

HELLENISTICA GRONINGANA 6

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Editors

M.A. Harder
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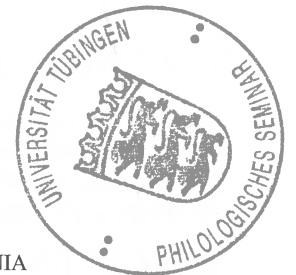
HELLENISTIC EPIGRAMS

Edited by

M.A. HARDER
R.F. REGTUIT
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tion between inscriptions on stone and the literary Hellenistic epigram is touched upon in the paper by Peter Bing, who argues that, in contrast with the literary epigram, the inscriptions on stone were read only rarely and on the whole treated with indifference.

In other papers the function of epigrams in a certain social context, either as part of a collection at a later date or at the time of their composition, is discussed. Thus the function of the 'epideictic' epigrams in *Anthologia Palatina* 9.1-583 is explored by Laura Rossi and the use of Hellenistic epigrams as school-texts, with a focus on aspects of cultural identity, by Jessica Wissmann. The issue of the social function is also important in the paper by Annemarie Ambühl, where the notion of love between brother and sister in Callimachus *Ep.*20 is related to issues of contemporary Ptolemaic court-propaganda.

Some papers deal with specific groups of epigrams, but within that framework also touch upon wider issues, like those mentioned above. Thus in the paper by Sarah Bolmarcich about Hellenistic sepulchral epigrams on Homer the treatment of Homer in these epigrams is regarded as a means by which the later poets define their own position within the literary tradition. In Kathryn Gutzwiller's paper about the Hellenistic epigram as a representation of viewing the starting point is the wish to understand a little more of the process of the transformation from inscriptions to purely literary texts. In Burkhard Scherer's paper about epigrams on the death of Orpheus there is a strong focus on intertextuality (as well as many detailed comments on the epigrams concerned), while Robert Kirstein discusses the so-called 'companion pieces' in the Hellenistic epigram with a focus on intratextuality, i.e. on the way in which these epigrams supplement and explain each other.

Most of the work of making the manuscript camera-ready has again been done by Remco Regtuit, and, as always, both Gerry Wakker and I are very grateful for the way he has undertaken this laborious task.

Annette HARDER

Groningen, November 2001

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ZWISCHEN TRAGÖDIE UND ROMAN:
KALLIMACHOS' EPIGRAMM
AUF DEN SELBSTMORD DER BASILO
(20 PF. = 32 GOW-PAGE = AP 7.517)

Annemarie AMBÜHL

Das 20. Epigramm des Kallimachos schildert in sechs Zeilen eine Familientragödie¹:

Ἡῶι Μελάνιππον ἐθάπτομεν, ἠελίου δέ
δυομένου Βασιλῶ κάθανε παρθενική
αὐτοχερί· ζῶειν γὰρ ἀδελφεὸν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα
οὐκ ἔτλη, δίδυμον δ' οἶκος ἔσειδε κακόν
πατρὸς Ἀριστίπποιο, κατήφησεν δὲ Κυρήνη 5
πᾶσα τὸν εὐτεκνον χῆρον ἰδοῦσα δόμον.
Bei Sonnenaufgang bestatteten wir Melanippos, bei Sonnen-
untergang starb Basilo, das junge Mädchen,
durch eigene Hand; denn zu leben, nachdem sie den Bruder ins Feuer gelegt,
ertrug sie nicht. Ein Zwillingunglück sah das Haus
des Vaters Aristippos, und niedergeschlagen war ganz Kyrene, 5
da es das mit Kindern gesegnete Haus verwaist sah.

Studien zu den Epigrammen des Kallimachos haben das 20. Epigramm meist nur am Rande behandelt oder ganz übergangen². Die scheinbar glatte und unproblematische Oberfläche »des in seiner schlichten Schönheit und tiefen Empfindung unmittelbar wirkenden Gedichtes« scheint die Forschung von Interpretationen, die über allgemeine ästhetische Urteile oder sprachlich-metrische Beobachtungen hinausgehen,

1. Den Diskussionsteilnehmern an den XX. Metageitnia 1999 in Freiburg i. Br., wo eine erste Version dieses Papers vorgetragen wurde, und am 5th Groningen Workshop on Hellenistic Poetry 2000, speziell meinem Respondent Jon Bruss (Mankato), sei an dieser Stelle für ihre anregenden Beiträge gedankt. Für die kritische Durchsicht des Manuskripts danke ich Annette Harder (Groningen), Joachim Latacz (Basel) und Christine Walde (Basel).

2. Das Epigramm 20 Pf. behandeln in ausführlicherer Form Zucker (1959; grammatische und metrisch-rhythmische Beobachtungen), Capovilla (1970: 126), Fraser (1972: I.579), Schmidt (1976: 150-1), Meillier (1979: 116), Braun (1985: 60-1), Baluta-Skultéty (1996: 78-9; lexikalische und stilistische Analyse) sowie Gutzwiller (1998: 200-3). Ausgaben und Kommentare: Pfeiffer (1949/1953: II.85); Gow-Page (1965: I.65, II.190); Coco (1988: 99-100); Zanetto-Ferrari (1992: 54-5, 105-6); Παγωνάρη-Αντωνίου (1997: 178-81).

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COMPANION PIECES IN THE HELLENISTIC EPIGRAM*

(CALL. 21 AND 35 PF.; THEOC. 7 AND 15 GOW; MART. 2.91
AND 2.92; AMMIANOS AP 11.230 AND 11.231)

Robert KIRSTEIN

1. Introduction

The epigram was one of the most successful poetic forms of all Greek literature, with a continuous tradition from Homeric times to the end of the Byzantine empire. The greatest change in its long history took place in the 4th century B.C., when out of the lapidary or functional the written or literary epigram was developed. It has often been observed that the written character opened the traditional poetic form for new moods, themes and genres. The old sepulchral and the dedicatory epigram changed their tone, new themes like the sympotic, the erotic or the satiric epigram came into being and different genres, like the sepulchral and the erotic, were mixed to form new unities¹. The epigram advanced to become the favorite form among the Hellenistic poets with their preference for the short, the sophisticated and the witty. "Das allerbeste", so Wilamowitz, "kommt bei Kallimachos erst in der unscheinbarsten Dichtung heraus, im Epigramm ... In diesen Gedichtchen, die nur Ausnahmsweise mehr als sechs Zeilen haben, beschwert ihn die Gelehrsamkeit nicht, hemmt ihn keine Konvention, er darf vollkommen modern, darf ganz er selber sein"².

Modern scholarship has concentrated mainly on two aspects of the Hellenistic epigram. One is the artful way in which a later poet would play with an earlier poet's epigram, the *aemulatio*, the 'art of variation'

* I thank the members of the Harvard and the Illinois Classics departments for a very stimulating and helpful discussion of an early version of this paper, and the participants of the Groningen workshop 2000. I am also grateful to Professor Köhnken and to Dr. Laura Rossi who granted me a first sight into her forthcoming commentary on the epigrams of Theocritus (Leuven 2001).

1. Cf. Blomqvist (1998) on the satiric epigram, Gutzwiller (1998b) on Meleager and Thomas (1998) on the sepulchral epigram, among others on AP 7.207; 7.217; 7.218; 7.503; 12.33.

2. Wilamowitz (1995[1912]: 213); cf. e.g. Gutzwiller (1998a: 3): "a favorite of those on the cutting edge of literary development".

or 'arte allusiva'³. The other is the no less artful way, in which the anthologists from Meleager in the 1st century B.C. to Planudes in the 13th century A.D. arranged this enormous mass of circulating epigrams⁴. All these anthologizing collections have in common the fact that they present the epigrams not author by author, but rather by other principles such as theme, alphabetical order or variation (ποιικιλία), with the result that e.g. Book 5 of the *Anthology* contains amatory epigrams, 7 sepulchral epigrams, 11 satiric epigrams, etc. Within these individual books the collectors liked to combine variations on identical themes by different poets. Other principles include the framing of books by related themes or alternating orders, in which two corresponding epigrams are separated by a third epigram of a different kind (*a-b-a*, 'gesperrte Pendantstellung')⁵. In any case, the anthologists tore apart the original books in which Hellenistic poets as Callimachus or Leonidas had edited their own epigrams. This anthologizing has thus strongly affected the attitude of later readers towards the Hellenistic literary epigrams.

In her recent book *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* Kathryn Gutzwiller shifts the emphasis from these two aspects towards the original author-issued epigram-books and "the way, in which Hellenistic epigrams may have functioned in their original collections"⁶. It is of course impossible, as Gutzwiller herself admits, to produce a reconstruction of these lost original epigram-books⁷. But it seems nevertheless worthwhile to look at the various ways in which the Hellenistic poets used and exploited the new form of book-collected epigrams in order to enhance the meaning of each of their individual epigrams by its specific position within a larger collection of multiple epigrams. This paper investigates a particular and often overlooked, but nevertheless significant technique within this wider scope.

Sometimes it is *one and the same poet* who composed two epigrams with the intention that they should be read together as *pairs* or *companion pieces*. As *companion pieces* I would like to define those epigrams, which are not only linked by mood, theme, genre and verbal expression but also *require* each other in order to be fully appreciated and understood, and in which their intertextual dependence is either mutual or at least one-sided⁸. We must assume, though evidence is lost, that those

3. Cf. Ludwig (1967) and Tarán (1979).

4. Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 1.XVII-XXI); Cameron (1993); Gutzwiller (1998a).

5. Cf. Weinreich (1941: 87-8) and (Ludwig 1962: 161).

6. Gutzwiller (1998a: X).

7. Cf. Hunter (1998) on Gutzwiller (1998a).

8. 'Intertextual' is here used in a rather restricted sense meaning the self-reference with which an author connects different parts within his own literary work. For a full

epigrams stood next to each other or at least close when they were originally published. Certainly the most famous pair are the two epitaphs, which Callimachus composed for his father and for himself (21 and 35 Pf. = G-P 29 and 30): Only when we read them together as *companion pieces* do we learn the most basic content of each epitaph, that is the names of the deceased, in this case 'Battus' and 'Callimachus'. Already Wilamowitz observed that these two epigrams supplement each other, and Mathäus Gabathuler, in his book *Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter* calls this technique remarkably "echt alexandrinisch" (for a full discussion see below)⁹. Otto Weinreich discusses two other "Variantenpaare" in the epigrams of Lukillios and Walter Burnikel, following Weinreich, collects nine more such instances in Lukillios and calls the whole phenomenon "ein in der Forschung nicht beachtetes Faktum"¹⁰. There are a few more related observations, e.g. by Walter Ludwig on Asclepiades and by Robert Egan on Meleager¹¹. More research, however, has been done for the Latin epigram, for example by Johannes Scherf on the composition of Martial's books 1 to 12¹². But there seems to be no comprehensive study on the phenomenon of *companion pieces* for the Hellenistic epigram. However, that poets employed intertextual cross-references within their works to enhance the meaning of their individual poems has been observed also among other genres and poets of the Hellenistic age such as, for example, the idylls of Theocritus¹³.

This paper does not claim to fill this gap in any complete way. Instead it discusses a few examples in order to establish that the creation of *companion pieces* belongs among the artful techniques Hellenistic epigrammatists used to enhance the meaning of their individual epigrams. The examples are confined to pairs, leaving out larger sequences of three or more epigrams, though I am aware of the possibility that a pair of two might also at the same time belong to a larger sequence of three or more epigrams.

discussion of the term 'intertextual' and its various applications cf. e.g. Thomas (1999: *passim*).

9. Wilamowitz (1924: Vol. 1.175 n. 2); Gabathuler (1937: 56).

10. Weinreich (1948: 84-90) on the pairs AP 11.106. 107 and 11.253. 254; Burnikel (1980: 69).

11. Ludwig (1962: 156-61) on Asclepiades AP 5.7(6). 150(149) = G-P 9. 10; Egan (1988: 24-32) on Meleager AP 7.195. 196 = G-P 12. 13.

12. Scherf (1998: 128-31; 2001: *passim*).

13. Cf. e.g. Stanzel (1996), who has shown a significant number of such references in Theocritus, and Köhnken (1996), who demonstrates that the two Theocritean Polyphemus-poems idd. 6 and 11 form a unity in which the knowledge of 11 is a necessary requirement for the full appreciation and understanding of 6. – One could also think of Latin poetry, e.g. the elegies of Propertius; cf. Butrica (1996).

Another problem purposely left out here is the question of the origin of literary *companion pieces* out of the lapidary or functional epigram. Both types of pairs, parallel and continuous, are well known from numerous inscriptional epitaphs¹⁴ and might have attracted the authors of purely literary epigrams as examples. Thus Peter Bing argues, in his article on the *Ergänzungsspiel in Callimachus' epigrams*, that Callimachus is in 21 and 35 not only playing with the genre of the sepulchral epigram in general, but is alluding to a specific form of it, namely the coordination of multiple epigrams in family grave-plots¹⁵.

Among the fundamental changes brought about by the transition from the lapidary or functional to the written or literary epigram is the change of context. In a lapidary monument-epigram, sepulchral or dedicatory, the reader is for the most part expected to see the actual monument to which the inscription refers. Without the monument the inscription might be not fully or even not at all comprehensible¹⁶. Prose-writers like Herodotus or Thukydides therefore, when citing a monument-epigram, often describe first the monument and its surroundings in their own words in order to replace its original context¹⁷. When the epigram became purely literary, lost its relation to an extant monument and was published as part of a larger collection, the innovative poets of the Hellenistic age exploited this new book-situation in different ways: They could, of course, omit any context or thought of it and leave the epigram completely self-contained. They could, however, also play with the lack of an expected context, what Bing calls the "Ergänzungsspiel"¹⁸. They could even use their own names as a context, since literary epigrams other than lapidary ones were mostly not anonymous¹⁹: Reading the two Callimachean epigrams 21 and 35 Pf. with their elements of literary polemics, it makes an important difference to know, whether they were composed by Callimachus or by somebody else. Another, in the sense of literary innovation less sophisticated, method of creating a context might have been that epigrams, inscribed or literary, were published in illuminated manuscripts where pictures of monuments, of real or fictitious

14. Cf. Robert (1948); Peek (1960: 256-80); Lausberg (1982: 166-70).

15. Bing (1995: 115-31, here 126-8).

16. Raubitschek (1967); Clairmont (1970: XIX and *passim*).

17. Collected by Preger (1891). — For the technique of citing epigrams in the 5th and 4th century B.C. (Herodotus, Thukydides, Plato, Aristotle) see Bing (1995: 116-9) and for Herodotus esp. West (1985).

18. Bing (1995); Köhnken (1993).

19. There are also 4th century lapidary epigrams with the author's name attached; cf. e.g. CEG II.888ii; Gutzwiller (1998a: 48).

ones, accompanied them²⁰. The phenomenon of *companion pieces* also belongs in this range of possibilities for creating a context for a written epigram within a book situation. Here the intertextual relation between such epigrams may be compared to the relation between inscribed monument-epigrams and their related monuments. There are, fundamentally, two different ways in which *companion pieces* can relate to each other: They can form *one* continuous story (*Fortsetzungsepigramme*) or they can illuminate each other (*Parallelepigramme*), the latter being possible in different forms like contrast, response and exaggeration²¹.

2. Examples

2.1 Callimachus, 21. 35 Pf. = AP 7.525. 415 = G-P 29. 30

Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με
ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην.
εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὁ μὲν κοτε πατρίδος ὄπλων
ἦρξεν, ὁ δ' ἤγειρεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης.
οὐ νέμεσις, Μοῦσαι γὰρ, ὅσους ἴδον ὄμματι παῖδας
ἄχρη βίου†, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

Whoever you are who bends your step past my tomb, know that I am both child and father of Callimachus the Cyrenaean. // You must know them both. The one led his country's troops, the other sang songs beyond the reach of envy // No wonder, for at whom as children the Muses look ..., those they do not reject when their hairs are grey. (Call. 21 Pf.)

20. So Wilamowitz (1913: 231) on AP 7.37. 707 = G-P 22. 23: "Zum Schluß möchte ich ein Beispiel dafür geben, wie das Epigramm, das zuerst ein Teil des Monumentes war, also ohne dieses nicht voll verständlich, dann zum Buchepigramm geworden den Anblick des Monumentes durch Beschreibung ersetzte, schließlich sich das Monument durch die Illustration des Buches wieder geschaffen hat. In dem Epigrammbuche des Dioskorides haben neben- oder untereinander zwei gleich lange Gedichte auf die Tragiker Sophokles und Sositheos gestanden, und über jedem ein Satyr. Der des Sophokles stand ruhig in der rein menschlichen Bildung, wie sie Praxiteles verwendet hatte, bekleidet mit einem Purpurmäntelchen, eine weibliche tragische Maske in der Hand. Der des Sositheos, in archaischer Bildung mit gelbem Ziegenbart, sprang lebhaft und hielt etwas, das die Corruptel des Gedichtes nicht sicher mehr erkennen läßt, vermutlich einen Thyrsos. Wir entnehmen so viel aus den Gedichten VII 37 und 707, die ich nicht abschreibe; aber es erscheint mir schlechthin ungereimt, daß diese Satyrfiguren, die der Dichter doch braucht, um den Gegensatz der Tragiker zu veranschaulichen, nur in seinen Versen existiert hätten. Da sie nicht auf den Gräbern standen, bleibt kein anderer Platz als in dem illustrierten Buche." This thesis, accepted by Geffcken (1916: 127), remains, however, hard to prove due to lack of manuscript evidence; see Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.254); on the history of book-illustrations see Weitzmann (1959) and Horsfall (1983). — The two epigrams AP 7.37 and 707 are not only interesting because of their possible relation to illustrations, but also for their relation to each other as companion pieces; see note 60.

21. This terminology is taken from Peek (1955: 572-645; 1960: 256-80).

Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εἶ μὲν αἰοιδὴν
εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνω καίρια συγγελάσαι.

You bend your step past the tomb of Battus' son, who knew well how to
sing and how to join in laughter properly over wine. (Call. 35 Pf.)

(translations partially adapted from Bing 1995: 126)

These two famous Callimachean pieces both are epitaphs, the first intended for Callimachus' father (21) the second for the poet Callimachus himself (35). Already at first sight they reveal more correspondences than mere genre: both – not only the second – deal at least partially with one and the same person, the poet Callimachus, and both deal with the same aspect of this very person, his poetic aesthetics. Both are composed in elegiac distichs but differ in length, the first (21) being three (for the authenticity of the lines 5-6 see below), the second (35) only one distich long.

As far as the textual transmission is concerned, both epigrams are transmitted in the same book of the *Anthology*, 7, but not as a pair following one another, the first being number 525, the second 415. Modern scholarship has nevertheless generally agreed that the two form a pair and must have originally stood together in some sort of a Callimachean epigram-book, e.g. Wilamowitz, Rudolf Pfeiffer, Hans Herter, Gabathuler and Gow-Page. The latter, though skeptical of Wilamowitz's and Pfeiffer's view, place the two epigrams in their collection next to each other as numbers 29 and 30. Recent scholarship has supported and emphasized this fundamental interpretation of the two epigrams as a *pair* or *companion pieces*, such as that by Köhnken (1973), Bing (1995) and Gutzwiller (1998)²².

It would go beyond the purpose of this paper to discuss all aspects of this complex epigram-pair. Instead I shall confine myself to the following question: Do both epigrams illuminate each other in such a way that they *require* each other to be fully understood? And if so, what are the verbal links and signals, which indicate such an intertextual relation? In the first epigram (21) the speaker is Callimachus' father. He addresses the reader – or imagined passerby – in the 1st person: ἐμὸν ... σῆμα 'my ... tomb'. In a typical sepulchral epigram of the traditional kind one would expect the deceased to reveal *his* name. Not here. Instead he gives us two *other* names: the name of his father and the name of his son, in other words – since Callimachus' father is speaking – the name

22. Wilamowitz (1924: Vol. 1.175 n. 2); Pfeiffer (1928: 330-1); Herter (1931: 433); Gabathuler (1937: 54-6); Köhnken (1973: 426 with n. 3); Bing (1995: 126-8); Gutzwiller (1998a: 212-3); cf. also Lausberg (1982: 271) and White (1999: 169).

of Callimachus' grandfather and of Callimachus, the poet, himself: "Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με / ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην: 'Whoever you are who bends your step past my tomb, know that I am both child and father of Callimachus the Cyrenaean'. In this play with the traditional literary forms and the expectations of the audience, which are based on these traditions, we observe the typically Hellenistic, and especially typically Callimachean style of innovative and provocative poetry.

The second distich begins with εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν 'You must know them *both*', which refers back to Καλλιμάχου ... παῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην 'son and father of Callimachus'. What follows is a description of the activities of father and son: ὁ μὲν κοτε πατρίδος ὄπλων / ἤρξεν, ὁ δ' ἤεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης: 'The one led his country's troops, the other sang songs beyond the reach of envy'. The father (ὁ μὲν) was great in battle, the son (ὁ δέ) in song, both are thus, each in his way, Καλλί-μαχοι 'good-fighters'. Again we hear no word about name or activity of Callimachus' father, whose epitaph we are reading. One cannot escape the impression that the poem is only formally dedicated to Callimachus' father but ideally to Callimachus himself and his poetic aesthetics²³. The phrase κρέσσονα βασκανίης: 'beyond the reach of envy' reminds us of the prologue to the *Aitia*, where Callimachus calls his literary enemies a Βασκανίης ὄλοδὸν γένος, a 'baneful race of jealousy' (frgm. 1.17 Pf.).

Especially difficult, since corrupted, and highly debated is the third distich. But its general meaning seems to be that the Muses do not abandon the poet when he becomes old: 'No wonder, for at whom as children the Muses look ..., those they do not reject when their hairs are grey'²⁴.

The second epigram (35) is dedicated directly and exclusively to the poet Callimachus himself. As the preceding one, and as is conventional

23. Cf. Gabathuler (1937: 55): "denn es kommt dem Epigrammatiker vor allem darauf an, von sich selbst zu sprechen, darüber zu triumphieren, daß seine Dichtung stärker sei als der übelwollende Neid seiner Gegner." This view was dismissed by Cameron (1995: 7) and e.g. White (1999: 168).

24. These two lines occur again in the prologue to the *Aitia* (*Pap. Oxy.* 2079: frgm. I, 37-38 Pf.). If the missing first words are supplemented with Schol. Hes. Theog. 82 the only difference is μη λοξῶ in place of †ἄχρι βίου†. If correct the expression ὄμματι ... μη λοξῶ 'with no eye aslant' would mean 'with favour'. — The distich was condemned by Pfeiffer (1928: 330-1), Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 1.64) and Cameron (1995: 78 n. 5), but convincingly defended by Köhnken (1973: 425-41) and Livrea (1992: 291-8). Faraone (1986) transposes ἄχρι βίου from line 6 to 5 and reads: ὁ δ' ἤεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης / ἄχρι βίου. Μοῦσαι γὰρ, ὅσους ἴδον ὄμματι παῖδας / μη λοξῶ, πολιοῦς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους. Cf. Lehnuš (2000: 304)

in epitaphs, it is divided into the two parts: those of introduction and characterization. This time, however, it informs in a 3rd person address about the deceased: Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας: 'You bend your step past the tomb of Battus' son'. The second half characterizes Callimachus as being 'well skilled in song' εὖ μὲν αἰοιδῆν / εἰδότης, and in 'joining in laughter over wine' εὖ δ'οἴνω καίρια συγγελάσαι²⁵.

The correspondence between the two epigrams is already underlined by the verbal links between the two first lines, whose middle parts are identical: παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας. Even more striking is the fact that again the actual name of the *deceased himself* is not mentioned. Instead we get again a name of *another person*, this time in form of the patronymic Βαττιάδης. If we assume, that Βαττιάδης is a real patronymic, we would gain the name of Callimachus' father, Battus: exactly the name we were missing in 21. The use of the form Βαττιάδεω is quite remarkable in that the name of the deceased himself, Καλλιμάχου, would metrically have been perfectly suitable.

The interpretation accepted here is based, as already said, on the assumption that Βαττιάδης is a real patronymic ('son of Battus') and the name of Callimachus' father was in fact 'Battus', for which the only other testimonium is in the poet's vita in the Suda υἱὸς Βάττου καὶ Μεσάτμας (κ 227 Adler = Test. 1 Pfeiffer). Alan Cameron, however, points out that Βαττιάδης should rather be taken as a general reference to the mythical ancestors and kings of Cyrene, since Βάττος is not attested otherwise for the time in question. He concludes: "Despite certain formal similarities, they were surely written at different times, in different contexts and for different purposes. Callimachus may eventually have juxtaposed them in a collection of his epigrams, though if he did it should be noted that Meleager separated them again in his Garland."²⁶ If one decides to follow Cameron's view on Βαττιάδης, 35 would indeed not illuminate 21 (Battus), yet 21 would still illuminate 35 (Callimachus). There would be, in other words, no mutual, but still a one-sided dependence.

25. I understand the dative οἴνω with Beckby (1957: Vol. 2.247), Köhnken (1973: 441) and Bing (1995: 126) as a locative: 'beim Wein' / 'over wine', other than Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.188), who connect it with the verb συγγελάσαι: "jest seasonably over the wine", and Lausberg (1982: 271-2), who connects it with καίρια: "... der gut die Sangeskunst verstand, gut auch, zum Weine Passendes mit anderen gemeinsam zu lachen."

26. Cameron (1995: 79; cf. also p. 8) with reference to Laronde (1987: 99) for prosopographical evidence. Cf. Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.115) on Asclepiades, who was also called 'Sikelidas'. Cameron's view was recently emphasized by White (1999: *passim*), with an extended discussion of 'Battiades'.

In conclusion, both epigrams conceal the name of the deceased, but reveal the name of his relatives. Only when we take 21 and 35 together we gain the information basic for any epitaph:

(1) From 21 we receive name and city of the speaker in 35, which in addition with the patronymic in 35 gives us the full name of the poet and author of both epitaphs: Καλλιμάχος Βάττου Κυρηναῖος.

(2) From 35 we learn the name of the speaker in 21, Callimachus' father, Βάττος (if a patronymic).

Both epigrams were thus most likely designed to be read together as *companion pieces*, or, more exactly, as *parallel epigrams* (*Parallelepigramme*), without the possibility of telling which one preceded the other²⁷. This also casts a revealing light on the practice of the anthologists, who divided, in accordance with their own principles, two such closely linked epigrams²⁸. It remains a question, however, why Meleager, who composed three autobiographical epitaphs on himself in a sequence (AP 7.417. 418. 419) divided a similar pair of the celebrated Callimachus.

2.2. Theocritus, Epigrams 15. 7 = AP 7.658. 659 = G-P 7. 8

Γνώσομαι εἴ τι νέμεις ἀγαθοῖς πλέον ἢ καὶ ὁ δειλός
ἐκ σέθεν ὠσαύτως ἴσον, ὀδοιπὸρ', ἔχει.
'χαιρέτω οὗτος ὁ τύμβος', ἐρεῖς, 'ἐπεὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος
κεῖται τῆς ἱερῆς κοῦφος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς'.

I shall learn whether you give more honor to good men, or whether a coward has from you, traveler, the same measure too. // You will say, 'A blessing on this tomb, for it lies light over the hallowed head of Eurymedon'. (Theoc. epigr. 15)

Νήπιον υἱὸν ἔλειπες, ἐν ἀλικία δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Εὐρύμεδον, τύμβου τοῦδε θανὸν ἔτυχες.
σοὶ μὲν ἔδρα θείοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι τὸν δὲ πολῖται
τιμασέδντι πατρὸς μνώμενοι ὡς ἀγαθοῦ.

The son you have left is a babe, and you yourself, Eurymedon, have found this tomb, dead in your prime. // Your place is now among the Blessed, but him your fellow-citizens will honor, recalling his noble father. (Theoc. epigr. 7) (translations adapted from Gow 1952; 1965)

27. Wilamowitz (1924: 175 Anm. 2) suspects 21 to have stood first, Pfeiffer (1928: 330-1) and White (1999: 170) 35.

28. Cf. the explanation of Gutzwiller (1998a: 212 n. 62): "The absence of 30 [G-P] from the AP sequence is no obstacle to this thesis [*i.e. of pairs, companion pieces*], because we know that it had been anthologized earlier by Meleager. It appears in the Garland among epitaphs for famous persons, mostly poets, the series that introduced Meleager's *epitymbia*. There it was given a place of honour preceeding a series of epitaphs for Meleager himself ..."

These two epigrams from the Theocritean *corpus* show again some remarkable correspondences: Both are sepulchral epigrams, both are dedicated to a dead man with one and the same name, Eurymedon, both praise this Eurymedon in a rather similar way and both are linked in terms of verbal and stylistic expression. For differences, however, it is to be mentioned that 7 is written in the Doric (cf. l. 4 τιμασεῦντι), 15 in the Ionic dialect²⁹. Wilamowitz argued that the epigrams 15 and 7 were designed for one and the same person, Eurymedon, and for one and the same tomb, a thesis which was generally accepted by Geffcken, Gow, Beckby and others³⁰. In recent years, on the other hand, Gallavotti challenged this view and argued in favor of two totally independent epigrams, in which the identical name Eurymedon in 15.3 and 7.2 is not more than pure chance. Gallavotti's interpretation, however, is partially based on his conjecture in the second line of epigram 7: ἔτυχε, in place of the transmitted ἔτυχεσ, with the result that 7 would deal not with Eurymedon's death as in the traditional exegesis but with the death of his infant son³¹. Rossi accepts Gallavotti's new reading of the text, but draws a different conclusion: For her the two epigrams 15 and 7 still belong together and to a single tomb, but not as two epitaphs for Eurymedon but as one being for Eurymedon and the other for his infant son in the tradition of common (family-)tombs for father and son³².

In the case of Theocritus, the epigrams are transmitted in two different traditions, once *via* the Ambrosian family of the bucolic manuscripts (except nr. 23-25) and once *via* the *Anthology*. The bucolic manuscripts present the epigrams as an author-based collection in an order which was

29. In the *Anthology* we find the 'imperfectly Ionicised' variant τιμησεῦντι; see Gow (1952: Vol. 2.533). – Cf. below Martial 2.91 and 92, where the two corresponding epigrams are written even in different metres.

30. Wilamowitz (1913: 230 n. 3); Geffcken (1916: 109); Gow (1952: Vol. 2.533); Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.529); Beckby (1957: Vol. 2.597).

31. Gallavotti (1986: 107-9) writes and translates: Νήπιον υἱὸν ἔλειπεσ, ἐν ἀλικίᾳ δὲ καὶ αὐτός / Εὐρύμεδον, τύμβου τοῦδε θανὼν ἔτυχε: "Aveni lasciato un bimbo infante, o Eurimedonte; ma anche *lui*, morendo in giovanissima età, ebbe in sorte questo sepolcro"; Rossi (2001: 95) renders accordingly (cf. next note): "You left behind a small baby, o Eurymedon, but now *he*, who died young, has also received this tomb". – Gallavotti's main argument supporting his conjecture ἔτυχε is that the καὶ of line 1 is not to be taken with δὲ but with αὐτός in the sense of 'also he', which must then refer to the νήπιος υἱός. Gallavotti's interpretation is also accepted by Tarditi (1988: 50-1).

32. Rossi (2001: 153 with n. 9): "This new interpretation of epigram 7 would not prevent one from thinking that epigram 15 could be the epitaph for the father Eurymedon, and that both the epigrams can be considered inscribed on a single tomb containing the remains of the father and son. There are, in fact numerous metrical inscriptions that attest to the practice of erecting a common tomb for a father and a son." Cf. Peek (1955: 645-57 = *GV* 2016-37).

kept e.g. by Gow in his Theocritus-edition. This collection of Theocritean epigrams originates not from Theocritus himself, but was compiled by a later editor³³. Therefore we can not conclude, that 15 and 7 did not stand next to each other when they were originally published. Interestingly enough, they stand together in the *Anthology*, Book 7, as subsequent numbers 658 and 659³⁴. This relative order was repeated by Gow-Page, who remark (1965: Vol. 2.529) that "both epitaphs ... are of good quality and worthy of Theocritus". The question 'companion pieces or not?' becomes here more complicated by the fact that in the *Anthology* the first distich of 15 is attached to the preceding epigram 657 by Leonidas of Tarentum, the second to the following epigram 659³⁵. The following arguments will try to support not only the thesis that both epigrams belong to the same author, Theocritus, but that they represent a close unity as *companion pieces*.

In the first epigram (15) the imagined passerby is addressed in the 1st person: Γνώσομαι εἴ τι νέμεις ἀγαθοῖς πλέον ἢ καὶ ὁ δειλός / ἐκ σέθεν ὡσαύτως ἴσον, ὁδοιπόρ', ἔχει: 'I shall learn whether you give more honor to good men, or whether a coward has from you, traveler, the same measure too'. The emphasis lies clearly on the contrast between the (moral) qualities of being 'good' (ἀγαθός) or 'bad' (δειλός)³⁶, between which a passerby might or might not (γνώσομαι εἴ ...) draw a distinction³⁷. One question seems never to have been asked: Who is the speaker in 15, who is the subject of γνώσομαι? Is it Eurymedon himself or is it

33. Wilamowitz (1910: III-V) places this edition in the time of Sulla and in the hands of the grammarian Artemidorus, and (1906: 124-6) "eine beträchtliche Zeit nach Theokrit, aber vor Vergil". An even later dating in the imperial times is offered by Smutny (1955: 69). Gutzwiller (1996: 119-48) on the other hand, argues in favour of a first collection made as early as the 3rd century B.C., including "perhaps the epigrams".

34. Cf. Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.529): "AP puts them rightly together though they are apart in the bucolic mss."

35. For the confusion in the manuscripts cf. Helmbold (1938: 48) and Gow (1952: Vol. 2.525-6).

36. For the pair ἀγαθός – δειλός Gow (1952: Vol. 2.540) refers to Theognis, where δειλός is often used synonymously with κακός (57-8. 105-8. 612-4. 1025-26) and concludes: "It is not necessary to suppose that courage is the quality in question". The fact that Eurymedon died in the prime of his life (ἐν ἀλικίᾳ) and was obviously famous (ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ; τὸν δὲ πολῖται / τιμασεῦντι πατρὸς μνώμενοι ὡς ἀγαθοῦ), make it likely to think of somebody killed at war.

37. The closest parallel for this relation between deceased and passerby might be another sepulchral epigram by Theocritus, 19 (= AP 13.3) on Hipponax, where the same distinction between 'good' (κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν) and 'bad' (πονηρός) is made, this time from the side of the deceased: Ὁ μουσοποιὸς ἐνθαδ' Ἰππώναξ κείται. / εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχου τῷ τύμβῳ / εἰ δ' ἔσσι κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν, / θαρσεῶν καθίζου, κῆν θέλλης ἀπόβριξον. Cf. Rossi (2001: 210).

the tomb? The latter, the speaking tomb, is quite conventional in an epitaph, the normal type more or less being 'I am the tomb of ...', followed by the name of the deceased. In favor of the tomb as the speaker one might note the fact, that in the second distich the passerby is asked to address not the deceased directly, but the tomb of the deceased, so that a dialogue would arise between passerby and tomb *about* the deceased Eurymedon: χαιρέτω οὗτος ὁ τύμβος, ἐρεῖς, ἐπεὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος / κεῖται τῆς ἱερῆς κοῦφος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς: 'A blessing *on this tomb*, for it (i.e. the tomb) lies light over the hallowed head of Eurymedon'.

The second distich reveals then the name of the deceased, Εὐρυμέδων³⁸. The futuristic ἐρεῖς 'you will say' supposes a positive answer to the deliberate question asked in the first distich εἴ τι νέμεις ἀγαθοῖς πλέον ἢ... κτλ, in Gow's paraphrase 'if you draw the proper distinction, you will single out this tomb for benediction'. The reason for this confidence in a positive reaction by the passerby is given in the following ἐπει-sentence: ἐπεὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος / κεῖται τῆς ἱερῆς κοῦφος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς: 'for it (i.e. the tomb) lies light over the hallowed head of Eurymedon'. The deceased Eurymedon is thus qualified as a good man worth being remembered by two elements: his head is hallowed (ἱερή) and the tomb lies light (κοῦφος) over his head. The qualification as ἱερός (cf. θεῖος in the next epigram) of a person worth being remembered is not unusual in itself, cf. *AP* 7.3.1 (of Homer), 7.37.2 (of Sophocles), 7.362.1 (of the rhetor Aëtius) and 7.474.2³⁹. The phrase 'holy head' (ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ) goes back to an Homeric passage (*Iliad* 15.39); the earliest epigraphical evidence derives according to Rossi from the second quarter of the 4th century⁴⁰. The benediction, which the passerby is asked to express, 'may you be covered by light earth', *sit tibi terra leuis* is also traditional in Greek and especially in Latin epitaphs and occurs already in Euripides' *Alcestis* 463 and *Helen* 853⁴¹. What surprises here is more the fact that κοῦφος is not part of the wish itself as

38. The name occurs once more in *AP* 7.107, an epigram of Diogenes Laertios on Aristotle, with no visible relation to the Theocritean epigrams. The name is not unusual in classical and Hellenistic times. Among historical persons the most famous is the Athenian general of the Peloponnesian war (cf. Thuc. 3.80; 4.58; 7.42 and often). Cf. Traill (1998: nr. 444990-445025) and Fraser-Matthews (1994: 183; 1997: 175).

39. Cf. Ludwig (1967: 326); Táran (1979: 41 with n. 72 and 73). Especially in connection with Homer the epithet θεῖος is almost a topos; cf. duToit (1997: 270-1 with n. 17); also *GV* 2040.8 νῦν γὰρ θειοτέρην μοῖραν ἔχετε βίотου.

40. *SEG* 41 (1991) nr. 226; cf. Rossi (2001: 213-4). – In the Homeric language ἱερός is never said directly of a person, but is used in combination with μένος or ἴς; see v. Martitz (1960: 302-3); on the phrase ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ see v. Martitz (1960: 291 n. 3).

41. Cf. Kannicht (1969: Vol. 2.228) on v. 852-4. Cf. the collections by Lattimore (1962: 65-74) and Hartke (1901).

is normally the case, but part of the reasoning, *why* the passerby should bless Eurymedon's tomb: ἐπεὶ ... κεῖται 'for the tomb lies'. Gow remarks that the traditional wish is "given a novel turn" and explains: "perhaps the tomb was in fact light in structure"⁴². But is it likely that κοῦφος refers to the structure of the tomb, which is otherwise not described at all in the epigram? And why, if so, could a light tomb-construction be a reason for a benediction? Probably a better explanation can be drawn from the next epigram.

In the second epigram (7) the speaker is neither Eurymedon nor the tomb. Instead just the opposite is the case: the passerby addresses Eurymedon: Νήπιον υἱὸν ἔλειπες, ἐν ἀλικία δὲ καὶ αὐτός / Εὐρυμέδον, τύμβου τοῦδε θανῶν ἔτυχες: 'The son you have left is a babe, and you yourself, Eurymedon, have found this tomb, dead in your prime'. The second distich affirms that Eurymedon enjoys the honor among the deceased (σοὶ μὲν) and his son among the living (τὸν δέ): σοὶ μὲν ἔδρα θείοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι τὸν δὲ πολῖται / τιμασεῦντι πατρὸς μνώμενοι ὡς ἀγαθοῦ: 'your place is now among the Blessed, but him your fellow-citizens will honor, recalling his noble father'. Epitaphs often consist of a fictitious speech, in which the passerby addresses the deceased; Peek provides a whole section for this type of epitaph with a large number of parallels from real verse-inscriptions⁴³. What is of interest here is more the fact that, in terms of speaker-roles, the second epigram (7) continues exactly where the first (15) just has ended.

There are additional verbal signals which support the idea of 7 being continued by 15; they even almost indicate a *Ringcomposition*: 1) The last line of the second epigram (τὸν δὲ πολῖται) / τιμασεῦντι πατρὸς μνώμενοι ὡς ἀγαθοῦ resembles the first line of the first epigram νέμεις ἀγαθοῖς: The citizens will honor the son recalling his noble father like Eurymedon hopes the passerby will honor him. 2) The second line of the second epigram provides two elements, the tomb τύμβου and the name of the deceased Eurymedon, just as the second to last line of the first epigram mentions τύμβος and Εὐρυμέδοντος. Additionally the demonstrative τοῦδε refers perfectly back to τύμβος in the preceding epigram.

Both epigrams can again be called *companion pieces*. This time, however, their relation is not one of *parallel epigrams* (*Parallelepigramme*) as in the previous Callimachean pair, but of *continuation epigrams* (*Fortsetzungsepigramme*).

42. Gow (1952: Vol. 2. 540).

43. Peek (1960: 126-39).

What is the exact meaning of κοῦφος in the end of the first epigram (15)? Why can one say, that ‘the tomb lies light over the hallowed head of Eurymedon’? Obviously the notion of ‘light earth covering the deceased’ must mean something positive, some sort of relief for the deceased. Normally, as mentioned earlier, it is referred to as a wish ‘may the earth be light’. But here it is not a wish, but a stated fact. On which grounds? We learn that Eurymedon is ἀγαθός and ἱερός, otherwise, if he would be δειλός, the passerby would not address him at all. So the very fact of being ἀγαθός and ἱερός might justify the statement ‘the tomb lies light over the hallowed head of Eurymedon’. But if we take the second epigram (7) into account, we gain a much more convincing motivation for the light earth-covering: Eurymedon has left an infant and the second distich asserts that ‘the fellow-citizens will honor this son, recalling his noble father’. In other words Eurymedon lives on in the memory of his fellow-citizens, because by seeing the son, the fellow-citizens will remember the father. This notion of surviving memory and fame easily explains, then, the self-asserted statement κοῦφος ... κτλ. With ἀγαθός and ἱερός in the first epigram, the notion of memory and fame is already given, but only the second epigram provides a satisfactory explanation.

2.3. Martial 2.91 and 92

Rerum certa salus, terrarum gloria, Caesar
 sospite quo magnos credimus esse deos,
 si festinatis totiens collecta libellis
 detinuere oculos carmina nostra tuos,
 quod fortuna vetet fieri, permitte videri,
 natorum genitor credar ut esse trium.
 haec, si displicui, fuerint solacia nobis;
 haec fuerint nobis praemia, si placui.

Caesar, the world's sure salvation, glory of the earth, whose safety is our assurance that the great gods exist, if my poems, so often collected in hasty little volumes, have detained your eyes, permit in semblance what fortune forbids in fact, that I may be taken for the father of three children. If I have displeased, let this be my consolation, this my reward if I have pleased. (Mart. 2.91)

Natorum mihi ius trium roganti
 Musarum pretium dedit mearum
 solus qui poterat. valebis, uxor.
 non debet domini perire munus.

The Right of Three Children he gave me at my petition who alone had the power, as a reward for my poetry. Good-bye, wife. Our Lord's gift should not be wasted. (Mart. 2.92)

(translations adapted from Shackleton Bailey 1993)

The two epigrams, published around 85 A.D.⁴⁴, deal with Martial's request (*rogatio*, see 2.92.1 *mihi roganti*) to receive the so called ‘three-children-right’ (*ius trium liberorum*). This privilege which goes back to the *lex Popia Poppaea* from the year 9 A.D. was later, as in the case of Martial, also granted to persons who did not properly qualify for it⁴⁵. The first of the two epigrams, 91, begins with a praise on the emperor: *rerum certa salus, terrarum gloria, Caesar ... eqs.* The hope that the emperor, probably Domitian⁴⁶, was impressed by the poet's work leads from this *captatio benevolentiae* to the actual request: *permitte ... eqs.* The second epigram, 92, remarkably written in a different metre, informs the reader that this very request was in fact granted and refers directly back to 91: *natorum mihi ius trium roganti / musarum pretium dedit mearum.* These two epigrams belong clearly together as *companion pieces* forming one continuous story split over two poems (*Fortsetzungsepigramme*). They almost qualify as a *pair* for Lessing's rule of a *single* epigram, which should be divided into expectation (‘Erwartung’) and information or explanation (‘Aufschluß’)⁴⁷.

Martial uses the technique of combining two (or more) epigrams into pairs (or sequences) quite frequently, the example taken here being only one out of several. Johannes Scherf, in a closer analysis of such pairs in Martial, divides them into six functional groups: (1) “Variantenpaare”, (2) “Fortsetzungspaare”, (3) “Replik oder Reaktion”, (4) “Illustration oder Begründung”, (5) “Anknüpfungen, namentlich oder motivisch”, (6) “Korrespondierende Gedichtpaare”⁴⁸. Not all of these groups or their individual examples fit the initial definition of *companion pieces*. Two epigrams which are simply joined by “Anknüpfung” might be close to each other by similar or identical motifs, but too distant for a qualified pair in the sense that they require each other to be fully understood (as in 2.91 and 92).

44. See Daube (1976: 146).

45. Mommsen (1887: 888 with n. 4); Kaser (1971: 320); Sherwin-White (1966: 558) on 10.2.1. Cf. also Stat. silv. 4.8.20-2 and Plin. epist. 2.13.8.

46. See Daube (1976: 146). – Martial refers to his *ius trium liberorum* two more times, in 3.95.5-6 and again in 9.97.5-6. In these two epigrams he speaks of the ‘both emperors’ (*uterque Caesar*), who granted him the distinction. Mommsen understood the expression *uterque Caesar* as referring to Vespasian and Titus (1887: 888 with n. 4), Friedländer as referring to Titus and Domitian (1886: 281). Daube argues that it was initially granted by Titus and later reissued by Domitian (1976). For more see Szelest (1986: 2565-66 n. 7).

47. Lessing (1771); cf. Kästner (1965, Vorwort).

48. Scherf (1998: 128-31; cf. also 2001: 35-46). I list some of his examples: (1) 3.42. 43; 9.23. 24; (2) 5.34. 37; (3) 1.34. 35; 3.82. 83; 8.28. 29; 11.19. 20; (4) 11.90. 91; (5) 7.14. 15; 7.51. 52; 1.105. 106; (6) 5.10. 13 and 5.11. 12. Scherf follows partially Burnikel (1980: 88-95) and Holzberg (1988: 40).

It seems likely that Martial did not invent this technique but rather developed what he found among his Greek predecessors. Among these predecessors, who undoubtedly influenced him, was the Greek writing epigrammatist Lucillius. Lucillius, who lived under Nero (cf. *AP* 9.572), produced more than one hundred largely satiric epigrams. In these epigrams Burnikel finds eleven pairs (“Variantenpaare”) which were obviously designed to be read together, in which normally the second epigram is an exaggeration in relation to the first⁴⁹. The relation between his epigram-pairs is normally the exaggeration (“Übertreibung”), underlined by verbal links like repetitions: In *AP* 11.276 a lazy person called Marcus admits to be a murderer only to remain in prison, in 277 he never sleeps to avoid sleepwalking.

2.4. Ammianos, Epigrams *AP* 11.230 and 231

Μασταύρων ἀφελῶν δύο γράμματα, Μάρκε, τὰ πρῶτα
ἄξιός εἰ πολλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων.

From Mastauron taken away, Markus, the two first letters, you deserve many of what is left [i.e. crosses]. (*AP* 11.230)

Θηρίον εἶ παρὰ γράμμα καὶ ἄνθρωπος διὰ γράμμα·
ἄξιός εἰ πολλῶν, ὃν παρὰ γράμμα γράφη.

You are a wild beast all but a letter and a human being because of a letter. You deserve many of the beasts, to whom you, all but a letter, belong. (*AP* 11.231)

These two satiric riddle-epigrams are transmitted in Book 11 of the *Anthology* as numbers 230 and 231. They are part of a longer sequence of satiric epigrams (*AP* 11.226-31) written by a certain Ammianos about whom we do not know much except that he lived in the time of Hadrian, that he composed ca. 26 epigrams, mostly satiric, and that he imitated Lucillius as Martial did. That the two epigrams 230 and 231 form a closer pair has been already argued by Erich Pertsch and more recently by Marion Lausberg⁵⁰.

The first epigram (230) is based on a word pun with the city name Μάσταυρα⁵¹: When one takes the two first letters away from Μασταύρων, the addressee, a certain Markos, deserves many (ἄξιός εἰ πολλῶν) of what is left (ὑπολειπομένων), namely σταύρων, ‘crosses’, i.e. multiple crucifixions. The Lydian city Mastaura (nearby the modern

49. Burnikel (1980: 69-95), “Variantenpaare bei Lukill”, on *AP* 11.93. 94; 276. 277; 166. 294; 161. 163; 253. 254; 205. 206; 106. 107; 138. 148; 313. 314; *AP* 11.281 and 16.270. – Cf. in general Robert (1967: 179-295, esp. 243).

50. Pertsch (1911: 59); Lausberg (1982: 392 n. 24; cf. 465).

Nazilli), also mentioned in Strabo 14.1.47, Pliny nat. 5.120 and Stephanus of Byzantium, might well have been the addressee’s home⁵².

The second epigram, 231, contains another word pun: This time the addressee is a wild beast (θηρίον) all but a letter (παρὰ γράμμα)⁵³ and a human being because of a letter (διὰ γράμμα). He deserves many of these (ἄξιός εἰ πολλῶν), to whom he all but a letter (παρὰ γράμμα) belongs⁵⁴. This time the pun is obviously based on a proper name. Looking at the nearby epigram 230 one naturally thinks of its addressee Markos⁵⁵: When we read Markos all but a letter (παρὰ γράμμα), in other words when we take the initial *M* away, the result is ἄρκος, a late and rare form of ἄρκτος, ‘bear’⁵⁶. In the first epigram, 230, the word pun works with the shortening of the two initial letter of Μασταύρων; in the second, 231, with the shortening of the initial letter of Μ-άρκος. The second epigram, however, does not provide the name, on which the whole word pun is based, Markos. The name is only present from the reading of the preceding poem⁵⁷. Epigram 231 is without the knowledge

51. For the general background of the Hellenistic and Roman wordplay see O’Hara (1996) and e.g. for Martial see Grewing (1998: 340-53). For wordplays based on names of cities and countries cf. Brecht (1930: 99-100).

52. So Aubreton (1972: 152 n. 4).

53. For this use of παρὰ cf. LSJ 1304 s.v. παρὰ 5b, who paraphrase “you are a bear ... all but a letter”, W. Pape ([Braunschweig 31914] Vol. 2.469 s.v. παρὰ III 3): “du bist ein Thier ... bis auf einen Buchstaben, den du nämlich zu viel hast”. Stadtmüller (1888: Vol. 2.324) translates “Bellua es, praeter literam, et homo per literam: / dignus es multis quorum praeter literam scriberis”. – For the expression παρὰ γράμμα Stadtmüller (1888: Vol. 2.380) cites a parallel from Tiberius Rhetor 27 (556-7 Walz) τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὀνομασίας βαρύτερόν τε καὶ λαμπρότερόν ἐστι, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο εἶδος χαριέστερον, ὃ παρὰ γράμμα γίνεται, ὡς ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διοπειθούς (Dem. 8.27). ‘μέλλει πολιορκεῖν’, ‘τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσιν’. μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντων, Ἕλληνας λέγω. (ed. G. Ballaira, Rome 1968, p. 28).

54. The relative pronoun ὃν is best to be taken with γράφη in the sense of ‘to enroll oneself, to belong to’; see Aubreton (1972: 153): “Ce que tu mérites? D’être condamné à une foule de ces bêtes parmi lesquelles tu comptes à une lettre près!” For the syntax cf. S. *OT* 411 ὥστ’ οὐ Κρέοντος προστάτου γεγράψομαι, “so that I shall not be written down as Creon’s partisan” (Lloyd-Jones); X. *Cyr.* 4.3.21; LSJ 360 s.v. γράφω A.II.3; B.2. Not clear in this respect is Paton’s translation (1918: 181): “and you deserve many of the beast that you are all but a letter”.

55. One could, of course, also think first of Κλέων, which would become λέων, ‘lion’; the name Κλέων occurs, however, only once in the *Anthology*, Book 5.184(183).5.

56. LXX 4 Kings 2.24; Apoc. 13.2; IG XIV 1302 (II A.D.); Ael. *NA* 1.31. In the *AP* only here. Cf. LSJ 242 s.v. I.

57. Cf. Lausberg (1982: 392 n. 24): “Bei *AP* 11, ... 231 ist innerhalb des Epigramms der Name nicht genannt. In der Umgebung des Dichters war natürlich gewiß bekannt, wer gemeint war; für einen weiteren Leserkreis muß ein Lemma oder zumindest ein unmittelbar vorhergehendes Epigramm mit Namensnennung (11.230) die Voraussetzungen für das Verständnis schaffen.”

of 230 almost unintelligible, certainly when one takes into account that the pun becomes even more complicated by the rather rare form ἄρκος for the regular ἄρκτος. The connection between the two epigrams is further emphasized by verbal links, since in both poems the pentameter starts with exactly the same phrase ἄξιός ἐῖ πολλῶν (cf. Call. epigr. 21 and 35 above). Another link of importance can be found in Μασταύρων in 230. As long as we take the *two* first letters away, as the epigram suggests, we get σταύρων. But taking away the *three* first letters, the result is ταύρων, 'bulls', which fits to the θηρίον-motif in 231.

AP 11.230 and 231 form thus a parallel pair of *companion pieces* (*Parallelepigramme*), in which the understanding of 231 depends on the knowledge of 230.

3. Conclusion

The four examples discussed here fall into two functional groups. The pairs by Callimachus and by Ammianos show a parallel intertextual relation, in which both illuminate each other mutually (Callimachus)⁵⁸ or in which at least one epigram is a requirement for the understanding of the other (Ammianos). The pairs by Theocritus and Martial, on the other hand, form a continuous story split over two epigrams, with a clear order as to which epigram is to be read first and which second. As to the order in which the epigrams were transmitted in the manuscripts, some stand together, as the pairs by Theocritus (in the *Anthology*), Ammianos, and Martial (who is, of course, different from the poets collected in the *Anthology*). Others, like the pair by Theocritus (in the bucolic Mss.) and by Callimachus, are, however, separated. This illustrates that the order of the *Anthologies*, as artful as they are in their own right, can not serve as reliable witnesses to the question of whether an epigram-author intended two of his pieces to be read together as *companion pieces* or not. Another factor, which has to be taken into account and which becomes especially clear in the books of Martial, is that even the poet himself might not have placed a pair next to each other but used them for more complicated patterns like *a-b-a*, *a-b-b-a*, etc. The four pairs from Callimachus, Theocritus, Martial and Ammianos, do not allow a full picture, but cast a selective light on what seems to be a typically Hellenistic technique to enhance the meaning of individual pieces of poetry by arrangement. There are, as already mentioned in the beginning, other epigrams worth

58. Pace Cameron, see above note 22.

looking at, for example AP 7.264 and 266 (G-P 60. 61), two epitaphs by Leonidas of Tarentum, each designed for a shipwreck victim, but only one providing a proper name (Diocles). Or AP 7.37 and 707 (G-P 22. 23), two epitaphs by Dioscorides on Sophocles and on Sositheus, the Hellenistic dramatist, which were "evidently meant to be read together" (Gow-Page 1965: Vol. 2.254) as "neighboring texts *on the page*" (Bing 1988: 40)⁵⁹. Or AP 7.21 and 22 (G-P 21. 22), the two epitaphs by Simias of Rhodes on Sophocles resembling a similar pair on Anacreon (AP 7.24. 25)⁶⁰. One also thinks of the two much discussed epigrams on Baucis (AP 7.710 and 712 = G-P 1. 2 = GV 1910). If by Erinna or at least by one and the same author, they very well can be read as *Fortsetzungsepigramme*⁶¹.

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59. See above note 20; Gabathuler (1937: 86); Gutzwiller (1998a: 259-60).

60. Wilamowitz' view (1913: 225) that the understanding of 22 requires the knowledge of 21 was challenged, though without detailed arguments, by Gow-Page (1965: Vol. 2.514 n. 1); see also Gabathuler (1937: 46-8).

61. They are printed as one continuous poem under "Ergänzungs- und Parallelgedichte" by Peek (1960: 256-7. 346-7 [Nr. 442]). Wilamowitz (1913: 228-30) argues that 712 was intended to be read first: "aber es ist doch eins als erstes gedacht ..., in dem Baukis sofort genannt wird, und das den Wanderer auffordert die Front entlang zu schreien; das zweite ruft ihr den Scheidegruß." The interpretation as a pair is also accepted by Luck (1969: 87 with n. 14): "Die beiden Epigramme auf den Tod der Baukis gehören zusammen ... vielleicht sind zwei Seiten der Statue zu denken, wie etwa die des Gorgias in Olympia zwei Aufschriften erhielt (Nr. 875a Kaibel)." Cf. also Meusel (1995: 34) on the structural parallels between 710 and 712.

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