What Can the Gilgamesh Myth Tell us about Religion and the View of Humanity in Mesopotamia?

I. Introduction

The Gilgamesh Epic is a collection of myths spun around the legendary king Gilgamesh who lived in Mesopotamia in about 2,500 B.C. The myth is known to us today via a series of texts dating from between about 2,000 B.C. and about 750 B.C.

The texts are divided into two main groups: the Sumerian and the Akkadian. The Sumerian material consists of six disconnected episodes: 1. Gilgamesh and Agga, 2. Gilgamesh and "the Land of the Living", 3. Gilgamesh and Inanna, 4. Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven, 5. The Death of Gilgamesh, 6. Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Underworld. Apart from 1 and 5, these episodes are also found in the Akkadian version. They are, however, partly changed, and are linked together to form a continuous poetic cycle to which new and important motifs have been added, for example the motif of friendship with Enkidu. In this way, the myth has acquired a rather different character from the original Sumerian version.

The myth circulated for hundreds of years, not only in Mesopotamia, but also throughout large parts of the Middle East, which indicates that it must have been highly influential. It should therefore furnish relevant material for a closer study of various Mesopotamian ideas.

Method of approach

Just what the Gilgamesh myth has to tell us about Mesopotamian religion and the prevailing view of humanity in that country is not a matter of objectivity, but will depend upon the kind of methodology used. Where

---

1 All references are to the ANET edition of 1955.
EISI TRIXES: 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. 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 ‘Ασκληπιάδος Ἀδραμυττήνως. 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.


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 would say that the dry stubble is better than the eared corn?

The poem is very symmetrically built, \(\nu\nu\ \alpha\appa\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\) at the beginning of line 1 being echoed by \(\epsilon\iota\tau\a\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\varsigma\) at the beginning of 3 and then by \(\epsilon\iota\epsilon\varsigma\) at the end, and \(\lambda\epsilon\nu\tau\o\sigma\) . . . \(\iota\o\upsilon\o\sigma\) in 1 contrasted by \(\delta\epsilon\varsigma\o\) . . . \(\chi\varsigma\o\varsigma\o\) in 3. \(\alpha\appa\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\) certainly means ‘want to be courted’ rather than \(\alpha\appa\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\) \(\mu\iota\o\beta\o\delta\o\) (Jacobs)—the rest of the epigram clarifies the erotic connotations of the verb. The motif is established from the start with the almost formulaic ὑπὸ κροτάφαιον ἤουλος.\(^4\) ἤουλος is particularly pointed in an epigram ending with a metaphor of ears of corn because of its second meaning of ‘cornsheat’.\(^5\) ἀσταξάκων 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 278–91; II. xxiv 347–8; Pl. Prot. 309d–b; Xen. Symp. iv 23; Lucian Alex. 6, Am. 10; Sen. Ep. 95, 24; Philost. Ep. 15, and Ep. 11), sometimes the end of this attraction, e.g. Bion of Borysthenes fr. 35 and 36, ed. J. F. Kindt (Bonn 1970) 126; *Chronologium Vatianum*, ed. L. Sternbach ii (Berlin 1965), 264; Hor. Carm. iv 10; Catull. 33.7–8; Tib. 8.11–2; and G. Luck, ‘Kids and wolves’ (an interpretation of Callicles, fr. 202.60–70, P. F.)’, *OQ* ix (1959) 14–7. See also in general RE xi. 1 (1921) s.v. 'Knabenliebe' 897–906 (Kroll); K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 184–201.

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 Ἀδραμυττήνως (corrected from Ἀδραμυττίνως) is not attached to any other epigram by Asclepiades of Samos, who had no known connection with Adramyttium. The epigram may therefore be the work of an otherwise unknown namesake (cf. Gow–Page ‘ad loc.’). It is generally similar to the probably dependent Anon. A.P. xii 182, on a related motif.


5. Cf. Demeter’s name Ἰουλώ, Semus in Ath. xiv 618d (PMG 840).

434
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

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 τρίχες themselves are not mentioned but are easily supplied for δὲ 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. Automedes 10. 3, οὖν ἔλεγον ἵματ' πάντα βαρὸς θέλε...') 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

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

οὖν ἔχθες παίς ἕθσα; καὶ οὖδ' ἐναρ ὄδος ὁ πώγων
ήλυχεν' πάσι ἀνέβη τούτο τὸ δαιμόνιον,
καὶ τρίχα πάντ᾽ ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρὶν καλά; φεῦ, τί τὸ θαιμα;
ἔχθες Τροίλος ἄνι, παίς ἔλεγον 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 (ἔχθες, πρὶν; πώγων, τρίχα; τά...καλά; and θαιμα). Most of these terms were generally used, but θαιμα calls our attention to Lucullus A.P. xi 216 (IVb), θαιμα γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν κανόν ἑπιγέλλω, and the similar style of the last couplet, where Lucullus, like Strato here, addresses the young man in a conversational tone. The direct, colloquial style suggests a πώγων allegedly delivered at a banquet and is very reminiscent of the epigram in which Callimachus questions a fellow banqueter about his sad looks. 108 πώγων in 1 and τρίχα 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: Τρωίλος, ‘the wouder’, 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

---

107 Unlike, e.g., ἐν τρίχες at the end of Anon. 32, which could, as far as the first three lines are concerned, be taken for a funerary epigram. See Ilb above.

108 Callim. 12 = A.P. xii 71; see Gow–Page ad loc. and Ludwig (n. 7) 313 ff. For οὖδ' ἐναρ in Strato A.P. xii 191. 1 cf. Callim. 65 = A.P. v 23 and Lida Tarán (n. 7) 90 n. 109. The authorship of this epigram is discussed at 89 ff. I should like to add to that discussion that Callim. 6 = A.P. xii 230 is inserted in the middle of a long late sequence headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Strato), just as Callim. 63 comes after a long sequence headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Rufinus). Yet no one doubts the authorship of Callim. 6. On ‘authenticity of subject’ cf. Cameron (n. 35) 168–9 about A.P. xi 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.

110 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, Ἀρνόμως liv (1982) 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.
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

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 βάτος as metaphor for hair and βόδος 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 τοῦ to καί, appearing in Sylvæ 5 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.

11 Cf. 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. ν ὁ τελείων, ο εἴθε διάφανα καταφέλης (1) and τε ... ὁ διότι δίδων ἔχει κεφάλης; (3–4) are in a way reinforcements of τοῦ γὰρ βαρύ βαρύς οὐκ ἐπὶ δήμας / δροντα (1–2), and in Alc. 8 τῆς ἀμετακλήτου φρόντισσα δινὴς (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. Rufin. A.P. ν 28.6 (see 1½ below).
15 Cf.: ἀλλος, for ἀλλοι here, in Flaccus 111 (n. 84 below).
16 Cf. especially Anon. 32 (Ib below); Diocles 4 (Ic) Anon. A.P. xi 51 (Ib); Phænias 1 (Ic); Mel. ἱσ. 90 (Ic); Fronto A.P. xii 174 (Ic). For ὁ διότι ἔχει cf. Page (n. 1) on Rufinus 7 = A.P. ν 21.1, with references.
love his friend even after puberty has brought physical change. One is reminded of Plato, *Alc.* 113d, where Socrates tells Alcibiades that he still loves him (when others forsake him on account of his age) because it is the soul, not the body, that he is in love with. To be sure Strato says nothing about the soul, and his references to the beloved are anything but ‘platonic’. Yet the underlying meaning is that it is the whole person of his friend that the poet loves, despite the physical changes brought by time.

**Va.** Formally, Strato *A.P.* xii 10 is very close to its models:

\[ \text{eι κα' ου τριχόφοιτος ἐπεκάρησεν Ιουλος, καὶ τριφεράι κροτάφων ξανθοκείς ἐλικυκής, οὖθ' ὤτω φένυμ τὸν ἔρωμενον ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦτοῦ, καὶ πάγων, καὶ τρίχες, ἡμέτερον.} \]

Even though the invading down and the delicate auburn curls of thy temples have leapt upon thee, that does not make me shun my beloved, but his beauty is mine, even if there be a beard and hairs.

We recognize the vocabulary: Ιουλος, πάγων, τρίχες, ἀλλὰ after a bucolic diaeresis, κάλλος. It is a case of reversal of the motif of the model: love is so strong that it has survived the usually fatal growth of hair. This, whether serious or satiric, surprises because it contradicts both the poetic motif and the real-life disapproval of sexual liaisons between grown men. But the climax of the epigram comes with ἡμέτερον at the end, especially pointed after the two references to hair: the beauty of the beloved, says the poet, is mine even if hairy (that is, I possess him), for I have to fear no rivals for his charms. Thus the final point erases the satirical connotations of the beginning by showing us not a lover who boasts of almost metaphysical love, but a practical one who sees and exploits the advantages of the situation.

**Vb.** Strato *A.P.* xii 178:

\[ \text{ἐξεφλέγων, ὅτε Θεάεις ἐλάμπετο παισίν ἐν ἄλλοις, οἷον ἔπαντέλων ἀπράσαυ ἡλίως. τοῦτε' ἐπὶ φλέγωμα καὶ νύ, ὃτε μυκτὶ λαχνοῦται: δυόμενος γὰρ, ὅμως ἡλίος ἐστιν ἐτί.} \]

I caught fire when Theudis shone among the other boys, like the sun that rises on the stars. Therefore I am still burning now, when the down of night overtakes him, for though he be setting, yet he is still the sun.

Just one word, λαχνοῦται, refers to the growth of hair, and it is a new word for us: the only formal kinship with the previous epigrams appears in the adverbs of time, present in nearly every line. The conceit of the beloved outshining his peers as the sun outshines the other stars seems taken from a distich by Meleager, who himself is influenced by much older models. Strato sets out from that conceit and expands it to include the hair motif. Thus Theudis, although setting, is still a sun when he ‘is downy at night’, where νυκτί points doubly to the time when this ‘sun’ sets and to the dark color of the young man’s down. The epigram starts out seriously,
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. τὴν ἄκμην ὡς βόδων ἤφάνισας in line 4 is a compressed expression for τὴν ἄκμην ἤφάνισας + ἡ ἄκμη ὡς βόδων ἤφανισθη.22 ὡς δὲ at the beginning of line 5 introduces the change of situation. It is contrasted to ἴμικα μὲν in 1 just as νῦν φίλον ἔλκων (5) is contrasted to ἀλλὰ μετ’ ἄλλων (3) in the same position after a bucolic diaeresis. ἐπιπερκάζεσις 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 ἀλέμηρας δασακών 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:

νῦν μοι ἑαυτερ’ λέγεις, ὅτε σου τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπῆλθεν κεῖνο, τὸ τῆς λυγίνου, βάσκανε, λείμτερον,
νῦν μοι προσπαζεῖς, ὥστε τὰς τρίχας ἤφανικάς σου, τὰς ἔπι τοῖς σαβαροῖς αὐχέσι πλαζόμενας,
μηκῦζι μοι, μετέπερε, προσέχοι, μηδὲ συνάντα
ἀντὶ βόδου γάρ ἐγὼ τὴν βάτον 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, scorners! 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 ‘χαιρε’. 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, ἀπῆλθεν . . . τὸ τῆς λυγίνου . . . λείμτερον means in effect ‘your checks are now hairy’28 and ἀντὶ βόδου . . . βάτον οὐ δέχομαι means ‘I don’t accept a shaggy boy for a hairless one’.29 Indeed although hair is for the first time not expressly 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 ὥστε clause), and μηκῦζι 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 βάσκανε and μετέπερε 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. I. 10 below, Strato A.P. xii 186.2 (Ilg.), and Rufin. A.P. v 92.1–2, κάροτο ‘χαιρε’ εἶπε, ταῖς σαβαραῖς ὄφειραν ἤφανίσαντο.
27 Just as in Hor. Carm. iv 10.2–5.
28 Cf. Page (n. 1) ad loc. on λείμτερον in this sense.
29 Cf. Anon. A.P. xi 53, where a rose is contrasted to a βάτον, pp. 91–2 above and n. 103.
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

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 has 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 adverb of time (cf. also deichrónion), the element τριχά- in line 5, and ἄλλ' 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 elements of this warning appear now set in the past.87 As Meleager 90 warns the beloved 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 ἐνόμιζες | ἐξένυ... κάλλους ἄειχρόνιον.88 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 παρέχεισι—that is, 'three times difficult or annoying', but perhaps also with a pun on τρίγα. 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 blásé detachment, but it certainly belongs more to this than to another category.89

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.90 Two passages in Homer present interesting scholia:


On Il. i 209 ἀμφῶ θυμῶ φιλεύσα τε κηδομένη τε: Schol. A, B: οὐ πάς δὲ ὁ φιλεύς κηδεῖται, ὡς λύκοι ἄρνα, i 34, iii 41 Dindorf. And in Plato, Phdr. 241d we read: ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπάσαι, ὡς παιδὰ φιλοῦν ἔρασται.91

The epigrams are late, first and second centuries AD. Surprisingly enough the old motif is not a favourite one with the early epigrammatists.92 We have already considered one of the pieces93 because it has an implicit warning and fits therefore into group II.

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

νυκτερινὴν ἐπίκουρον ἰῶν μεταδόρτιον ὄρην ἄρνα λύκος θυρέτροις εὔρον ἐφεστάτα,

87 Cf. especially the direct discourse—warning in the past—in Automedon 10.3–4 (it above).
88 For ἄλλος πρόβατος (I11 above).
89 Line 5, ἄλλος δ' ἦ τριχάλεπτος relates it especially to group VI, 'They have come'. Cf. particularly Strato A.P. xii 176 (VII), ἄλλος δ' ἦ ἔλεγον and Cameron (n. 25) 166–7 for the relation between this epigram and Rufin, A.P. v 21.
90 Cf. the passages quoted in Corpus Paeone, Gr. i (n. 72) 269 on Diogenian v 96 and the metaphorical use of hound and lion for the lover and fawn for the beloved: Dover (n. 1) 58 with n. 33, 87; Theognis 949, 1278 cf. Rhianus 5 = A.P. xii 146.
92 Cf. Luck (n. 1).
93 Anon. A.P. xi 51 (I11 above).
The warning comes at the end of 3, introduced by ἄλλα and after a bucolic diaresis as in Alceaus 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 diaresis give the real point, telling us that a special sort of death was involved, that of the boy’s erotic charms. The influence of Alceaus 8 over this epigram (or vice versa) is striking; same general motif, same variation of the general motif (warning), same name of the ερόμενος plus similarities of wording and arrangement39 (the main difference being that Alceaus seems to believe Nicander can still be an ερόμενος 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 Alceaus.40

Ilc. Related to our two previous pieces is Phianías 1=A.P. xii 31:

ναὶ Θέμων, ἀκρήτων καὶ τὸ σκύφος ὑπὲρ σασάλευμας,
Πάμφιλε, βαῖός ἔξει τὸν σῶν ἐρωτα χρόνος.
ἡδι γὰρ καὶ μηρός ὑπὸ τρίχα, καὶ γένος ἡβδα,
καὶ Πόδος εἰς ἄρτηρα λοιπὸν ἀγεὶ μανίς.
ἄλλα οὖν ἔτεοι πυθόροι ἐστὶ ἕχων βαῖόλ λάξεπται
φειδωλὴν ἀπόθου. Καίρος ἔρωτι φίλος.

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: βαῖός χρόνος in 2 is followed in 3, 4, and 5 by ἡδι, λοιπόν, οὖν, ἔτεοι, all of them as it were picked up in καίρος 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 καί in 3–4 before each of the key elements of the motif.42

The opening ναί- 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 exhorited to be generous of his favors.

Unlike the author of Anon. 32, Phianis, with Alceaus in Alc. 8, believes that the boy deserves to be courted despite the signs of manhood in his body.45 The influence of Alceaus 8 is more obvious in another respect also. Like him Phianis addresses the epigram and the warning to the boy, not to young men in general (cf. Anon. 32.4), and his mock-gnémat Kaiρὸς ἔρωτι φίλος looks very much akin to Alceaus’ φιλέτος δὴ σπάνις (3). The warning, again introduced by ἄλλα, has been moved to the beginning of line 5 and is more elaborate, less

39 Cf. ἄλλα φιλάζει and ἄλλα οὖν καὶ νῦν—ἄλλα φρονεῖτη; ἡκνήνι, Νικανόρ—ἐφίδεθα Νικανόρ (same metric scheme, same place in the line).
40 Another Nicander (ερόμενος 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. Καίρος ἔρωτι φίλος echoes τὸν σῶν ἐρωτα χρόνος in sound—the meaning of the final adage is of course also very close to that of line 2.
42 For μηρός 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 ἐσοβίους, Pind. O. 13.1, πάντιν: ὁ ὑπερήφανος, Aesch. PV 18: ὁ πινακῆ, Bacchyl. 14.55 172. But Themis is also the mother of the Horai, one of whose functions is to preside over the cycle of vegetation—N.B. their name Thallo, Auxo, Carpo, which evoke growing and blooming.
45 Thus Anon. 32.3, ἐτ οὸδ' ὁμομα (IIb above) but Alc. 8.2–2, φιλάζει μῆ καὶ νῦν... φιλέτος (Ile).
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

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 for ever 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 τῶν, and the spirit of that epigram; the basic concept 'boy's disdain = war', is also picked up in ὑπερήφανος πυρίζην in line 4. Time is stressed from the beginning and recurs (as in nearly all our previous epigrams) in almost every line (αἰώνα, διὰ παντός, τὸτε). The boy's disdain is represented by τὴν ὑπερήφανος τὴν ὑπέροπτον. The end of the first couplet repeats the main conceit in Diocles 4, χαῖρε λέγειν or μὴ λέγειν. Line 5 is reminiscent of Diocles 4.3: not only does Strato set out with Ἡφαιστίων but the rhythm of the lines is the same, with the two initial spondees followed by two dactyls and then bucolic diaeresis. ἄλλα after that diaeresis does not introduce, as it often does, the warning against future old age. But Strato has replaced Diocles' χρόνος with the effect of χρόνος, that is, the πώγων with which Automedon 10 started out. Finally, another influence on line 6: in Strato's καὶ τὸν ἑπιγνώσῃ τὸ σπάνιο ἐστὶ φίλον (the verb is in the future) we recognize Alcaeus 8.3 καὶ γνώσῃ φιλεόντος δὴ σπάνιο—probably an aorist subjunctive dependent on μή but perhaps interpreted by Strato as a future like φύλαξαι in line 1.

III. To conclude this group 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. xii 51:

Τῆς ἄρας ἀπόλαυε παρακάλες ταχὺ πάντα:
ἐν θέρος ἐξ ἐρήφου τρῆχων ἠθηκε τράγον.

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

Only ἄρα 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. 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.
epigrams as a desired punishment for the difficult beloved. Yet Meleager’s bold use of it as a metaphor for hair, made clear by ἐν γλυκῶτα φυμένη, 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 ἐπουστα προσειπέ τις: ἃλλ’ ὁ περισσός κάλλει νῦν Δάμων οὐδὲ τὸ χαίρε λέγει.

Ηζει τις τοῦτον χρόνον ἑκάκος, εἶτα δασυνθεῖς ἄρεξε 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 ἐπουστα and ends with οὐδὲ χαίρε λέγει; (ii) within the whole poem, in two different levels, (a) προσειπέ τις (line 1) echoed by ἄρεξε χαίρε λέγειν (4), and (b) οὐκ ἐπουστα (2) echoed by οὐκ ἀποκρυμμένοις (4). Thus line 4 is the mirror image of 1 up to the bucolic diacresis. The emphasis on time (ποτ’, νῦν, εἶτα) 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 bucolic diacreses in the hexameters: after these diacreses we find what represents the two stages in the boy’s life, beauty and ugliness, the two essential conceits: ἃλλ’ ὁ περισσός / κάλλει καὶ εἶτα δασυνθεῖς.

Il. 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:

μέχρι τίνος πολέμεις μ’, ὃ φόλτατε Κυρῆ; τί ποιεῖς;

τὸν οὖν Καμβύσην οὐκ ἑλεεῖς λέγε μοι.

μὴ γίνοι Μῆδος: Σάκας γὰρ ἐστὶ μετὰ μικρόν,

καὶ σε ποιήσουσιν αἰ τρίχες ‘Αστυάνην.

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

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 165; Anon. 39 = A.P. vi 283; Mel. 96 = A.P. xii 141.

58 Cf. Strato A.P. xii 230 (III). φυμένη Meleager may have borrowed from Anon. 13 (Vie).

59 For this story-telling style cf. e.g. Automedon 111 = A.P. xii 114. For άλλ’ in line 1 (which Gow–Page find ‘not natural to begin alleged speech’) cf. Od. iv 472. Here άλλ’ sets the present, when Damon does not greet the speaker, against the past, when he did.

60 δασυνθεῖς is probably influenced by δασύνθεις in Alc. 8.1 (IIa).


62 Cf. Mel. 90.2 (IIId). Cf. also Mel. 90.3, μὴ γίνοι φροδισσυ with Fronto line 3, μὴ γίνοι Μῆδος. 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.
epigrams as a desired punishment for the difficult beloved. Yet Meleager’s bold use of it as a metaphor for hair, made clear by ἐν γλυκοῖς φυσικές, 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.

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

Χαίρε ποτ’ οὐκ εἶποντα προσειπέ τίς: ‘’’λλ’ ο’ περισσός κάλλει νῦν Δάμων οὐδείς το χαίρε λέγει. ἦσει τις τοῦτον χρόνον ἐκδίκη, εἶτα δασυνεῖς ἄρεις χαίρε λέγειν οὐκ ἀποκρυμίνονοις. ’

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 εἶποντα and ends with οὐδείς χαίρε λέγει; (ii) within the whole poem, in two different levels, (a) προσειπέ τίς (line 1) echoed by ἄρεις χαίρε λέγειν (4), and (b) οὐκ εἶποντα (a) echoed by οὐκ ἀποκρυμίνονοις (4). Thus line 4 is the mirror image of 1 up to the bucolic diacresis. The emphasis on time (ποτ’, νῦν, εἴτα) 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 bucolic diacreses in the hexameters: after these diacreses we find what represents the two stages in the boy’s life, beauty and ugliness, the two essential conceits: ἄλλος περισσός κάλλει καὶ εἴτα δασυνεῖς.

II. 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:

μέχρι τίνος πολεμεῖς μ’, ο θύλητε Κύρε; τί ποιείς; τὸν σὺν Καμβόλην οὐκ ἔλεεις; λέγε μοι. μὴ γώνος Μῆδος: Σάκας γὰρ ἐσθ μετὰ μικρόν, καὶ σε ποιήσουσιν αἱ τρίχες Ἀστυάγην.

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

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 162; Anon. 39 = A.P. vi 283; Mel. 90 = A.P. xii 141.
58 Cf. Strato A.P. xii 239 (II). φυσικές Meleager may have borrowed from Anon. 13 (Ila).
59 For this story-telling style cf. e.g. Automedon 11 = A.P. xii 34. For ἄλλα in line 1 (which Gow–Page find ‘not natural to begin alleged speech’) cf. Od. iv 472. Here ἄλλα sets the present, when Damon does not greet the speaker, against the past, when he did.
60 δασυνεῖς is probably influenced by δασούνεται in Aic. 8.1 (Ila).
62 Cf. Mel. 90.3 (II). Cf. also Mel. 90.1, μὴ γώνος φρύδασσος with Fronto line 3, μὴ γώνος Μῆδος. 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, Macedonia the Consul A.P. vii 238, ‘arrows’, etc.
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

ως μέλλων αλώνα μένεων νέος, ἦ διὰ παντὸς ὀρθείαθαι πυρίχθης καὶ τὸ τέλος πρόβλεπε.

ηὔει σοι πάγων, κακὸν ἑσχατον, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον καὶ τὸν ἐπισυνόησε τὸ σπάνει ἐστὶν φίλων.

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 for ever 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 τών, and the spirit of that epigram; the basic conceit 'boy's disdain = war', is also picked up in ὀρθείαθαι πυρίχθης in line 4. Time is stressed from the beginning and recurs (as in nearly all our previous epigrams) in almost every line (αλώνα, διὰ παντὸς, τότε). The boy's disdain is represented by τὴν ὀφρυὰ τὴν ὑπέρσποτον. The end of the first couplet repeats the main conceit in Dicole 4, χαῖρε λέγειν or μη λέγειν. Line 5 is reminiscent of Dicole 4.3: not only does Strato set out with ἦνει 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 dialectic does not introduce, as it often does, the warning against future old age. But Strato has replaced Dicole's χρόνος with the effect of χρόνον, that is, the πάγων with which Automedon 10 started out. Finally, another influence on line 6: in Strato's καὶ τὸν ἐπισυνόηση τὸ σπάνει ἐστὶν φίλων (the verb is in the future) we recognize Alcaeus 8.3 καὶ γνώσῃ φιλοίστος δια σπάνει probably an aorist subjunctive dependent on μη but perhaps interpreted by Strato as a future like φιλοίσει in line 1.

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

Τῷ ὀρατι αὔπολαυει παρακμάζει ταχύ πάντα
ἐν θέρους ἐν δρόμιον τρημίζων ἐθηκε τράγων.

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

Only ὀρατι 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. 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.

72 πυρίχθης: a war dance performed by youths in armor. πυρίχθης βλέπεις seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Ar. Av. 1105; Leutsch-Schneidewin, Corpus Paroemiographeorum Graecorum ii, Mantissae Proverbiorum ii 75 (Göttingen 1891). Also proverbial is 'looking to τῆλος': cf. Hdt. i 32, Leutsch-Schneidewin i 315 no. 51 with n. ii 773 no. 96.

73 θέρους itself may mean 'solemnity, majesty' (Antip. Sid. 66 = A.P. vii 409) and is often associated with the arrogance of the εἰσαμοι. Cf. Mel. 103 = A.P. xii 101.3-4; Dicoct. 13 = A.P. xii 44.3; Rufin. A.P. v 92.1-2 (J Page), where Jacobs believes Rufinus to be dependent on our epigram by Strato for χαῖρες τρεῖς; and Rufin. A.P. v 28 (f. above).

74 Just as the ἀλλὰ in Philip 59.3 (f. above);

Automedon 10.6 (f.); and Dicole 4.1 (f.);

75 Cf. e.g. Alc. 7.1 (f.); Alc. 8.1.1 (f.); Anon. 32.3 (f.); Mel. 90.3 (f.);

76 Cf. Ila above.

77 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.

78 Cf. IV below.

79 The epigram is transmitted by Planudes, whose prudery is well known. Yet we cannot argue that if he transmitted it he did not understand the erotic connotation: Planudes, e.g., also copied Rufin. A.P. v 28 (f.), which is unequivocally erotic.
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

The warning comes at the end of 3, introduced by ἄλλα and after a bucolic diaeresis as in Alcaeus 8.374 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 diaeresis 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 éρομενος plus similarities of wording and arrangement39 (the main difference being that Alcaeus seems to believe Nicander can still be an éρομενος 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

Il. Related to our two previous pieces is Phanias 1 = A.P. xii 31:

ναὶ Θέμην, ἀκρήτου καὶ τὸ σκῦμας φ σεσάλευμαι,
Πάμφυλε, βαιὸς ἔχει τὸν οὖν ἐρωτά χρόνος.
ἡ δη γάρ καὶ μηρὸς ὑπὸ τρίχα, καὶ γώνη ἡμβρῖ,
καὶ Πέθανος εἰς ἐτέρνη λοιπὸν ἄγει μανήν.
ἄλλας ὅτε <σοι> συνθήροις ἕτε ἤγια βαῖν ἄλτειται
φειδωλὴν ἀπὸ. Καιρὸς Ἕρωτι φίλος.

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: βαιὸς χρόνος in 2 is followed in 3, 4, and 5 by ἡ δη, λοιπον, ὅτε, ἔτε, all of them as it were picked up in καιρὸς 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 ναὶ- 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 exhort to be generous of his favors.

Unlike the author of Anon. 32, Phanias, 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 Phanias addresses the epigram and the warning to the boy, not to young men in general (cf. Anon. 32.4), and his mock-γνώμη Καιρὸς Ἕρωτι φίλος looks very much akin to Alcaeus’ φιλέλιθος δος σπάνις (3). The warning, again introduced by ἄλλα, has been moved to the beginning of line 5 and is more elaborate, less χρόνως in sound—the meaning of the final adage is of course also very close to that of line 2.

374 In line 4 there is an allusion to the topos of Soph. fr. 590 (Pearson)=θυρατρα φρονεῖν χρηματαφήλοι. Cf. Pearson for parallels.
376 Cf. ἄλλα φύλαξες and ἄλλα ἔτε καὶ νῦν—ἄλλα φρονεῖτε ἢ κοιμή, Νικάρης ἤλθε θεία Νικάρης (same metrical scheme, same place in the line).
377 Another Nicander (éρομενος or confidant?) appears in Anon. 31 = A.P. xii 160. Cf. Gow—Page on A. L., who also consider the possibility that both anonymous poems are by the same author. Anon. 31, although erotic, is not based on our motif.
378 N.B. Καιρὸς Ἕρωτι φίλος echoes τὸν οὖν ἐρωτα
379 For μηρὸς cf. n. 7 above.
381 Gow—Page seem right in saying that Themis is probably used ‘to recommend the advice given to Pamphilus’, cf. their quotations of ὁ ἐρωτοῦς, Pind. O. 15.8, al.; ὅ ἐρωτοῦς, Aesch. PS 18; ἄντων, 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.
382 Thus Anon. 32.2, ἓν ὀδόντων (IId above) but Alc. 81–3, φώλαξι μῆ καὶ 3–4, ἄλλα ἔτε καὶ νῦν... φρόντισον (IIs).
SONYA LIDA TARÁN

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 δειχρόνιον), the element τριξά́- in line 5, and ἀλλ’ after a bucolic diaeresis in 3. The content looks like a follow-up of the warning expressed in the epigrams of our second group: several elements of this warning appear now set in the past.97 As Meleager 90 warns the beloved 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, now he says ἐνυμίζεις ἔξειν ... κάλλους δειχρόνιον.98 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 τριξάλεπτος δαίμων, from τρίς + γαλέπτας (= γαλέπτας) — τριξάλεπτος through πατέχεις—that is, 'three times difficult or annoying', but perhaps also with a pun on τριξά. 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 blasé detachment, but it certainly belongs more to this than to another category.99

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.90 Two passages in Homer present interesting scholia:


On II. i 209 ἀμφοὶ δραμωθεὶς φιλεύθαι τῇ κηδομένῃ τε: Schol. A, B: οὐ πάς δὲ οἱ φιλῶν κηδείαν, ὡς λύκοι ἄρνα, i 34, iii 41 Dindorf. And in Plato, Phdr. 241d we read: ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἄγαπησον, ὡς πάθη φιλόσαν ἐρασταί.91

The epigrams are late, first and second centuries AD. Surprisingly enough the old motif is not a favourite one with the early epigrammatists.92 We have already considered one of the pieces93 because it has an implicit warning and fits therefore into group II.

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

νυκτερίνην ἐπίκωμος ἵων μεταδότηιν ἄρνην ἄρνα λύκοις θυρέτοις ἔβρην ἐφεστάτα,

97 Cf. especially the direct discourse—warning in the past—in Automedon 10.3–4 (Ic above).
98 For ἐλέγον in line 3 cf. Strato A.P. xii 186, 4, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρόβλεψε (Ib above).
99 Line 5, οὔδ’ ἂν ἄρνας τριχάλεπτος relates it especially to group VI, 'They have come'. Cf. particularly Strato A.P. xii 176 (VII), ἄγανον ὡς ἠλέγον and Cameron (n. 25) 166–7 for the relation between this epigram and Rutil. A.P. ν. 21.
100 Cf. the passages quoted in Corpus Paroem. Gr. i (n. 72) 269 on Diogenian ν. 96; and the metaphorical use of hound and lion for the lover and fawn for the beloved: Dover (n. 1) 58 with n. 33, 87; Theognis 949, 1278 c: Rhiannus 5 = A.P. xii 146.
102 Cf. Luck (n. 1).
103 Anon. A.P. xi 51 (IIb above).

446
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. τήν ἄκμην ὡς ἔρως ἔφανες in line 4 is a compressed expression for τήν ἄκμην ἔφανες ἡ ἄκμην ὡς ἔρως ἔφανες. Here the metaphor of ears of corn for the faded youth seems taken from Asclep. 46.4, κρέασας αὐχενής δασταχών καλάμως, and itself influenced Flaccus 11. 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:


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 topped on your haughty neck. Come not near me, meet me not, scorners! I don’t accept a bramble for a rose.

The initial words point to several epigrams, especially Diocles 4, 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. For, as Page himself explains, ἀπῆλθεν ... τὸ τῆς λύγου ... λείπτερον means in effect ‘your cheeks are now hairy’ and ἀντὶ βασκανε ... βάτον ὧν δέχομαι means ‘I don’t accept a shaggy boy for a hairless one’. Indeed although hair is for the first time not expressly 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 δῆκε 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 βασκανε and μετέωρα make it plain that the epigram is not addressed to a woman and is misplaced in A.P. v.

22 Cf. Page ad loc., who quote Philostr. Ep. 17, φθορείς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλύτερος τὴν δέντον ὥραν ἐφανείτε καὶ τὴν κάλλους ἄκμην ἐπέγεισαν. 23 Cf. R. G. M. Nibert-M. E. Hubbard on Hor. Carm. ii 5.12. 24 Cf. n. 84 below. 25 Cf. Page (n. 1) ad loc. for a detailed philological commentary. For a new discussion of Rufinus’ dates cf. A. Cameron, ‘Strato and Rufinus’, CQ xxiii (1928) 162–73. 26 Cf. IIr below, Strato A.P. xii 186.2 (Ilg), and Strato A.P. v 92.1–2, καὶ ὅσπις χαίρε ἔσει, ταῖς ἀσβαροῖς δειμένης ἐπιτάσσει. 27 Just as in Hor. Carm. iv 10.2–5. 28 Cf. Page (n. 1) ad loc. on λείπτερον in this sense. 29 Cf. Anon. A.P. xi 53, where a rose is contraposed to a βάτον, pp. 91–2 above and n. 105.
love his friend even after puberty has brought physical change. One is reminded of Plato, *Alc.* 131d, where Socrates tells Alcibiades that he still loves him (when others forsake him on account of his age) because it is the soul, not the body, that he is in love with. To be sure Strato says nothing about the soul, and his references to the beloved are anything but ‘platonic’. Yet the underlying meaning is that it is the whole person of his friend that the poet loves, despite the physical changes brought by time.

Vα. Formally, Strato *A.P.* xii 10 is very close to its models:

εἰ καὶ οὐ, τρίχοφιον ἐπεακίρησεν, ιουλος,
καὶ τρυφεραὶ κροτάφων εὐανθοφιεῖς ἐλικες,
οὐδ’ οὔτω φεῖνω τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλος
τοῦτο, καὶ πώγων, καὶ τρίχες, ἡμέτερον.

Even though the invading down and the delicate auburn curls of thy temples have leapt upon thee, that does not make me shun my beloved, but his beauty is mine, even if there be a beard and hairs.

We recognize the vocabulary: ιουλος, πώγων, τρίχες, ἀλλὰ after a bucolic diaeresis, κάλλος.99 It is a case of reversal of the motif of the model: love is so strong that it has survived the usually fatal growth of hair. This, whether serious or satiric,100 surprises because it contradicts both the poetic motif and the real-life disapproval of sexual liaisons between grown men. But the climax of the epigram comes with ἡμέτερον at the end, especially pointed after the two references to hair: the beauty of the beloved, says the poet, is mine even if hairy (that is, I possess him), for I have to fear no rivals for his charms. Thus the final point erases the satirical connotations of the beginning by showing us not a lover who boasts of almost metaphysical love, but a practical one who sees and exploits the advantages of the situation.

Vb. Strato *A.P.* xii 178:

ἐξεφλέγην, ὅτε Θεούδος ἐλάμπετο παισὼν ἐν ἀλλοῖς,
οἷον ἐπαντέλλων ἀστράσιν ἥλιος.

τοῦτ’ εἰς φεῖόμεναι καὶ νῦν, ὅτε νυκτὶ λαχυσάτι
δυσμενὸς γὰρ, δύσις ἥλιος ἑστὼν ἑτ᾽.

I caught fire when Theudis shone among the other boys, like the sun that rises on the stars. Therefore I am still burning now, when the dawn of night overtakes him, for though he be setting, yet he is still the sun.

Just one word, λαχυσάτι, refers to the growth of hair, and it is a new word for us: the only formal kinship with the previous epigrams appears in the adverbs of time, present in nearly every line. The concept of the beloved outshining his peers as the sun outshines the other stars seems taken from a distich by Meleager, who himself is influenced by much older models.101 Strato sets out from that conceit and expands it to include the hair motif. Thus Theudis, although setting, is still a sun when he is downy at night’, where νυκτὶ points doubly to the time when this ‘sun’ sets and to the dark color of the young man’s down. The epigram starts out seriously,

99 Emendation of οὐ in line 1 to οὔθ, εἰ καὶ τριχόφιον. (Brunck) because this should be a general maxim or ‘alias ν, 4 non dixisset τοῦτο, or emendation in line 4 of τοῦτο to τοῦτο (Jacoby)’ does not seem necessary. Such anacolutha—from a personal address (οὐ) to a general statement (οὔθ...). φεῖνω τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλος (τοῦτο)—are not uncommon and this one sounds natural enough. For a possible influence of this epigram on Rufinus cf. Cameron (n. 23) 169-8.

100 In the manner of other epigrams where the lover claims to prefer old women; cf. Paul. Sil. *A.P.* 258; Anon. *A.P.* 304; Asclep. 41=A.P. vii 217 with Gow—Page *ad loc.* and Ludwig, *GRBS* iv (1963) 61. Strato’s statement resembles that of Anon. *A.P.* v 29.3-4, ἢ βὰ γε ταῦτας τις ἐπικοινωνεῖ καὶ αἰνεῖ "Ερως."

101 Mel. 100=A.P. xii 59, 'Ἀβραοῦς, τῇ τοῦ "Ερωτα, τρέφει Τύρας: ἄλλα Μυκόσι/ ξωθεύει κέλαμαι ἀστράσιν ἥλιος. For Meleager’s models cf. passages cited by Gow—Page *ad loc.*, especially Alc. 11=A.P. vii 1.8 and Leonidas 30=A.P. ix 24 of Homer; and Polystratus 2=A.P. vii 297.1 of Corinth. Also cf. Lurc. iii 1043 of Epicurus; and Sappho fr. 96.7—9 L.P., especially in view of δυσμενὸς in Strato’s line 4.
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 βδον as metaphor for hair and βόδον 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, 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' 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. 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 rose) 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. In any case, it should be said that the change of τὸ to καὶ, appearing in Sylogue 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:

πῶγων καὶ λάσιας μηρῶν τρίχες, ὡς ταχυ πάντα
οὐ δρόμος ἀλλάζοις. Κάννιχε, τοῦτ' ἐγένοι;
οὐκ ἔλεγον μὴ πάντα βαρὸς βλέπε μυρὸς βάναυσος
ἔλεγε καὶ κάλλους εἰσὶ τινες Νεμέσες';
ηλιθες ἔσω μάνθρως, ὑπερζανας, νῦν ὅτι βούλει
ὀιδαμεν ἀθλος ἐγένε καὶ τὸτ' ἔχειν σε φέρνει.

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. Humor is especially conveyed in the first couplet because the statement ὡς ταχύ πάντα ὁ δρόμος ἀλλάζοις and the question τοῦτ' ἐγένοι; would normally be used in a confrontation with old age; the initial vocative πῶγων καὶ . . . τρίχες destroys the possible anticlimax by warning us from the start that only adolescence is meant, that is, only the 'old age' of the ερῶνοι.

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. The plural wittily suggests that Νεμέσες = hairs. The conceit is taken from Meleager, who refers to 'Nemesis that grows on the

11 See 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 τῆς πλέον, εἰ θέος ἄθροι καταβληθει (1) and τῇ . . . ἐκτῇ ἔκλεικτον ἔξει καθελθεῖ (3–4) are in a way reinforcements of τῇ γαρ βαρὸς ὡς ἐκτῇ δήμος ἢ δροντα (1–2), and in Alc. 8 ἔμετακλητος φρονίσατος ἡλίκης (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. Rufin. A.P. v 28.8 (see I below).
15 Cf. λάσιας, for λάσια here, in Faccioc 111 (n. 84 below).
16 Cf. especially Anon. 32 (IIb below); Dioecles 4 (IIc) Anon. A.P. xi 51 (IIIb); Phaniuz 1 (IIIc); Mel. 90 (IIIc); Fronto A.P. xii 174 (IIc). For ὁμόν ἔλεγον cf. Page (n. 1) on Rufinus 7 = A.P. v 21.1, with references.
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 τρίχες themselves are not mentioned but are easily supplied for δόξα in the last line. Indeed only the adverb of time πρώτον in the first pentameter formally relates the epigram to its predecessors. An exception is perhaps ἐλέγων in line 4 (cf. Automedon 10. 3, οὐκ ἐλέγων μὴ πάντα βαρύς θέλε . . . ) 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.\[107\]

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

οὐκ ἔχεις παίς ἡδα; καὶ οὖσα ὄναρ ὀχλος ὁ πάγων
 ἕλυθε πᾶς ἁγαθὴ τοῦτο τὸ δαιμόνον,
 καὶ τρίχα πάντες ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρῶτον καλά; φεῦ, τί τὸ βαύμα;
 ἔχεις Τρωῖδος ὃν, πῶς ἐγένοις Πρίαμος;

Wast thou not yesterday a boy, and we had never even dreamt of this beard coming? How did this accrued 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 (ἔχεις, πρῶτον; πάγων, τρίχας τά . . . καλάς; and θαύμα. Most of these terms were generally used, but θαύμα calls our attention to Lucullus A.P. xi 216 (IVb), θαύμα γαρ ὡμίν κανόν ἀπαγγέλλω, and the similar style of the last couplet, where Lucullus, like Strato here, addresses the young man in a conversational tone. The direct, colloquial style suggests a παγωνίον allegedly 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 τρίχας 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: Τρωῖδος, ‘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

---

107 Callim. 12 = A.P. xii 71; see Gow—Page ad loc. and Ludwig (n. 7) 133 ff. For οὖσα ὄναρ 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 230 is inserted in the middle of a long late sequence headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Strato), just as Callim. 63 comes after a long sequence headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Rufinus). Yet no one doubts the authorship of Callim. 6. On ‘authenticity of subject’ cf. Cameron (n. 23) 168–9 about A.P. xi 117, Strato’s only non-pederastic epi-


109 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 Lasberg, Gnomon liv (1982) 204–9. 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 Lasberg seems to have in mind.
EISI TRIPHES: 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.

1a. Our first epigram (Asclep. 46 = A.P. xii 36)² is headed ‘Ασκληπιάδου Αδραμυττήνου. 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 αἴτεις δὲ ολεθρὸς ὑπὸ κροτάφοιαν ΰύους ἐρυθάς καὶ μπροῖς δέος ἐπεστὶ χνοὸς.

ἐιρα λέγεις, ἵδιον ἕμοι τάδεν τι καὶ τῆς ἄν εἴποι κρείσσομαι αὐχημέρας ἀσταχύων καλάμας;

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

The poem is very symmetrically built, νῦν αἴτεις at the beginning of line 1 being echoed by εἰρα λέγεις at the beginning of line 3 and then by ἄν εἴποι at the end, and ολεθρὸς . . . οὐλος in 1 contrasted by δέος . . . χνοὸς in 2. αἴτεις certainly means ‘want to be courted’ rather than αἴτεις 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 ὑπὸ κροτάφοιαν ΰύους.⁴ ΰύους is particularly pointed in an epigram ending with a metaphor of ears of corn because of its second meaning of ‘cornsheaf’.⁵ ἀσταχύων 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 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 147–8; Pl. Prot. 300a–b; Xen. Symp. IV 23; Lucian Alex. 6, Am. 10; Sen. Ep. 95, 24; Philostr. Ep. 15, and Ep. 11), sometimes the end of his attraction, e.g. Bion of Borytheneis fr. 55 and 56, ed. J. F. Kindstrand (Uppsala 1976) 126; Gnomologium Vaticanum, ed. L. Sternbach ii (Berlin 1961), 262; Hor. Carm. iv 10; Catull. 31.7–8; Tib. i 8, 31–2; and G. Luck, ‘Kids and wolves (an interpretation of Callimachus, fr. 202.60–70 PC’), CQ ix (1959) 34–7. See also in general RE xi. 1 (1921) s.v. ‘Knabenhilfe’ 897–906 (Kroll); K. J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 184–203.

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 ‘Αδραμυττήνου (corrected from ‘Ἀδραμυττίου) is not attached to any other epigram by Asclepiades of Samos, who had no known connection with Adramyttium. The epigram may therefore be the work of an otherwise unknown namesake (cf. Gow–Page ad loc.). It is generally similar to the probably dependent Anon. A.P. xii 182, on a related motif.

⁴ Cf. Od. xi 319, ὑπὸ κ.; Antip. Thess. A.P. vi 198, ὑπὸ κ.; Theoc. Id. 15.83, ὑπὸ κ. (see Gow ad loc., Headlam on Herodas 1 92).

⁵ Cf. Demeter’s name Τουλώ, Semus in Ath. xiv 618d (PMG 849).
What Can the Gilgamesh Myth Tell us about Religion and the View of Humanity in Mesopotamia?

I. Introduction

The Gilgamesh Epic is a collection of myths spun around the legendary king Gilgamesh \(^1\) who lived in Mesopotamia in about 2,500 B.C. The myth is known to us today via a series of texts dating from between about 2,000 B.C. and about 750 B.C.

The texts are divided into two main groups: the Sumerian and the Akkadian. The Sumerian material consists of six disconnected episodes: 1. Gilgamesh and Agga, 2. Gilgamesh and "the Land of the Living", 3. Gilgamesh and Inanna, 4. Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven, 5. The Death of Gilgamesh, 6. Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Underworld. Apart from 1 and 5, these episodes are also found in the Akkadian version. They are, however, partly changed, and are linked together to form a continuous poetic cycle to which new and important motifs have been added, for example the motif of friendship with Enkidu. In this way, the myth has acquired a rather different character from the original Sumerian version.

The myth circulated for hundreds of years, not only in Mesopotamia, but also throughout large parts of the Middle East, which indicates that it must have been highly influential. It should therefore furnish relevant material for a closer study of various Mesopotamian ideas.

Method of approach

Just what the Gilgamesh myth has to tell us about Mesopotamian religion and the prevailing view of humanity in that country is not a matter of objectivity, but will depend upon the kind of methodology used. Where

\(^1\) All references are to the ANET edition of 1955.