

The Manuscript of Straton's *Musa Puerilis*

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THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION of AP 12 in the *Greek Anthology* has not been examined in much detail in English. This is certainly true of the epigrams of Straton in that book. The recent work of Gow and Page was confined to Hellenistic epigrams and to the *Garland of Philip*.¹ Paton's Loeb (1918) is little more than a translation. German and French scholars, while paying more attention to the *Anthology* than others have done, have—with one exception—hardly gone further in recent years than to observe that most of the poems in AP 12 are not Straton's and to attempt to bring order and identity out of the hodgepodge of epigrams other than his.² Only Robert Aubreton has examined the manuscript tradition itself in detail. This paper is an attempt to expand on and suggest corrections to Aubreton's conclusions. Specifically, I hope to identify the contents of Straton's original book, as used by Cephalas in creating the source for AP 12, and to suggest the process by which Straton's poems became entangled in the heterogeneous anthology which forms our AP 12.

The manuscript tradition of the *Greek Anthology*, in which Straton's poems are found, is well enough known in its outlines.³ The *Anthology* derives in the main from the *Anthologia Palatina*, which in turn depends for the most part on an anthology made between A.D. 895 and 900 by Constantinus Cephalas, archpriest of the palace at Con-

¹ Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965) 2 vols. [hereafter, GOW AND PAGE, HE]; *The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (Cambridge 1968) 2 vols. [hereafter, GOW AND PAGE, Philip].

² Bibliography in Gow and Page, HE II 681–84; Philip II 470f; H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* I (Munich 1957) 90–99; and *infra* n.3.

³ The fullest account of P is still contained in C. Preisendanz's preface to his *Anthologia Palatina* [a facsimile of the ms.] 2 vols. (Leyden 1911). There are many others; among them, P. Waltz, *Anthologie Grecque* I (Paris 1928) xxxviii–xlvi, and Gow and Page, HE I xxxiii–xxxviii. Of many accounts of PI, there is an authoritative one by D. C. C. Young in *ParPass* 10 (1955) 197ff, and another in Gow and Page, HE I xxxviii–xli. The *syllogae minores* are described by H. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca* I (Leipzig 1894) vi–x, xiiif, and by Waltz, *op.cit.* I lii–lviii. For a detailed discussion of virtually the entire manuscript tradition, see R. Aubreton, "La tradition manuscrite des épigrammes de l'Anthologie palatine," REA 70 (1968) 32–82 [hereafter, AUBRETON, REA].

stantinople in 917.⁴ The *Palatine Anthology* is preserved in one manuscript, **P**.⁵ **P** has generally been thought to have been written in the tenth century; but some scholars have assigned it to the eleventh, and Aubreton argues powerfully for the second half of that century on palaeographical grounds.⁶ The part of **P** comprising *AP* 1.1–9.563 was written by two hands, A and J. The remainder of the manuscript was written by additional hands, B and B2. J seems to have supervised the creation of **P**, since he supplements and corrects A, B and B2, and he evidently put their collections together. A may have used two exemplars; J himself apparently used a third; and B and B2 seem not to have used the exemplars of A. Two more contributors can be identified: a lemmatist, L (who may be J), and the corrector, C. C made many additions and alterations, and says himself that he is collating from a copy made by Michael the Archivist; since C worked only on *AP* 5.1–9.563, however, this copy has contributed nothing to *AP* 12. The so-called Apographa of **P** are collections of epigrams excerpted from **P** by various scholars, usually because those epigrams do not appear in the *Planudean Anthology*.

The anthology of Maximus Planudes is preserved in the manuscript **PI**, dated complete in September, 1301.⁷ Like **P**, **PI** is a collection of epigrams based on Cephalas, though Planudes probably did not use **P** itself.⁸ **PI** consists, first, of seven chapters titled according to the subject of the epigrams each contains; this collection is **PIA**. It is followed by miscellaneous material: selections from Theognis and Menander, part of a *Thermis* attributed to Paul the Silentiary, and epigrams of Euclid, Theon and Hermes Trismegistus. Then four additional chapters of epigrams follow, evidently supplementary to the first seven, arranged according to the previous plan but deriving from another source; this is **PIB**. The manuscript ends with the

⁴ See Aubreton, *REA* 45. The *AP* is in debt to other anthologies as well as to Cephalas', but these are not relevant to the subject of this paper. Cephalas' own sources include the *Garlands* of Meleager (2nd cent. B.C.) and Philip (I cent.), the *Ring* of Agathias (VI cent.)—for all of which, see *AP* 4—and of course the *Musa Puerilis* of Straton (II cent.). For the identification of Cephalas, see P. Wolters, *De Epigrammatum Graecorum Anthologiis Libellus* (Halle 1882) 11.

⁵ The greater part of **P** is *Cod. Gr.* 23 in Heidelberg. A smaller part, left in Paris when the greater was returned to Germany in 1816, is *Cod. Gr. suppl.* 384.

⁶ Aubreton, *REA* 46f, 56–63.

⁷ **PI** is *Cod. Ven. Marc.* 481, the author's autograph.

⁸ Aubreton, "L'archetype de l'Anthologie planudéenne," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969) 69–87, believes the origin of the entire Planudean tradition can be found in *Cod. Paris. Gr.* 2744, which is incomplete; see, however, Aubreton's stemma in *REA* pl.1.

Paraphrasis of Nonnus. Both **PIA** and **PIB** contain some poems not in **P** and omit some others that **P** contains.

Smaller collections (the *syllogae minores*) are related to the anthology of Cephalas by various lines.⁹ Among these are: *syll.* S, with 114 epigrams;¹⁰ *syll.* Σπ, a collection of 58 epigrams,¹¹ closely related to *syll.* E; *syll.* E, with 82 epigrams, collected in Constantinople between 886 and 911;¹² and *syll.* Σ, with 121 epigrams, probably collected in the ninth century.¹³ The *syllogae minores* contain some epigrams which are not in **P** and in some cases not in **PI**.

Marginal notes in **P** identify Cephalas as the editor of a source anthology containing amorous (but not specifically paederastic), votive, funerary and descriptive epigrams. The introductions to *AP* 5–12 are apparently his.¹⁴ *AP* 12 (in J's index at the beginning of **P**, Θ' ἡ τῶν Στράτωνος τοῦ Σαρδιανοῦ) is confined almost exclusively to paederastic epigrams.¹⁵ The book is introduced as follows:

⁹ See Aubreton, *REA* pl.1.

¹⁰ *Cod. Paris. Gr. suppl.* 352 (XIII cent.), and an abridgement, *Cod. Paris. Gr.* 1630 (XIV cent.). The date of the collection is uncertain.

¹¹ These poems are written in a XII or XIII-cent. hand on six blank pages at the beginning of **P**, three at the end, and in various spaces throughout the manuscript.

¹² *Cod. Paris. Gr.* 1773 (XV cent.), 2720 (XVI cent.), and *Cod. Laur. Gr.* 57.29 (XVI cent.).

¹³ Likewise found in *Paris.* 1773 and *Laur.* 57.29.

¹⁴ See Aubreton, *REA* 63–67, who prints them all. Cf. P. Wolters, "De Constantini Cephalae Anthologia," *RhM* 38 (1883) 107.

¹⁵ The vast majority of these poems appears only in **P**. **PI** has 19, 28, 47, 50f, 60, 82, 89, 103f, 113, 136, 172 (none of which is ascribed to Straton in *AP*), and 234f, 239 (ascribed to Straton in *AP*; Planudes ascribes the first two to Meleager, gives no ascription for the third). These appear in Planudes' ch.7, which he titles "love epigrams," and which he frankly admits to having censored. It is thus not surprising that, of these poems Planudes preserves, most belong to the group (identified *infra*) that are either not clearly paederastic or are explicitly heterosexual. Only one (136) alludes even obliquely to a physical relationship; characteristically, in that poem Planudes has altered the word 'boy' to 'girl' (*AP* 12.136.2, *APL* 7.196.2). Gow and Page, *HE* I xlf, think Planudes may have had everything in Cephalas at his disposal; Aubreton, *REA* 36, 61, thinks he had only a very reduced tradition. *Syll.* S (see *supra*) has 18f 29, 50, 58, 118 (none ascribed to Straton in *AP*), and 21, 181, 185, 196, 209, 214, 224, 235, 237, 241 (ascribed to Straton in *AP*; *syll.* S has no ascriptions, omits 237.1 and attaches 235 to 237). The *syll.* Barberino-Vaticana (*Cod. Barb. Gr.* 1.123 and *Cod. Vat. Gr.* 240, both XVI cent.) contains 54 epigrams, 33 of which are found in *AP* 5, and 17 in *AP* 12: 17, 20, 59f, 65, 69, 75–77, 79, 86, 173 (none ascribed to Straton in *AP*), and 1f, 4, 196, 237.3f (ascribed to Straton in *AP*; *syll.* Barb.-Vat. ascribes 1 to Straton, attaches 2 to 1, gives no ascription for 4, ascribes 196 to Straton and 237.3f to Numenius). *Syll.* Barb.-Vat. was made in the XVI cent. by Lascaris, apparently to supplement chapter seven of **PI**, and is independent of **P**; it appears to derive from Planudes' second source, **PIB**. *Syll.* F (*Cod. Laur. Gr.* 32–50 and 91–8, both XVI cent.) contains 50 epigrams, including *AP* 12.144, in *AP* not ascribed to Straton.

And what kind of man would I be if, after acquainting you with everything I have recorded, I were to conceal the Muse of Boy-love by Straton of Sardis? Which he published for the fun of it, for his friends, taking personal pleasure in the style of the epigrams, not in their point of view. So take the following poems; as the tragedian says, "In dances the decent woman will not be corrupted."¹⁶

It is quite clear that the editor means this book to consist of epigrams by Straton. But in fact, only 94 of the total 258 poems in *AP* 12 are ascribed to him: 1–11, 13, 15f, 21, 175–229, 231, 234–55 and 258.¹⁷ The rest are ascribed to various authors, known or unknown, or are headed "uncertain."¹⁸ Some of these epigrams are not paederastic (83, 114, 147, 153, 173; in 53, 82, 113, 131, 161 the neuter diminutive of a girl's name seems to have been mistaken for a boy's); other epigrams are not clearly paederastic or heterosexual (e.g., 32, 98, 100, 103f, 115, 117, 172). These 164 poems not ascribed to Straton are generally agreed by scholars to derive in most cases from the other sources used by Cephalas in creating his anthology; probably in the main (some 145 epigrams) from Meleager's *Garland*.¹⁹ The problem of the anonymous epigrams has been dealt with by Gow.²⁰ Since there are long sequences evidently deriving from one or the other of Cephalas' source collections, anonymous epigrams found within such sequences are tentatively assigned to the source for the sequence in question. Thus, of 36 anonymous epigrams in *AP* 12 (including the headless 62 and 152), Gow believes with Wifstrand that 31 were incorporated by Meleager

¹⁶ Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 317f.

¹⁷ 12.1 has no heading in *P*; *syll. Barb.-Vat.* ascribes it to Straton. 12.184, 201f, 222, 228, 238, 240 have no heading in *P*; they are ascribed by all scholars to Straton because each appears well within long sequences of his poems.

¹⁸ Alcaeus 29f, 64; Alpheus of Mytilene 18; Antipater 97; Aratus 129; Asclepiades 46, 50, 75, 105, 135, 153, 161–63; Asclepiades of Adramyttium 36; Asclepiades or Posidippus 77; Automedon 34; Callimachus 43, 51, 71, 73, 102, 118, 134, 139, 148–50, 230; Diocles 35; Dionysius 108; Dioscorides 14, 37, 42, 169–71; Evenus 172; Flaccus 12; Fronto 174, 233; Glaucus 44; Julius Leonides 20; Meleager 23, 33, 41, 47–49, 52–54, 56f, 59f, 63, 65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80–86, 92, 94f, 101, 106, 109f, 113f, 117, 125–28, 132f, 137, 141, 144, 147, 154, 157–59, 164f, 167, 256f; Mnasalcas 138; Numenius of Tarsus 28; Phantias 31; Philodemus 173; Polystratus 91; Posidippus 45, 98, 120, 131, 168; Rhianus 38, 58, 93, 121, 142, 146; Scythinus 22, 232; Statyllius Flaccus 25–27; Thymocles 32; Tullius Laureas 24; "uncertain" 17, 19, 39f, 61, 66f, 69, 79, 88–90, 96, 99f, 103f, 107, 111f, 115f, 119, 122f, 130, 136, 140, 143, 145, 151, 155f, 160. 62 and 152 have no heading in *P* but are joined to the epigrams that precede them.

¹⁹ Meleager did not separate paederastic from heterosexual poems. See A. Wifstrand, *Studien z. griech. Anthologie* (Lunds Univ. Årsskr. 23,3 [1926]) 8.

²⁰ A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* (Soc.Prom.Hell.Stud. suppl. 9, London 1958) 13ff.

into his *Garland* from a largely (or entirely) paederastic anthology which did not name authors.²¹ Aubreton thinks all but three of the “uncertain” epigrams come from Meleager; only 12.15, 17, 19 do not.²² Aubreton is mistaken in thinking 15 is “uncertain” (P ascribes it to Straton); and the *syll. Barberino-Vaticana* (*supra* n.15) ascribes 17 to “Asclepiades or Posidippus,” an ascription accepted by Gow.²³ In short, we may assume with relative confidence that all the “uncertain” epigrams but one, 12.19, are the work of authors other than Straton.²⁴

Yet we are left with the more fundamental question: what are these poems, by extraneous authors named and unnamed, doing in Straton’s book? Scholars often casually suppose that Cephalas put them there.²⁵ But, as we have seen, both the index and the introduction to AP 12 in P ascribe the contents to Straton alone. Cephalas acknowledges none of the extraneous poems. The culprit is likelier to have been a later copyist: perhaps even B, who wrote AP 9.564–11.66.3 and 11.118–13.31.²⁶ As Aubreton observes, “Le scribe A devait connaître les éditions des *Couronnes* et du *Cycle* dont il a donné les préambules dans de livre IV, et c’est probablement parmi ces épigrammes que son successeur trouva la matière de ce livre, tout en y ajoutant les épigrammes de Straton, certainement connues de Céphalas.”²⁷

In his important article on AP 12 Aubreton proposed a process by which this book might have acquired its peculiar contents.²⁸ He made a significant discovery at the outset: epigrams 1–11 comprise a total of

²¹ Gow, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.20) 25.

²² R. Aubreton, “Le livre XII de l’Anthologie palatine: La Muse de Straton,” *Byzantion* 39 (1969) [hereafter, AUBRETON, *Byzantion*] 37 n.2.

²³ Gow, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.20) 32.

²⁴ 19 cannot be ascribed to any author with complete confidence, especially not on the basis of style: see Gow’s forceful caveat, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.20) 43f.

²⁵ “Bk. xii was constructed by somebody, possibly Cephalas, who took from Meleager’s amatory section the epigrams which he thought matched the *Mousa Paidikê* of Strato, and added about a dozen from other post-Meleagrian sources.” So Gow, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.20) 24f. Cf. R. Weisshäupl, “Die Grabgedichte d. griech. Anthologie,” *Abh. d. Arch.-Epigr. Seminare d. Univ. Wien* 7 (1889) 41; and M. Boas, “Die Sylloge Rufiniana,” *Philologus* 73 (1914–16) 7f. Straton himself can hardly be considered responsible: “Imaginer que cette insertion est l’oeuvre de Straton semble peu rationnel; le poète aurait ainsi donné la part essentielle à ses prédécesseurs pour ne prendre lui-même que la portion congrue. Ce n’est guère l’habitude des auteurs.” So Aubreton, *Byzantion* 45. Cf. Wolters, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.14) 108 n.1.

²⁶ B is almost solely responsible for what we read in AP 12. Lemmata in P after 9.563 are very rare; C contributed nothing, and J’s contributions are minimal.

²⁷ Aubreton, *Byzantion* 61.

²⁸ Aubreton, *Byzantion* 35–52.

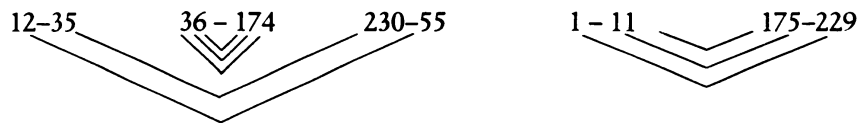
54 vv.; the heterogeneous group of epigrams 12–35 comprise a total of 108 vv.;²⁹ and the group of epigrams 230–33, plus Straton's epigrams 234–55, again comprise a total of 108 vv. Since these verse-totals are each divisible by the number 27, Aubreton surmised that an archetype with 27 vv. to the page must have existed.

He therefore suggests that a scribe, sometime during the 150 years that separated Cephalas from the creation of **P**, found two collections of epigrams:

1. A binion of four folios, containing epigrams 12–35 and 230–55, for a total of 216 vv. with 27 vv. per page.
2. A ternion of six folios, containing epigrams 1–11 and 175–229, for a total of 318 vv. with 27 vv. per page (the last page containing 21 vv.).

Aubreton believes that the binion would have been a collection from miscellaneous sources (including editions of Straton) made by an unknown editor. The ternion would have represented the only poems of Straton which Cephalas had included in his anthology.

Aubreton's scribe copied the binion first and then the ternion. Subsequently another ternion with perhaps 30 vv. per page, containing the Meleagrian epigrams (36–171) and the heterogeneous epigrams 172–74, found its way into the newly copied binion between fols. 2 and 3, thus forming a quinternion. This quinternion, together with the ternion copied by Aubreton's scribe, would have contained the epigrams we know, but in this order:



The diagrams represent the sheets of the two quires. The quinternion on the left would have consisted of 5 sheets/10 folios/20 pages; it would have contained epigrams 12–35, 36–174, 230–55, in that order. The ternion on the right would have consisted of 3 sheets/6 folios/12 pages; it would have contained epigrams 1–11, 175–229, in that order. Note once more that this ternion, in Aubreton's opinion, would have represented the only poems of Straton which Cephalas had included in his anthology.

Let us consider for a moment the *order* of the epigrams in these two hypothetical quires imagined by Aubreton. Virtual confirmation of

²⁹ 36–171 have long been recognized as a block taken from Meleager. See Weisshäupl, *loc.cit.* (*supra* n.25), and Gow and Page, *HE* I xxivf.

that order can be found in *syll. S*. The epigrams known to **P** which appear in *syll. S* occur in the *sylloga* in this order: 18f, 21, 118, 29, 58, 235, 237, 241, 181, 185, 209, 214, 224, 196, 50. Only three (29, 58, 50) do not appear in the *sylloga* in the order ventured by Aubreton for his suggested stage in the tradition.³⁰

Observe once more that the quinternion consists of 5 sheets and the ternion of three sheets. Aubreton suggests that certain of the sheets forming the quinternion and the ternion were torn down their creases, as often happened particularly to outside sheets. The result of every torn sheet is two loose folios. If fols. 9 and 10 of the quinternion and fol. 1 of the ternion were torn loose in this way, a simple displacement of those three folios out of their original order would produce the actual order of the epigrams known to us in *AP* 12.

This is an ingenious hypothesis, but it has some weaknesses. It does not, for example, account for 12.258 (the last epigram in the book, and ascribed to Straton). It is also used by Aubreton to support his thesis (or perhaps he means it to *be supported by his thesis*) that Cephalas included in his anthology only a few of Straton's poems from the *Musa Puerilis*.³¹ Aubreton tries to buttress this thesis with some of Cephalas' remarks in the introductions to his funerary, satirical and convivial epigrams: "I am sure the character of votive epigrams has been made sufficiently clear"; and "Men love to make fun of one another, or to listen to someone else teasing his friends: how this was done among the ancients, I will show by means of the following"; and "So that you will not be deprived of these, I have taken from them, too, those that come to hand." Clearly Cephalas means the recipient of his anthology to learn from it the character of types of epigrams; he is not compiling a comprehensive anthology. But this does not in itself restrict him in the number of poems he will provide as examples. There is nothing here to force the conclusion that he did not copy all the poems in Straton's book, provided only that Straton's collection was not enormous (as, e.g., any comprehensive collection of satirical epigrams would certainly be). It is also noteworthy that Cephalas' introduction

³⁰ Aubreton offers no explanation for the placement of 29, 58, 50 in *syll. S*; they may simply have been displaced by a copyist at some later stage in the transmission. Cf. the order of poems common to *AP* 12 which appear in **P1**: 113, 234f come first; the rest appear in the same order found in **P**. It should also be observed that 29, 58, 50 are not poems of Straton; they are the work of Alcaeus, Rhianus and Asclepiades, respectively. The order of Straton's epigrams, as reconstructed by Aubreton in his theoretical quinternion and ternion, is confirmed exactly by the order of Straton's poems in *syll. S*.

³¹ Aubreton, *Byzantion* 36.

to *AP* 12 is the only one in which he mentions his source by name. Elsewhere, we must assume he was working from heterogeneous anthologies, or perhaps from several collections by individual authors. Only here is it plain that he has the poems of *one* author in hand. Too, he says nothing here about the character of a genre or about selections. The plain meaning of his introductory statement is that he will set down Straton's *Musa Puerilis*, nothing more and nothing less.

How many of Straton's poems in *AP* 12 did Cephalas know and include in his anthology? Do we have the whole contents of the *Musa Puerilis*? Aubreton thinks Cephalas knew only 1–11 and 175–229. But I think there is reason to believe he knew more than those.

Aubreton observed the intriguing fact that certain distinct groups of epigrams in *AP* 12 comprise verse-totals which are divisible by the number 27; but he failed to pursue his discovery to an even more intriguing one: the total of *all* Straton's verses in *AP* 12 is itself divisible by 27:

<i>epigrams</i>	<i>verses</i>
1–11	54
13f, 15f, 21	16
175–229	264
231	4
234–55	90
258	4
—	—
	432

An archetype containing these epigrams, with 27 vv. per page, would fill 4 sheets/8 folios/16 pages exactly—a perfect quaternion, commonest of all quires.

I submit that this is, in fact, the *Musa Puerilis*, complete, as read by Cephalas. Aubreton acknowledges that the total of Straton's poems in *AP* might comprise the whole work: "Cet ensemble pouvait constituer un rouleau de papyrus de longueur moyenne, suffisant pour une oeuvre de ce genre."³² But he sees no reason to believe that this is the case and does not in fact believe it. Yet Straton himself in *AP* 12.208 addresses his 'little book' in terms that clearly describe a single papyrus roll of moderate size. I suggest that someone, perhaps Cephalas himself, realized that the corpus would fit exactly into a

³² Aubreton, *Byzantion* 39 n.1.

quaternion, provided the pages were lined for 27 vv. This is the reason for the recurring number 27 which was noticed by Aubreton in the first place and which appears to have controlled much of the copying in the manuscript tradition between the tenth and eleventh centuries.

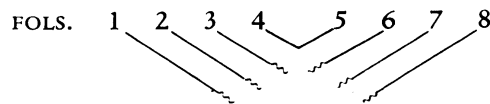
But how did the epigrams of this quaternion become confused with extraneous material to produce *AP* 12? Aubreton's hypothesis is compelling—especially since the order of the epigrams in *syll. S* virtually confirms it. I shall suggest a stage in the manuscript tradition earlier than the one suggested by Aubreton, a stage which led to the stage he describes. I will also make one change in his hypothetical order of the epigrams as given above, a change neither denied nor confirmed by the order of epigrams in *syll. S*.

Let us suppose that Straton's book, as used by Cephalas, was preserved in a quaternion of 27 vv. per page, the epigrams appearing in this order:

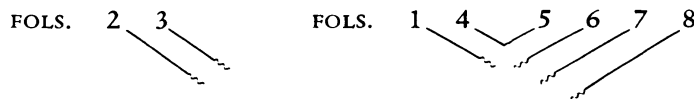
FOL. 1	<i>epp.</i> 1–11	(54 vv.)
FOLS. 2–3	<i>epp.</i> 13, 15f, 21, 231, 234–54, 258	(108 vv.)
FOLS. 4–8	<i>epp.</i> 175–229, 255	(270 vv.)

Recall that each page is lined for 27 vv., and assume that every page from beginning to end is completely filled. Note also that fols. 1, 2 and 4 begin in each case with a new epigram; and that fols. 1, 3 and 8 end in each case with the concluding verse of an epigram.

Let us suppose now that the three outer sheets were torn down their creases. Fols. 1 and 8, 2 and 7, 3 and 6 were thus separated from each other. Only the inner sheet comprising fols. 4 and 5 remained intact:



Let us suppose further that fol. 1 remained with fols. 4–8; but that fols. 2 and 3 together were separated from the rest:

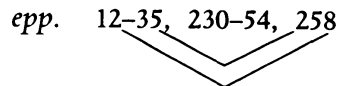


Now let us suppose that a scribe got possession of fols. 2 and 3 and set about to make an anthology which would include these poems of Straton, as well as others (from Philip, Meleager, *et al.*) at his disposal in other sources. In fols. 2 and 3 of the original quaternion he possesses

epp. 13, 15f, 21, 231, 234–54, 258. Since the two folios of Straton are lined for 27 vv. per page, he lines his own pages accordingly. He begins his anthology with a “bearded youth” couplet of Flaccus (*AP* 12.12) to which his opening poem of Straton (the “beardless doctors,” *AP* 12.13) will make a nice contrast. After mixing authors for awhile (*AP* 12.12–35, 230–33), our scribe tires of collating and simply copies off the rest of Straton’s epigrams from the two folios he possesses (*AP* 12.234–54, 258). It is plausible that Straton’s poems on these two folios were his major, or most interesting, source—as his imitation of the 27 vv. per page in his exemplar would suggest.

Our scribe has thus produced, in substance, the binion which Aubreton imagined, except that the last poem is not 255 but 258:

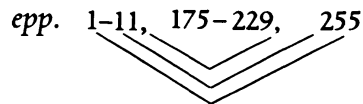
epp. 12–35, 230–54, 258



If, as I have surmised, this binion was lined for 27 vv. per page, then the last page was only two lines short of being completely filled.

Aubreton’s scribe subsequently gets possession of this binion—and, in addition, the epigrams from fols. 1, 4–8 of the original quaternion. If the epigrams from those folios had been recopied, it is plausible to assume that they, too, had been copied on pages lined for 27 vv. as in the exemplar. The result would in substance form Aubreton’s ternion except that the last poem would be not 229 but 255:

epp. 1–11, 175–229, 255

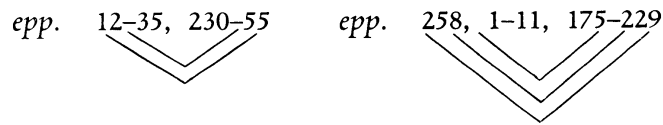


If this ternion was lined for 27 vv., then of course, exactly like fols. 1, 4–8 of the original quaternion which were its exemplar, the ternion would be completely filled with verse down to the last line on the last page. (Note that the existence of this ternion as such need not be postulated. Fols. 1, 4–8 of the original quaternion, for the most part loose but still kept together, could have come straight into the hands of Aubreton’s scribe without having been recopied; the scribe will have had the same epigrams in the same order, in either case.)

Aubreton’s scribe now copies the binion nearly to the end of the last page, where he stops before copying the last poem (258). Resuming his work later, he makes the mistake of copying the last poem from the ternion (255) instead of the last poem from the binion (258) on which he had been working. The mistake would be a natural one:

both collections have 27 vv. per page; one is written completely down, one nearly down, to the end of the last page; both end with poems by Straton.

Realizing his mistake, Aubreton's scribe begins his own ternion by copying 258 from the end of his exemplar-binion. He then proceeds to copy the poems in his exemplar-ternion (1–11, 175–229), of course omitting 255 at the very end because he has already put that poem at the end of his own binion. The order of epigrams in his binion and ternion thus looks like this:



An extraneous ternion containing epigrams by Meleager *et al.* (36–174) is now inserted between fols. 2 and 3 of the binion, as Aubreton suggested, producing the general order of all the poems as apparently known to *syll.* S.

Aubreton's hypothecated accidental tearing of some sheets and displacement of loose folios then takes place. But since in that displacement it is fol. 1 of the ternion that finds its way to the front, 258 is the first poem in the collection. When Meleager's two poems (*AP* 12.256f) are added at the end, an editor who thinks (like Aubreton³³) that 258 is also an appropriate conclusion copies it into the final position at the end of the anthology.

But 258 is not, of course, necessarily a conclusion poem at all. Unlike Meleager's 257, it makes no reference to being a final piece (neither does Meleager's 256). Straton's 258 is instead a type of the standard *excusatio* familiar in the works of Latin lyric poets who write this kind of verse; *cf.* Catullus 16, Martial 1.4 and 11.15, none at the end of a book. It is strange that Aubreton will not grant that Cephalas knew this poem, since the introduction to *AP* 12 (see *supra*)—itself an *excusatio* on Straton's behalf—sounds suspiciously as if it were based on 258; *cf.* Cephalas' *παίζων* with Straton's *παίγνια* (258.1), and Cephalas' *πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἀπεδείκνυτο* with Straton's *ἄλλοισιν ἀεὶ φιλόπαισι χαράσσω | γράμματ'* (258.3f). On the other hand, as Aubreton is at pains to point out, *AP* 12.1 is certainly the first poem in Straton's collection (*Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*, etc.); and so I have assumed in my reconstruction of the order of epigrams in what I believe to have been the original quaternion (see *supra*).

³³ Aubreton, *Byzantion* 39.

It will be observed that in the main I accept the plausibility of Aubreton's reconstruction of a stage in the manuscript tradition just prior to the creation of **P**. My own reconstruction represents the stage prior to Aubreton's: it is an attempt to account for the fact that all 94 of Straton's poems in *AP* 12 can form a perfect quaternion with 27 vv. per page; and an attempt to link that hypothetical quaternion, through Aubreton's reconstruction, to the condition of Book 12 in **P**. I believe this can be done, and I therefore believe we have no reason not to postulate such a quaternion. And the simplest way to account for its existence, if it did exist, seems to me to accept it as the *Musa Puerilis*, known to Cephalas and incorporated by him entire into his anthology.

We are left, however, with the other poems by Straton known to us outside *AP* 12. These are found in *AP* 11 (the convivial and satiric epigrams). There are five of them: 11.19, 21f, 117, 225. Are these poems to be considered an additional part of the *Musa Puerilis*?

Three are certainly not additional poems. 11.21 is no more than a variant reading of 12.242. Respectively:

Πρώην τήν καύραν Ἀγάθων ῥοδοδάκτυλον εἶχεν·
νῦν δ' αὐτήν ἤδη καὶ ῥοδόπηχυν ἔχει. [11.21]

Πρώην τήν καύραν ῥοδοδάκτυλον, Ἀλκιμ', ἔδειξας·
νῦν αὐτήν ἤδη καὶ ῥοδόπηχυν ἔχεις. [12.242]

It will be observed that the difference in readings really depends on the choice between the nominative Ἀγάθων and the vocative Ἀλκιμ'. This is not the place to consider variant readings in detail, but we may note that the vocative of 12.242 is more consistent with Straton's other poems in *AP* 12. In that book the poems in which Straton addresses a boy by name outnumber by nearly three to one the poems in which he names him in some other case.³⁴ 11.117 can hardly be part of the *Musa Puerilis*; it does not deal with love, paederastic or otherwise, but is a type of the standard satire aimed at doctors: Chryses could see very well until the physician Capito put salve on his eyes; now he can't see an elephant standing nearby, etc. Also, with 10 vv., 11.117 is longer than any other poem known to be by Straton.³⁵ 11.19 is cer-

³⁴ Vocative of address: 12.9, 16, 21, 176, 181–83, 186, 193, 196f, 202, 209, 213, 215, 218, 224, 228, 237, 241f, 247, 251; nominative subject, etc.: 12.11, 15, 184, 201, 204, 207, 226, 231. Neither Agathon nor Alkimos is named elsewhere in Straton's poems.

³⁵ 12.4, 8, 175, 195, 208, 211f, 222, 238 have 8 vv. each. The remaining 85 poems in *AP* 12 and the rest in *AP* 11 have 6 vv. or fewer.

tainly paederastic in sentiment, but it is explicitly sympotic in expression.³⁶ Cephalas regarded such poems as constituting a virtual genre: τὸ συμποτικὸν εἶδος, as he calls it in the separate introduction he wrote for his collection of them.³⁷ Further, 11.19 mentions no specific boy and is evidently addressed to a peer.³⁸ Though this epigram suits the spirit of the *Musa Puerilis*, it is reasonable to believe that (like 11.117) it was written for another kind of collection, perhaps one of toasts and satires, equivalent to *AP* 11.

11.22 and 11.225 are not so easy to dismiss. There is no denying that they are both perfectly consistent with the spirit and the letter of *AP* 12. Indeed, what they are doing in a collection of convivial and satiric epigrams I cannot tell, unless the unsubtle pun of the one and the labored arithmetic of the other were thought by the compiler to make them more funny than erotic. The circumstances of 11.225, in fact, are treated again in 12.210: the poem is different, but precisely the same tale is told. But this is worth noticing, because nowhere else in Straton's known poems can such a pair be found. Of course he can treat a *theme* again and again, in other pairs, even in other groups of poems. But in *AP* 12, though he may repeat themes, he never repeats exactly the same circumstances—as 11.225 and 12.210 do. Compare, for example, the two poems (12.15, 213) on what might be called the theme “Inanimate objects touch what I may not”; or the three poems (12.14, 205, 251) on what might be called the theme “When this little boy grows older, there will be serious business.” In the *Musa Puerilis* Straton writes variations on themes; he does not duplicate. Since 11.225 is duplicated by 12.210, I believe we have some grounds for supposing that it derives from an entirely different book of paederastic poems, now lost, in which duplication of an epigram found elsewhere would not be as obvious as it would in the same book.³⁹ As for 11.22, though Straton in *AP* 12 likes puns well enough (*cf.* 12.8.4, 12.11.4), I think it is fair to say that none in that book are as heavily-handedly obvious as the play on ‘serpent’ in this poem. I am aware

³⁶ Καὶ πῖε νῦν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐς αἰεὶ | πίομεθ' . . . | καὶ στεφάνοις κεφαλὰς πνικασώμεθα, καὶ μυρίσωμεν | αὐτούς . . . | νῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῖτω μέθυ τὸ πλέον ὄστ' ἄ τ' ἀμά' | νεκρὰ δὲ Δευκαλίων αὐτὰ κατακλυδάτω. The epigram is more concerned with drinking than with love. There are no sympotic poems by Straton in *AP* 12.

³⁷ See Aubreton, *REA* 64.

³⁸ As are only 3, 175, 185, 187, 195, 206, 255 in *AP* 12.

³⁹ There are examples *passim* in Martial.

that this is no more than a personal judgement and cannot be proved; but I do not believe the poem is even his.

A full discussion of Straton's style must be reserved to another time. In the last analysis, the best argument for limiting the *Musa Puerilis* to the full contents of Straton in *AP* 12 remains the fact that those poems will make a perfect quaternion with 27 vv. per page; and significant traces of groups of 27 vv. can be found in **P**. If he knew more poems in this collection, why does Cephalas in his introduction say (or even imply) nothing about excerpts or selections that come to hand, as he does in other introductions? Of Straton's five poems in *AP* 11, three obviously have little or no excuse for inclusion, and the remaining two are suspicious. In his epigrams included in *AP* 12 we have, I believe, the manuscript of Straton's *Musa Puerilis*.

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