

Supplementum Hellenisticum 969 (PSI inv. 436):
in Praise of a Ptolemaic General?

SH 969 (PSI inv. 436):

Reconstruction *exempli gratia*:

1	πολλάκι μὲν περὶ σεῖο φάτις ν[	πολλάκι μὲν περὶ σεῖο φάτις ν[ικηφόρος ἦλθε
2	γ . . . αν ο . . . [± 2]ειλου [. .] ἀμβ . . . [	γαῖαν ο . . . [. . N]ειλου [. .] ἀμβ . . . [
3	εσθλ . . [± 2] . . ων σὺ βροτῶν π . [	ἐσθλο[τά]των σὺ βροτῶν πρ[οτέρων καλὸν ἤνυσας ἔργον
4	ἄξιον ἐν βύβλοις δόξαν ἀει . [	ἄξιον ἐν βύβλοις δόξαν ἀειρ[άμενος
5	πρόσθε γὰρ Αἰγύπτωι ὅτε . [	πρόσθε γὰρ Αἰγύπτωι ὅτε . [
6	καὶ θρασὺς ἐμ πολέμοις ἔβρε[	καὶ θρασὺς ἐμ πολέμοις ἔβρε[με Κελτὸς ἼΑρης
7	φῦλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐπικ . . [	φῦλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ κεί[νους ἤλασας ἄνδρας
8	πέμπων εἰς Ἄϊδην ἀντία[	πέμπων εἰς Ἄϊδην ἀντία [μαρνάμενος
9	]υρ[	]υρ[

- 2 γαῖαν Bartoletti; οτ[vel οθ[vel ος[;
N]εἰλου Terzaghi; ad fin. fort. υ[; [λ]αμβ[α]ν[
vel [θ]αμβ[α]λε[Parsons, Lloyd-Jones
3 εσθλε vel εσθλο;]των vel]ων vel]μων;
ἐσθλὸς ἐμῶν, εσθλε Parsons, Lloyd-Jones
4 ρ[vel τ[; χ[Parsons, Lloyd-Jones
5 π[vel σ[Parsons, Lloyd-Jones
7 κει[Terzaghi; κοι[Parsons, Lloyd-Jones
9 fort.]υτ[;]υρ[Bartoletti;]αυ[Terzaghi

This is the general sense of the fragment: “Often came to Egypt the news of your victories (vv. 1–2); with heroic deeds you gained a glory that will survive in books (vv. 3–4). Previously, in fact, when [the Galatians] were raging and threatening Egypt (vv. 5–6), you drove the Greek army against them, sending them to Hades (vv. 7–8); [then ... you completed other deeds (against the Seleucids?)] (vv. 9 ss.)”

PSI inv. 436, now preserved at the Istituto Papirologico Vitelli in Florence¹, is a second-century B.C. papyrus containing eight verses, and two letters of a ninth, of a poem in elegiacs in honour of a high-ranking military man who deserves to be remembered ἐν βύβλοις (v. 4). Although some writing

Works frequently quoted:

- É. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice nova Epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum*, vol. III, Parisiis 1927.
G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berolini 1878.
J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxonii 1925 (CA).
W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften I*, Berlin 1955 (GVI).
É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris 1969.
P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca saec. VIII–V a. Chr. n.*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1983.
P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca II saec. IV a. Chr. n.*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1989 (CEG).
R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Band I, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1998 (SGO).

¹ Ever since its initial publication, SH 969 has been studied not alone but in conjunction with another fragment, SH 958. Concise bibliography: U. von Wilamowitz, *Dichterfragmente aus der Papyrussammlung der Königlichen Museen*, II: *Hellenistische Elegie*, SPAW 1918, 736–739; B. Snell, *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, mit einigen Stücken aus der Sammlung Hugo Ibscher*, II, Hamburg 1954, 126–127; V. Bartoletti, *Due frammenti di un'elegia ellenistica?*, SIFC n. s. 34 (1962) 25–30; W. Peek, *Papyrus-Fragmente einer alexandrinischen Elegie*, Maia 15 (1963) 199–210; W. Richter, *Eine Elegie des Musaios von Ephesos auf Attalos I.?*, Maia 15 (1963) 93–119; A. Barigazzi, *Un frammento dell'Inno a Pan di Arato*, RhM 117 (1974) 221–246; S. Barbantani, *Φάτις νικηφόρος Frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell'età delle Guerre Galatiche: Supplementum Hellenisticum 958 e 969*, Milano 2001.

is visible on the left-hand side (two oblique strokes at ll. 7–8), it seems to represent marginalia rather than a column to the left of the one preserved.

There are clear similarities between the style, the structure and the vocabulary of this fragment and those of funerary and dedicatory epigrams of the third and second centuries B.C. for military men and for Hellenistic dynasts². If it is not some kind of *laudatio funebris* for a general, it could belong to an encomium in elegiacs comparable to the epinicians written by Callimachus in honour of Queen Berenike and Sosibios (SH 254–269 and fr. 384 Pfeiffer).

Where and when did the deeds of the *laudandus* take place? It is hard to tell from just a few lines. Nevertheless, the key-word is Ἕλληνας (v. 7). Since this word is used in Hellenistic poetry only in opposition to people who are *not* Greek, namely the *Barbarians*, we can exclude the possibility that the enemy of the Ptolemaic commander here is the Seleucids. The only barbarian enemy exploited in the propaganda of any of the Hellenistic kingdoms was the Galatians, who, in the eyes of third-century Greeks, fulfilled the role played in the fifth century by the Persians. That said, it is still difficult to identify the *laudandus*; all we can do is to propose some hypotheses.

Ptolemaic armies clashed with Galatians both in Egypt and in Asia Minor, in the territories controlled by the Ptolemies, such as Lycia³. Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* (vv. 165–188), the *schol.* F E e Π La Q on ll. 175–187 and Pausanias I 7, 2 tell us that around 275 Ptolemy II Philadelphos had to suppress a riot of Galatian mercenaries whom he had enrolled to fight Magas of Cyrene. If, as some previous editors have suggested, the fragment refers to that event, the addressee could be a general in charge of the punishment of the rebels; an alternative possibility is to see here an allusion to events which occurred in Asia Minor, through which the Galatians passed in 278/7 after being repelled at Delphi: there the Ptolemaic army which was trying to protect the πόλεις loyal to Egypt had to fight both the Seleucids and the marauding barbarians. A hero for the people of Tlos, in Lycia, was Neoptolemos son of Kressos to whom they dedicated a statue and an epigram preserved by Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀργίαι (21, 13 Meineke)⁴: he defeated a group of Galatians and other barbarians which, around the '60s or '50s of the third century, had attacked Lycia⁵. This Neoptolemos could well be the general of SH 969. To be assigned to a difficult territory such as Lycia he would have needed a great deal of military experience, and it is possible that he fought in the First Syrian War. Neoptolemos son of Kressos is the same person as the 'Neoptolemos son of Kraisos' who was eponymous priest of the *Theoi Adelphoi* in Alexandria in 252/1⁶; this position was normally assigned to the loyal φίλοι of the king.

² Compare, e. g., with SGO 01/01/13 (Cnidos, II B.C.); Bernand 1969 no. 4, 3–8, 11 (Peek GVI 1149; Koptos, II B.C.): epitaph for the commander Ptolemaios and his son; Bernand 1969 no. 10, 1–2 (Abou-Billou or Terenuthis, I–II A.D.): epitaph for a mercenary from Apamaea; Bernand 1969 no. 66 (II–I B.C., Naukratis?): epitaph for the soldier Philonides; IG XI 4.1105, 1–6 (Delos, III–II B.C.): dedicatory epigram for a statue representing Philetairos of Pergamum, and commemorating the expulsion of the Galatians (cfr. SH 121, epinician epigram for Attalus senior; another epinician epigram SGO, 06/02/21 ll. 11–12, presents Fama personified giving a wreath to Philetairos and the house of Pergamum).

³ Near Tlos, Lymira, Patara/Arsinoe. See U. Schaaf, *Ein keltischer Hohlbuckelring aus Kleinasien*, Germania 50 (1972) 94–97; K. Bittel, *Die Galater in Kleinasien, archäologisch gesehen*, in: *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien*. Travaux du VI^e Congrès International d'Études Classiques, Madrid, Sept. 1974, ed. D. M. Pippidi, Bucarest 1976, 241–249 (245); G. Stanzl, *Das sogenannte Ptolemaion in Limyra*. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1984–1989, KGB 36 (1990) 13–16; F. Kolb, *Geschichte Lykiens in Altertum*, in: F. Kolb, B. Kupken, *Lykien. Geschichte Lykiens in Altertum*, (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 2), Mainz am Rhein 1992², 9–31 (23); J. Borchhardt, *Ein Ptolemaion in Limyra*, RA 2 (1991) 309–322.

⁴ L. Robert, *Une épigramme hellénistique de Lycie*, JS 2 (1983) 241–258 (255–256). See also A. Wilhelm, *Ἐπίγραμμα ἐκ Λυκίας*, PAA 6 (1931) 319–334, repr. in: *Akademischeschriften zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde II (1895–1937)*, *Opuscula* Bd. 8, Leipzig 1974, 321–325 and *Griechische Epigramme aus dem Nachlaß*, eds. H. Engelmann, K. Wundsam, Bonn 1980, 33 no. 42. Page, FGE CXLI, pp. 448–449 date the event to 278–275; but according to H. Wörle, *Antiochos I., Achaïos der Ältere und die Galater. Eine neue Inschrift in Denizli*, Chiron 5 (1975) 59–87, the Galatian attack should be considered to have occurred later.

⁵ K. Strobel, *Die Galater im hellenistischen Kleinasien: Historische Aspekte einer keltischen Staatenbildung*, in: *Hellenistische Studien. Gedenkschriften H. Bengtson*, ed. J. Seibert, München 1991, 101–134 (125–126).

⁶ ProsPtol III 5204, IX 5204 (cfr. ProsPtol II 2168, corrected by ProsPtol VI 15224); J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymi*, Lovanii 1960, no. 34, 71–72; Wilhelm, *Ἐπίγραμμα* (s. n. 4), 328–329. It is possible that the same Neoptolemos was the commander of the troops of the Paneion in Radesiyeh (ProsPtol II 1958; see A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanais. Les inscriptions grecques*, Leiden 1972, 46–54).

v. 1. πολλάκι μὲν περὶ σεῖο φάτις ν[

What we have probably represents the beginning of the poem. In the first two verses it is said that φάτις, meaning news of victory, often came to Egypt — presumably from the lands where the general fought. In the elegiac encomia composed by Callimachus for Sosibios and Berenike (fr. 384 Pfeiffer and *Victoria Berenikes*, SH 254–269) we find that the opening verses contain the epinician *topos* of announcement of the victory, or the arrival of the winner.

Πολλάκι is often found in the opening lines of elegy and epigrams. The concept is developed in the following lines; as is probably the case here, in dedicatory and funerary epigrams πρόσθε is balanced by a phrase, which is sometimes introduced by νῦν⁷. In our fragment a νῦν, no longer visible, should introduce the praise of the most recent victory of the *laudandus*. It is an epinician *topos* to list the previous victories of the winner when the most recent one is celebrated.

The *editor princeps* Terzaghi reconstructed φάτις ν[ικηφόρος ἦλθε (vel ἦκε). Ν[is highly probable from the traces left on the papyrus; moreover νικηφόρος is used by Pindar and in tragedy and also appears in Hellenistic royal titlature⁸. Φάτις' meaning here lies somewhere between 'glory' and 'news, statement'⁹. Encomium shares a number of *topoi* with epinikion, such as that Fama brings the good news of victory even to the furthestmost bounds of the world, or to the homeland of the winner. The word also occurs in the *Victoria Sosibii*, where it is enriched by the personification of the Nile (vv. 27–34).

v. 2. γ . . αν ο . . [± 2] ειλου [.] αμβ . . [

This verse has been devastated by large lacunae and the displacement of the fibres makes it difficult to read the surviving letters, even through an electronic magnification. It is highly probable that here was named the place to which the news of victory arrived, namely the homeland of the *laudandus*.

Terzaghi's reconstruction Ν|είλου would appear to be confirmed by the presence of Αἰγύπτῳ in v. 5. The Nile, which symbolised the extremities of the world, is mentioned in epinikia of the fifth century and also appears in Hellenistic epigrams and late encomia¹⁰. Γαῖαν, suggested by Bartoletti, is compatible with the traces on the papyrus visible through a microscope. The definition of Egypt as 'land of the Nile', or similar, is fairly common in epigrams¹¹. Unfortunately there are no papyrological grounds to confirm or reject the splendid reconstruction by Herwig Maehler ὄπο[υ Ν]είλου [λ]άμβ[α]νε πείραθ' ὕδωρ, suggested at the Vienna conference. Referring to Egypt at the beginning of an encomium of course is a way of underlining the loyalty of the general and his links with the court, to where 'often' came the news of his victories abroad.

⁷ πολλάκι ... νῦν, cf. πρὶν/πρόσθε/πότε ... νῦν: see i. e. Peek GVI 675, 1–5 (Aquila III A.D., for Bassilla, who gained δόξαν not ἐν πολέμοις, but in the theatre); *A. P.* IX 19, 1–7; Cougny caput II 87, 2 and 620, 5 (πρόσθε μὲν ..., νῦν δέ); Cougny caput II 325, 1–2 (καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἐν πολέμοις τηρῶν πύργων, παροδίτα | καὶ νῦν τηρέσω, ὡς δύναμαι, νέκυς ὄν); SGO, 01/01/10 vv. 1, 5 (Cnidus, IV B.C.: πρόσθε μὲν ἐν θυσίαισι ... | νῦν δὲ σὲ μοῖρα ...); SGO 01/02/01 vv. 3, 7 (Tymnos, III B.C.): ... πόκα ... | νῦν δὲ ...

⁸ Royal titlature: OGIS 89 (Ptolemy IV Σωτήρ καὶ Νικηφόρος), P.Frankf. 3, 10–11 (213/2 B.C.); P.Tebt. I 43, 28 (118 B.C.); SB V 8883, 48 (116 B.C.); SB III 6153, 20 (93 B.C.) and 6155, 20 (69/8 B.C.); SB IV 7259, 17 (95/4 B.C.); UPZ I 106, 13 (99 B.C.); OGIS 168, 49 (Ptolemy X and Cleopatras θεοὶ νικηφόροι καὶ αἰώνιοι; OGIS 736, 10. Encomia by Dioscoros of Aphrodito (VI A.D.) in praise of imperial governors: 18, 20 Fournet: νικ[η]φόρος, θρασὺς, καταπατῶν ἐχθρούς; 14, 10 Fournet: Κολλοῦθε νικηφόρε πανεξοχάτατε; 19, 7 Fournet: τοὺς εὐμενεῖς νικηφόρους στρατηλάτας.

⁹ Cf. CEG 2 no. 862, 1–2: [Αὐτα πευθο]μένοις ἐτόμα φάτις, ἰπ[άδ]α [νίκαν] | [εἶναι καλλίστα]ν κείναι Ὀλυμπιάδι (Kos, IV. B.C.).

¹⁰ Bacchyl. IX 40–41: τοῦ κ[λέος] π[ᾶσαν] χθόνα ἦλθε[ν καὶ] ἐπ' ἔσχατα Νείλου; Pind., *Isth.* VI 22–23: Μυρία δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέτμανθ' ἐκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶ κέλευθοι, καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγᾶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους; Peek GVI 904 (Rhodi III/II B.C.): ἦκει καὶ Νείλου προχοᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατον Ἴνδον | τέχνας Ἀμφιλόχοιο μέγα κλέος ἀφθιτον αἰεὶ. In late encomia the Nile is still presented as the *genius loci* (SGO 03/02/11, V A.D.: Φαρίης ἀπὸ γαίης | καὶ Νείλου γονόντος), ready to greet generals and emperors (P.Ant. III 115, fr. b v. 20: ... ν.ορος εκ νειλ[.] χορεύται.

¹¹ Cf. Tymnes, *A. P.* VII 477, 2: εἰ μὴ πρὸς Νείλω γῆς μορίης ἔτυχε; SGO 03/02/11 vv. 1–3: Ὀρχαμον ... Φαρίης ἀπὸ γαίης | καὶ Νείλου γονόντος.

vv. 3–4. ἐσθλ . [± 2] . ων σὺ βροτῶν π . [| ἄξιον ἐν βύβλοις δόξαν ἀει . [

The presence of a form of ἐσθλός at the beginning of v. 3 was already suspected by Parsons and Lloyd-Jones and is compatible with the traces visible through a microscope. A superlative form fits well. Ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ / ἐσθλὸς ἐών¹² opens many epigrams; ἐσθλός belongs to the epinician lexicon, as does the partitive βροτῶν, which emphasises the very small number of mortals worthy of fame and endowed with special virtue¹³.

At the end of v. 4 there must be a participle. Δόξαν ἀειράμενος is a phrase occurring frequently in pentameters in archaic elegy (Theognis 90, 238) and in epigrams¹⁴. I propose the following hypothetical reconstruction for vv. 3–4: ἐσ[θ]λοτ[ά]των σὺ βροτῶν προτέρων καλὸν ἤνυσας ἔργον | ἄξιον, ἐν βύβλοις δόξαν ἀειράμενος (-μενόν) ‘you accomplished a fine deed worthy of the most noble mortals of former times, elevating in books your glory’. The construction is traditional: ἐν βύβλοις is echoed in v. 6 by the usual formula ἐν πολέμοις occurring before the caesura.

The *topos* of the conferment by poetry of eternal fame is here given a twist by the typically Hellenistic reference to ‘books’. The poet wishes that the dedicatee will be celebrated in future literary works, as in Theoc., *Id.* XVII 136–137, and perhaps hopes that his elegy will survive ἐν βύβλοις (v. 4) and grant a δόξαν ἀειτ[ε]λέα / ἀειχ[ρ]όνιον to the hero.

vv. 5–6. πρόσθε γὰρ Αἰγύπτωι ὅτε . [| καὶ θρασὺς ἐμ πολέμοις ἔβρε[

The poet is listing the victories πολλάκι gained by the soldier, both those occurring πρόσθε (v. 5), that is ‘in the past, previously’, and those occurring νῦν (or ἔπειτα), that is ‘now’, which adverb ought to appear in the following verses. Γὰρ introduces, with the enumeration of the deeds, the reason for the fame of the *laudandus* which has been stated in the first four verses. The first of the enterprises cited (πρόσθε), as hinted by the vv. 5ff., was very dramatic. However, since an encomium tended to omit any negative details regarding the *laudandus*, the expression πέμπων ἐς Αἶδην (v. 8) ought not to refer to a defeat involving the dedicatee; the subject of vv. 7–8 is the general and not the enemy, as some scholars have suggested. If the poet is really talking here about a defeat suffered by Greeks, we could think of the initial clashes between Greeks and Barbarians in 279, or else of defeats suffered by the armies organised by the Asian πόλεις to repel the Galatians: where the Seleucid army or the weak πόλεις were defeated, a strategos sent by the Ptolemaic βασιλεύς came and saved the day, as Neoptolemos did in Lycia.

The danger hanging over Egypt is war (v. 6: ἐμ πολέμοις¹⁵, possibly a poetic plural). The metonym Ἄρης, with the meaning ‘combat’ or ‘fury’, accompanied by an ethnic adjective indicating the people who are in arms, is a good reconstruction for v. 6. It is made even more probable by the customary link between ‘Ares’, or other military terms and characters, and the verb βρέμω, which is clearly visible in v. 6¹⁶. Θρασύς has a characterising value: the Galatians are in every Greek source signalled by their blind daring; it is used of Galatians in a famous epigram by Leonidas (*A. P.* VI 130, 2), for the dedication

¹² Bacchyl. X 47–48: ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα πολλῶν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων πολυζήλωτον εἶμεν. Ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ | ἐσθλὸς ἐών closes four hemistichs of Theognis (Theogn. 234, 570, 1112, 1118), while in the Homeric poems it appears four times at the beginning of the verse (LfgrE II, c. 733) and it is found in the same position in epigrams (es. Kaibel no. 221: ἐσθλὸς ἐών); ἐσθλοῦ opens SGO 02/06/12 (I–II A.D.). Ἐσθλός is often a key-word in late encomia (SGO 02/06/11 v. 1; 02/14/05 v. 2).

¹³ Bacchyl. XIII 62; Pind., *Ol.* III 39; *Pyth.* III 88; *Nem.* X 78; *Nem.* XI 29; Xanthos epigram (IV B.C.; J. Bousquet, *Les inscriptions du Létôon en l’honneur d’Arbinas et l’épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos in Fouilles de Xanthos tome IX, La région nord du Létôon. Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, vol. 1 (texte), Paris 1992, 155–187) v. 4: [ἔρ]γων καὶ πολέμου μνήμα τόδε ἀθάν(α)τον; v. 11: Ζηνὶ δὲ π(λ)εῖστα τρόπαια β(ρ)οτῶν ἔ[στ]ησεν ἀπάντων; Theoc., *Id.* XVII 4 Ptolemy προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν.

¹⁴ Cfr. CEG 2 661, 4 (= Peek GVI 1458, 300 B.C.): [δόξαν ἀειρά]μενος; Peek GVI 905, 3: δόξαν [ἀειρά]μενος; *A. P.* XVI 300, 2; Kaibel 1083, 4. Similar is κῦδος ἀειράμενος: I.Cret. IV (Tituli Gortinii), 243, 8 (II B.C.), πολλάκις ἐκ πολέμων κῦδος ἀειράμενος; Peek GVI 1627, 6 (I A.D.).

¹⁵ For the construction adjective + ἐν πολέμῳ /-οις see Socr. fr. 2, 2 Gentili – Prato (cfr. Peek GVI 305, 3); Tyr. fr. 9, 10 and 20 Gentili – Prato; Simon. fr. 15, 2 West²: παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ; Peek GVI 888, 1 (Teos VI/V B.C.): καρτερὸς ἐν πολέμοις Τιμόκριτος; Bernard 1969, 114 III 2: Καίσαρος ἐν πολέμοις ἠδ’ Ἄρεος θεράπων.

¹⁶ Cfr. Aesch., *Prom.* 424; *Th.* 378; Eur., *Ph.* 113; Nonn., *Dion.* XXVII 246; XXXV 98.

in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia of the shields of the Celtic mercenaries conquered by Pyrrhus after defeating Antigonos Gonatas¹⁷.

Many have been the suggestions for completing the lacuna in v. 6. The Homeric phrase *θοῦρος Ἄρης*, suggested by Terzaghi, occurs frequently in inscriptions¹⁸, for example in the first Greek text to mention Galatians, the anonymous epigram for the shield of Cydias (Paus. X 21, 5), killed during the battle of Thermopylae with the Galatians in 279¹⁹. Since Ἄρης is often accompanied by the ethnic of the people in arms²⁰, it is also possible to accept the more explicit reconstruction proposed by Maas, *Κελτὸς Ἄρης*, or *Ἄρης Γαλατῶν*, suggested by Peek, both of them inspired by texts composed soon after the Galatic invasion in Greece and Asia Minor (*Κελτὸς Ἄρης*: Call., *H.* IV 173 e and Anytes *A. P.* VII 492, 4, epigram on the Milesian women who committed suicide during a Galatian assault; Ἄρης Γαλατῶν: Delphic Paean I 21, Powell²¹, composed soon after 279); ἀνήρ Γαλάτης (Bartoletti) is based on a fragment often related to this, that is SH 958, 14.

vv. 7–8. φύλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐπικ . . . [| πέμπων εἰς Ἄϊδην ἀντια]

The subject of the main clause is the *laudandus*, who guided ‘armies of Greeks’ against the enemy. Φύλα is often used with the meaning of ‘army, mass in arms’²².

Ἐπικ . . . [in v. 7 introduces an expression indicating the providential action of the commander; it could be a form of ἐπικουρος, ἐπικουρέω, or it could be a form of the verb ἐπίκειμαι, with the meaning ‘to hang on to, throw himself on’²³; it could also be interpreted as ἐπὶ κεί[νους] (Maas)²⁴, referring to the enemies. The form εἰς Ἄϊδην at v. 8, generally accompanied by the verb ἔρχομαι, occurs frequently at the end of the hemistich in archaic elegy and in epigrams²⁵.

If the poet here recalls, right at the beginning of the poem of his elegy, the Galatian invasion of Greece in 280/79 as related to the mutiny of the mercenaries in Egypt, one can suspect an allusion to Call. Hymn to Delos. (vv. 170ff.), where Ptolemy Philadelphus appears as the one who continues the work of Apollo, exterminating the empyric barbarians. Although an allusion to a Galatic attack,

¹⁷ Cfr. Peek GVI 1149, 7–8 (epitaph for a soldier); I.Cret. IV 243, 4: ὁ θρασὺς Ἑρταίων φέρτατος ἐν προμάχοις; MDAI(A) 25 (1900), Funde, 114–126, 125, v. 1: Πολυνείκης ὁ θρασὺς δόξαν ἔχων ἔνοπλον (Alabanda). Θρασὺς is attributed to Heracles in *A. P.* XVI 104, 2 and in Cougny II 445, 6; to Ares in *A. P.* VI 68, 7 (θρασὺς Ἄρης) and *A. P.* XVI 177, 5 (θρασὺν Ἄρη). From the expression θρασὺς ἐν πολέμοις has been coined the adjective θρασυπόλεμος (Peek GVI 2017, 2; Peek GVI 820, 3, III/IV A.D.).

¹⁸ Peek GVI 1224, 2: ὄλεσε θοῦρος Ἄρες (Attica ca. 540 B.C., cfr. Peek GVI 73, 1–2: ... τόνδ’ ὄλεσεν Ἄρες | βαρναμένον (Corcyra, VI B.C.); Peek GVI 16, 2 (449/8 B.C., Keramikos): καὶ πόλιας θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρες ἐφέπει; Peek GVI 1888 (CEG 2 488, 4; Attica IV B.C.): ... Ἄρ[ι]σ[τ]όκρ[ι]τον ὄλεσε θοῦρος Ἄρ[η]ς; Peek GVI 1004, 4 (III–II B.C., Thebes): θοῦρος Ἄρης δ[ι]μ[α]σεν; Kaibel 251, 3 (I B.C.): Νομάδων ἔκταν[ε] θοῦρος Ἄρης.

¹⁹ Codices offer *variae lectiones* (ἤκμασε θοῦρον Ἄρης codd., ἤκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης Vb). F. Chamoux, *Pergame et les Galates*, REG 101 (1988) 492–500 (498), translates ‘quand le furieux Arès (θοῦρος Ἄρης) se déchaîna contre le Galate’. Bergk, followed by Page (FGE CXL, pp. 447–448), proposes the reading ἤκμασε θοῦρον Ἄρη. H. White, *New Essays in Hellenistic Poetry*, Amsterdam 1985, 25, accepts εὐτ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤκμασε θοῦρον Ἄρης, ‘when the fighting (Ares) reached its peak against the furious Gaul’.

²⁰ Call. fr. 621 Pfeiffer: Αἰτωλὸν Ἄρηα; D. L. Page, *Select Papyri III. Greek Literary Papyri I. Poetry*, London 1950², 135, 8: Μῆδος Ἄρης and 135, 13: [Ἰ]βηρικός ... Ἄρης; Peek GVI 1603, 3: Βοιωτὸν ... Ἄρηα (ca. 293, Akraipha); Antip. Thess. *A. P.* IX 428, 3: Ἄρεα Βεσσῶν; Kaibel 251, 3: Νομάδων ... θοῦρος Ἄρης; SGO 01/19/37, I 3 (Didyma 286–293 A.D.): Ἄρης βάρβαρος.

²¹ In another paean by Limenius, v. 32 (*CA*, p. 150) we can read the clause βάρβαρος Ἄρης.

²² Cfr. Choeril. SH 318, 2; Kaibel 831, 11–12 (Roma, II A.D.): καὶ δὴ νῦν μ’ ἐσάωσας ἀμείβον]τα κλυτὰ φύλα | Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἄστρῳ πρὸς Αὐσόνιον; Cougny caput III 178, 3 (after 554 A.D.): Φραγγικὰ φύλα; *A. P.* I 12, 2: βάρβαρα φύλα; Cougny caput VI 292, 4: φύλον θρασυκάρδιον. P.Chic. (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* p. 84), col. VI 13 κρατερῶτατα φύλα γιγάντω]ν.

²³ Cfr. Theoc., *Id.* XXII 90; Ewen L. Bowie has suggested φύλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐπικεί[μενος] ἦγες ἐς ἐχθρούς | ... [μαρναμένους or ἐπὶ Κελτῶν ἠγαγες ἐχθρούς. LSJ s. v. ἐπίκειμαι II 2: ‘press upon a retreating enemy, attack’.

²⁴ Maas thinks that there is an allusion here to the first defeat of a Greek army by the Galatians in 279, in Greece: he integrates ἐπὶ κείνους (v. 7) followed ἤλασας. In archaic epic style often φέρειν | ἐγείρειν Ἄρηα is accompanied by ἐπὶ + dative of the enemy (LfgrE I, 1259–1260).

²⁵ Cfr. Cougny caput II 245, 5; 636, 3 and 13: εἰς Ἄϊδην πέμπων; Cougny caput II 689, 3; Cougny caput II 112, 2; 627, 4.

suggested by Maas, is very suggestive, I prefer to consider as the subject of πέμπων the protagonist of the elegy, and to accept the reconstruction suggested by Maas, or something similar (that is φύλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ κεί[νους ἤλασας ἄνδρας | πέμπων εἰς Ἴδην ἀντία [μαρνάμενος]); I suppose that an explicit name for the object of πέμπων, the enemy (κείνους = Γαλάτας?), is hidden in the lacunae of vv. 5–6, or in the following verses.