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CHAPTER 1

Introductory: Context and its Loss

Hellenistic epigrams are mainly brief pieces of four to eight lines, and the view is sometimes expressed that epigram is 'a minor form'.[1] But 'minor' as individual epigrams may seem, they are often conceptually more dense than any other ancient poetic form; and in aggregate the surviving epigrammatic corpus of the Hellenistic period alone reaches an epic length that testifies to its cultural, intellectual and social[2] importance: the epigrams in Gow and Page's *Hellenistic Epigrams* total 4749 lines. The definition of 'Hellenistic' adopted in the present monograph extends the Hellenistic period to around the middle of the first century BC, and thus embraces portions of their *Garland of Philip* too, so adding substantial numbers of lines. Moreover, the extant Hellenistic epigrams are a small fraction of the production of the age. A Vienna papyrus[3] probably of the last quarter of the third century BC contains 226 epigram incipits; of these only one can be recognised as a surviving item, Asclepiades *AP* 12.46 = 15 *HE*. Similarly P.Oxy. LIV no. 3724,[4] of the "later first century" (65), "mentions about 175 epigrams", of which "only 31 have been identified elsewhere." (66). In other, smaller, ancient lists of epigram incipits and epigrams[5] the proportion of items already known varies. P.Oxy. LIV no.3724 suggests that the overall survival rate of Hellenistic epigrams is between 10% and 20%, but it may give an over-high impression since of the 112 Posidippan epigrams of P.Mil.Vogl. VIII.309 only two were previously known.[6]

1 E.g. Bulloch (1985b) 617. The large sums paid for some public epigrams (see e.g. Bing and Bruss (2007b) 16; Petrovic (2009) 210) is an additional indication of the high repute of epigrams in antiquity; see also below p.16 and n.72.

2 See Ambühl (2007) for valuable insights into how epigrams could associate the nobility with the rulers (288–9), and function as a channel of communication between the rulers and their lesser subjects (287–8).

3 P.Vindob.G. 40611, cf. Harrauer (1981); Parsons (2002) 118–20 (119 for the dating); Parsons et al. (2015). Pordomingo (1994) lists papyrus fragments of epigram anthologies known up to 1992.

4 Page references are to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LIV.65–82.

5 Cf. Parsons (2002) 120–2; *SH* no. 976.

6 I.e. 18 *HE* = 65 A–B and 20 *HE* = 15 A–B.

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Equally significantly, some classes of epigrams (*lithika*, *oionoskopika*, *andriantopoiika*, and *iamatika*)[7] found in considerable numbers in P.Mil.Vogl. VIII.309, are either absent from or poorly represented in the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*. But P.Mil.Vogl. VIII.309 is notably deficient in the erotic, sympotic and scoptic types which are well exemplified in the *Anthologies*; in contrast the epigram incipits of P.Oxy. LIV no.3724 show "a clear preponderance of erotic (including homosexual) and sympotic themes" (67). These signs of the preferences of anthologisers imply even larger losses in some epigrammatic types. Overall the literary epigrammatic production of antiquity from the eighth century BC on, of which a substantial proportion will have been Hellenistic, probably amounted (at the very least) to twenty times the bulk of the *Greek Anthology*. As for the inscribed epigrams of the Hellenistic period, most will never have been copied or circulated on papyrus, and many of the stones on which they were cut will either have been smoothed for epigraphic re-use, or re-employed for building purposes, or burned for lime.

Bulk apart, the sheer excellence of the best Hellenistic epigrams shines through their sometimes mutilated and problematic texts. Even in two- to four-line pieces strong intellectual and emotional content is often evident, buttressed by linguistic and metrical skills of a high standard.

This volume, although entitled 'Hellenistic Epigram', is neither a survey of the epigrammatic corpus of the Hellenistic age, nor a set of commentaries on individual epigrams, nor a work of literary appreciation, nor a course text-book. It is methodological, addressing the well-known fact that many Hellenistic epigrams are difficult to understand,[8] and seeking to describe and exemplify strategies capable of generating correct interpretations of them. One major obstacle that epigrams present to their would-be interpreters is their small scale. Problems of text, lexicography, grammar, culture, and content are omnipresent in ancient poetry, but, while they rarely affect the overall interpretation of longer works, they can easily make an epigram unintelligible. Other obstacles to scholarship are the sheer number of epigrammatists from the extensive Greek-speaking world of the third century BC on, and the false and dubious ascriptions of many epigrams. This makes it hard to generalise about epigram, while not enough survives of the work of most individual epigrammatists to establish an *usus auctoris*. However, the main

[7] *Epitymbia* are divided into sub-classes in P.Mil.Vogl. VIII.309.
[8] The difficulties are compounded by the fact that some epigrams were written as 'puzzle poems': see Bing (2009) Ch. 5.

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stumbling block in the way of our understanding of Hellenistic epigrams is our loss of, or uncertainty about, many of the contexts within which they were written and communicated.[9] In current scholarship 'context' usually covers such questions as: was an epigram ever inscribed or not, and did it ever circulate in an authorial collection? But 'context' can usefully be extended to cover further questions. Who constituted an epigram's first audience(s)? Are an epigram's characters real, and is it about real life, or is it a literary fiction? To what genre does it belong, and (sometimes a different question) what was its function? In what dialect(s) is it composed, and which grammatical and syntactical features (e.g. dialogue) contribute to its meaning? What local, cultural, and historical factors underlie it? What aspects of the *Realien* and multifarious learning of the Hellenistic age does it assume, exploit and invoke?

These 'contexts' of Hellenistic epigrams will be the main focus of investigation in this volume, since without recovering them it is impossible to recover the full meaning and the *pointe(s)* of epigrams. I use '*pointe*' to stress that not all Hellenistic epigrams aim at wit or humour. *Pointes* may equally lie in a pithy aphorism, proverb or *sententia*, a Homeric or other learned allusion, a fine expression or image, a summarising sentiment, an insight into the human condition, or a finale delivering a hypercharge of emotion.

Audience context and circulation context

I start with a context which is potentially highly informative — the audience for which a Hellenistic epigram was originally written. In some cases the identity of an epigram's intended audience can be deduced from its typology: thus the primary readership of most epigraphic *epitymbia* will have been the families, friends, demesmen, and associates of the deceased, along with literate persons passing road-side tombstones, or visiting cemeteries.[10] Funerary epitaphs of public figures buried in prominent locations will potentially have had a city-wide readership. These first audiences of *epitymbia* will often have possessed, or been able easily to acquire, detailed knowledge of a deceased and of the circumstances of

[9] Cf. Gutzwiller (1998) ix: "… the problem has seemed to me, in literary terms, to be one of failure to account fully for context".

[10] The thesis of Bing (2009) Ch. 7 that in antiquity inscriptions were rarely read is inherently implausible, and in part refuted by the counter-examples discussed by Bing. See also esp. Day (2010) 59–84, and those epitaphs (e.g. Heraclitus *AP* 7.465 (below pp.27–8) and Antip. Sidon *AP* 7.427 = 32 *HE*) which invite a reader to decipher an inscription on a *stele*.

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his/her death.[11] But once living memory of the dead had vanished or diminished, subsequent epigraphic readers, and readers of copies in manuscript, will not have enjoyed that advantage. An epitaph from third-century BC Alexandria offers an instructive example of the omission of such privileged information, which would not have troubled its initial audience, but which has aroused comment in modern readers:[12]

πάτρην Ἡράκλειαν, ὁδοιπόροι, ἤν τις ἵκηται,
εἰπεῖν· ὠδῖνες παῖδα Πολυκράτεος
ἤγαγον εἰς Ἀίδην Ἀγαθόκλεαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφραί
ἤντησαν τέκνου πρὸς φάος ἐρχομένου.
(*GVI* 1353 = Bernand (1969) no. 30 (pp.158–9) and Plate VI)

Travellers, if any of you should come to my native city, Heraclea, say that childbirth brought Agathoclea, daughter of Polycrates, to Hades; for severe were the pangs she experienced as her child was coming to the light.

Two important facts are missing, the name of Agathoclea's husband, and a specification of which among the many Heracleas was her native city. The more surprising lack, her husband's name, may have been supplied by an accompanying prose heading.[13] But the absence of a more precise pointer to Agathoclea's birthplace can be accounted for by knowledge on the part of the family and friends who formed the first audience for the epitaph.[14] The reference to her father Polycrates (2) presumably reveals the epigram's commissioner, and his name may have had additional meaning for citizens of Heraclea.

Parallel knowledgeable primary audiences can be conceived for other sorts of epigrams. Visitors to temples and monuments reading the anathematic or ecphrastic epigrams on display upon or within them will have brought to, or acquired from, these material contexts additional information to enhance their readings. Such information was not necessarily as detailed or arcane as that possessed by readers of funerary epitaphs of individuals with whom they had been personally acquainted; but it will have included insights not readily available to those reading the same epigrams in a papyrus collection. If we could be confident that the

[11] Cf. also Parsons (2002) 113, noting that *CEG* no. 532 (quoted below p.25) makes this explicit.
[12] E.g. Bing (2009) 131–2, with a different approach.
[13] The epigram is inscribed on a plaque, no doubt attached to Agathoclea's tomb. Its photograph (Pl. VI) suggests that it has been trimmed at the top for ease of transport and sale; the missing portion could have contained her husband's name.
[14] Cf. Bernand (1969) 159: "comme il arrive fréquemment dans les épitaphes, le rédacteur omet les indications qui ne sont pas utiles aux survivants".

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nineteen epigrams which make up Book 3 of the *Greek Anthology* were (as its introductory lemma claims) inscribed on στυλοπινάκια in the temple of Queen Apollonis at Cyzicus, each accompanied by a matching relief, then we would have a wonderful example of a privileged primary audience for epigrams. But no such confidence is possible.[15]

Epigrams not intended for inscription also had first audiences with privileged contextual access, although of a different sort. Erotic, scoptic, and other sympotic pieces will undoubtedly have been read or performed at social events such as royal, institutional, or private banquets, *eranoi,* drinking parties, and soirées.[16] From the archaic period on such settings had provided opportunities for literary and musical performances of all types, and the brevity of epigrams, along with their frequent ambivalences and consequent utility as conversation pieces, will have made them welcome at social occasions. More structured readings of epigrams may also have been organised for elite groups.[17] Hellenistic kings, like Roman emperors, indulged in the large-scale dining of foreign dignitaries and their own favoured subjects with accompanying entertainments,[18] and notables in both cultures regularly dined smaller select groups.[19] Readings of epigrams will have been particularly appropriate in the latter settings. Those who attended performances of epigrams at Alexandria and elsewhere will often have been privileged auditors: they were possibly acquainted with the individuals featured in epigrams under their real names or known pseudonyms, and they may have shared insider knowledge of the circumstances which inspired the epigrammatists. When, for example, Callimachus recited an epigram naming a Lysanies or Asclepiades/Posidippus mentioned a Nico,[20] these names or monikers

[15] From the large bibliography I cite only Van Looy and Demoen (1986).

[16] For royal banquets of the Hellenistic era and their entertainments see Murray (1996); Vössing (2004) 66–186, esp.154–165; Weber (2011) 227 and n.9, 242 and n.71, 243 (with further bibliography). However, the view of R. Reitzenstein (1893) 87–104, revived by Cameron (1995) esp. Ch. 3, that the best Hellenistic poets improvised their epigrams at symposia has rightly been resisted: c.f. e.g. Gutzwiller (1998) 4 n.12, 115–16; Bing (2009) 113–15; Bing and Bruss (2007b) 12–14; and below p.225 and n.59. Parsons (2002) 104–5 noted the Hellenistic belief that Simonides had improvised in sympotic situations; whether or not he did, the belief may have encouraged extemporisation among later epigrammatists such as Antipater of Sidon (Cic. *De Or*. 3.194) and Archias (Cic. *Pro Arch.* 18).

[17] Despite the Elder Seneca's statement that Asinius Pollio was the first to organise *recitationes* (*Controv*. 4 pr. 2), recitations over dinner are attested earlier at Rome: cf., e.g., Cic. *De Or.* 3.194; *Ad Att.* 16.2.6 = 412.6 S–B; 16.3.1 = 413.1 S-B; Cat. 44.

[18] Cf. Vössing (2004) *passim*.

[19] Asinius Pollio's hosting of a dinner on the day of his son's death is particularly valuable evidence for the regularity and social significance of this practice; cf. Sen. *Controv*. 4 pr. 5.

[20] Callim. *AP* 12.43.5 = 2.5 *HE*; Asclep. *AP* 5.150.2 = 10.2 *HE*; *AP* 5.164.2 = 13.2 *HE*; *AP* 5.209.2 = 36.2 *HE*.

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doubtless meant more to their first audiences than we can ever hope to recover. Sometimes the individuals mentioned in epigrams may have been present for the performances of items featuring them.[21]

As well as possessing 'in-group' knowledge of persons and issues, the initial auditors of the most prestigious Hellenistic epigrammatists were men of 'learning', skilled in the literature of the Greek past and present and in the contemporary arts and sciences. The meetings of the *literati* in the Alexandrian Museum, and of intellectuals in similar institutions in other courts and cities,[22] will have brought together especially critical and knowledgeable audiences for epigrams – men instantly aware of the older writings, epigrammatic and non-epigrammatic, to which their contemporaries were responding in a spirit of admiration or emulation. On a broader front epigrams could allude to 'Homeric Problems' and to parallel 'problems' in other archaic authors; they could raise questions about etymology, metrics, the Greek language and its dialects, lexicography, and myth; and they could parade and challenge the entire range of expertise in philosophy, science, geography, mathematics, medicine and history current among Hellenistic intellectuals.[23] The skilled professionals who moved in the social milieux of Alexandria and other capitals – philosophers, doctors, artists, architects and other specialists – will naturally have been more expert in their own disciplines than their lay fellows; and they will have savoured epigrams highlighting their own professions and practices; in consequence epigrammatists were stimulated to enter as far as they could into the mysteries of the experts. It is no accident, for example, that Callimachus makes a conspicuous show of his grasp of the latest medical theories.[24] The modern interpreter must therefore try to identify the learned context(s) underlying a particular Hellenistic epigram, and then bring to bear upon it the relevant information about those contexts which survives from antiquity.

On a lower but analogous plane those of the intelligentsia who were the clients of celebrated hetaerae, or were connoisseurs of the beautiful boys of the hour, will have been ready and discriminating consumers of contemporary erotic, sympotic and scoptic epigrams about well-known

[21] Cf. the implication of the comic incident involving Iavolenus Priscus recorded by Plin. *Epist.* 6.15.2–3.

[22] Argentieri (2007) 153 summarised poets' known links with the different courts; Ambühl (2007) 275–6 n.2; 277 n.9 assembled bibliography on court patronage of literature in Greece.

[23] For a useful survey of Hellenistic poets' interest in the latter areas see Harder et al. (2009), and esp. Sistakou (2009).

[24] For further discussions of possible medical material in Hellenistic epigrams see below pp.220–40, 260–1, 371 and n.87, 372 and n.89.

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courtesans and youths. When, for instance, Asclepiades presented his audiences with a parade of specialised hetaerae, each with her individual skills and attractions,[25] some hearers or readers will doubtless have smiled at the memory of their own experiences with the ladies in question or their ilk, or remembered with amusement friends with a penchant for a particular hetaera or sexual practice. Our knowledge of this lost context is limited to guesswork.

An epigram's circulation context, if known or recoverable, can also provide modern interpreters with important information about it. Given their brevity, epigrams will usually have circulated (beyond their first hearers) in authorially assembled collections. Given that Hellenistic epigrammatists, as well as practising emulative *imitatio cum variatione* of other poets' productions, liked to rework their own themes, authorial self-imitation and self-variation no doubt played a part in the arrangement of these first collections. Gutzwiller has sketched other organisational principles of such epigram books,[26] which, in the spirit of the new individualism of the Hellenistic age, must often have had the authors themselves as the focus, and their collections as media for their personalities and interests. The pattern identified by her in P.Köln 5.204, the remains of a collection by Mnasalces, is particularly instructive (31); equally impressive is her analysis (31–3) of P.Oxy. XLVII no.3324, which she sees as derived from an edition of Meleager's erotic works by the poet himself.

Anthologists would not necessarily extract a series of epigrams from a poet's œuvre in their original order, so once an authorially arranged epigram book was anthologised (and then doubtless re-anthologised),[27] imitations would have been divorced from their models, and other information inherent in a collection's arrangement diminished or lost. To the extent that original sequences of single-author epigram books and of Meleager's *Garland* can be plausibly restored, some of this damage is reversible;[28] and Meleager's habit, shared no doubt by other anthologists, of creating new or partly new epigram sequences illustrating *imitatio cum variatione* over generations of his epigrammatic predecessors offers partial

[25] For the suggestion that Asclepiades' epigrams on hetaerae were part of such a collection see Cairns (1998) 188–9.
[26] See esp. Gutzwiller (1998) 31–6 and General Index under individual epigrammatists' names; and cf. Cameron (1993) 1–16.
[27] Meleager's *Garland* is the earliest extant multiple-author anthology, but others probably antedated it: see, e.g., Gutzwiller (1998) 34–6; Krevans (2007) esp. 131–40; and above pp.1–2; Argentieri (1998) (on single-author collections and anthologies); Pordomingo (1994).
[28] For such reconstructions see esp. Gutzwiller (1998).

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compensation for what cannot be restored. Meleager's re-orderings are especially valuable when he closes his sequences with an epigram of his own which part-summarises and part-interprets the preceding series.[29] But overall the loss of original circulation context through anthologising has been damaging, and anthologising did not end with the two most influential ancient examples, the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip, but continued in the activities of the later editors who contributed to the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies* in their current forms.[30] However, since the collection of epigraphic epigrams had begun by the fourth century BC,[31] and since Hellenistic epigrammatists were already making use of such assemblages, they must have anticipated being anthologised, and tried to make their individual epigrams at least intelligible in isolation.

The importance of epigrams' first audiences can now be illustrated in two epigrams of the poet and Epicurean philosopher Philodemus. These were problematic in the past because their contexts (including notably their first audiences) were only partially, if at all, taken into account by scholarship; but recently they have been interpreted correctly (or in the second case almost correctly) through recovery of most of those contexts.

Philodemus AP 9.412 = 20 GPh.

Π. ἤδη καὶ ῥόδον ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκμάζων ἐρέβινθος
καὶ καυλοὶ κράμβης, Σώσυλε, πρωτοτόμου
καὶ μαίνη σαλαγεῦσα καὶ ἀρτιπαγὴς ἁλίτυρος
καὶ θριδάκων οὔλων ἀφροφυῆ πέταλα.
ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἀκτῆς ἐπιβαίνομεν οὔτ' ἐν ἀπόψει 5
γινόμεθ' ὡς αἰεί, Σώσυλε, τὸ πρότερον.
Σ. καὶ μὴν Ἀντιγένης καὶ Βάκχιος ἐχθὲς ἔπαιζον,
νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς θάψαι σήμερον ἐκφέρομεν.

3. ζαλαγεῦσα PPl; σαλαγεῦσα Dilthey[32]

Philodemus: Already rose and chickpea are both at their peak, and first-cut cabbage-stalks, Sosylus, and shaking sprats, and fresh-set salt-cheese, and foamlike leaves of curled lettuce. But we are not walking on the beach, nor are we in the lookout, as always in the past, Sosylus.
Sosylus: Yes indeed, Antigenes and Bacchius were enjoying life yesterday, but, as things are, today we are carrying them out to bury them.[33]

[29] For a particularly useful case see below pp.362–3.
[30] For these see esp. Cameron (1993).
[31] Cf. below pp.17, 254–6.
[32] For the reason why Dilthey's σαλαγεῦσα should be read in line 3 see below pp.401.
[33] This translation is much indebted to those of *GPh.* I.363 and Sider (1997) 164.

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AP 9.412 was written around the mid-first century BC at the Herculaneum villa of Philodemus' patron, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.[34] The villa was the site of Philodemus' philosophical school, so the epigram's first audience consisted of Philodemus' colleagues and pupils. They knew Sosylus, and they had known Antigenes and Bacchius and had experienced their deaths. They were familiar with the routines of the school, the topography of Herculaneum, and the villa, with its belvedere and adjacent beach; and Epicureanism was their main intellectual and moral commitment. So they would easily have understood *AP* 9.412 in all its contexts. In the past unawareness of some of them contributed to erroneous or inadequate interpretations of *AP* 9.412.[35] One scholar held that it concerns Philodemus' "custom of celebrating the advent of spring with an annual feast on the shore", which has been cancelled on this occasion because of the death of friends.[36] Another placed a question-mark after πρότερον (6), and, taking Philodemus as the speaker throughout, had him saying "now is the time to make merry, for to-morrow we may be dead".[37] Yet another saw Philodemus urging that dead friends be buried and mourned, but that pleasures be quickly resumed;[38] Philodemus has even been portrayed as an uncaring hedonist, and Antigenes and Bacchius as fictitious characters.[39] An interpreter on a different track assumed an erotic sense in ἔπαιζον (7), and regarded *AP* 9.412 as a homoerotic "elaboration upon the Epicurean theme of friendship" between Antigenes and Bacchius.[40] Another independently described it as a collection of obscene metaphors.[41] Apart from the last two, the older exegetes of *AP* 9.412 in effect reduced it to 'now is the time to make merry', i.e. the standard ancient and modern caricature of Epicureanism.

Recently analyses of *AP* 9.412 have elicited more profound aspects of its Epicurean context: Gigante,[42] following Page, insisted that the poet's

[34] So Gigante (1995) 55–9; Sider (1997) 167–8 on line 5 located *AP* 9.412 more generally on the promontory of Herculaneum.
[35] For full documentation of these see *GPh*. II.388–90; Gigante (1995) 55–7.
[36] Kaibel (1885) xxiv, paraphrased by Page *GPh.* II.388 intro.
[37] Jacobs VIII.241–2, paraphrased by Page *GPh.* II.388 intro
[38] Stadtmüller (1894–1906) III.1.395.
[39] Pasquali (1920) 720 n.2, rejected by Gigante (1995) 56. For Antigenes and Bacchius see Sider (1997) 168 on line 7.
[40] Snyder (1973), esp. 349–50.
[41] Giangrande (1973b) 18 = (1980) 204; 'rose', 'chick-pea', 'cabbage', and ἐπιβαίνω = 'mount' can indeed have sexual meanings in Greek, but only in sexual circumstances.
[42] Gigante (1995) 53–9. Challenges to viewing some of Philodemus' epigrams as essentially Epicurean (e.g. Magnelli (1994); Beer (2011) esp. 27–8, 37–8) have not dented the consensus in

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'feast' consists of inexpensive foods, and that much of the epigram's language is plain and unpretentious; he saw it as a reflection on "an all-powerful death" which "transmits a quiet realism" (59), and he understood its argument as "Death is nothing to us. But the death of a friend is no cause of happiness" (55). Sider focussed Epicurean aspects of *AP* 9.412 even more sharply, citing relevant passages of Epicurus' writings and of Philodemus *On Death*;[43] he also perceived that the epigram is in dialogue form, and convincingly reinterpreted καὶ μήν (7).[44] *AP* 9.412 is discussed further below pp.399–403.

Philodemus AP 9.570 = 14 GPh.

Parallel effects of the loss of its original audience context are visible in the early scholarly history of *AP* 9.570:

Φ. Ξανθὼ κηρόπλαστε, μυρόχροε, μουσοπρόσωπε,
  εὔλαλε, διπτερύγων καλὸν ἄγαλμα Πόθων,
ψῆλόν μοι χερσὶ δροσιναῖς μύρον· "ἐν μονοκλίνῳ
  δεῖ με λιθοδμήτῳ δή ποτε πετριδίῳ
εὕδειν ἀθανάτως πουλὺν χρόνον." ᾇδε πάλιν μοι, 5
  Ξανθάριον, ναὶ ναί, τὸ γλυκὺ τοῦτο μέλος.
Ξ. οὐκ ἀίεις, ὤνθρωφ', ὁ τοκογλύφος; ἐν μονοκλίνῳ
  δεῖ σὲ βιοῦν αἰεί, δύσμορε, πετριδίῳ.

4. δὲ ποτι P; δεῖ ποτε Kaibel, Page, Sider; δή ποτε Huschke, probavit De Vries[45]

Philodemus: Xantho – formed of wax, with skin smelling of perfume, with the face of a Muse, of splendid voice, a beautiful image of the double-winged Pothoi – pluck for me with your delicate hands a fragrant song: "In a solitary rocky bed made of stone I must eventually sleep a deathlessly long time." Yes, yes, Xantharion, sing again/back for me this sweet song. *Xantho*: You do not understand, man, you usurer; so you are doomed, ill-fated wretch, to live for ever in a solitary rocky bed! (tr. Sider (1997) 68, adapted[46])

Philodemus' original audience, the same philosophically acute hearers/readers who first encountered *AP* 9.412, knew who Xantho was, and whether she was alive or dead when *AP* 9.570 was written, and why she is addressed as 'formed of wax'. As school members and native Greek

favour: see Sider (1997); (2004) arguing that "the epigrams are not merely consistent with but are intended to illustrate doctrines found in his prose" (85).

43 Sider (1997) 165 (intro.), 168 on line 7.
44 Sider (2004) made further progress with *AP* 9.412.
45 Huschke (1800) 149; De Vries (1970) 31; see also below p.13 and n.61.
46 The modifications reflect the discussion that follows, below pp.11– 15.

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