EISI TRIXEΣ: AN EROTIC MOTIF IN THE
GREEK ANTHOLOGY

In Book xii of the Greek Anthology many of the old motifs of erotic poetry are applied to the
love of boys. Among these motifs a form of the carpe diem calls our attention. Youth and the
beloved’s charms are there granted a very short span: the growth of hair marks the end of a boy’s
attraction. 1 Of this basic idea we find numerous variations in over thirty epigrams, Hellenistic
and late, not unlike those on the more general motif of fleeting youth. We shall group the poems
and interpret them according to the variations of this motif.

I

The boy is now willing to love when it is too late: the hairs have come. The lover, whether
by threats, warnings, or vaunts that it has happened, implicitly rejects the advances of the young
man.

Ia. Our first epigram (Asclep. 46 = A.P. xii 36) 2 is headed άλεξησίππιάλου άδραμντής. If by
Asclepiades of Samos it would be chronologically the first in our list. Yet the ascription is far
from certain, 3 and the choice of the epigram as our starting point is, therefore, arbitrary.

νῦν αἴτεσι δέλπτοι ὑπ’ κροτάφοιοι ήολος
ἐρει καὶ μπροῖς δέξες ἐπεστὶ χείς.
ἰςτα λέγεσ, ἠδιον ἔμοι τάδε, καὶ τίς ἄν εἴποι
κρέασονας αὐχαράδας δασαχών κελάμας;

Now you offer yourself, when the tender bloom is advancing under your temples and there is a
prickly down on your thighs. And then you say, ‘I prefer this’. But who said that the dry
stubble is better than the eared corn?

The poem is very symmetrically built, νῦν αἴτεσι at the beginning of line 1 being echoed by
ἰςτα λέγεσ at the beginning of line 3 and then by ὑπ’ εἴποι at the end, and λεπτός . . . ήολος in 1
contrasted by δέξες . . . χείς in 2. αἴτεσι certainly means ‘want to be courted’ rather than αἴτεσι
μισθὸν (Jacobs)—the rest of the epigram clarifies the erotic connotations of the verb. The motif
is established from the start with the almost formulaic ὑπ’ κροτάφοιοι ήολος. 4 ήολος is
particularly pointed in an epigram ending with a metaphor of ears of corn because of its second
meaning of ‘cornshead’. 5 δασαχών of course stands for the boy’s beauty before adolescence and

1 D. L. Page, The epigrams of Rufinus (Cambridge 1978) lists the hair motif as one of the variations on the theme
of the revenge of the passing years on a proud boy (cf. preface to 7, p. 78, and 10, p. 81). The appearance of the beard is
considered sometimes an enhancement of a boy’s beauty (e.g. Od. x 278–9; Il. xxiv 347–8; Pl. Prot. 309a–b; Xen. Symp. iv 23; Lucian
Alex. 6; Am. 16; Sen. Ep. 95–2; Philostr. Ep. 15, and Ep. 11), sometimes the end of his attraction, e.g. Bion of
Borysthenes fr. 55 and 56, ed. J. F. Kindstrøm (Uppsala 1976) 126; Gnomologium Vaticanum, ed. L. Sternbach ii
(Berlin 1961), 262; Hor. Carm. iv 10; Catull. 33–7–8; Tib. i 8.1–2; and G. Luck, ‘Kids and wolves (an interpretation
of Callimachus, fr. 202.69–70 Pf)’, CQ ix (1959) 34–7. See also in general RE xi. 1 (1921) 1 v. ‘Knabenliebe’ 897–906 (Kroll); K. J. Dover, Greek Homosexual-
2 For epigrams included in A. S. F. Gow and D. L.
Page, Hellenistic Epigrams or The Garland of Philip I give
both the Gow–Page number and that in A.P. Unless
otherwise stated I print Gow–Page’s text for the
epigrams they have edited, Beckby’s for the later ones,
and Paton’s translations except for those epigrams
translated by Gow–Page.
3 The ethnic άδραμντής (corrected from
’άδραμμυτής) is not attached to any other epigram by
Asclepiades of Samos, who had no known connection
with Adrhamyttium. The epigram may therefore be the
work of an otherwise unknown nameake (cf. Gow–
Page ad loc.). It is generally similar to the probably
dependent Anon. A.P. xii 182, a related motif.
4 Cf. Od. x 319, ὑπὸ κ.; Antip. Thess. A.P. vi 198,
ὑπὸ κ.; Theoc. Id. 15.83, ἄπο κ. (see Gow ad loc.,
Headlam on Herodas i 92).
5 Cf. Demeter’s name θουλό, Semus in Ath. xiv
618d (PMG 849).

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seems to be making the point of θέρος in Philip 59.6 (see 1 below) or Strato A.P. xii 215.6 The enjambment of ἐπεις in line 2 figures, as it were, the suddenness of the growth of hair, μηροῖς, prominent in its projected position, leaves clearly established the parts of the body ravaged by adolescence: face and legs, a leitmotiv in these epigrams.7

The second couplet brings in the point of the epigram. The sense depends upon whether one takes τις as an interrogative or, with Jacobs and Brunck, as an indefinite pronoun. The latter leaves open the possibility that a shaggy boy may be attractive.8 The general tone, however, and especially the ironic end, seem to preclude this sense. The vegetal metaphor in the last line is an elaboration of the commoner one of faded youth as a withered flower:9 it takes us back to line 1 with its introduction of the motif in so far as it plays with the second meaning of οὖνος (= corn-sheaf) there. The motif is clear from the beginning: even τόδε in line 3 obviously means ‘the growth of hair in adolescence’, which, the boy claims, is more pleasant than his previous condition. We shall see that other poets of the Anthology deal with this motif in more obscure and allusive manner.

In the same section of Book xii we find a distich by Alcaeus of Messene, Alcaeus 7 = A.P. xii 29:

Πρώταρχος καλὸς ἔστι καὶ οὗ θέλει: ἄλλα θελῆσει
ὑστερον, ἡ δ’ ἄρη λαμπάδ’ ἔχουσα τρέξει.

Protarchus is fair and does not wish it, but later he will, and his youth races on a holding a torch.

Irony and point are most remarkable here, conveyed mainly by the elliptical θέλει and θελῆσει, full of suggestion, and by the original metaphor where the passing of time is represented as a runner who holds a torch and hands it on to the next runner—a boy whose beauty fades away and is, as it were, passed on to a younger successor. The prominent position of υστερον in enjambment in line 2 emphasizes the main idea—the notion of ‘too late’.

Two facts call our attention. First, the epigram deals not, like Asclepiades', with the moment when Protarchus discovers only too late that he is willing to love, but with the time when he still refuses to do so. It is outside the narrative of the events and in the poet's comment that, in a hypothetical future, the motif is brought in. Second, only the context in A.P. suggests that the lines have to do with the growth of hair, for this is not mentioned. Such is also the case with Thymocles 1 = A.P. xii 32, where moreover there is no boy's name (like Protarchus in Alcaeus), which makes even the location in Book xii—let alone in this section—a matter of interpretation. Yet the problem is more complicated in the case of Alcaeus, for in Sylloge S another distich is attached to it as a second couplet, which is also separately transmitted in Book xi (53) and in A.P.:

τὸ ῥόδων ἄκμαξε βαιῶν χρόνον, ἢ δὲ παρέλθῃ
ζητῶν εὐρήσεις οὗ ῥόδων ἄλλα βάτου.

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6 For the θέρος image cf. Pind. fr. 123.1 Snell, δέκτησιν.
7 For μηρός cf. Dioscor. 10 = A.P. xii 37 and Lida Tarán, The art of variation in the Hellenistic epigram (Leiden 1979) 40-3; Asclep. 20 = A.P. xii 161 and Ludwig, Fond. Hardi xiv (1968) 318-21; Soph. fr. 320 Nauck2; Aesch. fr. 135, 136 Nauck2; Dover (n. 1) 70 and 197-8; Phanius 1 (Iic below).
8 Cf. n. 1; Strato A.P. xii 10 (Vic below) and 178 (Vb); Aelian VH x 18; Pollux ii 10.
9 Cf. in the epigrams dealing with this motif, Anon. 12 (Vic below); Anon. A.P. xii 53, below and p. 105; Philip 59 (both metaphors; cf. 1 below for line 6 as a variation of our line 4); Strato A.P. xii 195, n. 77 below; and Rufin. A.P. v 28 (I). For ἐραχύς (here with prothetic a metri gratia) cf. Mel. 1 = A.P. iv. 134 of Bacchylides' poems, and Piacus 11 (n. 84 below). Ambrosus 4 = A.P. xii 131.4, perhaps influenced by the poet of Asclep. 46, blends the concept of the old lover as ἀνήρ ἄνθρωπος with that of the fire of love.
10 Cf. Gow–Page ad loc. for a complete discussion of the type of race involved. For the torch of life cf. Pl. Leg. 770b; Lucr. ii 70. For the motif of line 1 cf. already Sappho fr. 1.22-4 LP.

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buttocks. Meleager uses the singular, but his meaning is made clear by εν γλωττί τις φυμάνη. The thought is more allusive and metaphorical in Automedon, and his sense of 'retribution' is reinforced by the epexegetical genitive κάλλους—hair, the retribution that will come and spoil initial beauty.

In the last couplet Ἕλθες ἐσω μανδρής, 'you have come within the fold', suggested to Jacobs the conceit in which the lover is compared to a he-goat and the beloved to a kid. For Gow—Page this interpretation reads too much into the line, which most likely means 'you have become tame' (Paton). A μανδρά or fold is an animal pen for any purpose. It is not restricted to he-goats, and the words need not mean 'you are like a he-goat' any more than 'you are like a kid' or another domestic animal. Yet in this context μανδρά gains point if it refers to he-goats—which must have been constrained in some way when they became of an age to mate but were not wanted for mating—whereas she-goats and kids could be allowed to roam.

The last line and a half sum up the content of the epigram and put forward this variation of the motif: 'Now you are willing to love when it is too late'. The plural εἰσάγεσθαι seems to emphasize that not only the speaker but everyone else will now decline Connichus' advances.

The epigram, which startedplayfully with an address to beard and hairs, ends with a sarcastic note that suggests the resentment of a rejected lover.

Id. Nemesis recurs in another variation of the motif but not in the blunt metaphor that speaks of it as hair. In Flaccus 10 = A.P. xii 12:

ἂρτι γενειάζων ὃ καλὸς καὶ στερρός ἱστατάς
παιδὸς ἐφ’ Ῥδώνυμος σύντομος Ἡ νεμέαις.

Just as his beard begins to grow, Ladon, that beauty so harsh to lovers, is in love with a boy. Nemesis makes short work.

Nemesis punishes Ladon, a fastidious boy, by making him fall in love with another one just as he—Ladon—begins to have a beard. Like Alcaeus 7, this is set in the third person, not addressed to the boy. The distich begins with words that announce the motif. It is concise and pointed, with the first hemistich of the pentameter occupied by the kernel of the motif and the second by the ironic point. The brevity of the distich is meant to mirror the suddenness of the ironic volto-faces. Hence the use of σύντομος, appropriate for the brevity of a poem but not so much for the swiftness of Nemesis. The epigram is, in its compactness, the opposite of the following piece.

Ie. Philip 59 = A.P. xi 36:

ὡς εἰς εἰπέρκες χειρὶ τριχῆ, νῦν φίλον ἐλκὼν
τὴν καλάμην διώρη δύος ἄπέρως τὸ θέρος.

When you were handsome, Archestratus, and your wine-red cheeks inflamed the soul of young men, then friendship with me was of no account; you played with others and threw away your youthful


18 Cf. IV below.

19 N.B. the prominent position of νῦν, after a bucolic diacesis echoing the one in line 1, answered by καὶ τότε

in the last line. Gow—Page observe that δὲ is more pointed in this epigram than δὲ—indeed all along it has been clear enough what the speaker refers to.

20 Better this than to consider εἰσάγεσθαι a faded plural for singular—compare ἐλκὼν at the beginning of line 3.

21 They stress the passage from εἰσένεσθαι to τραξεῖς stage. The same words occur in Theoc. Id. 11.2, applied to the young Polyphemus. Cf. also Xen. Cyrl. iv 6.5 and Kibell, Ep. Gr. 100. 345.
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The rose blooms for a little season, and when that goes by thou shalt find, if thou seest, no rose, but a briar.

These lines, with βάτον as metaphor for hair and ῥόδον for the smooth, beardless cheek, would definitely fit Alcaeus' epigram to the context in A.P., where it is followed by Alcaeus 8 = A.P. xii 30,11 clearly dealing with the hair motif. It may have been precisely the motif of Alcaeus 8 that motivated the addition of the anonymous second couplet, which 'seems a considerable enfeeblement of the sentiment'12 of Alcaeus 7. Perhaps what makes the two distichs look forced when put together is that each of them has a different, fully developed metaphor about the fleetness of youth; one is enough in such a short poem about such a well-known topic, and the second one weakens, as it were, the originality of the first.13 The anonymous couplet, however, must refer to the growth of hair, for a rose of course does not become a bramble with time. What the author means is that cheeks (soft and pink as roses) become prickly (like brambles) with the appearance of a beard, and this metaphor rather needs a specific reference to a boy like the one in Alcaeus 7.14 In any case, it should be said that the change of τὸ καί, appearing in Syllogon S in the four line epigram, is worse than unnecessary: the second metaphor being longer and more detailed than that of the race and having a conditional sentence, the mere apposition of the two distichs is much more pointed and expressive.

Ic. The key words of the motif open our next epigram, Automedon 10 = A.P. xi 326:

πώγων καὶ λάδαια μηρῶν πρίξεις, ὡς ταχὺ πάντα
οἵ χρόνος ἀλλάσσει. Κόρινχε, τοῦτ' ἐγένετο;
οὐκ ἔλέγου 'μν πάντα βαρώς θέλε μηδὲ βάναυσος
ἐναι καὶ κάλλους εἰσὶ τινὲς Νεμέοις;

خلاف έσω μάνθρης, ὑπερήφανε, νῦν οἳ βούλει
οὖσαιν ἀλλ' ἐξήν καὶ τότ' ἔχειν ἐφένας.

Beard and shaggy thigh-hairs, how quickly Time changes all things. Is this, Connichus, what you have come to? Did I not tell you, 'Seek not to be so harsh and rude in all ways; even beauty has its Nemesis'? Proud fellow, you have come within the fold. That you want it now, we know; you might have had as much sense in those days.

Addressed like the two previous pieces to a boy grown shaggy, this one is much longer and in a satirical vein apparent from the beginning, where an invocation to beard and legs' hair is mock-seriously coupled to a meditation on the ravages of time.15 Humor is especially conveyed in the first couplet because the statement ὡς ταχὺ πάντα ὁ χρόνος ἀλλάσσει and the question τοῦτ' ἐγένετο; would normally be used in a confrontation with old age; the initial vocative πώγων καί...πρίξεις destroys the possible anticlimax by warning us from the start that only adolescence is meant, that is, only the 'old age' of the εἶσθην.

The second couplet contains, in a reported speech belonging to the past, the variation of the carpe diem motif as warning about the growth of hair.16 The plural wittily suggests that Νεμέοις = hairs. The conceit is taken from Meleager, who refers to 'Nemesis that grows on the

11 Illo below.
12 Gow–Page, who, however, feel that the context of Alc. 7 (with a majority of the epigrams dealing with the growth of hair) is perhaps an argument in favor of the addition of the anonymous couplet.
13 It could be argued that this accumulation of metaphors is not unusual. Yet the two instances where Alcaeus can be said to have used them are not very similar to ours. In Alc. 6 = A.P. v 10 τι πληγήν, εἴθε θεοί ἄρα καταπλῆνει 51 (s) and τι...ἀν...ἐρώτες πλῆθον εἴχε καταλθῆς; (1–s) are in a way reinforcements of τι γὰρ βαρώς οὖν ἐκεὶ θήραι / δρομαίαι (1–2), and in Alc. 8 τῆς ὀμελετημένης φροντίσαν θλίψει (4) is after all a repetition of the idea of lines 1–2; yet in both cases we find more a variation and an expansion of the idea first expressed than a mere accumulation such as Alc. 7 plus the anonymous distich would present.
14 Cf. Rufinus. A.P. v 28.6 (see J below).
15 Cf. láδασ, for ἄδαια here, in Flaccus 11 (n. 84 below).
16 Cf. especially Anon. 32 (Ilh below); Diocles 4 (Itc) Anon. A.P. xi 51 (Ilb); Phainias 1 (Ilc); Mel. 90 (Ilg); Fronto A.P. xii 174 (Ilf). For οὐκ ἔλεγον cf. Page (n. 1) on Rufinus 7 = A.P. v 21.1, with references.
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II

The lover gives a warning about the brevity of life applied to the growth of hair. Here we find several Hellenistic pieces from Meleager’s Garland.

IIa. Alcaeus 8 = A.P. xii 30.

ἡ κνήμη, Νίκανδρε, δασώντας ἅλλα φυλάξας,
μὴ σε καὶ ἡ πυγή ταῦτα παθοῦσα λάθη
καὶ γυνώς φιλέοντος σος σπάνις, ἅλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
τής ἀμετάκλητοι φρόντισον ἀλίκης.

Your leg, Nicander, is getting hairy, but take care lest the same happens to your buttocks and lest you know how rare lovers are. But even now reflect that youth is irrevocable.

The warning appears prominently placed after a brief setting forth of the motif: your leg—κνήμη used for the first time in our epigrams—is getting hairy. It is introduced by ἅλλα as in Anon. 32.3, Phianias 1.5, and Meleager 90.3, and after a bucolic diacretas as in Anon. 32.2. The sense changes slightly depending on the punctuation of line 2. Most editors print a stop after λάθη and take γυνώς as a future indicative; yet καὶ at the beginning of 3 and the rhythm of the two verses support Gow–Page’s view that γυνώς must be an aorist subjunctive dependent on μὴ and parallel with λάθη. Finally, the name of the boy, although common, may have been chosen for the sake of the pun—Νίκανδρος; ‘subduer of men’ is especially pointed in this case: he may himself be ‘subdued’ by the ἀμετάκλητος ἀλίκη.

IIb. A Νίκανδρος is also the subject of Anon. 32 = A.P. xii 39:

ἔσβεσθ’ Νίκανδρος, ἀπέπετα τιν ἀπ’ χροῖς
ἀθός, καὶ χαρίτων λοιπόν ἐτ’ οὔδ’ ὅμοια,
ὅν τρικ ἐν αὐνάτοις ἐνομίζομεν, ἅλλα φρονεῖτε
μηδὲν ὑπὲρ θητούς, ὦ νέοι, εἰς τρίχες.

Nicander’s light is out. All the bloom has left his complexion, and not even the name of charm survives, Nicander, whom once we counted among the immortals. But, ye young men, let not your thoughts mount higher than besemeth a mortal; there are such things as hairs.

The epigram wittily blends the sepulchral and amatory styles, a technique used by Meleager. It starts as a lament over the loss of Nicander. Although the vocabulary has erotic connotations—ἔσβεσθ’ besides the metaphorical meaning ‘died’, evokes the fire of love and both ἀθός and χαρίτων suggest beauty—it brings foremost to the reader’s mind the idea of death. This is very striking at the beginning: ἔσβεσθ’ Νίκανδρος suggests that the boy has died. It decreases somewhat in the rest of line 1 and the beginning of 2. There, although death seems still the principal idea, the words refer to physical charm. And it culminates after a striking crescendo at the end of line 2, where οὐδ’ ὅμοια recalls numerous funerary inscriptions, and in line 3. There the author plays with the double meaning of ἐν αὐνάτοις, erotic and sepulchral: ‘ageless’, i.e. that could not grow hairy, and ‘among the immortals’, i.e. that could not die.

30 In this case I alter Paton’s translation because my text differs slightly from his: see below and n. 32.
31 ΙΙΙ, c. 4.
32 It is worth noticing, however, that Strato in his imitation, A.P. xii 186 [I] has an ostensibly future, ἐπιγυνώσῃ. Thus he probably understood Alcaeus’ γυνώσῃ as future—so Paton, who translates ‘Then shall you know how rare lovers are.
33 Cf. A. Wistrand, Studier zur griechischen Anthologie, N. P. Av. i Bd 23:3 (Lund 1926) 46-7 on Mel. 90 (IId below) and Lida Tarán (n. 7) 168.
34 Cf. Simon. A.P. vii 20 of Sophocles, and Anti-philus A.P. ix 128 of a city.
35 Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 79, 94 n. 119; Callim. 9 = A.P. xii 139; Anon. 11 = A.P. xii 179; Mel. 17 = A.P. xii 82; Diodorus A.P. v 122; Headlam on Herodas i 38; Gow on Theoc. IId. 3.17 and 11.51.
36 Cf. σὺν πάλιν ὅμοια in Asclep. 31 = A.P. vii 500; Lida Tarán (n. 7) 133–5.
37 Gow–Page ad loc. say ‘ἔν δ. i.e. ageless’ but here fail to see the play with the funerary connotations which they do see in the related poem, Mel. 90 (IId).
beauty as it were a rose. Now that you are darkening with loathsome hair, you drag me to be your friend; you give me the straw, having given the harvest to others.

The first two couplets are devoted to the past and the last one to the present situation. Unlike what we found in the other epigrams, here the speaker does not say that it is too late; he does not reject the advances of the shaggy boy but complains that he is only now dragged into an affair: perhaps he will accept the relationship as a second best. Philip describes faded youth by the vegetal metaphors that appeared in our previous epigrams. τὸν ἄκμην ὃς βάδου ἰδώνιος in line 4 is a compressed expression for τὴν ἄκμην ἰδώνιος + ὃς βάδου ἰδώνιος.22 ὃς δὲ at the beginning of line 5 introduces the change of situation. It is contrasted to ἥνικα μὲν in 1 just as νῦν φίλον ἔλκον (3) is contrasted to ἀλλὰ μετ’ ἄλλου (1) in the same position after a bucolic diaeresis. ἐπιπερχάλεσις is a vineyard metaphor, but his darkening is not with a healthy sheen but with foul hair.23 Here the metaphor of ears of corn for the faded youth seems taken from Asclep. 46.4, κρείσσονας αἰδήςμασ ἀσοχείων καλάμας, and itself influenced Flaccus 11.24 The epigram has a melancholy air about it, perhaps because the speaker does not, like all others, openly reject the boy’s advances. The general tone suggests a lover’s lament rather than irony and wit.

If: Rufinus A.P. v 28.25

νῦν μοι ‘χαίρε’ λέγεις, ὅτε σου τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπήλθεν
κείνο, τὸ τῆς λύγδου, βάδανε, λείτερον;
νῦν μοι προσπαίλεσις, ὅτε τὰς τρίχας ἰδώνιας σου,
τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς σοβαροῖς αἰχεῖαι πλαζομένας.
μηκέτι μοι, μετέωρε, προσέρχομαι, μηδὲ συνάντα
ἀντὶ βάδου γὰρ ἐγώ τὴν βάτων οὐ δέχομαι.

Now, you so chary of your favours, you bid me good-day, when the more than marble smoothness of your cheeks is gone; now you daily with me, when you have done away with the ringlets that tossed on your haughty neck. Come not near me, meet me not, scowler! I don’t accept a bramble for a rose.

The initial words point to several epigrams, especially Diocles 4,26 which is based entirely on this metaphor of bidding (or not bidding) someone ‘χαίρε’. In most of these epigrams, says Page, ‘the change is related to the growth of unwanted hair, in Rufinus to the cutting of long hair on passing from boyhood to manhood’. Yet the cutting of the locks seems to be the secondary idea of the epigram, subordinated to, and inserted between, the two metaphors which in couplets 1 and 3 refer to the growth of hair.27 For, as Page himself explains, ἀπήλθεν . . . τὸ τῆς λύγδου . . . λείτερον means in effect ‘your cheeks are now hairy’28 and ἀντὶ βάδου . . . βάτων οὐ δέχομαι means ‘I don’t accept a shaggy boy for a hairless one’.29 Indeed although hair is for the first time not explicitly mentioned, the opening words suggest a variation of this motif: it is the aspect ‘now yes, formerly not’ that receives the greatest emphasis, the three hexameters opening with νῦν μοι, νῦν μοι (reinforced in each case by a ὅτε clause), and μηκέτι μοι. Finally, the name of the boy is not given—a common omission—but the context, especially the reference to the cutting of the locks, the metaphors of lines 2 and 6, and the vocatives βάδανε and μετέωρε make it plain that the epigram is not addressed to a woman and is misplaced in A.P. v.

24 Cf. n. 84 below.
26 Cf. Ili below, Strato A.P. xii 186.2 (Ilg.) and Rufin. A.P. v 91.1–2, καὶ ποτὲ χαίρε ἐκπιῶ, ταῖς σοβαραῖς ἰδώνιος, ἰδώνιοι.
27 Just as in Hor. Carm. iv 10.2–3.
28 Cf. Page (n. 1) ad loc. on λείτερον in this sense.
29 Cf. Anon. A.P. xi 53, where a rose is contraposed to a βάτων, pp. 91–2 above and n. 103.

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epigrammatic than the one in the models.\textsuperscript{46} Indeed there seems to be a crescendo in elaboration in the three poems—from χροὶς άνθους in Anon. 32 to κρήμνη and the πυγή of Alcaeus 8, which in Phianias become μηρός and γένυ, but are followed by a novelty in line 4, the notion that puberty changes an ερομενος into an ερατεύς.\textsuperscript{47} Phianias’ epigram is less compact and is expanded to three couplets. Yet in the last line the author seems to wish to recover, as it were, the epigrammatic brevity and point of his models: he ends with a nominal construction at the most prominent place, and the personification of Καρδός and Ερως emphasize the aphoristic character of the phrase.\textsuperscript{48}

IId. I now turn to Meleager 90 = A.P. xii 33, more closely related to Anon. 32:

\[ \text{ἱν καλὸς 'Ηράκλειτος ὑπὲρ θυσίας ἔρει } \text{ποιεῖ } \text{τὸν } \text{δὲ } \text{πάρ' } \text{πῆθν } \text{κρύσσει πόλεμον δέρρης ὑπασθόβαται.} \\
\text{δόλα, Πολυζενίδης, πάθος ὑπόν } \text{μὴ γαύρα φυσάσον } \text{ἔστι καί } \text{ἐν γλυτοῖς φυσαί } \text{Νάξεις.} \]

Heraclitus was fair, when there was a Heraclitus, but now that his prime is past, a screen of hide declares war on those who would scale the fortress. But, son of Polyxenus, seeing this, be not insolutely haughty. Nemesis grows also on the buttocks.

The funerary and erotic styles are blended, as in Anon. 32, from the first line. Up to the bucolic diaeresis we have a formula of sepulchral epigrams, for which Meleager is indebted to Tymnus.\textsuperscript{49} Yet καλὸς\textsuperscript{50} announces the erotic admixture, which is taken up after the bucolic diaeresis, especially with πῆθν, and is developed in the second line. The tone follows a similar development: solemn in line 1 up to τὸν δὲ, it becomes openly ironic and even humorous with the obscenity at the end of the dictich, where Meleager introduces a third type of language, that of war, for his metaphor of love:\textsuperscript{51} δέρρης\textsuperscript{52} stands of course for ‘hair’ and ὑπασθόβαται for παιδερασταίς.

The warning delivered by δόλα comes, as in Phianias 1, at the beginning of the last dictich. (Meleager, however, follows Alcaeus 8 and Anon. 32 in the number of lines.) It is not addressed, as in Alcaeus and Phianias, to the boy who grows hairy, but, like Anon. 32 (cf. ὄ νεον), to someone else who should profit from the experience. It reintroduces the funerary style:\textsuperscript{53} line 3 parodies the common address to the wayfarer in the form of a memento mori.\textsuperscript{54} Yet in funerary epigrams it is the corpse itself that is supposed to talk to the reader. In Meleager the poetic ‘I’ seems to be the speaker, and the epigram is addressed to someone in particular, presumably an ερομενος.\textsuperscript{55} The tone of the warning in line 3 is again high-sounding after the humorous fall of 2, but only to prepare for the final point, bordering on the obscene: the hairs will come, and not only to your cheeks, as a punishment for being difficult and haughty. Yet the word ‘hair’ does not occur in the epigram. δέρρης, the first metaphor for it in line 2, becomes Νάξεις in the mock funerary γινόμενος at the end.\textsuperscript{56} ‘Retribution’ is not uncommonly invoked in erotic

\textsuperscript{46} For φειδία θυσίαν οἴσιον φειδίαν παραθένας in A. Sbo. 2 = A.P. v 85, an epigram based on the carpe diem motif.
\textsuperscript{47} Cf. Dover (n. 1) 86.
\textsuperscript{48} For the personification of καιρός cf. Pind. P. 4.286, καιρός πρὸς τὸν θρόνον βραχὸν μέτρον ἔχει, Pind. Posth. v A. P. 275, and Sauer in Roscher’s Lexikon s.v.
\textsuperscript{49} Tymnus 5 = A.P. vii 211.3. Ταῦτα μὲν καλεσκεῖν εὐς τὸν δὲ κέφαλον. Cf. Wilstrand (n. 33) 46-7 and Gow–Page ad loc.
\textsuperscript{50} Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 21, 51 n. 90, and chs. 1 and 2 passim.
\textsuperscript{51} For love-war metaphors cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 71 and n. 61. Cf. also, for a possible influence, Fronto A.P. xii 174 (II F).
\textsuperscript{52} 'Screens of skin or hide, hung before fortifications to deaden the enemy’s missiles', LSJ.
\textsuperscript{53} Cf. especially τῶν δρόμων, a common funerary conceit: Latimore (n. 18) 256-71. Theodoridis 18 = A.P. 132.1; Leonidas 27 = A.P. vii 472.2, ὅπερ, ὅς... ὁ... ο... ; Antip. Sed. 55 = A.P. vii 408.7, ὁ... ὁ... ;
\textsuperscript{54} Cf. Latimore (n. 18) 230.
\textsuperscript{55} Πολυζενίδης is the patronymic of Πολυζενίς, 'he who receives many guests'. There may be irony in the choice of the name, conveyed by the elements πολύ- and ἔνοι: Πολυζενίς was, of course, impossible for metrical reasons.
\textsuperscript{56} Cf. Labarbe (n. 38). I give a literal translation of this line instead of Paton’s paraphrase ‘It is not only on the cheeks that Nemesis grows’.

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The warning comes at the end of 3, introduced by ἀλλὰ and after a bucolic diarhesis as in Alcaeus 8.37 It is to the very last suitable to the funerary context and could be taken for a memento mori in funerary epigrams.38 Only these final words after the bucolic diarhesis give the real point, telling us that a special sort of death was involved, that of the boy’s erotic charms. The influence of Alcaeus 8 over this epigram (or vice versa) is striking; same general motif, same variation of the general motif (warning), same name of the ἔρωμενος plus similarities of wording and arrangement39 (the main difference being that Alcaeus seems to believe Nicander can still be an ἔρωμενος for some time, cf. line 2), and the play with the funerary style. One could perhaps conjecture that the author of the anonymous epigram was also Alcaeus.40

Iic. Related to our two previous pieces is Phinias 1 = A.P. xii 31:


By Themis and the bowl of wine that made me totter, thy love, Pamphilus, has but a little time to last. Already thy thigh has hair on it and thy cheeks are downy, and Desire leads thee henceforth to another kind of passion. But now that some little vestiges of the spark are still left thee, put away thy parsimony. Opportunity is the friend of love.

The passing of time is suggested in almost every line: βαῖδος χρόνος in 2 is followed in 3, 4, and 5 by ἡδη, λυπόν, ἄτε, ἔτι, all of them as it were picked up in καιρός at the end.41 It is indeed the carpe diem motif put in terms of the growth of hair, which is given prominence by the repetition of καὶ in 3–4 before each of the key elements of the motif.42

The opening ταῖς plus invocation is not infrequent in the Greek Anthology.43 The invocation to Themis44 is toned down and deprived of serious connotations by that to the cup of wine, which establishes a banquet as the dramatic setting for the epigram. The occasion seems fictitious and the name of the beloved ironic in the context—a boy called ‘everyone’s friend’ need not be exhorcd to be generous of his favors.

Unlike the author of Anon. 32, Phinias, with Alcaeus in Alc. 8, believes that the boy deserves to be courted despite the signs of manhood in his body.45 The influence of Alcaeus 8 is more obvious in another respect also. Like him Phinias addresses the epigram and the warning to the boy, not to young men in general (cf. Anon. 32.4), and his mock-γνώμη Καιρός Ἐρωτί πιὸς looks very much akin to Alcaeus’ πληρώτος σαθ ἁπάντως (3). The warning, again introduced by ἀλλὰ, has been moved to the beginning of line 5 and is more elaborate, less

37 In line 4 there is an allusion to the topos of Soph. fr. 590 (Pearson) = ὑπέρειν χρήν ὑπηρετήν φίλον. Cf. Pearson for parallels.
39 Cf. ἄλλα φιλάξει and ἄλλα ἕτε καὶ ἄλλα φιλατείναι ἐκ ἐκείνης, Νικαδρέων οἰκείαν Νικαδρέων (same metrical scheme, same place in the line).
40 Another Nicander (ἐρωμενος or confidant) appears in Anon. 31 = A.P. xii 100. Cf. Gow–Page ad loc., who also consider the possibility that both anonymous poems are by the same author. Anon. 31, although erotic, is not based on our motif.
41 N.B. Καιρός Ἐρωτί πιὸς echoes τὸν σὸν ἐρωτα χρόνος in sound—the meaning of the final adage is of course also very close to that of line 2.
42 For μητξος cf. n. 7 above.
44 Gow–Page seem right in saying that Themis is probably used ‘to recommend the advice given to Pamphilus’, cf. their quotations of θ. εὔβουλος, Pind. O. 13.8, αἰ. θ. ὀρφείου, Aesch. PV 18; θ. πνυματικός, Bacchyl. 14.55 Jebb. But Themis is also the mother of the Horai, one of whose functions is to preside over the cycle of vegetation—N.B. their names Thallo, Auxo, Carpo, which evoke growing and blooming.
45 Thus Anon. 32.2, ἔτι οὐδ’ ὑπομα (IId above) but Alc. 8.1–2, φιλάξει μης καὶ καὶ 3–4, ἄλλα ἕτε καὶ νῦν... φιλατείναι (IId).
an elegy by Callinus (transmitted in Stob. iv 10.12) which begins μέχρις τέω κατάκεισθε ἐν ἀν 

effort to persuade the youth of Ephesus to go to war. Callinus' complaint is that the young men do not go to war, Fronto's, in a reversal of his model's point, that the youth he addresses does not 
wage war against him, that is, does not yield to his advances. Just as in Callinus—and even more 
so—the dactylic rhythm stresses the martial atmosphere and the proper names (Cyrus, 
Cambyses, the Medes, etc.) add to this effect by recalling the characters of Persian affairs. These 
names are chosen for the sake of the pun. Thus the lover, normally older, is called Cambyses, like 
Cyrus' father, but the name also suggests κάμινον = 'to get tired', while Cyrus evokes 'master' (τὸ 
κύρος). In other words: 'Master, take pity upon me who am growing tired'. The twofold 
metaphor continues in the second couplet. 'Do not become a Μηδος', alluding to the time Cyrus 
spent with the Medes, suggests μη δῆς, one who does not yield to erotic pursuit. In 
Xenophon Sakas is Cambyses' handsome cup-bearer. Yet on hearing Ξάκας we make the 
association with οἶκος(κ)ος, 'coarse beard', and the line gets a second meaning 'you will soon have 
a beard'. Finally, in the last verse Astyages, the name of Cyrus' maternal grandfather, also 
suggests α-privative-στῶν = 'to have an erection', i.e. to be impotent. What are then the 
meanings, superficial and underlying, of this last line? 'The hairs will make you an Astyages', i.e. 
an old man' is obvious enough. Beckby, not very explicit, refers the reader to his comments on 
A.P. xii 4, where he quotes passages dealing with the appropriate and inappropriate ages of 
boys for love. 'Hairs will make you an Astyages' must then mean for him 'will make you impotent', 
i.e. an ερωμένος who, despite being a grown, bearded young man, keeps acting as ερωμένος, not as 
ερασίτη, because of impotence. It is implied, of course, that this is unattractive and to be 
avoided. But Beckby adds: 'Andere deuten = beim Anblick impotent machend'. 'Andere' 
surely means Jacobs, where we read 'Αστυάγην παεδίωρον πιλοσιματιωθη καὶ δέος 
quod ad eum adspectum non arriget'. This interpretation, better than Beckby's, is supported by the 
ending -αγης in Astyages, which evokes ἄγεως and therefore suggests the meaning 'leading 
(sc. others) to impotence'. 

Thus the epigram becomes clear: it is an exhortation to a youth to be an ερωμένος before it is 
too late because age has made him unattractive. It is formally distinct from the four epigrams 
that we have studied before but still it has close parallels with them. 

Il. We shall now see how Strato draws on all these pieces to compose his own variation. Strato 
A.P. xii 186:

Gr. ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΑΝ: ΤΑΞΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗΝ'

Mεντὸς, τηρήσωμε, μηδὲ τὸ χαίρε λέγων,

63 On this elegy cf. T. Hudson-Williams, Early Greek elegy (London 1926) 70 ff., who quotes Paul. Sil. A.P. v 285.1, ... τέω μέχρις and 221.1, μέχρι τῶν, both also with the present tense. For puns with mythological names cf. also Rufin. A.P. v 103, Marc. Arg. A.P. v 63, Palladas A.P. v 71.
64 For τὸ κύρος = 'one invested with authority' cf. Pl. Leg. 700c, and A.P. xii 28, quoted in n. 70.
65 Cf. Xen. Cyr. i 3.8.
66 Cf. Marc. Arg. A.P. v 63 and n. 70.
67 N.B. the double pun on the word οἰκος in Ar. Lys. 1001 φασαικος, Cf. M. Golden, CQ xxii (1928) 467-8 with references. In our poem I prefer to keep Sakas rather than to translate it 'Scythian' with Paton.
68 The text has καὶ σε ποτισθαναι αἰ τρίχης 'Αστυάγην. Paton prints τα τρίχης probably in order to avoid the short vowel at the caesura (cf. Jacobs), who reports Hermann's and Passow's emendations καὶ δέ ζε ποτισθουσα αἰ τρ. καὶ σε ποτισθαναι αἰ τρ. τρ.). This is not necessary: the license at the caesura — is not uncommon in Lucian (e.g. A.P. ix 431.2, 435.2, ix 120.2) and already in Lucilius (cf. Jacobs on Lucian A.P. xxi 410.6). Cf. Lucilius A.P. xxi 87.4, 140.4, 142.4, 171.8 (that line only in Aldina 2), 185.2, 311.2, 380.6 etc.
69 Cf. Dover (n. 1) 86, 87; Strato A.P. xii 228, 235.
70 Cf. also on Lucilius A.P. v 216 (IV 6 below). Such puns are not uncommon: cf. Marc. Arg. A.P. v 63, where (Aetolian) = beggar (from αἰτεύοντα) and Μηδος (Mede) = μη δῆς (with Keydell, Hermes lxxv [1932] 497); Strato A.P. xii 11, λέγων 'Αστυάγην γεγονον, where 'Αστυάγην clearly = impotent (from α + ατόου); Numerius of Tarus A.P. xiii 28, Κύρος κύροις κατέπετα τι μαλὰ ἐλπὶ παρὰ γράμμα; 
71 Thus, the relation to Mel. 90 =3 pointed out above; the probable influence of Phainias 1.2. βασίδε χειρὶ τῶν σε ἀνταρκεῖ χρόνος on the more condensed μετὰ μικρὸν (Fronto line 3); the warning addressed to the ερωμένος as in Phainias 1, Mel. 90, Alc. 8 (also Dio. 4) and not to young men in general as in Anon. 32; the τρίχης directly mentioned as in Phainias 1.3 and Anon. 32.4 (not metaphorically as in the other epigrams).
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epigrams as a desired punishment for the difficult beloved. Yet Meleager's bold use of it as a metaphor for hair, made clear by en γλυκοῦσα φυσικά, is original and was later imitated by Strato in his related epigram.

The four previous epigrams are closely related to one another. Yet the line of influence is sharply cut after Meleager 90, although the following compositions still belong to our second group of the warning about the coming of hair.

Il. Diocles 4 = A.P. xii 35:

Χαίρε ποτ' οὐκ ἔισοντα προσεῖπτε τις· 'ἄλλ' ὁ περισασός
κάλλει νῦν Δάμων ὀδῷ τὸ χαίρε λέγει.

ἡμεῖς τε τούτων χρόνον ἐκδόκει, εἴτε δασωθεῖς
ἀρξεῖ χαίρε λέγειν οὐκ ἀποκρυμμένοις.'

One day a man spoke to a boy who would not say 'good morning'; 'So our great beauty Damon will not even say "good morning" now. A time shall come to punish him for this; then, grown all bushy, he will begin to say "good morning" to those who will not reply.'

The epigram blends the motif of the warning with that of our first group, 'now you are willing when it is too late', transplanted to a future hypothetical situation that is part of the warning. Both motifs appear in the second couplet, the first introducing the narrative which is the peculiar form of this epigram. The structure is remarkable for the different layers of ring composition: (i) within the first couplet, which starts with χαίρε ... οὐκ ἔισοντα and ends with οὐδὲ χαίρε λέγει; (ii) within the whole poem, in two different levels, (a) προσεῖπτε τις (line 1) echoed by ἀρξεῖ χαίρε λέγειν (4), and (b) οὐκ ἔισοντα (2) echoed by οὐκ ἀποκρυμμένοις (4). Thus line 4 is the mirror image of 1 up to the boculic diacritics. The emphasis on time (ποτ', νῦν, εἴτε) points to the secondary motif, that of our first group—now you are willing when it is too late'. The principal motif, the warning, receives prominence from the two boculic diacritics in the hexameters: after these diacritics we find what represents the two stages in the boy's life, beauty and ugliness, the two essential conceits: ἄλλ' ὁ περισασός | κάλλει and εἴτε δασωθεῖς.'

Ilf. Fronto, an epigrammatist of Imperial times not included in Philip's Garland, also combined the erotic motif with another one, this time not sepulchral but somewhat close to it—the motif of war. Fronto A.P. xii 174:

μὲχρι τῶν πολεμεῖς μ', ὃ φιλτατε Κύρε; τι ποιεῖς;

τὸν σῶν Καμβόσαν οὐκ ἔλεεις; λέγε μοι.

μὴ γίνου Ἕρμης· Σάκας γὰρ ἔσῃ μετὰ μικρόν,

καὶ σε ποιήσουν αἱ τρίχες Ἀστυάγην.

How long wilt thou resist me, dearest Cyrus? What art thou doing? Dost thou not pity Cambyses? tell me. Become not a Mede, for soon thou shalt be Sakas and the hairs will make thee Assyag.

Perhaps the starting point of the idea was Meleager's 'a screen of hide declares war...' but in addition Fronto goes farther back in time in his search for a model. The opening words recall

57 Cf. Anon. 16 = A.P. xii 140; Anon. 31 = A.P. xii 160; Anon. 39 = A.P. vi 383; Mel. 96 = A.P. xii 141.
58 Cf. Strato A.P. xii 220 (IIIb). Meleager may have borrowed from Anon. 12 (VIA).
59 For this story-telling style cf. e.g. Automedon 11 = A.P. xii 34. For οὐδὲ in line 1 (which Gow−Page find 'not natural to begin alleged speech') cf. Od. iv 472. Here οὐδὲ sets the present, when Damon does not greet the speaker, against the past, when he did.
60 δασωθεῖς is probably influenced by δασώνται in ALC. 8.1 (III).
62 Cf. Mel. 90.2 (IIId). Cf. also Mel. 90.1, μὴ γὰρ ζεύγειον φρισσάων with Fronto line 1, μὴ γίνορθυρος. The model blends the funerary and erotic motifs; Fronto, the martial and erotic. The association of love and war is of course common; cf. e.g. Mel. 8 = A.P. v 180, Macedonius the Consul A.P. v 238, 'arrows', etc.
III

'I no longer want him: now he has hair' is the leitmotiv in our third group. We find here mainly late pieces, but the first is by Meleager and—as often with him—is also related to other epigrams dealing with other motifs.

IIIa. Meleager 94 = A.P. xii 41:

οὐκέτ’ μοι Ὁμήρων γράφεται καλός, οὐδ’ ὁ πυρανθής
πρὶν ποτε, νῦν δ’ ἤδη δαλός Ἅρμονδότος.
στέργω θῆλην ἔρωτα· δαντρώμενον δὲ πίεσα
λασταφρῶν μελέτω ποιμέαν ἀγοβάταις.

I do not count Thero fair any longer, nor Apolloaddon, once gleaming like fire, but now already a burnt-out torch. I care for the love of women. Let it be for goat-mounting herds to press in their arms hairy minions.

The accumulation of temporal adverbs in the first couplet suggests the relationship with the epigrams analyzed earlier. The poem is embedded in the motif of quitting one type of love for another. Meleager, clearly indebted to some pieces which develop that motif, blends it with that of the growth of hair. His innovation here (not pointed out by Gow–Page) is that he does not prefer heterosexual to homosexual love per se but because his erōmenos has become hairy, and in this he is followed in the sixth century AD by Eratothenes Scholasticus.

Before dealing with the remaining poem of this group we must refer to a sequence of four epigrams in which the speaker has promised Apollo a sacrificial offering if the boy Polemon returns from his trip as beardless as he left. His expectations are disappointed: therefore, he says, let Polemon perform the sacrifice if he will. The motif blends the very old one of the propemptikon with that of sacrificial offerings of cocks, birds, etc. by young males at important stages in their growth. The poems are such close variations on the same theme that it suffices to mention them without analyzing them in depth.

IIIb. More interesting is Strato A.P. xii 229:

ὦς ἀγαθῇ θεᾶς ἔστι, διὶ ὑπὸ κόλπου, Ἀλεξίου
πτόμεν, ὕπερθείσαιν ἁδόμενοι Νέμειαν.
ὦν ᾧ μετέχομεν μόνο θεῖας, ἄλλ’ ἐν ὅμιξις
ἔξεν τὸ φθορικὸν κάλλος ἀμελοῦν.

νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν διάδωλον ἐλήθωθε δι’ ἑρωταῖος
δαλάμων χού ἑροπέπαιντα νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα.

80 Cf. in them all νῦν, δικεῖν, εὔρεσιν, παρερχόμεθα, etc.
81 Preferences vary. Heterosexual, cf. Mel. 9 = A.P. v 208; Rufin. A.P. v 15; Agathias A.P. x 68. Homosexual, cf. Mel. 18 = A.P. xii 86; Asclep. 37 = A.P. xii 17. Gow–Page, in the preface to the commentary on Mel. 94 = A.P. xii 41, mistakenly ascribe A.P. xii 17 to Strato. The epigram, although coming after two Stratian ones, is anonymous in A.P. Gow–Page's mistake is all the more conspicuous because in the same book they ascribe the epigram to Asclepiades, following one of the suggestions of App. B.-V., 25 Asclep. 37. Marc. Arg. A.P. v 116 recommends women, but with a witty proviso perhaps inspired by Dioscor. 7 = A.P. v 54–5. See also in general Anon. 20 = A.P. xii 87 and Anon. 8 = A.P. xii 145; Strato A.P. xii 7.
82 Cf. his beginning οὐκέτι μοι and Asclep. 37.1, οὐ μοι δῆλον ἔρως . . . ; παρερχόμεθα, at the end of 'Asclepiades' line, probably suggested Meleager's πυρανθής in the same place; cf. also δαντρώμενον . . . ἀδομένοιν Ἀνδροκόητος and ἀδιάφορος to the metaphor of fire (extinguished) in Meleager: Mel. 9 = A.P. v 208, αὐτὸ μοι παρερχόμεθα . . . ; Rufin. A.P. v 19 οὐκέτι παρερχόμεθα . . .
83 Cf. A.P. v 277 and n. 111.
84 Laurea 3 = A.P. xii 24; Flaccus 11 = A.P. xii 25; 12 = A.P. v 26; 13 = A.P. xii 27. See Gow–Page's discussion of the authorship (perhaps all by Flaccus).
85 Although propemptika are more concerned with the trip itself than with the return, note the use of οὖν and Μένειαν in all four epigrams. Cf. also e.g. Sappho frs. 5 LP.
86 Cf. Theodoridas 1 = A.P. vi 135; Callim. 25 = A.P. vi 140.
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How long, Mentor, shalt thou maintain this arrogant brow, not even bidding 'good day', as if thou shouldst keep young for all time or tread forever the pyrrhic dance? Look forward and consider thy end too. Thy beard will come, the last of evils but the greatest, and then thou shalt know what scarcity of friends is.

The first words recall Fronto’s μέχρι τύων, and the spirit of that epigram; the basic conceit 'boy's disdain = war', is also picked up in ὀρχείσαι πυρίζην in line 4.²² Time is stressed from the beginning and recurs (as in nearly all our previous epigrams) in almost every line (αἰώνα, διὰ παντὸς, ἄτοκε). The boy's disdain is represented by τῇ ἀφορᾶ τῇ ὑπέροπτη.²³ The end of the first couplet repeats the main conceit in Diores 4, χαίρε λέγειν or μη λέγειν. Line 5 is reminiscent of Diores 4.3; not only does Strato set out with δέσι but the rhythm of the lines is the same, with the two initial spondees followed by two dactyls and then bucolic diacritics. ἀλλὰ after that diacresis²⁴ does not introduce, as it often does, the warning against future old age.²⁵ But Strato has replaced Diores' χρόνος with the effect of χρόνως, that is, the πάγων with which Automedon started out. Finally, another influence on line 6: in Strato's καὶ τῶν ἐπιγνώσας τῆς σπάνιος ἐστι φίλου (the verb is in the future) we recognize Alceaus 8.3 καὶ γνώνης φιλέοντος ὁποι σπάνιος—probably²⁶ an aorist subjunctive dependent on μή but perhaps interpreted by Strato as a future like φῶλαοι in line 1.

Il. To conclude this group²⁷ we shall consider an anonymous distich which elaborates on the motif of the warning without mentioning the growth of hair. The latter is only discovered in the interpretation of the metaphorical pentameter. Anonymous A.P. xi 51:

Τὴν ὀρασ ἀπάλανε' παρακινάζει ταχὺ πάντα' εὖ θέρος ἔξε ἔριφον τρηχὲν ἑθηκε τράγον.

Enjoy the season of thy prime: all things soon decline: one summer turns a kid into a shaggy he-goat.

Only ὀρασ occurs in our previous epigrams (θέρος appeared in Philip 59 but with a different sense). The remaining vocabulary is new for us but constant in another group of epigrams—we will see later that kids and he-goats are common metaphors for young boys and for adolescents.²⁸ Here however a literal interpretation of line 2 is possible, though improbable: kid and he-goat would be used as another example of the passing of time, without erotic connotations. Yet the erotic intention seems clear. It is a carpe diem exhortation for a boy before he becomes a grown man.²⁹

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²² πυρίζην: a war dance performed by youths in armor. πυρίζην βλέπειν seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Ar. Av. 1169; Leutisch-Schneidein, Corpus Paroemiuophorum Graciorum ii, Mantissa Proverbiorum ii 75 (Göttingen 1851). Also proverbial is 'looking to τέλος': cf. Hdt. i 32, Leutisch-Schneidein i 315 no. 51 with n.; ii 773 no. 96.
²³ ἀφορᾶ itself may mean 'solemnity, majesty' (Antip. Sid. 66 = A.P. vii 409) and is often associated with the arrogance of the érōtēmol. Cf. Mel. 103 = A.P. xii 101.3-4; Dioscor. 13 = A.P. xii 42.3; Rufin. A.P. v 92.1-2 (13 Page), where Jacobst believes Rufinus to be dependent on our epigram by Strato for 'χαίρε εἰτέως' and Rufin. A.P. v 28 (if above).
²⁴ Just as the ἀλλὰ in Philip 59.3 (le above).
²⁵ Automedon 10.6 (I); and Diores 4.1 (I).
²⁶ Cf. e.g. Alc. 7.1 (I); Alc. 8.1, 3 (IId); Anon. 32.3 (III); Mel. 90.3 (IId).
²⁷ Cf. I1 above.
²⁸ Strato A.P. xii 195, which includes a warning about the coming of hair, seems unrelated to our previous pieces except for the recurrence of words and conceits associated with the motif.
²⁹ Cf. IV below.
³⁰ The epigram is transmitted by Planudes, whose prudery is well known. Yet we cannot argue that he transmitted it if he did not understand the erotic connotation: Planudes, e.g., also copied Rufin. A.P. v 28 (I), which is unequivocally erotic.
EIΣI ΤΡΙΧΕΣ: AN EROTIC MOTIF

υὼν 'Αριστοδίκου τοῦ γέτονος 'ον περιπλεσθεὶς
ἐξεφόλους ὥρκοις πολλὰ χαριζόμενος.

υὼν δ' αὐτῷ τι φέρων δωρήσωμαι; οὖν ἀπάτης γὰρ
ἀξίω, Ἑσπερίης οὖν ἐπικοροσύνη.

Going out in revel at night after supper, I, the wolf, found a lamb standing at the door, the son of my neighbour Aristodicus, and throwing my arms round him I kissed him to my heart’s content, promising on my oath many gifts. And now what present shall I bring to him? He does not deserve cheating or Italian perfidy.

Set against the background of the κόμος, the motif is presented at the beginning of the first pentameter in the sharply juxtaposed words ἄραν λύκος. Aside from the basic idea there is no formal relation with the other epigrams. An exception is, to a certain extent, νῦν δ’ at the beginning of line 5; though playing a different role altogether, it recalls, and perhaps alludes to, the same words setting past loveliness against present heard in the related pieces.

IVb. A similar case, although with a few more verbal borrowings, appears in Lucilius A.P. xi 216.94

tὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀκοῦσαντε: θαύμα γὰρ ὑμῖν
καυνόν ἀπαγγέλλω: πλὴρ μεγάλαι Νεμέσεις.

υὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀνεύρωμεν ἄλλο γένος τι
τῶν ἐτεροζηλῶν, ἡλπίσα τούτ’ ἀν ἐγώ;

ἡλπίσα τοῦτο, Κράτιππε: μανήσομαι εἰ, λύκος εἶναι
πάις λέγων, ἐφάνης ἐξαιτίας ἔριφος;

Hear about Cratippus, the lover of boys. It is a new marvel I have to tell you, but great goddesses are the Avengers. We discovered that Cratippus, the lover of boys, belongs now to another variety of those who have the other taste. Would I ever have expected this? I expected it, Cratippus. Shall I go mad because, while you told everyone you were a wolf, you suddenly turned out to be a kid?

This poem, written from the heterosexual standpoint (cf. ἐτεροζηλῶν, 4), deals with a homosexual who acts as a kid, that is, a pathicus or erēmenos, although from his age one would expect him to be the aggressive partner or wolf. This situation was considered shameful and abnormal,95 and it is here the 'new wonder' more wonderful than his taste for men in the first place. Hair is not mentioned, except in so far as Cratippus is called a λύκος. There is, however, one more reason to deal with the poem here: the likelihood that the plural μεγάλαι Νεμέσεις in line 2 suggests 'hairs' as in Automedon 10.4.96 The nemesis consisting in hairs would then be the result of having refused a lover at the time when Cratippus was still a hairless 'kid'. Hence, the same situation as Fronto A.P. xii 174,97 who urged Cyrus to yield, warning him that hairs would soon make him cut the oxymoronic figure of an adult erēmenos because of impotence. Thus in Lucilius' epigram it seems likely that Νεμέσεις gives us a clue for interpreting the main motif—new marvel about Cratippus—in the light of a secondary motif: the appearance of hair as a punishment for earlier resistance.

V

Two epigrams by Strato reverse the point of all the preceding ones.98 The poet protests to

94 Paton’s translation is unsatisfactory here. I take ἀκοῦσα as imperative (especially in view of γὰρ), καυνόν as new (not great marvel), and ἐτεροζηλῶν as 'those who have the other taste'.
95 Cf. nn. 47 and 69 and e.g. Martial xi 45.
96 Cf. above. The singular Nemesis also means hair in Mel. 90 (lid). Cf. also Strato A.P. xii 235 (IIIb), where the 'goddess Nemesis' of the first lines becomes ἱ
97 Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 161 with references for this reversal of the model's motif.
SONYA LIDA TARAN

What a good goddess is that Nemesis, to avert whom, dreading her as she treadeth behind us, we spit in our bosom! Thou didst not see her at thy heels, but didst think that for ever thou shouldst possess thy grudging beauty. Now it hath perished utterly; the very wrathful goddess has come, and we, thy servants, now pass thee by.

The vocabulary reminds us of the other epigrams: Nemesis (cf. Automedon 10, Flaccus 10, Meleager 90), the adverbs of time (cf. also δεικρόντων), the element τριχα-, in line 5, and ἄλλα' after a bucolic diacresis in 3. The content looks like a follow-up of the warning expressed in the epigrams of our second group: several of these elements of this warning appear now set in the past. As Meleager 90 warns the about the existence of the goddess Nemesis, Strato begins by praising that goddess, whom Alexis overlooked. Just as Strato in A.P. xii 186 told Mentor that he acted as if he would be forever young, he now says ἑνιμίζεσ ἐξειν...κάλους δεικρόντων. Finally, the Nemesis of the first couplet, which in Automedon 10 and Meleager 90 equals in effect 'hairs', is now, in lines 5-6, called τριχάλεπτος δαίμων, from τρίσ-χαλεπτός (= χαλεπτός)—τριχάλεπτος through παρισέσ—which is, 'three times difficult or annoying', but perhaps also with a pun on πρίγα. The poem differs from the related pieces of this group in that it is addressed to the youth Alexis and has a general tone of blase detachment, but it certainly belongs more to this than to another category.

IV

The three epigrams in our fourth group are based on a motif which compares the beloved to a kid and the lover to the wolf that pursues it. The idea is a natural development of the proverbial enmity between lambs and wolves. Two passages in Homer present interesting scholia:


On II. i 209 ἀμφώ ὄμω θυμό φιλοῦσα τε κηδημένη τε: Schol. A, B: οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ φιλῶν κηρτεται, ὡς λύκοι ἄρνα, i 34, iii 41 Dindorf. And in Plato, Phdr. 241d we read: ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπάοιν, ὡς παιδα φιλοῦσιν ἔραστα. The epigrams are late, first and second centuries AD. Surprisingly enough the old motif is not a favourite one with the early epigrammatists. We have already considered one of the pieces because it has an implicit warning and fits therefore into group II.

IVa. Let us now turn to Strato A.P. xii 250:

νυκτερινήν ἐπίκλησιν ἕως μεταδόρπιν ἄρνην
ἄρνα λύκος θυρέτροις εἴρον ἔφεστατα,

87 Cf. especially the direct discourse—warning in the past—in Automedon 10-3-4 (le above).
88 For ἔβλεπε in line 3 cf. Strato A.P. xii 186,4, καὶ τὸν πόρον (Περί above).
89 Line 5, ἀπλωθε δὴ τριχάλεπτος relates it especially to group VI, "They have come". Cf. particularly Strato A.P. xii 176 (Vib), ἔβλεπον τὸ ἑλέον and Cameron (n. 25) 168-π for the relation between this epigram and Rufin. A.P. ν 21.
90 Cf. the passages quoted in Corpus Persicorum, Gr. i (n. 72) 259 on Diogeanieus ν 22, and the metaphorical use of hound and lion for the lover and fawn for the beloved.
92 Cf. Luck (n. 1).
93 Anon. A.P. xi 51 (Περί above).
even pompously, but a notable *decrescendo* begins with the second hexameter. At the end of it λαχνουταῖα introduces a satiric note which, as in our previous epigram, arouses incredulity: the loveliness of young beardless boys was too widespread a topos for this innovation to look serious. And so λαχνουταῖα, despite Strato’s protest ἡτὶ φλέγομαι, actually tells us that Theudis used to be beautiful but now is nothing but a hairy, setting sun.

VI

The young man is no longer a boy: ‘the hairs have come’.

VIa. A Hellenistic Anonymous stands out for its originality, Anon. 12 = A.P. xii 40:

\[ μὴ ἕκυισθε, ἀνθρωπε, τὸ χλαίνον, ἀλλὰ θεώρει\]
\[ ὀφθαλῆς ἂν ὕποτε εἶναι τρόπον ἄδονον.\]
\[ γυμνὴ Ἀντιφίλου ζητῶν χάρις, ὡς ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις\]
\[ εὐρήσεις ῥοδεῖν φυομένην κάλυκα.\]

Take not off my cloak, Sir, but look on me too in this way, as on a wooden statue with extremities of marble. If you wish to see the naked beauty of Antiphilus you will find the rosebud growing as if on thorns.

The epigram is transmitted in a plainly Hellenistic context in A.P. It combines an originality of content and formal kinship with other poems we have analyzed. It is original in that Antiphilus himself proclaims his inferiority, urging people (ἀνθρωπε) to look on him as one would look on a wooden statue with only the extremities made of marble. The idea is the opposite of what we find in epigrams referring to boys whose overall beauty is impaired by ungraceful feet. The language parodies that of inscriptions addressing the passer-by on funerary or other statues—although ἀλλὰ θεώρει after the bucolic diacritics has already warned us of possible echoes. The rose appeared in Philip 39, Rufinus A.P. v 28, and Strato A.P. xii 195. It was the central conceit in the anonymous distich attached to Alcaeus 7 in Sylloges; A.P. xi 53. The resemblance between that distich and Anon. 12 is striking. Both are addressed to mute interlocutors, ζητῶν εὐρήσεις appears in both and with the same intention, ῥόδον there is now ῥοδεῖν κάλυκα. Our rose now does not become a βάτον, as in A.P. xi 53, but is ὡς ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις φυομένην, which in turn probably influenced Meleager’s ἐν γλυκοτοῖς φυομένη Νέμεσις. The question naturally arises whether Anon. 12 borrowed from A.P. xi 53, the couplet attached to Alcaeus 7 (in which case that couplet must be older than Anon. 12 and at least Hellenistic), or whether A.P. xi 53 was influenced by Anon. 12 and may therefore be either Hellenistic or later. It is as often impossible to do more than guess. However it may have been, the relationship of A.P. xi 53 to the Hellenistic Anon. 12 adds perhaps an argument in favor of the antiquity of the former and its consequent connexion with Alcaeus 7.

VIb. Anon. 12 has influenced Strato A.P. xii 176:

\[ στυγνὸς δὴ τί, Μένυσπε, κατεσκέπασε μέχρι πέζης,\]
\[ ὁ πρὶν ἐπ’ ἔγνυσε λύπος ἄνεξκόμενος;\]
\[ ἦ τί κάτω κύδας με παρέδραμες, οὔδε προσεπτῶν;\]
\[ οἶδα τί με κρύπτεις· ἠλθοῦν ἄς ἐλεγον.\]

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102 Cf. Anon. 33 = A.P. xii 96; Antipater 65 = A.P. xii 97.
103 Cf. Lida Tarín (n. 7) ch. 4; Leonidas 83 = A.Pl. 296a. 84 = A.Pl. 361, etc.
104 Cf. le, 1f and n. 77 above. Rufinus’ epigram has the opposition ῥόδον/βάτον of Anon. A.P. xi 53.
105 Anon. A.P. xi 53, pp. 91–2 above. Gow–Page do not include this couplet in *Hellenistic epigrams* or *Garland of Philip*, although they do not exclude altogether its possible addition to Alc. 7. Cf. n. 12.
106 Cf. 1f and n. 58. In St Basil of Caesarea De Paradiso iii 4 (P.C. 30.65a) the rose among thorns is a symbol of how joy and sadness are mixed in temporal life. Cf. R. C. McCail. *Byzantium xii* (1971) 219 n. 3.
Why are you draped down to your ankles in that melancholy fashion, Menippus, you who used to tuck up your dress to your thighs? Or why do you pass me by with downcast eyes and without a word? I know what you are hiding from me. They have come, those things I told you would come.

From the advice ‘do not lift my cloak’ in Anon. 12 Strato turns to ‘I know why you do not lift your cloak’. The reason, of course, is the same: ‘the hairs have come’. The πρίχες themselves are not mentioned but are easily supplied for δέ in the last line. Indeed only the adverb of time πρὶν in the first pentameter formally relates the epigram to its predecessors. An exception is perhaps ἔλεγον in line 4 (cf. Automedon 10. 3, οὐκ ἔλεγον ἠμὲν πάντα βαρόνθε βέλε . . .) in as much as Strato’s poem also implies a previous warning (about the coming of hair). The motif is clear from the beginning, surely at least after the picture of the bashful youth in line 3. The final point makes it clearer but does not surprise the reader.\(^{107}\)

Vlr. Strato A.P. xii 191 concludes this group:

οὐκ ἔγεις παῖς ἡμᾶς; καὶ οὐδ᾿ ὁνάρ ὠνός ὁ πάγων

ῥεθεν: πάσα ἄνεμη τοῦτο ἥδαιμον,

καὶ πρίχει πάντ᾿ ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρὶν καλὰ; φεῖ, τί τ’ ἔδειμα;

ἔγεις Τρωῶλος ἄν, πώς ἔγεινον Πρίαμος;

Wast thou not yesterday a boy, and we had never even dreamt of this beard coming? How did this accursed thing spring up, covering with hair all that was so pretty before? Heavens! what a marvel!

Yesterday you were Troilus and today you become Priam?

The formal debt to predecessors is obvious at first sight: adverbs of time (ἔγεις, πρὶν; πάγων, πρίχει, τά . . . καλά; and θάμα). Most of these terms were generally used, but θάμα calls our attention to Lucilius A.P. xi 216 (IV B), θάμα γὰρ ἐμὲν καὶ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλω, and the similar style of the last couplet, where Lucilius, like Strato here, addresses the young man in a conversational tone. The direct, colloquial style suggests a πάγων alleged delivered at a banquet and is very reminiscent of the epigram in which Callimachus questions a fellow banqueter about his sad looks.\(^{108}\) πάγων in 1 and πρίχει in 3 clarify Strato’s meaning. The mythological names in 4 are on the surface metaphors for ‘young’ and ‘old’, but perhaps they add point through puns of sound and meaning. Τρωῶλος, the wounder’, the seductive youth, has become Πρίαμος, ‘the buyer’ who must pay for love.

A few more pieces can be quoted which develop miscellaneous themes centered around this motif.\(^{109}\) Along with the different groups studied above they bear additional evidence of the propensity of most poets in the Greek Anthology to borrow from earlier models. In all cases it is interesting to observe the different techniques of variation and/or imitation\(^{110}\) and to point out the close borrowings or the original traits. This taste for variation is particularly remarkable when ancient epigrammatists write about love, for they clearly prefer to draw their inspiration from a chain of traditional motifs rather than to rely on the personal experience which they must have.

\(^{107}\) Unlike, e.g., ἐξελώ τῷ ταύρῳ at the end of Anon. 32, which could, as far as the first three lines are concerned, be taken for a funerary epigram. See II b above.

\(^{108}\) Callim. 12 = A.P. xii 71; see Gow–Page ad loc. and Ludwig (n. 7) 311 ff. For οὐδ᾿ ὁνάρ in Strato A.P. xii 191.1 cf. Callim. 63 = A.P. v 23 and Lida Tarán (n. 7) 90 n. 105. The authorship of this epigram is discussed at 89 ff. I should like to add to that discussion that Callim. 6 = A.P. xii 30 is inserted in the middle of a long late sequence headed τοῦ αἴτου (Strato), just as Callim. 63 comes after a long sequence headed τοῦ αἴτου (Rufinus). Yet no one doubts the authorship of Callim. 6. On ‘authenticity of subject’ cf. Cameron (n. 25) 168–9 about A.P. x 117, Strato’s only non-pederastic epigram.

\(^{109}\) Strato A.P. xii 204, 205, 220; Eratosth. Schol. A.P. v 277 with p. 101 above and n. 111. I have here used these terms in the same way as in Art of variation (n. 7): cf. the ‘Introduction’ there with my definitions of motif, theme, and conceit. Once it is clear that these terms are given a conventional use for the sake of convenience it becomes pointless to engage in a theoretical debate about them as does Marion Lausberg, Canonion liv (1983) 504–9. My book was not intended as a theoretical study of variation in the whole corpus of the Hellenistic epigrams, and I remain sceptical about such a theoretical study as Lausberg seems to have in mind.

\(^{110}\) I find no intentional variation in lines 1–3, except for πρίχει which should be πρὶν.