

RICHARD JANKO

THE NEW EPITAPH FOR THE FALLEN AT MARATHON (*SEG* 56.430)

aus: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 190 (2014) 11–12

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

THE NEW EPITAPH FOR THE FALLEN AT MARATHON (*SEG* 56.430)*

In 2009 there was published an epigram that introduces a list of the names of those from the tribe Erechtheis who fell in the battle of Marathon in 490 BC. It was excavated by T. Spyropoulos at the villa of Herodes Atticus in Eva (Loukou) in Cynuria and is now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Astros.¹ The inscription was cut soon after the battle and must once have stood on the battlefield at Marathon, near which Herodes had his main estate. It was quickly republished by G. Steinhauer, who corrected some serious errors of transcription,² and has been restudied by W. Ameling,³ G. Proietti,⁴ and M. Tentori Montalto.⁵ The text has been read as follows:

φέμικαι ἡὼς κυχ[άν]⟨ει⟩ αἰεὶ εὐφραδὸς ἡέσχατα γαί[ε]ϛ
 τὼνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν πεύσεται ἡὼς ἔθανον
 [μ]αρνάμενοι Μέδοι καὶ ἐς τε φάνοσαν Ἀθήνας
 [π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχάμενοι πόλεμον.

1 φέμικαι Tentori Montalto: Φέμικ ἄρ' Spyropoulos ἡὼς Tentori Montalto: ἡὼς Spyropoulos κυχ[άν]⟨ει⟩ αἰεὶ Steinhauer: κυχ[αν]αίει Spyropoulos: κίχς †δαίει Tentori Montalto εὐφραδὸς ἡέσχατα Spyropoulos: ἡυφραοιτεσχατα leg. Tentori Montalto, unde ἡυφά(φ)⟨ει⟩ (sic) †τ' ἔσχατα coniecit

The interpretation of the first line is very difficult. My own diplomatic transcription of this hexameter, based on the published photographs, among which Spyropoulos' seem to be the best, and on the drawing by Manolia Skouloudhi,⁶ runs as follows:

φεμικαιηοσκιεγαειηυφραοχεσχαταγαειε[

Rather than accept φῆμικ ἄρ', where ρ is too narrow for the space and there is room only for a single upright, Tentori Montalto suggested φήμικαι, the second person singular aorist imperative of φημίζω 'spread a report'; the verb, first in Hesiod, is common in Aeschylus. This is a great improvement, and carries with it the interpretation of *hoc* as ὠς.⁷ I had thought independently of φημίαι, the aorist infinitive of the same verb used as an imperative; either form could be right.

κυχ[άν]⟨ει⟩ αἰεὶ εὐφραδὸς remains highly problematic metrically, and this reconstruction of it violates Youtie's law against emending next to a lacuna. Tentori Montalto replaces κυχ[αν]⟨ει⟩ αἰεὶ with ΚΙΧΣΔΑΙΕΙ. He interprets this as κίχς †δαίει, consisting of a noun κίξ, nowhere attested in Greek, that is alleged to mean 'cicada',⁸ followed by the corrupt verb δαίει 'burns', which makes no sense here.⁹ However, even if this insect could set the forest ablaze, it has no business here and will have to buzz off. Although the X is depicted as + in the drawing, the photographs show only F, which leaves open the reading ΚΙΕ. In addition, there is room for only one letter after the Ε, not two, and the images clearly show a letter shaped Λ, i.e. gamma in Attic script; this is what Tentori Montalto reads as Δ or Ν, since he discerned only one diagonal.

* I warmly thank M. M. Miles for alerting me to this inscription, and *ZPE*'s copy-editor for bringing the most recent work on it to my attention.

¹ See G. Spyropoulos, *Οἱ στήλες των πεσόντων στη μάχη του Μαραθώνα* (Athens 2009), 30 with εἰκ. 2 and the colour photograph on the cover.

² Στήλη πεσόντων τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος, *Horos* 17–21, 2004–2009, 679–92, at 680–2, with another illustration.

³ Die Gefallenen der Phyle Erechtheis im Jahr 490 v. Chr., *ZPE* 176, 2011, 10–23.

⁴ The Marathon Epitaph from Eua-Loukou: Some Notes about its Text and Historical Context, *ZPE* 185, 2013, 24–30.

⁵ Nuove considerazioni sulla stele della tribù Erechtheis dalla villa di Erode Attico a Loukou-Eva Kynourias, *ZPE* 185, 2013, 31–52.

⁶ In Steinhauer 2004–2009, 691, εἰκ. 2.

⁷ Tentori Montalto 2013, 39.

⁸ Tentori Montalto 2013, 39–42, comparing Hesychius' entry κίξιος: τέττιξ.

⁹ Tentori Montalto 2013, 42.

With κίεγ we have the verb κίε γ' 'went', which may seem more prosaic but is promising in a verse that concludes with 'the ends of the earth'. The letters ΑΙΕΙ are securely read, and their interpretation as αἰεὶ seems secure also.

The sequence φαος is most easily taken as the noun φάος. Instead of the preceding εϋ the drawing has κυ, but *hν* also seems possible, since the photographs show two uprights with the start of a horizontal cross-bar at the left; indeed, Tentori Montalto regards the aspirate as certain.¹⁰ Hence one should transcribe the whole hexameter as φεμῖσαι *hoc* κίε γ αἰεὶ †*hν*φαος *hε*σχατα γαιε[*c*].¹¹

*hν*φαος is still puzzling, since a long syllable at the start of the fourth foot is missing: for Tentori Montalto's emendation *hν*φά(φ)ε(ε)ι, by which I think he meant *hν*φάφ(ε)ι, is too drastic to be convincing and requires an elided τ' at the end of a spondaic fourth foot. One might supplement *hν*(παὶ) φάος, but in the context of the ends of the earth *hν*(πὲρ) φάος seems better, and finally yields a hexameter that scans correctly. The unexpected aspirate in *hε*σχατα seems secure (Tentori Montalto reads IT); the double writing of the sigma is a merely graphic phenomenon that is owed to doubts as to how to divide syllables that end with a sigma that precedes another consonant.¹²

On this basis I read, punctuate, and translate the whole epigram as follows:

φῆμῖσαι, *hōc* κίε γ' αἰεὶ *hν*(πὲρ) φάος *hε*σχατα γαιε[*c*,
 τὼνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν· πεύσεται *hōc* ἔθανον·
 μ]αρνάμενοι Μέδοις, καὶ ἐς τε φάνωσαν Ἀθῆνας[*c*
 π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχάμενοι πόλεμον.

"Spread the report of these men's valour, that went forever to the ends of the earth beyond the daylight. (One) will ask how they died: fighting the Medes, and, though they were too few to receive the onslaught of many, they won a crown for Athens."

A normalized transcription and translation into English elegiacs may help to convey the elegance, dignity and force of this fine poem:

φῆμῖσαι, ὡς κίε γ' αἰεὶ ὑ(πὲρ) φάος ἔσχατα γαίη[*c*,
 τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν· πεύσεται ὡς ἔθανον·
 μ]αρνάμενοι Μήδοις, καὶ ἐς τε φάνωσαν Ἀθῆνας[*c*
 π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεξάμενοι πόλεμον.

"Go tell the valour of these men, that passed forever from daylight reaching Earth's ends. 'How died they?', one will ask. Fighting the Medes – and they crowned Athens with victory's garland, few though they were, up against many in war."

Richard Janko, American School of Classical Archaeology at Athens
 rjanko@umich.edu

¹⁰ Tentori Montalto 2013, 43.

¹¹ Although the final epsilon is not printed in earlier transcriptions, it is present in the drawing by Manolia Skouloudhi.

¹² Proietti 2013, 28 n. 30, and Tentori Montalto 2013, 44 n. 97, both cite parallels from early Attic inscriptions, but do not explain the general principle or note that hesitation over how to syllabify sigma, which often results in its being written double, is extremely common in Greek texts all the way down to the papyri of Philodemus from Herculaneum (R. Janko, *Philodemus: On Poems Book One*, Oxford 2003, 76 n. 3). Grammarians disputed whether words such as Ἀριετίων or ἀλθενής should be divided Ἀριετίων and ἀλθενής or Ἀριετίων and ἀλθενής (S. E. *Adv. math.* 1. 169–74, *Anecd. Ox.* iv. 331, 21 Cramer). The Paestan vase-painter Asteas (c. 340 BC) signs himself ΑΣΣΤΕΑΣ (Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 3044).