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HERACLES SAVING THE SHIPWRECKED

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In the previous issue of this journal I published a number of new epigraphic poems of Imperial date from Artena, a mediaeval town some 45 kms south of Rome.[1] They were all found in Colle Maiorana, a locality between the municipalities of Artena and Colleferro, which in ancient times, together with the surrounding areas, belonged to the rather extensive territory of Signia (now Segni). Two of the inscriptions were in Latin, one, very fragmentary, in Greek. I also referred to a Stoic hymn in Greek that was already known in the eighteenth century and which according to modern research tells the story of creation. A concentration of such a group of epigraphic poems of good quality in one and the same locality in the Roman countryside is already notable in itself, but now there is further evidence. During recent field work in southern Latium, a remarkable poem in Greek quite unexpectedly turned up in S. Nicola in Artena, a few hundred metres north of Colle Maiorana. The inscription is preserved in the inner garden of the villa of Mr. Adalberto Perica where I saw it with Kalle Korhonen and Heikki Solin on the 26th of May 1997. As the monument was embedded into the soil with the inscribed side facing a glass wall, the deciphering of the text in situ turned out to be rather difficult. Fortunately, however, despite the hard and uncomfortable conditions, the photographs taken at the time proved to be of first-rate quality. Like the other poems

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* I wish to thank Dott.ssa Michela Nocita (Univ. di Roma "La Sapienza") for useful discussions during the XI International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Rome (September 1997), where she presented an illuminating poster focusing on her study entitled "Il tema del viaggio negli epigrammi funerari". I am also grateful to Jaakko Frösén and Maarit Kaimio who drew my attention to a number of pertinent details.

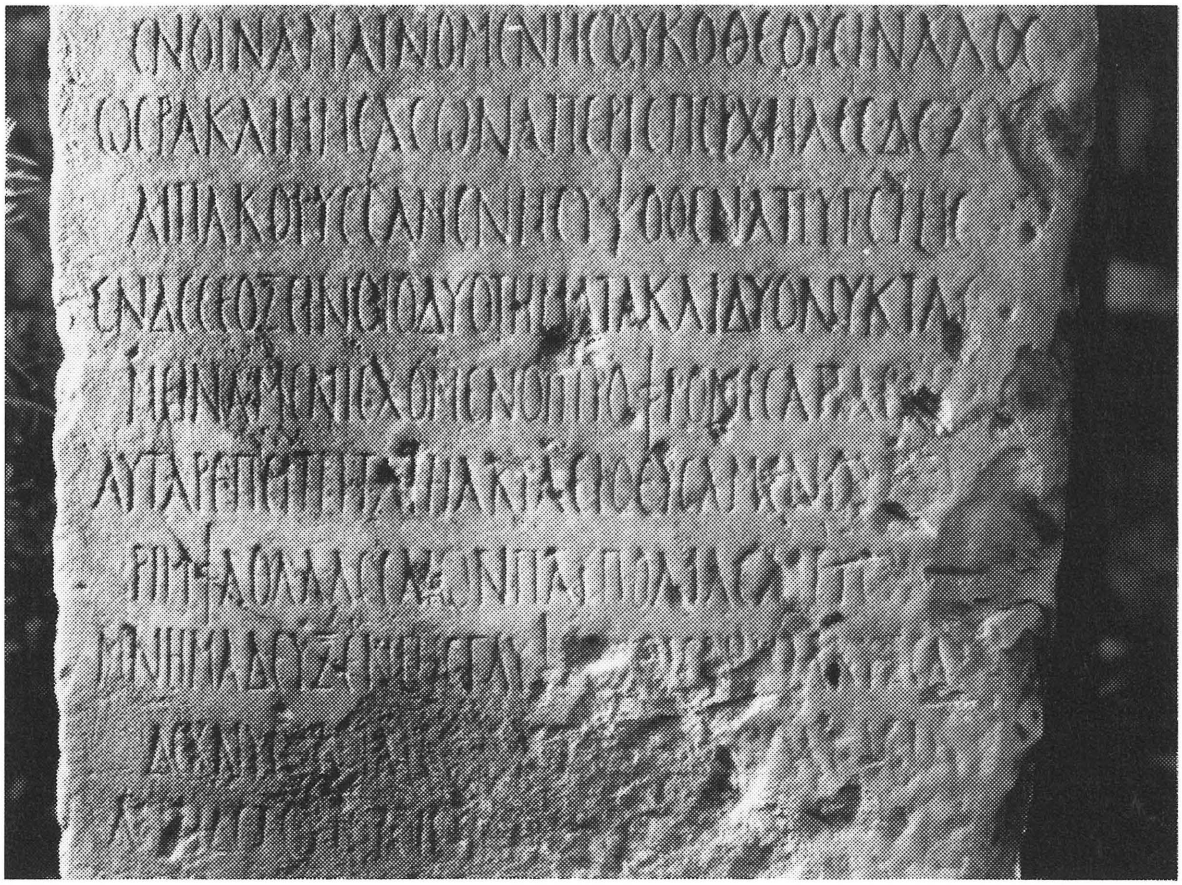
1 'New Poems on Stone', Arctos 30 (1996) 75–100. For the history and topography of Artena as well as the circumstances of the discovery of the inscriptions I refer to this article.

discovered so far, this monument also comes from Colle Maiorana, as was confirmed by its present owner.

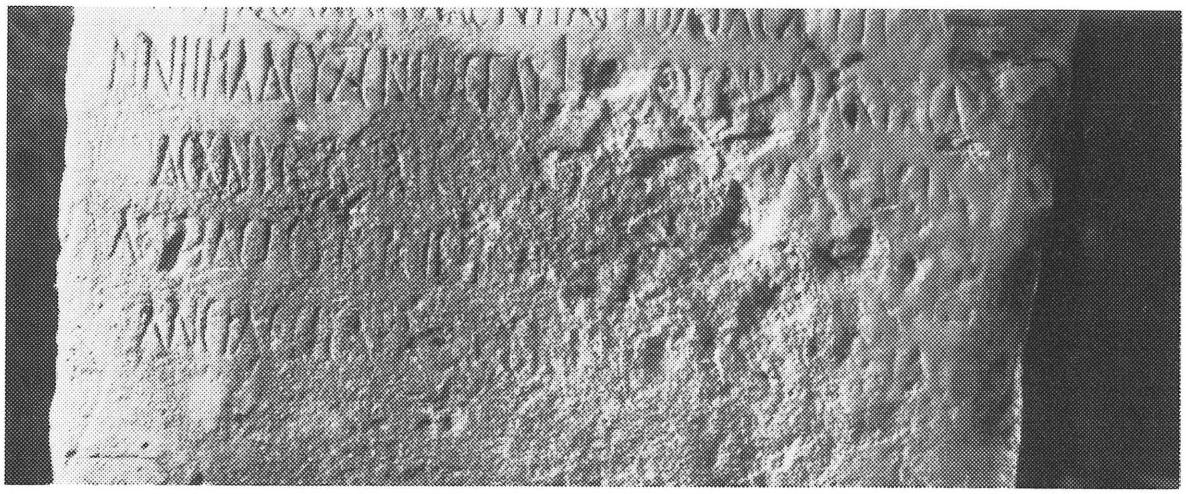
The text is engraved on a quadrangular column of white marble, well dressed on all faces though a bit fragmentary on the right-hand side. The two rectangular cavities (8 x 9 cm) on the right and left sides of the upper edge were probably used for fixing the stone to a wall or some sort of support. There are no signs of a statue. Slightly tapering off at the lower end, the column measures 113 x 30–33 x 24–27 cm, the height of the letters varying between 1.5–3 cm (C, ω). The stone is badly abraded in the middle of the front which makes the reading of the final three verses partly impossible. Though in some places the decipherment was not quite obvious at first sight (cf. lines 7, 10, 12 and especially 13), the text should be sound and clear as it is given below (any problems of reading will be discussed in the following commentary). – Figs. 1–4 (Solin).

Παῖ Διός, εὐκήλου μεδέων, Ἡράκλεες, ὅρμου,
σῶτερ ἁλιτρύτων, χαῖρε, Μόνοικε, νεῶν·
ἐς σὲ γὰρ ἢ Ζεφύροιο θοῇ κελάδοντος ἀέλλῃ
ἠὲ πολυφλοίσβῳ ῥαιόμεναι Βορέῃ
ἀσπάσιαι κατίασιν ὑπὸ σκέπας ἀστυφέλικτον,
ἔνθ' ἵνα μαινομένης οὐκ ὀθέουσιν ἁλός.
ὥς ῥα καὶ ἡμέας, ὦνα, περισπερχῆας ἐδέξῳ
αἰπὰ κορυσσαμένης ὑψόθεν ἀτρυγέτης·
ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο δύο τ' ἤματα καὶ δύο νύκτας
μείναμεν ἰσχόμενοι πρόφρονες ἀπλοίῃ·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τριτάτῃ ἀκραέι θεύσαμεν οὔρῳ
ῥίμφα θαλασσαίων πὰρ πόλιας Λιγύων.
μνῆμα δ' ἐυξενίης γλυφά[ν]οις θηητὰ κύπελ[λα] (?)
δέχνυσο +++++++ [– – – – – – –] +++++++
ἀντὶ δὲ T+++++++ [– – – – – – – – – – – – – – –] ++
ἀνέρα ++++++++ [– – – – – – – – – –] +++

Since this discovery is a further addition to the series of metric inscriptions from Artena and also because the contents of this singular poem are most interesting from many points of view, it certainly deserves to be published in its own right. In the following commentary I shall first concentrate on lexical and contextual matters; stylistic questions, the genre



Figs. 1–2



Figs. 3–4

in which the author wrote, the date as well as the historical setting of the poem will be dealt with later on.

As may be immediately seen, this is a hymn-like epigram to Heracles of Imperial date composed of eight distichs which are divided thematically into three parts: in lines 1–6 Heracles is praised as the saviour of wrecked ships and seamen in general. In lines 7–12 a story narrated in the first person plural describes some seafarers in distress at sea who were finally saved from drowning by Heracles. The final section in lines 13–16 seems to refer to an object given to Heracles as a memorial of the seafarers' happy escape.

I. Lines 1–6

Heracles, originally a renowned hero who was later accorded a place among the Olympian gods, enjoyed an immense popularity in the minds and thoughts of ancient people. No other god or hero was more frequently described and represented in ancient literature and art. The cult and worship of Heracles is attested all over the ancient world, and it is characteristic of his fame and reception that he was given a great variety of cultic epithets in many parts of the Mediterranean. Above all Heracles' popularity goes back to his role as a benefactor and saviour of both mankind and the individual. People not only invoked him at difficult moments (Ἡράκλεις, *Hercle*, *Mehercule*) but it was also thought that where Heracles is present there can be nothing evil.[2] His apotropaic nature was often underlined by the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, the averter of evil, which already occurs in early Greece and which was understood in a very broad sense: people called upon Heracles to

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2 Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθά<δε> κατοικεῖ· μὴ <εἰ>σίτω μηδὲν κακόν (SEG XXVII 648, Gela, c. 300–280 B.C.). An identical or similar formula (ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς Καλλίνεικος Ἡρακλῆς...) was often inscribed above the door of a house. For this habit surviving throughout antiquity in all parts of the Roman Empire, see L. Robert, Hellenica 13 (1965) 265–266; I.Mylasa 343; R. Merkelbach, ZPE 86 (1991) 41; J.T. Bakker, Living and Working with the Gods (Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology 12), Amsterdam 1994, 110; E. Courtney, Musa lapidaria (Amer.Class.Stud. 36), Atlanta 1995, 342–343. In Christian houses the pagan protector was replaced by Christ or a Saint. For the formula and the apotropaic role of Heracles, cf. also C.A. Faraone, Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual, New York – Oxford 1992, 58.

help them overcome all imaginable troubles.[3] In Latin sources, Hercules was usually called *Adiutor*, *Conservator*, *Defensor*, *Salutaris*, *Tutor*, or the like.[4] The association of the god with various positive elements was so obvious and wide-spread in antiquity that it is of no use to pursue the topic here.[5] Instead attention shall be concentrated on Heracles' connection with the sea and seafaring in general, so as to help understand the contents of the new poem.

First of all, however, one may recall the famous ἆθλα attributed to Heracles, a cycle that was recorded in literary form at a relatively early period.[6] The basic meaning of those twelve heroic labours is evidently that Heracles thereby domesticated the whole world and purified it. In this way he brought culture and civilization to the peoples of the Mediterranean. This idea began to be expressed concomitantly with the doctrines concerning the birth of civilization, and it is already clearly depicted in Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides who all pointed out that the benefactions of Heracles not only affected the inhabited land but also the seas.[7] So Heracles was in a sense a pioneering explorer who civilized the known world and made it safe for mortal people.[8] This, in turn, is closely linked with Greek colonization,

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3 RE Suppl. III (1918) 1001. According to Hellanicus, Telamon already called Heracles by this epithet at Troy (FGrH I,4,109). The hero is also firmly established as a saving ἀλεξίκακος as early as the "Hesiodic" Shield of Heracles. Ἡ. ἀλεξίκακος in Rome: Moretti, IGUR 88, 171. For Heracles as ἀλεξίκακος in Lucian's work, see Luc. Gall. 2,1; Alex. 4,2; Fug. 32,10.

4 Note, for example, the bilingual CIL VI 309 = Moretti, IGUR 171: *Herculi Defensori Papirii*, with the Greek version Ἡρακλεῖ ἀλεξικάκωι Παπείριοι, on the rear.

5 It will suffice to refer to the following treatments: W.H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie I:2, Leipzig 1886–90, 2135–2298; L. Cesano, Dizionario epigrafico III (1906) 679–725; H. Zwicker, RE VIII (1913) 516–528; F. Haug, ibid. 550–612 (Hercules); O. Gruppe, RE Suppl. III (1918) 910–1121; G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer (HbAW V,4), München 1902[2], 278–282; G.K. Galinsky, The Herakles Theme, Oxford 1972, passim (cf. Ch. VI: Roman Hercules); M. Jaczynowska, ANRW II:17 (1981) 631–661 (cult of Hercules in the Imperial period). As for Heracles/Hercules in ancient art, the abundant evidence is now exhaustively collected in LIMC IV (1988) 728–838 and V (1990) 1–262.

6 Scholars usually think of Pisander of Rhodes (c. 600 B.C.).

7 Pi. I. 4,73–75; S. Tr. 1012; E. Heracl. 400–402, 851–853.

8 For the conception of Heracles as a cultural hero, cf. especially W. Burkert, in: Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée. Bilan et perspectives (eds. C. Bonnet – C. Jourdain-Annequin), Bruxelles – Rome 1992, 113–116.

especially in the western Mediterranean, as it was common that the colonists referred to the hero's previous stay in the places where they were about to land. As a protagonist of Greek culture, Heracles had made the way smoother for Greek immigrants. But there is still one role for which Heracles was often praised, namely that of shaping and remodeling the landscape as well as the coastline. Some later authors, especially Diodorus Siculus, underlined the efforts of the hero in the battle against untamed nature. By creating new lakes and rivers and by shaping the shoreline, Heracles drew a line between land and sea.[9]

In view of these considerations, it may seem peculiar that otherwise in the extant Graeco-Roman literature, the figure of Heracles does not seem to have been associated with the sea in any particular way, and the god was only rarely represented as travelling on the sea himself.[10] It is true that apart from some necessary sailing during the execution of the labours, Heracles did participate in the voyage of the Argonauts, but his part in this affair was not particularly emphasized early on.[11] What is interesting, however, is that Heracles is said to have killed the Boreadae at the island of Tenos because they had prevented the Argonauts from bringing back their fellows who were left in Mysia.[12] According to another explanation, Heracles did this out of anger at the storm roused by Boreas at Cos.[13] This episode obviously draws on the story telling that Heracles was himself attacked by whirlwinds at Cos on his way back to Argos from Troy.[14] So it seems that Heracles was sometimes – and already in early sources – represented as fighting against

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9 D.S. 4,19–29 (passim).

10 The same concerns the representations of Heracles in art, cf. the relevant articles in LIMC (cit. n. 5).

11 Cf. RE Suppl. III (1918) 979. Note also the interesting fragment *semiremex Hercules* which obviously refers to an episode in the voyage (Sept. Ser. carm. frg. 4; cf. I frammenti dei "poetae novelli". Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di S. Mattiacci [Testi e commenti 7], Roma 1982, 119–123).

12 A.R. 1,1298–1308. For Heracles as ἀλεξίκακος and saviour in Apollonius' work, cf. D.C. Feeney, The Gods in Epic, Oxford 1991, 97.

13 Sch. A.R. 1,1300.1304; cf. Nicander. The Poems and Poetical Fragments (eds. A.S.F. Gow – A.F. Scholfield), Cambridge 1953, 202 (frg. 15), 218 (frg. 113).

14 Il. 14,249–256; 15,26–28. Note, moreover, that in some later sources Heracles was also described as using the lionskin as a sail (Serv. Aen. 8,299: *ad Geryonem autem, sicut iam supra* [cf. 7,662] *dictum est, navi aenea navigavit tergo leonis velificans*), cf. LIMC V (1990) 252 no. 41.

stormy winds. This is, indeed, one of the themes of the new epigram from Artena, but in this poem there is a further dimension lacking in the sources referred to above, i.e. the role of Heracles as the saviour of wrecked seamen.

Was Heracles, then, particularly active in rescuing? Considering that he was rather loosely associated with ancient seafaring, it seems better not to stress this point. Heracles was usually not among the gods whom ancient seamen petitioned for protection before setting sail. Other deities such as Aphrodite, Dionysus and Poseidon, were far more important in this respect, and it also deserves to be noted that ancient ships were rarely given the (protecting) name of Heracles.[15] When an association of sailors from Tyre, the Heracleistai, dedicated a sanctuary to Heracles, their patron, on Delos,[16] this does not imply that Heracles was himself regarded as a god of navigation; it shows rather that the hero's presence was also noticeable in the East, especially in Tyre, where he was early amalgamated with Melqart, the great Phoenician god whose major duties comprised the protection of seafaring and colonization.[17] What is more important is that Heracles could protect travellers, whether on the land or sea. This is, in fact, one of the primary functions of Heracles in antiquity, closely linked with that suggested by the epithet ἀλεξίκακος, and it seems to have assumed a more important role in later times, especially in the Roman Imperial period. So Heracles was commonly regarded as a ἡγεμών or *comes* (both are known as epithets of the god) who accompanied travellers, protecting them against troubles of any kind, and this is why people used to offer sacrifices to

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15 Cf. e.g. N. Sandberg, Εὔπλοια. Etudes épigraphiques (Acta Univ. Gotoburg. 60:8), Göteborg 1954, 33 no. 31 (= IG XII,5,712,26; Syros), 35–36 no. 39 (= IG XII,8,581A; Thasos); L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship, Princeton 1971, 355, 359; J. Vélissaropoulos, Les nauclères grecs (Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie III; Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 9), Genève – Paris 1980, 86–90; P. Janni, Il mare degli antichi, Bari 1996, 387 ff. Though in Roman times the relative frequency of *Hercules* as a name of warships increased (RE Suppl. V [1931] 954), it never became particularly popular. Moreover, that denomination suggests strength and power and not the god's protection in case of shipwreck (the ship name Λεοντῆ 'lion's skin' attested from the fifth century B.C. probably was also associated with Heracles' superhuman strength, cf. K. Schmidt, Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe, Diss. Leipzig 1931, 7, 89). It was also common that the image of the protecting god, the *tutela navis*, was exposed on the deck (examples in RE Suppl. V 934), but Heracles is not named among such deities.

16 I.Délos 1519 (mid-second century B.C.); Vélissaropoulos (cit. n. 15), 108–110.

17 RE Suppl. III (1918) 983–4; LIMC VIII (1997) 830–834. The connections of Heracles with Tyre are interestingly depicted by Nonn. D. 40,429–580 (passim).

Heracles before setting out on a journey.[18] Macrobius observed that any remains of such offerings had to be completely burnt, a prescription that was also followed when Heracles was given offerings at the very ancient Ara Maxima in Rome.[19] There is no reason to doubt that the habit of making offerings *propter viam* to Heracles goes far back to early Rome, reflecting the religious behaviour of those times. That the god was also praised after a successful journey is attested by many votive inscriptions; one may note especially those set up by soldiers *pro reditu*.[20] Travellers sometimes also crowned themselves with a wreath of poplar which was sacred to Heracles.[21] As a protector of roads and traffic, Heracles was worshipped at many *stationes* throughout the Roman Empire.[22]

Thus the Heracles of our poem is not the cosmic, all-embracing lord and soul of the universe, as he was in the Orphic tradition,[23] but rather a guardian of the traveller which is compatible with his role as a humane saviour and companion of anyone in trouble. Though the extant evidence suggests that his field of action was mostly on the land, there are, however, some sources indicating that seamen also used to call on Heracles to help them. In a speech delivered in Cyzicus in August A.D. 166, Aelius Aristides not only praised Heracles as the benefactor of mankind in the traditional Stoic way, but he also affirmed that the god was regarded as a great healer, especially at Messana in Sicily,[24] and he added that Poseidon and Heracles

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18 Fest. p. 229: *Propter viam fit sacrificium, quod est proficiscendi gratia, Herculi aut Sanco, qui scilicet idem est deus*. Cf. Plaut. Rud. 149–150, referring to shipwrecked travellers: *ut mea est opinio, / propter viam illi sunt vocati ad prandium*. One should note furthermore that Hercules often appeared together with Mercury.

19 Macr. Sat. 2,2,4: *Sacrificium apud veteres fuit quod vocabatur propter viam. In eo mos erat ut, siquid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur*. Sheep are named as sacrificial animals *propter viam* in Non. p. 75, 21; cf. also Laber. mim. 69: *visus hac noctu bidenti <sum Herculi> propter viam* (add. Ribbeck).

20 E.g. AE 1954,102 (Glanum): *Herculi Victori pro salute et reditu*; AE 1993, 1338 (Alba Iulia in Dacia): *Herculi Defensori...in red(itu) ex urbe*.

21 Hor. carm. 1,7,23.

22 RE VIII (1913) 588.

23 H.Orph. 12: Ἥρακλες ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν, / καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς, / αἰολόμορφε, χρόνου πάτερ, etc. Cf. Nonn. D. 40,369: ἀστροχίτων Ἥρακλες, ἄναξ πυρός, ὄρχαμε κόσμου.

24 There was also a story that Heracles had killed Scylla which was believed to have terrorized ships in the Strait of Messana, cf. Lyc. 44–47; Sch. Od. 12,85, referring to

were equally praised by those who had escaped danger on the sea: καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδύνους οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐξ ἴσου Ποσειδῶνι τε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν λογίζονται.[25] A further piece of evidence is given by Libanius who around the middle of the fourth century A.D. said that people in distress everywhere on land and sea invoked the name of the Emperor Julian in the same way as they did with Heracles: ὥσθ' ὅπερ ἐφ' Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι φασὶ τοὺς ὅπου δὴ γῆς ἢ θαλάττης πάσχοντας κακῶς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀπόντα καλεῖν καὶ τοὔνομα πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν ἀρκεῖν.[26] The idea expressed in both passages is now confirmed in actuality by the new epigram from Artena. After the temporary revival of paganism under Julian, no similar testimonies to Heracles' protecting role survive. Instead, there is a late legend that Heracles who was living inside a ship in Alexandria was finally expelled by St. Phocas who was then only ten years old.[27]

Παῖ Διός ... Ἡράκλεες: Heracles was commonly held to be the son of Zeus and of Alcmene, though there was some disagreement about who was his mother (cf. RE Suppl. III 1102–1110). The vocative παῖ Διός often occurs in dedicatory epigrams and other dedications to various deities from archaic times onwards.[28] The various vocatives of the name of Heracles are collected in RE VIII (1913) 518–519.

εὐκήλου μεδέων ... ὅρμου 'guardian of the secure anchorage'. In earlier writers from Homer onwards, the adjective εὔκηλος (lengthened form of ἔκηλος) usually refers to persons in the act of doing something 'at

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Dionysius of Samos (FGrH I, 15,12). The sea monster later came back to life and caused much trouble for Odysseus and his companions.

25 Aristid. Or. 40,12.

26 Lib. Or. 18,186. Julian put himself on a par with Heracles, cf. E. Bliembach, Libanius, Oratio 18 (Epitaphios) Kommentar, Diss. Würzburg 1976, 106, and the same comparison had appeared in a letter of Themistius to the emperor (Jul. ad Them. 2,17; for the background see Giuliano imperatore. Epistola a Temistio, a cura di A. Prato – A. Fornaro, Lecce 1984, 38–39).

27 Anal.Boll. 30 (1911) 272–276; R. Merkelbach (cit. n. 2), 41–43.

28 For an early instance, without the god's name, cf. IG XII,3,1075 = CEG 418 (Melos, early sixth century B.C.). As for Heracles, cf. besides the popular formula cited above in n. 2, W. Peek, Griechische Versinschriften aus Thessalien, Heidelberg 1974, no. 26 (c. 500–450 B.C., supplemented); IG XII Suppl. 424a (Thasos, Imperial time). Cf. also SEG XXVIII 602 = XXXV 842 (Marcianopolis, Severan): τῷ Διός.

their ease' or 'without care'.[29] This usage endured in later times as well, but εὔκηλος is usually not found combined with things until Alexandrian and later epic poetry.[30] This is the first time that εὔκηλος has been found together with ὅρμος (for this word in the meaning 'anchorage' see already Hom. Il. 1,435).

As for μεδέων (= μέδων) 'guardian, ruler, lord', it already occurs as an epithet of Zeus in the Homeric verse Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε.[31] In later times, it continued to be frequently associated with the supreme god,[32], but many other deities also bore this title, among them Apollo,[33] Hermes,[34] Pan,[35] and, occasionally, the Olympian gods together.[36] Poseidon is, naturally, attested as μεδέων of the sea,[37] as is the

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29 Il. 1,554; 17,371; Od. 3,263; 14,479. For the variation ἔκηλος / εὔκηλος, see P. Chantraine, Grammaire homerique I: Phonétique et morphologie (Tradition de l'humanisme 11), Paris 1973, 129–130.

30 Cf. Ion Trag. frg. 28 (πυθμέν' εὔκηλον 'smooth-burning root'); A.R. 2,935 (εὐκήλοισιν ... πτερύγεσσιν 'steady wings'); 3,969 (ἔκηλοι 'unmoved (trees)'); 4,1249 (εὐκήλωι ... γαλήνηι 'dead calm'); Theocr. 2,166 (εὐκάλοιο ... Νυκτός 'silent Night'); AP 9,826 (εὔκηλον ... πόδα 'silent steps'); Opp. H. 3,474 (εὔκηλον ... χέρα 'hand at rest'); 4,415 (αὔραις εὐκήλοισιν 'with gentle breezes'); 5,156 (κώπῃσι δ' ὑπ' εὐκήλοισι 'with quiet oars'). Cf. also Arat. 100, referring to a star (εὔκηλος φορέοιτο 'may her way be peaceful').

31 Il. 3,276.320; 7,202; 24,308; cf. also Il. 16,234, where Zeus is Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου.

32 Pi. O. 7,87–88 (νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου); B. 16,66 (πάντων); AP 11,258 and 12,64 (Πίσης); Q.S. 1,703 (μακάρων); 3,634 (θεῶν ... καὶ ἀνδρῶν); 9,9 (Ἴδης ... ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεντος); 14,425 (θεῶν); Ps.Just. coh. ad gent. 15 E 8 and B 3 (πάντων). Cf. also E. frg. 912,1 (TGF I p. 655, πάντων), addressed to Zeus / Hades.

33 SIG[3] 1044,8 and 37 = F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure, Paris 1955, no. 72 (Τελεμεσσοῦ; Halicarnassus, third century B.C.); Call. Del. 5 (ἀοιδάων); AP 9,581 (Πιερίδων); Segre, I.Cos EV 232 (first century B.C./first century A.D.) and Segre, Tit.Cal. 108–110 (Καλύμνας; first century A.D.); IG XII,5,893 (Tenos; second/third century A.D.) = Kaibel, Epigrammata 1025 = App.Anth. exhort. 27 (Δήλου); Orph. A. 1 (Πυθῶνος).

34 H.Hom. 4 (Merc.), 2: Κυλλήνης ... καὶ Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου.

35 Pi. frg. 95,1 and Carm.Conv. 4,1 (PMG 887): Ἀρκαδίας.

36 I.Cret. I, VIII no. 34 (Cnossos, second/first century B.C.): οἱ...θεοὶ μεδέοντες Ὀλύν(που).

37 Corinn. 1, col. III,14 (PMG 654; πόντ[ω – – –]); Ar. Eq. 560 (δελφίνων); Mosch. Eur. 149 (πολιῆς ἁλὸς); AP 6,30 (καὶ χθονὶ καὶ πελάγει); Nonn. D. 36,124; 42,456; 43,120 (ἁλὸς); Ps.Hdt. Vit.Hom. 236 = Suid. Vit.Hom. 121 (εὐρυχόρου ... ἠδὲ ξανθοῦ

heroine Helen once in Euripides,[38] and the same role was probably given to the Emperor Hadrian in the epigram IG II/III^2 3575, l. 9–11 (= Kaibel, Epigrammata no. 863 = App.Anth. dedic. 224), where μεδέων is commonly restored at the end of line nine: τὸν χθονὸς εὐρυχόρου δὲ καὶ ἀτρυγέτ[ης μεδέοντα], / τὸν καὶ ἀπειρεσίων κοίρανον ἠμερί[ων], / ἄσπετον ὅς πάσαις πλοῦτον κατέχευε πόλεσσιν (note, by the way, that the Homeric ἀτρυγέτη also appears at the end of line eight in the new poem from Artena). As for strong heros, one may note the ancient cult of Achilles on the north shore of the Black Sea where he was locally invoked as a μεδέων of the island of Leuce from the late classical period onwards.[39] Heracles, however, does not seem to be called μεδέων anywhere in the extant sources except in the Artena poem.[40] In Christian times, Christ was often given the title of μεδέων, and so was the Antichrist (e.g. κακίης or βροτῶν).

ἁλιτρύτων ... νεῶν: The second line expresses the idea already discussed above, i.e. that Heracles is the saviour of ships and crews. The rare adjective ἁλίτρυτος 'sea-beaten, sea-worn' appears for the first time in Theoc. 1,45 and it later occurs in AP 7,294; Eus. Const.Imp.or. 20, p. 186,1 H. (cf. Verg. ecl. 4,38), and Nonn. Ev.Jo. 21,16. Only in the epigram of the Anthology does this adjective refer to a boat.[41]

Ἑλικῶνος). Poseidon is ἁλιμέδων in Ar. Th. 323, ποντομέδων in Pi. O. 6,103; A. Th. 130–131; E. Hipp. 743–4; Ar. V. 1531–32; CEG 266 = IG I^3 828 (c. 480–475 B.C.), and cf. also ποντομέδοιο Ποσειδάωνος in Orac. ap. St.Byz. s.v. Τρινακρία. See, finally, ἁλὸς μεδέοντος in Alex.Eph. (Suppl.Hell. 33, if the text is correct) and S. Laoc. frg. 341 D: Αἰγαίου μέδεις πρῶνας ἢ γλαυκᾶς μέδεις εὐανέμου λίμνας.

38 E. Or. 1690: μεδέουσα θαλάσσης. Cf. also Hom. Il. 1,72, referring to Scylla, Φόρκυνος θυγάτηρ, ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο μέδοντος (from μέδων).

39 I.Pont.Eux. 326, 672 (cf. SEG III 606); SEG XXX 869. What is more, Achilles is μεδέων of Scythia as early as Alcaeus (frg. 354, Z 31). For the cult of A. Pontarches, see H. Hommel, Actes du VII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Constantza 1977), Bucuresti – Paris 1979, 317–318.

40 Further cases of μεδέων / μεδέουσα (besides Μέδουσα, name of the Gorgon): Aphrodite (Σαλαμῖνος, etc.: H.Hom. 10 (Ven.),4), Artemis (τόξων: E. Hipp. 167), Athene (τῆς ἱεροτάτης ... χώρας: Ar. Eq. 585; Ἀθηνῶν: CIG 2246 [Samos], Segre, I.Cos EV 361 [perhaps also from Samos], Plut. Them. 10,2), Helios (ἁπάντων: Eun. hist. 1,229, referring to Julian as a son of the Sun), Mnemosyne (Ἐλευθῆρος: Hes. Th. 54). Cf. also Call. Jov. 86 (ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι, i.e. Ptolemy); AP 16,188 (γυμνασίου; cf. App. Anth. dedic. 171); Opp. C. 2,165 (θηρῶν, i.e. the lion king); Nonn. Ev.Jo. 2,41 (εἰλαπίνης).

41 The genitive νεῶν: Chantraine, Grammaire (cit. n. 29), 72.

Μόνοικε: the occurrence of this epithet in the poem is remarkable because it is attested here for the first time in ancient inscriptions.[42] In literary sources, Μόνοικος (Lat. *Monoecus*) is naturally known as the name from which derives that of the city of Monaco, originally called Μονοίκου λιμήν or *Herculis Monoeci portus*.[43] Despite other explanations,[44] the epithet itself most probably draws on indigenous linguistic stock.[45] Μόνοικος is hitherto known exclusively in direct reference to the name of the Ligurian port which means that it is here attested independently for Hercules for the first time. However, context and especially the mention of the Ligurians on line 12 clearly show that the author of the poem also had Monaco in mind. Moreover, one may note that while Heracles is the guardian of a ὅρμος ('anchorage') in the poem, Strabo 4,6,3 characterizes Monaco in a similar fashion: ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μονοίκου λιμὴν ὅρμος ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ πολλαῖς

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42 I can find only one further instance of Μόνοικος in ancient epigraphy (I.Tralleis 250, col. II,40; A.D. 284–305), but here it seems to be the name of an estate, which, of course, has nothing to do with the epithet of Heracles (cf. *Monaulis* in the same inscription, lines 29 and 37, and L. Robert, Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine [BAH Istanbul 13], Paris 1963, 274). – Note also that *monoecus* was the name of a plant (Marcell. med. 36,12; cf. ThLL VIII 1424 and J. André, Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique, Paris 1985, 164: "Terme de la région marseillaise? Non identifiable").

43 Hecat. apud St.Byz. s.v. (= FGrH IA,1 F 57; cf. Hdn. 3,1 p. 151,9 and 3,2 p. 338,36 [Arc. 51,21] where μόνοικος is also recorded as a proparoxytonon); Str. 4,6,1–3; Ptol. Geog. 3,1,2 (see below); Verg. Aen. 6,830 (cf. Serv. Aen.); Plin. nat. 3,47; Lucan. 1,408 (cf. Adnot. Lucan. 1,408 and 3,278; Comment. Lucan. 1,405.408); Sil. 1,586; Tac. hist. 3,42; Amm. 15,10,9 (see below n. 48); Paneg. 11,4,2; Gloss. Verg. ed. Hagen A 309 (*fluvius Monoecus*); Vib. Seq. geogr. p. 156 R. (given as a mountain in Liguria); Itin. Anton. Aug. p. 503,4–5 (*Hercle Manico*); Ravenn. p. 64,46 S. and 86,42 (*Pomune*?) and Ravenn. Guid. p. 131,34 S. (*Pomona*?). The Ἡρακλέους λιμήν recorded by Ptol. Geog. 3,1,2 between Nicaia (Nice) and Tropaia (la Turbie) is to be identified with the port of Villefranche-sur-Mer (Villafranca) west of Monaco. The same site, *portus Herculis*, is probably meant in Val. Max. 1,6,7 and Obseq. 24, cf. J. Weiss, RE VIII (1913) 613; H. Philipp, RE XVI (1933) 132–133.

44 Popular etymologies already appeared in ancient times (e.g. Serv. Aen. 6,830: *dictus autem Monoecus vel quod pulsis omnibus illic solus habitavit, vel quod in eius templo numquam aliquis deorum simul colitur*; Comment. Lucan. 1,405: *Ideo autem 'Monoeci' quod solus ibi* οἶκον *habebat id est templa*), but cf. also M. Sznycer, in: La toponymie antique (Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 4), Strasbourg 1977, 167–168: "solitaire".

45 G. Reymond – J.-E. Dugand, Monaco antique: essai sur l'histoire ancienne de Monaco depuis des origines ligures jusqu'aux environs de l'an 1000 (Pubbl.Fac.Lettr.Sc.Hum. Nice 5), Nice 1970, 222–223.

ναυσίν, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους Μονοίκου καλουμένου (cf. also Lucan. 1,408: *statio Monoeci*).[46] Unfortunately, nothing remains of the temple recorded by Strabo,[47] nor is there any indication of how old the cult of Heracles was in Monaco. The earliest extant source testifying to a connection of the port of Monaco with the figure of Heracles comes from the early first century B.C., when Timagenes of Alexandria wrote that both the promontory (*arx*) and port of Monoecus had been consecrated to the eternal memory of Heracles.[48] But even if we cannot establish the origins of a cultic worship of the god in Monaco, there is little doubt that Heracles was associated with the site at a very early date, most probably in the aftermath of Greek colonization. When the Greek colonists arrived at Massalia and other places in southern Gaul and Liguria, they would have adopted the well-known legend telling how Heracles had taken away the cattle of Geryon from around Gades in southwestern Spain. Heracles finally brought his plunder to Athens after a long journey along the northern littoral of the Mediterranean, and this naturally gave birth to the idea that many coastal towns had been founded or refounded by the hero.[49] So Heracles, guardian of roads and civilizer of uncultivated land, had in a way cleared the way for the Greeks before their arrival (cf. above at n. 8).[50] The road running along the coast from Italy to Spain through the Celtic lands was called 'Herakleia'

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46 Note that Heracles is also otherwise attested as a guardian of ports: Segre, I.Cos ED 180 (first century B.C.): Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Καλλίνικος ὁ ἐπὶ ἀγορᾶι καὶ ἐπὶ λιμένι.

47 It may have stood in the place of the church of Saint-Georges in the valley of the Gaumates, cf. Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 179–181.

48 Preserved (probably) in Amm. 15,10,9: *Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui [scil. Herculis] memoriam consecravit* (cf. FGrH II A,88 F 14); note also Adnot. Lucan. 3,278: *huc usque enim Hercules venit ibique portum Herculis Monoeci condidit*. The first to mention Monaco was Hecataeus, but he did not say a word about Heracles: Μόνοικος· πόλις Λιγυστική (St.Byz. s.v. Μόνοικος, with the addition τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μονοίκιος).

49 Aeschylus already referred to Heracles as fighting the Ligurians when he was returning from Spain with the cattle of Geryon: A. frg. 199 (TGF I p. 66–67).

50 For further reading, see Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 116–123; F. Benoît, Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule (Ann.Fac.Lettres n.s. 43), Aix-en-Provence 1965, 93–96; C. Jourdain-Annequin, in: Héraclès (cit. n. 8), 277–278; D. Plácido, in: Ercole in Occidente, a cura di A. Mastrocinque (Labirinti 2), Trento 1993, 73–79 (the Geryon episode).

as early as the fourth century B.C.,[51] and many old settlements were similarly renamed for the hero or, if new, began to be named after him right from the beginning.[52] *Portus Herculis Monoeci* would have been one of those adding the hero's name to an old toponym. Under Augustus, in 7–6 B.C., the site became famous for the grandiose memorial erected by the emperor along the old Alpine road which ran above the port. The *arx Monoeci* of Verg. Aen. 6,830 probably refers to the hill where this monument, *tropaeum Alpium* (la Turbie), was erected to mark the re-opening of the "Heraclean" road, the Augustan *via Iulia*, as well as the pacification of the Ligurian lands.[53]

Ζεφύροιο...Βορέῃ: the enumeration of stormy winds was among the typical set pieces of epic poetry from Homer onwards. Similar cliché-like descriptions can be found in most of the major Greek and Latin epic poems down to Nonnus of Panopolis, but winds as well as constellations affecting the sea are also frequently described in other types of poetry, especially epigrams commemorating the death of seamen or referring to navigation in general.[54]

Ζεφύροιο θοῇ κελάδοντος ἀέλλῃ 'rapid squall of the howling Zephyr': a similar situation, though in completely different words, may be found in Homer: ὑπὸ λιγέων ἀνέμων σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι (Il. 13,334).[55] The adjective θοή, it seems, is not otherwise attested as being coupled with ἀέλλη except in the Posthomerica of Quintus of Smyrna.[56] As for κελάδων (Ep. for κελαδέων / κελαδῶν), this word, especially frequent in the

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51 Ps.Arist. Mir. 85 (837a), possibly from Timaeus: Ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας φασιν ἕως τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ Κελτολιγύων καὶ Ἰβηρῶν εἶναι τινα ὁδὸν Ἡράκλειαν καλουμένην. Cf. Amm. 15,10,9: *primam* [scil. *viam*] *Thebaeus Hercules ad Geryonem exstinguendum, ut relatum est, ...prope maritimas composuit Alpes*.

52 For a list and map of places named after Heracles/Hercules in the western Mediterranean, see Reymond – Dugand (cit. n. 45), 130–131 and pl. XXXVbis.

53 Cf. Diz.Virg. s.v. *Monoecus*.

54 E.g. Boreas (AP 7,374.397; SEG I 91 from Gytheion, Laconia), Orion and Euros (AP 7,273.395.500.543), Arcturos (AP 7,392.495.539), Eriphoi (AP 7,272.502), Hyades and Libs (AP 7,653.738), Notos (AP 7,263; AP 13,27 = Peek, GV 1744). For Zephyros in Homer, see E. Risch, MH 25 (1968) 205–213 = Kleine Schriften, Berlin – New York 1981, 158–166 (Zephyros appears together with Boreas in Hom. Il. 9,5; 23,195.208).

55 Cf. Od. 5,304–305: ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι / παντοίων ἀνέμων. Cf. further A.R. 2,276: Ζεφύροιο...ἀέλλας.

56 Q.S. 3,704; 9,293; cf. 14,25 (θοῶς).

Dionysiaca of Nonnus, was used not only to describe the whistling of winds,[57] but it also characterized other natural sounds.[58] As the closest parallel to the second distich of the Artena poem one may adduce Q.S. 4,552–553: ἢ Βορέαο μέγα πνείοντος ἀέλλαις / ἠὲ Νότου κελάδοντος.

πολυφλοίσβῳ ῥαιόμεναι Βορέῃ 'crushed (i.e. the ships) by the loud-roaring Boreas'. πολύφλοισβος, one of the many Homeric epithets of the sea,[59] was used by later poets, especially Nonnus (but not A.R. nor Q.S.), to express the roaring sound of many other phenomena as well.[60] This seems to be the first time the adjective is characterizing a wind. ῥαίω / ῥαίομαι often refers to shipwrecks or seamen in distress.[61]

ἀσπάσιαι...ἀστυφέλικτον 'welcome they sail down to you (l. 3: ἐς σὲ) under the unshaken shelter'. The meaning is that Heracles, saving the ships from destructive whirlwinds, welcomed the passengers to himself. σκέπας is the shelter against winds already in Homer,[62] but in the present

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57 Hom. Od. 2,421 (Ζέφυρον κελάδοντ'), cf. Il. 23,208 (Ζέφυρον κελαδεινόν); Q.S. 3,751 (Ζεφύρῳ κελάδοντι). Other winds: Βορέας (Q.S. 8,243), ἄνεμοι (App.Anth. orac. 146,5, cf. Eus. PE 6,3,1,7 and Porph. Orac. p. 170,23), ἐτησίαι (Arat. 152; cf. Sch. Arat.), ἀήτης (Opp. C. 1,106; 4,409).

58 Πόντος (FGrH IIIC,637 F 1,19; Ar. Nu. 284; Opp. H. 5,215; E. Heitsch, Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit I, Göttingen 1961, no. XXIV,35), Okeanos (Nonn. D. 19,342; 42,481), πόταμος (Hom. Il. 18,576; B. 9,65; Theoc. 17,92; Call. Dian. 3,107; A.R. 1,501; 4,133; Philostr. Jun. Im. p. 409,24–25 K.; Q.S. 10,171; Coluth. 6; Nonn. D. 12,165; Euseb. PE 9,22,3,5), Maeander (river, Nonn. D. 25,406), ῥέεθρον (Nonn. D. 13,316; 48,326), ῥόος (Q.S. 4,158; 10,145; Nonn. D. 14,327), ἔναυλοι (Q.S. 2,472), πάταγος (Nonn. D. 3,77), ῥόθιον (Nonn. D. 43,193), μυκηθμός (Nonn. D. 45, 357), νιφετός (Nonn. D. 3,204; 6,282; 13,538), μυχὸς ἄντρου (Nonn. D. 13,9); cf. also τύπανον (Nonn. D. 27,224), μαχητής (Nonn. D. 40,89), ὁπλίτης (Plu. Lys. 29,5, cf. App.Anth. orac. 72,1), φώς (Orac.Chald. 2,1; 111,1), Silenos (Nonn. D. 19, 301). Note, finally, that Κελάδων is the name of a river in Hom. Il. 7,133.

59 Θάλασσα (Hom. Il. 1,34; 2,209; 6,347; 9,182; 13,798; 23,59; Od. 13,85.220; H.Hom. 4 (Merc.), 341; H.Hom. 6 (Ven.), 4; Hes. Op. 648; Archil. frg. 13,3 [West]; Diph. frg. 126,4; Orph. A. 331; AP 7,592 [κύματα θαλάσσης]; 9,398; Ath. 8,10,18); cf. also Choaspes (river, Nic. Ther. 890), ἠιόνες (Opp. H. 3,454), ῥέεθρα (Procl. H. 7,30).

60 Βέλεμνον (Nonn. D. 2,476), βίοτος (Nonn. D. 7,64), κόσμος (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 16,126), κυδοιμός (App.Anth. orac. 120,13 [cf. Porph. Plot. 22,25]; Nonn. D. 23,196; 24,103; 29,93), μέλαθρον (Nonn. D. 20,355; Nonn. Ev.Jo. 18,135), μέριμνα (Nonn. D. 33,263; 42,59), μύθος (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 10,69), τράπεζα (Nonn. Ev.Jo. 6,41).

61 E.g. Hom. Od. 8,569; 13,151; 23,235 (cf. 5,221 and 6,326); A.R. 2,1112.

62 Hom. Od. 5,443; 6,210.212; 7,282; 12,336 (the adjective ἀνεμοσκεπής in Il. 16,224); later, W. Peek, MDAI(A) 67 (1942) 154, 330, l. 3 (ἀνέμων σκέπας, note the adverb

context one should note that a harbor or anchorage could, naturally, also be called a 'shelter',[63] and so it is possible that σκέπας associates with εὔκηλος ὅρμος (line 1) as well. Regarding the adjective ἀστυφέλικτος, which is not known until Xenophon (Lac. 15,7) and Callimachus (Del. 26),[64] it is here attested for the first time with σκέπας. For the idea of shaking (στυφελίζω) a shelter, cf. Nonn. D. 17,202. For κάτειμι, referring to a ship, see Hom. Od. 16,472.

ἔνθ' ἵνα...ἁλός 'where they need not take heed of the raging sea'. It seems as if two relative adverbs of place (ἔνθα, ἵνα) were used pleonastically to open the verse, unless one thinks of the demonstrative ἔνθα followed by the relative adverb ('there where'). Either way, this kind of expression is very rare, being paralleled, it seems, only by three other instances. In a Hadrianic (or early Antonine) inscription from Magnesia-on-Maeander, which enumerates the victories of an athlete, it is stated among other things that the man had participated in the Ourania games in Sparta, in a locality where the tower of Lacedaemon is (Σπάρτῃ ἐνὶ ζαθέῃ, Λακεδαίμονος ἔνθ' ἵνα τύρσις, ἐστεφόμην...).[65] The example of Babrius also comes from the second century A.D.: ἔνθ' ἵνα μοι βίος ἐστὶν, Ἀμαλθείης κέρας αἰγὸς / λέξομαι ἐν μυχάτῳ.[66] The third case is considerably later, being found in a description of the church of the Holy Martyr Polyeuctus in Constantinople (A.D. 524/527): οἶκον ἰδὼν λάμποντα, περίδρομον, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, / ἔνθ' ἵνα καὶ γραφίδων ἱερῶν ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αὐλῆς / ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μέγα θαῦμα, πολύφρονα Κωνσταντῖνον.[67]

ἀσπασίως in l. 4; c. 165 B.C.); Opp. H. 1,45 (φοιταλέων ἀνέμων); Q.S. 7,137 and 139 (σκέπας ᾧ ἀνέμοιο...ἀέλλαι). Cf. also, referring to weather conditions, AP 6,335 and Greg.Naz. 1396,7 (νιφετός).

63 Lyc. 736–7 (παρ' ἄκλυστον σκέπας / ὅρμων Μισηνοῦ), 768 (ναύλοχον...σκέπας); Hdn. 3,1,272,28 (σκέπας...αὐτοφυοῦς ὅρμοιο [cf. St.Byz. 303,8]); Nonn. D. 3,47 (λιμένος...ὑπὸ σκέπας); Procop. Aed. 1,5,2 (σκέπας λιμένων ἡσύχιον), also 1,8,7 and 1,11,18.

64 See also AP 6,163; 7,748; 9,764; App.Anth. sepulch. 605,3 and orac. 140,14. A number of instances also in Nonn. D. and other late authors. For an epigraphic example, cf. IGLS IV 1599,11 (Chr.) from around Apameia (cf. below n. 80).

65 I.Magnesia am Maeander 181, l. 13.

66 Babr. Fab dact.iamb. 10,4 (p. 217–218), cf. Suid. A 1478.

67 AP 1,10, l. 69–71. Cf. also Suppl.Hell. frg. adesp. 1008: ἔνθ' ἵνα †ἐς κακόν ἐστιν. Some scholars have suggested Callimachus.

ὀθέουσιν 'take heed, fear': the active voice of this verb is known only from Hesychius (s.v. ὀθέων) who says that it means the same as φροντίζων. The dictionary also gives other parallel forms, ὀθεύει· ἄγει. φροντίζει, and ὄθεσθαι· φροντίζειν... δεδοικέναι. The latter, also given by Hesychius as ὄθεται· ἐπιστρέφεται,[68] is attested in the Iliad, though only in the present and imperfect tense and always in negative clauses (compare, by analogy, οὐκ ὀθέουσιν in our poem). Note further that the Homeric verb is also construed with the genitive (Il. 1,181), as it is in A.R. 3,94 (cf. 1,1267). Besides the verbal forms, Hesychius also provided the noun ὄθη, with the explanation φροντίς. ὥρα. φόβος. λόγος. As for μαίνομαι 'to rage, to be mad', in early epic poetry it mostly refers to persons or to hands holding weapons (or to the weapons themselves), and once to fire (Il. 15,606); the verb is not combined with sea or other natural elements until considerably later, especially in Quintus' Posthomerica.[69]

II. Lines 7–12

The author goes on to tell a personal story of a voyage at sea. After a common epic opening, Heracles is introduced as ἄναξ (line 7) and a helping ξεῖνος (line 9).

ὥς ῥα...ἐδέξω 'so us too, Lord, when we were thrown about by the winds, you took under your protection'.[70] The title ἄναξ was commonly given to various deities addressed in dedications from archaic times

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68 This equivalent is hard to explain, as is that of ὄθεσαν (< ὀθέω)· ἐπεστράφησαν. See also P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots, Paris 1980, 777.

69 Q.S. 14,601 (ἐμαίνετο δῖα θάλασσα); 9,272 (μέμηνε δὲ λαίλαπι πόντος); 5,386 (μαίνετο δ' ἠύτε πόντος ἀπείριτος ἠὲ θύελλα); 10,69–70 (μέγα πόντος...μαίνεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο); cf. also 1,355–6 ([λαῖλαψ] ἐνὶ πόντῳ μαίνεται); 7,588 (μέγα μαίνετ' ἀήτης); 14,249 (μαινομένου ἀνέμοιο); 14,471 ([ἀνέμους] ῥιπῇσι μεμηνότας). Cf. also Gr.Naz. carm. 993,7 (μαινομένοισι...ἀνέμοισι) and POxy. 1085, col. II,13–15 (= Heitsch [cit. n. 58] I, 53, infuriated lion being hunted by Hadrian and Antinous): μαίνετο δ' ὡς ὅτε κῦμ[α] πολυκλύστο[ι]ο θαλάσσης / Στρυ[μ]ονίου κ[α]τόπισθεν ἐγειρομένου Ζεφύρ[οιο]; P.Argent. 481,36 (= Heitsch I, no. XXIV,36; fourth century A.D.): μαινομένην, following πόντου κελάδοντος [– – –] of l. 35.

70 ἡμέας: Chantraine, Grammaire (cit. n. 29), 269.

onwards.[71] Heracles is also ἄναξ in an archaic inscription,[72] and he bears the same title in literary sources as well.[73]

περισπερχῆας is an artificial form (pro -έας > -εῖς) probably coined, *metri gratia*, on the model of the type Ἡρακλῆος, -κλῆα (Ion. -κλέος, -κλέα) which, in turn, draws on the genuine Aeolian flexion of nouns in -εύς (e.g. βασιλῆος, -ῆας).[74] The adjective itself, περισπερχής 'very hasty, hurried, agitated', is first found in Sophocles,[75] and it is not combined with winds or storm until Oppianus' Halieutica.[76] For this purpose, however, Homer already used the verb σπέρχω or the prefixed form ἐπισπέρχω.[77]

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71 CEG 402 (god unknown; seventh century B.C. [?], Naxos); 334, 336 (Apollo; late sixth century B.C., Boeotia); 362 (Zeus Kronion; c. 560 B.C., Cleonae); 384 (id.; c. 475 B.C., Elis); 367 (Zeus Olympios; early fifth century B.C., Olympia); 357 (Poseidon; c. 640–625 B.C., Corinth). For a recent survey of the use of ἄναξ in Homer, see N. Yamagata, CQ n.s. 47 (1997) 3–10.

72 CEG 396 (late sixth century B.C. [?], Metapontum): χαῖρε ϝάναξ ἡέρακλες· ...; cf. now Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV: Iscrizioni delle colonie achee, a cura di R. Arena, Alessandria 1996, 102 no. 79. Compare the fragment of Archilochus in the following footnote.

73 E.g. Archil. frg. 324,2 West (χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις); H. Hom. 15 (Heracl.), 10 (χαῖρε ἄναξ Διὸς υἱέ); Ar. Ach. 94, Pax 180, Lys. 296, Ra. 298; Antiph. frg. 26,1; Men. Dysc. 621. For the evolution of the meaning of ἄναξ, especially its divine and human usages, cf. recently E. Dickey, Greek Forms of Address: from Herodotus to Lucian, Oxford 1996, 101–103. The use of ὦ with vocatives: ibid. 199–206. For the form ἄνα, see J. Wackernagel, Über einige antike Anredeformen, Göttingen 1912, 24. For a good parallel showing both ὦνα, χαῖρε and μεδέων, see IG XII,5, 893 (Tenos, above n. 33).

74 Cf. also C.J. Ruijgh, Lingua 27 (1971) 270–271 (review of W.F. Wyatt, Metrical Lengthening in Homer [1969]) = Scripta minora ad linguam Graecam pertinentia, Amsterdam 1991, 209–210.

75 Aj. 982 (π. πάθος 'over-hasty'); cf. TGF Adesp. frg. 254 (π. βοῆς); later Plu. adul. 59D (κόλαξ π. 'acrimonious'); Opp. H. 5,145 and C. 4,218 (π. ὀδύνῃσιν 'goaded by pains'). Cf. the verb περισπέρχω already in Hdt. 7,207 (Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχθέντων); later Opp. H. 2,334; 3,449 (see the following footnote); 4,330. Cf. Sch. Opp. H. 2,334: περισπέρχουσα, ταχέως σπουδάζουσα, σπεύδουσα, ὅθεν καὶ περισπερχὴς ὁ σπουδαῖος, καὶ περισπέρχεια ἡ ἄγαν σπουδή.

76 Opp. H. 3,449: ἀλλ' ὅτε κυμαίνουσα περισπέρχῃσι θάλασσα / λάβρων ἐξ ἀνέμων (cf. Sch. Opp. H. περισπέρχῃσι· ταράσσεται, κατεπείγεται, βιάζεται, ἐπείγεται).

77 Hom. Il. 13,334 (ἀνέμων σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι); Od. 3,283 (σπέρχοιεν ἄελλαι); 5,304 (ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι); 13,115 ([νηῦς] ἐπέκελσεν σπερχομένη); later, Hymn.Is. 151 (= IG XII,5,739, Andros, probably early Empire): σπερχόμενος βαρὺ πόντος. Cf. also κατασπέρχω: D.C. 41,46,3 (ὁ ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε); Opp. H. 4,90–1 (ἐλάτῃσι νῆα).

ἐδέξω: the reading of this word was not quite clear at first sight because the stone is broken at the end of the line. Yet it seems that the only possibility is ἐδέξω,[78] i.e. aorist second person singular from δέχομαι 'to accept, to receive (kindly), to welcome', which is well documented in Greek poetry as closing a verse. Another form of the same verb is at the beginning of line 14.

αἰπὰ...ἀτρυγέτης 'when the high waves of the barren sea crested aloft'. αἰπά, neuter plural of the adjective αἰπός 'high, lofty', is here an adverb which probably refers to the height of the waves, though one could also argue that αἰπά is associated with the Homeric αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα 'streams falling sheer down'.[79] In that case, considering the meaning of the adverb ὑψόθεν (which, however, was also used as an equivalent of ὑψοῦ 'aloft, on high'), one could perhaps understand as follows: 'when the crested waves of the barren sea fell straight down from on high'.

κορυσσαμένης...ἀτρυγέτης. Expressions like ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο, ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης, or πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον for 'barren sea' are frequent in Homer and later poets.[80] Here the adjective ἀτρυγέτη is used alone for 'sea', a practice already well attested in early epic poetry.[81] The participle κορυσσαμένη suggests that the waves were so high that they had begun to crest. The verb κορύσσω / κορύσσομαι 'to arm (oneself), to equip (one-

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78 For the form of the letter Ξ, see e.g. the tables in vol. II of K. Larfeld's Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, Leipzig 1898.

79 Hom. Il. 8,369 (cf. Paus. 8,18,1); 21,9; Hes. frg. 150,23; A.R. 1,927; Q.S. 6,266. Other usages: Q.S. 1,170; 6,145; 7,557 (α. μέλαθρα); 2,596; 5,55 (α. κέλευθα).

80 ἅλς (Hom. Il. 1,316.327; 24,752; Od. 1,72; 5,52; 6,226; 8,49; 10,179; H.Hom. 7 (Bacch.), 2; Hippon. frg. 126,4 D.; Ar. V. 1521; Pl. R. 388,b,1; Orph. A. 1033; Q.S. 6,331), θάλασσα (Hom. Il. 14,204; Sol. Nom. frg. 13,19 [West]; H.Hom. 22 (Nept.), 2; Hes. Th. 413, 728; Orph. A. 1168; Nonn. D. 1,112–3; 35,74; IGLS IV 1599,9 [Chr., cf. above n. 64]), πόντος (Hom. Il. 15,27; Od. 2,370; 5,84.140.158; 7,79; 13,419; 17,289; Hes. Th. 241, 696, 737, 808; Thgn. 1,248; Orph. L. 519; Q.S. 14,589). Cf. also πέλαγος (Hes. Th. 131]; Q.S. 8,156), κῦμα (Orph. A. 1196), ὕδωρ (AP 7,397; Ath. 8,10,16; Nonn. D. 1,94), οἶδμα (Q.S. 7,181), ἁλὸς κευθμῶνες (Q.S. 2,426), π[ε]λάγους [β]ένθος (IG XII:7, 115,12, Amorgos), αἰγιαλοί (Q.S. 6,334), χθών (Nonn. D. 6,100–1), νύξ (AP 7,735), αἰθήρ (Hom. Il. 17,425; H.Hom. 2 (Cer.), 67,457; Hes. frg. 150,35; Stesich. frg. 32, col. 1,4), ἀήρ (Opp. H. 4,36). For ἀτρύγετος, cf. also P. Vivante, The Epithets in Homer. A Study in Poetic Values, New Haven – London 1982, 133.

81 For examples see G.P. Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer, London 1972², 74. Compare ὑγρή = ὑγρὴ θάλασσα. As for ἀτρύγετος standing alone for 'sea', cf. e.g. Ar. Av. 1338 (cf. S. frg. 423 D.); IG II/III² 3575 (above at n. 38–9).

self)', especially frequent in Nonnus, is used in this sense by many epic poets.[82]

ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο...ἀπλοίῃ 'and therein, having you as our host, with forward mind we stayed for two days and two nights, as we could not set sail'. For the opening phrase ἐν δέ..., see Hom. Il. 9,361 (cf. Od. 13,244). Heracles is here ξεῖνος (Ep. for ξένος), i.e. a host receiving wanderers and refugees, a charge frequently undertaken by Zeus who was regarded as the protector of the rights of hospitality (thereby called Xenios).[83] The sailors were prevented from continuing their voyage by ἄπλοια, the 'impossibility of sailing', caused by the storm (cf. the adjective ἄπλοος which may refer to ships, sailors or to the sea itself). This noun occurs here and there in Greek literature from the time of the great tragedians,[84] and it also appears in the company of ἴσχω (Hdt. 2,119: ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὁρμημένον αὐτὸν ἶσχον ἄπλοιαι). The verb ἴσχω 'to keep back, to restrain, to stop' as well as the poetic adjective πρόφρων 'with forward mind, kindly, willing' are both well attested from Homer onwards. The latter, when used of persons, is usually a predicative (always in Homer).

Regarding the rhytm of line nine, it seems to show a metric slip, the only one in the poem. What follows ΔΥΟ appears to be a T with a very short bar, similar to the other ones in the line and elsewhere in the poem. The particle τε, here elided, would indeed be well motivated because of the following καί. The sequence δύο τ' ἤματα καὶ δύο νύκτας is apposite by any standard, but combined with the opening ἐν δὲ σέο ξείνοιο produces a

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82 κῦμα (Hom. Il. 4,422–424; 21,306; A.R. 2,71; 4,215; Orac. Sib. 3,443; Q.S. 14,344; Porph. ad Il. I, 17,29), θάλασσα (Opp. H. 5,284–285; Nonn. D. 23,316), πόντος (Greg.Naz. carm. 993,7–8), πόντιος ἄρης (Nonn. D. 43,185), γαληνός (CAF adesp. frg. 1324,3 = FCG IV anon. 48,3 = Iamb. adesp. frg. 29,3), οἶδμα (Nonn. D. 23,166; 27,177), πόταμος (Nonn. D. 23,204), ὕδωρ (Opp. H. 286–287), Ganges (river, Opp. C. 4,169). Furthermore, Opp. H. 2,355 (ἄγρια κυμαίνουσα κορύσσεται, of a raging Muraena). See also, referring to a symposium, Plu. Quaest.conv. 713,E,10: ἐν συμποσίῳ κυμαίνοντι καὶ κορυσσομένῳ.

83 For Zeus as ξείνιος see Hom. Od. 9,271 (cf. 8,546); Il. 13,625; Q.S. 13,413. Note further that in IG II/III^2 1012 = Syll.^{3} 706 (112/1 B.C.), Zeus Xenios is the patron of an association of Greek naukleroi. For Apollo Xenios, see CIG 2214e (Chios). ξεῖνος as 'host' e.g. in Il. 15,532; A.R. 1,208, etc.

84 E.g. A. A. 150, 188; Eu. IT 15, IA 88; Th. 2,85,6; 4,4,1; 6,22; 8,99; Call. Dian. 230; Plb. 34,11,19 (cf. Str. 6,2,10); D.H. 1,49,3. 50.3; Plu. Her.malig. 857B; AP 7,640 (for the reading, see The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams, Cambridge 1968, II p. 66).

clumsy verse. This might be explained by assuming a break of thought on the part of the author after the first sequence. Another possibility is that the letter following ΔΥΟ is a I which, then, should be taken as a stonecutter's error (δύο{ι}). This is less plausible, not least because the letter simply does not look like a I.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τριτάτῃ...Λιγύων 'but then, on the third day, we sailed swiftly with brisk fair wind by the towns of the maritime Ligurians'. After the common epic phrase introducing a contrast to the preceding (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί), the poet says that the sailors could not start until the third day.[85] That something should happen only on the third day is, of course, a universal literary topos that ultimately reflects the importance of mystic numbers.[86]

ἀκραέι θεύσαμεν οὔρῳ / ῥίμφα: the relatively rare adjective ἀκραής 'blowing strongly, brisk' is an epic epithet of winds from Homer onwards, though it is not connected with οὖρος 'fair wind' until Apollonius of Rhodes.[87] οὖρος itself is already frequent in Homer, as is θέω 'to run', also when referring to ships (e.g. Il. 1,483; Od. 13,88). The typically epic adverb ῥίμφα 'swiftly', usually opening a verse, is attested in connection with navigation in Homer (Od.) as well as some later epic poets.[88]

θαλασσαίων πὰρ πόλιας Λιγύων: the Ligurians do not seem to be otherwise called θαλασσαῖοι (= θαλάσσιοι) or *maritimi* anywhere in the extant sources, though, of course, their close connection with the sea was often underlined by ancient writers.[89] In a geographical context, however,

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85 Both τρίτη and the lengthened poetic form τριτάτη were used with or without ἡμέρα.

86 For a close parallel, cf. e.g. A.R. 2,720–721: Ἧμος δὲ τρίτατον φάος ἤλυθε, δὴ τότ' ἔπειτα / ἀκραεῖ Ζεφύρῳ νῆσον λίπον αἰπήεσσαν; Hom. Il. 9,363: ἤματί κε τριτάτῳ, etc.

87 οὖρος (A.R. 1,606; 4,1224), οὖρος ἀ. Ζέφυρος (Orph. A. 485), Βορέας (Hom. Od. 14,253.299; Aristid. 302,8), Ζέφυρος (Hom. Od. 2,421; Hes. Op. 594; A.R. 2,721; Orph. A. 1150), Νότος (Eun. VS 6,2,9). Note also the adverb ἀκραεί 'with fresh breeze' in Arr. Ind. 24,1. As for Cic. Att. 10,17,3, where the reading *si* ἀκραὲς *erit* was implausibly proposed by Bosius, see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus IV, Cambridge 1968, 426.

88 Hom. Od. 12,182; 13,88 (with θέουσα). 162. Cf. Orac.Sib. 5,530; Orph. A. 1354; Q.S. 10,446 (cf. Od. 13,88).

89 The ancient evidence on Liguria and the Ligurians is collected in Fontes Ligurum et Liguriae antiquae (Atti Soc. Ligure di Storia Patria, n.s. 16), Genova 1976. Note, especially, a fragment of Posidonius of Apamea stating that the Ligurians were brave and

Ligurians were sometimes called 'maritime',[90] but this term is associated in the first place with the denomination of the region where the Ligurians lived, i.e. *Alpes Maritimae* (Ἄλπεις Μαριτίμαι, παράλιοι, παραθαλασσίδιοι), a Roman province from 14 B.C., governed (later) by a *procurator* residing in Cemenelum (Cimiez). Though this line is perhaps best taken simply as a poetical description of the sea voyage, I would not exclude the possibility that the author of the poem also had the geographical term in mind, especially because he is referring to a sea route along the Ligurian coast. It might be, moreover, that the expression θαλασσαῖοι Λίγυες also echoes the name of the Ligurian sea, i.e. θάλασσα Λιγυστική (*mare Ligusticum*).[91] As for the adjective θαλασσαῖος, a variant of the current form θαλάσσιος which is well attested from Homer onwards, it is first known from Simonides and Pindar, occuring later in Callimachus, the Greek Anthology, Oppian as well as, frequently, in Nonnus' Dionysiaca.[92] Nowhere else does this adjective refer to peoples. For the accusative plural πόλιας, cf. already Hom. Od. 8,560 (disyll.), Il. 4,308 (trisyll.; πόλεας Aristarch.).[93]

III. Lines 13–16

The first of these fragmentary lines plausibly refers to an offering given to Heracles as a memorial of his help. For various reasons it is less probable that the inscribed monument itself is meant.

μνῆμα δ' ἐυξενίης 'memorial of hospitality'. Heracles is asked to receive (δέχνυσο) a gift as a token of gratitude for his remarkable hospitality. Contrary to the common noun ξενία, the prefixed εὐξενία, recalling σέο

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fearless seafarers (FGrH II A,87 F 118,8). A different view may be found in Plutarch who affirmed that they were like pillaging pirates when at sea (Aem. 6,3).

90 Ps.Scymn. Orb. 201–202: παραθαλάττιοι Λίγυες; Plin. nat. 15,66: *Liguria maritima Alpibus proxima*.

91 However, the usual Greek form was πέλαγος Λιγυστικόν (or πόντος Λ.).

92 Simon. frg. 76,4 (Page); Pi. P. 2,50; Call. frg. 533; AP 5,301; 6,223; 9,653, 663; 16,181; App.Ant. orac. 81,5; Opp. H. 3,377; 5,26; C. 1,382; Nonn. D. 1,108; 2,103; 4,239; 6,308; 7,229; 9,90; 13,62; 21,52; 22,400; 23,153; 33,72; 37,307.470; 39,82.176.257.263; 40,322; 42,496; 43,35.210.265.397.

93 See also e.g. H.Hom. 2 (Cer.), 93; Eu. Andr. 484; AP (often); A.R. 1,982; Call. Ap. 55; 3,36; Orac.Sib. 3,503; 4,59.132.177; Hdt. 1,142.170 (cf. Thal. frg. 4,4 Diels), etc.; Th. 5,77,5.

ξείνοιο of line nine, appears to be attested only in epigraphic sources.[94] At first sight it would seem that the monument with its dedicatory hymn, sculptured with γλύφανοι 'chisels', should be taken as the μνῆμα. However, it seems more probable that the μνῆμα refers to some other object given to Heracles. In particular, one may think of a crater or some sort of bowl used for libations, similar objects being well attested as offerings to Heracles and many other deities.[95] If so, one could perhaps restore κύπελ[λα] at the end of the line. Such beakers may have been made of metal, as were the golden κύπελλα known from Homer and others, though other materials are also attested.[96] Should this be correct, however, a gap of six letters would still remain after γλυφάνοις (σμιλευτά 'carved' is too long).[97] One possibility of solving this problem is to restore the Ionic form θηητά (for θεατά) 'admired, wondrous'. In fact, γλυφάνοις θηητὰ κύπελλα would not only fit the context but it is also adaptable to what is seen on the stone. In that case, however, γλύφανοι would be best taken metonymically to mean the carving or the carved work itself. But there is still further evidence in favour of this solution: in a Greek dedication of Imperial date from Tusculum, Heracles is offered a wondrous crater decorated with carved figures depicting his labours (ἠνίδε, τοὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμα φέρων κρητῆρος ἀγητόν / θῆκα τεῶν ἀέθλων πλείον[ας ἐν]γλυφέων; observe the form ἐν]γλυφέων[98] as well as

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94 IG V,2,461 (Arcadia); I.Phryg.Chr. 27,12 (third/fourth century A.D.). Note, incidentally, that according to a funerary epigram from Heracleopolis in Egypt, the deceased rests in the hospitable ground of Heracles: ξείνην εὔξεινος χθὼν ἔχει Ἡρακλέους (Peek, GV 1873; late second century A.D.). As for seafaring, the adjective εὔξεινος is, naturally, best known as the Greek name of the Black Sea; cf. also E. Hipp. 156–7: λιμένα τὸν εὐξεινότατον ναύταις.

95 LIMC IV (1988) 801–805, with reference to οἰνιστήρια offerings to Heracles and to a shrine depicted on a calyx crater, possibly intended as a setting for a ξενισμός of Heracles, cf. O. Walter, Ath.Mitt. 62 (1937) 48–49.

96 Golden: Hom. Il. 3,248; 9,670; Od. 1,142; 4,58; 10,357; Antim. frg. 22; A.R. 2,1271; Ath. 11,15,35 (781c); Hist.Alex.M.rec.Byz. 3513; Q.S. 4,139; 14,333; Nonn. D. 12,106; 14,258; 19,196. Silver: Nonn. D. 18,212. Bejewelled: Ath. 11,48,25 (474d). Wooden: Ath. 11,53,11 (477b). Made of clay: Nonn. D. 15,14. Understandably, one may find numerous examples in Nonnus' Dionysiaca. – Craters made of metal are sometimes attested as gifts to gods.

97 The first letter would seem to be either O or Θ, the next one perhaps I or rather H followed perhaps by HTA.

98 πλείον[ας ἐν]γλυφέων is an emendation for Buecheler's πλεῖον [ἐυ]γλυφέων : A. Wilhelm, Griechische Epigramme. Aus d. Nachlass hrsg. v. H. Engelmann u. K.

the adjective ἀγητός which is roughly an equivalent of θητητός). What is especially remarkable, however, is that the crater was a gift given to Heracles in thanks for help during a journey to Italy through the Celtic and Ligurian lands (IG XIV 1003). For this inscription, see also below.

The imperative second person singular δέχνυσο (from δέχομαι) is frequently found in epigrams and also in other kinds of poetry as opening a verse. Among these there are a number of cases similar to ours, where a god or a deity is asked to receive a gift.[99] The rest of the poem remains almost undecipherable. Only at the beginning of lines 15 and 16 is there still something to be read, i.e. the preposition ἀντί, probably followed by δέ, and the epic accusative singular ἀνέρα (from ἀνήρ).

Though the possibility exists that the poem is only a literary piece describing an imaginary voyage at sea, I do not see any reason to doubt that the story, however coloured it may have been in detail, is founded on fact. Reference to geographical details as well as the spontaneity of diction combined with the mention of a gift to Heracles seem to point to this conclusion. Moreover, similar stories describing the journeys of sailors, merchants, etc. are well known from commemorative epigrams.[100] Therefore it might be useful to try a reconstruction of what happened to the Artena adventurers.

The inscription seems to date from the late second or early third century A.D., or at least it should be collocated between c. A.D. 150–250.[101] This means that the text can be regarded as roughly contemporaneous with the other metric inscriptions discovered so far in Colle Maiorana (see the beginning of this article). On an annual scale, then, the voyage would have been made during the usual sailing season which was carefully observed in antiquity, that is, between April and October, though perhaps the men did venture out in winter and were hit by a heavy storm. At any

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Wundsam, Bonn 1980, 17 no. 17.

99 E.g. AP 1,116 (Chr.); 6,12.40.68.78; 9,485. There are some twenty instances of δέχνυσο in Nonnus' Dionysiaca.

100 For epigrams recording death at sea, mostly caused by shipwreck, cf. AP 7,274.278.286.287.294.366.374.382.383.392.395.397.404.532.624.631.636.642.693; 9,228.267.271 (cf. also 9,85: a father's body saves his son from drowning).

101 For useful palaeographic parallels, look at the Greek inscriptions of the city of Rome: Moretti, IGUR 1237, 1252, 1299, 1311, 1351.

rate, the mention of the epithet Μόνοικος as well as the invocation of Heracles inevitably makes one think of Portus Monoeci as the port of departure, though it may rather be that the ship had departed from some coastal town further to the west and only made an intermediate stop at Monaco. At some point, however, the men were caught in a severe storm which made it impossibe to continue. The fact that after a break of three days the crew continued their voyage sailing eastwards by Ligurian towns (line 12) makes one think that they were coming from the direction of Massalia and were sailing somewhere near Portus Monoeci when the storm fell upon them. That there could have been a storm in those waters sounds perfectly plausible, considering that along the Ligurian coast the northerly and northwesterly winds are not particularly favourable for seafaring.[102] The power of winds in this area was also bitterly felt by the Emperor Claudius who was almost wrecked twice in the Ligurian sea in A.D. 43 on his way from Ostia to Britannia.[103] In A.D. 69, having made sail at Pisae, the knight Fabius Valens, a follower of Vitellius, had to enter Portus Monoeci either because the sea was too calm or because he had the wind against him.[104] The latter reason may be more plausible. Strabo affirms that the whole littoral from Monaco to Etruria was unprotected against winds and also without good ports.[105] According to Silius Italicus, the gale Boreas, dominating the fog-hidden rocks of Monaco, blows hard against the surrounding coast and the Alps.[106] Ancient writers did not fail to observe, however, that Portus Monoeci was an excellent place of refuge in such conditions. This is explicitly illustrated by Lucanus who says that neither the northwest nor the west wind have any effect on the port; it is only *circius*

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102 Casson (cit. n. 15), 294, referring to the Sailing Directions for the Mediterranean II, published by the Hydrographic Office in Washington, D.C. (Publication 152).

103 Suet. Claud. 17,2: *Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis paene demersus est, prope Liguriam iuxtaque Stochadas insulas*. The power of *circius* in the Ligurian waters is also underlined by Plin. nat. 2,121 (cf. 17,21). Cf. also n. 107.

104 Tac. hist. 3,42: *Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia maris aut adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur*.

105 Str. 4,6,2: ὅλως δὲ ἡ παραλία αὕτη πᾶσα μέχρι Τυρρηνίας ἐκ Μονοίκου λιμένος προσεχής τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλίμενος πλὴν βραχέων ὅρμων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων.

106 Sil. 1,585–589: *Herculei ponto coepere existere colles, / et nebulosa iugis attollere saxa Monoeci. / Thracius hos Boreas scopulos immitia regna / solus habet semperque rigens nunc litora pulsat, / nunc ipsas alis plangit stridentibus Alpes.*

(the wind from NNW) that makes seafaring difficult in those waters.[107] These considerations seem to suggest that the crew of the poem also found a shelter in Portus Herculis Monoeci (cf. εὔκηλος ὅρμος, σκέπας ἀστυφέλικτον). Here they stayed for three days, enjoying the hospitality of the god (εὐξενία) and wishing the stormy wind would subside. Perhaps they also made an offering *propter viam* to the god in his temple. What is more, in this connection one should also remember that Heracles, who was frequently venerated together with other gods, is attested in Gaul in the company of Nehalennia and Neptune, the former an important indigenous goddess whom local sailors used to invoke to bring them good luck for sea voyages.[108] This is further evidence to show that the figure of Heracles/Hercules as a saviour and *comes* was easily assimilated to local deities in various parts of the Mediterranean (for Melqart of Tyre, see above at n. 17).

The voyage will have stopped at Portus (Ostia), though the possibility cannot be excluded that the ship entered a port somewhere in Etruria or elsewhere in Latium (one would think of Antium in the first place) or even in Campania. At any rate, the crew was saved by Heracles and consequently a dedicatory monument in Greek was set up in Colle Maiorana, a settlement which probably belonged to a *vicus* of ancient Signia, lying some 45 kms south of Rome and about 40 kms northeast of Antium, the nearest port on the coast of Latium. That something like this should happen in the Italian countryside is certainly not an everyday event. Fortunately, however, we have a remarkable parallel from Tusculum, some 20 kms northwest of Colle Maiorana.[109] It is a dedication to Heracles by someone whom the god has helped in various ways: kind and propitious, always responding to prayers, Heracles has protected the grateful dedicator with his hand. What is particularly interesting, however, is that the poet says that Heracles has

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107 Lucan. 1,405–408: *quaque sub Herculeo sacratus numine portus / urguet rupe cava pelagus – non corus in illum / ius habet aut zephyrus; solus sua litora turbat / circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci –...*

108 Evidence in LIMC V (1990) 258 nos. 57–58, 261; VI (1992) 716–719 (Nehalennia). For the cult and presence of Hercules in Cisalpine Gaul in general, see the survey of C.B. Pascal, The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul (Coll. Latomus 75), Bruxelles 1964, 159–165.

109 IG XIV 1003 = Kaibel, Epigrammata no. 831 = App.Anth. dedic. 254 = J. Geffcken, Griechische Epigramme, Heidelberg 1916, 139 no. 350. The text was found in 1845 during an excavation under the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati (cf. W. Henzen, Ann.Inst. 1857, 101–110).

saved his life during a journey to Italy through the Ligurian and Celtic lands (lines 9–14):

ἥπιος εὐμενέων τε πέλοις, ἐπειή νύ μοι αἰεὶ
εὐχομένωι τε πάρει χεῖρά θ' ὕπερθεν ἔχεις·
καὶ δὴ νῦν μ' ἐσάωσας ἀμεί[βον]τα κλυτὰ φῦλα
Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἄστυ πρὸς Αὐσόνιον.
αὐτὸν ἀλεξητῆρα κακῶν, αὐτόν σε δοτῆρα
παντοίης ἀρετῆς κλήιζομεν, Ἡράκλεες.

Apart from the already-discussed fact that the author gave Heracles a beautiful crater depicting the labours of the hero (lines 3–4, see above at n. 98), there are still further similarities between the two poems. In both, Heracles is first praised on a general level: in the Tusculum hymn Heracles is above all the actor of the renowned labours (lines 5–8), while in the new poem from Colle Maiorana, he is the saviour of seafarers. Next follows a personal reference to a journey from Liguria to Italy, in one case by land, in the other by sea. The troubles of both were finally solved by Heracles who is ἀλεξητὴρ κακῶν and δοτὴρ παντοίης ἀρετῆς in the Tusculum piece. It is true, there are some literary epigrams describing the difficulties of travellers in Liguria, because of either local robbers or the high mountains,[110] and such themes might even be somehow echoed by the two dedications from Tusculum and Colle Maiorana. Yet these two poems remain perfectly original pieces of their own, being closely linked with each other in terms of subject and style. What exactly, if any, the physical connection between them is, however, hard to say. Because of the conditions of discovery, they cannot have come from the same place and it also seems that the Tusculum poem is somewhat earlier, though probably still from the second century A.D.[111]

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110 In AP 9,559, Crinagoras, about to sail to Italy from Spain in the early Augustan period, is asking for a chart of the route to Corcyra. He may have sailed through the Ligurian waters, since his reference to Ligurian robbers in AP 9,516 suggests a personal knowledge of the Ligurian route; cf. also The Garland of Philip (cit. n. 84), II 241.

111 Henzen (cit. n. 109), 110 preferred to attribute the text to the early Principate ("non credo ingannarmi, se attribuisco la lapide incirca al principio dell'era volgare, non credendola certamente più recente del primo secolo."), but his judgement was almost exclusively based on the palaeographic argument (Σ, Ω, Ξ) as well as the use of the ι

Thematically, these two poems represent a universally known ancient genre in which thanks are offered to the gods for the help they have given. More specifically, however, they tell about travelling and the lurking dangers one might encounter in transit. Such items may be found also in funerary epigrams,[112] but inscriptions similar to ours are a much rarer occurrence.[113] As for related small-scale literary pieces from the Imperial period referring to seafaring, one may cite an epic fragment of Alexandrian style from the third century A.D. describing the dangers of travel by sea.[114] There is also a third-century prayer uttered by the Lord of the Winds who invites the sea to calm down so as to make it navigable for sailors.[115] Moreover, one of the surviving poems of Mesomedes, writing under Hadrian, is a charming hymn addressed to the Adriatic: the author asks the sea for favourable winds so that he can arrive safely at home; as soon as land appears in view, a goodly-antlered fawn will be sacrificed to the Lord.[116] In the epigrammatic literature, one may note a number of pieces by Antiphilus from the first century A.D. Not only does he refer to travels, including sea-passages,[117] but he also dedicates his hat to a goddess of the road after a safe return from a journey.[118] Otherwise, of course, descriptions

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adscriptum. These items do not, however, automatically suggest an early date. Geffcken straight off proposed the second century A.D.

112 For those recording death at sea, see above n. 100.

113 For a dedication to an unknown deity by twelve survivors from a shipwreck in c. 411 B.C., preserved in Diodorus Siculus (13,41), see Further Greek Epigrams (ed. D.L. Page), Cambridge 1981, 418 no. CXII. Cf. also SEG XXXVI 555 (Epirus, shortly after 129 B.C.), a dedication by three warriors: σωθέντες θύουσιν εἰς πάτραν ἀφειγμένοι; Kaibel, Epigrammata 834 = I.Stratonikeia 1104 (Imperial period): Ζηνὶ Πανη[μερί]ῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σεράπει σωθέντες ἐκ πολέμων μεγάλων καὶ ἀλλοδαπ[ῶν] θαλάσσων ('strange seas') εὐχῆς ἵνεκε ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψαν...

114 POxy. 214 (*verso*), unfortunately very rubbed, with a speech relating to Telephus in the *recto*.

115 Heitsch (cit. n. 58), I 33 no. IV = PGM^2 II 29 = The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation (ed. H.D. Betz), Chicago 1986, 265–266.

116 Heitsch (cit. n. 58), I 28–29 no. 6, lines 13–16: δὸς ἰδεῖν χθόνα, δέσποτα, καὶ πόλιν, / ἀνέμους δὸς ἀπήμονας ἐνδίους· / καὶ μητέρα γῆς ἐσιδὼν πόλιν / τότε σοι νεβρὸν εὔκερω θύσω. For Mesomedes' poetry, cf. E.L. Bowie, in: Antonine Literature (ed. D.A. Russell), Oxford 1990, 85–90.

117 AP 9,277 (storm), 546 (simple life at sea).

118 AP 6,199, cf. The Garland of Philip (cit. n. 84), II 115 ff.

of seafaring, including those of shipwrecks, are among the most popular subject matters of ancient literature from Homer onwards, being especially frequent in epic poetry.

Stylistically, the new poem from Colle Maiorana clearly follows the long epic tradition, being, in fact, fairly "Homeric" in tone. It is not pure imitation, however, as there are no obvious citations from known authors, though some expressions, as those composed of noun and attribute (cf. lines 3–4), can be found in other writers as well. Some close lexical similarities to Imperial epic works such as the Posthomerica of Quintus of Smyrna (first part of the third century A.D.) show that the authors following the epic line in the Imperial period drew on popular material that went back to Homer and the later tradition depending on his work, especially Apollonius of Rhodes. However, such material would be found not only in the original works or the versions deriving from them but also in handbooks of mythography.[119] Though most of the expression and vocabulary of the poem can be traced back to Homer, there are some words known only from later authors which suggest that the poet did not follow painstakingly the great master but also elaborated other elements in his work. Yet he is much closer to Homeric tradition than to the abundant and rhetorical diction of the Dionysiaca by Nonnus of Panopolis (fourth/fifth century A.D.). But at the same time, if the eight distichs allow a comparative judgement, he would seem to be less original than, say, Triphiodorus who may have been his contemporary.[120] It also seems that he is slightly distant from the two Oppiani, authors of Halieutica and Cynegetica, respectively, who wrote in a Hesiodic and Callimachean tradition in the late Antonine and Severan period. Regarding the metre and rhythm of the poem, it is regular and shows no surprises.[121] As a whole, though the phrasing and vocabulary are

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[119] For a perceptive survey of anthologies, hymns, epic material, etc. in circulation in the Imperial period, see L. Canfora, in: Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica II, Roma 1995, 95–116.

[120] See now, in detail, U. Dubielzig, Triphiodor: Die Einname Ilions (Classica Monacensia 15), Tübingen 1996, 27–28.

[121] Except for a probable metric slip in line 9 (cf. above in the commentary). Correption in l. 7 (καί), elision marked in l. 13 and, probably, in l. 9. Note also the hiatus left in the penthemimeral caesura with a consecutive spondee in l. 11. The number and collocation of dactylic and spondaic feet within individual verses largely follows the Homeric tradition: M. van Raalte, Rhythm and Metre: towards a systematic description of Greek stichic verse, Leiden 1986, 36, 40, 42.

somewhat conventional, the expression is neat and written with a practised hand. The major interest, however, lies in the novelty of the subject.

In the article referred to above (n. 1), when discussing the significance of the metric inscriptions found in Colle Maiorana, I already noted that this locality was prosperous not only in terms of business and economy over the centuries but it also flourished culturally, at least in the second and third centuries A.D. Since two of the poems, the dedication to Janus and the Stoic cosmogony, were reportedly found in the ruins of a Roman villa, probably the nucleus of a large *fundus*, the possibility exists that all the others discovered so far also come from this place. Should this be true, it would become even more clear that in the villa there was indeed some sort of cultic activity and that those who lived there were literate persons. The learned atmosphere of the place will have been known elsewhere, too, so that it was visited by persons with literary interests. Who knows if the author of the new dedication, having recently escaped shipwreck in Ligurian waters, was also on a visit to the villa when he wished to immortalize his adventure on stone by composing a Greek epigram to Heracles – unless a skillful poet from outside was commissioned to write the verses. At any rate, it could be well imagined that in the middle of such inscriptions, statues and other exposed works of art, the owners of the villa also kept a library with a good collection of Greek and Roman literature.[122]

On the other hand, since we do not know exactly where the marble column comes from, a different context is also possible. It may be that the dedication, with a pertinent libation, was made in a local sanctuary. Heracles was, naturally, worshipped in many towns of Latium, and his cult is also attested in Signia as early as the late Republic,[123] but, unfortunately, the location of the sanctuary is unknown. As a further possibility, however, one could assume that the dedication was somehow connected with the *statio* at the *bivium* of the Via Labicana and the Via Latina, situated very near to Colle Maiorana. This was the borderland between Latium vetus and Latium adiectum where there was also a mid-Republican period sanctuary of an unknown deity, which may have functioned as a territorial landmark. It is

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122 According to Sen. dial. 9,9,7, a library was a necessary part of a Roman house. Cf. also Iuv. 3,206–207, 219.

123 CIL X 5961 = I^2 1503 (cf. p. 1003), recording the restoration of an *aedes*, the transfer of a cult statue as well as the erection of a statue base.

not impossible that Heracles was worshipped by travellers in this context, as he was at *stationes* throughout the Roman Empire.

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