressions used by Sophron, Hipponax, 3 and others.

 1 The spelling given by the source (other spellings are $\delta o \rho i a \lambda \lambda o s, \, \delta o \rho i a \lambda \lambda o s, \, \delta \delta \rho \iota \lambda \lambda o s). <math display="inline">^2$ All four words are colloquialisms for the vagina. 3 None of these words is found in the remains of Sophron and it is unclear whether Tzetzes meant that they were all found in Hipponax.

175-181 Various Meters

These fragments are cited as examples of Hipponactean meters, but those cited in Greek need not be actual quotations from Hipponax. For frr. 178-181 I merely reproduce the metrical schemes deduced by West from the sources.

175 Hephaestion, Handbook of Meters

And the (antispastic) dimeter hypercatalectic called Sapphic nine-syllable or Hipponactean, such as

and fumigating someone with the steam from burnt fat^1

¹ Translation uncertain because of the fragment's brevity and lack of context.

176 Marius Plotius Sacerdos, Grammar

The doubly lame hipponactean trimeter acatalectic¹ is composed in this way, since the four syllables of the third foot are long, as in this example:

†αναβιος† πλάνητι προσπταίων κώλω.

αναβιοσπδδνητιρροσπταιωνκωλω Α, αναβιοσιταδηντιρροσπιλιονκωλω Β ἀνόλβιος πλάνητι Bergk, προσπταίων Putschen

177 Mar. Plot. Sac. ars gramm. 3.4 (vi.525.5 Keil)

tetrametrum clodum brachycatalectum, quod et episcazon trimetrum nuncupatur, fit hoc modo, cum quartus pes debens esse tetrasyllabus duas habeat syllabas, ideo brachycatalectus; clodus propterea, quod ipsum pedem novissimum disyllabum debens habere iambum habeat spondeum:

Έρμη μάκαρ, <δς καὶ> κάτυπνον οἶδας ἐγρήσσειν.

 $\mbox{\os}\ \kappa a \mbox{\idisplayskip} \times \mbox{\os}\ \kappa a \mbox{\idisplayskip} \times \mbox{\os}\ \kappa a \mbox{\os}\ \times \mbox{\os}\ \times \mbox{\oskip} \times \mbox{\osk$

178 Servius (iv.458.18 Keil)

179 Servius (iv.464.5 Keil)

180 Marius Plotius Sacerdos (vi.523.10 Keil)

181 Marius Plotius Sacerdos (vi.540.12 Keil)

... stumbling with wandering foot

¹ The so-called ischiorrhogic, but the diphthong of $\pi \rho o \sigma \pi$ - $\tau a i \omega \nu$ may be short by correption.

177 Marius Plotius Sacerdos, Grammar

The brachycatalectic lame tetrameter, which is also called the episcazon (limping) trimeter, is composed in this way, since the fourth foot which ought to have four syllables has two, i.e., is brachycatalectic; it is lame because it has a spondee in the last foot when it ought to have an iambus:

Blessed Hermes, (you who) know how to awake¹ the sleeper

 1 If ἐγρήσσειν here has a unique transitive force. Perhaps the poet went on to state 'and to put to sleep the wakeful,' as in *Iliad* 24.343 f.

182 Stob. 4.22.123/124 = Arsenius, *Paroem. Gr.* ii.338.29 L.-S.

Ίππώνακτος.

γάμος κράτιστός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ σώφρονι τρόπον γυναικὸς χρηστὸν ἔδνον λαμβάνειν αὕτη γὰρ ἡ προὶξ οἰκίαν σῷζει μόνη. ὅστις δὲ †τρυφερῶς† τὴν γυναῖκ' ἄγει λαβών <

συνεργὸν οὖτος ἀντὶ δεσποίνης ἔχει εὖνουν, βεβαίαν εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν βίον.

2 ἔνδον codd., corr. Haupt 4 τρυφερὰν Bergk, τρυφῶσαν (δὲ deleto) Meineke lac. post v. 4 posuit Meineke

183 Choerob. ad Hephaest. 3.1 (p. 214.8 Consbruch)

Ἰαμβος . . . εἴρηται ἤτοι ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τῆς Κελεοῦ θεραπαίνης, ἤτις τὴν Δήμητρα λυπουμένην ἤνάγκασε γελάσαι γέλοιόν τι εἰποῦσα, τῷ ῥυθμῷ τούτου τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτομάτως χρησαμένη. ἢ ἀπὸ Ἰάμβης τινὸς ἑτέρας, γραός, ἢ Ἱππῶναξ ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔρια πλυνούση συντυχὼν ἤκουσε τῆς σκάφης ἐφαψάμενος, ἐφ' ἦς ἔπλυνεν ἡ γραῦς,

ἄνθρωπ², ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις.

καὶ συλλαβών τὸ ἡηθὲν οὕτως ὧνόμασε τὸ μέτρον.

HIPPONAX

182 Stobaeus, Anthology

From Hipponax:1

The best marriage for a sensible man is to get a woman's good character as a wedding gift; for this dowry alone preserves the household. But (and?) whoever gets and marries(?) a spoiled(?) wife, . . . he has a well-disposed helpmate instead of a tyrant, steadfast for ever.

¹ Almost all have rightly treated these verses as spurious. Meter and language suggest a poet of New Comedy, perhaps one whose name resembled that of Hipponax.

183 Choeroboscus on Hesphaestion

Iambus . . . derived its name either from Iambe, Celeus' maidservant, who compelled the grieving Demeter to laugh by saying something in jest and spontaneously using the rhythm of this meter, or from some other Iambe, an old woman, whom Hipponax the iambic poet met as she was washing wool by the sea and heard her say, as he touched the trough at which the old woman was washing,

Sir, be gone, you are upsetting the trough.

And grasping what had been said he named the meter after

ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τοῦ χωλιάμβου τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἀναφέρουσι, γράφοντες τὸ τέλος τοῦ στίχου

τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέψεις.

HIPPONAX

her. But others refer this narrative to the choliambus, writing as the end of the line

you will upset the trough.1

 1 C. G. Brown, Hermes 116 (1988) 478-81, and R. M. Rosen, AJP 109 (1988) 174-79, have shown that the verse, in either its iambic or choliambic form, could have come from a poem of Hipponax, perhaps containing a poetic initiation scene (cf. Arch. test. 3). R. L. Fowler, ICS 15 (1990) 1-22, adds two more (partially corrupt) verses from the MS cited by Consbruch on p. 214. For other testimonia in which the verse is cited see 21a-d in Degani's edition.

ANANIUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Tzetz. in Lyc. (ii.18 Scheer)

ἀριπρεπεῖς δὲ ἰαμβογράφοι ἀνανίας, ἀρχίλοχος, Ἱππῶναξ.

2 Tractatus Harleianus (p. 16 Studemund)

τὸ οὖν παλαιὸν ἰαμβικὸν διαιρεῖται εἰς τὸ κωμικόν, τὸ τραγικόν, τὸ σατυρικόν, τὸ Ἱππωνάκτειον τὸ καὶ χωλόν, τὸ τοῦ ἀνανίου τὸ καὶ ἰσχιορρωγικόν . . . τοῦ δὲ Ἱππωνακτείου (sc. γνώρισμα) τὸ δέχεσθαι ἐν τῆ ἔκτη χώρα σπονδεῖον ἢ τροχαῖον διὸ καὶ χωλαίνειν δοκεῖ κατὰ τὴν βάσιν, ὑπερκατάληκτον ταύτην ἔχον. τοῦ δὲ ἀνανίου τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ποδὸς μέχρι τέλους πέντε συλλαβὰς ἔχειν καὶ ταύτας μακράς. διὸ καὶ ἰσχιορρωγικὸν ὁ στίχος οὖτος λέγεται διὰ τὸ μὴ

ANANIUS

TESTIMONIA

1 Tzetzes on Lycophron

The most distinguished iambic writers are Ananius, ¹ Archilochus and Hipponax.

 1 Only Tzetzes and the source for fr. 1 record $^{\prime}A\nu\alpha\nui\alpha_{3}$ rather than $^{\prime}A\nu\dot{\alpha}\nu\iota\alpha_{5}$ as the poet's name and the latter has been adopted throughout in my translation. The spelling $^{\prime}A\nu\alpha\nui\alpha_{5}$ may have resulted from an erroneous interpretation of the genitive $^{\prime}A\nu\alpha\nui\alpha_{5}$ or been influenced by the New Testament where there are three named Ananias. Tzetzes is the only source to include Ananius instead of Semonides as one of the three early iambographers.

2 Anonymous Grammarian

The iambic meter of old is divided into comic, tragic, satyric, Hipponactean which is also called 'lame,' that of Ananius which is also called 'broken-hipped' . . . The admittance of a spondee or trochee in the sixth position is the mark of the Hipponactean, and therefore it seems to be lame in its movement, since this is hypercatalectic. The mark of Ananius is the presence of five long syllables from the fourth foot to the end, and therefore this line is called ischiorrhogic ('broken-hipped') because it does not suffer

κατὰ τὸ τέλος πάσχειν τὴν χώλανσιν, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἱππώνακτος, ἀλλ' ἀνωτέρω ἀπὸ τῆς τετάρτης χώρας.

FRAGMENTA

1-4 Trimetri

1

"Απολλον, ὅς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις ἢ Νάξον ἢ Μίλητον ἢ θείην Κλάρον, ἵκεο καθ' ἱρὸν ἢ Σκύθας ἀφίξεαι.

cf. Tzetz. in Ar. Ran. 659a (p. 874 Koster)

2 θείαν codd., corr. Meineke 3 ἴκου codd., corr. Meineke ἱέρ' cod. V, ἱερὸν Θ, ἱερῶν Τzetzes, ἱρὸν Degani

Ar. Ran. 659-61

ΔΙΟΝ. Ἄπολλον—ὅς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις. ΕΛ. ἤλγησεν οὐκ ἤκουσας; ΔΙΟΝ. οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἐπεὶ ἴαμβον Ἱππώνακτος ἀνεμιμνησκόμην.

502

ANANIUS

lameness at the end, as does the line of Hipponax, but farther back from the fourth position.²

¹ The term should mean that the line contains an extra syllable at the end, but that makes little sense here.

² Similar comments are made by Tzetzes, On Metres (Anecd. Ox. iii.309 Cramer). Of the nine iambic trimeters of Ananius that are extant, three (fr. 1) are pure iambic, three are lame (choliambic), and three are ischiorrhogic (fr. 2 and fr. 3.2-3). Of the many more trimeters of Hipponax about 15 are ischiorrhogic and about 10 pure. It seems, therefore, that Ananius was in fact fonder of the ischiorrhogic than Hipponax. A dispute whether Hipponax or Ananius invented the choliambic is recorded in Hipp. test. 13.

FRAGMENTS

1-4 Trimeters

1

Apollo, you who are perhaps residing in Delos or Pytho or Naxos or Miletus or holy Clarus, come to your temple or you will end up among the Scythians.

Aristophanes, Frogs

Dionysus. Apollo—you who are perhaps residing in Delos or Pytho.

Xanthus. He felt pain. Didn't you hear?

Dionysus. It wasn't I, since I was recalling an iambic line of Hipponax.

Schol, ad loc.

ώς ἀλγήσας καὶ συγκεχυμένος οὐκ οἶδε τί λέγει, ἐπεὶ οὐχ Ἱππώνακτος ἀλλ' ἀνανίου. ἐπιφέρει δὲ ὁ ἀνανίας αὐτῷ· "ἢ Νάξον—ἀφίξεαι."

2 Ath. 14.625c

φασὶ δὲ Πύθερμον τὸν Τήιον ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἁρμονίας {αὐτοῦ} τούτῳ ποιῆσαι σκολιὰ (σκαιὰ codd., corr. Casaubon) μέλη, καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἰωνικὸν Ἰαστὶ κληθῆναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν. οὖτός ἐστι Πύθερμος οὖ μνημονεύει ἀνάνιος ‹ἢ> Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις· «——". καὶ> ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως·

χρυσὸν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τἆλλα.

λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Πύθερμος (fr. 910 PMG) "οὐδὲν ἢν ἄρα τἆλλα πλὴν ὁ χρυσός."

ANANIUS

Scholia on the passage

Because of his pain and confusion he doesn't know what he is saying, since the line is not from Hipponax but from Ananius.⁴ And Ananius adds to it (vv. 2-3).

 $^{\rm I}$ All important places where Apollo was worshipped. For the purpose of such lists see A. W. Bulloch, Callimachus, The Fifth Hymn (Cambridge 1985) 167. $^{\rm 2}$ The words "to your temple or" translate a text that is far from certain. $^{\rm 3}$ Perhaps a jocular reference to the risk of being scalped by the Scythians. $^{\rm 4}$ West (ad loc.) suggests that the confusion may have arisen from the poems of Ananius being included in a collection of the works of Hipponax, a much more famous and apparently more prolific poet. There is a similar confusion in frr. 2 and 3.

2 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

They say that Pythermus of Teos composed lyric scolia in this kind of tuning and that it was called Ionian because the poet came from Ionia. This is the Pythermus whom Ananius or Hipponax¹ mentions in iambics: <citation lost>. And in another passage as follows:

Pythermus says of gold that everything else is nothing.

And Pythermus' words² are as follows: "everything else after all is nothing except for gold."

 $^{\rm 1}$ See n. 4 on fr. 1. $^{\rm 2}$ No other citation of Pythermus has been preserved.

3 Ath. 3.78f

καὶ ἀνάνιος δὲ ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς ἔφη·

εἴ τις καθείρξαι χρυσον ἐν δόμοις πολὺν καὶ σῦκα βαιὰ καὶ δύ ἢ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους, γνοίη χ' ὅσφ τὰ σῦκα τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρέσσω.

cf. Stob. 4.33.12

1 καθείρξει Stob. 3 γνώη σχάσοντας Stob., unde γνοίης χ' ὅσον τὰ Schneidewin, fort. recte

4 Ath. 9.370b

καὶ ἀνάνιος δέ φησι

καὶ σὲ πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ φιλέω μάλιστα, ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην.

Tetrametri

5 Ath. 7.282ab

ἀνθίας· κάλλιχθυς. τούτου μέμνηται Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἦβας γάμφ (fr. 38 Kaibel)· "καὶ σκιφίας χρόμιός θ', <δς> ἐν τῷ ἦρι καττὸν ἀνάνιον / ἰχθύων πάντων ἄριστος, ἀνθίας δὲ χείματι." λέγει δὲ ἀνάνιος οὕτως·

ἔαρι μὲν χρόμιος ἄριστος, ἀνθίης δὲ χειμῶνι·
τῶν καλῶν δ' ὄψων ἄριστον καρὶς ἐκ συκέης φύλλου.
ἡδὺ δ' ἐσθίειν χιμαίρης φθινοπωρισμῷ κρέας·

ANANIUS

3 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And the iambic poet Ananius said:

If one were to shut up in a room much gold, a few figs, and two or three people, he would recognize how much superior figs are to gold.¹

¹ Some assume, perhaps rightly, that frr. 2 and 3 came from the same poem. For the general thought of fr. 3 cf. Achaeus fr. 25 Snell: "barley-bread is worth more to a hungry man than gold and ivory." Stobaeus assigns the fragment to Hipponax. See n. 4 on fr. 1.

4 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And Ananius says:

I love you by far the most of all people, by the cabbage¹

¹ For what precedes see on Hipponax fr. 104.47-49.

Trochaic Tetrameters

5 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

Anthias¹ or beauty fish. Epicharmus mentions this in *The Marriage of Hebe*: "and skiphias and chromios, which according to Ananius is the best of all fish in spring, whereas the anthias is best in winter." And Ananius speaks as follows:

In spring the chromios is best, in winter the anthias, but the best of fine delicacies is karis taken from² a fig leaf. Sweet it is to eat the flesh of a she-goat in

δέλφακος δ' ὅταν τραπέωσιν καὶ πατέωσιν ἐσθίειν, καὶ κυνῶν αὐτὴ τόθ' ὥρη καὶ λαγῶν κἀλωπέκων. οἰὸς αὖθ', ὅταν θέρος τ' ἢ κἠχέται βαβράζωσιν· εἶτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης θύννος, οὐ κακὸν βρῶμα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἰχθύεσσιν ἐμπρεπὴς ἐν μυσσωτῷ. βοῦς δὲ πιανθείς, δοκέω μέν, καὶ μεσέων νυκτῶν ἡδὺς

10 κἠμέρης.

5

τῶν τοῦ ἀνανίου πλεόνων ἐμνημόνευσα, νομίζων καὶ τούτων ὑποθήκας τοῖς λάγνοις ‹ἡδέως› (add. West) ταύτας ἐκτεθήσεσθαι.

1 ἀνθίας codd., corr. Schneidewin 3 χιμέρης A, corr. Heringa $\phi \theta ινοπωρισμ \hat{\varphi}$ susp. West 6 αδθ' Heringa, αὐτοετ' Α 8 μυττωτ $\hat{\varphi}$ codd., corr. Schneidewin

Incerti Generis

6 Schol. Hom. Il. 7.76 (P.Oxy. 1087.22 sqq.); v. ad Arch. fr. 264

τὸ "σωληνος" $\pi[a]\rho$ 'Ανανίωι.

ANANIUS

autumn, and that of a pig when they turn and tread the grapes, and then this is the season for dog fish, sea hare and fox shark.³ Next (it is sweet to eat the flesh) of a sheep when it is summer and the cicadas are shrill. And then from the sea there is tuna, no mean food, but one that stands out among all fish in a savoury sauce.⁴ But a fattened ox, I think, is sweet in the middle of the night and in daytime.

I have cited the verses of Ananius at some length, considering that it will give pleasure to the lecherous to have even these admonitions set forth.

¹ For details on the various fish see D'A. W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Fishes s.vv. Anthias is not securely identified, skiphias is the Doric form of xiphias, 'swordfish,' chromios is "celebrated for its grunting voice . . . and for its acute hearing," and karis is "a small crustacean," prawn or shrimp. ² I.e., 'served on.' ³ It seems unlikely that these three fish were all eaten, since the sea hare or sea slug was poisonous, although it was said to serve various medicinal purposes as an ointment.

⁴ Mentioned in conjunction with tuna also in Hipponax fr. 26.2. Its main ingredients were cheese, leeks, garlic, honey, and vinegar.

Uncertain Classification

6 Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad* $\sigma\omega\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$ os (for $\sigma\omega\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$) in Ananius.¹

¹ I.e., the nominative $\sigma\omega\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$ os is derived from $\sigma\omega\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$ os, genitive of $\sigma\omega\lambda\hat{\eta}\nu$. See on Arch. fr. 264. Without a context the meaning of the word cannot be determined. In Arch. fr. 46 it means 'pipe,' perhaps as a metaphor, but in Epicharmus (fr. 42) it is a type of shellfish and in view of the introduction to fr. 5 above, this may be the likelier meaning here.

SUSARION

1

ἀκούετε λεώ· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε υίδς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος. κακὸν γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὧ δημόται, οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἄνευ κακοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

Stob. 4.22.68. (vv. 1+3-5); Tzetz. prol. in Ar. (p. 26.78 Koster), vv. 1-4

τής οὖν κωμφδίας τής καλουμένης πρώτης πρώτος καὶ εὐρετὴς γέγονεν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Σουσαρίων ὁ Τριποδίσκιος, υἰὸς ὢν Φιλίνου, ὃς φαύλη γυναικὶ συνοικῶν ἀπολιπούση αὐτὸν Διονυσίων ἠγμένων εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰ τέσσαρα ἰαμβεῖα ταυτὶ ἀνεφθέγξατο, ἃ μόνα τῶν ἐκείνου συγγραμμάτων ἐφεύρηνται, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡφανισμένων "ἀκούετε—κακοῦ." οὕτως ἡ πρώτη κωμφδία τὸ σκῶμμα εἶχεν ἀπαρακάλυπτον.

cf. schol. Dion. Thr. (p. 19.4 Hilgard), Ioan. Diac. in Hermog. (Rabe, RhM 63 [1908] 149), Tzetz. π . $\kappa\omega\mu\omega\delta$ ίας (p. 39.18 Koster), Tzetz. schol. π . $\piοιητ\hat{\omega}\nu$ (p. 88 Koster), Diom. (*Gramm. Lat.* i.488.23)

1 λεώς Stob., Ioan. Diac., schol. Dion., Tzetz. π. κωμ.

SUSARION

1

Listen, people. These are the words of Susarion, son of Philinus, from Tripodeske in Megara. Women are a bane: but nevertheless it's not possible to live in a household without bane. For to marry or not to marry, either is baneful.¹

Tzetzes, Introduction to Aristophanes

The first poet and inventor of the so-called first comedy was Susarion of Tripodeske in Megara, the son of Philinus. Married to a bad wife who had left him, he entered the theatre at the festival of Dionysus and uttered these four iambic verses, which alone of his compositions have survived, all the others having disappeared: (vv. 1-4). Thus the first comedy had undisguised scurrility.

¹ I agree with West that whatever role Susarion actually had in the early history of comedy, these verses are not from a comedy. The Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239 A 39) dates Susarion to a year between 581/80 and 562/61. For additional testimonia see West or *Poetae Comici Graeci* vii.661-63.

² om. Stob., Diom. Φιλίννου Tzetz. prol. in Ar.

⁴ εύρειν Ioan. Diac., Tzetz. prol. in Ar. et schol. π. ποιητῶν, Diom. 5 habet Stoh. solus

HERMIPPUS

1-3 Trimetri

1 Schol. Ar. Pl. 701 (p. 162 Massa Positano), "Ἰασώ"

ἐπεὶ καὶ Έρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ τῶν τριμέτρων ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ καὶ Λαμπετίας τῆς Ἡλίου λέγει Μαχάονα καὶ Ποδαλείριον καὶ Ἰασὰ καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ Αἴγλην νεωτάτην. ἔνιοι δὲ προστιθέασιν Ἰανίσκον καὶ ᾿Αλεξήνορα.

2 Ath. 3.76c

λευκερινεὸς δέ τι εἶδός ἐστι συκῆς, καὶ ἴσως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ τὰ λευκὰ σῦκα φέρουσα. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῆς Ερμιππος ἐν ἰάμβοις οὕτως.

τὰς λευκερινεὼς δὲ χωρὶς ἰσχάδας.

λευκερινε $\grave{\omega}$ vel - $\grave{\omega}\nu$ (gen. sing. / pl.) tent. West

HERMIPPUS

Hermippus is best known as an Athenian comic poet active in the latter part of the fifth century. For this aspect of his career see the 10 testimonia and 94 fragments in vol. 5, pp. 561-604, of Poetae Comici Graeci.

1-3 Iambic Trimeters

1 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Plutus ("Iaso")

For Hermippus says in the first iambic poem of his trimeters that the children of Asclepius and Lampetia, daughter of Helius, were Machaon, Podalirius, Iaso, Panacea, and as the youngest Aegle. Some add Ianiscus and Alexenor.

2 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

 $\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa \epsilon \rho \nu \nu \epsilon \delta s$ is a kind of fig tree, and this is perhaps the one that produces white figs. Hermippus mentions it in his iambics as follows:

and separately the dried white figs

3 Schol. Ar. Av. 1149b (p. 176 Holwerda), "ύπαγωγέα"

ό ύπαγωγεύς, ὥς τινες, σιδηροῦν τι οῗον πτυίδιον ῷ χρῶνται οἱ κονιαταί· οἱ δὲ ἐργαλεῖον οἰκοδομικόν, ῷ ἀπευθύνουσι τὰς πλίνθους πρὸς ἀλλήλας· τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸ παράξυστον καλοῦσιν. εἰ μὴ ἄρα πηλόν τινα ὑπαγωγέα καλοῦσιν. τοιοῦτον γάρ τι καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἐν τοῖς τριμέτροις ἐμφανίζει·

ξύνεστι γὰρ δὴ δεσμ<ί>ω μὲν οὐδενί, †τοῖσι δ' ὑπαγωγεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τρόποις.†

1 δεσμῷ codd., corr. Bergk 2 τούτοισι et αὐτοῦ Meineke, μόνοισι Bergk

4-6 Tetrametri

4 Ath. 11.461e

κυλικηγορήσων έρχομαι, οὐ τῶν Κυλικράνων εἶς ὑπάρχων, οὖς χλευάζων Ερμίππος ὁ κωμωδοποιὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις φησίν

εἰς τὸ Κυλικράνων βαδίζων σπληνόπεδον ἀφικόμην

εἶδον οὖν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ μάλ' ὡραίαν πόλιν.

Quae sequuntur v. ad Scythinum test. 3.

HERMIPPUS

3 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Birds

According to some the $\mathring{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\mathring{\upsilon}\varsigma^1$ is like a little iron winnowing-shovel which plasterers use. Others say it is a house-building tool whereby they keep the bricks in a straight line with one another. And some call it a $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\acute{\xi}\upsilon-\sigma\tau\sigma\nu$, unless the $\mathring{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\mathring{\upsilon}\varsigma$ is a kind of clay (mortar), as Hermippus makes clear in his trimeters:

for he(?) is held together without any fastening (but only with the mortar of his own habits?)

 $^{\rm 1}$ See Dunbar on $\it Birds$ (pp. 602 f.) for a detailed treatment of the word.

4-6 Trochaic Tetrameters

4 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

I am going to give a talk over cups, not as one of the Cylicranians¹ whom the comic poet Hermippus mocks in his iambics:

On my journey I came to the spleen-land² of the Cylicranians; and so I saw Heracleia,³ a very beautiful city.

¹ Intended as a pun on *cylix* 'cup' ("Cup-heads"). Athenaeus goes on to cite several authorities on the name of this people.

² Presumably a pun, but the force of it is obscure. Various emendations have been suggested.
 ³ At the foot of Mt Oeta in southern Thessaly. See Scythinus test. 3.

5 Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1169 (pp. 184 sq. Koster), "διασαλακώνισον"

άβρύνθητι καὶ διαθρύφθητι . . . ὁμοίως δ' ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' Ἑρμίππφ ἐν τοῖς τετραμέτροις·

ὕστερον δ' †αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν οὖς ἀνειλωτημένην† καὶ κασαλβάζουσαν εἶδον καὶ σεσαλακωνισμένην.

1 αὐτὸν et αὐτὴν codd., αὐτὴν στρατηγῶν οὖσαν είλωτισμένην Meineke, αὐτὴν στρατηγόν, ὡς ἂν είλωτισμένην Koster

6 Schol. Ar. Av. 304 (p. 56 Holwerda), "κεβλήπυρις" μήποτε οὐχ ἔν ἐστιν ἀλλὰ δύο, φησὶν ὁ Σύμμαχος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Καλλιμάχου (fr. 422 Pf.) ἀναγέγραπται κέβλη . . . Ἑρμίππου τετραμέτροις,

καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα †τὸν πρωνός τις ὢν†, κεβλήπυρίς τις ὀνομάζεται, ὥστε ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐκεῖ ἡμάρτηται τὸ ἐν παρὰ τῆ γραφῆ.

HERMIPPUS

5 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Wasps

διασαλακώνισον, i.e., 'put on airs' . . . The word is similarly used by Hermippus in his tetrameters:

and (but?) afterwards . . . $^{\rm 1}$ I saw her playing the harlot and strutting about

¹ With αὐτην and Meineke's emendation at the end of v. 1 we have an unattested verb (but see the Suda, iii.74.17 Adler) which would represent the woman (or the city Heraclea if Meineke is right in joining fr. 5 to fr. 4) as acting like a helot (a Spartan serf). For an attractive analysis of the fragment see R. M. Rosen, Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition (Atlanta 1988) 10-11.

6 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Birds

According to Symmachus, 1 $\kappa\epsilon\beta\lambda\dot{\eta}\pi\nu\rho\iota s^{2}$ is not one word but two (i.e., $\kappa\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta$ and $\pi\nu\rho\iota s$). For in Callimachus $\kappa\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta$ is written³ . . . (But?) in the tetrameters of Hermippus,

and Themistocles . . . ,

a $\kappa \epsilon \beta \lambda \acute{\eta} \pi \nu \rho \iota s$ is named,⁴ so that one or the other is a mistake in writing.

¹ An early commentator on Aristophanes (1st-2nd c. A.D.). ² Presumably a bird with a fiery-red head. Dunbar in her commentary on Ar. Birds (pp. 252 f.) discusses at length both the form of the word and the bird's identification, preferring Woodchat Shrike. She also suggests that Hermippus "linked Themistokles and $\kappa \epsilon \beta \lambda \dot{\eta} \pi \nu \rho \iota s$ simply because he was the red-haired son of an allegedly Thracian mother." ³ Passage not preserved. ⁴ It seems that Hermippus is being contrasted with Callimachus and that he used the longer form, but no emendation is con-

and that he used the longer form, but no emendation is convincing.

7-8 Incerti Generis

7 Ath. 15.667d

ὅτι δὲ ἆθλον προύκειτο τῷ εὖ προεμένῳ τὸν κότταβον . . . , Ἔρμιππός τε ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις.

8 Ath. 15.700d

Έρμιππος δὲ ὁ κωμφδοποιὸς ἐν ἰάμβοις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν λυχνεῖον σύνθετον οὕτως ὀνομάζει.

9 P. Oxy. xiii.1611 fr. 1, col. v, 119

κ[αὶ Πλά]των φησὶν ἐν τ[ῶι Μέ]νωνι (94c) οὕτως ["ὅτι Θου]κυδίδης δύο [ὑεἰς ἔθρε]ψεν, Μελησία[ν καὶ Στέ]φανον τούτου[ς ἐπαίδευ]σεν." καὶ Έρμιπ[πος ὁ ποι]ητὴς ἐν ἰάμβ[

HERMIPPUS

7-8 Uncertain Classification

7 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

That a prize was offered for a skilful tossing of the cottabus¹ . . . , and Hermippus in his iambics.

¹ The cottabus in its various forms involved basically the throwing of wine drops at a target and the player often dedicated his toss to someone with a view to amorous success. For further details see Athenaeus 11.487d-e, 15.665a-69e, and F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet* (Princeton 1987) 80-86.

8 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

The comic poet Hermippus in his iambics thus calls the military lampstand a compound. 1

¹ Sense unclear. Perhaps Athenaeus means that Hermippus described the lampstand as constructed from several components.

9 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early 3rd c. A.D.)

And Plato speaks as follows in the *Meno*: "that Thucydides raised two sons, Melesias and Stephanus; he educated them." And Hermippus the poet in iambics (an iambic poem?) . . .

SCYTHINUS

TESTIMONIA

1 St. Byz. (pp. 619 sq. Meineke)

Τέως· πόλις Ἰωνίας . . . ἀφ' οὖ Πρωταγόρας Τήϊος καὶ Σκυθίνος ὁ ἰάμβων ποιητὴς Τήϊος.

2 Diog. Laert. 9.16

Ίερώνυμος δέ (fr. 46 Wehrli) φησι καὶ Σκυθίνον τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου (sc. Ἡρακλείτου) λόγον διὰ μέτρου ἐκβαλεῖν.

3 Ath. 11.461e (quae praecedunt v. ad Hermipp. fr. 4)

'Ηρακλεῶται δ' εἰσὶν οὖτοι οἱ ὑπὸ τἢ Οἴτη κατοικοῦντες, ὥς φησι Νίκανδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνός (FGrHist 343 F 12), ὀνομασθῆναι φάσκων αὐτοὺς ἀπό τινος Κύλικος γένος Λυδοῦ, ἐνὸς τῶν 'Ηρακλεῖ συστρατευσαμένων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Σκυθῖνος ὁ Τήϊος (FGrHist 13 F 1) ἐν τῆ ἐπιγραφομένη 'Ιστορίη λέγων οὕτως· "Ηρακλῆς λαβὼν Εὔρυτον καὶ τὸν υίὸν ἔκτεινε φόρους

SCYTHINUS

TESTIMONIA

- 1 Stephanus of Byzantium, *Lexicon of Place Names* Teos, a city in Ionia . . . From it came Protagoras of Teos and the iambic poet Scythinus of Teos.
- 2 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* Hieronymus says that Scythinus, the iambic poet, undertook to put forth in verse the discourse of Heraclitus.¹
- 1 Diogenes proceeds to quote two epigrams on this topic (= $Anth.\ Pal.\ 7.128,\ 9.540$) and two more are attributed to Scythinus in the $Palatine\ Anthology\ (12.22,\ 12.232)$, but all are judged spurious.
- 3 Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

The people of Heracleia are those who dwell at the foot of Oeta, as Nicander of Thyateira says, asserting that they derived their name from a certain Cylix, a Lydian native, one of those who joined with Heracles on his expedition. Scythinus of Teos also mentions them in his work entitled *Inquiry*, speaking as follows: "Heracles captured and killed Eurytus and his son when they were exacting tribute

πρήσσοντας παρ' Εὐβοέων. <καὶ> Κυλικρῆνας ἐξεπόρθησε ληζομένους καὶ αὐτόθι πόλιν ἐδείματο Ἡράκλειαν τὴν Τρηχινίαν καλεομένην."

FRAGMENTUM

1 Plut. de Pyth. orac. 16.402a

ὕστερον μέντοι (οἱ Μεγαρεῖς) πλῆκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦν, ἐπιστήσαντες ὡς ἔοικε Σκυθίνῳ λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας ἣν

άρμόζεται Ζηνὸς εὐειδὴς ᾿Απόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος συλλαβών, ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος.

SCYTHINUS

from the Euboeans. He also sacked the Cylicranians who were engaged in plunder and built there Heracleia called the Trachinian."

FRAGMENT

1 Plutarch, The Oracle at Delphi

Later, however, the Megarians dedicated to the god a golden plectrum, paying attention as it seems to the words of Scythinus concerning the lyre which

Zeus's son, comely Apollo, who comprehends every beginning and end, tunes, and he has the bright light of the sun as his plectrum

I have omitted the corrupt fr. 2 preserved in Stobaeus 1.8.43 and attributed to Scythinus' On Nature. It seems to be a prose version of trochaic tetrameters, which West partially restores.

DIPHILUS

TESTIMONIUM

1 Schol. ad Arist. Nubes 96d (p. 31 Holwerda)

πρώτον μὲν γὰρ Δίφιλος εἰς Βοίδαν τὸν φιλόσοφον ὁλόκληρον συνέταξε ποίημα, δι' οὖ †οὐκ† εἰς δουλείαν ἐρυπαίνετο <ὁ> φιλόσοφος· οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐχθρὸς ἦν. ἔπειτα Εὔπολις, εἰ καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ἐμνήσθη Σωκράτους, μᾶλλον ἢ ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς Νεφέλαις αὐτοῦ καθήψατο.

DIPHILUS

Test. 1 suggests that Diphilus is older than, or at least contemporary with, the 5th-century comic poet Eupolis, but, as West ad loc. remarks, a Theseis in choliambics (fr. 1) is unlikely before the Hellenistic period unless it is "ludicra." Either then the Diphilus of test. 1 is different from the Diphilus of fr. 1 or fr. 1 is from a poem that might be similar to the Margites attributed to Homer. G. A. Gerhard, Phoenix von Kolophon (Leipzig 1909) 215, tentatively identifies this Diphilus as the Diphilus named by Diogenes Laertius 7.161 as a pupil of the philosopher Ariston (3rd c. B.C.).

TESTIMONIUM

1 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Clouds

For first Diphilus composed an entire poem against the philosopher Boidas, ¹ in the course of which the philosopher was abused as a slave, though he was not for this reason an enemy. And second Eupolis, even if he mentioned Socrates in (only) a few places, attacked him more than Aristophanes did in the whole of the *Clouds*.

¹ Identity and date unknown.

FRAGMENTA

1a Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* 10.83b (i.332.10 Dr.), "ἀν' ἵπποισι δὲ τέτρασιν ἀπὸ Μαντινέας Σᾶμ(ος) 'Αλιρροθίου"

Σημον δέ τινα νῦν νενικηκέναι ἄρματι, ὥς φησι Δίφιλος ὁ τὴν Θησηίδα ποιήσας ἔν τινι ἰάμβφ (vv. II. ἰάμφ, ἰαμβείφ) οὕτω·

στρέψας δὲ πώλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς Σῆμος, ος πρῶτος ἄρματ' ἤλασεν παρ' Άλφειῷ.

1 τρέψας, τρέψαν codd., corr. Bergk

1b Id. 83a (i.331.26 Dr.)

παρατίθεται δε καὶ τὸν γράφοντα τὴν Θησηίδα μαρτυροῦντα τῷ ήρωι τὴν τοῦ ἄρματος ἡνιοχευτικὴν ἀρετήν·

στρωφậς δὲ πώλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς ήρως.

στρωφ
άς, στρωφάσων, στροφὰς, στροφαὶ codd. Σήμος pro ήρως cod
. Β

DIPHILUS

FRAGMENTS

1a Scholiast on Pindar, Olympian 10 ("Samos¹ from Mantinea, the son of Halirrhothius, won the prize in the four-horse chariot race")

A certain Semus had won with the chariot, as Diphilus, the author of a *Theseis*, says in the following iambics:

You wheeled (wheeling?) the horses like Semus from Mantinea who was the first to drive a chariot beside the Alpheus.²

1b Scholiast on the same passage

He (Aristodemus?) cites as evidence the author of a *Theseis* who attests to the hero's skill in driving the chariot:

You keep wheeling the horses like the hero³ from Mantinea

 $^{\rm 1}$ The name of one of the first victors at the Olympic games, according to Pindar. Mantinea is in Arcadia. In one version Halirrhothius is the son of Poseidon, in another the grandson of Aeolus. $^{\rm 2}$ The river at the site of the Olympic games. $^{\rm 3}$ Possibly an error for Semus. The scholia on the Pindaric passage, only parts of which are quoted here, contain much that is confusing and contradictory.

PANARCES

1 Plat. Resp. 5.479b-c

"τοις ἐν ταις ἐστιάσεσιν," ἔφη, "ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν ἔοικε και τῷ τῶν παίδων αἰνίγματι τῷ περὶ τοῦ εὐνούχου τῆς βολῆς πέρι τῆς νυκτερίδος, ῷ και ἐφ' οὖ αὐτὸν αὐτὴν αἰνίττονται βαλείν."

Schol. ad loc. (p. 235 Greene)

Κλεάρχου γρίφος (fr. 95 Wehrli)

 (a) αἶνός τίς ἐστιν ὡς ἀνήρ τε κοὐκ ἀνὴρ ὅρνιθα κοὐκ ὅρνιθ' ἰδών τε κοὐκ ἰδὼν ἐπὶ ξύλου τε κοὐ ξύλου καθημένην λίθῳ τε κοὐ λίθῳ βάλοι τε κοὐ βάλοι.

ἄλλως·

(b) ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπος δ' ὅμως, ὅρνιθα κοὐκ ὅρνιθα, †ὅρνιθα δ' ὅμως†, ἐπὶ ξύλου τε κοὐ ξύλου καθημένην λίθω βαλών τε κοὐ λίθω διώλεσεν.

νυκτερίδα ὁ εὐνοῦχος νάρθηκος κισήρει.

PANARCES

1 Plato, Republic

"It is like ambiguous statements at banquets," he said, "and like the children's riddle about the eunuch and his throwing at the bat; they riddle about what he pelted it with and on what it was sitting."

Scholiast on the passage

A riddle recorded by Clearchus:

(a) There is a riddle that a man who is not a man saw and did not see a bird which was not a bird sitting on wood which was not wood struck and did not strike it with a stone which was not a stone.

Another version:

(b) A man who is not a man, but yet a man, killed a bird which was not a bird . . . , sitting on wood which was not wood, having struck it with a stone which was not a stone.

(Solution) bat (v. 2), eunuch (v. 1), fennel (v. 3), pumice (v. 4)

cf. Tryph. *De tropis* 4 (*Rhet. Gr.* iii.194.15 Spengel), Ps.-Choerob. (ibid. iii.253.18), David. (*Comm. in Arist. Gr.* xviii(2). 42.10), Eust. in *Il.* 8.252 (ii.580.12 V.d.Valk)

(a) $3 \kappa \alpha \theta \eta \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta \nu \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \circ \mathring{\upsilon} \kappa \alpha \theta \eta \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta \nu$ omnes praeter Davidem $4 \beta \acute{\alpha} \lambda \epsilon \iota \ldots \beta \acute{\alpha} \lambda \epsilon \iota$ Tryphon (b) $4 \beta \alpha \lambda \acute{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon \kappa \circ \mathring{\upsilon} \lambda \acute{\iota} \theta \psi$ schol. Plat., $\tau \epsilon \kappa \circ \mathring{\upsilon} \lambda \acute{\iota} \theta \psi \beta \alpha \lambda \grave{\omega} \nu$ David

Ath. 10.452c

καὶ τὸ Πανάρκους δέ ἐστι τοιοῦτον, ὧς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ γρίφων, ὅτι βάλοι ξύλῳ τε καὶ οὐ ξύλῳ καθημένην ὅρνιθα καὶ οὐκ ὅρνιθα ἀνήρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ λίθῳ τε καὶ οὐ λίθῳ· τούτων γάρ ἐστι τὸ μὲν νάρθηξ, τὸ δὲ νυκτερίς, τὸ δὲ εὐνοῦχος, τὸ δὲ κίσηρις. καὶ Πλάτων δὲ ἐν πέμπτῳ Νόμων μνημονεύει· τοὺς τῶν τεχνυδρίων φιλοσόφους τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἑστιάσεσιν ἔφη ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν ἐοικέναι κτλ.

PANARCES

Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

And there is also a similar riddle by Panarces, as Clearchus says in *On Riddles*, that a man who was not a man struck a bird which was not a bird, sitting on wood which was not wood, with a stone which was not a stone. The solution to this is eunuch, bat, fennel, and pumice. And Plato also mentions it in the fifth book of the *Laws*;¹ he said that philosophers of petty crafts are like those who propound ambiguities at banquets etc.²

 1 An error for *Republic*. 2 Tryphon expands upon the riddle in version (a) by explaining that the man missed because his vision was poor. The ambiguity in $\beta\acute{a}\lambda o\iota$ is that the verb can mean both 'throw at' and 'strike.'

ADESPOTA IAMBICA

1-35 Trimetri Recti

1 Heracl. Lemb. π . π ολι τ ει $\hat{\omega}$ ν (p. 24.22 Dilts)

τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν τῶν Σαμίων Συλοσῶν ἠρήμωσεν· ἀφ' οὖ καὶ ἡ παροιμία·

ἔκητι Συλοσῶντος εὐρυχωρίη.

2 Cic. ad Att. 6.3.1

tu autem abes longe gentium,

πολλὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμίφ Νότος κυλίνδει κύματ' εὐρείης άλός.

2 εὐρέης Lobel

3 Strabo 14.1.30

καὶ ἡ Τέως δὲ ἐπὶ χερρονήσφ ἴδρυται, λιμένα ἔχουσα. ἐνθένδε ἐστὶν ἀνακρέων ὁ μελοποιός, ἐφ' οὖ Τήιοι τὴν

ANONYMOUS

1-35 Iambic Trimeters

1 Heraclides Lembus, *On Constitutions*Syloson laid waste the state of the Samians and from this there arose the proverb:

By the will of Syloson there is wide open space.1

¹ The same proverb is recorded by Strabo 14.1.17 who states that after Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, was murdered by the Persians (c. 522), Darius installed Polycrates' brother Syloson as tyrant. According to Strabo the proverb arose from Syloson's ruling so harshly that the state suffered from a lack of men.

2 Cicero, Letters to Atticus

but you are in a far distant land,

and in the intervening space the South Wind rolls many a wave of the wide sea

3 Strabo, Geography

Teos too is situated on a peninsula and has a harbour. From there came the lyric poet Anacreon in whose day the

πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες εἰς Ἄβδηρα ἀπώκησαν Θρακίαν πόλιν, οὐ φέροντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ὕβριν· ἀφ' οὖ καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται·

"Αβδηρα, καλὴ Τηΐων ἀποικίη.

ἀποικία codd., corr. Meineke

4 Et. Gen. (p. 21 Calame) = Et. Mag. 230.57, ex Herodiano (ii.266.7 Lentz)

ἔστι δὲ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας συζυγίας τὸ γηρậς, ὅσπερ τὸ πιμπλậς, οἷον πιμπλῶ πιμπλậς καὶ πιμπλῶ πιμπλεῖς, οἷον "†τὰς 'Ραδάμανθυς πιμπλεῖν βία톔 (fr. adesp. 969 PMG). οὕτως οὖν καὶ γηρῶ γηρậς . . . καὶ γηρῶ γηρεῖς . . . ἡ μετοχὴ γηρείς,

γηρείς έν οἰκίοισι.

Quae sequuntur v. ad Xenoph. fr. 9.

οἰκέοισι Εt. Gen., οἰκέουσι Et. Mag., corr. Sylburg

5 Iuba Artigraphus ap. Rufinum (Gramm. Lat. vi.561.11 Keil)

iamborum itaque exempla quae maxime frequentata sunt subdidi: πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε; (Arch. fr. 172.1). <math>Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ (Eur. Archel. fr. 1.1 Austin).

Ξάνθη παλαι $\hat{\eta}$ γρη<ί>, πολλ $\hat{\eta}$ σιν φίλη.

Teians abandoned their city and migrated to Abdera in Thrace, since they could not endure the insolence of the Persians; hence there arose the following verse:

Abdera, fair colony of the Teians1

¹ Crusius assigned both fr. 1 and fr. 3 to Anacreon.

4 Etymologicum Genuinum and Magnum

The verb $\gamma\eta\rho\hat{\omega}$ (2nd sing. $\gamma\eta\rho\hat{q}s$), 'grow old,' belongs to both the first and the second conjugation, like $\pi\iota\mu\pi\lambda\hat{\omega}$, 'fill,' which has both $\pi\iota\mu\pi\lambda\hat{q}s$ and $\pi\iota\mu\pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$, as in (fragment corrupt). Similarly then $\gamma\eta\rho\hat{\omega}$ which has both $\gamma\eta\rho\hat{q}s$... and $\gamma\eta\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$... the participle is $\gamma\eta\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$:

growing old in the house¹

 1 R. Stark, RhM 99 (1956) 173-75, assigns the fragment to Alcaeus, with Aeolic accentuation $\gamma\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma.$

5 Juba in Rufinus, The Meters of Terence

Accordingly I have supplied the examples most commonly found of iambic verses: "Father, Lycambes, what did you mean by this?" "Danaus the father of fifty daughters."

to Xanthe, aged crone, dear to many women

6 Hesych.

× - Πριηπίδος τε τῆς πρὸ Βοσπόρου

πόλεως Ἑλλησποντιακής, <ήν> τὸν Πρίαπον τὸν Διονύσου καὶ Περκώτης (περικότης cod.) φασὶν οἰκίσαι.

7-34 P. Oxy. xxii.2318

35 P. Oxy. xxii.2320, ed. Lobel

10

5

15

6 Hesychius, Lexicon

and of Priapis which faces the Bosporus,

a city on the Hellespont which they say was settled by Priapus, son of Dionysus and Percote.¹

 1 Strabo 13.1.12, in his account of the city Priapus, states that the god was worshipped there and was said to be the son of Dionysus and a nymph. Homer (*Iliad* 2.835) mentions a place called Percote, which was on the Hellespont west of Priapus.

7-34 Scraps of papyrus too mutilated to be translated

35 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (early 3rd c. A.D.)

... strut¹ and ... Philanthe will meet with (retribution?) for impious deeds ... of a man or the Furies ... know this on your own; many in truth are the evils which the gods (give) to sacrilegious men, if one wrongs his friends. (Not) yet has anyone else found great profit from (betraying) a mother or sister. Requital (will get you). This is my prophecy. (Even if you?) slaughter sheep ... of her ... relent-

 1 If Hesychius' gloss refers to this passage, the verb is imperative. The fragment could be the work of Archilochus.

]μοῖρα νηλεή[ς] κιχή[σεται οὐ μ]αλάξεις θυμὸν οὐδεκ[οὐδὲ]ν έοῦσαν αἰτίην ἀπώλεσα[ς]αντ[] καιλαοισιν ἀνδα[ν-

2 Hesych. ἀκροβημάτιζε· ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς βήμασιν ἵστασο 6-7 εἰργα[σμένων / . . . τεύξε[ται τιμωρίης e.g. West $10~\theta$ [εοὶ Peek 11-14 initia suppl. West $12~\text{οὐδέ}]\pi\omega$ Lobel 14~ἀμοι]βή Lobel 15-16~κεἰ~πάνθ ἄ]μ' αὐτῆς μῆλ' ἐπισφάζει[ς γάμω, / πάντως σε] e.g. West $17~\text{κ}[\alpha\rho\deltaiην$ Peek 18~εὐσαν pap., corr. West

36-38 Tetrametri

36 Plut. *de cohib. ira* 9.457c

τοὺς δ' ἡπίως καὶ λείως ὁμιλοῦντας ὀργαῖς κάλλιστα μὲν ἀκούσματα κάλλιστα δὲ θεάματα ποιούμενος ἄρχομαι καταφρονεῖν τῶν λεγόντων "ἄνδρ' ἠδίκησας, ἄνδρ'· ἀνεκτέον τόδε;" (Trag. adesp. 382 K.-S.) καὶ

βαῖνε λὰξ ἐπὶ τραχήλου, βαῖνε καὶ πέλα χθονί, καὶ τἆλλα παροξυντικὰ κτλ.

37 Plut. non posse suav. viv. sec. Epic. 21.1101f
ἐν δὲ πομπαῖς καὶ θυσίαις οὐ μόνον "γέρων καὶ γρηΰς" οὐδὲ πένης καὶ ἰδιώτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ

less fate will catch up with (you) . . . You will (not) soften the mind or the (heart?) . . . you have ruined a woman who is in no way culpable . . .

36-38 Trochaic Tetrameters

36 Plutarch, On the control of anger

As for those who deal with anger in a mild and gentle way I offer examples which are very beautiful to hear and to view, and I begin by scorning those who say "it was a man you wronged, a man; is this to be borne?" and

trample his neck (their necks) underfoot, trample and bring him (them) to the ground

and other provocative statements etc.

37 Plutarch, A pleasant life is impossible according to Epicurus

But in processions and at sacrifices not only "an old man and an old woman" or one who is poor and of low station, but also

παχυσκελής άλετρὶς πρὸς μύλην κινουμένη καὶ οἰκότριβες καὶ θῆτες ὑπὸ γήθους καὶ χαρμοσύνης ἀναφέρονται.

καὶ potest poetae addi

38 P. Oxy. xxii.2317, ed. Lobel

] ἐπικροτέων[]εβαμβάλυζε· πολλ[ὰ καὶ τὸ μὲν φυγεῖν ὅταν δη[5 άνδράσιν κείνοις χολωθεί[ς δυσμενέων κομήτα παιδ[ού σε τοῦτ' ἤισχυνεν οὐδεν[ώς ἀπ' εὐεργέα τινάξας ἐτρ[άπης 10 καὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμωτέρους σέο κατα[ταθτ' έπηβόλη[σ]ε θεούς γὰρ οὐκ ἐνίκ[ησεν βροτός. άλλ' ότεύνεκεν πρό πάντων εκ[ἦλθες ἐκπλ[]ς ἐφ' ὑγρὰ κύματ[' εὐρέης ἁλὸς $\dot{a}\delta\rho\nu\phi\dot{\eta}$ ς, $o\nu[]\nu\sigma\epsilon[]$ εκλε \ddot{i} [\dot{a} λλαπαρ θ ε[] δ ε μ [15 [$\pi[\delta\lambda\iota\nu]\pi[$] $\nu\alpha\gamma\nu[$

3 [ὀδόντας suppl. Peek 7 Κομῆτα Peek $\pi \alpha i \delta [\omega \nu$ Latte et Peek 9 ἐτρ[άπης Peek 10 σεῖ pap., corr. West 11 fin. Peek 13 ἐκπλ[εύσα]ς Peek fin. Lobel

a stout-legged woman grinding grain, being screwed² against the millstone,

and house-born slaves and hired labourers have their spirits lifted in joyful delight.

Words from two anonymous hexameters which Plutarch has just quoted.
 This seems more probable than a reference to her moving about as she grinds the grain.

38 Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd c. A.D.)1

... with chattering (teeth) ... he shivered; many ... and as for flight whenever ... in anger at those men ...; you with the long hair, of enemy ... this brought no shame on you, that you got rid of your well-made ... and were put to flight ... In fact these ... have seized braver men than you; no (mortal) wins out over the gods. But that (because?) before all ... you went (sailing?) over the broad sea's watery waves unscathed ... city ...

¹ The speaker is assuring someone who fled from battle that there is no disgrace in this and that better men have done the same, but little else is clear. V. 9 reminds us of Arch. fr. 5 and the author may be Archilochus.

39-48 Trimetri vel Tetrametri

39 'Longinus' de subl. 34.4

άλλ' ἐπειδήπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ μὲν θατέρου καλά, καὶ εἰ πολλά, ὄμως ἀμεγέθη,

καρδίη νήφοντος ἀργά,

καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἠρεμεῖν ἐῶντα—οὐδεὶς γοῦν Ὑπερείδην ἀναγιγνώσκων φοβεῖται—ὁ δὲ κτλ.

39a Ath. 3.126f

. . . ἵνα μὴ λέγης

ἄκικύς εἰμι κώλιγοδρανέω

40 St. Byz. (p. 22.3 Meineke)

ἀγρος, τὸ χωρίον . . . καὶ συνθέτως ἄγροικος καὶ ἀγροῖκος, ἀφ' ὧν παρώνυμον τὸ ἀγροικηρός, ὡς σιγηρός, καὶ

άγροικηρὴν φύσιν

41-48 P. Oxy. 2324, 2325, 2328

39-48 Trimeters or Tetrameters

39 'Longinus,' On the Sublime

But whereas in my opinion Hyperides' fine points, even if numerous, nevertheless lack grandeur,

inert in the heart of a sober man,1

and allow the listener to remain calm—no one at any rate is frightened while reading Hyperides—Demosthenes etc.

¹ D. A. Russell in his edition of 'Longinus' ad loc. suggests that the author may be Anacreon. For the thought cf. Plut. de garrul. 4.503f: τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῆ καρδία τοῦ νήφοντος ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐστὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος, ὡς οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοί φασιν, "for what is in the heart of one who is sober is on the tongue of one who is drunk, as those who are given to proverbs say."

39a Athenaeus, Scholars at Dinner

. . . so that you may not say

I am feeble and have little strength

40 Stephanus of Byzantium, Lexicon of Place Names $\mathring{a}\gamma\rho\acute{o}s$, place . . . And in composite form $\mathring{a}\gamma\rhoοικοs$ ('boorish') and $\mathring{a}\gamma\rhoοικοs$ ('dwelling in the country'), from which is derived $\mathring{a}\gamma\rhoοικηρ\acute{o}s$, like $\sigmaι\gammaηρ\acute{o}s$ ('silent'),

a rustic (boorish?) nature

41-48 Scraps of papyrus too mutilated to be translated. Frr. 43–48 contain glosses on some iambic poet.

49-53 Trimetri Claudi

49 Arist. de part. anim. 3.10.673a17

περὶ δὲ ᾿Αρκαδίαν οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον διεπίστευσαν ὅστε καὶ κρίσιν ἐποιήσαντο περί τινος τῶν ἐγχωρίων. τοῦ γὰρ ἱερέως τοῦ Ὁπλοσμίου Διὸς ἀποθανόντος, ὑψ᾽ ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἀδήλως, ἔφασάν τινες ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκεκομμένης λεγούσης πολλάκις

έπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν.

διὸ καὶ ζητήσαντες $\mathring{\psi}$ ὅνομα ἦν ἐν τ $\mathring{\psi}$ τόπ ψ Κερκιδας, ἔκριναν.

50 Ιο. Alex. τονικὰ παραγγέλματα (p. 32.23 Dindorf) καὶ τὸ βαύ κατὰ μίμησιν κυνὸς ὀξύνεται·

× - 🗉 "βαύ βαύ" καὶ κυνὸς φωνὴν ίείς.

έξ οὖ καὶ τὸ βαΰζω ῥῆμα.

 $i\epsilon i s$ pro $i\epsilon i s$ Dindorf $\kappa \alpha i - i\epsilon i s;$ alteri personae dat Knox

49-53 Choliambics

49 Aristotle, On Parts of Animals

In Arcadia they so firmly believed this sort of thing¹ that they actually brought to trial one of the local inhabitants. When a priest of Zeus Hoplosmios² had been killed and it was unclear who had done it, some said that they had heard the head, after it had been cut off, repeating again and again

Cercidas has killed man after man.3

And so they searched for one bearing the name Cercidas and brought him to trial.

 1 I.e., that a head can speak after being cut off. 2 Presumably Zeus In Armour. The cult is attested only in Arcadia. 3 The first two words of the fragment are often deemed corrupt. West suggests ἄνανδροs, with μ ' supplied before the verb: "the cowardly Cercidas has killed me a man." All that one actually expects is $K\epsilon\rho\kappa\iota\delta\delta s$ μ ' $\delta\pi\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$, "Cercidas has killed me."

50 John of Alexandria, *Rules of Accentuation*And the word $\beta \alpha \hat{\nu}$ in imitation of a dog is accented oxytone:

"bow wow" and emitting the sound of a dog Hence the verb $\beta \alpha \dot{v} \zeta \omega$ 'bark.'

51 Schol. *B in Hom. *Il.* 9.539 (ii.515 Erbse apparatus), "χλούνην"

οί μὲν ἀφριστήν, χλουδεῖν γὰρ τὸ ἀφρίζειν τινὲς Δωριέων ἔλεγον. ἄλλοι δὲ κακοῦργον, καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰαμβοποιῶν τινα φάναι·

ἀνὴρ ὅδ' < \rightarrow ἑσπέρης καθεύδοντα ἀπ' ὧν ἔδυσε < \rightarrow χλούνην

2 ἄπουν ἔδησ ϵ cod., corr. Hermann $(ο \hat{v} \nu)$, Schneidewin

52 Schol. Ar. Av. 704 (p. 111 Holwerda), "καὶ τοῖσιν ἐρῶσι σύνεσμεν"

Σύμμαχος διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὅρνιθας <τοὺς> (add. West) εὐγενεῖς χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐρωμένοις. Δίδυμος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ σίττη καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ὅρνεον δεξιὰ πρὸς ἔρωτας φαίνεται·

ἐγὼ μέν, ὧ Λεύκιππε, δεξιῆ σίττη.

cf. Sud. i.63.11 Adler

ἐρῶμεν tent. West ὡς schol. λευκίππη schol., Suda, corr. Bentley δεξιὴ (-ὰ Suda) σίττη libri, corr. Meineke

53 Phot. *lex.* (ii.33 Naber)

ό τὸν †πατέρα εύρὼν χαλκοῦ χρείᾳ†·

ό τὸν κυσὸν τρωθεὶς †ἦδη αἰσώπου† μάλιστα τοῦ κράνους χρεία

2 ἥδεις ὅπου Dobree χρείη Bergk

51 Scholiast on Homer, Iliad

Some explain $\chi \lambda o \dot{\nu} \nu \eta s$ as the 'foamer,' since some of the Dorians said $\chi \lambda o \nu \delta \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ for $\dot{a} \phi \rho \dot{\iota} \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu$ ('to foam'). Others explain it as 'villain,' since they say that one of the old iambic poets says:

this fellow . . . while (I?) was sleeping in the evening stripped (me?) . . . the villain $\!^1$

¹ Several assign the fragment to Hipponax (see Degani's fr. 191). In the Homeric passage $\chi λούνηs$ is an epithet of a wild boar, but its meaning is much disputed. In the lacuna preceding 'villain' perhaps something like 'but they caught' has been lost.

52 Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds* ("and we associate with lovers")

According to Symmachus because lovers give fine-bred birds to their beloveds. According to Didymus because the nuthatch and other such birds seem to be a lucky omen for love:

I (am in love?) with(?) a lucky nuthatch, Leucippus1

¹ Attributed by some to Hipponax (see Degani's fr. 192).

53 Photius, Lexicon

(source corrupt)

you(?), the one wounded¹ in the rump, (you know where there is?) special need of a helmet

 $^{1}\,\mathrm{In}$ all probability 'wounded' here means 'sexually penetrated,' as in Eubulus fr. 106.4 K.-A.

54-55 Trimetri vel Tetrametri Claudi

54 Epimerismi (Anecd. Ox. ii.371.19 Cramer)

ζῷον ἐν πυρὶ σκαῖρον

ή σαλαμάνδρα, ήτις ζῷόν ἐστιν ὡσεὶ σαύρας τὸ μέγεθος ἢ μικροῦ κροκοδίλου χερσαίου· ἔστιν δὲ ψυχρότατον ὑπερφυῶς, ὥστε καὶ ἐν πυρὶ εἰσερχόμενον τὴν μὲν φλόγα σβέννυναι, αὐτὸ δὲ μὴ κατακαίεσθαι.

55 Zenob. 2.29 (iv.224 Bühler) = *Paroem. Gr.* i.90.5 = Schol. Plat. *Leg.* 968e (p. 379 Greene)

"ἢ τρὶς εξ ἢ τρεῖς κύβοι." κεῖται ἡ παροιμία παρὰ Φερεκράτει ἐν τοῖς Μυρμηκανθρώποις (fr. 129 K.-A.)
... τοὺς δὲ κύβους τοὺς τοιούτους οἱ Ἰωνες καλοῦσιν οἴνας, καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν οὕτως ἐκφέρουσιν·

ἢ τρὶς εξ ἢ τρεῖς οἴνας

οἶναι Salmasius (ex ϵἶναι Zenob.)

55a-57 Epodi

55a Ostr. Edfu 326

ἔπος δ' ἐφώνησεν τόδε∙ "σὸν τὸ κράτος βασιλεῦ."

54-55 Choliambic Trimeters or Tetrameters

54 Parsings

an animal dancing in the fire

The salamander, which is a creature the size of a lizard or small desert monitor. It is extremely cold so that it quenches fire upon entry, 1 but is not itself burned.

¹ This is also reported by Aristotle, HA 5.552b16.

55 Zenobius, Proverbs

"Either treble six or treble one." The proverb occurs in Pherecrates, *The Ant Men . . .* The Ionians call such dice $oldsymbol{\hat{\imath}} va\iota$ and they express the proverb as follows:

either treble six or treble one1

 $^{\rm 1}$ I.e., the highest or lowest score and so a proverb for 'all or nothing.'

55a-57 Epodes

55a Potsherd

And this is what he said: "Yours is the power, O king." 1

 1 See West, ZPE 32 (1978) 1-5 and 91 (1992) 8-9. The potsherd contains an unmetrical third line $\sigma \grave{o} \nu ~\tau \grave{o} ~\kappa \rho \acute{a} \tau o \lq 1\acute{\epsilon} \rho a \xi$, "yours is the power, Hierax," which West suggests may be a reference to "the power behind the throne," perhaps to the general Hierax who served Ptolemy Euergetes II c. 140 B.C. The first two lines may be from an animal fable of Archilochus.

56 Schol. Aesch. PV 400d (p. 132 Herington), "ρέος" ρεθμα, παρὰ τὸ ρέω, ρέος, ὡς κλέπτω κλέπος" οἴχεται τὸ κλέπος αὐτὸς ἔχων.

57 Suda (iii.443.13 Adler)
ναὶ ναὶ μὰ μήκωνος χλόην·
ὅρκος ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ.

56 Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* $\dot{\rho}$ έος = $\dot{\rho}$ εῦμα ('stream'), from $\dot{\rho}$ έω ('flow'), like κλέπος from κλέπτω ('steal'):

he's gone off with the loot for himself1

 $^{\rm 1}$ Recorded also in SH fr. 1158. West compares Hipponax fr. 117 for the meter and subject matter.

57 Suda

yes, yes, by the poppy shoot, a mocking oath.