



Voiceless writing?
Epigrams, performance and oral poetry

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**Conference Booklet with abstracts
and handouts**

1

σῆμα Φρασικλείας. κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ,
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

CEG 24 = GVI 68 = 422-3 Hunter

This is the tomb of Phrasikleia. I shall forever be called a maiden, as I have received this name from the gods in place of marriage.

2

Δωρίχα, ὅστέα μὲν σὰ πάλαι κόνις ἦν ὃ τε δεσμὸς
χαίτης ἣ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,
ἣ ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον
σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἦψαο κισσυβίων·
Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν
ῶδῆς αἰ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες
οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν, ὃ Ναύκρατις ᾧδε φυλάξει
ἔστ' ἂν ἱη Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ' ἁλὸς πελάγη.

Posidippus 122 A-B = HE 3142-9

Doricha, your bones have long been dust, along with the band you wore in your hair, and the perfume-breathing shawl in which you once enfolded the graceful Charaxus, flesh to flesh, and took hold of early-morning cups of wine. But the white columns of Sappho's lovely song still endure and will endure, proclaiming your blessed name, which Naucratis will preserve so long as ships sail forth from the Nile into the sea. (trans. Olson, adapted)

3

Παρθενίκας τόδε μνᾶμα Θρασισθένους ἦρι θανοίσας
Δαμόκλει' ἔστασε κασιγνήταν ποθέσασα.

SEG 48.1067 = 420-1 Hunter

Damocleia set up this memorial for Parthenike, daughter of Thrasisthenes, who died too early. She misses her sister.

πιστῆς ἠδείας τε χάριν φιλότητος ἑταίρα
Εὐθυλλα στήλην τήνδ' ἐπέθηκε τάφωι
σῶι, Βιότη· μνήμην γὰρ αἰεὶ δακρυτὸν ἔχουσα
ἠλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαίει ἀποφθιμένης.

CEG 97 = GVI 1415 = 432-5 Hunter

For a faithful and sweet friendship, her friend Euthulla set up this *stēlē* over your tomb, Biote. Always amidst tears she remembers and weeps for your youth which wasted away.

4

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τί[τθ]ὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει
Ἴπποστράτης, καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε.
καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὔσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς, καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ.
οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν, 5
πρώτει σοὶ τι[μα]ί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνοι Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται.

CEG 571

Here the earth covers over the worthy nurse of Hippostrate; so now she misses you. While you were alive I loved you, nurse, and now too I honour you still, though you lie beneath the soil, and I shall honour you as long as I live. And I know that even beneath the soil, if there is really any reward for the worthy, you above all, nurse, have honours lying in store with Persephone and Pluto. (trans. Clairmont, adapted)

5

Epigramma manifeste, ut mihi [sc. Hansen] quidem videtur, a puella Hippostrata conscriptum est ('Nutricem Hippostrate deflet vulgaribus epigrammatum sententiis verbisque abutens.' [Kaibel])

CEG 571, commentary

6

καὶ νῦν Κλεινίου υἱὸν Ἀθηναῖον στεφανώσω
Ἀλκιβιάδην νέοισιν ὑμνήσας τρόποις·
οὐ γάρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἐλεγείωι,
νῦν δ' ἐν ἰαμβείωι κείσεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως.

Critias fr. 4 West

And now I shall crown the Athenian son of Cleinias, Alcibiades, with a song in a new manner. For it was not possible in any way to fit the name into elegiac verse; now it will lie, not unmetrically, in an iambic line. (trans. Gerber)

7 (i)

Μαρκέλλης τάφος εἰμί· τίς αὕτη, γράμματα λέξει
ἀρτίγαμος κόρη, εἴκοσιν οὔσα ἐτέων.
αὐτὴ ἢ γεννήσασα καὶ κηδεύσασα ἐπέγραψα,
ἄχθος ἔχουσα κραδίης πένθεος οὐκ ὀλίγου.

IGUR III 1267 = GVI 120

I am the tomb of Marcella. The writing will tell you who she was: a girl recently married, twenty years old. I who gave her birth and cared for her saw to this inscription, having in my heart a burden of no little grief.

7 (ii)

αὐτὸς ὁ γεννήσας καὶ κηδεύσας ἐπέγραψα,
ἄχθος ἔχων κραδίης πένθεος οὐκ ὀλίγου.

I who fathered her and cared for her saw to this inscription, having in my heart a burden of no little grief.

τριακοντα-
 ετῆς Συμφέρουσ' [ἐ]νθάδε
 κ[εῖ]μαι, ξένη, γένει δ[ὲ] Λ[ί]βυσσα,
 θε[οῖς] σ[ύ]νναϊος σωφροσυνῆ καὶ
 στοργῇ κατὰ πάντα ἐμοὶ γεγο- 5
 νοῦσα, τοῖς δὲ τρόποισι λείαν ἀρε-
 σασα σεμνῇ πόλει, Ἀπτεραίων δῆμῳ,
 οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ λύπην κατέθεντο
 αἰφνιδίῳ θανάτῳ, ἀπέπεμπαν ἀ-
 πλῶς εἰς Ἄϊδα τύμβῳ. χαίρειτ' ἀπλῶς 10
 πάντες παροδεῖται καὶ Ἀπτεραίω[ν]
 δῆμε, οἵτινες σπουδῇ καὶ δόξῃ τα-
 χέως κατέθεσθ' ἐμὲ εἰς μέγα τεῦχος.
 εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γράμ[α]ς Νείκων ὁ ἀνὴρ
 αὐτῆς γεγονώς γε, νῦν δ' οὐκέτι 15
 βασκανθεὶς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄλλῳ τὸ καλὸν
 παρέδωκα, ἦντιν' ἐγὼ ποθῶ λείαν
 διὰ σωφροσύνην καθὼς προέγραφα,
 κούδεν ὅλως ἀνύω. κραυγάζω
 κούκ ἐπακούει· τῇ στοργῇ μὲν ἐγὼ 20
 κατέχω· ὡς εἶχον ἔσωμε τῷ αὐτῷ·

κούδεν ὅλως ἀνύω· ὡς ἄνεμος γὰρ ἀπλῶς
 ἐπετάσθη.

ICret III 44

Here I lie, Sympherousa, aged thirty, a foreigner of Libyan origin. Through prudence and affection in all my affairs I joined the dwelling of the gods and greatly for [my] character was valued, in this great city, among the people of Aptera, who too rewarded me with their grief at my sudden death, simply sending me off to Hades, [having laid me] in a grave. Farewell to all, frankly, you, passers-by, and you, people of Aptera, who with no hesitation laid me to rest in this great urn, with passion and honour. —“I who wrote am Nikon, once her husband, but now no longer. A victim of the evil eye, I gave the beauty to someone else, [the woman] that I desire so much, for her prudence, as I wrote above, and I can do nothing at all. I shout, but she does not hear. I hold on to [this] love, I will continue to be, who I was, but I can do nothing at all; she flew straight away like the wind.”

(translation Wypustek and Chaniotis, adapted)

[πό]ντου κυμαίνοντος ἐνοικήτιραι ἄθαμ[βεῖς]
 [N]ηριίδες ξανθοὺς λυσάμεναι πλοκάμου[ς]
 δεῦτε πρὸς ἠϊθέου νέον ἠρίον ὄφρα τάχιστα
 με[ῖζο]ν Ἀχιλλείης θρήνον ἀεισόμεναι·
 ὄν Κύπρις οὐ λεχέεσσι γαμοκλόπος ἐμνήστευσεν 5
 οὐδὲ καλῶι θαλάμωι συνκατέλεξε κόρηι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτως ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἔβην Πλούτωνι πάροικος
 καὶ πατρί, τὸν πρόσθεν γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε τάφωι.
 Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱέ, ἄγ' εὐσεβέων ἐπὶ χῶρον
 ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν θήραις γ' ὄντ' ἀκ[ορε]στότατον, 10
 ὄν πατρὶς θρέψασα πόλις γ' [εὐδοξος] Ἴτανος
 κλαῦσεν ἐπ' οὐχ ὀσίωι σῶ[ματι δυρο]μένη.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ δῖα μάκαιρα, Διὸς θ[ρέπτειρ', ἀπόλ]ηγε,
 Κρήτη, σ' ἀγκόπασον, μῆτ[ερ ἐμη, στοναχ]ῶν·
 οὐ γὰρ μόρσιμόν ἐστι φυγ[εῖν]]νη 15
 εἴ γε θεοὶ ταύτην ἀτραπὸν ἤρ[
 καὶ πολὺ βελτεῖους καὶ καλλίονα[ς
 ὧν γένος ἐκ μακάρων γ' [ἐ]στὶ κ[αὶ ἀθανάτων].
 θνήσκει μὲν γὰρ ἄναξ Μίνως [ὃς ἐδέσποσ]ε Κρήτης,
 θνήσκει δ' Ἡρακλῆς υἱὸς ἐὼν γ[ε Δ]ιός, 20
 οἳ τε Διόσκοροι ἄνδρες ἔφυν θνητοὶ τό γε πρῶτον,
 εἰς δὲ θεοὺς ὄιχοντ' εὐσεβίας γε χάριν.
 τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὸς [γ' ἀρ]ετᾶς ἔνεκεν κατὰ πάτραν
 εἰς τόπον εὐσεβέων χῶρον ἀπωικισάμην·
 πατρὸς μὲν γένος ὧν γε Πολίτα, οὐνομα δ' αὖ μοι 25
 κάτθετ' ἐμῆ μήτηρ τεξαμένη γε Φιλισκῶ,
 ὅπως κεκλοίμην Ἐξάκων ἐν πατρίδ' Ἴτάνωι
 ζῶν, θνήσκω δ' <ἀπλοῦν> οὐνομ' ἔχων σὺν ἐμοί,
 οὐ τελέσας ἀρχὴν πόλεως, ἧς ἔκγονός εἰμι,
 θνήσκω δ' ἐκπληρῶν εἴκοσι καὶ δὺ' ἔτη. 30

GVI 1249 = ICret III iv, 37

1 ἄθαμ[βεῖς] Peek: ἄθαμ[βοι Xanthoudides 4 με[ῖζο]ν Xanthoudides: possis etiam με[ῖζο]ν
 6 καλῆι? 10 Guarducci 11 Halbherr 12 Peek: μυρο]μένη Wilhelm 13-14 Peek: Διὸς
 θ[υγάτηρ, ἀρχ]ηγέ / Κρήτης Wilhelm 14 Peek 15 φυγ[εῖν τὸν δαίμον' ἀπη]νῆ Peek 16
 ἠρ[οϊκούς] Peek 18 Halbherr 19 Levi 26 τεξαμένη Φιλικῶ Wilhelm: τεξαμένη γε Φιλῶ
 Peek 28 Peek: alii alia

Marvellous (?) dwellers in the billowing sea, Nereids, loose your golden hair and come with all speed to the fresh tomb of a young man to sing a lament (??) greater than the one for Achilles. Kypris who steals away marriage did not arrange marriage in a bed for him nor did she lay him down in a beautiful chamber with a young girl, but I just went beneath the earth to dwell with Plouton and my father whom the earth had previously covered in a tomb. Hermes, son of Maia, lead to the place of the blessed a man who was insatiable in hunting, whom his native city which had reared him wept and lamented over a body impiously taken away. But you divine glorious Crete, who nursed Zeus, cease, and put an end, mother, to your lamentations. It is not fated to escape ... If the gods ... this path ... much better and more handsome ... who were the offspring of gods and immortals. Lord Minos died, he who ruled over Crete, Herakles too died, though he was the son of Zeus, and the Dioskouroi were born at

first mortal men, but went off to the gods because of their piety. Therefore I myself also, for my virtue towards my homeland, moved abode to the place of the blessed. I am the son of Politas, and my mother Philisko who bore me gave me my name, so that I would be called Exakon in my native Itanos while alive, but in death I have ... name with me, not having held any office in the city which gave me birth. I died having completed twenty-two years.

10

ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐσεβίητι τις ἀλεύεται ἄστροφα Μοιρῶν
δόγματα· καὶ Μείνωσ ἤλυθεν εἰς Αἴδην.

GVI 709.7-8

But no one escapes the unbending rules of the Fates through piety; even Minos went to Hades.

11

καὶ Λήδην εἶδον, τὴν Τυνδαρέου παράκοιτιν,
ἧ ῥ' ὑπὸ Τυνδαρέῳ κρατερόφρονε γείνατο παῖδε,
Κάστορά θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα, 300
τοὺς ἄμφω ζῶουσ καταέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
οἱ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τιμὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς ἔχοντες
ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθνασιν· τιμὴν δὲ λελόγγασιν ἴσα θεοῖσι.

Homer, *Odyssey* 11.298-304

And I saw Leda, the wife of Tyndareos, who bore Tyndareos two brave-hearted sons, Kastor, tamer of horses, and Polydeukes, an excellent boxer. The fertile earth holds both of them alive: even below the earth they are honoured by Zeus, and are at one time alive for alternate days, and at another are dead. They have received honour equal to the gods.

12

εὐσεβίης δὲ
εἵνεκεν εὐσεβέων χῶρον ἔβη φθίμενος.

SGO 03/05/02.5-6 = GVI 764.5-6

On account of his piety he went after death to the place of the pious.

occidit et Pelopis genitor, conuiuia deorum,
 Tithonusque remotus in auras
 et Iouis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
 Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco 10
 demissum, quamuis clipeo Troiana refixo
 tempora testatus nihil ultra
 neruos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae,
 iudice te non sordidus auctor
 naturae uerique. sed omnis una manet nox 15
 et calcanda semel uia leti.

Horace, *Odes* 1.28.7-16

Death overtook even Pelops' father, who dined with the gods, and Tithonus who was spirited away to the sky, and Minos who was admitted to the secret councils of Jupiter; Tartarus holds prisoner the son of Panthus, who was sent down to Orcus for a second time, even though by taking down the shield and proving he had lived in the times of Troy he had yielded nothing to dark death save flesh and sinew—in your view no mean authority on nature and on truth. But one common night awaits us all, and the road to death can be trodden only once. (trans. Rudd)

]ΙΩΝ ἵχνος, εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι.
]ΙΣ τῆδε λαΐνη στήλη.
] χ ρηστὸς ἐν φθιτοῖς ἀνὴρ,
]λέλοιπεν ἡλίου φέγγος.
 ἐτ]έων μηδέπω τελείωσας 5
]ΑΙ δεχοκτό, μούνος ἀνθρώπων
]ἀρετῆ τοὺς ὀμήλικας προὔχεν,
 δ]ίκαιος, θεοσεβής, φιλόανθρωπος.
 ἐ]ταίρων τὸν τεὸν μόρον κλαίει,
]μεν ὄχλος οἰκετῶν σὲ δακρύνει 10
]τι δ' ἦσθα σεμνός, ὡς δοκεῖν εἶναι
]ντα παῖδα τοῖς νοήμασιν πρέσβυν.
]ΙΩΝ, ποθητὴ μήτερ, εὐνασον θρηῖνον
 [π]ένθους τιθηνόν, ὃς μάτην σε πημαίνει
 οὐδεις γὰρ ἐξήλυξε τὸν μίτον Μοιρῶν 15
 οὐ θνητὸς, οὐκ ἀθάνατος, οὐδ' ὁ δεσμώτης,
 οὐδ' αὖ τύραννος βασιλικὴν λαχὼν τιμὴν
 θεσμοὺς ἀτρέπτους διαφυγεῖν ποτ' ᾤθη·
 Φαέθοντα Τιτὰν οὐκ ἔκλαυσ', ὅτ' ἐκ δίφρων
 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατέπεσεν εἰς πέδον γαίης; 20
 Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ Μαΐας οὐκ ἔκλαυσ' ἐὸν παῖδα
 Μυρτίλον ἀπὸ δίφρων κύμασιν φορούμενον;
 οὐδ' αὖ Θέτις τὸν στεναρὸν ἔστενεν παῖδα,
 ὅτ' ἐκ βελέμων θνήσκε τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος;
 ὁ δ' αὖ βροτῶν τε καὶ θεῶν πάντων ἄναξ 25
 Σαρπηδόν' οὐκ ἔκλαυσεν, οὐκ ἐκώκυσε;
 οὐδ' αὖ Μακεδῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος,
 ὃν τίκτεν Ἄμμων θέμενος εἰς ὄφιν μορφήν;

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... your step, if you wish to know ... this stone pillar ... an excellent man among mortals [? 'the dead'] ... has left the light of the sun ... not yet having completed of years ... eighteen, alone of men ... he surpassed his peers in virtue ... just, god-worshipping, humane. ... of your comrades lament your fate ... the crowd of servants weeps for you ... you were an authoritative figure, so you seemed ... a boy with the intelligence of an older man. ... much missed mother, put an end to your lamentation, the nurse of grief, which causes you pain to no purpose. No one escapes the thread of the Moirai, no mortal, no immortal, not the prisoner, not even the tyrant with his kingly power has ever thought to flee from the laws which cannot be changed. Did not Titan weep for Phaethon, when he fell out of the chariot from heaven to earth? Did not Hermes, the son of Maia, weep for his son Myrtilos carried away by the waves out of his chariot? Did not Thetis grieve for her mighty son, when he was killed by the arrows of Apollo? Did not the lord of all men and gods weep for Sarpedon, did he not lament? Did not the Macedonian, King Alexander, the son of Ammon who took the form of a snake to beget him?

15

Zeus's lamentation is instructive (παιδευτική), as the poet is teaching us that gods too put up with what is fated; therefore men should bear the events of fate nobly (γενναίως).

T-scholium, *Iliad* 16.433-8

The poet is offering us the instructive lesson that we must put up with painful events, since even Zeus, the best of the gods, [does so].

b-scholium, *Iliad* 16.433-8

First session (30th May)

A. Ercolani and M. Giordano – The Epigraphic Voice and the Eion Herms: the Athenian case

Abstract

Orality and literacy have often been considered in mutual opposition, according to a binary logic 'orality vs. literacy'. This is a distorted perspective whose shortcomings have been increasingly highlighted in recent years. Our contribution intends to discuss the relationship between orality and writing in relation to epigraphic writing in fifth-century Athens, having as a case-study the Eion epigrams. In the first part we will reassess some fundamental, albeit controversial issues: 1. the level of literacy in fifth century Athens; 2. orality as a functional communicative choice; 3. Athenian 'epigraphic culture' and the inscriptions as part of a 'semiotic device' (Giordano 2023); 4. the oral mode of 'reading' and the performance at the inscription. In the second part of the talk, we will present the case study of the Eion epigrams (476 bce), where inscriptions and epigraphic mode meets elegy and orality, and will thus illuminate the complex and interactive relationship between orality, reading, and epigraphy in classical Athens and which will stand as an emblematic example of the hybrid and complex phenomenon of the so-called 'phonetic literacy' (Thomas 2009) connected to public inscriptions that we propose to call the 'epigraphic voice'.

The Epigraphic voice: The Eion Herms

Andrea Ercolani - Manuela Giordano

1. The Herms: an Athenian semiotic device

Hdt. 2.52

ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο.

The Athenians therefore first among the Greeks made the statues of Hermes with the erect penis, having learned it from the Pelasgians.

2. The mutilation of the Herms

Thuc. 6. 27.1

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, ἢ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς, μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα.

All the stone Hermae in the city of Athens, that is to say the customary square figures so common in the doorways of private houses and temples, had in one night most of them their faces mutilated.

3. The Herms of Hipparchus

Plat. *Hipparch.* 228d-229a

ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς **παιδεῦσαι** ἔστησεν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμαῖς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν δήμων ἐκάστων, κάπειτα τῆς σοφίας τῆς αὐτοῦ, ἣν τ' ἔμαθεν καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρεν, ἐκλεξάμενος ἃ ἠγεῖτο σοφώτατα εἶναι, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐντείνας εἰς ἐλεγεῖον αὐτοῦ ποιήματα καὶ ἐπιδείγματα τῆς σοφίας ἐπέγραψεν, [228ε] ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμματα τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα μὴ θαυμάζοιεν οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ, τό τε “γνώθι σαυτόν” καὶ τὸ “μηδὲν ἄγαν” καὶ τὰλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὰ Ἰπάρχου ῥήματα μᾶλλον σοφὰ ἠγοῖντο.... ἐστὸν δὲ δύο τόπιγράμματα: ἐν μὲν τοῖς [229α] ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκάστου ἐπιγέγραπται λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔστηκεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ—“**μνήμα τόδ' Ἰπάρχου**: στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν” φησίν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοις Ἑρμαῖς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα: ἔστι δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῇ Στειριακῇ ὁδοῦ, ἐν ᾗ λέγει “**μνήμα τόδ' Ἰπάρχου**: μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα.”

He proceeded next, with the design of educating those of the countryside, to set up figures of Hermes for them along the roads in the midst of the city and every district town; and then, after selecting from his own wise lore, both learnt from others and discovered for himself, the things that he considered the wisest, he threw these into elegiac form and inscribed them on the figures as verses of his own and testimonies of his wisdom, so that in the first place his people ...should rather regard as wise the utterances of Hipparchus There are two such inscriptions of his: on the left side of each Hermes there is one in which the god says that he stands in the midst of the city or the township, while on the right side he says: “The memorial of Hipparchus: walk with just intent.”

The Eion Herms

4. The victory of Eion: ca 476 BCE

Hdt. 7. 107 τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μούνον τὸν ἐξ Ἱόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσησι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης: ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελεθεῖν καὶ νοστιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε...

The only one of those who were driven out by the Greeks whom king Xerxes considered a valiant man was Boges, from whom they took Eion. He never ceased praising this man, and gave very great honor to his sons who were left alive in Persia; indeed Boges proved himself worthy of all praise. When he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, he could have departed under treaty from Eion and returned to Asia, but he refused.

5. Thuc. 1. 98. 1 πρῶτον μὲν Ἱόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος.

First the Athenians besieged and captured Eion on the Strymon from the Medes, and made slaves of the inhabitants, being under the command of Cimon, son of Miltiades.

Cf. also Diod. 11.60. 1-2; Paus. 8. 8.9; *schol. ad* Aesch. 2.31

6. The Herms and epigrams of Eion

Aesch. 3 (c. *Ctes.*) 183

ἦσαν τινες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιρούς, οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους: οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδοκει, τρεις λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ὅτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῆ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων γνώσεσθε. ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν:

ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἱ **ποτε** Μήδων
παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ροάς,
λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ:

“ἠγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.”
ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῆ:
“ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς
ἠγεῖτο ζάθειον Τρωικὸν ἄμ πεδίον,
ὄν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων
κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.
οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικέες Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης.”

on the first of the Herm is written:

‘Brave and bold men were those who once by the city of Eion,
far away on the waves of Strymon, fought against the sons of the Medes.
They had allied themselves with famine and with Ares, who was rushing in;
Thus they found helpless an enemy hitherto alien to defeat. ‘
and on the second:

‘It is the reward for their endeavour that Athens has bestowed on her leaders;
The token of a duty well done, the supreme honour of courage.
Those who, in the years to come, will read them in marble
will be happy to work in their turn, giving their life for the community.’
And on the third of the Hermae, it is written:

‘Once, from this city, Menestheus, called to join the Atreides,
led an army to Troy, a plain loved by the gods.
Homer once sang of his fame, and said that of all the Greeks
no one could, like him, gather ranks for battle.
So the people of Athens will rightly be honoured, and called
war leaders, heroes in the battle of arms.’

ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Cf. also Demosth. 20. 112, Plut. v. *Cim.* 7(c. *Lept.*)

Main points:

- 1) **The herm acts as an *oral trigger* which primes oral, communal and shared recitation(s)**
- 2) **Shift of the elegy context: from the semi-private symposium to the public agora**
- 3) **The herm as a showcase for the practice of delegated reading**
- 4) **An early witness of Athenian textualizing practices**

Pind. N. 4.80 f.

μάτρω μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις

στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν

in honor of your maternal uncle Callicles you bid me

to erect a stele whiter than Parian marble

Pind. N. 8.46

ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον Μοισαῖον ἕκατι ποδῶν εὐώνυμων

to set up a monument of the Muses for your famous feet

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P. Ortimini – La percezione del metro nella fruizione delle iscrizioni metriche greche di età imperiale (I-III sec. d.C.): layout, metrica e lettura oralizzata

Abstract

La relazione intende analizzare il rapporto tra metrica e *layout* in funzione della ricezione delle iscrizioni metriche greche di età imperiale (I-III sec. d.C.). Per l'età tardoantica, sono state condotte indagini, che hanno mostrato come la disposizione dei versi può costituire «una conferma della lettura oralizzata dei carmi epigrafici» (Agosti 2010b,174; vd. Agosti 2010a).

L'analisi riguarda un *corpus* di circa 1600 iscrizioni datate in età imperiale (I-III sec. d.C.), definito a partire dalle edizioni citate (vd. *infra*), con l'aggiunta delle iscrizioni in esse non incluse mediante strumenti bibliografici (vd. *infra*). Sono individuate le modalità con cui il testo metrico è disposto sul supporto epigrafico. I. Il *layout* non segue la struttura metrica. II. Il *layout* segue la struttura metrica: II.2a a ogni rigo corrisponde un verso; II.2b i versi sono divisi sulla base delle incisioni (sono analizzate le tipologie di incisione e la disposizione delle appositive); II.2c il *layout* distingue metri diversi nella stessa iscrizione o in iscrizioni diverse sullo stesso supporto. Notevoli risultano i casi in cui il *layout* distingue parti metriche e in prosa sullo stesso supporto.

I dati sono analizzati in base alla tipologia di iscrizione e alla finalità comunicativa. Viene valutata la funzione delle pratiche di disposizione dei versi nei contesti di ricezione, al fine di individuare quali di queste pratiche siano indicatrici della lettura oralizzata dei testi, evidenziando continuità e differenze rispetto all'età tardoantica

La percezione del metro nella fruizione delle iscrizioni metriche greche di età imperiale (I-III sec. d.C.):

layout, metrica e lettura oralizzata

0. Introduzione

«[...] we traced a **pervasive indifference toward inscribed texts** – despite their blunt appeals to passerby – extending **until the Hellenistic age**. At that time, interest in such texts seems gradually to grow, due perhaps in some measure to the sudden popularity of literary epigrams, which even led to their adoption for use in schools.» (Bing 2009, 143, vd. almeno Thomas 1989, 35; Walsh 1991, 94-95; James 2007).

«Epigraphic texts had first and foremost pragmatic functions and they were a **rich and complex medium for displaying and communicating information**. **Inscriptions were devised to be seen and to be read aloud** (as their arrangement very often suggests): in short, they were ‘**spoken texts**’, as recent research has fully shown. As a consequence, we must always take into account **the oral performance of epigraphic**

Vita Aesopi 78 (Vita G p. 186 Ferrari)

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ εἰς τὸ προάστιον, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αἰσώπου τερπόμενος ὁμιλίᾳ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ **τὰ ἐπιτάφια ἀναγινώσκων ἐτέρεπετο**.

Calp. ecl. 1, 22-32

ORNYTUS: [...] Aspicias ut virides etiam nunc littera rimas / servet et arenti nondum se laxet hiatu? / CORYDON: Ornyte, fer propius tua lumina: tu potes alto / (25) cortice descriptos citius percurrere versus; / nam tibi longa satis pater internodia largus / procerumque dedit mater non invida corpus. / ORNYTUS: Non pastor, non haec triviali more viator, / sed deus ipse canit: nihil armentale resultat, / (30) nec montana sacros distinguunt iubila versus. / CORYDON: Mira refers; sed rumpe moras oculosque sequaci / quam primum nobis **divinum perlege carmen**.

Plut. De Pyth. or. 395 A-B

Ἐπέβαινον οἱ **περιηγηταὶ** τὰ συντεταγμένα μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμεῖν τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ **τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων**.

poems and emphasise the **audience response**.» (Agosti 2008, 109, vd. almeno Sickinger 1999, 160-178; Agosti 2010a; 2010b; Chaniotis 2012; Leatherbury 2020, 14-15).

«Indeed, on sculptural monuments or votive objects at least, it is safe to say that **inscriptions were in general secondary features of the monument**, not meant to strike viewers at first sight or excite their attention.» (Bing 2009, 123, vd. anche Burrell 2009, 70 n. 10)

«For the ancient viewer, reading a monumental inscription meant not only reading the text but also **visually experiencing the monument as a whole**, including that which lay between and outside the lines of the text.» (Graham 2013, 386; vd. almeno Day 2010, 33; Garulli 2014).

Xanto si spinse con Esopo nei sobborghi, e messo di buon umore dalla sua compagnia arrivò al cimitero e si divertì a leggere le scritte sulle lapidi (trad. Ferrari 1997).

ORNYTUS: Vedi, le lettere conservano ancora gli intagli verdi e non si dilatano in solchi inariditi. CORYDON: Ornito, avvicina gli occhi: più in fretta tu puoi leggere i versi incisi sull’alta corteccia, in quanto, generoso tuo padre ti ha dato lunghe gambe e, benevola, tua madre un corpo slanciato. ORNYTUS: Non un pastore, né un viandante qui canta, quale si ascolta per le strade, ma il dio in persona; niente di rustico echeggia, né ritornelli montani inframmezzano questi versi sacri. CORYDON: Meravigliose cose mi riferisci, ma tronca gli indugi e leggimi bene al più presto, seguendo con gli occhi, il canto divino (trad. Di Lorenzo/Pellegrino 2008).

Le guide portavano a termine il programma predisposto, in nulla preoccupandosi di noi che li pregavamo di tagliar corto coi discorsi e con la maggioranza delle iscrizioni (trad. Valgiglio 1992)

Vd. almeno Ov. *Met.* XI 427-429, Xen. *Ephes.* I 10-12, Auson. epigr. 37 Green, Sidon. epist. 3.12.4-5 Giannotti, Nonn. *D.* XII 29-115.

1. Definizione del *corpus*

Geographic provenance	Inscriptions ^[1]	Main corpora, editions, image repositories ^[2]
Anatolian Peninsula	A = 686 B = 404 tot.: 1090	Steinepigramme I, II, III/13-16, IV/17-19, Staab, Gebrochener Glanz, Mersio 2024, I Cilicie, I Millet, IGSK, MAMA, Steinepigramme (ibid.), TAM/ETAM, Pfluhl/Möbius, Ostr. Grabreliefs, I Millet, I Pergamon, I Pergamon Asklepieion, Studia Pontica III, I Sardis, Millet VI.1-3, Robert, Carie, Bean/Mitford, Rough Cilicia, Dömer 1941, I British Mus., Marek/Adak 2016, Marek 2003, Ramsay, Phrygia, I North Galatia, Stauber 2022
Near East (Armenia, Mesopotamia, Media, Syria, Iudaea, Arabia, Cyprus)	A = 69 B = 45 tot.: 114	Steinepigramme III/12, IV/20-22, IGLS, CIIP
Egypt	A = 135 B = 24 tot.: 159	I Egypte métriques, I Philae, I Colosse Memnon
North Africa (Cyrenaica, Creta, Africa Proconsularis, Muretania)	A = 47 B = 8 tot.: 55	Greek Verse Inscriptions of Cyrenaica. Second edition, I Cret., IRT
Southeastern Europe (Greece, Aegean Islands, Ionian Islands, Macedonia, Epirus, Thracia)	A = 264 B = 228 tot.: 492	IG II.2, III/II2, III/III, III, IV, IV2.1, V.1, V.2, VII, IX.1, IX.12, IX.2, X.2.1, X.2.2, XI.2.1, XI.2.2, XI.4, XII.1-9, XII Suppl., I Beroia, I Bulg., I Corinth VIII, I Eleusis, I Thespies, I Vallée Enipeus, I Ano Maked., I Thrake Aeg., I Perinthos, IGSK 58, I Ano Maked., I Thrake Aeg., I Perinthos, I Rhénée
Italia (Regiones I-XI), Roma, Sicilia, Sardinia, Corsica	A = 85 B = 167 tot.: 252	IG XIV, IGUR, I Aquileia, IG Locri, I Messina, IG Napoli, IG Porto, IG Puglia, IG Ravenna, IGLM/Palermo, IG Reggio Calabria, IG Vellia, I Mus. Catania
Western Europe (Hispania, Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Raetia, Noricum)	A = 15 B = 5 tot.: 20	IG XIV, IG France, LatinNow, RIB
Eastern Europe (Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Cimmerian Bosphorus)	A = 15 B = 33 tot.: 48	IG Bulg., I Histria, IG Dacia, I Chr. România, I Mésie Sup., IG Pannonia*, Telamon
Non-geographic corpora	Couigny 1890; Kalbel, Epigrammata; Peek, GVI, Hunter 2022, AE, BE, SEG, CIL, The Squeeze Collection - CSAD, E-stampages, Venice Squeeze Project, Ubi Erat Lupa, Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA)	

Abbreviazioni secondo <https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/sego/abbreviations/>
 Vd. https://greek-metrical-inscriptions.wikibase.cloud/wiki/Main_Page

2. Tipologie di impaginazione del testo metrico sul supporto epigrafico

A.1 Il layout non segue la struttura metrica [tot. A. 34%; tot. B. 36%]

A.1a Il layout non segue il metro e non si fa attenzione alla fine di parola

A.1b Il layout non segue il metro e si fa attenzione alla fine di parola / si mettono in evidenza alcune parti del testo

A.2 Il layout segue la struttura metrica [tot. A. 64%; tot. B. 61%]

A.2a 1 rigo = 1 verso (*eisthesis* dei pentametri) [tot. A. 40%; tot. B. 36%]

A.2b versi scritti come prosa, ma con *vacat* e/o segno a indicare la fine del verso [tot. A. 5%; tot. B. 5%]

A.2c versi disposti su più (due/tre) righe [tot. A. 19%; tot. B. 20%]

A.2c.1 versi disposti su due/tre righe senza *eisthesis* della seconda riga, con *vacat* e/o segno a indicare la fine del verso.

A.2c.2 versi disposti su due/tre righe con *eisthesis* della seconda riga ed event. *vacat* e/o segno a indicare la fine del verso

A.2.c.3 Tipologie di impaginazione mista A.2.c.1-A.2.c.3

A.2c.1-3 inc. con divisione dei versi in base alle incisioni. [tot. A 49%; tot. B 39% (sul tot. A.2c.1-3/A.3)]

(questa sottocategoria comprende le iscrizioni con una divisione dei versi in base alle cesure **per almeno il 50% dei versi**).

A.3 Tipologie miste A.1-A.2a-c.1-3 [tot. A 2%; tot. B 3%]

Dati delle zone geografiche: [https://greek-metrical-inscriptions.wikibase.cloud/wiki/Data_model_-_description_of_data#Layout_\(P15\)](https://greek-metrical-inscriptions.wikibase.cloud/wiki/Data_model_-_description_of_data#Layout_(P15))

Steinepigramme 09/05/01 (Nicea, I/II sec. d.C.)

[ἀγ]αθῆ τύχη·

[Αρ]χαγάθω Ζηνὶ πανυπερ-

τάτῳ ἄγγελον ἔνθα /

αἰετὸν ὑψιπέτη θήκατο

Νικάδεως, /

5

σαῖσι ταγαῖς πεισθεῖς, Κρονί-

δα πάτερ· εὐχομένῳ δὲ /

[κα]λῶς ἔσθλα σὺ δοῖς εἵνεκεν

εὐσεβίης. /

10 Δι Ἀρχαγάθω Μ. Κάσσιος Ποπλιανὸς Νικάδας,

ἐμποριάρχης καὶ ἀπὸ | πατρὸς Κασ. Νικάδου καὶ πάπου

Δημη|τρίου διὰ βίου οἰνοποσιάρχης καὶ γυμνασιάρχης

καὶ γραμματεὺς καὶ ἐπι-| 15 μελητῆς{της} τοῦ

νεοκτίστου ναοῦ, | κατὰ χρηματισμὸν ὀνίρου τὸν αἰετὸν

| σὺν τῷ βωμῷ | ἀνέθηκα

Alla buona fortuna. A Zeus supremo, fonte di ogni bene (?), qui il figlio di Nikadas ha dedicato l'aquila, messaggero (di Zeus) dall'alto volo, in obbedienza ai tuoi comandi, o padre figlio di Crono; possa tu concedere ogni bene a lui che rivolge a te preghiere, per la sua pietà.

A Zeus fonte di ogni bene (?), M. Cassius Publianus Nikadas, supervisore del mercato e, dopo il padre Cassius Nikadas e il nonno Demetrio, a vita presidente dei banchetti, capo del ginnasio, segretario e amministratore del tempio da poco costruito, ha dedicato l'aquila, insieme all'altare, in seguito a una rivelazione divina avvenuta in sogno.

3. La percezione del ritmo: prosa, *cola* e ‘versi’

Steinepigramme 22/23/01 (Giudea, Necropoli di Beit She’arim, seconda metà del III sec. d.C.?)

εὐλογία τῆ ὀσία.
 Καρτερίης τόδε σῆμα λίψανον φέρει φθιτὸν
 ἄφθιτον ἢε λαμπρὰν σῶζον μνίαν γεναίης·
 θήκατο δέ μιν ἐνθάδε Ζηνοβία
 μητέρος ἐῆς τίουσα [ἐφ]ημοσύνας.
 ☪ ☪ ☪
 τοῦτ’ σοι, μακαρτάτη, καρπὸς σὸς ἐδίματο 5
 ἦν τέκες ἐξ ἀγανῶν εὐσεβίην λαγόνων·
 ῥέζει γὰρ κλυτὰ ἔργα ἐνὶ φθιμένοις αἰεῖ,
 ὄφρα δὴ ἄμφω καὶ μετὰ τέρμα βίου
 νέον ἦδ’ ἀσκύλευτον αὖθις ἔχοιτε πλουῦτον.

Jones 2014a, 31-33 (vd. Agosti 2016, 179-180 = Staab Staab, *Gebrochener Glanz* *09/06/04 = Akyürek Şahin 2011, 356-361, nr. 2, Nicomedia, III/IV sec. d.C.)

1 Κύρων κὲ Μεάδις Κυρίωνι τῷ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν,
χῆρε. δις ἠβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας (hex.) |
ἐν σοφίῃ μέτρον Κυρίων (|C1), Ἡσιόδου ζηλωτὰ κὲ
 Ἀρχιλόγου ὀρεκτὰ τῆς τε Μενανδρίου **πλησίον** |
εὐδ’ ἐπίης (|B1) κὲ Ξενοφοντίου. τὸ λαλούμενον (|C2)
ἢ φύσις ἄκρον, ἀλλ’ ἔθανες τί γὰρ ἄλλο (|B2); {εὐδ’}|
 Παλλαδία τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ: **οὐποτε σωφοσύνης**
ἐπιλή<σ>ομε (|C2). μνήμης χάριν, Κυρίων | 5 **τῆς σῆς**
οὐδ’ ἐρατῆς εὐνῆς (C1), **ὁμώνυμε Πηνελοπίης**
 (~~~~~) <σὺ> γὰρ ἀμωμήτως τέσσαρες δεκάδας
 ἐνιαυτῶν τεξάμενην συν<ν>εξήσας. ἐπὶ δέ σε (|C2)
θήκατο Μοίρη, σὸν με πόσιν χηρώσας <κ>ε (C0) οὐδ
 ἐ<ν>ὶ δώμασι πῆδας, μνήμης δὲ σῶν ἔργων οὐ λῆξει. |
ἔχοι γε θάνουσαν (~~~~~) **τὴν σὴν ἐν φθιμένοις ψύχην**
 (|C1) γῆα κούφη καλύψι. | ἐνθάδ’ ἀναπάετε μέγας ἥρωος
 Κυρίων ζήσας ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, βουλεύσας τε (?) μη- |
 10 <τ>ρόπολι Νικομηδεία **ἔτη σεράκοντα** (~~~~~).
 στοχία φια’|

Steinepigramme 04/05/05 (Lidia, Thyatira, 233/234 d.C.)

ἔτους τη’, μη(νός) ε’ Ξανδικοῦ ζ’. ἐνθάδε, | **οἶ, κείμαι**
Διόφαντος (C2) | νέκυς ἐν νεκύεσσιν, (~~~~~) | 5 **ὅς**
χάριν οὐκ ἀπέδωκα (B2) | **Παύλα ἢ ἔτεκέν με·** (B2) |
μοῦνα γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσιν (C0) ζήσας ἔτη **εἴκοσι** | **τρεῖα·**
 (~~~~~) πρὶν γαμετὴν με | 10 λαβεῖν πρὶν κὲ σπεῖρε φίλα
 τ<έ>κνα (hex.) / ἦρπασ<ε> Μοῖρα κα<κ>ή κάπηγαγεν
 Αἴδος εἶσω. (hex.) /

Battistoni/Rothenhöfer 2013, 116-117, no. 6 (Prusa ad Olympum, I/II sec. d.C.)

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη | Πρειβάτος Λουκίου σὺν | τῆ ἑαυτοῦ
 γυναικὶ Χρυσίῳ Διὸς Κτησίου βωμὸν | 5 [ἐ]ν δώμασι
τοῖς ἰδ[ίοις] [ἀν]έθηκ[ε] (A4) [~~~~~] [?]

Steinepigramme 18/10/01 (Pisidia, Selge, III sec. d.C.)

κόσμιον ἐντέχνως ἐσορᾶς ἐνθα 1
 κείμενον ἄγγος, /
 ὁ Αὐρήλιος Βασιλιανὸς Νέστωρ ἔ-
 τευξε /
 Αὐρηλία τε Μεσσαλεῖνα ἢ σύζυγος 5
 αὐτοῦ. /
 κοινὸν γὰρ βίον λαχόντες ὁμοφρο-
 σύνην τ’ ἐρατεινὴν /
 χρυσεῖς τέχνης ἴδριες κοινὸν βίον
 ἐκτελειοῦντες / 10
 ἠρῶον τόδ’ αὐτοῖς σὺν ἀγγείῳ ζῶν-
 τες ἔτευξαν. /

Kyron e Maiadis al padre Kyrion, in memoria. “Addio, tu che hai avuto una doppia giovinezza e due volte hai incontrato il tuo sepolcro, Kyrion, misura di sapienza, imitatore di Esiodo, rivale di Archiloco, prossimo all’eloquenza menandrea e senofontea. La tua natura (ti rendeva) l’apice, come si dice. Sei però morto, che altro?” Palladia (così dice) al dolcissimo marito: “mai potrò dimenticare la tua saggezza”. In ricordo, Kyrion, della tua amata sposa. “Tu sei come Penelope: tu infatti hai vissuto con me irreprensibilmente per quarant’anni, dandomi dei figli. Ma la Moira ti ha sepolto, lasciando me, tuo marito, e i figli nella casa di te privi. Ma non cesserà di ricordare le tue azioni. Che la terra ti abbia ormai morta fra i defunti, coprendoti lieve”. Qui riposa il grande eroe Kyrion, che ha vissuto settant’anni e che è stato buleuta nel consiglio della metropoli di Nicomedia per quaranta. 511 lettere (trad. Agosti 2016, 179-180)

Nell’anno 318 il settimo giorno del quinto mese di Xandikos. Qui giaccio, ahimè, morto tra i morti, io che non ho reso grazie a Paula, che mi ha generato, poiché ho vissuto solo 23 anni tra i vivi, e prima di prendere moglie e generare figli, la Moira spietata mi rapì e mi condusse nell’Ade.

Alla buona fortuna. Privatus, figlio di Lucius, ha eretto l’altare di Zeus Ktesios nella sua casa insieme alla moglie Chryson.

4. Comunicazione epigrafica e contesti di lettura oralizzata

I. Knidos 71, 4-14 (Cnido, fine I/inizio II sec. d.C.)

... [ὁ μὲν] | **δᾶμος** ἐν οὐ μετρία συνχρ[υσει γε] νόμος
διὰ τὰν ὑπάρχουσ[αν περι] | αὐτὰν ἀρετὰν τε καὶ
δόξα[ν, μετὰ] | πάσας προθυμίας **συνελ[θὼν ---]** | **10** **ἰς**
τὸ θέατρον, ἀνίκα ἐξεκ[ομίσθη], | τό τε σῶμα κατέχων
αὐ[τᾶς ---] | [συν]επεκελεύσατο θάπ[τειν αὐτὰν
παν]δαμ[ε]ί καὶ **ἐπεβόασε** τ[ὰν] ἄρε[τ]ὰν α]ὐτᾶς, ὅπως
τ[ῶν] ἀξίων τιμῶν | τύχοι] καὶ μετὰ τ[ὰν] τελευτὰν ---]

Staab, *Gebrochener Glanz* *06/02/37 (Pergamo, I sec. a.C./I sec. d.C.)

ἡ Ἀσία | ἡ βουλή | ὁ δῆμος | ἡ γερουσία |
Καὶ ζῶντι δαίμων πείονα ὄρεξεν χέρα
σεμνῶι Δίῳι καλὸν ἐν βουλῆι τόπον·
γνώμαις ὅποια ναῦν γὰρ εἴθουνεν πόλιν.
καὶ **κανθὸν** εὖτε ἐκλείσεν, οὐκ ἐς Αἶδαν
ὤλισθε· μακροῦ γήραος δ' ἀπηλλάγη 5
δισσῶν τέκνων χεῖρεσσι κοσμηθεὶς τάφον
καὶ παισὶ τέκνων ὄλβιον λιπὼν δόμον.
ἔρει τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ Σόλων εὐδαίμονα.
Εἰ ζητεῖς γνῶναι τὸν ὑπὸ χθονὶ κείμενον ἄνδρα,
ἔστι Δίῳν, βουλῆς φθέγμα τὸ **Νεστόρειον.** 10
τοῦτον Φοῖβος ἔλεξε μέγας τήνων ἀπὸ σηκῶν
φωνήσας χρησιμοῖς, οὓς ἐχάραξε τάφωι.
Χρησμός | Ἔσται τις μετέπειτα λόγος σέθεν **ἄξιος**
ῥυμου, ὃς κέ σε **μανύσει τοῖς μετέπειτα νέοις.**

I. *Égypte métriques* 46 (Egitto, Alessandria, età imperiale)

Θέρμιν χρηστὴ χαῖρε. / χθονίων ἔνερθε δαιμόνων
ἀνάκτορε / σεμνή τε **Φερσέφασσα**, Δήμητρος κόρη, /
δέχεσθε τὴν ναυαγὸν ἀθλίαν ξένην, / 5 πατρός γεγῶσαν
Λυσανίου, Θέρμιν ἐμέ, / ἐσθλήν δ' ἄκοιτιν **Σιμάλου**
ξυνάορον. / εἴ τις δ' ἐμοῖς σπλανχνοῖσιν ἢ βίῳ ποτέ /
οἰκτρὰς Ἐρινύς φαρμάκων ἐπήγαγεν, / μὴ πάποτ' /
ἄλλην μοῖραν, ἄφθιτοι θεοί, / 10 πέμνηθ' ὁμοίαν θ' ἦν
ἐγὼ κεκτημένη. / ἔνερθε ναίω, **τριπτύχους** μῆνας φθίσι /
/ βιότου λιποῦσα καρπὸν ὄν γῆ πανκράτωρ / βροτοῖς
δίδωσι, τοῦδ' ἀπεστερημέ[ν]η / τέκνων τε, ἄνακτες,
κάνδρός· οὐ ψυχὴ [μ]ία / 15 ὑπῆρχέ μοι σὺν ἀνδρὶ καὶ
βίος γλυκύς; / τούτων ἀπάντων ἀθλία λελησμένη / **ἀράς**
τίθημι, τοῖα ἔχουσα πῆματα, / αὐτοῖσι καὶ τέκε<σ>σι
παρρίζους μολῖν / **Ἄδου μέγαν κευ[θ]μῶνα καὶ**
σκ[τ]ότου πύλας, / 20 τέκνων δ' ἐμῶν ἄθραυστον
ὄλβιον βίον / πάντων ἰκέσθαι κάνδρός ἰς γήρωσ χρόνον,
/ εἴ γ' ἐστ' ἐν Ἄδου βαιὸς εὐχολῆς λόγος, / **ἀράς τελέας**
οἷς ἐπεύχομαι τελῖν. / **Μουσῶν ἀοιδῆν** συνβιώσεως
σέθεν / τερπνὴν τε καὶ λυπηρὸν ἔνπαλιν διδούς, /
Θέρμιν, ἐμὴ ζῆνευε, **τοιαδ' ἐννέπω**· / θρέψω δ' ὄσους
ἔφυσας ἐξ ἐμοῦ γόνους / τῆς πρὸς σε φιλίας ἀξίως,
ξυνάορε, / Λυσᾶν τε τὸν πρὶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὁμόροπον / 30
παισὶν συνέξω, σὴν χάριν ταύτην τιθίς, / ἄμεμπτον ἐν
βίωι γὰρ ἔσχησας τρόπον.

I cittadini, turbati oltre misura per la sua virtù e reputazione, con grande slancio si radunarono nel teatro, quando (il suo corpo?) venne portato fuori (?), e trattenendo il suo corpo richiesero tutti insieme di seppellirla [alla presenza di tutta la cittadinanza] e celebrarono la sua [virtù], affinché [ricevesse adeguati onori] anche dopo [la morte]

Il *koinon* d'Asia, la *boule*, il popolo, la *gerusia*. Già in vita una potenza divina tese una mano benevola al venerabile Dion, (offrendogli) un posto di rilievo nel consiglio; con le sue decisioni, infatti, tenne la città sulla giusta rotta, come una nave. E quando chiuse gli occhi, non scivolò nell'Ade; morì dopo una lunga vecchiaia, avendo adornato la tomba per mano dei due figli e lasciato una ricca casa ai figli dei suoi figli. Anche Solone chiamerà felice quest'uomo.

Se cerchi di sapere chi è l'uomo che giace sotto terra, costui è Dion, voce di Nestore nel consiglio. Questo intendeva il sommo Febo, quando, dal famoso santuario, con oracoli, che egli fece incidere sulla tomba, disse:

Oracolo – Vi sarà in futuro una fama di te degna di un inno, che ti annuncerà alle future generazioni.

Ottima Termi, salve. – Signori degli dèi ctonii che stanno sotto terra, o veneranda Persefone, figlia di Demetra, accogliete l'infelice naufraga straniera, me Termi, nata dal padre Lisania, buona moglie, sposa di Simalo. Ma se qualcuno mai alle mie viscere o alla mia vita le miserevoli Erinni dei veleni inflisse, giammai un diverso destino, o dèi immortali, inviategli, ma lo stesso che ho ricevuto io. Sotto terra abito, a causa di un deperimento durato tre mesi, lasciato il frutto della vita, che la terra signora di ogni cosa dona ai mortali, di questo priva, e dei figli, o sovrani, e del marito: non ero io una sola anima col mio uomo e dolce non era la vita? Privata di tutte queste cose, sventurata, soffrendo tali pene, invoco suppliche contro costoro e i loro figli, che essi raggiungano con tutta la famiglia il vasto antro di Ade e le porte della tenebra, ma che la vita dei miei figli, di tutti loro, e del marito, giunga felice, intatta, fino al tempo della vecchiaia; se anche nell'Ade ha un qualche valore la preghiera, che giungano a compimento le preghiere per coloro per cui io rivolgo suppliche. – Il canto delle Muse della vita passata con te, dolce e allo stesso tempo doloroso, restituendo indietro, o Termi, mia sposa, io canto tali cose: alleverò quanti figli tu procreasti da me, in modo degno dell'amore per te, o moglie, e Lisa, il figlio che hai avuto in precedenza, al pari dei miei figli lo terrò con me, offrendoti questa gioia, poiché in vita hai tenuto un comportamento irreprensibile.

I.3 Φερσέφασσα (S. Ant. 891-894 [variante Περσέφασσα], E. Hel. 175; Tat. orat. 10,1; forse A. fr. **451s 70, 9 R.)

I.19 E. Hec. 1-2

Ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας / λιπὼν

I. Beroia 2, 37-45 (Beroia, fine II/inizio I sec. a.C.)

... ὁ δῆμος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν πλείστην πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτοῦ, ἔδο-| 40 ξεν ἐπαινέσαι τε τὸν Ἄρπαλον ἐπὶ | τούτοις καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλ|λοῦ στεφάνῳ ἀνατεθῆναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ | ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεσ|τάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως ἀναγινώσ|κεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ἔτος ἐν ταῖς ἀρ|χαιρεσίαις, ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς στή-| 45 λην λιθίνην καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

IRT 1070 (Leptis Magna, fine III/inizio IV sec. d.C.)

Δουλκίτι

εἰκόνα χαλκεότευκτον (B2)

ἐθήκατο τήνδε Σερήνω

vacat

Λέπτις ἀμειβομένη (B1)

Μοῦσαν αἰδοπόλον.

IG II/III² 3669 (= IG II/III² ed. alt. 13262 Atene, 269/270 d.C.)

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρίου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ | τῆς βουλῆς τῶν · ψν · καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τὸν | ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχὴν καὶ | ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπόνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα | καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων οἴκο|θεν ἱερέα παναγῆ · Πό · Ἐρέν · Δέξιππον Πτολεμαίου | Ἑρμειὸν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ συγγραφέα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα οἱ παῖδ[ες].

vacat

ἀλκῆ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἐν βουλαῖσι κρατίστους

ἄνδρας ἀγακλείτους γείνατο Κεκροπίη,

ὧν ἓνα καὶ Δέξιππον, ὃς ἱστορίην ἐσαθρήσας

αἰῶνος δολιχὴν ἀτρεκέως ἔφρασεν·

καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐσεῖδε, τὰ δ' ἐκ βύβλων ἀναλέξας

εὔρατο παντοίην ἱστορίης ἀτραπὸν.

ἧ μέγα κλεινὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς νοῦ ἄπο μυρίον ὄμμα

ἐκτείνας χρονίους πρήξιας ἐξέμαθεν.

φήμη μὲν περίβωτος ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τὴν ὁ νεανθῆς

αἴνος Δεξίππῳ δῶκεν ἐφ' ἱστορίη.

τοῦνεκα δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἀγάκλειτον γενετῆρα

μορφάεντα λίθου θῆκαν ἀμειβόμενοι.

I.6 ξυνάορον (E. A. 824, Hipp. 1404; HF 140)

I. 10 τριπτύχους (E. Archel. TrGF V/1 F 228a, 12; HF 474; Or. 1513; Ph. 1635; Lyc. 573)

I cittadini si recarono presso il *bouleuterion* e mostrarono la massima cura nei confronti del suo onore, decisero di elogiare Arpalò per queste cose e di incoronarlo con una corona di ulivo, e (decisero) che venisse eretta una sua statua di bronzo nel luogo più visibile della città, e che venisse letto il decreto ogni anno nelle assemblee elettorali, e che questo venisse inciso su una stele di pietra e posto vicino alla statua.

Dulcitius! Leptis dedicò a Sereno questa immagine fatta di bronzo, per ricambiare la (sua) Musa versificatrice (trad. Tantillo/Bigi 2010)

Su approvazione del consiglio dell'Areopago, del consiglio dei 750 e del popolo di Atene i figli (onorano) per la sua virtù Pu(blio) Eren(nio) Dexippo, figlio di Tolemeo, del demo di Ermo, retore e storico, che ricoprì la carica di arconte re tra i tesmoteti, di arconte eponimo, di panegiriarca, sostenne a sue spese l'agonotesia delle Grandi Panatenee e fu *hiereus panagēs*.

vacat

La terra di Cecrope generò uomini illustri, eccellenti nel valore, nei discorsi e nelle decisioni, di cui uno è anche Dexippo, che indagò ed espose con precisione la lunga storia dei secoli. E ad alcuni eventi assistette personalmente, il resto lo raccolse dai libri e scoprì della storia un multiforme sentiero. Uomo veramente assai glorioso, lui che, distendendo sapientemente lo sguardo oltre ogni confine, indagò i fatti che si svolsero in un lungo arco di tempo. Inclita fama in tutta la Grecia, che la lode appena sbocciata ha conferito a Dexippo per la sua storia. In riconoscimento di tali meriti i figli posero dell'insigne genitore una splendida effigie di pietra. (trad. Mecella 2013)

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E.N. Merisio – La voce degli araldi negli epigrammi epigrafici agonistici

Abstract

Il contributo si propone di esaminare la presenza della voce degli araldi all'interno degli epigrammi agonistici greci. Tale voce esprime talvolta il rinnovarsi della proclamazione della vittoria degli atleti, nell'ottica di una riattualizzazione del contesto agonistico che doveva avvenire tramite la recitazione orale del testo dell'epigramma da parte del singolo lettore o nell'ambito di cerimonie pubbliche volte a perpetuare la gloria della vittoria sportiva. In tale prospettiva, gli epigrammi epigrafici si pongono come complementari – modelli o in età più tarda emuli – della poesia lirica degli epinici, in un rapporto fatto di reciproche influenze ed equilibri diversi nel corso dei secoli, considerata anche la diversa durata dei due generi all'interno della storia letteraria greca. In altri casi, la voce dell'araldo presta testimonianza della sua stessa vittoria, nell'ambito di competizioni dedicate a questa disciplina, ben attestate nelle feste agonali della Grecia. In questi rari epigrammi, quando *persona loquens* e vincitore coincidono – come avviene per numerose altre iscrizioni metriche di natura agonistica dove è la statua del celebrato a rivelare la propria identità e i motivi della dedica –, si crea un gioco di specchi dove è l'araldo ad annunciare la propria vittoria, o a riportarne l'annuncio dato da altri.

L. Bravi – Simonide e il complesso dell'elogio dell'atleta: epigramma, statua, epinicio

Abstract

Gli studi sull'atletismo nell'età d'oro dell'epinicio hanno messo in luce un complesso interagire tra i mezzi utilizzati per celebrare il vincitore: si è parlato di competizione fra le arti, concorso fra le medesime ad un medesimo fine, multimedialità dell'elogio. Certamente le estese analisi dei temi e dei motivi presenti nei canti di Pindaro e Bacchilide e la lettura ponderata dei frammenti di Simonide permettono di individuare un parallelismo completo con gli epigrammi (iscrizionali o di tradizione indiretta/antologica) con i quali condividono il medesimo ordine di idee. Alcuni casi specifici documentano la presenza di una filiera dell'elogio del vincitore palesando i meccanismi della distribuzione ed organizzazione del lavoro, che implica anche il contributo visuale dello scultore (la pittura non sembra aver giocato un ruolo in questa fattispecie, a differenza di quanto avviene con l'elogio di ambito militare).

L'intervento intenderebbe mettere in chiaro la macchina dell'elogio integrato a partire dal *corpus* simonideo di epigrammi; questi infatti, inglobando testi dalla datazione debordante il vissuto di Simonide permettono di figurarsi le caratteristiche che permettevano a distanza di tempo di fare agevolmente il nome di quel poeta. Insieme all'incrocio dei dati storici e alle possibili evidenze archeologiche, sarà soprattutto il materiale poetico che tratterà un quadro utile a cogliere il ruolo specifico dell'epigramma agonistico. Quando si parla di materiale poetico, non ci si limita alla condivisione di temi, di *iuncturae*, di parole, ma si fa riferimento anche ai metri utilizzati, non di rado differenti dal distico elegiaco.

Second session (31st May)

M. Pelucchi – Varianti ‘simposiali’ nell’epigramma greco

Abstract

Il simposio fu un luogo privilegiato per la circolazione dell’epigramma ellenistico, come suggeriscono sia testimonianze indirette sia gli epigrammisti stessi. Sebbene gli studi più recenti tendano a ritenere che gli epigrammi siano stati innanzitutto concepiti per una circolazione libraria, essi riconoscono generalmente che questi testi potevano essere spesso anche recitati – e talvolta persino improvvisati – in un contesto simposiale. In questo quadro, scarsa attenzione è stata rivolta all’esame di un gruppo di epigrammi greci di età ellenistica e imperiale trasmessi dalla tradizione manoscritta e/o papiracea con minime varianti testuali sufficienti a determinare un cambiamento di significato e spesso relative a nomi propri. La critica ha variamente ipotizzato che l’origine di tali varianti vada individuata in un contesto simposiale, secondo una pratica osservata anche per le elegie e gli skolia di età arcaica e classica. Questa spiegazione rimane complessivamente poco esplorata e richiede un’indagine sistematica per le sue potenziali ricadute sul piano sia editoriale sia della storia della tradizione.

La mia relazione si propone di raccogliere e analizzare un corpus di epigrammi che presentano varianti possibilmente riconducibili a un contesto simposiale, individuando gli esempi più probabili di questa pratica e considerando eventuali spiegazioni alternative. Cercherò in particolare di specificare l’originario contesto performativo in cui questo tipo di varianti potrebbe aver avuto origine, basandomi anche sul confronto con dinamiche simili osservate nelle elegie e negli skolia arcaici e classici, oltre che negli epigrammi latini. Sulla base di questa analisi, mi propongo di valutare se tali varianti possano essere convincentemente attribuite a un ambiente simposiale, soprattutto alla luce del problematico rapporto tra performance orale e tradizione scritta, tra simposio e libro

K. Pietruczuk – Theatrical Echoes in Asclepiades 29 GP and Antipater of Sidon 7 GP K.

Pietruczuk

Abstract

This paper argues that the number of theatre-related epigrams as discussed by Fantuzzi (2007) and Petrides (2009) can be augmented by epigrams treating epic material, such as Asclepiades 29 GP (*AP* 7.145) and Antipater of Sidon 7 GP (*AP* 7.146), which may be categorized as ‘paradramatic’ in view of their presentation of mythical material. In these epigrams, which both treat the myth of Ajax and closely correspond with each other, the narrator is (a statue of) Arete (‘Virtue’), sitting on Ajax’s tomb and mourning not only Ajax, but also herself having been insulted by Greeks, who favoured Apatē (‘Deceit’) over her. The narrative situation thus created intriguingly resembles the Euripidean *prologion* delivering an expository prologue, with the figure of Arete commenting on her current situation as resulting from a sequence of previous events and speaking from above the diegetic world these epigrams, while the imagery of Arete sitting on Ajax’ tomb is suggestively reminiscent of dramatic tableau scenes (as discussed by Taplin 1978). In addition, the way in which the reader is prompted – by way of *Ergänzungsspiel* – to complement Arete’s description of her appearance and her situation by envisioning the implied scene strongly resembles the relationship between the dramatic text and image when the dramatic text is read rather than performed on stage. In effect, the play of presence/absence of image/material object behind the text points to interesting parallelisms between drama and epigram.

Theatrical Echoes in Asclepiades 29 GP and Antipater of Sidon 7 GP

1. Asclepiades 29 GP

Ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἄ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῷδε κήθημαι
Αἴαντος τύμβῳ κειρομένα πλοκάμους,
θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένα, εἰ παρ' Ἀχαιοῖς
ἄ δολόφρων Ἀπάτα κρέσσον ἐμεῦ δύναται.

Here I am, unhappy Virtue, sitting at the tomb
of Ajax with my locks shorn,
struck by great sadness in my heart, if truly treacherous
Deceit has more power with the Achaeans than I.
(transl. A. Harder)

2. Antipater 7 GP

Σῆμα παρ' Αἰάντειον ἐπὶ Ροιτησίῃσι ἀκταῖς
θυμοβαρῆς Ἀρετὰ μύρομαι ἐζομένα
ἀπλόκαμος, πινόεσσα, διὰ κρίσιν ὅτι Πελασγῶν
οὐκ Ἀρετὰ νικᾶν ἔλλαχεν, ἀλλὰ δόλος.
τεύχεα ἂν λέξειεν Ἀχιλλέος, “Ἄρσενος ἀκμᾶς,
οὐ σκολιῶν μύθων ἄμμες ἐφιέμεθα”.

Sitting at the tomb of Ajax on the coast of Rhoeteum
I, Virtue, am mourning with a heavy heart,
with my hair cut, and dirty, because as a result of the
judgment
of the Pelasgians not virtue, but treachery was
victorious.
The armor of Achilles might say: “We are longing
for masculine courage, not for crooked words”.
(transl. A. Harder)

3. Aristoph. *Ra.* 945–947

εἶτ' οὐκ ἐλήρουν ὅ τι τύχοιμ' οὐδ' ἐμπεσὼν ἔφυρον,
ἀλλ' οὐξιώων πρότιστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἶπ' ἂν εὐθύς
τοῦ δράματος.

And I didn't write any old humbug that came into my
head, or charge in and make a mess, but the very first
character who walked onto my stage started by
explaining the origins of the play.
(transl. J. Henderson)

4. Eur. *Hipp.* 99–101

[ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ] πῶς οὖν σὺ σεμνὴν δαίμον' οὐ
προσεννέπεις;
[ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ] τίν'; εὐλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ τί σου σφαλῆ
στόμα.
[ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ] τήνδ', ἣ πύλαισι σαῖς ἐφέστηκεν πέλας.

Servant: How then no word for a high and mighty
goddess?
Hippolytus: Who? Careful lest your tongue commit
some slip.
Servant (pointing to the statue of Aphrodite):
The goddess here, who stands beside your gate.
(transl. D. Kovacs)

5. Men. *Dysc.* 34–39

ἡ δὲ παρθένος
γέγονεν ὁμοία τῇ τροφῇ τις, οὐδὲ ἐν
εἰδυῖα φλαῦρον. τὰς δὲ συντρόφους ἐμοὶ
Νύμφας κολακεύουσ' ἐπιμελῶς τιμῶσά τε
πέπεικεν αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαν σχεῖν τινα
ἡμᾶς ...

His daughter, though, is innocent like her upbringing,
pure in thought. She cherishes with loving care the
Nymphs who share my shrine; she worships us, and so
she's made us take some little care of her.

(transl. W.G. Arnott)

6. Arist. *Poet.* 1453b3–7

δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ὄραν οὕτω συνεστάναι τὸν μῦθον
ὥστε τὸν ἀκούοντα τὰ πράγματα γινόμενα καὶ φρίττειν
καὶ ἔλεειν ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἅπερ ἂν πάθοι τις
ἀκούων τὸν τοῦ Οἰδίπου μῦθον.

For the plot should be so structured that, even without
seeing it performed, the person who hears the events
that occur experiences horror and pity at what comes
about (as one would feel when hearing the plot of the
Oedipus).

(transl. S. Halliwell)

7. Arist. *Poet.* 1455a22–29

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μύθους συνιστάναι καὶ τῇ λέξει
συναπεργάζεσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸ ὁμμάτων τιθέμενον·
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐναργέστατα ὄρων ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς
γινόμενος τοῖς πραττομένοις εὐρίσκοι τὸ πρέπον καὶ
ἥκιστα ἂν λανθάνοι τὰ ὑπεναντία. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου ὁ
ἐπετιμᾶτο Καρκίνω. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφιάραιος ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνήει,
ὁ μὴ ὄρωντα ἐλάνθανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξέπεσεν
δυσχερανάντων τοῦτο τῶν θεατῶν.

One should construct plots, and work them out in
diction, with the material as much as possible in the
mind's eye. In this way, by seeing things most vividly,
as if present at the actual events, one will discover what
is apposite and not miss contradictions. An indication
of this is the criticism that was made of Carcinus:
Amphiaraus was returning from a shrine, which was
missed by one who failed to visualise it; in performance
the audience was annoyed at this and the play
foundered.

(transl. S. Halliwell)

R. Rohland – Convivial Epigrams: Roman Banquets and Performance in Philip’s Garland

Abstract

The Greek symposium has been at the centre of attention for scholars who argue that epigrams were performed (Reitzenstein (1893), Cameron (1995)). In comparison, the Roman *convivium* in epigrams has not received the same attention, although Greek epigrammatists of *Philip’s Garland* talk much about Roman banquets. This paper aims to redress this imbalance. By paying close attention to the banquet in Antipater, Argentarius, Crinagoras and Philodemus, this paper will show how Greek epigrams evoke Roman dinners and music: this includes musical instruments (*AP* 5.131 = (Philodemus), *AP* 9.517 (Antipater)), singers (*AP* 9.429 (Crinagoras)) invitations (*AP* 11.44 (Philodemus)), wives at banquets (e.g., *AP* 11.28 (Argentarius)) and Roman patronage. The paper builds on recent scholarship on Roman culture in Greek epigram (Meyer-Wirbelbauer (2007), Whitmarsh (2011), Hoschele (2019), Rohland (2022)), and it shows how Greek epigrammatists negotiate their cultural identity in the performative space of the *triclinium*.

Performances are attested at Roman *convivia* (Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 18, Plu. *Moralia* 622c, 711d, Gel. 19.9.4). Whether or not Latin poetry of the likes of Horace was performed at *convivia* is controversially discussed (Lowrie (2009), Wiseman (2015)). By analysing performance and *convivia* in Greek epigrams, this paper aims to bring them into a dialogue with such discussions in Latin studies. Ultimately, I will show how the medium of performance is central for the Greek epigrammatists even as their poems do not simply sing but rather evoke song on the page of books: Antipater offers to his Roman patron ‘songs’ (ῥῆμοι) ‘on page’ (ἐν σελίσι; *AP* 9.92).

Third Session (31st May)

V. Vairo and R. Feo – Tra epigramma ed epitalamio alla corte dei Tolemei: l'ep. *114 AB

Abstract

Il componimento trasmesso da *P. Petrie* II 49a (adesp. *SH* 961 = ep. *114 AB) e attribuito solo dubitativamente a Posidippo e collocato in apertura di una verosimile antologia epigrammatica, come si deduce dal controverso titolo *σύμμεικτα ἐπιγράμματα* e dall'abbozzato *index auctorum*, vergati sul verso del rotolo. Il carme, tuttavia, denota una natura ibrida: di lunghezza maggiore rispetto alla media degli epigrammi del poeta di Pella – per un totale di 24 versi assai mutili – riecheggia *topoi* epitalamici. Nonostante i limiti imposti dalla lacunosità del supporto, risulta evidente che il testo assume le vesti di una poesia aulica d'occasione, in cui il poeta-corifeo simula di indirizzarsi agli esecutori di un rito liturgico per le nozze dei sovrani tolemaici. Tale caratteristica permette di accostare il componimento ai cosiddetti inni 'mimetici' di Callimaco.

Alla luce di un nuovo esame autoptico dell'originale, condotto con l'ausilio di un microscopio digitale Dino-Lite, l'obiettivo dell'intervento è quello di avanzare ipotesi coerenti, e laddove possibile dirimenti, su:

1. l'individuazione di paralleli per il nostro testimone all'interno del *corpus* posidippeo *in toto*;
2. la tipologia della *performance*, se realmente eseguita o anche solo immaginata, nonché l'occasione di esecuzione, da ascrivere verosimilmente a un contesto di corte;
3. una riflessione su quanto la moderna concezione di *ἐπίγραμμα* rispecchi quella dell'antichità, anche a fronte delle nuove antologie epigrammatiche recentemente edite, che testimoniano la circolazione di epigrammi di possibile contesto simposiale, ma di lunghezza e metro certamente poco 'ortodossi'.

Voiceless writing? Epigrams, performance and oral poetry
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BOLOGNA
DIPARTIMENTO DI FILOLOGIA CLASSICA E ITALIANISTICA - FICLIT

**Tra epigramma ed epitalamio alla corte dei Tolemei:
l'ep. *114 AB**

Posidipp. *114 A-B = SH 961

.
].οτα[.].υκ[.
Ἄρσι]νόης δ' ἴχετε χε ...[
π]άρεστιν ἀπ' Οὐ[λύμποιο - - -
]θεῶν δῶρα δ.....οδων
χρυσ]εῖου ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀέρσῃν
]ων ἤγαγεν εἰναετῶν
].γτος ἐλούσατο παρθένος Ἑρ[η
Οὐλ]ύμπωι παστὸν ὑπερχομέγ[η
].δέοντος ἐμῶν ἀπιθήσετε [- -
Μου]ρέων εἶπα διδασκόμενος.
κρ]ήνης οἴχετε φύλλα καὶ ἄν[θη
].η δ' οὐκ ἀκέ[ε]σθε ποτῶι
] Ἄρ[σι]νόης ποταμὸς μ[ε]τεβάλλετο .[- -
] προθύρων δασιλῆς οἶδ[μ]α φέρει
] ἀγ[ε]λαίη ὅθεν καὶ π[α]ρτὸς ἀποπτ[ο]ς
]ων ὑετὸς αἶθρο.....
] κρήνην ἱερο.... ἀθανάτων
] φίλης ἀγνὰ λοετρὰ κόρης
κὺ]ν παιδὶ βαθυζώνοιο Διώνης
νύ]μφην οὐκ ἐθέλουσα νυόν
]ωστῆρος ἄτερ καλ[.].ναδε [- -
ν]υμφάων ἱερὸς ἥελιος
]άμοιαι πόσις καλ[
]τωι δῶκεν[

2 Milne χεῖρα[c ὑπερ Milne (χεῖρα[c iam O. Crusius «Phil.» 53, 1894, p. 12, sed vix α]) 3 init. Milne, fin. Crusius, tum καρῆνων e.g. Austin coll. Hom. II. I 44 4 θεῶν Crusius, ἠ]θεῶν Lloyd-Jones et Parsons 5 Lasserre 6 init. ζεῦγος Lasserre, tum νυμφά]ων Austin (νυμφ]ῶν iam Crusius) 7].γ vel].φ fin. Crusius 8 init. σεμνὸν ἐν e.g. Austin 9 fort.]α επιθ pap., α supra ε script. fin. μύθων Croenert ap. Milne, ἐφετμέων Austin 10-11 init. Crusius 11 ἐπὶ δ' e.g. Lloyd-Jones et Parsons 12 ἀκέ[ε]σθε A.D. Knox «JEA» 15 (1929) p. 140 13 Milne 14 προθύρων Milne 15 init. βοῦς Lasserre ἀγ[ε]λαίη Milne ἀποπτ[ο]ς Hunt ap. Milne 16 νοτ]ίων ὑετὸς αἶθρογενῶν e.g. Austin 20 init. ἀλλοδαπὴν e.g. Austin 21 ζ]ωστῆρος Mahaffy, κλ]ωστῆρος Lloyd-Jones et Parsons 22 ἥελιος Crusius 23 γ]άμοιαι vel πλοκ]άμοιαι Crusius, θαλ]άμοιαι Lloyd-Jones et Parsons καλ[ὸς Milne

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J. Kwapisz – The Problem of the Lyric Epigram

Abstract

The characteristic tension between the writtenness of the epigram and its self-characterization as *aoide*, song, may be nowhere clearer than in the so-called lyric epigrams of *AP* 13, a collection of epigraphic and book poems, which embrace the traditions of performed poetry by using their various metres. The main problem arising from this collection is as follows: although the lyric epigram is usually viewed as a trend originating in, and characteristic of the tendencies of, the third century BC (as recently confirmed by the so-called Vienna epigram incipits), *AP* 13 contains several epigrams ascribed to Simonides, a striking example being the spectacular choregic epigram ascribed to either Simonides and Bacchylides (*AP* 13.28). This poem in an elaborate epodic metre is almost unanimously dated to the early decades of the fifth century BC, which is in conflict with the theory of the third-century origin of the lyric epigram. The implications are interesting: either the tradition of the lyric epigram significantly predates the Hellenistic age or the *Simonidea* found in *AP* 13 are not early, but rather Hellenistic *pseudepigrapha* or cases of misattribution (the Simonidean *AP* 13.11 on Dorieus of Thurii cannot be genuine). Either way, this problem has some bearing on our thinking about Hellenistic epigram and the sources of its perceived performativeness. In my paper, I will reflect on various aspects of this problem and attempt to offer a tentative solution.

(1) Paus. 10.7.4–6, trans. D.A. Campbell

τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδότης, ἦν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλλίην τε Μελάμπους κιθαρωδία, καὶ αὐλωδὸς Ἄρκας Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς· ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης πυθιάδας ... δευτέρα δὲ πυθιάδι ... αὐλωδίαν τε κατέλυσαν, καταγρόντες οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὐφημον· ἢ γὰρ αὐλωδία μέλη τε ἦν αὐλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπότεα καὶ ἐλεγεία [[θρηνοὶ]] προσαδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ἐχέμβροτου τὸ ἀνάθημα, τρίπους χαλκοῦς ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν Θήβαις· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν·

Ἐχέμβροτος Ἄρκας	<i>r</i>
θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ	<i>dod</i>
νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμ'	<i>dod</i>
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἄθλοις,	<i>hag</i>
Ἕλλησι δ' αἰείδων	<i>r</i>
μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους	? [μέλεά τ' ἐλέγους τε West <i>r</i>].

In the third year of the 48th Olympiad [586 BC], in which Glaucias of Croton was victorious, the Amphictions offered prizes in cithara-singing, as they had from the beginning, and added competitions in pipe-singing and pipe-playing. The winners they proclaimed were Melampus of Cephallenia in cithara-song, Echembrotus of Arcadia in pipe-song, Sacadas of Argos in pipe-playing; and this Sacadas went on to win at the next two Pythian Games ... But at the second Pythian Games ... they abolished the pipe-singing, judging its sound inauspicious: for pipe-singing consisted of the gloomiest pipe-music and elegiacs sung to the pipes. My evidence for this is the offering of Echembrotus, a bronze tripod dedicated to the Theban Heracles, which carried this inscription: “Echembrotus the Arcadian dedicated this gift to the glory of Heracles, having been victorious at the contests of the Amphictions, where he sang songs and laments to the Greeks”.

The metrical scheme adapted from M. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin, 1974) 5 n. 4.

(2) Synopsis of *AP* 13: authors, themes and metres

- i. Philip (of Thessalonica), pentameters, a hymn to Aphrodite
- ii. Phaedimus, iambic trimeters, a dedication on a herm
- iii. Theocritus, choliamb, the epitaph for Hipponax
- iv. Anacreon, trochaic tetrameters, the epitaph for Aristoclidēs
- v. Phalaecus, catalectic iambic trimeters, for a monument honouring a family of athletes
- vi. Phalaecus, phalaecians, the epitaph for the actor Lycon of Scarphaea
- vii. Callimachus, *2ia[^] | 2ia[^] ||*, a dedication of bow and a quiver for Sarapis
- viii. Theodoridas, archilochians *4da | ith ||*, an inscription on a tripod won in an athletic contest
- ix. Callimachus, catalectic trochaic pentameters, a fragment on wine from Chios and Lesbos
- x. Callimachus, greater asclepiads, a fragment on the dangers of sea travel
- xi. [Simonides] (Simias?), *'D- | lk || 'D- | lk || 4tr[^] (?) |||*, a dedication of a statue by Dorieus
- xii. Hegesippus, *hex || 3ia |||*, a *nauagikon*
- xiii. anon., *hex || hex ||| 3ia |||*, a dedication from the Athenian Acropolis (the original inscription is extant)
- xiv. Simonides, *hex || pent || 3ia || 3ia || hex |||*, the epitaph for the athlete Dandis
- xv. anon., *hex || hex || pent |||*, on a statue or the tomb of the athlete Dicon
- xvi. anon., *hex || hex || hex || pent |||*, an inscription on a statue of the Spartan queen Cynisca in Olympia (the original inscription is extant)
- xvii. anon., *hex || lk |||*, on a work of the painter Iphion
- xviii. “Parmenon”, *hex || phal |||*, a *hippikon*
- xix. “Simonides”, *hex || hi (= ar^d) |||*, a dedication on the athletic career of Nicoladas
- xx. “Simonides”, *hex || 3ia[^] |||*, an offering of an *aulos* for Aphrodite

- xxi. Theodoridas, *3ia* || *ith* |||, a mock epitaph for Mnasalcas
 xxii. Phaedimus, *3ia* || *ar^d* |||, a dedication on the Theban *hieros lochos*
 xxiii. Asclepiades, *4ia[^]* || *3ia[^]* |||, an epitaph for a child
 xxiv. Callimachus, *2ia[^]* || *phal* |||, a dedication to Aphrodite by a prostitute
 xxv. Callimachus, *2ia[^]* | *2ia[^]* || *4da* | *ith* |||, a dedication to Demeter
 xxvi. “Simonides”, *4da* | *ith* || *3ia[^]* (= *pe* | *ith*) |||, the epitaph for Xanthippe, a descendant of King Periander of Corinth

[the numbering of epigram in *AP* 13 suggests that two epigrams have here been omitted by Cephalas, who included these in *AP* 7:

AP 7.663 Theocritus, *phal* || *4da* | *ith* |||, an epitaph for a nurse

AP 7.664 Theocritus, *4da* | *ith* || *3ia* || *3ia[^]* |||, for a statue of Archilochus]

- xxvii. Phalaecus, *4da* | *ith* || *3ia* || *hex* || *3ia* |||, a *nauagikon*

[here *AP* 13 has a lemma, but no epigram; the omitted epigram is included in *AP* 7:

AP 7.728 Callimachus, *4da* | *ith* || *phal* |||, an epitaph for an elderly priestess of Demeter]

- xxviii. “Bacchylides or Simonides”, *4da* | *ith* || *pe* | *ar^d* |||, an Athenian choregic inscription

- xxix. Nicaenetus, *hex* || *3ia* |||, on Cratinus and the poetic inspiration from wine

- xxx. Simonides, a hexameter, which transforms into a catalectic trochaic tetrameter, the incipit of a hymn to Heracles

- xxxi. Timocreon, a problematic hexameter, which transforms into a problematic trochaic tetrameter, against Simonides

- (3) *AP* 13.11, “Simonides” (Simon. 50 *FGE* = 64 Sider; Simias according to J. Hartung, *Die Elegiker unter den ersten Ptolemäern* (Leipzig, 1859) 15–16), text and trans. D. Sider

«τίς εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν;» «Δωριεύς ὁ Θούριος.» *rz^d | lec*

«<ἄρ> οὐ Πόδιος γένος ἦς;» «ναί, πρὶν φυγεῖν γε πατρίδα *rz^d | lec*

δεινῆ τε χειρὶ πολλὰ ῥέξας ἔργα καὶ βίαια.» *4 ia[^]*

“Who erected this statue?” “Dorieus of Thurii.” “Aren’t you of Rhodian origin?” “Yes, at least until I fled my homeland having done many things by main force.”

- (4) *AP* 13.20, “Simonides” (Simon. 54 *FGE* = 58 Sider), text and trans. D. Sider

πατρίδα κυδαίνων ἱερὴν πόλιν Ὀπίς Ἀθήνης, *hex*

τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς, †χαρίεντας† αὐλούς *3 ia[^]*

τούσδε σὺν Ἥφαιστῷ τελέσας ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ

καλοῦ δαμασθεῖς ἱμέρω Βρύσωνος.

Glorifying his homeland, the child of dark earth, the sacred city of Athena, Opis, who fashioned this lovely(?) aulos with the help of Hephaestus dedicated it to Aphrodite, having been overwhelmed with desire for the beautiful Bryson.

- (5) *AP* 13.26, “Simonides” (Simon. 36 *FGE* = 38 Sider), text and trans. D. Sider

μνήσομαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἀνώνυμον ἐνθάδ' Ἀρχεναύτῳ *4 da | ith*

κεῖσθαι θανούσαν ἀγλαὰν ἄκοιτιν, *3 ia[^] = pe | ith*

Ξανθίππην, Περιάνδρου ἀπέκγονον, ὃς ποθ' ὕψιπύργου

σήμαινε λαοῖς τέρμ' ἔχων Κορίνθου.

I shall serve as reminder, since it is unseemly for Archenautes' glorious wife to lie here in death anonymous—Xanthippe, a descendent of Periander, who once, controlling high-towering Corinth, indicated his bidding to the people.

(6) AP 13.14, “Simonides” (Simon. 35 FGE = 27 Sider), text and trans. D. Sider

Ἀργεῖος Δάνδης σταδιοδρόμος ἐνθάδε κείται	hex
νίκαις ἵππόβοτον πατρίδ' ἐπευκλείσας	pent
Ὀλυμπία δις, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι τρία,	3 ia
δύω δ' ἐν Ἴσθμοῖ, πεντεκαίδεκ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ.	3 ia
τὰς δ' ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὐμαρές ἐστ' ἀριθμῆσαι.	hex 5

Here lies Dandis, a stadium racer who brought glory to his homeland, horse-rearing Argos, twice at Olympia, thrice at Pytho, twice at the Isthmus, fifteen times at Nemea; his other victories are not easy to count.

Cf. AP 13.15 (anon.), trans. W.R. Paton:

Εἰμὶ Δίκων υἱὸς Καλλιμβρότου, αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων
 τετράκις ἐν Νεμέᾳ, δις Ὀλύμπια, πεντάκι Πυθοῖ,
 τρίς δ' Ἴσθμῶ· στεφανῶ δ' ἄστῳ Συρακοσίων.

I am Dicon, the son of Callimbrotus; but I was victor
 four times at Nemea, twice in the Olympian games,
 five times in the Pythian, and thrice in the Isthmian.
 I crown the city of Syracuse.

On numbers and calculations in poetry, see M. Leventhal, *Poetry and Number in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2022).

(7) AP 13.19, “Simonides” (Simon. 43 FGE = 29 Sider), text and trans. D. Sider

ἄνθηκεν τόδ' ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος ὅσπερ ἐνίκα	hex
ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε Νικολάδας	hipp
καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντ' ἐπ' ἀέθλοις	
πολλὰς τ' ἀμφιφορεῖς ἐλαίου·	
Ἴσθμῶ δ' ἐν ζαθέᾳ τρίς ἐπισχερώ, οὐδ' ἐγένοντο	5
ἀκτίων τομάδων τότ' ἄθλοι.	
καὶ Νεμέᾳ τρίς ἐνίκησεν καὶ τετράκις ἄλλα	
Πελλάνα, δύο δ' ἐν Λυκαίῳ	
καὶ Τεγέα καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνα, κρατερᾷ τ' Ἐπιδαύρῳ	
καὶ Θήβῃ Μεγάρων τε δάμῳ,	10
ἐν δὲ Φλειοῦντι στάδιον τά τε πέντε κρατήσας	
ἠΰφρανεν μεγάλην Κόρινθον.	

This glorious monument was erected by the Corinthian Nicolaides, the very one who once won at Delphi and who received victory wreaths and many amphoras of oil at the Panathenaia for the pentathlon; ⁵and three times in a row at the verdant Isthmus, for there were not then contests for spears of elder; and he won thrice at Nemea and other events at Pallene, two times in Lycæum, and again in Tegea, Aegina, mighty Epidaurus, Thebes, and in the town of Megara; and having won the footrace and the pentathlon in Phlius, he brought glory to Corinth.

Page (FGE *ad loc.*) compares epinician catalogues in Pind. *O.* 7.81ff. and 13.107ff. Note that all hipponactean begin with a spondee ---:---, so that they are similar to *ar^d* ---:---.

Cf. AP 13.18 “Parmenon”, trans. W.R. Paton, slightly adapted

Χάλκεα ἔργα, λέγοισθε θοῆς ἐπινίκια πάλου, hex
 ἧτις κεντροραγῆς βαλοῦσα παῖδα, phal
 ψιλῆ λευρὸν ἔθυσσε περὶ δρόμον. ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἐκεῖνον
 Παρμένων χρυσέης κύρησε νίκης.
 Φώκριτε, σῶ δ' ἄρα παιδὶ Ἀμυκλαῖδαι βασιλῆες
 πατρώων ἔδωσαν λαχεῖν ἀέθλων.

You work of brass, be known as the prize of the swift
 filly, who when, torn by the spur, she had thrown her
 jockey, ran unmounted round the level course. And
 therefore did Parmenon gain golden victory.
 Phocritus, to your son did the Lords of Amyclae
 grant to win in the race like his father.

(8) AP 13.28, “Bacchylides or Simonides” (Antigenes 1 FGE = [Simon.] 53 Sider), text and trans. D. Sider

πολλάκι δὴ φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν Ὠραι	4 da ith
ἀνωλόλυξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις	pe ar ^d
αἱ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἀώτοις	etc.
σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,	
οἱ τόνδε τρίποδά σφισι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων	5
ἔθηκαν· οἶος δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδασκεν ἄνδρας,	
εὖ δ' ἐτιθηρείτο γλυκερὰν ὄπα Δωρίοις Ἀρίστων	
Ἀργείος ἠδὲ πνεῦμα χέων καθαροῖς ἐν αὐλοῖς,	
τῶν ἐχορήγησεν κύκλων μελίγερυς Ἴππόνικος,	
Στρούθωνος υἱός, ἄρμασιν ἐν Χαρίτων φορηθεῖς,	10
αἱ οἱ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἀγλαάν τε νίκαν	
θῆκαν ἰοστεφάνων θεῶν ἕκατι Μοισᾶν	ar ^d pe

Often indeed have the Dionysian Horai raised their cries in the ivied dithyrambic choruses of the Acamantid tribe, and with their snoods and fresh roses they protected from the sun the gleaming locks of the skilled singers, ⁵who dedicated a tripod as witness of their Bacchic contest. Such a man Antigenes was who trained these men! Well did Argive Ariston nourish their pleasing voice with his sweet breath in pure-sounding Dorian auloi. ¹⁰The son of Strouthon, the honey-voiced Hipponicus, led the circle of dancers as he was borne in the chariot of the Graces, who made his name famous and his victory glorious for the sake of the Muses, the goddesses with the violet crowns.

Sceptically on the early dating: J. Molyneux, *Simonides: A Historical Study* (Wauconda, IL, 1992) 320; D. Cairns, *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 10 (1998) 67–8. For ar^d, cf. #7 above; on this colon in early lyric, see G. Zuntz, *Drei Kapitel zur griechischen Metrik* (Vienna, 1984) 84–7.

(9) CEG 270 = IG I³ 833bis (Ieranò, *Il ditirambo di Dioniso*, test. 92), text and trans. E. Bowie

[νικέ]σας ἡ[δ]ε πρ[ὸ]τον Ἀθήνεσ[ιν] χο[ρ]οῖ ἀνδρ[ὸ]ν |
 [ἀσκε]τέσ σοφ[ί]ας τόνδ' ἀνέθε[κ]εν ἡ[δ]ορον |
 [εὐ]χο[σ]άμενο[ς] π[λ]εῖστοις δὲ [χ]οροῖς ἔχσο κατὰ φύ[λα] |
 [ἀνδ]ρῶν νικ[ε]σαί φεσι π[ερ]ὶ τρίποδος.

This man after winning first at Athens with a chorus of men
 dedicated this boundary-marker of his [develop]ed skill,
 as he had vowed to: and he claims to have won overseas among nations
 with very many choruses of men for the honour of a tripod.

For a brief to-the-point analysis, see E. Bowie in Baumbach et al. (eds) *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram* (Cambridge, 2010) 352–3, and for a complex reading of the epigram's poetic programme, Z. Biles, *Mnemosyne* 64 (2011) 183–205. For Athenian choregic inscriptions, see G. Ieranò, *Il ditirambo di Dioniso* (Pisa, 1997).

(10) Theoc. *Ep.* 12 Gow (AP 6.339), trans. N. Hopkinson

Δαμομένης ὁ χοραγός, ὁ τὸν τρίποδ', ὃ Διόνυσε,
 καὶ σὲ τὸν ἄδιστον θεῶν μακάρων ἀναθείς,
 μέτριος ἦν ἐν πᾶσι, χορῶ δ' ἐκτάσατο νίκαν
 ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ προσῆκον ὄρῶν.

Damomenes the chorus trainer, who dedicated this tripod and your statue, Dionysus, sweetest of the blessed gods, used good measure in everything and won the prize for the men's chorus, since he provided a fitting and attractive performance.

On this epigram, see L. Rossi, *The Epigrams Attributed to Theocritus* (Leuven, 2001) 229–37.

(11) Phaedimus' epigrams, trans. W.R. Paton, slightly adapted

(a) AP 13.22 (Phaedim. 3 Gow-Page)

Τόξον μὲν, ᾧ Γίγαντος ἄλεσας σθένος, 3ia
ἴσχε βίης, Ἐκάεργ' ἀνάσσω· ar^d
ἴού οἱ φαρέτρη λύεται λυκοκτόνος·
τοῖσδε δ' ἐπ' ἠϊθέοις οἴστον
στρέφειν Ἐρωτος, τόφρ' ἀλέξονται πάτρη,
θαρσαλέοι φιλότατι κούρων·
πυροῖ γὰρ ἀλκίην, καὶ θεῶν ὑπέρτατος
αἰὲν ὄδε προμάχους ἀέξειν.
Μελιστίωνος δ', ᾧ πατρώιον σέβας
Σχοινιέων, ἐπίηρα δέχθαι.

O King, Far-shooter, curb the force of your bow with which you laid low the Giant's might. Do not open your wolf-slaying quiver, but aim at these young men the arrow of Love, that strong in the friendship of their youthful peers, they may defend their country; for it sets courage afire, and he is ever of all gods the strongest to exalt the hearts of the foremost in the fight. But do you, whom the Schoenians reverence as their ancestral god, accept the gifts Melistion proffers.

(b) AP 6.271 (Phaedim. 1 Gow-Page)

Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τὰ πέδιλα Κιχησίου εἴσατο υἱός,
καὶ πέπλων ὀλίγον πτύγμα Θεμιστοδίκη,
οὐνεκά οἱ πρηεῖα λεχοῖ δισσὰς ὑπερέσχες
χεῖρας, ἄτερ τόξου, πότνια, νισσομένη.
Ἄρτεμι, νηπίαχον δὲ καὶ εἰσέτι παῖδα Λέοντι
νεῦσον ἰδεῖν κοῦρον γυῖ' ἐπαεζόμενον.

Artemis, the son of Cichesias dedicated the shoes to you, and Themistodice the simple folds of her gown, because that coming in gentle guise without your bow you held your two hands over her in her labour. But Artemis, vouchsafe to see this baby boy of Leon's grow great and strong.

On the family of Leon and Cichesias, see C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Göttingen, 1982) 194–7.

(c) AP 13.2 (Phaedim. 2 Gow-Page)

Καλλίστρατός σοι, Ζηνὸς ᾧ διάκτορε, 3ia
ἔθηκε μορφῆς ξυγόν ἠλικος τύπον·
Κηφισιεὺς ὁ κοῦρος· ᾧ χαρεῖς, ἄναξ,
Ἀπολλοδώρου παῖδα καὶ πάτραν σάω.

Callistratus dedicated to you, Hermes, messenger of Zeus, this statue of a youth of like age with himself, the common image of you and him. The young man is of the deme of Cephisia. Rejoicing in his gift, O Lord, protect the son of Apollodorus and his native place.

(12) Echembrotus' dedication, the text of K. Tsantsanoglou, *ZPE* 176 (2011) 39–44 (3ia || hex || pent)

Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς <με> θῆκε τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ
νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμ' Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐν ἀ(έ)θλοις
Ἐλλησι(ν) δ' αἰείδων μείλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.

(13) For the use of the imperfect in Paus. 10.7.6 ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν, cf. 10.21.5–6 (trans. W.H.S. Jones) ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῶ Ἐλευθερίῳ Δίῳ, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ... [*adesp.* 140 *FGE*] Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὀμοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας (“He was killed by the Gauls, but his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus God of Freedom, and the inscription ran ... This inscription remained until Sulla and his army took away, among other Athenian treasures, the shields in the porch of Zeus, God of Freedom”).

Echembrotus' dedication, my text

Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς θῆκε τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ r | dod ||
νικήσας τόδ' ἄγαλμ' Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐν ἀθλοις, dod~ | hag ||
Ἐλλησι δ' αἰείδων † μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους. † r | ? |||
Some literature

(a) On the history of epigrammatic metres, epigrammatic polymetry and *AP* 13:

D. Page, *WS* 10 (1976) 165–76; C. Gallavotti, *Metri e ritmi nelle iscrizioni greche* (Rome, 1979); M. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982) 150–1; G. Morelli, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 257–96; A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993) 137–45; P. Ceccarelli in A. Dell’Era and A. Russi (eds) *Vir bonus docendi peritus* (San Severo, 1996) 47–69; L. Rossi, *The Epigrams Ascribed to Theocritus* (Leuven, 2001); M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge, 2004) 39 n. 155; E. Bowie in Baumbach et al. (eds) *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram* (Cambridge, 2010) 313–84; A. Dale, *GRBS* 50 (2010) 193–213; B.M. Palumbo Stracca, *ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ* (Padua, 2013); P. Parsons et al. *The Vienna Epigrams Papyrus* (Berlin, 2015); L. Morgan in C. Henriksen (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Epigram* (Hoboken, NJ, 2019) 127–43; G. Palermo, *Metri lirici nella poesia greca d’età imperiale* (Trieste, 2020).

(b) On the “Simonides” epigrams in *AP* 13:

J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin, 1972); D. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981); L. Bravi, *Gli epigrammi di Simonide e le vie della tradizione* (Rome, 2006); C. Nobili, *Corone di gloria* (Alessandria, 2016); D. Sider, *Simonides: Epigrams and Elegies* (Oxford, 2020).

M. Neger – «Magna voce sonas manuque tota»: Ancient Epigrams on Orators and Rhetorical Performance

Abstract

A significant number of epigrams in the Greek Anthology as well as the poetic collections of Latin epigrammatists deals with orators, rhetors and their performances at court or in the classroom. In this context, the voice, pronunciation, facial expression, and gestures of the orators as well as the reactions of their audience are discussed by the epigrammatists from various perspectives.

As scholars have already demonstrated, the ancient art of rhetoric had a great impact on epigrammatic poetry. Not only are epigrammatists deeply familiar with and indebted to rhetorical theory and practice, but epigrams also provide useful means to orators for practicing and demonstrating their rhetorical skills: for instance, Greek and Latin orators quote epigrams in speeches and rhetorical treatises, and in both genres the ideal of *urbanitas* as well as the effective use of *sententiae* play a significant role (see, e.g., Barwick 1959; Mindt 2019). However, the relationship between epigram and rhetoric has not yet been treated exhaustively; especially the intermedial aspects of this generic cross-fertilization deserve further treatment. By discussing Greek and Latin poems on orators and rhetoricians, the paper aims at shedding new light on the interaction of epigram with the oral culture of rhetorical performance.

Fourth Session (31st May)

F. Scicolone – The Voice and Voicelessness of Grieving: Imperial Epitaphs about Women, Stones and Crying

Abstract

Imperial verse-inscriptions toy with the audience's experience of the inscribed monument to suggest novel associations between the deceased and their perceived manifestations through stone and writing. As a variation of the common funerary motif of the 'mute stone' that utters the epigram (Agosti 2010), Imperial inscribed epigrams elaborate also on the trope of the (mostly female) deceased or other mourner as a 'tearful stone' (δακρυόεσσα λίθος) or a 'stony tear' (πέτρινον δάκρυ), of which the mythical Niobe is the emblem (e.g. *API* 129-130; Auson. *Epigr.* 57). This image condenses the oxymoronic notions of the stone's voicelessness, as a metaphor for silent mourning, and of crying as a medium to articulate and voice one's sorrow. This paper will explore selected Imperial epitaphs (first-second centuries AD, e.g. *GVI* 1545 for Paula, Smyrna; *GVI* 1476 for Modesta; *GVI* 1938 for Petronia Musa; *GVI* 1684 for Oinanthe; cf. anon. *AP* 7.328, on Casandros), comparing it with selected epitaphs by Gregory of Nazianzus (*AP* 8.4, 96, 236), which display this contrast between the notion of silent grief, as symbolised by the stone, and its externalisation (in tears, sound, gestures) through the speaker's weeping voice. This contrast resonates with the either silent or loud reading performance of the inscription. The ambivalent image of the deceased/mourner as inanimate and animate at once, both petrified and crying, reflects the various types of human cognitive and emotional response to a significant loss, thus heightening the readers' participation and involvement in the specific situation of mourning to which the encountered verse-inscription attests.

V. Dozza – «O forse Eco ha parlato per ultima»? Epigramma e oralità negli 'ecoici' Leon. Alex. *AP* VII 548 e Gauradas *API* 152

Abstract

Il genere epigrammatico, benché fenomeno poetico sin dalle origini legato alla scrittura, in virtù del suo sviluppo all'interno di un contesto culturale prevalentemente orale, conserva, imita ed esibisce le caratteristiche di una «oralità "concettuale"» (Christian 2022), 'messa in scena' nella forma di monologo o di dialogo. Quest'ultima conosce una delle sue più originali declinazioni negli epigrammi Leon. Alex. *AP* VII 548 e Gauradas *API* 152, 'registrazioni' di una paradossale conversazione 'ecoica' che costituisce un significativo espediente di riproduzione in forma scritta di un 'immediato' atto locutivo. In entrambi, infatti, le parole della *persona loquens*, enunciate ad alta voce nella dinamica comunicativa del testo, sono ripetute identiche dalla figura di Eco, in un (solo illusorio) 'botta e risposta' realizzato con versi frammentati in ἀντιλαβαί speculari che rievocano la tradizione drammatica (cf. Garulli 2014, 88; in particolare, per il *lusus* ecoico con duplicazione della voce in un medesimo verso, si veda Ar. *Th.* 1070-1096).

I due componimenti adottano il medesimo stratagemma linguistico (e metrico), ma l'effetto d'eco coinvolge aspetti differenti dell'oralità epigrammatica: nel primo, l'eco 'replica' al lettore e interprete di una stele, convertendo in positivo i quesiti della prima voce, in un cortocircuito comunicativo volto a suscitare una matura riflessione sulle convenzioni espressive dell'epitafio dialogato e della pietra 'parlante'; il secondo propone un'ingegnosa variazione dello spunto comico della contrattazione erotica per mezzo di una vivace 'scenetta' tra un locutore, che rivolge incalzanti domande per la conquista dell'amata, ed Eco, che 'risponde' con le ultime sillabe da lui pronunciate innescando una serie di equivoci verbali.

Voiceless writing?
Epigrams, performance and oral poetry
Università di Bologna (FICLIT), 30-31 maggio 2024
Vittoria Dozza, Università di Bologna

«*O forse Eco ha parlato per ultima?*»
Epigramma e oralità negli 'ecoici' Leon. Alex. AP VII 548 e Gauradas API 152

1) Leon. Alex. AP VII 548 = FGE 1898-1901

Τίς Δάμων Ἀργεῖος ἐπ' ἠρίωι; Ἄρα σύνναιμος	3880
ἐστὶ Δικαιοτέλους; - ἐστὶ Δικαιοτέλους.	3270
Ἦχῶ τοῦτ' ἐλάλησε πανύστατον, ἢ τόδ' ἀληθές,	4844
κεῖνος ὄδ' ἐστὶν ἀνήρ; - κεῖνος ὄδ' ἐστὶν ἀνήρ.	2306

3880 + 3270 = 4844 + 2306 = 7150

P (A, p. 293); Pl (3a.6.25, f. 32r)

Lemma: εἰς Ἀργεῖόν τινα συγγενῆ Δικαιοτέλους J, ἰσόμηρον bis scripsit C
Tit. τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου C, Λεωνίδου Pl

1 Δαίμων P, Pl : Δάμων Groulart uel Scaliger (ap. Blomfield), Radinger

Chi è 'Damone Argivo' iscritto sulla stele? Forse

è fratello di Diceotele? - è fratello di Diceotele.

Eco ha pronunciato queste ultime parole o è la verità,

è lui quest'uomo? - è lui quest'uomo.

2) Gauradas API 152 = FGE 458-463

a. Ἀχῶ φίλα, μοὶ συγκαταίνεσόν τι. - b. Τί;

a. Ἐρῶ κορίσκα; ἀ δέ μ' οὐ φιλεῖ. - b. Φιλεῖ.

a. Πρᾶξι δ' ὁ καιρὸς καιρὸν οὐ φέρει. - b. Φέρει.

a. Τὸ τοίνυν αὐτᾶ λέξον, ὡς ἐρῶ. - b. Ἐρῶ.

a. Καὶ πίστιν αὐτᾶ κερμάτων τὸ δός. - b. Τὸ δός. 5

a. Ἀχῶ, τί λοιπὸν ἢ πόθου τυχεῖν; - b. Τυχεῖν.

Pl (4a.11.1, ff. 52r-52v); Σ^π8; H22;

Lemma: εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἦχῶς παρὰ τοῦ Πανός Pl : ἐκ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν Σ^π

Tit. Γαυράδα Pl, Σ^π: Λουκιανοῦ H

- a. Eco cara, accordami una cosa. – b. Cosa?
a. Io amo una ragazza, ma lei non mi ama. – b. Ama.
a. Ma l'occasione di agire il tempo non la dà. – b. La dà.
a. Tu allora dille che l'amo. – b. Lo dirò.
a. E la garanzia del compenso a lei tu dà. – b. Tu dà!
a. Eco, che altro resta, se non ottenere il suo amore? – b. Il suo amore.

Ó. Prieto Domínguez – Performance and Orality in the Book Epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus

Abstract

The sepulchral epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus (329–390 A.D.), nowadays gathered in the eighth book of the *Palatine Anthology*, are usually seen as book epigrams resulting from the rhetorical expertise of the poet. This sort of ludic experiments created by a monotonous repetition of language and thought about the same subjects with small formal variations may seem conceived for a silent reading. However, a close analysis reveals that the texts needed to be actualized by means of a performance that included reading aloud, according to the requirements of their real context.

The collection of epigrams for his mother Nonna (*AP* 8.24-76) is a telling example. According to the verses themselves (*AP* 8.26,3: “Others cry aloud by her tomb”), a possible original context for the performance of these pieces was a ritual in the church where Nonna died and was buried. The poems were probably imitating Nonna’s practice of praying aloud (lavishly described in *AP* 8.35) by being themselves publicly recited as a form of prayer. Their reading aloud as part of a ritual in honour of Nonna is confirmed by textual signs typical of an oral performance, such as supplications to Christ and the saints (*AP* 8.47,4: ἴλαθι, Χριστὲ ἄναξ! *AP* 8.52b,1: Μάρτυρες, ἰλήκοιτε!) or exhortations to the listener ordering to write the miracle of Nonna’s death (*AP* 8.45,4), not to weep for her, but for the rest of the mortals (*AP* 8.64), to escort divine Nonna (*AP* 8.68), and to rejoice for her pious end (*AP* 8.73)