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CALLIMACHUS, POSIDIPPUS, HEDYLUS,
'SOCLES', AND ΧΑΡΙΣ¹

Callim. ep. 13 Pf. (*AP* VII 524) ~ Posidipp. 140 AB (IX G.-P., *AP* XII 168)
~ Hedyl. VI G.-P. (Ath. XI 473ab)

ABSTRACT

The author proposes a novel interpretation of three Hellenistic epigrams, all reflecting the competitive poetic milieu of the Alexandria Mouseion during the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy III Euergetes. Callimachus' ep. 13 Pf. is a stinging satire against Posidippus, the Pellaean epigrammatist, in which the Cyrenaean poet, exploiting popular beliefs and a witty wordplay, declares that the only pleasant thing in Hades is that Posidippus is not heard. The criticism seems to depend on literary evaluation as well as on aesthetic theory, but a personal antipathy can hardly be concealed. This antipathy of the erotic and drinker poet to the self-restrained and sober poet must lie in Posidippus' epigram 140 AB, a self-referential apologetic and confessional poem, where, with one or two minor emendations, the poet admits his shortcomings and promises to change over to the opposite camp—rather metaphorically than in truth. The general term that covers the differences between the two poets is χάρις, 'grace, charm, delight'. So Callimachus in ep. 13 renames himself playfully Χαρίδας, and Posidippus in ep. 140 AB promises "to indulge in the future in a not too charmless (ἄχαριον) eros, whether sober or drunk". An unknown poet named Σωκλής is also characterized by χάρις in the epigram VI G.-P. of Hedylus. Francesca Angiò has felicitously suggested that Σωκλής must be a pseudonym since he is compared with Asclepiades under the latter's pseudonym Σικελίδας. She proposed that the pseudonym can stand for Posidippus, but the whole description fits well Callimachus. Like Callimachus, Socles is a heavy drinker, more pleasant and more vigorous in his playfulness than Asclepiades, but significantly, in his playful poems ἐπιλάμπει ἢ χάρις, Callimachus' key attribute. The only historical Socles, whose name might be possibly appropriated by Callimachus, is an otherwise unknown Corinthian, whose speech in an assembly of Sparta's allies in 506 BCE is recorded in Hdt. V 92–93. He attacked the Spartans for planning to impose tyranny on Athens, reminding the adverse experience of his compa-

¹ A short version of the first part of the present article has been published in Greek under the title Ὁ διάλογος τῶν ποιητῶν in *Δημητρίω στέφανος*, Festschrift for D. Ly-pourlis, Thessaloniki 2004, pp. 217-232; see S. PAPAIOANNOU in *BMCR* 2007.01.19.

triotis under the tyrannic rules of Cypselus and Periander in the archaic period. The unusually emotional style of the speech and its legendary narrative must have fascinated Callimachus who may have found the situations narrated in the speech parallel to his hometown's recent history. Cyrene, from independence and self-government passed over to foreign despotic rule, a state of affairs adversely affecting Callimachus and his aristocratic family. The pen name Σωκλήης must function differently than the other disguised personal names inside specific poems, like Βαπτιάδης and Χαρίδας, furtively indicating a patriotic identity.

Ἦ ρ' ὑπὸ σοὶ Χαρίδας ἀναπαύεται; «εἰ τὸν Ἀρίμμα
 τοῦ Κυρηναίου παῖδα λέγεις, ὑπ' ἐμοί».
 ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; «πολὺ σκότος». αἱ δ' ἄνοδοι τί;
 «ψεῦδος». ὁ δὲ Πλούτων; «μῦθος». ἀπωλόμεθα.
 5 «οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμιν ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδὺν
 βούλει, Πελλαίου βούς μέγας εἰν Ἄϊδη.»

Callimachus' well-known funerary epigram, fictitious or not, has been widely discussed, especially for the meaning of the phrase Πελλαίου βούς μέγας that closes the poem, and which evidently forms its culminating point. The prevailing and most plausible, in my view, interpretation goes back to a note of Fr. Jacobs²: "In Hades, you can buy a big ox with a Pellaean". Πελλαίου is thought to denote the obol of Pella, the metropolitan capital of the Macedonian kingdom, in the genitive of value. The popular belief for a proverbial cheapness in the Underworld was very widespread. Two similar proverbs are recorded in the *Lexicon* of Photius: ε 1854 Theod. ἐπτὰ τοῦ ὀβολοῦ χίμαιραι· ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἄϊδου ἐρημίας³, and ο 12 Theod. ὀβολοῦ χίμαιρα ἐν Ἄϊδου, with no interpretation, but with obvious meaning. It is a transfer of the usual proverbial expression δέκα τοῦ βολοῦ (the number may change) to the Underworld, for denoting something worthless or someone insignificant (cf. 'ten a penny', 'a dime a dozen'). The sense is that there is nothing worth buying, nothing valuable or essential in Hades, an absolute

² *Anthologia Graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini nunc Parisini*, vol. III, Lipsiae 1817, p. 356; the interpretation was approved by Aug. MEINEKE, *Callimachi Cyrenensis Hymni et Epigrammata*, Berolini 1861, p. 273, and the note was reproduced in Fr. DÜBNER, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, vol. I, Paris 1871, p. 483.

³ In the past, I have attempted several conjectures for ἐρημίας (εὐωνίας, εὐθε/ην(ε)ίας, εὐτελείας). I now believe that no emendation is needed.

ἐρημία, a “desolate market where none come to buy”, in William Blake’s famous quote. Callimachus makes fun of the belief in the opening of his *Iambi* (191.2 Pf.), where Hipponax appears to have come back to this world ἐκ τῶν ὄκου βοῦν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσι, in other words, from Hades. Ath. XIV 646c quotes a Pherocrates fragment (86 K.-A.) from Κραπάταλοι, which has also been associated with this belief, though neither its text can be safely restored nor its meaning easily interpreted:

λήψει δ’ ἐν Ἄιδου κραπάταλον {τριωβόλου} καὶ ψωθία.

τριωβόλου del. Meineke olim (acc. Kaibel), deinde revocavit

The only certain thing is that κραπάταλος (a kind of small fish, used also of μωρός) and ψωθίον or -θία, ἤ, (small crumb, morsel), both words denoting worthless items, are employed by the comedian as trifling currency used in Hades. Poll. 9.83 refers to the same comedy: λέγει δὲ (sc. Pherocrates) τὸν μὲν κραπάταλον εἶναι ἐν Ἄιδου δραχμὴν, ἔχειν δ’ αὐτὸν ὀκτῶ ψωθίας. Then, Pherocrates’ passage can be read

λήψει δ’ ἐν Ἄιδου κραπάταλον τριωβόλου
καὶ ψωθία (or -θίας),

meaning “you’ll buy in Hades a κραπάταλος worth one drachma (i.e., six obols) plus some extra ψωθία for only three obols, i.e., less than half-price” or, with ψωθίας gen., “for only three obols and one ψωθία”.

However, nowhere is Πελλαῖος ὀβολός attested, nor is the simple adjective Πελλαῖος found to mean obol or any other coin. This is the reason why Kaibel proposed that an implied βοός should be understood beside Πελλαίου⁴; namely, that one can buy a big ox with an ox of Pella. According to Kaibel, Πελλαῖος βοῦς must have been a specific coin of Pella depicting an ox. It was named so, just as the Attic drachmas were named by Aristophanes, *Av.* 1106, γλαῦκες Λαυρεωτικάι, from the owl depicted on the coins and the silver of Laureion they were made of, and as coins of other cities were named πῶλοι, χελῶναι (Poll. 9.74) et al. This is a common practice all over the world, and so, for instance, the

⁴ «Hermes» 31 (1896), pp. 265-266.

first Modern Greek coins (1828) were named φοίνικες, from the phoenix represented on them, whereas the currency of Bulgaria and Romania is named lev and leu from the lion represented on their coins. As for βούς, Pollux, 9.60, speaks of a coin of Athens or Delos named so, ὅτι βούν εἶχεν ἐντετυπωμένον. The concise phrase Πελλαίου βούς instead of Πελλαίου βούς βούς is not totally satisfactory from a language point of view, but the interpretation was ingenious, and was accepted by many scholars⁵.

The particular coin of Pella pointed out by Kaibel does exist; it is really of low denomination, and it shows a grazing cow. Actually, there are two bronze coins inscribed ΠΕΛΛΗΣ showing on the obverse the head of Athena Parthenos the one, the head of Demeter the other⁶. The cow on the reverse is related with the old name of Pella, Βούνομος or Βουνόμεια, because, according to the founding aetion, it was a cow πελλή τὸ χρώμα that designated the location of the town⁷. However, the coins are dated to the end of the reign of Philip V (c. 187 BCE), and Callimachus could not know that half a century after his death (c. 240 BCE) Pella would issue coins showing a βούς⁸.

Many more proposals, in addition to Kaibel's, were set forth either interpreting Πελλαίου/πελλαίου or altering the word or the verse. Most of

⁵ U. VON WILAMOWITZ, *Callimachi Hymni et Epigrammata*, Berlin 1907³; A.W. MAIR & G.R. MAIR, *Callimachus* etc., London (Loeb) 1921; E. CAHEN, *Callimaque*, Paris (Budé) 1940; R. PFEIFFER, *Callimachus*, vol. II (Hymni et epigrammata), Oxford 1953; E. HOWALD & E. STAIGER, *Die Dichtungen des Kallimachos*, Zurich (Artemis-Verlag) 1955; A.S.F. GOW & D.L. PAGE, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965; et al.

⁶ H. GAEBLER, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, Berlin 1935, p. 94 no. 3 (pl. XIX fig. 5), p. 96 no. 14-15 (pl. XIX fig. 4); J. TOURATSOGLU, *Macedonia*, in A.M. BURNETT - M.H. CRAWFORD (ed.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*, BAR International Series 326, 1987, pl. 10 no. 2-3; see also references to the same coins in several volumes of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. I want to thank Prof. John Akamatis, the excavator of Pella, for his advice.

⁷ *Sch. Dem.* 19.330; cf. *Sch. Theocr.* 1.26.

⁸ Cf. also G.B. D'ALESSIO, *Callimaco*, vol. I, Milan 2007⁴, p. 228, n. 23.

⁹ Perhaps the most fanciful was the proposal of Vulcanius and Birt, who reproduced Obsopoeus' proposal in his commentary on the *Anthologia Planudea* (*In Graecorum Epigrammatum libros quatuor Annotationes longe doctissimae*, Basileae 1540), p. 345, that Πελλαίου βούς is the ox of the Pellaean, the horse, that is, of Alexander the Great, namely Βουκέφαλος or Βουκεφάλας, whereas μέγας εἰν Ἄϊδη means 'king in Hades' and implies a deification of the horse after its death. Göttling proposed that Πελλαίου βούς is Apis, the sacred bull of the Egyptians, to whom Alexander sacrificed (cf. also Giangrande: πελλαῖος βούς = Ἄπις). The most recent paper, to my knowledge, about the epigram is

them are so intricate that we need not deal with them⁹. Some of the proposals depend on Hsch. π 1338 Πελλαῖον· φαιόν· καὶ Μακεδονικόν. Strangely enough, scholars lay greater stress on the first interpretation of Hesychius (φαιόν), which induced even more conjectures. This interpretation assigns, perhaps erroneously¹⁰, πελλαῖος to the word-group of the chromatic root πελ- 'dark, dull, livid' (πελλός, πελιδνός, πελιτνός, πελιός, πελλαιχρός, πελλαιχρός, πελιόμαι, πελιώμα, πολιός, and possibly Πελίας, Πέλοψ, πελανός or πέλανος).

The second interpretation, Μακεδονικόν, was thought to be self-evident. The use of the name of a state's capital instead of the name of the state itself is a common practice, typical even today: Alexandria, Rome, and Washington, Moscow, stand for the respective state entities. Consequently, according to the Hesychius article, assuming that the adjective refers to a coin, the latter might be called Πελλαῖον, even if it were not autonomously issued by the city of Pella, but by the Macedonian kingdom. Sometimes Μακεδονικός is used for specifying a particular coin: Polyae. *Strateg.* 3.10.14 Μακεδονικῶ νομίσματι, 4.6.17 χρυσοῦν Μακεδονικόν; Eust. *Il.* 740.19 Μακεδονικόν τάλαντον; and, what might concern us here, Luc. *Luct.* 10 Μακεδονικός ὄβολός. Also, in Delos inscriptions of the mid-second century BC: *Inscr. Délos* 1422.12 Μακ[εδονικός (apparently δραχμάς); 1439 Bbc, II 89 Μακεδονικόν τέτραχμον. And, what is more, the neuter is substantivized: *Inscr. Délos* 1441 A, I 89 Μακεδον[ικ]ὰ (δύο); 1442 B, 50 Μακεδονικόν; 1450 A, 59 Μακεδονικὰ δύο. Given that Hesychius' lexicon usually records glosses from literary sources, the article π 1338, Πελλαῖον· ... Μακεδονικόν, may (a) interpret our specific Callimachean usage, (b) signify not indefinitely the ethnic origin, but a particular Macedonian coin, and (c) have possibly the lemma and the interpretation in accusative neuter as in the inscriptions of Delos.

Therefore, I believe that Callimachus' Πελλαίου βοῦς μέγας means exactly what Jacobs had already proposed, namely that a big ox costs one small Macedonian coin. Enrico Livrea ends up in a similar conclusion, though preserving the supposed syntax πελλαίου (βοῦς) βοῦς

Kr. T. WITCZAK's, *Callimachus and a Small Coin of Pella* (ep. XIII Pf. = XXXI G-P), «Eos» 87 (2000), pp. 247-254, who presents a full account of the problem's history, but his own proposal falls short of the target.

¹⁰ Already Soping in the editio Hackiana of Hesychius (Leiden 1668) had deleted φαιόν καί as deriving from a confusion with the article π 1354 πελλόν.

μέγας, which, in his view, means that one can buy a big ox with a coin of dark ox leather¹¹. There is only scant evidence about leather coins in antiquity, mainly in Sparta¹², but I cannot understand why one should resort to such an intricate interpretation, when a substantivized Πελλαῖον may well mean ‘Macedonian coin’.

One might imagine that the problem is definitely solved here. But the information imparted by Callimachus through his epigram or by the dead Charidas from his grave would not be worthy of the poet’s characteristic wit. It is natural that Charidas, in his pragmatism, indicates cheapness as the only pleasant thing in Hades, but adopting popular fabulous beliefs is completely inconsistent with the approach of death in the previous verses. Since Charidas rejects soul immortality, he cannot, at the same time, call attention to the inexpensiveness in the Underworld. If there is nothing down there, who will buy oxen and from whom? This does not mean rationalizing the meaning of the poem, because the rationalist is clearly the dead Charidas. In any case, the true but unpleasant words of Charidas are opposed to his ἡδὺς λόγος, from which his interlocutor was supposed to derive comfort. Callimachus is playfully exploiting the motif of the cheapness in Hades, in order to report something pleasant but consistent with the eschatological nihilism of Charidas. Similarly, in the playful epigram 4 Pf. (*AP* VII 317), the dead misanthrope Timon declares that things are worse in Hades because people are more numerous there:

Τίμων, οὐ γὰρ ἔτ’ ἔσσι, τί τοι, σκότος ἢ φάος, ἐχθρόν;
 ‘τὸ σκότος· ὑμέων γὰρ πλείονες εἰν Ἄϊδη.’

The expression βουῖς μέγας, as Stadtmüller¹³ remarked and Giangrande reminded (whose overall interpretations, however, I do not

¹¹ «Hermes» 118 (1990), pp. 314-324.

¹² *FGH Hist* 90 F 103 (Nicol. Damasc.) νομίσματι δὲ χρῶνται σκυτίνῳ (sc. the Spartans) ἐὰν δὲ παρά τινι εὐρεθῆ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος, θανάτῳ ζημιούται. Sen. *De beneficiis* 5.14.4 *aes alienum habere dicitur et qui aureos debet et qui corium forma publica percussum, quale apud Lacedaemonios fuit, quod usum numeratae pecuniae praestat.*

¹³ *Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, II 1 Lipsiae 1899, pp. 366–367: «τὸν ἡδὺν λόγον, quippe abhorrentem a rei veritate sibi proferre nefas apud inferos dicat Charidas».

¹⁴ «REG» 82 (1969), pp. 380-389, «REG» 85 (1972), pp. 57-62 = *Scripta minora Alexandrina* III, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 27-42: Πελλᾶνίου βουῖς μέγας coll. Ησύχ. π

adopt)¹⁴, denotes also 'silence': Aesch. *Ag.* 36-7 βουῖς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκε, Strattis com. fr. 72 K.-A. βουῖς ἐμβαίη μέγας, and without μέγας, *Theogn.* 815 βουῖς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῶ ποδι λάξ ἐπιβαίνων, Callim. fr. 110 (Βερενίκης πλόκαμος), 72 βουῖς ἔπος (sc. οὔτις ἐρύξει), Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* 6.11.27 γλώτταν τε ... ξυνέσχε (sc. Pythagoras) βουῖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὐρών δόγμα. Here too, the action of the proverbial expression was thought to be the Athenian or Delian coin that showed an ox; in other words, εἴ τις ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ σιωπήσειεν (Poll. 9.62). This is the interpretation eventually suggested by Livrea. The dark leather coin, in his opinion, is the one buried with the dead, usually placed in his mouth, to be used as Charon's fare. With this coin one can buy, according to the legend, a big ox in Hades – but isn't the coin already paid to Charon? –, but in fact what one buys is the eternal silence.

The image of a huge and weighty object (βου-) that presses the tongue and inhibits speaking must have been used in other areas too. βουγλωσσον is a surgical instrument, perhaps tongue-depressor, according to LSJ s.v.¹⁵ It is also a plant, borage, whose leaf is ὁμοιον βοῶς γλώσση (Diosc. 4.127.1) or *boum linguae similis* (Plin. *HN* XXV 81), as well as a flat fish like a sole, obviously for the same reason. At the same time, however, it was believed that the product of its mixture, whether plant or fish, with other herbs and medicinal substances φιμοκάτοχόν ἐστιν μέγιστον πρὸς ἐχθρούς (*Cyran.* 2.43.11), i.e., it keeps them silent. Further, the plant was identified with ἄγχουσα, alkanet, used for rouging the cheeks, but ἄγχω, 'squeeze the throat, strangle', means also 'put to silence': Dem. 19.208 τοῦτο παραιρεῖται τὴν θρασύτητα τὴν τούτων, τοῦτ' ἀποστρέφει τὴν γλώτταν, ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ.

Livrea, very penetratively, remarks that the meaning of the epigram is structured in two levels: «la gradevole e paradossale menzogna con cui si conclude il suo sconcolato Bericht appartiene solo al primo livello della boutade che con il suo doppio senso costituisce la punta finale, il vil pregio delle cose nell'Ade, mentre il secondo livello esprime un'amara verità in perfetta sintonia con il pessimismo di tutta la conversazione epigramma-

1339 Πελλάνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ. "Cela est la verité (désagréable) si tu veux entendre de ma bouche un agréable mensonge, le grand boeuf est – en tant que victime envoyée au dieu infernal Pellanos – aux enfers (c'est-à-dire en ma compagnie) et il m'impose de cesser de parler".

¹⁵ H. SCHOENE, *Zwei Listen chirurgischer Instrumente*, «Hermes» 38 (1903), pp. 280–284.

tica». I fully agree about the two levels in the poem's purport as well as that the second level must be in tune with the rest of the dialogue, to be, that is, nihilistic or possibly pragmatistic. But I disagree with the view that the truth that this second level is expressing must be bitter and pessimistic, since the dead man describes it as ἡδὺν λόγον, pleasant both for himself and for the passerby who is seeking information about Hades.

At any rate, whatever sense, literal, figurative or connotative, we give to Πελλαίου, both masculine and neuter genitive form of the ethnic adjective, its main significance is 'native of Pella'. Applying then the reasoning discussed above to the epigram's last verse, Callimachus' 'punta finale' should state that "the only pleasant thing in Hades is that there is silence of the Pellaeon". The genitive is subjective: "the Pellaeon keeps silence" or "the Pellaeon is not heard". In the superficial level of the double entendre, what prevails is the playful reference to the folk belief about cheapness in Hades; but, in the latent level, the dominant idea is a self-referential poetic antipathy tainted with caustic irony and sarcasm. Who was the most famous Pellaeon to whom Callimachus would refer with his gentilic, without mentioning his name, and, what is more, with a wordplay, obviously wishing to avoid a straight reference? There was a Pellaeon in the same circle as Callimachus', a fellow poet, and this was Posidippus, the Pellaeon epigrammatist¹⁶.

Why is Posidippus the target of Callimachus' arrows? It is known that the Pellaeon was one of Callimachus' opponents in the well-known Hellenistic conflict about the prescriptions as to the composition of a successful poem. The Florentine Scholia on Callimachus' *Aetia*, fr. 1 Pf. (PSI 1219, fr. 1.3 ff.), include him in the list of the Telchines: Διονυσίοις δυ[σ]ί, τῷ ἐλλ[c. 12]νι κ(αὶ) τῷ ἰλειονι κ(αὶ) Ἀσκλη[πιάδῃ τῷ Σικελίδῃ κ(αὶ) Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ονο[c. 12] υρίππῳ τῷ ῥήτορι κ(αὶ) Ἀγα[c. 12]βῳ κ(αὶ) Πραξιφάνῃ τῷ Μιτυ[ληναίῳ, τοῖς με]μφομ(έν)ο[ι]ς αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτισ[χνον τῶν ποιη]μάτ(ων) κ(αὶ) ὅτι οὐχὶ μῆκος ἦρα! κτλ. One or two easy supplements or emendations might be added: 4 τῷ ειλίονι, 'the husband of his wife's sister' (Ἰλιονεῖ (?) Pfeiffer, Ἰδίῳνι Gallavotti); given that Pollux 3.32 describes the term as poetic (παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς), the characterization may belong to Callimachus meaning his own unknown sister-in-law's husband; we shall deal

¹⁶ S. STEPHENS, *The battle of the books*, in *The New Posidippus*, ed. by K. GUTZWILLER, Oxford 2005, p. 231, n. 7, is the only one, to my knowledge, who also thought of Posidippus as Callimachus' target, though with a different interpretation: "If you want good news, you can get a large ox in exchange for a Pellaeon (= Posidippus)."

below with 5-6 τῷ ονο[] c. 12]¹⁷; 9 οὐχὶ μῆκος ἦρα | [προτιθέναι (e.g.), ἀλλὰ κτλ. ('he did not love giving first place to length, but ...). Despite several conscientious efforts, the two Dionysii remain unknown, as well as the rhetor] .yrippus (rather Πύριππος than Ταύριππος or Μύριππος). Of the scholars who could be familiar with Callimachus, the only one who has an appellation ending in]βος is Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰαμβος, a grammarian who is mentioned in the Suda, together with Callimachus, as teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium; none, however, whose name starts with Ἄνα[. The rest of the names are, however, more or less familiar to us. Related with their opposition to Callimachus and his short poems is their praise of the Colophonian poet Antimachus. Both Asclepiades and Posidippus have written epigrams in praise of Antimachus' *Lyde* (*AP* IX 63, XII 168), whereas Callimachus criticized it bitterly in an epigram (fr. 398 Pf.). It has also been proposed that *Lyde* is the μεγάλη ... γυνή allusively mentioned in the proem of *Aetia* (12), an identification that cannot be accepted¹⁸. The Peripatetic Praxiphanes wrote *Περὶ ποιητῶν* and *Περὶ ποιημάτων*, where he may have dealt with the same matter. It is believed, with great probability, that it is to such views that Callimachus reacted in his *Πρὸς Πραξιφάνην*.

I do not plan to enter into the well-known and overdiscussed issue, which traversed from Hellenistic into much later times¹⁹. Callimachus'

¹⁷ See also V. GARULLI, *Posidippo in schol. Flor. Call. Aet. fr. 1 Pf.* (PSI XI 1219), «ZPE» 154 (2005), pp. 86-90.

¹⁸ M. PUELMA, «Mus. Helv.» 11 (1954), pp. 101-116. See K. TSANTSANOGLU, «ZPE» 163 (2007), pp. 27-36.

¹⁹ The theoretical discussion was paradigmatically focused on evaluating the poetry of Antimachus. Nicander, a Colophonian himself, must have dealt with it in his *Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ποιητῶν*. Dionysius Phaselites wrote also a book *Περὶ τῆς Ἀντιμάχου ποιήσεως*. Age obstacles do not allow his identification with one of the Dionysii in the Telchines list, though there exists one more dissent of Dionysius Phaselites from a view of Callimachus (*Sch. in Bacch. Dith.* 23, POxy. 2368). Antipater (rather of Sidon), *AP* VII 409, writes a laudatory epigram for Antimachus, who also lends his name for an obscene epigram by Crates (*AP* XI 218). Cicero *Brut.* 191 describes Antimachus' *Lyde* as *magnum ... volumen* and *reconditum*. Catullus 95.9-10 highlights his poetic preferences: *parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta Philitae: | at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho*. Plutarch, *Tim.* 36, describes Antimachus' poetry as ἐκβεβιασμένη καὶ κατὰπονος, 'forced and laboured', and *de garrul.* 513b, refers to him as a paradigm of garrulosity. Still in the fourth century CE, Gregory of Nazianzus wrote in a letter to Nicobulus (54): τὸ λακωνίζειν οὐ τοῦτό ἐστι, ὅπερ οἶει, ὀλίγας συλλαβὰς γράφειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείστων ὀλίγας. Οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ βραχυλογώτατον Ὅμηρον λέγω καὶ πολὺν τὸν Ἀντίμαχον. πῶς; τοῖς πράγμασι κρίνων τὸ μῆκος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς γράμμασι.

theoretical argumentation on his poetics has not survived, but the strong self-referential propensity in his poetry recompenses for the loss. Whether seriously, as in the proem of *Aetia*, or playfully, as in epigram 13, his references to living poets are covert, with ambiguous hints and equivocal wordplays, addressed to few contemporary initiated intellectuals. The mutilated condition of the Florentine Scholia does not allow us to identify all the Telchines, whereas the discussion on the interpretation of *Aet.* fr. 1.10-12 still holds on²⁰. So, missing more specific and unequivocal objective evidence, a more close literary reading of Callimachus' epigram may prove useful.

Charidas of Cyrene, son of Arimmas, declares from his grave that the only pleasant thing in Hades is that the voice of Posidippus of Pella is not heard. Charidas, who had been considered a real person and whose identification had been formerly attempted²¹, is but Callimachus' poetic image. It is quite natural that the Cyrenaean poet, consciously *χαρίεις*, *εὐχαρίς*, and *χαριεντιζόμενος*, selected this name for his *persona*²². In the opening of his *Aetia*, he devotes to the Charites, possibly as a second *Dichterweihe*, the part next to the Muses (fr. 3-7), whom he met on Helicon. It is possible that, in addition to the Muses, he met also the Charites, whose hill (λόφος Χαρίτων) at Cyrene he mentions more than once (fr. 7.8, 673). Could it be a visitation site, as are mountains and sacred groves in numerous cases of visional poetic consecrations? Be that as it may, what cannot be denied is that Callimachus' work exhibits an ideal combination of the attributes related with the Muses and the Charites, Euripides' *ἥδισταν συζυγίαν* (*HF* 675). Concerning Charidas, it is very significant that, at the *Aetia* Epilogue (fr. 112), Callimachus reveals this poetic device himself, when he explains to Apama, the queen mother, who apparently disfavoured and, as it seems, persecuted him, that using the patronymic of Battus (Βαττιάδης) and the matronymic of Charites (Χαρίδας) is no more than a poetic trick:

²⁰ See n. 18 above.

²¹ AL. HECKER, *Commentatio critica de Anthologia Graeca*, Lugduni Bat. 1843, pp. 267-268, proposed a certain Ἐπιχαρίδης, who appears twice in fragments of Alexis, the first time as Πυθαγορίζων, the second as a spendthrift person; see also LIVREA, p. 323.

²² *χαρίεις* is a common characterization of authors. Only in Athenaeus, the adjective *χαρίεις* accompanies Antiphanes, Alexis, and, repeatedly Aristophanes, Anacreon, while Xenophon is *χαριέστατος* and the *deipnosophistae* themselves *χαριέστατοι*. It has been claimed, possibly erroneously, that the name of the earliest surviving novelist Chariton of Aphrodisias was also a pseudonym introducing the new charming and graceful genre.

... ὅτ' ἐμὴ μούσα τ[ι κομπ]άσεται (vel τ[ι τεχν]άσεται)
 Βάτ]του καὶ Χαρίτων [θρεπτή]ρια. μαίαν ἀνάσσης
 ἡμε]τέρης, οὐ σε ψεύδον [ἐπ' οὐνό]ματι,
 πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντα τ[ε]λε]σφόρον. εἶπ' ἔνοχο[ν σ]ὺ
 5 κείνογ, τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτὰ
 σὺν μύθους ἐβάλλοντο παρ' ἴχν[ι]ον ὄξεος ἴππου.

1 κομπ]άσεται Murray, τεχν]άσεται Coppola 2 Βάτ]του Bignone | [θρεπτή]ρια Tsan. | μαία leg. Coppola 3 ἡμε]τέρης Murray, ὑμε]τέρης v. Arnim, Wil. | [ἐπ' οὐνό]ματι Murray, alii alia 4 εἶπ' ἔνοχο[ν σ]ὺ Tsan.

“(Don’t loose your temper,) when my Muse will somehow boast about (or ‘contrive’) a parentage from Battus and Charites. I did not cheat you about the name, you, the rearer of our queen, in every respect a noble and powerful lady. Put the blame on that man, to whom, while he tended a large herd by the footprint of the swift horse, the Muses granted fictions.” Callimachus had used the patronymic Βαττιάδης in *Ep.* 35, his own fictional epitaph. As for Χαρίδας, it is only in *Ep.* 13 that such a matronymic survives. The reference to Hesiod as the recipient of the poetic gift by the Muses is identical to the one in the *Dichterweihe* at the beginning of the *Aetia* (fr. 2). The ring structure is certainly not casual, but it highlights an essential element of the poetic performance. Callimachus combines his personal case with the *Aetia* in their entirety. The Muses introduced themselves to Hesiod as knowing (*Th.* 27) ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. Callimachus admits that he used false parental names by poetic license, just as he warns that the aetia he described are legendary accounts that do not constitute scientific evidence.

I shall not expand on the political factors that explain the persecution of a Cyrenaean for employing the patronymic Βαττιάδης in the time of Callimachus, an application that might suggest a return of Cyrene to the hereditary state constitution, mainly an aspiration to gain its independence from foreign rule. I have dealt with the question a few years ago, following S. A. White’s key article on the subject²³. What then about Ἀρίμμας, the name of Charidas’ father? It could well be the true name

²³ S.A. WHITE, *Callimachus Battiades*, «CP» 94 (1999), pp. 168-181; K. TSANTSANOGLU, *Callimachus Iambus XIII. A new reading*, «Trends in Classics» 2 (2010), pp. 77-114, esp. Appendix II, pp. 106-113.

of Callimachus' father, even though the poetic *persona* might be spoiled by becoming half-transparent. On the contrary, the poet should leave some indirect clues for making his *persona* recognizable, at least to the few cognoscenti. Actually, the particular name was convenient, as Ἀρίμματος occurs exclusively in Cyrene. *LGN* lists 42 occurrences of the name (28 of Ἀρίμματος, gen. Ἀρίμμα, and 15 of Ἀρίμμαν, gen. Ἀρίμμαντος), all from Cyrenaica²⁴. It might then be assumed that the poet used the name as a collective symbolic (and playful) designation for the whole of the Cyrenaeans, what is Fritz for the Germans, Tommy for the British, or Ivan for the Russians. Still, in that case, the combination Ἀρίμμα τοῦ Κυρηναίου would be somewhat redundant. Ἀρίμματος is considered an abbreviated form, a *Kurzname* of a personal name composed of Ἀρι- and a second element starting with μ-. W. Bechtel proposed Ἀρίμναστος, a common name which does not, however, occur but once in Cyrene. Numerous different proposals about the origin of the name were made: Greek, especially Macedonian, or non-Greek, Hebrew, Libyan, Iranian. O. Masson, who collected and studied the evidence, is very convincing in supporting the Greek/Doric origin²⁵. It is noticeable that Callimachus, by not mentioning his father's name in his works explicitly, leads to the belief that it was Βάττος not only the royal authorities of his time, but even impartial witnesses already since antiquity; e.g., Strabo XVII 3.21²⁶, Phot. *Bibl.* 239 p. 319b, Suda κ 227.

At Call. *Iamb.* 13.10, a greatly mutilated verse, a critic starts his attack against Callimachus for his audacity to write poems in the Ionic dialect and in choliambics though he was not an Ionian, with the words] ὦν ποδαβρε]²⁷. The metre demands that the syllable βρε must be long, and one more syllable completes the choliambic verse. Pfeiffer proposed

²⁴ Arimmas, who was installed by Alexander as satrap of Syria and was replaced in 331 BCE, according to Arrian, 3.6.8, may also be Cyrenaean. It cannot be excluded that he is the same as the Cyrenaean general who is inscriptionally mentioned in 321 BCE: *SEG IX* 1, 78 + XVIII 726 (Ἀρίμματος Θευδώρω). Given that Θεύδωρος is also a name of Callimachus' family (the brother of Callimachus' father was named so: *SEG IX* 50, 46), we may estimate that the satrap and/or general was one of Callimachus' great-grandfathers.

²⁵ «R.Ph.» iii.50 (1976), pp. 24-31.

²⁶ Actually, Strabo says only that Callimachus considers himself a descendant of Battus, an assertion that does not necessarily imply a particular name.

²⁷ Formerly, I had identified the critic with Phoenix of Colophon (K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Callimachus Iambus XIII*, cit., pp. 104-106). I now confidently believe that the likeliest candidate is Zenodotus: K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Contest of Poetry in Alexandria: Call. Ia. 1.13, Herod. Mim. 8, al.*, «Trends in Classics» 11 (2019), 256-284.

interrogatively πόδ' ἄβρεκ[τον, reminding the motif of the 'untrav-elled' Callimachus. It is understandable that ἄβρεκτος, with πόδ(α) as accusative of respect, might stand in any case, e.g. nominative or vocative. Prof. Tsangalis reminds me of ποδαβρός, an adjective recorded in Herodotus (Orac. ap. Hdt. 1.55) as characterizing Lydians: Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, "tender-footed Lydian" can be considered. The adjective should probably change to πόδ' ἄβρέ²⁸. At line 21 of the same iambus, Callimachus is addressed by the critic with the words ὡς ὑγείης, Λυδέ, τῶνυχι ψαύεις, "for you are hardly sane, o Lydian"²⁹. And, finally, Callimachus at lines 53-56 of *Iamb.* 13 mentions an enquiry into his ancestors, mainly his great-grandfather, for slavish origins, an enquiry apparently ordered by Apama, the queen-mother. Given Masson's irrefutable arguments, I would not propose a Lydian or generally Anatolian origin for the name Ἀρίμμας. But the target of the enquiry was not Callimachus' father, nor his homonymous grandfather, who was after all a στρατηγός, but his great-grandfather. Of course, there were four of them³⁰, but the best known was Ἀννίκερις, as is inscriptionally evidenced (*DGE* 234.17). It is not certain whether Anniceris, the Cyrenaean philosopher must be identified with the homonymous wealthy man and famed charioteer, who had ransomed Plato, when the latter was being sold as a slave. The name Ἀννίκερις is more likely to be Anatolian. Prof. Ignacio J. Adiego kindly draws my attention to "the typical Anatolian 'Lallnamen' Anna, Annas, Ana". Annikas is a Carian name, but it occurs, together with the feminine Ἀννίκα, also in Macedonia and Illyria. In general, name-forms starting with Ἄνν- are quite common in Northern Greek lands. It is, however, noteworthy that Ἀννίκερις too occurs only in Cyrene: the *LGPN* records ten occurrences, all from Cyrenaica.

Let us now turn to Posidippus, Callimachus' satirical target. His best

²⁸ The compound is irregularly formed: it should have been ἀβρόπους. In the oracle recorded in Herodotus, as well as in several grammatical and other references to it, one might easily read πόδ' ἄβρέ. In Themistius 226d, it might also be written πόδ' ἄβρός in nominative, but in the *Etymologicon Magnum* 678.1 ποδαβρός is a *vox nihili*. In Call. *Iamb.* 13.10 an *exempli gratia* supplement, just for giving the gist of the verse in contact with the following verses, might be σὺ ... οὐκ] Ἴων, πόδ' ἄβρο', εὐ[χῆ; see K. Tsantsanoglou (*Callimachus Iambus XIII*, cit.), pp. 79 and 83-84. Still, πόδ' ἄβρεκ[τος is equally attractive.

²⁹ Unanimously published οὐδὲ τῶνυχι ψαύεις, but the lambda is clear in the papyrus.

³⁰ See n. 24 above.

known epigram, self-referential or programmatic, is 140 AB (IX G.-P, AP XII 168), which I reproduce below from the edition of Gow and Page:

Ναννοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπίχει δύο καὶ †φερεκάστου
 Μιμνέρμου καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου·
 συγκέρασον τὸν πέμπτον ἐμοῦ, τὸν δ' ἔκτον ἐκάστου,
 Ἥλιόδωρ', εἶπας ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχε·
 5 [ἔβδομον Ἡσιόδου, τὸν δ' ὄγδοον εἶπον Ὀμήρου,
 τὸν δ' ἔνατον Μουσῶν, Μνημοσύνης δέκατον.]
 μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Κύπρι, †τάλλα δ' Ἔρωτες
 νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαριν†.

I φερεκάστου: φέρ' ἐκάστου is the reading of the apographum Gothanum of the Palatinus. As F. Angiò has shown³¹, the imperative φέρε is most appropriate for the situation; she refers to the examples of Anacreon *PMG* 356 (a).1 and 396.1, which are exactly parallel. For the second half of the word, I would prefer ἐραστοῦ, genitive of ἐραστός, not ἐραστής, after φέρ' ἐραστῶν of Salmasius and φιλεράστου of Jacobs³². ἐραστός, is used both in prose and poetry, of persons and things indiscriminately. ἐρατός and ἐραστός are freely interchangeable, depending on the metrical requirements. The palaeographical change is minimal (P for K), given that ἐκάστου obviously derives from the same word at the same position of line 3. The adjective, which qualifies Μιμνέρμου, is necessary for an antithetic parallelism between Mimnermus' eroticism and Antimachus' continence³³, a parallelism, as we shall see, observed in the whole epigram. Used of Mimnermus, ἐραστός does not mean simply 'lovely, beloved', functioning as a laudatory description, but it means 'amatory, erotic' opposing σώφρων, but also, to a certain extent, opposing ἀνέραστος. Angiò cites also Hor. *Ep.* I 6.65-66 *si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amoris iocisque | nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque*, which seems to paraphrase Mimn. fr. 1.1 τίς δὲ βίος, τί

³¹ *Posidippo di Pella*, Ep. IX, 3086-3093 Gow-Page (Ant. Pal. XII 168), «Mus. Helv.» 60 (2003), pp. 6-21.

³² West, *IEG*² ii p. 84 (Mimn. testimonia) notes: 'fort. de Pherecle (Hermes. supra) cogitandum'. Hermesianax fr. 7.39 mentions Φερεκλήν as an erotic rival of Mimnermus.

³³ "contrapposizione tra la 'sfrenatezza' di Mimnermo e la 'moderazione' di Antimaco", Angiò (n. 31), p. 12.

δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσαῖς Ἀφροδίτης combined with the contents of the next three or so verses of the fragment which might be rendered *ioca*. The antithetical couples in the first four verses are Ναννώ + ἐραστὸς Μίμνεμος vs. Λύδη + σώφρων Ἀντίμαχος, and ἐγὼ vs. ἕκαστος ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχεν. Obviously, Posidippus avoids qualifying himself with a restrictive adjective, because this is the object of the epigram: to qualify the poetic subject through parallelism and comparison with older respected precedents. However, the conclusion in these first lines can only be that 'I' is in the opposite camp of ἕκαστος ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχεν, therefore = 'I am not ἐρῶν'. However, after the addition of the last verses, after drinking that is the cup of wine, one expects something like 'I now hope to somehow pass to the camp of the ἐρῶντες'.

7–8 The daggered words from τᾶλλα to ἄχαριν have been subjected to numerous conjectures. Gow and Page discussed most of them without reaching an answer. Jacobs: ὡς νήφοντ' ἀριθμεῖν, ναίχι λίην ἄχαρι (*“unum poculum tibi, o Venus, bibam reliqua autem jam sine numero”*); Edmonds: τᾶλλα δ' ἔρωτος νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην μ' ἄραρεν (*“the rest of love, whether I'm drunk or sober, pleases me but little”*), “a strange conclusion”, as Gow-Page note, if the poet is concluding an erotic epigram by declaring that he doesn't like love so much; Wilamowitz: νήφων τ' οἰνωθείς οὐχ ἄλιωσα χάριν (*“gratiam non reddidi irritam”*); Schott: νήφων τ' οἰνωθείς οὐχὶ μήνα χάριν (*“gratiam quam vobis debeo nunquam adhuc violavi”*); Dübner and Paton believe that the pentameter should be transposed elsewhere, Gow-Page obelize the whole passage from τᾶλλα to ἄχαριν, and, assuming that two verses were lost after τᾶλλα δ' ἔρωτες, adopt Jacobs's conjecture ἄχαρι (*“drunk or sober, it is pleasant enough to ...”*). After G.-P., Austin in AB 140 proposed: νήφειν οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι (ἄχαρι iam Jacobs) (*“minime iniuncta est sobria ebrietas”*). Only Giangrande, considering the text sound, connected the accusatives νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' and ἄχαριν not with the poetic subject but with the understood κύαθον and attached them to πίομαι.

Since πίομαι implies the nominative of the first person pronoun (ἐγὼ), whereas νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' imply an accusative, it is necessary that a verb is interposed to account for this accusative. In the words intervening between the verbal forms (Κύπρι, τᾶλλα δ' ἔρωτες), there is no other word that might change than ἔρωτες. I propose a minimal change:

μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χεῖλους πίομαι, Κύπρι. τᾶλλα δ' ἐρῶτε
νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαριν.

τᾶλλα is used adverbially of time = τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον = τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον (LSJ s. ἄλλος, 6). ἐρῶτε (opt. pres.) is palaeographically almost identical to Ἔρωτες; however, ἐρώω is constructed c. gen. pers., and so cannot govern ἐμέ, which one might think is implied from the accusatives νήφοντα, οἰνωθέντα, and ἄχαριν. Nevertheless, the accusatives must suggest a cognate construction (Eur. *Hipp.* 32, ἐρώσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον, Pl. *Smph.* 181b πάνδημος (sc. ἔρωσ) ... ὄν ... ἐρώσιν), i.e. ἐρῶτε (ἔρωτα) ... οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαριν. The omission of the cognate substantive, when an adjectival attribute may stand for it, is very common (e.g., βάδιζε τὴν εὐθείαν, παῖσον διπλήν). "I'll drink it filled to the brim, o Cypris. And from then on may you (pl.) take pleasure in a love, no matter whether a sober or a drunk love, not too graceless." The fact that Posidippus, in other epigrams, invokes or mentions Ἔρωσ/ἔρωσ or the Ἔρωτες (123, 126, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 136, 138 AB) – as does the entire Hellenistic erotic poetry – has facilitated the slight corruption. It would be pointless for the poet, right after invoking Cypris, to change his invocation, this time to the Eroles, since the plural gods share exactly the same area of responsibility, the same function and the same power as Cypris. With ἐρῶτε, Posidippus is no longer addressing Heliodorus or Cypris, but his poetic audience in the guise of his fellow-drinkers. ἄχαρις is sometimes used in erotic sense, as it is employed by Sappho: fr. 49 ἡράμαν μὲν ἔγω σέθεν, Ἄτθι, πάλαι ποτά – σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν' ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις³⁴. Hsch. κ 1933 κάχαρις ... ἢ χαρίζεσθαι μὴ δυναμένη ἢ οὐκ εὐχαρις. The use of χάρις 'in erotic sense, of favours granted' (LSJ s.v. III.2) completes the image. However, by using the cognate construction, Posidippus excludes the carnal side of the meaning, which would make himself the object of the erotic desire, and limits the omitted cognate accusative to the sense of a meta-referential 'poetic theme of eros'. It is ἔρωσ, i.e., the erotic theme in epigrams, that is sober

³⁴ Later authors understood the word in the same way: *Sch. Pind. Pyth.* 2.42 χαρίζεσθαι γὰρ κυρίως λέγεται τὸ συνουσιάζειν, ὡσπερ ... Σαπφῶ· 'σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν' ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις' ἢ μήπω δυναμένη χαρίζεσθαι. Plut. *Amat.* 751d, χάρις γὰρ οὖν ... ἢ τοῦ θήλεος ὑπειξίς τῷ ἄρρени κέκληται πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ... καὶ τὴν οὐπω γάμων ἔχουσιν ὥραν ἢ Σαπφῶ προσαγορεύουσα φησιν ὅτι· 'σμίκρα μοι πάις ἔμμεν' ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις'.

or drunk, i.e., combined with the convivial theme or not, and is ultimately promised to become not too charmless³⁵.

So, the former sentence (μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Κύπρι) is coloured differently. Posidippus is admitting that till now his poetry had been ἄχαρις, loveless and charmless, and is promising Cypris that henceforth he is going to change his attitude toward love and sex in his poems. He is expressing the hope from now on to shake off the blame and be considered a poet οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρις. The expression is not a figure of litotes = λίαν χαρίεις. In combination with the temporal τᾶλλα and the optative ἐρῶτε, the poet is referring to a former negative condition, which he plans to change to a certain extent, hoping that the outcome will be welcomed by his public. It is an allusive promise to his poetic audience that his new thematics will not be so charmless. 'Whether sober or drunk' slightly qualifies the promise. The poet does not intend to deal solely with erotic themes, but to enrich his usual repertoire with charming subject matter. Metaphorically, the enrichment will come from drinking the full cup of wine, which consists of old poetic paradigms. Half of them are erotic, but the other half are temperate and self-controlled. His new repertoire will contain specimens from both halves, 'whether sober or drunk', but the blend will affect both in terms of χάρις³⁶.

It should be explained that the enumeration down to δέκατον implies κύαθον, but μεστὸν must imply a large cup, masculine or neuter. Archaeologists name two different objects by the name 'kyathos': a certain one-handed, often decorated, ceramic cup, and the long-handled metal kitchen vessel we now name 'ladle'. Whichever of the two is implied in the first six verses, it is used for drawing wine out of the crater and filling the cup. The poet will not drink a ladle of wine, but a large cup symbolically filled with ten ladlefuls. Pragmatically, the symbolic cup that could hold ten ladles might be a χοῦς, or even a κάδος, as described in the epigrams of Hedylus G.-P. V (3 ἀλλὰ κάδοις Χίου με κατάβρεχε) and VI (2 πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις).

³⁵ ἐρεῖτε might also stand, 'you will call me, whether sober or drunk, not too graceless', but the corruption of so common a word would be less justifiable.

³⁶ Erotic disposition and poetic commendation appear combined later in Bion (fr. 9 Gow):

κῆν μὲν ἄρα ψυχάν τις ἔχων ἀνέραστον αἰίδηι,
 τῆνον ὑπεκφεύγοντι (sc. ταὶ Μοῖσαι) καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντι διδάσκειν.
 5 ἦν δὲ νόον τις Ἔρωτι δονεῦμενος ἀδὺ μελίσσῃ
 ἐς τῆνον μάλα πᾶσαι ἐπειγόμεναι προρέοντι.

Further, if Callimachus, in an epigram satirizing Posidippus, names his *persona* Χαρίδας, i.e., in an oblique manner χαρίεις or εὐχαρίς, is it not clear that his target, Posidippus, was considered by him and his milieu οὐκ εὐχαρίς, i.e., ἄχαρίς? Were it not for the closing couplet, we might suppose that Posidippus is composedly replying to the challenge by declaring his own credo of poetic moderation. The last two verses, however, place him on the defensive if not in retreat. A number of erotic epigrams by Posidippus has survived, though the great majority, especially after the publication of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309, deals with non-erotic themes. The question whether, after this 'self-criticism', we must consider all of Posidippus' erotic epigrams posterior to ep. 140 AB cannot but remain unanswered.

Edmonds deleted verses 5-6 of Posidippus' epigram, reasonably according to Gow-Page, since "Hesiod, Homer, the Muses, and Mnemosyne are out of place in the middle of an epigram which begins and ends with love". It cannot be excluded that the couplet is a later addition to an original form, made by Posidippus himself, when he realized that to keep his profile high he needed more noted and respected poets to be compared with than Mimnermus and Antimachus. Still, Hesiod is an erotic poet, since, in his *Catalogue of Women*, numerous love stories between gods and mortals are recounted. His relation with the Muses in the Proem to the *Theogony*, 1-115, is famous as well as his dictum 96 f. ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὄντινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται. Homer is not erotic, since his function as an epic poet is to eternalize the memory (μνημοσύνη) of κλέα ἀνδρῶν. His relation with Mnemosyne is one of poetic commitment, not a relation of love³⁷.

Apart from ep. 140, three more Posidippus erotic epigrams utilize a motif that will later enjoy a wide application in poetry, not only in epi-

³⁷ Obviously, I accept Austin's 'moderate mixture' (*Posidippus and the Mysteries ... of the Text*, in *Il papiro di Posidippo un anno dopo*, edd. G. BASTIANINI & A. CASANOVA, Firenze 2002, pp. 7-19, esp. p. 10), without resorting, however, to his emendations and with somewhat different ingredients in the 'sober poets', since I conscript Hesiod and the Muses into the erotic camp. I also agree, in general terms, with the poetological approach and the interconnection with Callimachus' standpoint that are put forward in the papers of M.R. ALBIANI, *Ancora su "bevitori d'acqua" e "bevitori di vino" (Asclep. XLV, Hedyll. V G.-P.)*, «Eikasmos» 13 (2002), pp. 159-164, and B.M. PALUMBO STRACCA, *I brindisi anticallimachei di Posidippo* (Anth. Pal. 12, 168 = 9 G.-P. = 140 A.-B.), in *Callimachea. Atti della prima giornata di studi su Callimaco*, edd. A. MARTINA & A.T. COZZOLI, Roma 2003, pp. 163-179.

grams. They extend the theme of Hippolytus and chastity to the domain of the erudite poet, who defends himself with great self-restraint against erotic temptations. If, as seems likely, the first to apply this motif was Posidippus³⁸, it is expected that his poetic thematics would affect his personal image.

135 AB (V G.-P., *AP* XII 45)

Ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ' Ἔρωτες· ἐγὼ σκοπὸς εἰς ἅμα πολλοῖς
κεῖμαι. μὴ φείσησθ', ἄφρονες· ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ
νικήσῃτ', ὀνομαστοὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθε
τοξόται ὡς μεγάλης δεσπότης ἰοδόκης.

137 (VI G.-P., *AP* XII 98)

Τὸν Μουσῶν τέττιγα Πόθος δήσας ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις
κοιμίζειν ἐθέλει πῦρ ὑπὸ πλευρὰ βαλῶν·
ἢ δὲ πρὶν ἐν βύβλοις πεπονημένη ἄλλ' ἀθερίζει
ψυχὴ ἀνιηρῶ δαίμονι μεμφομένη.

138 AB (VII G.-P., *AP* XII 120)

Εὐοπλῶ καὶ πρὸς σε μαχήσομαι, οὐδ' ἀπεροῦμαι
θνητὸς ἐών· σὺ δ' Ἔρωσ, μηκέτι μοι πρόσσαγε.
ἦν με λάβης μεθύοντ', ἄπαγ' ἔκδοτον· ἄχρι δὲ νήφω,
τὸν παραταξάμενον πρὸς σε λογισμὸν ἔχω.

Sobriety and reasoning may possibly constitute some defence against Eros, but they certainly are not the best armour towards poetic success.

Ep. VI G.-P. of Hedylus is of great interest. Angiò has meticulously dealt with it as it treats – as well as ep. V G.-P., which will not concern us here – the topic of the relation between wine-drinking and poetic inspiration³⁹.

ἔξ ἡοῦς εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς πάλι Σωκλῆς
εἰς ἡοῦν πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις,
εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἶχεται· ἀλλὰ παρ' οἴνων

³⁸ It is unknown whether Callimachus' epigram 46 Pf., which defines poetry and hunger as charms against love and sex, is older than Posidippus' epigrams or not. Actually, however, the ironic character of the epigram is obvious, and the specific *remedia amoris* have nothing in common with the abstinence extolled by Posidippus.

³⁹ Above n. 31, pp. 18-20.

5 Σικελίδεω παίζει πουλὺ μελιχρότερον,
 ἔστι δὲ †δὴ πολὺ† στιβαρώτερος· ὡς δ' ἐπιλάμπει
 ἢ χάρις, ὥστε, φίλος, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυε.

The obvious restoration of 5 πο<υ>λὺ στιβαρώτερος was rejected by Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* i.144 n. 3, because the lengthening falls in the arsis. Gow and Page, though keeping the daggers in the text, object that πουλὺ seems natural after the same word in the preceding line and note an instance of που(λυ) in arsis by Callimachus. However, που(λυ) in arsis occurs, no doubt rarely, in Homer (*Il.* VIII 472), Hesiod (*Th.* 190), Theognis (211, 509), and others. In any case, ἔστι δὲ δη<ῦτε> πολὺ στιβαρώτερος might stress the opposition between the two poets and drinkers even more. Since Socles' feature of 'sweetness' might be thought to imply softness and weakness, Hedylyus hastens to add the opposite feature of στιβαρός, highlighting the antithesis by the parallel formulation: πουλὺ μελιχρότερος ~ πολὺ στιβαρώτερος. I would strongly disagree with G. Giangrande's interpretation of στιβαρώτερος as a physical and not stylistic remark ('more robust' or 'more corpulent')⁴⁰, because both παίζει μελιχρότερον and ἐπιλάμπει ἢ χάρις clearly refer to the composition of charming poetic paignia, and it would be strange if between the two a comment from a different semantic domain intervened. Hedylyus does not commemorate Socles for his heavy drinking, but for his charming and playful poems written under heavy drinking. Paignia are no doubt 'light poems', but they can also be sturdy and weighty. Line 3 εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἴχεται should not be given too much importance. Understandably, Hedylyus does not intend to present Socles as an incurable alcoholic duffer. Still, I suspect that the statement is but an allusive remark on a pause from the drinking bout, for making an unavowed erotic break. On the other hand, Cameron's attempt to insert Antimachus and *Lyde* in Hedylyus' epigram (by emending ἔστι δὲ που Λύδης στιβαρώτερος) not only compares a poet to a poem, which might be metonymically tolerable, but also compares playful epigrams to a huge and cumbersome epic. Further, if the motive for the emendation is to add Hedylyus to Asclepiades and Posidippus who praised Antimachus and *Lyde*, the attempt is unsuccessful, since the epigram ultimately presents an unknown poet as prevailing over *Lyde*⁴¹.

⁴⁰ G. GIAGRANDE, *Sympotic Literature and Epigram*, in *Lepigramme grecque*, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique XIV, Vandœuvres-Genève 1967, pp. 158-163.

⁴¹ A. CAMERON, *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton 1995, Appendix A, pp. 485-487.

Angiò made the ingenious proposal that Socles is a pseudonym. In an epigram which mentions two poets, and one of them, Asclepiades, is mentioned by his well-known pseudonym Σικελίδας, one would expect the other one to be mentioned also by his pseudonym. The proposal is corroborated by the fact that Socles, though a completely unknown poet, is described as distinctly prevailing over Asclepiades, one of the most famous Hellenistic poets. Had such a poet existed, shouldn't we have heard something about him? Angiò depending on the friendly connection between Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedylus suggests that Socles was the pseudonym of Posidippus, of whom no pen name has survived. Accordingly, she supplements the list of the Telchines in the Florentine Scholia on Callimachus' *Aetia*, fr. 1 Pf. (PSI 1219, fr. 1.5 f.), κ(αὶ) Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ὄνο||[μαζομ(έν)ῳ Σωκλεῖ κ(αὶ)].

In absence of solid evidence, I can neither accept nor reject Angiò's proposal. Socles is, however, described as a real heavy drinker (such is also Hedylus, as is clear in ep. V G.-P.), something not unusual among inspired poets since Archilochus and Aeschylus. On the other hand, Posidippus is, at least in the self-referential epigram 140 AB, a metaphorical drinker. First-person references to wine drinking occur in some Posidippus epigrams (123, 124, 130, 138 [see above] AB), but, as is the case also with the erotic epigrams, the question is bound to linger on: when is the poet more truthful? in his sparse clichéd 'drunken'/erotic epigrams or in his programmatic and confessional ep. 140? In a somewhat in-between state we may place ep. 123 AB (I G.-P., *AP* V 134), where a possibly temporary change of course in his literary interests or in his self-restrained behaviour is implied:

Κεκροπί, ραῖνε, λάγννε, πολύδροσον ικμάδα Βάκχου,
 ραῖνε, δροσιζέσθω συμβολικὴ πρόποσις.
 σιγάσθω Ζήνων ὁ σοφὸς κύκνος ἅ τε Κλεάνθους
 μοῦσα· μέλοι δ' ἡμῖν ὁ γλυκύπικρος Ἔρωσ.

To sum up, the mental image I have forged for Posidippus shows a serious and prudent poet, who sides with σώφρων Antimachus. The edition of P.Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 has shown a diligent and fastidious epigrammatist. However, Callimachus' opinion about his poetry would be what he illustrates at *Ia*. 13.60 as οὐδὲν πίον, ἀλλὰ λιμηρά, 'not juicy, but gaunt, famine-stricken'; cf. Lat. *jejunus*, 'fasting, hungry' used of speech, 'meager, dry, spiritless'. If we restrict ourselves to the issue of wine drinking, we may easily place him in the opposite camp of Hedylus

(V G.-P. πίνωμεν· καὶ γάρ τι νέον, καὶ γάρ τι παρ' οἶνον | εὔροισεν
λεπτὸν καὶ τι μελιχρὸν ἔπος), Callimachus (*Ep.* 35 εὖ μὲν ἀοιδὴν |
εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἶνω καίρια συγγελάσαι), and Socles (the whole of
Hedylus' epigram VI G.-P.).

There is, however, one more candidate for the pseudonym Socles, and, though the evidence is still slender, the image fits perfectly. I must admit that the suggestion I am going to make in contrast to Angiò's proposal stems from a remark made by Angiò herself with regard to the supposed opposition of Hedylus to Callimachus; p. 19 n. 38: 'In ogni modo, i termini adoperati da Edilo negli epigrammi V e VI G.-P. sono gli stessi che caratterizzano l'estetica di Callimaco.' Accordingly, I venture to propose that Socles may well be Callimachus himself. The aggregate impression suggests a sweet (μελιχρότερον) and playful (παίζει) poet, yet forceful (στιβαρώτερον), whose charm (ἡ χάρις) glitters on his creations (ἐπιλάμπει). And all this is done under heavy drinking. It is important, however, that all these features of Socles are compared to the performance of Asclepiades/Sicelidas. If Hedylus' taste can be trusted (and he had every reason to be biased in favour of his compatriot Samian Asclepiades), no other living poet than Callimachus can be linked with Socles.

I have already proposed that Callimachus had used two more pseudonyms: Βαπτιάδης and Χαρίδας. These names, however, are not normal pen names, but designations of a *persona* within specific poems. Outside these poems they would not be easily effective. We never find someone else using them for Callimachus, as is done with other pseudonyms, such as Sicelidas, used for Asclepiades by Theocritus, Hedylus, Meleager, and, of course, the Scholia on Theocritus and Callimachus. The interpretation given by Callimachus himself in the epilogue of the *Aetia* for these two names is, I believe, as discussed above, clear and to the point.

If Σωκλῆς is Callimachus' pen name, it need not be a permanent one. A pseudonym was not necessarily the fictitious name of an author under which his books were published, like say Molière or Lewis Carroll. It may well be a nickname used on special occasions, for instance by friends in a symposion or for a disguise inside a poem. Possibly, such was the case of Σικελίδας for Asclepiades, regardless if its application was eventually expanded, as well as Σιμιχίδας for Theocritus, and possibly Τίτυρος for Alexander Aetolus. Several of the names mentioned in Theocr. *Id.* 7 (Θαλύσια) seem to be pseudonyms of poets, whether established or coined by Theocritus for that idyll. A.S.F. Gow's treatment

of the topic in his Theocritus edition (vol. II, 127–131) is enlightening. Pseudonyms were usually explained as deriving from the father's name, but Socles is certainly not a patronymic. Σωκλῆς is no doubt a pan-Greek name (P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, II, 817, n. 163), meaning 'whose glory is intact' (Angiò n. 37), but an explanation specially for Callimachus may be needed. The proposal of Al. Sens concerning the provenance of Σικελίδας as nickname of Asclepiades may be instructive⁴². The family of the poet must have been banished from Samos together with the entire population of the island by the Athenian forces in 365 BCE and was impossible to return before 322 BCE. If during the exile the family had lived in Sicily, it is conceivable that the nickname was coined, in order to commemorate Asclepiades' familial past and possibly his childhood in Sicily. This is a plausible political/familial/personal interpretation. Can a similar interpretation be applied to Callimachus?

Since Σωκλῆς is neither a patronym nor an ethnic name, it is likely that it was appropriated from a former owner. The most famous bearer of the name is the otherwise unknown Corinthian who, in an assembly of Sparta's allies in 506 BCE, harangued harshly the Spartans for planning to impose tyranny on Athens. His speech (Hdt. V 92-93), one of the most important speeches in Herodotus, is very concise in setting forth political or philosophical arguments against tyranny, but very extensive in narrating the adverse experience of the Corinthians under the tyrannic rules of Cypselus and Periander in the archaic period. The speech is presented in an emotional style as a legendary narrative appealing to any story-teller, at points reading much like a Callimachean aetion. The poet's hometown Cyrene enjoyed in the past independence and self-government, inside which Callimachus' aristocratic family had a prominent position. However, already before his early childhood, his city was subjected to foreign despotic rulers, Ophellas, Magas, Demetrius the Fair, and Apama. These rulers, styled whether governors or kings, apart from depriving the citizens of the rights they enjoyed in the past, exploited the people of Cyrene for their personal interests and ambitions, by allying with the Seleucids and rebelling against the Ptolemaic rule, at the same time, however, driving the people to revolt. Such a revolt, after the death of Magas in 250 BCE and the affair of Apama, his widow, with Demetrius the Fair, her son-in-law, led to the formation

⁴² *Asclepiades of Samos: Epigrams and Fragments*, Oxford 2011, pp. xxix–xxxi.

of a short-lived Cyrenaean koinon, before the definitive return to the suzerainty of the Ptolemies. Apama, who survived the revolt and followed Berenice II, her daughter and later wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, to the royal court in Alexandria, may have retained some of her influence there. Expectedly, she must have harboured vindictive feelings against the Cyrenaecans who happened to flourish in the Alexandrian court, especially if they belonged, like Callimachus, to the Cyrenaean aristocracy which no doubt had a say both in the revolt and in the formation of the koinon. Possibly goaded by envious fellow poets, she may have persecuted the poet, as described above, for subversive activities, like the use of the patronymic Βαττιάδης and the theonymic Χαρίδας. An inquiry had also been ordered about Callimachus' aristocratic ancestry, examining whether one of his great-grandfathers was a Lydian of slave status. In spite of being a court poet, Callimachus had been rather unfavourably treated: though the most appropriate person for directing the Library, he was never appointed to the post. Ep. 21 Pf., the fictitious epitaph of Callimachus' father, is dramatically alluding to a familial and personal predicament. Firstly, by refusing to mention the dead father's name he deliberately nurtures the impression that he is called with the suspicious and forbidden name Βάττος. Secondly, with stressed patriotic pride, he declares his aristocratic military ancestry. Thirdly, he accuses envious rival poets for some undefined act of treachery against him. Fourthly, he expresses the faith that the Muses will not abandon him in his old age, in other words that he will not only keep his poetic efficiency intact, but also will not be dismissed from the Mouseion, as his rivals apparently pursue.

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

Lines 5-6 recur in the introductory part of the *Aetia*, fr. 1.37-38, – unjustifiably deleted for this reason from the epigram by Pfeiffer –, though the issue of envy and resentment is there camouflaged under the cover of the poetic efficiency during old age.

To return to the Herodotean Socles, the famous story, narrated in his speech, of how Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, asked by Periander's emissary in what way his master could keep his tyranny safe, proceeded

by cutting off the tallest ears of wheat in a field, implying the elimination of prominent citizens, might well be explained by Callimachus as pertaining to his personal case. Of course, I do not imply that Callimachus, by using the name of Socles, intended to appear as a revolutionary against the existing regime. We know that, in parallel with his nostalgic references to his native city's glory, he praises the present rulers, whether Magas or Berenice or the Ptolemies. The Socles speech is helpful, since the speaker avoids using, as the opposite of τυραννίς, the politically arguable terms δημοκρατία or ἀριστοκρατία, and employs instead the unusual word ἰσοκρατία, recurring later only as a term of cosmology. Thus the pseudonym Socles may be interpreted in political/familial/personal terms certainly not as belonging to a militant subversive, but as designating an exponent of anti-tyrannic values.

What is stressed in the epigram of Hedylus is Socles' prevalence over Asclepiades in the art of poetry, under wine-drinking. All this sounds much like the humorous 'sepulchral' epigram 35 Pf.:

Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας εὖ μὲν ἀοιδὴν
εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνω καίρια συγγελάσαι,

where poetry coexists with the wine-drinking and joking company. Actually, the expanded description of Hedylus fully accords with Callimachus' condensed one: εὖ ἀοιδὴν εἰδώς = πολὺ στιβαρός, ἐπιλάμπει ἢ χάρις / εὖ οἴνω καίρια συγγελαῖ = παρ' οἴνον παίζει πολὺ μελιχρόν. As for the convivial occasion described in Hedylus' first three verses, Callimachus limits it to the preposition σύν of συγγελάσαι. One is given the impression that the two epigrams communicate with each other, with Callimachus elegantly compacting Hedylus' six-verse story into two verses, and adding only the element of the epitaph, which is but the charming stratagem to avoid the blame of self-admiration. Straight references to Callimachus are the key-words μελιχρότερον and, primarily, ἢ χάρις. Socles is not merely forceful (στιβαρώτερος than Asclepiades) but grace shines over his poetry (ἐπιλάμπει ἢ χάρις). Further, Asclepiades is enumerated among the Telchines, a fact that implies at least a different approach to poetic theory. Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ὀνο[c. 12]
υῤῥίππῳ τῷ ῥήτορι, might possibly be supplemented

τῷ ὀνο[μαστῷ ποιητῆ κ(αὶ) οἱ
τῷ ὀνο[μαστῷ Πελλαίῳ κ(αὶ)],

depending on the exact size of the gap. Posidippus himself addressing the Erotes (ep. 135 AB) claims that if they manage to defeat him, they will become ὀνομαστοὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, apparently since they will have defeated one who is κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός, as Theognis 23 claimed for himself. Posidippus' self-conceit is best perceptible in his so-called 'testament' (118 AB), in which he claims from Apollon an oracle advising the Macedonians to honour him by erecting his statue at the marketplace of Dion, their sacred city, as the god had lately done with Archilochus, a poet who was after all, as he claims, unlike himself, extremely displeasing⁴³. Thus, it is not merely a theoretic difference on poetry aesthetics, but also Posidippus' conspicuous vanity that may have annoyed Callimachus prompting him to write the sarcastic ep. 13 Pf. Finally, wouldn't it be reasonable for Callimachus to suspect Posidippus, the only Macedonian in the poetic and scholarly circle of the Mouseion, as the informer for Apama on his supposedly dissident ideas? No doubt, in a case of limited evidence as this, we are bound to resort to guesswork.

I do not know whether the epigrammatist Hedylus and the Hedylus who composed a commentary on Callimachus' epigrams are the same person or not. Both the rareness of the name and the common occupation with the same poet, whether by writing an epigram about him (granted that Socles is Callimachus) or by composing a commentary on his epigrams (which need not denote an inimical stance towards the poet), rather speak for the identification. Be that as it may, I strongly disagree with the views of A. Cameron⁴⁴, who considers Hedylus one of Callimachus' opponents. See Angiò's thoughtful objections, (n. 31 above) 19 n. 38. No doubt, Meleager places Hedylus in the same group with Asclepiades and Posidippus, actually in the same distich *AP* IV 1.45–46, all three write about the same persons⁴⁵, and the last two are enumerated in the Florentine Scholia among the Telchines. But this does

⁴³ K. TSANTSANOGLOU, *Critical Observations on Posidippus' Testament (118 A.–B.)*, «ZPE» 187 (2013), pp. 122–131. Fr. Angiò communicated to me her brilliant interpretation of a critical word in the testament (18 ἄμφω), as referring to the two Macedonian empires outside Macedonia, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, where Posidippus wished to be honoured (ἄφρα με τιμῶσι Μακηδόνες, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ Νεῖλω | οἳ τ' Ἀσίας πάσης γείτονας ἡϊόνος). I am not sure whether this interpretation annuls the solicited erection of his statue in the marketplace of Dion or adds two more statues to that one. In any case, it adds considerably to Posidippus' self-conceit.

⁴⁴ *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford 1993, pp. 369–376.

⁴⁵ C. V. RADINGER, *RE* 14 (1912) 2593 *s.v.* Hedylus.

not mean that all three shared invariably and at all times the same friendships and the same poetic and stylistic principles. Being the only poet in the triad who did not praise Antimachus' *Lyde*, as noted above, and who was not included among the Telchines, Hedylus may have been well disposed towards the Cyrenaean. Further, Angiò's remark, that the terms used by Hedylus in epigrams V and VI G.-P are the same that characterize the aesthetics of Callimachus, is of crucial importance in interpreting the whole complex of the poetic company at the Mouseion.

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