# 'Death', Doxography, and the 'Termerian Evil' (Philodemus, Epigr. 27 Page = A. P. 11.30) 

## Citation

Thomas, Richard F. 1991. 'Death', doxography, and the 'Termerian Evil' (Philodemus, Epigr. 27 Page = A. P. 11.30). Classical Quarterly 41(1): 130-137.

## Published Version

doi:10.1017/S000983880000361X

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## 'DEATH', DOXOGRAPHY, AND THE 'TERMERIAN <br> EVIL' (PHILODEMUS, EPIGR. 27 PAGE = A.P. 11.30)*

The text of this poem, already corrupt in the Palatine, has had a turbulent history over the last two centuries. Here is Page's version, the translation in Gow-Page, ${ }^{1}$ and my own somewhat expanded apparatus:






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    \(\pi о \iota \eta=\sigma \iota \varsigma\), ö \(\tau \epsilon \nu v ิ \nu \dot{\omega} \delta \epsilon \mu \alpha \rho a \iota \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \theta a\);
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I who in time past was good for five or nine times, now, Aphrodite, hardly manage once from early night to sunrise. The thing itself, - already often only at half-strength, - is gradually dying. That's the last straw. Old age, old age, what will you do later when you come to me, if even now I am as languid as this.

 - $\mu$ ópıov P

In 1982 D. Sider responded to Gow-Page. ${ }^{2}$ First, whereas the latter had said of $\tau \grave{o}$
 Sider attempted to specify the exact sense, for which the ground had already been laid: ${ }^{4}$ 'as Kaibel and others have recognized, Philodemus' reference is to the Termeros who used to kill people by butting them with his head until he had his head broken by Theseus [in fact it is Heracles] (Plut. Thes. 11) ... a Termerion kakon is the punishment that fits the crime, as is certainly the case in Philodemus where that which has done the butting [the phallus] has had its $\kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \eta$ ' "die"". ${ }^{5}$ We shall return to this explanation later. Sider's second line of approach came from his belief (correct, I think) that Page's $\dot{\eta} \mu t \theta a \lambda \epsilon$ 's 'cannot be allowed to stand unchallenged' ${ }^{6}{ }^{6}$ Gow-Page were chiefly troubled by the repetition: ' $\dot{\eta} \mu \theta \alpha \nu \epsilon$ 's repeats both the wording and the

 and the lines run well'. ${ }^{7}$ Sider did not agree, keeping $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \theta a v \epsilon$ 's, but repunctuating the couplet:

[^0]Now his paraphrase of the first four lines: ' What he used to do up to nine times before he now does only once, with difficulty ( $\mu$ ó $\lambda \iota s$ ); and the thing itself, the act from start to finish, lasts but a short time ( $\kappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \beta \rho \alpha \chi v ́$ ); and already half-dead his member often dies altogether. ${ }^{\text {' }}$

This seems to me to complicate things even further for at least two reasons: (1) in normal usage ката̀ $\beta \rho a \chi v$ veans 'gradually', 'little by little', even 'slowly'virtually the opposite of 'a short time'; ${ }^{9}$ and this sense 'gradually' would in any
 which strongly suggests that 'the act from start to finish' now takes all night; (2) $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha^{\prime} \kappa \iota$ does not easily qualify $\theta \nu \eta \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ from which it is separated by both $\eta$ $\eta \eta$ and $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \theta a \nu \epsilon$ 's. Put another way, $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha^{\prime} \kappa \iota \delta$ ' $\eta \delta \eta$ surely goes together most naturally as an adverbial cluster. ${ }^{10}$ So far, then, we have two possibilities, neither entirely satisfactory, for the second couplet: a stop after $\theta \nu \eta^{\prime} \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ with $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \iota \iota . . . \dot{\eta} \mu \iota \theta a \nu \epsilon$ 's parenthetical, or stops after $\beta \rho a \chi v ́$ and $\theta \nu \eta \eta^{\prime} \iota \kappa \kappa \epsilon \iota$.

There is a further problem: what is a Tє $\boldsymbol{T} \boldsymbol{\epsilon} \boldsymbol{\rho} \rho \iota \quad \nu$ како́v? Is it, as Sider takes it, the same as a $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon$ 'िos $\tau i \sigma \iota s$ ? 'Termerian trouble’ seems in fact to refer primarily to trouble not for Termerus, but for the people Termerus butted. Plutarch, Thes. 11 needs to be quoted in its full context. The subject is Theseus:










The entire paragraph draws a parallel between Theseus and Heracles, specifically in their common mode of punishing wrongdoers with the same fate those wrongdoers had inflicted on others - a system of punishment elsewhere known as $N \epsilon o \pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu \epsilon \epsilon \circ$ s тíoıs. ${ }^{11}$

[^1]Is a 'Termereian evil, or trouble' the same as a 'Neoptolemeian punishment'; for that is more or less how it has been taken by critics of Philodemus (who may well have had this latter proverb in mind as they dealt with $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o ~ \tau o ̀ ~ T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu)$ ? I think it is not, and although the inference may proceed from Plut. Thes. 11, it is not the easier one. Let us look at the temporal and logical sequence in Plutarch: Theseus defeated Cercyon and Damastes (Procrustes), in which actions he imitated Heracles, for Heracles had used the methods of wrongdoers against the wrongdoers themselves, sacrificing Busiris, wrestling with Antaeus, fighting Cycnus in single combat, and breaking Termerus' head. Plutarch proceeds with the aetiology of Termereian trouble, in which Heracles has no part: It is from Termerus ( $\left.\dot{\alpha} \phi^{\prime} o \hat{v}\right)^{12}$ that Termereian trouble is named; for ( $\gamma \alpha^{\prime} \rho$ ) it seems he killed those he met by butting them with his head. Like Heracles, then (ov̈ $\tau \omega \delta \dot{\eta} \kappa \alpha i$ ), Theseus went about punishing wrongdoers with the same fate they meted out to others. The aition on Termerus attaches most easily to the account of how Termerus killed people, while the final sentence relating the actions of Heracles to those of Theseus brings the focus back to the latter and concludes the entire chapter. ${ }^{13}$ But in Philodemus' epigram, from the words $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o ~ \tau \grave{o}$ $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu$, Kaibel and Sider first extract $\pi \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \sigma \chi \omega$ тò ' $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon$ ' $\rho \epsilon \iota о \nu \kappa \alpha \kappa o ́ v$ ' (whose natural meaning would be 'I suffer a great evil [such as being butted to death]'), and must then supply the sense $\pi \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \sigma \chi \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \nu$ ' $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon$ ' $\rho \epsilon \iota \nu \tau i \sigma \iota \nu$ ' ( $=$ 'punishment for the "butter"').

If you look up $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon \epsilon^{\prime} \rho o \nu$ in LSJ $^{9}$ you will find first a sense ostensibly derived from
 brings on oneself'), and second the following: ' $\tau$ ò $\tau$., = membrum uirile, dub. in A.P. 11.30 (Phld.)'. This second gloss is incomprehensible to a reader of any edition, apparatus, translation or discussion of the epigram from this century - that is from Sider (1982), Page (1975), Aubreton (1972), Gow-Page (1968), Becky (1958), or Paton (1918). But here is the second distich in the 1872 edition of F. Dübner:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { оїцоє каi тоиิт' аи̇тò катаß } \rho \alpha \chi v^{\prime} \cdot \pi о \lambda \lambda а ́ к \iota ~ \delta ' ~ \eta ̈ \delta \eta ~
\end{aligned}
$$

A third possibility, then: a stop after $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho a \chi \dot{v}$, but none after $\theta \nu \eta$ ' $\iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ : 'hei mihi! et hunc [sc. coitum] breuem: saepius uero jam | semimortuum prorsus - moritur hoc malum'. In this Dübner was accepting Pauw's $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu$ ([sc.] какóv) and following Jacobs' supplement $\tau o\langle\hat{v} \tau ’ a\rangle \dot{v} \tau o{ }^{\prime} .{ }^{14}$ And stops are likewise present after $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho a \chi \dot{v}$,

[^2]but absent after $\theta \nu \eta \dot{\eta} \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ in the other earlier editions, of Tauchnitz (1829), and Brunck (1772-6). ${ }^{15}$ What is astonishing is that this eighteenth- and nineteenth-century consensus is not preserved in the notes or apparatus critici of any subsequent edition or commentary, only in $\operatorname{LSJ}^{9}$, where it is fossilized in the form of a gloss which is incomprehensible without a research library. ${ }^{16}$

In 1885 there appeared Georg Kaibel's edition and commentary of the epigrams of Philodemus ${ }^{17}$ he printed a second distich which is in essence that inherited by Page:
'Alas and this one (often already half-dead) is gradually dying. I am suffering the Termerian ill.' The $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o$ of line 3 now refers to the penis, rather than the act, while that in line 4 (together with $\tau \grave{o} \tau \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v$ ) is part of a separate exclamation ( $s c . \nu \hat{v} v$ $\pi \alpha ́ \sigma \chi \omega)$, and refers to the poet's actual condition.

Why the change, and what new problems does it create? Kaibel came up with three structural or contextual objections to Jacobs' and Dübner's punctuation and restoration: (1) the $\epsilon^{\prime \prime} \nu$ of 2 is already qualified by $\mu o{ }^{\prime} \lambda_{\iota s}$ and further qualification ( $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \rho a \chi u ́$ ) is impossible ; (2) кат ${ }^{\alpha} \beta \rho a \chi v ́$ means 'gradually' (paullatim), not 'soon' or 'quickly'; ${ }^{18}$ (3) the first distich constitutes a separate thought to which nothing further can be added. Each of these points is well-taken, and two have already been shown to work against Sider's repunctuation, as well as that of Jacobs and Dübner.

In dealing with the end of the couplet, Kaibel proceeded to compare Ovid, Amores 3.7, an amusing expansion of Philodemus' epigram, which dwells at great length on the poet's inability to perform. ${ }^{19}$ Much of the humour of Ovid's poem derives from the fact that it takes him 84 lines to tell us that nothing happened, and he does so fairly explicitly, referring more than once to the offender: 13 'mea membra'; 65 'nostra membra'; 69 'quin istic pudibunda iaces, pars pessima nostri'. ${ }^{20}$ But Kaibel was concerned to keep such explicitness to a minimum. In rejecting Brunck's $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o$ $\tau o ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon \rho \mu o ́ v \iota o v$ and Dübner's tentative suggestion $\tau o \hat{v} \theta$ ' ${ }^{\circ} \tau \iota \tau \epsilon \rho \mu o{ }^{\prime} \rho \iota o \nu$ he notes: 'non solum brevior [sc. quam Ovidius], ut par est, sed uerecundior etiam longe Philodemus, ut u. 1. 2 docet uerbum omissum. Cauebimus igitur ne spurca uocabula inferamus secundo disticho corrupto et impedito'; and a little later: 'procul habendi ei sunt qui proprium membri nomen restituebant' ${ }^{21}$ He then distinguishes between Strato,

[^3]Martial, and the Priapic poets on the one hand (who do name the penis) and on the other 'omnes elegantioris iudicii poetae' such as Philodemus, who must not be charged with actually doing so. ${ }^{22} \mathrm{He}$ then enlists Pauw: 'has igitur sordes prudenter euitauit, qui prouerbii memor scripsit $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v ' . ~ W h a t ~ P a u w ~ m e a n t, ~ a s ~ i s ~$ clear from the translation of Dübner, and from Kaibel's discussion, ${ }^{23}$ is that the Termerian evil (i.e. the 'penis') is 'dying', but as Kaibel noted 'potuit fortasse poeta suam calamitatem $T_{\epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v ~ к а к o ́ v ~ a p p e l l a r e, ~ n o n ~ p o t u i t ~ m e m b r u m ~ i p s u m ' . ~ H e n c e ~}^{\text {' }}$ his punctuation after $\theta \nu \dot{\eta} \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$, which removes any reference to the penis other than the vague rov̂ro in line 3. And his treatment has so convinced other scholars that the earlier punctuation and meaning was expunged from the record.

There are, I think, at least two immediate problems with this reconstruction: (1) The $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o$ in line 3 and that in line 4 have different referents - as they do in all the other interpretations. This is not an overwhelming obstacle, but it seems rather wanting in an epigrammatist of Philodemus' elegance. (2) More telling, other usage in the Anthology strongly militates against taking $\tau o \hat{u} \tau o ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu ~ a s ~ s y n t a c t i c a l l y ~$ independent from what precedes. In poets both before and after Philodemus, when we find $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o$ $\tau o^{\prime}+$ noun or adjective, beginning at the medial caesura of the pentameter, the phrase always functions as either subject or object of an expressed preceding verb: ${ }^{24}$






Strato 12.191.2
oió $\mu \epsilon \nu$ оs $\pi a v ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu \|$ тov̂тo $\tau \grave{\text { ò } \pi \hat{v} \rho ~ v ̈ \delta a \tau \iota ~}$
Zenodot. 16.14.2

In five of these cases we see not only this general syntactical parallelism, but also rhythmical or prosodic parallelism, as the pattern of choriambic clausulae suggests what is a virtually ‘formulaic' system: $\mu \alpha \rho \mu \alpha \rho \iota \nu o v ~ / ~ \pi a \iota \delta \alpha ́ \rho \iota o v ~ / ~ \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o v ~ / ~$
 unaware of these patterns, and then proceeds to isolate the two from each other, is treading dangerously.

[^4]Why must we assume, as all editors who print $T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v$ do, that какóv is to be understood with it? Philodemus' use of the adjective is the first attested, and although the proverb presumably predates Plutarch, it need not follow that every use of the adjective specifically presupposes the actual proverb. Why should we not take $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o$ $\tau o ̀ ~ T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu$ as meaning (as it does most naturally) 'this Termerian one', 'this thing that exhibits the qualities of Termerus'. What is distinctive about Termerus, at least in the most extensive surviving treatment of the myth in Plut. Thes. 11, is his method of killing, by butting. A 'Termerian thing', then, will be a 'butter', a penis, which can now be allowed to serve as the subject of $\theta \nu \eta \iota \iota \kappa \epsilon \iota$. This is in line with the formulaic parallels quoted above, and also removes the problem regarding the repetition of $\tau o v ̂ \tau o$. Here is a new version, with Beckby's $\mu o \iota$ (Gow-Page : ‘deserves consideration') supplementing line 3 :
'Ah me, and this thing gradually (often already half-dead) is dying on me - this Termerian thing.
The couplet now consists (for the first time in its editorial history) of a single sentence, as do the one preceding and the one following, and (also for the first time) the second rov̂ro merely resumes the first, specifying its meaning as an almost embarrassed postscript. We find a more or less parallel phenomenon at Theoc. A.P. 6.338.1-2:

 similarly resumed (as object) by the $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o ~ \tau o ́ ~ p h r a s e . ~$
We are not quite done with $\tau \grave{o} T_{\epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon} \rho \iota o v$. It is, I think, possible to view it not just as a nominal adjective, but rather as an actual diminutive noun - 'little butter'. ${ }^{28}$ Such a diminutive of a proper name would in origin be of the hypocoristic type suggesting endearment ${ }^{29}$ and would be parallel with terms of address such as $\Gamma \lambda \nu \kappa \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v$ from $\Gamma \lambda \nu \kappa \epsilon ́ \rho a$, which are formed on an ad libitum basis where the context calls for them. ${ }^{30}$ There are six other instances just in Philodemus' epigrams (8.1 $\Phi_{\iota} \lambda_{\text {aivov, }} 9.3$
 $\Delta \eta \mu \omega ́, 16.1]$, 26.2 T $\rho v \gamma o ́ v \iota o v$ ). Indeed, Philodemus may even have gained some notoriety for his use of these diminutives. ${ }^{31}$ We could also see in $\tau \grave{o l} T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o v$ an appropriate diminutive of the deteriorative type whose real diminutive force

[^5](reflecting the ultimate fate of the mythical Termerus) aptly describes the present condition of the poet. ${ }^{32}$ Now with the possible exception of T $\rho \rho \gamma{ }^{2}$ óvov, the identity of Philodemus' -ov characters is female, ${ }^{33}$ but that is no obstacle: first, that is often the gender of such words (cf. A.P. 12.216.1 ${ }^{\circ} \rho \theta \eta^{\prime}$ [sc. ? $\pi o^{\prime} \sigma \theta \eta$, ? $\sigma \alpha^{\prime} \theta \eta$ ]; Lat. mentula, ${ }^{34}$ etc.), and second, such a transformation suits the reduced condition of the 'butter': what once was a Termerus is now a Termerion. Here we may invoke a precise parallel from TSchol. Il. 2.235, which characterizes Thersites' taunting of the Greeks



To return to the text of Epigr. 27, what are we to say of the repetition in $\dot{\eta} \mu \lambda \theta \alpha \nu \grave{\epsilon} s$ $\theta \nu \eta^{\prime} \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ to which Page (and others before him) objected? It will become unobjectionable if it does not constitute a real repetition, that is if the type of 'death' in $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \theta a \nu \epsilon \in s$ is distinct from that in $\theta \nu \dot{\eta} \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota .{ }^{36}$ There are two possibilities: (1) the 'frequent half-death' refers to the flaccidity which occurs in the course of the one allnight event. This is then succeeded by the actual death of impotence; but better, I think, (2) $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \theta a \nu \epsilon ' s$ belongs to the vigorous stage, for this is the post-coital 'halfdeath' that already used to occur often - five to nine times a night, to be followed by four to eight resurrections. Hence $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha^{\prime} \kappa \iota \delta^{\prime} \eta{ }^{\eta} \delta \eta$ which far from being mere filler now strengthens the contrast between the first and second couplets: the poet's temporary 'half-death' is a very different one from the progressive death of impotence which the poem laments. ${ }^{37}$
${ }^{32}$ Given the nature of Greek society, we will not often find diminutives for 'penis'; exceptions are found at Aristoph. Thesm. 254, $515 \pi o^{\prime} \sigma \theta \iota o v$ (where the actual diminutive force is also felt), and Clouds $197 \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \alpha{ }^{\prime} \tau \iota o \nu$ (where the diminutive is perhaps more affectionate, 'my little thing'); on these see J. J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse (New Haven and London, 1975), pp. 109,116 . Those who so wish will add to these two $\lambda \eta \kappa \dot{v} \theta \iota \rho \nu$, for the controversy on which see most recently and conveniently (with further bibliography) J. J. Henderson, 'K $K \omega \delta \alpha ́ \rho \iota o v: ~ a ~$ Reply', Mnemosyne 27 (1974), 293-5, and R. J. Penella, 'Kw $\alpha$ ápov: a Comment', Mnemosyne 27 (1974), 295-7. We could add $\mu$ ó $\rho \iota o \nu$ (in Latin perhaps = 'particula', for which see Adams, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 45), which is properly if not effectively a diminutive, and Latin 'mentula' is also worth mentioning.
${ }^{33}$ Trygonion is an interesting name, perhaps related to our subject. It means 'little dove' and has erotic associations: Epigr. 26 Page is a difficult poem, but Gow-Page accept Paton's view (rendered sensible by his emendation of $\dot{\alpha} \mu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \nu \nu \alpha \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ to $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota \gamma \nu \nu \alpha i \kappa \omega \nu$ [another $\dot{\eta} \mu \iota-$ compound] in line 5) that is an epitaph for his Trygonion, an emasculated priest of Cybele (Gallus) who, when he was 'alive', 'alone among the effeminates adored the Cyprian's rites and took to the seductions of a Laïs' (trans. Gow-Page). Are we dealing with a 'dove' that has become reduced in the same way as Termerion in Epigr. 27? For columba = 'penis', cf. G. Giangrande ap. P. Howell, A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial (London, 1980), pp. 122-3: Y. Nadeau, 'Catullus' Sparrow, Martial, Juvenal and Ovid', Latomus 43 (1984), p. 862; R. F. Thomas, 'Sparrows, Hares and Doves: "Source Criticism" and the limits of plurality' (forthcoming issue of Helios on Catullan criticism).
${ }^{34}$ In the name Mentula in Catullus 94, 105, 114 and 115, we perhaps have an inverted parallel for Termerion.
${ }^{35}$ Virgil's reworking of the Homeric lines is tantalizing: Numanus Remulus' taunt of the Trojans at Aen. 9.617 ('o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges') is set in the context of reminiscence of Cat. 63 and its treatment of the emasculation of Attis; cf. 617-18 'ite per alta | Dindyma' etc.
${ }^{36}$ On the artistic desirability of such distinct repetition, see D. R. Shackleton Bailey on Horace's 'rura ... rura' (Odes 4.5.17-18) in Profile of Horace (London, 1982), pp. 137-8.
${ }^{37}$ In other poems treating impotence as the death of the penis, the death has actually occurred: Scythinus, A.P. 12.232 ( $\nu \epsilon \kappa \rho \dot{\partial} \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \epsilon \epsilon \rho \epsilon \epsilon^{\prime} \mu \alpha \sigma o$ ); Automedon, A.P. 11.29.3-4 ( $\dot{\eta} \pi \rho \dot{\nu}$ $\dot{\alpha} \kappa \alpha \mu \pi \dot{\eta} S \mid \zeta \hat{\omega} \sigma \alpha, \nu \epsilon \kappa \rho \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma \alpha \delta \epsilon ́ \delta v \kappa \epsilon \nu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \omega)$; here cf. the proximity of the language to that of Philodemus ( $\dot{o} \pi \rho^{\prime} \nu / \dot{\eta} \pi \rho^{\prime} \nu$ ) - and the two epigrams are juxtaposed in the Anthology (11.29-30). For these, and for Latin parallels, including Ovid, Am. 3.7.65' praemortua membra' (above, n. 19), see G. Giangrande, 'Catullus' Lyrics on the Passer', Mus. Phil. Lond. 1 (1975),

There is no surviving instance of $\dot{\eta} \mu \ell \theta a \nu \epsilon^{\prime} s$ with this precise force, but that is not very surprising given the subject. We have already cited Ov . Am. 3.7.65, from a poem acknowledged as influenced by Philodemus 27: 'nostra tamen iacuere uelut praemortua membra' (see above, p. 133). This clearly responds to lines 3-4 of the Greek (and 'praemortua' refers to premature impotence), but it also looks to a prior Latin tradition, which is conflated with the ultimate Hellenistic model. I have in mind Catullus 50.14-16, where the poet uses erotic language (but not the language of impotence) to describe the effect on him of Calvus' poetry: 'at defessa labore membra postquam | semimortua lectulo iacebant, | hoc, iucunde, tibi poema feci'. 'Semimortuus' is first found here and is surprisingly rare. ${ }^{38}$ Did Catullus coin or use it after Philodemus' use of $\dot{\eta \mu \iota} \theta a \nu \epsilon \epsilon^{\prime}$ ? If so, both could refer to post-coital exhaustion, real for Philodemus, figurative for Catullus. ${ }^{39}$ Although it cannot be known beyond doubt whether Catullus had access to Philodemus' poetry, it is assumed by many that Poem 32.7-8 ('sed domi maneas paresque nobis | nouem continuas fututiones') may refer to this same Epigram 27 of Philodemus (cf. $\left.1 \mathcal{\epsilon}^{\epsilon} \nu \nu \varepsilon^{\prime} ́ a\right){ }^{40}$

I conclude by representing the temporal scope of the epigram with reference to past, present and future in the following version, which reflects the epigram's careful play with time, and its juxtaposing of past vigour (1-2) and present dysfunction (3-4), with the latter anticipating the permanent impotence of old age (5-6):



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oӥ\muot \muot к\alphaì \tauои̃то ка\tau\alphà \betap\alpha\chiú (\piо\lambda\lambda\alpháк\iota \delta' \etä\delta\eta
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    \piо\iota\eta'\sigma\epsilon\iotas,ö\tau\epsilon \nuบ̃\nu \tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon \mu\alpha\rho\alphaเvó\mu\epsilon0\alpha;
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I who in time past was good for five or nine times, now, Aphrodite, hardly manage once from early night to sunrise. Ah me, and this thing gradually (often already half-dead) is dying on me - this little 'Termerus'. Old age, old age, what will be left for you to do later if you arrive, when already now we are as languid as this?

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p. 140. I have suggested elsewhere (op. cit., n. 33) that in Meleager 65 Page ( $=A . P .7 .207$ ), where

Phanion's hare uses $\theta \nu \eta^{\prime} \iota \sigma \kappa \omega=\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \eta \kappa \alpha$, there may be an obscene level of the same sort. For $\theta \nu \eta \iota \sigma \kappa \omega$ in this sense see Gow-Page, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 374, on Leonidas of Tarentum 70.4; also Smyth (Greek Grammar) §1887a.
${ }^{38} O L D$ s.v. otherwise has only Sen. Con. 1.7.9; Apul. Met. 6.26, and the Ibycus adds only a second instance from Apuleius, Met. 1.14.6.
${ }^{39}$ For Catullus' clear use of erotic language in Poem 50 (whether metaphorical or otherwise matters not for the present purposes), see most recently D. L. Burgess, 'Catullus c. 50 ; the Exchange of Poetry', AJP 107 (1986), 576-86.
${ }^{40}$ Cf. W. Kroll, C. Valerius Catullus ${ }^{3}$ (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 60, where the connection to Ovid, Am. 3.7 is also made. I will perhaps be forgiven a sortee into the realm of the biographical fallacy if I note that Epigr. 27 is likely to have a lower terminus of $c .60$ в.c. (since Philodemus, born c. 110, presents himself as not yet old; cf. 5-6), while Catullus' poetic production (even if Lesbia is Clodia Metelli and Poem 83 therefore predates the death of Metellus in 59) is confined to the decade of the 50s. From In Pis. 68-72 it is clear that Philodemus had produced a considerable corpus of epigrams by the year 55 .


[^0]:    * I thank my colleagues, Professors Albert Henrichs, Ian Rutherford, Calvert Watkins, and Mr Alex Sens, and my former colleague, Professor Hayden Pelliccia, for comments on earlier drafts. They are responsible neither for remaining errors nor for adherence to any specific interpretation here espoused.
    ${ }^{1}$ A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams, i (Cambridge, 1968), p. 367.
    ${ }^{2}$ D. Sider, 'Notes on Two Epigrams of Philodemus', AJP 103 (1982), 208-13; cf. pp. 211-13.
    ${ }^{3}$ Gow-Page ii, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 399.
    ${ }^{4}$ E.g. by Kaibel, quoted by Gow-Page: 'iam ego uere patior Termerium illud malum'. They did not quote him further, but should have: 'Nam non quoduis malum est Termerium sed quod quis ea corporis parte patitur qua antea peccauerat', Philodemi Gadarensis Epigrammata, Index Scholarum in Universitate Litteraria Gryphiswaldensi per semestre aestiuom anni 1885 a die 15 mens. April. habendarum (Greifswald, 1885), p. 22.
    ${ }^{5}$ Sider, op. cit. (n. 2), 212-13, and 213 n. 15 for parallels for a play on $\kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \eta$ ' $/ \phi a \lambda \lambda o^{\prime}$.
    ${ }^{6}$ Sider, op. cit. (n. 2), 212.
    ${ }^{7}$ Gow-Page, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 399. At A.P. 7.465.2 there is a clear vegetative metaphor at work, which is not the case here.

[^1]:    ${ }^{8}$ Sider, op. cit. (n. 2), 212.
    ${ }^{9}$ Cf. Thuc. 1.64.2; 4.96.4; 7.79.5; Anaxagoras fr. 33 Diels-Kranz; Aristot. H.A. 692b15; at Prot. 329b4, Gorg. 449b8, and elsewhere, Plato uses it to describe the gradual progress of Platonic dialectic. The Ibycus (which produced the above examples) reveals that the phrase, rather rare before the Roman period, becomes very common in the medical writers and is often used to describe the gradual progress of disease, etc.
    ${ }^{10}$ The Ibycus supports this, showing $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha^{\prime} \kappa \iota s \eta \eta \delta \eta$ frequently in Theognis, Euripides, Thucydides, Plato, Theophrastus, Menander, in the orators, and constantly in later Greek. When the cluster occurs (forming a single unit) with a post-positive particle, that particle always comes between the two adverbs (as here), and is never postponed to follow $\eta$ " $\delta \eta$ : so $\pi o \lambda \lambda \alpha$ áкıs $\mu \epsilon \grave{\eta} \eta$ 多 $\eta$ at Plato, Gorg. 508d5; Thuc. 3.37.1; Men. Perik. 267; Galen, De sanitate tuenda 6.190; $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \kappa \iota s \delta \grave{\epsilon} \eta \eta \delta \eta$ at Theophr. Hist. Plant. 8.10.3; Arrian, Cyn. 16.3.1; Oppian, Halieut. 3.510; $\pi o \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \kappa \iota \varsigma ~ \gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho \eta \not \eta \delta \eta$ at Gorgias T. 22 (Diels-Kranz); Plato, Gorg. 456b1; Dio Chrys. Orat. 15.12; Galen, de usu partium 3.157, 359, 900 (in each of these categories I have omitted further examples from later Greek).
    ${ }^{11}$ The expression, which does not appear in Plutarch, is explained and defined aetiologically by Pausanias at 4.17.4: it was the fate of Neoptolemus, after killing Priam on the altar of Zeus Herkeios at Troy, to be slain himself by the altar of Apollo in Delphi. He concludes: каi ámò
     whether $\dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{o}$ coú $\tau o v$ is temporal ('thenceforward' - so the Loeb), temporal/causal ('from this occurrence'), or even refers to Neoptolemus himself (' they name it after him'). In fact, there may be more than one nuance to the words. I am evading the very difficult issue concerning competing versions and details of this myth, within the Pindaric corpus and elsewhere, since it

[^2]:    does not directly affect the status of the proverb. On this subject, see H. Lloyd-Jones, 'Modern Interpretation of Pindar: the Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes', JHS 93 (1973), 109-37; cf. pp. 131-2; and most recently L. Woodbury, 'Neoptolemus at Delphi : Pindar, Nem. 7.30 ff .', Phoenix 33 (1979), 95-133; the matter will be treated by I. Rutherford in a forthcoming book on Pindar's Paeans (Oxford University Press).
    ${ }^{12}$ The Loeb so takes the phrase, and in this is supported by the following $\gamma a^{\prime} \rho$.
    ${ }^{13}$ Most other references to Termerus or 'Termerian trouble' (Philippus of Theangela FGrHist 741 F 3 ap. Schol. Eur. Rhes. 509; Jul. Or. 7.210d; Lucian, Lex. 11; Suidas s.v. Tєриє́рıа кака́; Paroem. Graec. i.162, ii.215) give no explanation, but in those instances which deal with the actual кака́, we are dealing with huge (though generally unspecified) problems or troubles, not punishments. For some other late references, not very relevant to the present discussion, see G. Türk, 'Termeros’, RE 5A (1934), 731.
    ${ }^{14}$ Dübner (Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina, ii [Paris, 1872], p. 364) quotes Jacobs for the
     momento temporis exiguo. Nam debiles uiri uel non possunt, uel, si forte possunt, rem breui tempore absoluunt, uix percepta et imperita uoluptate'. F. Jacobs made the correction in his Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiae Graecae 3.2 (Leipzig, 1803), p. 471 (in the section 'Addenda et Emendata'). In his edition of 1814 (Anthologia Graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini nunc Parisini ex apographo Gothano, ii [Leipzig, 1814], p. 328) he merely obelizes, oï $\mu \boldsymbol{}$, каi

[^3]:    $\tau о \hat{\tau} \tau$ *катаßрахи́. And in his edition of 1794 (Anthologia Graeca sive Poetarum Graecorum Lusus ex recensione Brunckii, i [Leipzig, 1794], p. 73), as the title suggests, he had printed the text of Brunck, who accepted Reiske's $\phi \theta$ 'veı $\mu$ оь каі тоито.
    ${ }^{15}$ Brunck, however (Analecta Veterum Poetarum Graecorum, ii [Strasburg, 1773], p. 86),
     these editions, had also thought $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o ~ \tau o ̀ ~ T \epsilon \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu ~ m i g h t ~ b e ~ t h e ~ s u b j e c t ~ o f ~ \theta \nu \eta ं \iota \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota . ~$
    ${ }^{16}$ It was introduced in the sixth edition of 1869 ; Kaibel's edition, or more likely Paton's Loeb of 1918, led to the addition of 'dub.' after 'membrum uirile' in $\operatorname{LSJ}^{9}$ (1940).
    ${ }^{17}$ G. Kaibel, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 21-2.
    ${ }^{18}$ Cf. above, p. 131 ; Sider refers elsewhere to Kaibel, but does not address his objection to so taking the phrase.
    ${ }^{19}$ Ovid's source is unmistakeable : 17-18 ('quae mihi uentura est, siquidem uentura, senectus, | cum desit numeris ipsa iuuenta suis?') is virtually a translation of Philodemus' third distich, while the first and second are represented respectively by 23-6 ('at nuper bis flaua Chloide, ter candida Pitho, | ter Libas officio continuata meo est; | exigere a nobis angusta nocte Corinnam, | me memini numeros sustinuisse nouem') and 65-6 ('nostra tamen iacuere uelut praemortua membra | turpiter hesterna languidiora rosa'). Cf. also Gow-Page ii, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 398-9.
    ${ }^{20}$ For 'pars pudenda' (of which this is a poeticising) = 'penis', cf. J. N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary (London, 1982), p. 45; also particula.
    ${ }^{21}$ Kaibel, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 21.

[^4]:    ${ }^{22}$ For support he refers to various epigrams where there is no actual word for 'penis': A.P. 12.216 (Strato) where it is called $\dot{o} \rho \theta \eta^{\prime}$ (with $\pi o^{\prime} \sigma \theta \eta$ or $\sigma \alpha^{\prime} \theta \eta$ understood); 12.232 (Scythinus)
    
    ${ }^{23}$ No editor or commentator tells where Pauw published his emendation, and I have simply been unable to find the reference.
    ${ }^{24}$ The instances were provided by the Ibycus. In two cases (A.P. 9.618.2, 680.4) we find $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o$ тò dovi $\rho^{\prime} \nu$, also beginning at the medical caesura of the hexameter, as the subject of a following є́ $\chi$ є८.
    ${ }^{25}$ The text is that of Beckby, accepted from the Palatine. The MSS of Theocritus have essentially a different poem, and Gow-Page, The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams, i (Cambridge, 1965) print that version, as Gow did at Theocritus, i (Cambridge, 1965), p. $244=$ Epigr. 10 (with $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \nu \boldsymbol{\epsilon}^{\prime} \alpha$ for $\alpha \boldsymbol{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \epsilon \tau o$, and $\theta \hat{\eta} \kappa \epsilon$ for $\tau o \hat{\nu} \tau o$ ). It looks as if we could be dealing even with two genuine but slightly different epigrams, and should not choose between the two.
    ${ }^{26}$ The poem is assigned to Plato by Diogenes Laertius (3.33), while the Palatine has the lemma Movoıкiov, the Planudean Movaıкiov oi $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ П $\Pi \alpha^{\prime} \tau \omega \nu o s$. Its relationship to Philodemus 27 is uncertain: cf. R. Reitzenstein, Epigram und Skolion (Giessen, 1893), p. 182 'seinem Charakter nach könnte es sehr wohl erst um Beginn der Kaiserzeit oder kurz vorher entstanden sein'; id., 'Platos Epigramme', $N G G$ (Berlin, 1921), p. 54.
    ${ }^{27}$ This is parallel in the rhythm it sets up, if not exactly in syntax, since $\delta \omega \delta \epsilon \epsilon \kappa \alpha \tau o \nu$ is in fact a predicate adjective.

[^5]:    ${ }^{28}$ For parallel forms in - $\epsilon \iota \iota \nu$, see Kretschmer-Locker, Rücklaüfiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache ${ }^{2}$ (Göttingen, 1963), p. 166: $\delta \iota \phi \theta \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu, \kappa \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon ́ \rho \iota \circ \nu, \pi \alpha \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu, \pi \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \iota \circ \nu$, and $\chi \epsilon$ 'िьov, and the Ibycus adds $\mu \eta \tau \epsilon \prime \rho \iota o \nu$ at Heliod. Aeth. 7.10.3.
    ${ }^{29}$ W. Petersen, Greek Diminutives in -ıov (Weimar, 1910), pp. 173-8.
     refers to the well-known Glycera of Menander as $\Gamma \lambda$ кєє́ $\rho \iota o \nu$, and at Misog. fr. 280 Kö. Bentley suggested $\chi \alpha i ̂ \rho ' \dot{\omega} \Gamma \lambda u \kappa \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu$ where Priscian (18.251) has unmetrical $\chi \alpha i ̂ \rho ' \hat{\omega} \gamma \lambda v ́ \kappa \epsilon \rho \alpha$. Meineke and Körte, however, accept Porson's $\hat{\omega} \chi \alpha \hat{\imath} \rho \epsilon, \Gamma \lambda \hat{v} \kappa \epsilon \rho a$. On this type of diminutive, cf. Petersen, op. cit. (n. 29), p. 175. There is clearly flexibility in the formation of these diminutives which, given their intensely colloquial nature, must have been far more numerous than our surviving texts can indicate. Philodemus may even have formed it (without strict linguistic accuracy) after, e.g., Tıرá $\rho \iota o \nu$ (Meleager, Epigrr 59-62 Page), or $\pi \alpha \iota \delta \alpha^{\prime} \rho \iota o \nu$, which occurs at [Plato] A.P. 9.39.4 in the same position, and with $\tau 0 \hat{v} \tau o$ тó (for the chronological issue, see above, p. 134).
    ${ }^{31}$ That is, if we accept, as many do, the suggestion of G. Friedrich concerning the 'Socration’ addressed in Cat. 47 (Catulli Veronensis Liber [Leipzig and Berlin, 1908], p. 228): ‘Wir haben nach dem Wortlaut unseres Gedichtes keinen Grund, uns den Socration anders vorzustellen als den Philodemus von Gadara, der auch bei Piso in Macedonien war, Graecus facilis et ualde uenustus (Cic. in Pis. 70)'. If this is so, then the name will have perhaps been for Catullus and his group a fine coterie nickname: 'Little Socrates who was fond of nouns in -ıov'.

