

A Hellenistic Metrical Epitaph

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PROFESSOR W. M. CALDER III has entrusted me with the publication of this inscription on a stone of uncertain provenience presently in New York.¹ Professor Sterling Dow, who has seen the stone himself, supplies the following description: "a good white marble: length 0.333 m., height 0.20, present thickness 0.039, average letter height 0.01. The inscription is fitted into the space available, the last line being crowded in close to the bottom. It appears that the stone was cut down to bear this inscription. The present top results from cutting the block at a slant, downward and backward from the front, so that the height of the present back is 0.193 m., *i.e.* the slope is of 0.007 m. in a distance (the thickness) of 0.039 m. The bottom also was cut, not at a right angle, but to slope: the slope however is less than at the top, and the slope is greater at the right end than at the left. Both top and bottom are straight. It is as if each had been sawed, but there are tool marks on both top and bottom, small slight dents on the top, several irregular depressions on the bottom. The right end also is not an even polished surface, but shows work by a pointed chisel. It too does not make quite a true right angle with the front.

"The front surface is footworn in a fairly wide band along the right portion of the surface, and also at the lower edge. The stone was therefore at one time a step. Most of the surface shows some foot-wear. Subsequently, having broken at the left, the stone was used as a building block: some traces of cement can be detected especially on the right end. All the surfaces show weathering except the back, which has been sawed clean off by a machine saw in order to lighten the whole. The original thickness was doubtless sufficient for a step, *ca* 0.25–0.30 m. The slopes of the top, bottom and right side can be explained as mere carelessness: prolonged, they make it necessary

¹ It is a pleasure to thank here Professor Calder as well as Professor Dow, who made several excellent squeezes of the stone (in a private collection); thanks are due also to the Center for Hellenic Studies and the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, which provided me the time necessary to study this difficult text.

to imagine the block as irregular. No trace of an earlier inscription has been detected.”

After much effort it has proved possible to read with an approach to certainty nearly all of the letters preserved in whole or in part on the stone. On this basis it became in turn possible to restore with an approach to certainty several of the lines of this epigram; as is normal in metrical inscriptions, however, other lines allow such a wide range of different restorations that even where the sense can be established there exists no way of determining the original form of expression.

Because the text is not uniformly inscribed upon the stone according to the divisions by verse, lines 1–4, of which only isolated letters or words remain, are printed here together with line 5 as these lines appear on the stone; there follows the text of the preserved portion of the epigram divided according to verses, with the line divisions on the stone marked by vertical bars.

[---]Γ[-----]
 [--]ΚΠΡ[-----]
 [--]ΔΩΤΕΛΛΩ[-----]ΩΤ[---]
 [--]Ν. τιμαῖς Τ[.....] δόξα κατ[---]
 5 [--δ]ς πολλὰ πάτρα δῶρ' ἔτευχεν α[---

LINE 2. A diagonal break which removed the top left corner of the stone has carried away the top of the vertical and the upper slanting stroke of *kappa*, but the letter is still recognizable with its lower slanting stroke which, as is characteristic of *kappa* in this inscription, does not reach the bottom line. After *rho* the surface is not preserved.

LINE 3. Only the bottom right corner of *delta* and the left half of the first *lambda* are preserved. Both triangular letters seem to be *lambda* rather than *alpha* (surely not *delta*) because the broken cross-bar descending to the bottom of the line, characteristic of *alpha* in this inscription, is apparently absent here (the mark in the center of the second *alpha* seems to lack any connection with the left slanting stroke and therefore appears to be accidental; but the reading *alpha* cannot be excluded). The second possible *omega* in this line seems to be narrower than the first (which is faint and doubtful) but is not smaller than the *omegas* in verse 2 of the epigram (the right foot seems to be higher than the left, but this may be only an accidental mark). In the right portion of the line *omega* is better visible on the squeeze than on the photograph published here; before this letter and joining its left foot is a horizontal mark, perhaps too low and too near *omega* to be a letter-stroke.

LINE 4. The bottom left portion of *nu* is not preserved. The following letter must for metrical reasons be a short vowel, for the only possible way to fit the existing words into the metrical pattern of the iambic trimeter is:

[U-] N [U] τιμαῖς T [-U] δόξα κατ | [U-]

(between *τιμαῖς* and *δόξα* are *ca* 9 letters, hence two syllables). All of the second *tau* but the right half of the horizontal stroke is preserved. To the right of the damaged area is an uncertain letter which must, for metrical reasons, be a short vowel. The last letter in the line seems to be *tau* rather than *iota* (the horizontal bar is faint but visible). It is not possible to reconstruct the syntax and thus determine the case of *δόξα*; at the end of the line the restoration which comes naturally to mind is *κάτ*[[*θανε*]. If *tau* was the last letter in this line, the final syllables of the verse followed perhaps by a *vacat* to mark the division between verses (like that before verse 9) would just fill the first portion of the next line before [δ]c.

Preserved portion of the epigram:

[δ]ς πολλὰ πάτρα δῶρ' ἔτευχεν α[U-]
 [ἦρξε]ν τ' ἐφήβων καὶ νέων ἐπ[α]ξίως
 [ἀγῶν]ά τ' ἐβράβευεν ὃν δῆμος τε[λεῖ].
 4 [φύει δὲ] γῆ τοὺς καὶ πάλιν κομίζ[ε]ται.
 [υῖος δ' ἀγ]ασθεὶς Μαιάδος δια[U-]
 [ἐνθ' εὖ]ρεβείς ναίουσιν αὐτὸν ζω[U-].
 [cύ] δ' ὅς κέλευθον τὴν παρ' ἠρίον | [e.g. πατεῖς]
 8 τὸν πᾶσιν ἀστ[οῖ]ς καὶ ξένοις | [ποθούμενο]ν
 χαίρειν προσείπας | [ἀβλα]βῆς ὄδοιπόρει.

v.1. The first three (or four) letters on the preserved part of the stone are indistinct, but in the letter-space before *pi* are visible horizontal strokes at the top and bottom of the line. Only part of the loop of each of the two *rhos* is preserved.

v.2. Of *phi* only the vertical stroke (better visible on the squeeze than on the photograph) remains. Traces of the right and of the top of the left slanting strokes of the first *alpha* are preserved, nearer *kappa* than *iota*. Where the second *alpha* stood the surface no longer exists.

v.3 Of the first *alpha* there remain the lower portion of the right slanting stroke and the horizontal bar. The bottom of the second *epsilon*, better visible on the squeeze than on the photograph, is preserved. The end of the line is very worn and disturbed by accidental

marks: it is possible to select among the traces those which correspond to the letters here restored and replace the brackets by points beneath the letters, but a different selection among the marks could produce different letters with equal justification.

v.4. The first letter is *gamma*, completely preserved (the slanting marks are accidental). The left vertical stroke of *nu* is faint and the slanting center stroke appears to be more vertical than normal; the vertical and part of the lower slanting strokes of *kappa* are preserved; only the top of *zeta* and *tau* remains. The central strokes of the final *alpha* are faint but visible.

v.5. The first preserved letter appears to be *alpha* with broken central bar reaching the bottom of the line, but here as in the letter-space occupied by the first *iota*, the surface is disturbed by accidental marks (cf. *infra* n.20). At the end of the preserved part of the line is the left half of *alpha*, after which the surface is too worn to permit decipherment.

v.6. At the left margin is preserved the extremity of two horizontal strokes at the top and bottom of the line: *epsilon* or *sigma*. The upper half of *beta* is lost; the slanting mark which traverses the following *epsilon* is accidental, since the top and bottom horizontal bars of this letter are preserved. The penultimate letter seems to be also *epsilon* or *sigma* of which the three horizontal bars remain (cf. the *sigma* in ἀστ[οῖ]ς); the last visible letter resembles *omega* but is noticeably deeper than the other letters and may represent in part accidental damage to the surface.

v.7. At the present left margin is preserved a triangular letter: *delta* or *lambda* rather than *alpha*. The last two letters on the stone in this line are very faint, but the upper part of a small *omicron* suspended in the middle of the line and the left vertical stroke of *nu* are still discernible. The last word in this verse stood in the beginning of the next line on the stone, now lost.

v.8. The first preserved letter has a horizontal bar at the top of the line joining the upper part of a vertical stroke: *gamma* or *tau*. The last two letters on the stone in this line are again very faint, but the verticals and the left portion of the slanting stroke of *nu* and the left half of *omicron* remain and render these letters secure, after which the lower part of *iota* and a small *sigma* are dimly visible. The last three letters are smaller and carved more closely together than the other letters of the line, since the mason was approaching the limit of the space available before the right margin.

v.9. The first letter-stroke preserved in the penultimate line on the stone is the right vertical of *nu* which ends the last word in v.8 of the

epigram. After this is a *vacat* of one letter-space which marks the beginning of a new verse. Since the mason realized that he could not end the verse in this line, he left the stone uninscribed after the participle and began a new line (centred, as may be deduced from the preserved right portion) containing the last two words of the verse. In the last line on the stone, only the top half of *beta* is preserved; between *delta* and *omicron* are two letter-spaces left uninscribed, presumably to avoid a defect in the surface.

The inscription displays irregular, rapid script of the late Hellenistic period. *Alpha* has a broken crossbar which often descends nearly to the bottom of the line; the lower slanting stroke of *kappa* on the other hand does not reach the bottom of the line; the left vertical stroke of *nu* often descends lower than the right vertical; *theta* (with point) and *omicron* are smaller than the other letters and suspended in the middle of the line; *omega* too is smaller than the normal (cf. v.2).

Because of the very worn condition of the surface, most of the letters are difficult to read and many can hardly be deciphered until the words to which they belong are recognized; the photograph on PLATE 2 will permit verification of doubtful passages. Because so much is preserved and may with patience be read upon the stone, it is almost irresistible to attempt restoration of what remains incomplete; but it is well to remember the oft-repeated and recently renewed² warning of J. and L. Robert, who emphasize “à quelle déraison cèdent les philologues qui se torturent—et nous torturent—pour arriver à récrire une épigramme complète.” Restorations placed in the text seem at least probable; others will be discussed in the commentary; and different scholars will doubtless propose yet more. The following translation will indicate the sense of the poem with the restorations here suggested:

.

who contrived many gifts to his country . . . ,
 commanded the ephebes and young men in worthy fashion,
 and judged the contest which the people celebrates.

- 4 Earth brings forth those whom she takes again to herself,
 but the son of Maia wondering at . . .
 [conveyed] him to where the pious dwell.

² *BullEpigr* 1973 no.270 (on a metrical epitaph of Pieria in Macedonia).

But you, who walk the path by the tomb,
 8 to him who is missed by all townsmen and foreigners
 saying "Farewell!" go without harm on your way.

The poem is metrically correct throughout and each line constitutes with regard to sense a separate unit. The first line on the stone, of which only *gamma* now remains, was the first verse of the epigram, and the initial verses will have contained the name of the deceased as well as, perhaps, the name of his city. The preserved portion of the poem is composed of three sections, each of which contains three verses: the first recounts the career of the deceased as benefactor, gymnasiarch and agonothetes; the second states that his fate after death was not the common lot of returning to earth, but that by the intervention of Hermes he was taken to the land of the blessed; and the third constitutes an invocation to the passerby. Nothing in the epigram contains any allusion to local or regional particularities; on the contrary, the poem is a typical creation of Hellenistic culture and as such could have been written anywhere in the Greek East.

While the restoration at the beginning of v.1 seems certain, it does not appear possible to recover with certainty the word which stood at the end: there may have been an adjective modifying δῶρα, e.g. ἐνά[ίει|μα] (cf. *Il.* 24.452 and *h.Cer.* 369, but these passages concern gifts to divinities); W. Peek suggests ἀ[γλαά]; but the word could also have been an adverb (perhaps with *alpha* privative), etc. (the word may begin with *epsilon*, *nu* or *alpha*).

For the functions named in v.2 compare lines 2ff of a metrical epitaph of the Roman period from Kytoros in Paphlagonia:³

. . . τάφος κατέχει

4 υἰὸ[ν] Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ πρὶν ποτ[ε γυ]μνασιάρχου,
 αὐτὸν ἐφήβα[ρχ]ον λαμπρότατον πατρί[δο]ς·
 μάρτυρα δ' Ἡρακλέην [λι]παροῖς ἐνὶ γυμνασίαις[ι]
 [χ]άλκεον ἀθρήσεις σὺ[ν κ]εραῆ ἑλάφῳ.
 8 τοῦ με χάριν [Δ]ώροιο πόλις τειμαῖσιν ἀπ[ά]σαι
 ἄμμυγα Πεισιθέῃ τεῖσε φίλῃ ἀλόχῳ.

Lines 5–6 suggest one type of δῶρα which the subject of our epigram could have made to his city, and the phrase πόλις τειμαῖσιν ἀπ[ά]σαι

³ W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin 1955) no.788 ("II./III. Jh."), hereafter *PEEK*: cf. L. Robert, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 21.

. . . *τεῖκε* in lines 7–8 recalls the words *τιμαῖς* . . . *δόξα* which survive on line 4 of the stone. The Paphlagonian epigram distinguishes between the office of gymnasiarch (held by Aristoxenos) and that of ephebarch (held by his son). The latter title apparently did not designate a municipal office like that of gymnasiarch but rather was given to an individual chosen among the ephebes themselves.⁴ In our text it is possible to consider the authority said to have been exercised by the deceased over ephebes and young men as representing two distinct and successive functions,⁵ but it seems more likely that this verse refers only to a single office, that of gymnasiarch, and that the ephebes and young men of this city shared a single gymnasium as they apparently did during the Hellenistic period at Miletus and at Pergamum.⁶ Cf. lines 5ff of a metrical epitaph⁷ honoring a gymnasiarch at Miletus:

ἔξοχα δ' αἰνήσαα θεόκτιτος ἄδε σε γαῖα
 φροντίδι πανδήμῳ σὸν δέμας ἐκτέρεισε[ν],
 οὐνεκα καὶ πατέρων ἐπὶ γυμνάδος ἤδὲ φιλόπλου
 8 πρόσθε νέων ἀγέλας ἔδρακεν ἀγεμόνα.

In v.3 *βραβεύω* with the restoration here adopted has its common meaning 'arbitrate' (cf. LSJ s.v., which cites notably *LXX Wi.* 10.12 *ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρὸν ἐβράβευεν αὐτῷ*).⁸ The verb *τελεῖν* is restored on the

⁴ Cf. F. Poland, *Geschichte des gr. Vereinswesens* (Leipzig 1909) 90. Ch. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris 1962) 61, considers that "on peut se demander s'il s'agit là d'une simple distinction honorifique ou d'une sorte de grade" among the ephebes.

⁵ In that case the words *καὶ νέων* could be an allusion to the function of the *νεανικάρχης*, who (similarly to the ephebarch) was usually chosen from among the *νέοι* and often was not a municipal official (for the position of *νεανικάρχης* see the bibliography cited by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* II [Paris 1954] 42 n.7).

⁶ See J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) 127–29 for Miletus and 179–82 for Pergamum. The *νέοι* were normally that group of citizens which had recently completed the ephebic training program but, naturally, continued to use the gymnasium (cf. Poland, *op.cit.* [supra n.4] 93–94); documents from numerous cities attest gymnasiarchs who controlled both ephebes and *νέοι* while filling a single magistracy: see C. A. Forbes, *Neoi* (APA Mon. 2, Middletown 1933) 30.

⁷ Peek no.1485 ("I./II.Jh."). Boeckh (*CIG* 2892) recognized that the deceased had been gymnasiarch (cf. also L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* [Paris 1940, repr. Amsterdam 1971] 25–26 n.4), both of the *πατέρες* and of the *νέοι*.

⁸ J. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London 1914) 116, translate: "over his sore conflict she watched as judge." The verb here corresponds to the noun *βραβεύς* 'judge at the games' and not to *βραβευτής* 'village official' (for the latter term see the attestations collected by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II [Princeton 1950] 1026 n.70, and the discussion by P. Herrmann, "Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien," *Denkschr Wien* 80 [1962] 9).

assumption that it is here used poetically (like *πάτρα* for *πατρίς* in v.1) in place of *συντελεῖν*, common in this sense: for example in a decree of Eresos⁹ ἐπιμεληθεῖς τῷ ἀγῶνος ὃν συντελεῖ ὁ δᾶμος. For metrical inscriptions honoring men who served as agonothetes cf. line 4 of a sepulchral epigram of Herimone:¹⁰

ὅς ποτ' ἔην εἰερέυς καὶ ἀγ[ω]νοθέτης ἄμα τ' ἄρχων

and lines 7–8 of a poem at Sagalassus in honor of a benefactor who had been not only agonothetes but also *munerarius* responsible for gladiatorial combats and *venationes*:¹¹

τῷ μετὰ (κ)λεινὸν Ἄρην ἐνα(γ)ώνιος ἐστὶ κα(ὶ) Ἑρμ[ῆς],
νεῖκην πορσύνων ἀνδράσι ἀθλοφόροις.

The sense of v.4 is clear as it is given in the translation *supra*. The sentiment expressed here occurs of course frequently in sepulchral inscriptions of all types, both prose and verse;¹² for example an epigram at Athens¹³ states it thus:

ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα.

The same thought occurs in an epitaph at Nicosia:¹⁴

ἦρπασεν ἀθανάτων με χορός, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καλύπτει
γαῖα λαβοῦσα γέρας τοῦθ' ὃ δέδωκε πάλαι

and in an epigram at Bostra:¹⁵

πάντα χθὼν φύει καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἀμφικαλύπτει
τούνεκα μὴ στονάχοι τις ἀπὸ χθονὸς εἰς χθόνα δύνων.

⁹ Cited by L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris 1937, repr. Amsterdam 1970) 175: cf. another decree of Eresos restored by Robert in *REG* 38 (1925) 425 (*Opera Minora Selecta* II [Amsterdam 1969] 738) ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοίαι ἀγώνεσσι οἷς συντέλ[ει ἃ πόλις]. LSJ cites Diod.Sic. 11.29 τὸν ἐλευθέριον ἀγῶνα συντελεῖν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς.

¹⁰ Peek no.1773 ("III. Jh. n. Chr.?").

¹¹ Robert, *Gladiateurs* (*supra* n.7) no.98 (cf. p.22); Peek no.913a.

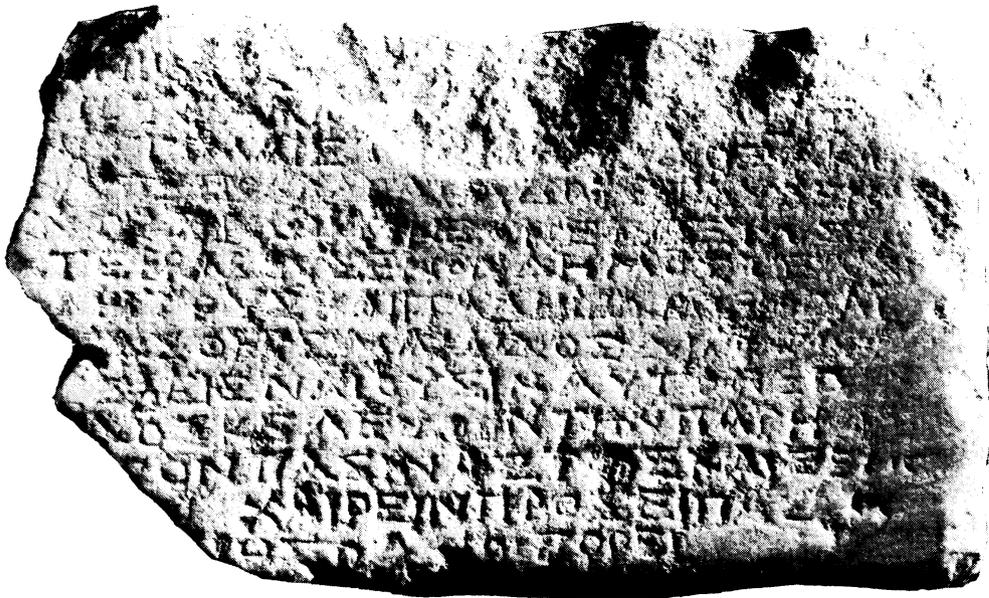
¹² For prose inscriptions it will suffice to cite a single example, from Thyatira: Keil and von Premerstein, *Zweite Reise* (*Denkschr Wien* 54, 1911) 45–46 no.84 ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν τὰγαθά; the editors comment that "Der Gedanke, dass alles, wenigstens alles Körperliche, aus der Erde entspringt und wieder zur Erde zurückkehrt, findet sich seit Epicharmos und Euripides in der Literatur und in Grabschriften in der verschiedensten Form ausgesprochen." For an early example of the use of *κομίζειν* in this context cf. Pl. *Phd.* 107B (cited by LSJ).

¹³ *IG* II² 7151 (Peek no.1702: "Anf. IV. Jh.").

¹⁴ Peek no.1325 ("II./III. Jh.").

¹⁵ Peek no.1661 ("II./III. Jh.").

DREW-BEAR PLATE 2



HELLENISTIC METRICAL EPITAPH

Already Euripides in *Antiope* (fr.195) wrote:

ἄπαντα τίκτει χθὼν πάλιν τε λαμβάνει.

But the closest parallel to the manner in which the thought is expressed in our epigram may be found in another iambic verse attributed to Menander:¹⁶

γῆ πάντα τίκτει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται.

Restoration of the beginning of v.4 remains difficult despite these parallels. The supplement [φύει δὲ] implies an opposition between Ge, who brings forth mortals and takes them back again, and Hermes, who took this particular individual to the Land of the Blessed, apparently because of his merits with regard to athletics and the gymnasium. A restoration such as [οὐκ τίκτε] (impf. act.; cf. LSJ s.v.) would emphasize a different point, that Earth receives again those whom she brings forth rather than that Earth bears those whom she takes again to herself; but this incurs the objections that there is no connective particle at the beginning of the new sentence and that the imperfect is not the tense required here.¹⁷ Cf. a funerary epigram at Athens:¹⁸

γαῖα μὲν εἰς φάος ἦρε, Σιβύρτιε, γαῖα δὲ κεύθει
 κῶμα, πνοὴν δὲ αἰθὴρ ἔλαβεν πάλιν, ὅσπερ ἔδωκεν.

In the next verse the appearance of Maia, in the genitive, seems to render necessary a restoration introducing her son Hermes, who plays here the rôle which he is normally assigned in funerary epigrams; the word denoting him should be in the nominative to provide an antecedent for the following participle and a subject for the verb governing αὐτόν. Hermes is called 'son of Maia' already by Homer: *Od.* 14.435 Ἑρμῆ, Μαιάδος υἱεῖ; cf. the first line of the Homeric Hymn in his honor:

Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν

¹⁶ *Menandri Sententiae* ed. S. Jaekel (BT, Leipzig 1964) p.41 line 145 (with ms. var. χθὼν in place of γῆ); cf. p.50 line 312: ἡ δοῦσα πάντα καὶ κομίζεται φύσει. Cf. also Eur. *Suppl.* 542ff.

¹⁷ The article serving as relative without expressed antecedent is rare; usage such as that in a metrical epitaph near Sardis of about the middle of the third century B.C. (L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* [Paris 1963] 337): . . . λίπον τρεῖς παῖδας ἐν οἴκῳ | θηλυτέρην τε μίαν τοὺς ἔλιπον φθιμένα, provides no real parallel, since the antecedent is here expressly given before the article. The restoration [τίκτει δὲ], is too long for the space available.

¹⁸ *IG II²* 12,599 (Peek no.1759: "1. H. III. Jh."). This suggests the restoration [οὐκ γ' ἦρε], but this verb alone seems too elliptic here without εἰς φάος or the equivalent.

The same appellation appears commonly thereafter, e.g. in a poem attributed to Anacreon (*Anth.Pal.* 6.346 *Μαιάδος υιέ*) and in an epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum.¹⁹ It does not seem feasible to recover with certainty the word which stood at the end of the verse, for too many possibilities present themselves: R. Merkelbach suggests the Homeric epithet of Hermes, *διάκτορος* (traces at the end of the line could be interpreted as the vertical of *κappa*, the top of the first *omicron*, etc.), but in place of an adjective in the nominative agreeing with [*υιός*] the verse may have ended with a noun in the genitive or accusative serving as object of [*ἀγ*]αχθείς²⁰ (for this verb used of gods who admire a mortal cf. the epigram from Pelagonia *BullEpigr* 1974 no. 335).

The deceased is not to return to earth but instead will go (v.6) to where the pious dwell.²¹ A vague belief that the souls of all men, or of those individuals who possess special merit, went after death to some land of the blessed²² is common in Greek sepulchral

¹⁹ *Anth.Pal.* 6.334; for another parallel in the *Anth.Pal.* and discussion of both see A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams II* (Cambridge 1965) 312. The word *Μαιάδος* was recognized on the photograph by T. Hägg. Cf. also W. Quandt, *Orphēi Hymni*³ (Berlin 1962) no.28 line 1.

²⁰ If an adjective in the nominative is restored at the end of the line, there is no difficulty in supplying an object for the participle from *αὐτόν* in the next verse. The marks at the beginning of the preserved portion of this line could be interpreted to yield the restoration [*ἀρ*]αχθείς, but examination of the squeezes strongly favors *alpha* over *epsilon* as the first preserved letter (before it is a short horizontal stroke at the top of the line, which may be part of *gamma* or only a scratch). The presence of a nearly vertical mark between this apparent *alpha* and the *sigma* suggests a restoration of the type [*υιῶ* κο]μυθείς followed by e.g. *δι' αἰθέρος, διὰ δνόφου* (P. Wülfing), etc., but aside from the problems thus created for the sense at the end of v.6, the following objections are conclusive: examination of the preserved letters confirms that the mark interpreted as *iota* slants to the left instead of rising vertically, does not continue towards the top of the line, and is too close to the preceding letter (these observations exclude also the restoration [*π*]εταθείς); a connective or adversative particle is absolutely essential here; and repetition of *κομίζω* in this fashion is unattractive in such a brief poem. The restoration *δι' α[ἱρεων]* (for this word in the Hellenistic period cf. J.-A. de Foucault, *Recherches sur la langue et le style de Polybe* [Paris 1972] 21 and 207) does not accord well with [*ἀγ*]αχθείς, which apparently was not employed in conjunction with *διά*.

²¹ For the expression with this verb cf. *IG XIV 1356* (Peek no.2061: "III./IV. Jh.?") at Rome: *ἐνθα τε φῶτες | εὐσεβέες ναίουσι*; *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Leningrad 1965) no.131 (Peek no.1869: "I. Jh.") at Pantikapaion: *εὐσεβέων ναίουσ ἱερὸν δόμον*; *IG XII.8 38* (Peek no.1162) at Lemnos; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris 1969) no.32 at Memphis; etc.

²² The terms used to express this idea are multiple: *εὐσεβέων εἰς χῶρον, δόμον, οἶκον, θάλαμον, λειμῶνα*, or simply *ἐν εὐσεβέων* or *παρ' εὐσεβέων*, etc. For examples and discussion of the dualism which appears in vv.4 and 6 of this poem cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1942) 31–44.

epigrams;²³ here the thought is implied that it is Hermes himself who decides to accord this privilege to the deceased.²⁴ The god is invoked for this purpose in an epigram at Patara:²⁵

... τόν, ὦ Μαΐας κλυτὲ κοῦρε
 Ἑρμείη, πένποις χῶρον ἐπ' εὐσεβέων

and in a metrical epitaph at Itanos:²⁶

Ἑρμῆ Μαϊάδος υἱέ, ἄγ' εὐσεβέων ἐπὶ χῶρον.

The verb used in this context is very frequently ἄγω, as in an epigram of Corinth:²⁷

[τ]ῶν ἔνεκ' εὐσεβέων με καθ' ἱερὸν ἄγαγε χῶρον | Ἑρμᾶς

but of course other verbs occur, such as ἰδρύω²⁸ or its compound, at Thyatira:²⁹

[ῆλ]υθον ἔνθα Διός [μ' ἔδρ]αισι καθεΐδρυσεν [Ἑρμῆ]ς

If the penultimate letter is read as *epsilon* and what follows on the stone is regarded as mainly accidental damage, it would become possible to restore ε[ἴταγε] or ε[ἰάγει];³⁰ more probable is W. Peek's suggestion ζῶ[ε' ἄ|γων].

²³ Epigraphical and literary examples are collected for instance by A. J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* (Paris 1932) 144–60.

²⁴ Cf. E. Rohde, *Psyche* II³ (Freiburg i. B. 1898) 387: "Nicht philosophischer Belehrung, sondern den Gedanken volksthümlicher Religionsübung gehen diejenigen nach, die einem seligen Leben nach dem Tode zugeführt zu werden hoffen durch die eigene Fürsorge eines Gottes. . . . Er wird sie, so vertrauen sie, an seiner eigenen Hand in das Land der Wonne und Reinheit einführen." On Hermes in this function see P. Raingeard, *Hermès psychagogue* (Paris 1935) 509–19; instances in ancient verse are too numerous to cite.

²⁵ TAM II.2 470 (Peek no.258: "I. Jh. n. Chr."). Cf. IG XII.5 310 (Peek no.1871: "II. Jh. n. Chr.") line 16: τῆνδε ἄγε ἐπ' εὐσεβέων χῶρον ἔχουσα χερός (Persephone is addressed on behalf of a woman from Paros).

²⁶ ICr III p.121 no.37 (Peek no.1249: "II./I. Jh.") line 9.

²⁷ Peek no.1294: "2. H. II. Jh. n. Chr." Cf. Peek no.1795 at Smyrna, Diog.Laert., *Anth.Pal.* 7.91 (both with ἤγαγε), etc.

²⁸ Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) no.73 (Abydos, "sans doute haute époque impériale") 18ff: . . . μακάρων Ἡλύσιον πεδίον | ἐνθ' ἅμα παιεὶ θεῶν με φ[έρ]ων Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς | ἰδρυσε. As Bernand points out (p.302), Hermes not only leads the soul into the next world but decides where it is to live. For the idea implied in our poem, that one could gain access to the land of the εὐσεβεῖς by means of one's virtues, cf. for example Bernand no.48 (Memphis) Peek no.764 (Notion), etc.

²⁹ Peek no.1993: "I./II. Jh.?"

³⁰ For the imperative cf. Peek no.1693 at Demetrias, line 3: but this would require a preceding vocative. For the present tense cf. a metrical epitaph at Thessalonike discussed

The appeal to the wayfarer passing by the tomb (for the phrase used here *cf.* *παρ' ἡρίον ὅστις ὀδεύε[ις]* on an epigram from Augusta Emerita in Spain)³¹ is a common topic; for the restoration in v.8 *cf.* an epitaph at Kantanos in Crete:³²

ἄστοις καὶ ξείνοις ποθεινοτάτην παρὰ πᾶσιν

The phrase *πᾶσι ποθεινός*³³ and the pair *ἄστοις καὶ ξείνοις*³⁴ both occur on numerous sepulchral epigrams. For the first half of the last verse *cf.* an epitaph at Rhodes:³⁵

χαίρειν προσείπας εὐτυχῶν ἀπότηρεχε

and another at Megara:³⁶

[χ]αίρειμ προσείπ[ας] εὐτυχῶμ παρ[άστιχε]

The restoration in the last line finds parallels in the last verse of a funerary epigram at Heracleopolis Magna in Egypt:³⁷

κύζου τὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς δόμον ἀβλαβέως

by W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 13 (there in the second person), and Antipater of Sidon, *Anth.Pal.* 7.241 (a general statement): neither is exactly comparable. Thus restoration of this verb here does not quite fit either the sense or the traces on the stone.

³¹ *IG XIV 2451* (Peek no.2009: "Anf. II. Jh. n. Chr.>"). For this subject see the examples and discussion in Lattimore, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.22) 230–36. The word *ἡρίον* is common in funerary epigrams: it suffices to refer to the index of G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca s.v.* (other examples in the *Anth.Pal.*). The restoration [cù] δ' ὅς was made by W. D. Lebek.

³² *ICr II p.89 no.10* (Peek no.1261: "II. Jh.>").

³³ *IG IX.2 367* ("litterae tertii a. Chr. n. saeculi" Kern; Peek no.1537) ἡ ῥα ποθεινός πᾶσιν ἔβης δόμον "Αἶδος; L. Robert points out that this is an inscription of Demetrias and was never at Thessalonike (*Hellenica* 10/11 [1960] 276–79; *cf.* now *Annuaire École des Hautes Études* 1973/74, p.246, for the technique of engraving). *IG II² 12,974* (Peek no. 1499: "nach *Mi. IV. Jh.*") δαίμων δέ ε' ἀφείλετο πᾶ<<>ι ποθεινόν; *IG II² 7406* "tempora Macedonica" (Peek no.1692) εὐδαίμων δ' ἔλιπεν βίοτον καὶ πᾶσι ποθεινή; *IG XII.9 1183* (Peek no.355: "Gebiet von Chalkis. II./III. Jh.") πᾶσι ποθητός; etc.

³⁴ Peek no.77 ("Osthang des Pelion, Thessalien. 2. H. V. Jh.") ὅς μάλ' ἀπολλο[ίς] | ἄστοις καὶ ξείνοις δόκε θανόν άνίαν; Peek no.677 (Ephesus, "III./II. Jh.") [ἀστ]οίς καὶ ξείνοις προσηνάς; Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) 203 no.44 (Leontopolis, "haute époque impériale") Ἀστεοὶ καὶ ξένοι [sic], κατακλαύσατε πάντες; Peek no.1732 ("Nea Isaura, III./IV. Jh.") ὄν πάντες φίλεον μέρορες, ἄστοί τε ξένοι [τε]; etc.

³⁵ Peek no.1347 ("II./I. Jh.>").

³⁶ *IG VII 114* (Peek no.2076: "III. Jh."): the text adopted here is that of Peek. *Cf.* also Peek no.1833: "II. Jh." (from Salamis on Cyprus) πάρηθι, ξένε, χαίρε προσείπας, and P. Frisch, *I.Ilion* no.176 (Peek no.1350: "ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.") χέρε προσειπάμ[ενος].

³⁷ Bernand, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.21) 165 no.33 ("basse époque hellénistique"). *Cf. ibid.* p.70 no.8 (of uncertain provenience, "basse époque hellénistique"): ἀβλαβέως ἔρπεθ[ι] ἀτραπιτοῦ?

and in the end of a metrical epitaph at Smyrna:³⁸

ξείνε, cὺ δ' αἰείας Δημοκλέος υἰέα χαίρειν
Δημοκλέα στείχοις ἀβλαβὲς ἴχνος ἔχων.

The final section of the poem thus presents no major difficulty.

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April, 1975

³⁸ F. H. Marshall, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* IV 1024 (Peek no.760: "II./I. Jh."). Kaibel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.31) no.237, commented "αἰείας i.q. εἴπας nove dictum videtur."