

# ATHENAEUS

## THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS 12–13.594b

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
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## PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volumes I and III. Like all previous editors, I have again tacitly added a handful of section-divisions accidentally omitted from Casaubon's text.

Thanks are due my research assistant Timothy Beck and my undergraduate students Joseph McDonald, William Blessing, Cameron Ferguson, and Debbie Sugarbaker for their many hours of reference-checking, proof-reading, formatting assistance, and the like. Much of the work for this volume and those to follow was completed at the National Humanities Center, where I held a fellowship during the 2008–2009 academic year. Volume VI is dedicated to my beloved friends there, Nicolas Bock and Julia Schewski-Bock—and of course to Uriel as well.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Berve H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage ii Prosopographie* (Munich, 1926)
- Billows R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)
- Bradford A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 b.c., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, a.d. 396* (Vestigia 27: Munich, 1977)
- FGE D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
- FGrH F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1923–69)
- FHG C. and T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (5 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
- HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965)
- O'Connor J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece together with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum* (Chicago, 1908)

## ABBREVIATIONS

- PAA* J. Traill (ed.), *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994– )
- PMG* D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
- Poralla P. Poralla, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great (X–323 B.C.)*<sup>2</sup> (revised by A. S. Bradford: Chicago, 1985)
- SH* H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Texte und Kommentar, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)
- SSR* G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)
- Stephanis I. E. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται* (Herakleion, 1988)
- SVF* J. van Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)
- TrGF* B. Snell *et al.* (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–2004)

## THE CHARACTERS

**ATHENAEUS**, the narrator; also a guest at the dinner party

**TIMOCRATES**, Athenaeus' interlocutor

**AEMILIANUS MAURUS**, grammarian (e.g. 3.126b)

**ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA**, musician (1.1f; 4.174b)

**AMOEBEUS**, citharode (14.622d–e)

**ARRIAN**, grammarian (3.113a)

**CYNULCUS**, Cynic philosopher whose given name is Theodorus (e.g. 1.1d; 3.97c)

**DAPHNUS OF EPHEBUS**, physician (e.g. 1.1e; 2.51a)

**DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA**, philosopher (1.1e; 3.83c)

**DIONYSOCLES**, physician (3.96d, 116d)

**GALEN OF PERGAMUM**, physician (e.g. 1.1e–f, 26c)

**LARENSIUS**, Roman official and also host of the party (e.g. 1.2b–3c; 2.50f)

**LEONIDAS OF ELIS**, grammarian (1.1d; 3.96d)

**MAGNUS** (e.g. 3.74c)

**MASURIUS**, jurist, poet, musician (e.g. 1.1c; 14.623e)

**MYRTILUS OF THESSALY**, grammarian (e.g. 3.83a)

**PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC**, lexicographer (9.379a)

## CHARACTERS

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher  
(1.1d)\*

PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian (e.g.  
1.1c–d; 3.83b)

PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1d;  
3.109b)

RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)\*

ULPIAN OF TYRE, grammarian and also symposiarch  
(e.g. 1.1d–e; 2.49a)

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

ZOILUS, grammarian (e.g. 1.1d; 7.277c)

\* Neither Philadelphus nor Rufinus is said to speak anywhere in the preserved text of *The Learned Banqueters*, and most likely some of the anonymous speeches in 1.2a–3.73e (represented in the Epitome manuscripts only) belong to them.



# THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

## IB

510 Ἄνθρωπος εἶναί μοι Κυρηναῖος δοκεῖς, κατὰ τὸν  
Ἀλέξιδος Τυνδάρεων, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες·

κάκεί γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἕνα καλῆ,  
πάρεισιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἄλλοι καὶ δέκα  
ἄρματα συνωρίδες <τε> πεντεκαίδεκα·  
τούτοις δὲ δεῖ σε τὰπιτήδει' ἐμβαλεῖν,  
ὥστ' ἦν κράτιστον μηδὲ καλέσαι μηδένα.

b κάμοι δ' ἦν κράτιστον σιωπᾶν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις ἢ  
προειρημένοις ἕτερα προστιθένα· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάνυ λι-  
παρῶς ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖς καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τρυφῆ  
διαβολῆτων γενομένων λόγον καὶ τῆς τούτων ἡδυπα-  
θείας.

Ἡ γὰρ ἀπόλαυσις δήπου μετ' ἐπιθυμίας πρῶτον,  
ἔπειτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. καίτοι Σοφοκλῆς γ' ὁ ποιητής,  
τῶν ἀπολαυστικῶν γε εἷς ὢν, ἵνα μὴ κατηγορή τοῦ

---

<sup>1</sup> Referring both to the city of Cyrene (as in the quotation from Alexis that follows) and to the Cyrenaic philosophical school (SSR IV A 71), which held that pleasure was the supreme good; cf. 12.544a–5a.

<sup>2</sup> The opening words of the Book are clearly an unmetrical

## BOOK XII

You remind me of a Cyrenean,<sup>1</sup> to quote Alexis' *Tyndareus* (fr. 241),<sup>2</sup> my friend Timocrates;

because if someone there invites one person to  
dinner,

18 others show up, along with 10  
chariots and 15 racing-chariots.

And you have to take care of them all—  
so that you'd be better off not inviting anyone!

So too in my own case, it might be better to keep quiet and not add to the extensive remarks I offered earlier. But since you ask me again and again about our discussion of individuals who were notorious for their addiction to luxury and about their dissipation, (I will give you what you want).<sup>3</sup>

Enjoyment, of course, requires first that we desire something, and then that we get pleasure from it. In fact the poet Sophocles, who liked to enjoy life, tried to avoid

version of the first line of the fragment, although Kassel–Austin decline to recognize them as such.

<sup>3</sup> The narrator Athenaeus never refers in Book 12 to the individual guests at Larensius' dinner party (although cf. 12.541a n.), but instead speaks throughout in his own voice; note esp. 12.550f–1a, and cf. 12.554f n.

γήρωσ, εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔθετο τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀπολαύσεις, φήσας ἀσμένως ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τινὸς δεσπότου. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάριδος κρίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν |  
 c παλαιότερων πεποιῆσθαι ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὖσαν σύγκρισιν· προκριθείσης γοῦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονή, πάντα συνεταράχθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν Ξενοφῶν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν μῦθον ἐντεύθεν πεπλακέναι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα·

οὐδέ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοιμὸς οὐδὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ Κρόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶν, ἀλλὰ Κύπρις βασίλεια < . . . >  
 τὴν οἱ γ' εὐσεβέεσσι ἀγάλασιν ἰλάσκοντο γραπτοῖς τε ζῳιοῖσι μύροισί τε δαιδαλεόδοις σμύρνης τ' ἀκρήτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους, ξανθῶν τε σπονδὰς μελίτων ρίπτοντες ἐς οὐδας.

καὶ Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κιθαριστῇ περὶ τίνος μουσικευομένου λέγων φησί· ||

511 φιλόμουσον εἶναι <κάγαπᾶν> αὐτὸν πάνν  
 ἀκούσματ' εἰς τρυφήν τε παιδεύεσθ' αἰεί.

<sup>4</sup> The anecdote (= S. test. 80e) is drawn from Pl. R. 329b–c.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically the Trojan War.

<sup>6</sup> According to Xenophon's Socrates, the story was actually told by Prodicus, who claimed that Heracles was once offered the choice between a woman named Kakia ("Badness"), who offered him easy pleasures of all sorts, and another named Aretê ("Vir-

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finding fault with old age by attributing his inability to get an erection to his self-control, claiming to be as happy to have escaped sexual pleasure as he would have been to escape slavery.<sup>4</sup> I myself maintain that the Judgment of Paris was represented by the poets from the more distant past as a decision between pleasure and virtue; when he chose Aphrodite, who represents pleasure, therefore, utter disaster<sup>5</sup> ensued. I also believe that our noble Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.1.21–34) invented his story about Heracles and Virtue to make the same point.<sup>6</sup> Because, to quote Empedocles (31 B 128.1–7 D–K):<sup>7</sup>

And they had no god named Ares or Battle-Din,  
and no King Zeus, or Cronus, or Poseidon;  
instead Cypris<sup>8</sup> was their queen . . .  
They sought her favor with pious dedications  
and with painted figurines and elaborately scented  
perfumes  
and sacrifices of pure myrrh and fragrant  
frankincense,  
and by pouring libations of golden honey on the  
ground.

So too Menander in *The Cithara-Player* (*Kith.* fr. 5 Sandbach), describing a musician, says:

that he loves music, and really enjoys  
live entertainment, and is always training for a life of  
luxury.

tue”), who offered him hard work that would be followed by glory; he chose Aretê. Cf. 12.544d.      <sup>7</sup> The reference is to individuals living in the Golden Age.      <sup>8</sup> Aphrodite.

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Καίτοι τινές φασι κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ζῶα δεδουλώσθαι ταύτη, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ καὶ δειλίας καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθημάτων κοινῶς μὲν ἐν ἅπασιν ὄντων, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς λογισμῶ χρωμένοις ἀποδοκιμαζομένων. τὸ οὖν ἡδονὰς διώκειν προπετῶς λύπας ἐστὶ θηρεύειν. διόπερ Ὅμηρος ἐπονείδιστον βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τῶν θεῶν

b φησι τοὺς μεγίστους οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας | ὠφελίσθαι δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτεσθαι παρενεχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀγρυνπῶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐφρόντιζεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Τρώων, ταῦτ' ἀπώλεσεν μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς κρατηθείς. καὶ ὁ Ἄρης ἀλκιμώτατος ὦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσθνεστάτου Ἡφαιστού συνεποδίσθη καὶ ὠφλεν αἰσχύνην καὶ ζημίαν ἐκδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἔρωσιν ἀλογίστοις. φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅτ' ἦλθον αὐτὸν θεασόμενοι δεδεμένον·

c οὐκ ἀρετᾶ κακὰ ἔργα· κιχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὠκύν· | ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἡφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἄρηα, ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν οἷ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι, χωλὸς ἐὼν, τέχνησι· τὸ καὶ ζωάγρι<sup>1</sup> ὀφέλλει.

οὐδεὶς δὲ λέγει τὸν Ἀριστείδου βίον ἡδύν, ἀλλὰ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> The traditional text of Homer has *μοιχάγρι*.

<sup>9</sup> A reference to the seduction of Zeus by Hera and its consequences at *Il.* 14.292–360.

<sup>10</sup> A reference to events in Demodocus' Love Song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366).

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Some authorities nonetheless maintain that pleasure is a natural phenomenon, on the ground that all living creatures are subject to its power—as if cowardice, fear, and the other emotions were not also universally experienced, but capable of being rejected by individuals who rely on reason! To pursue pleasure headlong is accordingly to look for trouble. This is why Homer, who wants to represent pleasure as utterly reprehensible, claims that even the greatest gods get no assistance from their own power, but instead suffer enormous injuries when it leads them astray. For all the plans Zeus made to help the Trojans as he lay awake at night came to nothing during the day, when he surrendered to pleasure.<sup>9</sup> And even though Ares was the most powerful of them, he was tied up and embarrassed and forced to pay a fine by Hephaestus, who was the weakest, because he gave in to irrational desires.<sup>10</sup> He says to the gods, at any rate, when they come to see him in chains (*Od.* 8.329–32):<sup>11</sup>

Wicked deeds do not prevail; the tortoise assuredly  
catches the hare!  
So too in the present case, although Hephaestus is  
slow, he captured Ares,  
despite the fact that Ares is the swiftest of the gods  
who inhabit Olympus,  
with his devices, even though he is lame. So Ares  
owes him a ransom.<sup>12</sup>

But no one describes Aristides'<sup>13</sup> life as pleasant; instead,

<sup>11</sup> The speaker is not in fact Ares, but an unnamed male god.

<sup>12</sup> The traditional text of Homer has “an adulterer’s fine.”

<sup>13</sup> Referring to Aristides “the Just” (see 11.506b n.).

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Σμινδουρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τὸν Σαρδαναπάλλον. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὴν δόξαν, φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς Θεόφραστος, οὐχ ὁμοίως λαμπρὸς ἐστίν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐτρύφησεν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι. οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ ἔτυχεν,  
d τὸν Ἀνάγιος οὕτως ἀοράτου κατὰ ἡ δόξαν ὄντος, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν ἡμιθέων τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίας, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸν νῦν. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκατάσκευος καὶ καθάπερ ἀνεύρετος ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπιμιξίας οὔσης οὔτε τῶν τεχνῶν διηκριβωμένων, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐξηρτυμένος πρὸς ῥαστώνην καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας διαγωγάς.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ Φιλήβῳ φησὶν· ἡδονὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀλαξονίστατον. ὡς δὲ λόγος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, αἱ δὴ μέγισται  
e δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ τὸ ἐπιπορκεῖν συγγνώμην εἴληφεν παρὰ θεῶν, ὥσπερ καθάπερ παίδων τῶν ἡδονῶν <νοῦν> οὐδὲ τὸν ὀλίγιστον<sup>2</sup> κεκτημένων. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὁ αὐτὸς Πλάτων πρότερος ὑπέδειξε τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων θρυλούμενον, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι φυσικαὶ <καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ><sup>3</sup> μὲν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι δέ, αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτε ἀναγκαῖαι, γράφων οὕτως· “ἄρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ἡ τοῦ

<sup>2</sup> ἡδονῶν οὐδὲ τὸν λογισμὸν ACE

<sup>3</sup> add. Kaibel, ex lemmate A ὅτι τῶν ἡδονῶν αἱ μὲν φυσικαὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ κτλ.



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they talk this way about the lives of Smindyrides of Sybaris<sup>14</sup> and Sardanapallus.<sup>15</sup> And yet as far as his reputation goes, says Theophrastus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 551 Fortenbaugh), Aristides is more distinguished; but he did not live in the sort of luxury they did. Nor (does anyone describe) the life of King Agesilaus of Sparta<sup>16</sup> (as pleasant), but instead, perhaps, that of Ananius,<sup>17</sup> obscure though he was; nor the life of the demigods at Troy, but emphatically much more so our life today. And this makes good sense; because life in heroic times lacked any accoutrements, as it were, and nothing had been invented then, since there had been no contact between peoples, and no crafts had been refined, whereas life nowadays offers everything a person needs to have an easy existence and enjoy himself and have a good time generally.

Plato says in his *Philebus* (65c–d): Pleasure is more full of hot air than anything else in the world. As they say, where sexual pleasure—which is thought to be the greatest pleasure there is—is concerned, the gods forgive oath-breaking, since our pleasures resemble children and have no sense whatsoever. And in Book VIII (559a–c) of his *Republic* the same Plato is the first to refer to what the Epicureans are always saying, which is that some desires are physical and matters of necessity; others are physical, but not matters of necessity; and others are neither physical nor matters of necessity. He writes as follows: “So, then,

<sup>14</sup> See 6.273b–d with n.; 12.541b–c.

<sup>15</sup> See 8.335e–6b; 12.528f–9d with n.

<sup>16</sup> Presumably Agesilaus II (Poralla #9; reigned 400–360/59 BCE); cf. 12.550e with n. <sup>17</sup> The 6th-century BCE iambic poet quoted at e.g. 3.78f; 7.282b–c.

φαγεῖν μέχρις ὑγιείας καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ αὐτοῦ σίτου καὶ  
 f ὄψου ἀναγκαῖος ἂν εἴη; ἢ μὲν γέ | που τοῦ σίτου κατ'  
 ἀμφοτέρα ἀναγκαῖα, ἢ τε ὠφέλιμος ἢ τε παῦσαι  
 ζῶντας δυνατή;” “ναί.” “ἢ δὲ ὄψου, εἴ πῆ τινα ὠφέλειαν  
 πρὸς εὐεξίαν παρέχεται;” “πάνυ μὲν οὖν.” “τί δαί; ἢ  
 πέρα τούτων καὶ ἀλλοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ τοιούτων ἐπι-  
 θυμία, δυνατὴ δὲ κολαζομένη ἐκ νέων πολλῶν ἀπαλ-  
 512 λάττεσθαι, καὶ βλαβερά μὲν σώματι, || βλαβερά δὲ  
 ψυχῇ πρὸς τε φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἀρά  
 γε ὀρθῶς <οὐκ><sup>4</sup> ἀναγκαῖα ἂν καλοῖτο;” “ὀρθότατα μὲν  
 οὖν.”

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς τάδε  
 λέγει· οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντων ἀγαθῶν  
 ὄντες κύριοι καὶ πάντων εἰληφότες πείραν τὴν ἡδονὴν  
 προκρίνουσιν, μεγαλοψυχότερας ποιούσης τῆς ἡδο-  
 νῆς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν  
 ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ τρυφᾶν προηρημένοι μεγαλόψυ-  
 b χοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσιν, ὡς Πέρσαι καὶ | Μῆδοι·  
 μάλιστα γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἡδονὴν οὕτοι  
 καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν τιμῶσιν, ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχό-  
 τατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὄντες. ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡδεσθαι  
 καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀνίησι γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ  
 αὖξει, τὸ δὲ πονεῖν δούλων καὶ ταπεινῶν· διὸ καὶ  
 συστέλλονται οὗτοι καὶ τὰς φύσεις. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναίων  
 πόλις, ἕως ἐτρύφα, μεγίστη τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχο-  
 τάτους ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἀλουργῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡμπίσχοντο

<sup>4</sup> οὐκ Plato: καὶ A

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mustn't it be the case that the desire to eat enough of the main dish itself and of the side-dish to be healthy and comfortable is a matter of necessity? So that the desire for food is a matter of necessity on both counts, in that it is both good for us and can bring our lives to an end?" "Yes." "And the desire for side-dishes as well, if it somehow helps make us comfortable?" "Absolutely." "What about this? The desire that goes beyond these objects, and that is for other sorts of foods than these, and which can be expelled from most young people if repressed, and damages one's body as well as the mind's ability to think clearly and control itself—would it, then, be properly described as not a matter of necessity?" "That is certainly correct."

Heracleides of Pontus says the following in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 55 Wehrli = fr. 39 Schütrumpf): Tyrants and kings, who have access to and experience of goods of every kind, rank pleasure ahead of everything else, since pleasure expands the human character. Everyone who honors pleasure and prefers to live luxuriously is accordingly bold and magnificent. The Persians and the Medes, for example, show more respect than anyone else in the world for pleasure and luxury, but are the bravest and boldest of the barbarians. For enjoying oneself and living in luxury is a mark of free men, because this relaxes and augments one's spirit; whereas working hard is a mark of slaves and the lower classes, which is why they keep themselves under control. The city of Athens was at its most powerful and produced the boldest men when it was known for its luxury. Because they dressed in sea-purple robes, beneath which they wore

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ἰμάτια, ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ'  
 c ἀναδούμενοι | τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ  
 μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόρρας ἐφόρου· ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς  
 δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν.  
 καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ<sup>5</sup> τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μά-  
 χην καὶ μόνοι τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης δύναμιν χειρω-  
 σάμενοι. καὶ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι δέ, φησὶν, καὶ μεγίστην  
 δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἔχοντες μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἡδονὴν  
 εἶναι νομίζουσιν, Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὕτωςι λέγων

τίς γὰρ ἀδονᾶς ἄτερ θνα-  
 τῶν βίος ποθεινὸς ἢ ποί-  
 α τυραννίς; |

d τᾶσδ' ἄτερ οὐδὲ θεῶν ζηλωτὸς αἰών.

Πίνδαρος παραινῶν Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίων ἄρχοντι·

μῆδ' ἀμαύρου (φησί) τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ· πολὺ τοι  
 φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών.

καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὸ εὐφραίνεισθαι  
 τέλος φησὶν εἶναι χαριέστερον, ὅταν δαιτυμόνες μὲν  
 αἰδοῦ ἀκουάζωνται, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι. τοὺς  
 δὲ θεοὺς φησιν εἶναι ρεῖα ζώοντας—τὸ δὲ ρεῖα ἐστὶν

5 οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἱ A: οἱ τοιοῦτοι del. Kaibel:  
 τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ Wilamowitz

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18 For cicada-brooches as typical of archaic Athens, see Th.  
 1.6.3; Ar. Eq. 1331; Nu. 984; and cf. 12.525f. Ael. VH 4.22 is very  
 similar to this passage.

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embroidered tunics, and they tied their hair up in top-knots and wore gold cicadas around their foreheads and their temples;<sup>18</sup> and their slaves carried folding stools for them, so that they would not have to sit down anywhere at random. And it was men like these who won the battle at Marathon and singlehandedly defeated the entire Persian army! So too the most thoughtful individuals, he says, who have the best reputation for wisdom, regard pleasure as the greatest good. Thus Simonides (*PMG* 584) says the following:

For without pleasure, what mortal  
lifestyle or what tyranny  
is desirable?

Without this, not even the life of the gods is worth  
having.

Pindar (fr. 126), offering advice to Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse,<sup>19</sup> says:

Do not let pleasure fade from your lifestyle; a  
pleasant life  
is far and away the best possession a man can have.

Homer as well claims that joy and having a good time is the height of happiness, when feasters are listening to a bard, and full tables are set beside them.<sup>20</sup> And he says (e.g. *Il.* 6.138) that the gods “live easily”—“easily” means

<sup>19</sup> Hieron was tyrant of Syracuse 478–466 BCE.

<sup>20</sup> A prose paraphrase of *Od.* 9.5–8 (quoted at 12.513b, where see n.). The material that follows appears to be drawn from a document very similar to the one quoted or adapted at 1.24b–5f.

ἀπόνως—ὥσπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν  
 e κακῶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ταλαιπωρία καὶ ὁ πόνος. | διόπερ  
 καὶ Μεγακλείδης ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς μεθ' Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσί-  
 οδον ποιηταῖς ὅσοι περὶ Ἡρακλέους εἰρήκασιν ὡς  
 στρατοπέδων ἡγεῖτο καὶ πόλεις ἦρει· ὃς μεθ' ἡδονῆς  
 πλείστης τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον διετέλεσε, πλείστας  
 μὲν γυναῖκας γήμας, ἐκ πλείστων δὲ λάθρα παρθένων  
 παιδοποιησάμενος. εἶποι γὰρ ἂν τις πρὸς τοὺς οὐ  
 ταῦτα παραδεχομένους· “πόθεν, ὦ οὔτοι, τὴν περὶ τὰς  
 ἐδωδὰς αὐτῷ σπουδὴν ἀνατίθετε, ἢ πόθεν παρήλθεν  
 f εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ τῆς λοιβαίας κύλικος | μηδὲν  
 ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐδοκίμαζεν; ἢ  
 διὰ τί τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 πάντες Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι ἱερά; ἢ διὰ τί τὰς  
 μαλακὰς στρωμνὰς Ἡρακλέους κοίτας εἰώθασι κα-  
 λεῖν, εἰ κατεφρόνει τῶν ἡδέως ζώντων;” τοῦτον οὖν,  
 φησὶν, οἱ νέοι ποιηταὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν ληστοῦ  
 σχήματι μόνον περιπορευόμενον, ξύλον ἔχοντα καὶ  
 513 λεοντῆν καὶ τόξα· καὶ ταῦτα πλάσαι πρῶτον Στησίχο-  
 ρον τὸν Ἱμεραῖον. || καὶ Ξάνθος δ' ὁ μελοποιός,  
 πρεσβύτερος ὢν Στησιχόρου, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Στησί-  
 χορος μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Μεγακλείδης, οὐ ταύτην  
 αὐτῷ περιτίθησι τὴν στολήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν.  
 πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ξάνθου παραπεποίηκεν ὁ Στησίχορος,  
 ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ὀρέστειαν καλουμένην. Ἀντισθένης  
 δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φάσκων προσέθηκεν τὴν  
 ἀμεταμέλητον. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἡγε-

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“effortlessly”—as if trying to indicate that nothing is worse than leading a difficult life and working hard. This is why Megacleides (*FHG* iv.443–4) criticizes the poets who came after Homer and Hesiod and who claim that Heracles led armies and captured cities, despite the fact that he spent his time on earth having as good a time as he could, and married more women and secretly got more girls pregnant than anyone else ever did. Because one might say to those who refuse to accept such stories: “How is, gentlemen, that you assign such an extraordinary interest in food to him? Or where did we get the idea that nothing is to be left in a cup from which a libation has been poured,<sup>21</sup> unless he approved of pleasure? Or why does everyone say that the warm springs that emerge from the earth are sacred to Heracles?<sup>22</sup> And why do they routinely refer to piles of soft bedding as Heracleian beds, if he looked down on people who enjoy life?” The more recent poets, he says, dress Heracles in a bandit’s outfit and have him wander around alone with a club, a lion-skin, and a bow; the first to represent him this way was Stesichorus of Himera (*PMG* 229, including the material that follows). But the lyric poet Xanthus (*PMG* 699), who predates Stesichorus, as Stesichorus himself attests, according to Megacleides, did not dress him this way, but in the Homeric style instead. Stesichorus plagiarized much of Xanthus’ poetry, for example what is referred to as his *Oresteia*. Antisthenes (fr. 110 Decleva Caizzi = *SSR* V A 127) said that pleasure was a good, but added that he meant pleasure one does not regret afterward. Homer’s Odysseus appears to have guided

<sup>21</sup> Sc. in honor of Heracles.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Ibyc.* *PMG* 300; *Ar. Nu.* 1051 with Dover ad loc.

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μὼν δοκεῖ γεγενηῆσθαι Ἐπικούρω τῆς πολυθρυλήτου ἡδονῆς, ὅσπερ φησίν· |

- b οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη<sup>6</sup> μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα, δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται αἰοιδῶ ἡμενοὶ ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθῃ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσω οἰνοχόος παρέχῃσι<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσιν. τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι.

- ὁ δὲ Μεγακλείδης φησὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καθομιλοῦντα  
c τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὁμοίη τοῖς | Φαίαξιν εἶναι τὸ ἀβροδίατον αὐτῶν ἀσπάζεσθαι, προπυθόμενον τοῦ Ἀλκίνου·

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαῖς τε φίλη κίθαρὶς τε χοροὶ τε  
εἴματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί·

μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ὤηθη ὧν ἠλπίζεν μὴ <ἄν><sup>8</sup> διαμαρτεῖν. τοιοῦτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ παραινῶν Ἀμφιλόχῳ τῷ παιδί·

ὦ τέκνον, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου  
χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον  
προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὁμίλει·

<sup>6</sup> The traditional text of Homer has ἢ ὅτ' εὐφροσύνη; see 1.16d n.

<sup>7</sup> The traditional text of Homer has φορέῃσι.

<sup>8</sup> add. Kaibel



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Epicurus to his notorious concept of pleasure, since he says (*Od.* 9.5–11):<sup>23</sup>

For I declare that there is no greater height of  
happiness  
than when joy prevails and wickedness is absent,  
and feasters are in the house listening to a bard,  
seated in a row, and the tables beside them are full  
of bread and meat, and the wine-steward draws wine  
from a mixing-bowl and offers it to them, pouring it  
into their goblets.

This seems to me in my mind to be what is best.

But Megacleides claims that Odysseus was adapting himself to the situation, in order to appear to share the Phaeacians' inclinations, when he praised their delicate lifestyle, since he had earlier heard Alcinous say (*Od.* 8.248–9):

For what we care about is always feasting, and the  
lyre, and dances,  
and changes of clothing, and hot baths, and bed;

because he thought that this was the only way he would get what he wanted from them. The man who offers advice to Amphilochous when he is a boy is the same sort (*Pi.* fr. 43):<sup>24</sup>

My child, make the way you think, whatever city  
you visit, most closely resemble  
the skin of the creature that lives in the sea's rocks:<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Portions of the same passage are quoted also at 1.16d (where see n.); 2.40d; 5.192c–d; cf. 12.512d.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Theb.* fr. 4.1–2 Bernabé, quoted at 7.317a–b.

<sup>25</sup> I.e. the octopus.

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d τῷ παρεόντι δ' ἐπαινήσαις ἐκὼν |  
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖα φρόνει.

ὁμοίως φησὶν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰφιγενείᾳ·

νόει πρὸς ἀνδρὶ χρῶμα πουλύπους ὅπως  
πέτρα τραπέσθαι γνησίου φρονήματος.

καὶ ὁ Θέογνις·

πουλύπου ὄργην ἴσχε πολυπλόκου.

εἰσὶ δ' οἱ φασι ταύτης εἶναι τῆς γνώμης τὸν Ὅμηρον,  
προτάττοντα τοῦ σπουδαίου βίου πολλάκις τὸν καθ'  
ἡδονήν, λέγοντα·

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο  
χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ· μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη |  
e νέκταρ ἐωνοχόει, τοὶ δὲ χρυσεῖς δεπάεσσιν  
δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους.

καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ φησιν·

οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας

ἄλλο διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένῳ τε.

καί·

ἤμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ.

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do not hesitate to praise the man you are with,  
and think different things at different times.

Sophocles says something similar in *Iphigenia* (fr. 307):

Just as an octopus matches its color to the rock,  
be sure to match yourself to a man with an honest  
mind.

Also Theognis (215):<sup>26</sup>

Have the temperament of a wily octopus!

There are those who claim that this is Homer's own opinion, since he frequently ranks a life organized around pleasure ahead of the serious life, by saying (*Il.* 4.1–4):<sup>27</sup>

The gods were gathered together, sitting in Zeus'  
house  
on a gold floor; Lady Hêbê was pouring nectar  
in their midst, and they hailed one another  
with gold goblets.

His Menelaus as well says (*Od.* 4.178–9):

Nor would anything else  
have separated us, as we maintained our friendship  
and enjoyed ourselves.

Also (*Od.* 9.162 = 557):

We sat there, feasting on boundless meat and  
delicious wine.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted more fully at 7.317a.

<sup>27</sup> Parts of the third and fourth verses are quoted also at 1.13f  
= Dioscurides fr. 19 Weber.

διόπερ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς τρυφὴν καὶ λαγνείαν τέλος τοῦ βίου παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ τίθεται.

Διαβόητοι δὲ ἐπὶ τρυφῇ ἐγένοντο πρῶτοι πάντων |  
 f ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι, ὧν καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐχείμαζον μὲν  
 ἐν Σούσοις, ἐθέριζον δὲ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. κληθῆναι δὲ  
 τὰ Σοῦσά φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Χάρης διὰ τὴν  
 ὠραιότητα τοῦ τόπου· σοῦσον γὰρ εἶναι τῇ Ἑλλήνων  
 φωνῇ τὸ κρίνον. ἐν Περσεπόλει δὲ διατρίβουσι <τὸ><sup>9</sup>  
 φθινόπωρον καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὸ λείπον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 μέρος. καὶ οἱ Πάρθων δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐαρίζουσι μὲν ἐν  
 Ῥάγαις, χειμάζουσι δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι < . . . > τὸ λείπον  
 514 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. || καὶ τὸ παράσημον δὲ ὃ ἐπέτιθεντο τῇ  
 κεφαλῇ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς οὐδ' αὐτὸ ἠρνεῖτο  
 τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας ἀπόλαυσιν· κατεσκευάζετο γάρ,  
 ὡς φησι Δίνων, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου λαβύ-  
 ζου. εὐῶδες δ' ἐστὶν ἢ λάβυζος καὶ πολυτιμότερον τῆς  
 σμύρνης. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος κατίοι, φησί,  
 βασιλεύς, οὔτε καθήλλετο ὀλίγου ὄντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
 τοῦ ὕψους οὔτε διὰ χειρῶν ἐρειδόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτῷ  
 χρυσοῦς δίφρος ἐτίθετο καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβαίνων κατήει-  
 b καὶ ὁ βασιλέως διφροφόρος εἰς | τοῦτο εἶπετο. φυλάσ-  
 σουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τριακόσiai γυναῖκες, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ  
 Κυμαῖος Ἡρακλείδης ἐν πρώτῃ Περσικῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ  
 τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας κοιμῶνται, ἵνα νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορῶσι,  
 τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἄδουσαι καὶ ψάλλουσαι διατελοῦσι

<sup>9</sup> add. Kaibel

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This is why Odysseus in Alcinous' house treats luxury and lust as what is best in life (*Od.* 9.5–11, quoted above).

The first people to be notorious for their addiction to luxury were the Persians, whose kings spent the winter in Susa and the summer in Ecbatana. Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 18) and Chares (*FGrH* 125 F 11) claim that Susa got its name from how beautiful the place was; because *souson* translated into Greek is "lily" (*krinon*).<sup>28</sup> They spend the fall in Persepolis, and the rest of the year in Babylon. The Parthian kings as well spend the spring in Rhagae and the winter in Babylon . . . the rest of the year. Nor did the emblem the Persian kings placed on their head in any way deny the pleasure they took in living luxuriously; for according to Dinon (*FGrH* 690 F 25a) it was made of myrrh and what is referred to as *labuzos*. *Labuzos* has a nice smell and is more expensive than myrrh. Whenever the king descended from his chariot, says Dinon (*FGrH* 690 F 26), he neither jumped down (even though the distance to the ground was minimal) nor supported himself on someone's hand; instead, a gold stool was always set out for him, and he put his feet on this when he descended. The royal stool-bearer followed him for this purpose. 300 women stand guard over him, according to Heracleides of Cumae in Book I of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 689 F 1). They sleep during the day, so that they can stay awake at night, and they spend the whole night singing and playing harps, with

<sup>28</sup> Cf. 15.689d (*sousinon* perfume mentioned by Theophrastus, with a gloss explaining that it is made from *krina*). The noun *souson* is not firmly attested elsewhere in Greek and is most likely Semitic (cf. Hebrew *shushan*, "lily"). In any case, the city the Greeks called Susa was properly known as Shushim.

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λύχνων καιομένων χρηται δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ παλλακίσιν  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς < . . . > διὰ τῆς τῶν μηλοφόρων αὐλῆς.  
 ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῷ γένει πάντες  
 Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἔχοντες,  
 χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀριστίνδην ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν  
 c μυρίων Περσῶν τῶν Ἀθανάτων | καλουμένων. καὶ  
 διῆει διὰ τῆς τούτων αὐλῆς πεζὸς ὑποτιθεμένων ψιλο-  
 ταπίδων Σαρδιανῶν, ἐφ' ὧν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπέβαινεν ἢ  
 βασιλεὺς. ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην αὐλὴν ἔλθοι, ἀν-  
 ἐβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππον· πεζὸς δὲ  
 οὐδέποτε ἐωράθη ἔξω τῶν βασιλείων. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ θήραν  
 ἐξίει, καὶ αἱ παλλακίδες αὐτῷ συνεξήεσαν. ὁ δὲ θρό-  
 νος ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχρημάτιζεν καθήμενος χρυσοῦς ἦν, ὃν  
 περιεστῆκεσαν τέσσαρες κιονίσκοι λιθοκόλλητοι  
 d χρυσοῖ, ἐφ' ὧν διετέτατο ἰμάτιον ποικίλον | πορφυ-  
 ροῦν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων προ-  
 ειπὼν περὶ τῆς Μήδων τρυφῆς καὶ ὅτι διὰ ταύτην  
 πολλοὺς εὐνουχίσαιεν τῶν περικτιόνων, ἐπιφέρει καὶ  
 τὴν παρὰ Μήδων γενέσθαι Πέρσαις μηλοφορίαν μὴ  
 μόνων ὧν ἔπαθον τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν δορυ-  
 φορούντων τρυφῆς εἰς ὅσον ἦλθον ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνη-  
 μα· δύναται γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ παράκαιρος ἄμα καὶ  
 μάταιος αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν βίον τρυφή καὶ τοὺς ταῖς  
 λόγχαις καθωπλισμένους ἀγύρτας ἀποφαίνειν. καὶ  
 προελθὼν δὲ γράφει τοῖς γούν πορίσασί τι αὐτῷ ἡδὺ  
 e βρῶμα διδοῦς | ἄθλα τοῦ πορισθέντος οὐχ ἐτέραις

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the lamps lit. The king also uses them as concubines . . . through the courtyard of the Apple-bearers. The latter were members of his bodyguard, who were all native Persians, and who had gold apples on the butt-ends of their spears. There were 1000 of them, and they were selected from the 10,000 so-called Persian Immortals on the basis of merit. He passed through their courtyard on foot; pileless Sardinian carpets, which no one except the king ever stepped upon, were spread on the floor. When he reached the end of the courtyard, he got up onto his chariot, or sometimes onto a horse; he was never seen on foot outside the palace. If he went out hunting, his concubines accompanied him. The throne on which he sat to do his administrative business was made of gold, and four small gold columns set with jewels stood around it, with an embroidered purple canopy stretched between them. Clearchus of Soli in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 49 Wehrli) begins by describing the Medes' addiction to luxury and the fact that this motivated them to turn many of their neighbors into eunuchs, and then goes on to say that the Persians got the practice of "apple-bearing" from the Medes not just as revenge for what had been done to them, but also as a reminder of the bodyguards' addiction to luxury and of what cowards they had become; because their inopportune and foolish addiction to luxury in the way they lived was, apparently, capable of converting even men armed with spears into eunuch priests. Further on, moreover, he writes (fr. 51a Wehrli):<sup>29</sup> Because although he offered prizes to people who found something delicious for him to eat, once he had the food, he did not increase the appeal of the prizes by attaching

<sup>29</sup> Quoted again, in slightly different form, at 12.529d.

ἡδύνων ταῦτα τιμαῖς παρετίθει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἀπολαύειν αὐτῶν, νοῦν ἔχων· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λεγόμενος, οἶμαι, καὶ Διὸς ἅμα καὶ βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλος. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν, εἰς τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἦκον τρυφῆς οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὥστε ἔχουσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς κλίνης ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἴκημά τι πεντάκλι-  
 f νον, ἐν ᾧ χρυσοῦ πεντακισχίλια | διὰ παντὸς ἔκειτο τάλαντα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο προσκεφάλαιον βασιλικόν. καὶ πρὸς ποδῶν ἕτερον οἴκημα τρίκλινον, οὗ τάλαντα τρισχίλια ἔκειτο ἀργυρίου, καὶ προσηγορεύετο βασιλικὸν ὑποπόδιον. ἦν δ' ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι καὶ λιθοκόλλητος ἄμπελος χρυσῆ ὑπὲρ τῆς κλίνης (τὴν δ' ἄμπελον ταύτην Ἀμύντας φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς καὶ βότρυας ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ψήφων συν-  
 515 τεθειμένους) οὐ μακρὰν τε ταύτης ἀνακεῖσθαι || κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ποίημα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Κυζίκου ἐν Πέρσαις φησὶν εἶναι καὶ <τὸ><sup>10</sup> χρυσοῦν καλούμενον ὕδωρ. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λιβάδας ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ μηδένα πίνειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ μόνον βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐάν τις πῖη, θάνατος ἢ ζημία.

<sup>10</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>30</sup> Sc. by allowing the man who had discovered the food in question to dine with him? But Clearchus' Greek is as crabbed as always, and precisely what he means is obscure.



## BOOK XII

other honors to them,<sup>30</sup> but instead preferred to enjoy them all by himself, and rightly so;<sup>31</sup> because this is what is referred to, I believe, as “the brain of Zeus<sup>32</sup> and of the king as well.” Chares of Mitylene says in Book V of his *History Involving Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 2): The Persian kings had grown so addicted to luxury that a room large enough to hold five couches was located at the head of the royal bed, and 5000 talents of coined gold were always stored inside; this was referred to as the king’s pillow. At his feet was another room, large enough to hold three couches, where 3000 talents of coined silver were stored; this was referred to as the royal footstool. There was also a gold grapevine set with jewels over the bed in his bed-chamber—Amyntas in his *Stations* (FGrH 122 F 6) claims that this vine had bunches of grapes made of the most expensive jewels—and not far from this was a gold mixing-bowl produced by Theodorus of Samos.<sup>33</sup> Agathocles in Book III of *On Cyzicus* (FGrH 472 F 3) says that the Persians have what is referred to as the gold water. This consists of 70 springs, from which no one is allowed to drink except the king and his oldest son; if anyone else drinks from them, the penalty is death. Xenophon says in Book

<sup>31</sup> Presumably a sarcastic comment.

<sup>32</sup> For “Zeus-brain” as an (otherwise unidentified) delicacy, see Ephipp. fr. 13.6 (preserved at 14.642e).

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 7.27.2 also mentions the gold grapevine, claiming that it was given to Xerxes’ father Darius by Pythius of Lydia, and refers elsewhere to several other objects made by Theodorus (including a pair of gold and silver mixing-bowls: 1.51.2–3), who dates to the mid-6th century BCE.

Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἐν ὀγδόῳ Παιδείας, ἐχρῶντο, φησίν, ἔτι τότε τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδείᾳ καὶ τῇ Μήδων στολῇ καὶ ἀβρότητι. νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν περι-  
b ορῶσιν ἀποσβεννυμένην, τὴν ἰ δὲ τῶν Μήδων μαλακίαν διασώζονται. σαφηνίσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνοις γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐκέτι τὰς εὐνὰς μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ ταπίδων τιθέασιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ' ὑπέικωσιν αἱ τάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρότερον εὔρητο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται ἄλλα τε καινὰ αἰεὶ ἐπιμηχανῶνται, καὶ ὄψα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηνται. ἀλλὰ ἰ  
c καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας αὐτοῖς ἀρκεῖ ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶν χειρῖδας δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν. ἔν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἀρκούσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὔθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἐτέρας σκιάδας ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεστᾶσι. κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς δέ φησι περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτως· νῦν δὲ στρώματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἱππείας οὕτως ὡς τοῦ μαλακῶς  
d ἰ καθῆσθαι ἐπιμέλονται. καὶ τοὺς θυρωροὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας καὶ ἀνιστάντας καὶ τοὺς κοσμητὰς οἱ ὑποχρῖουσί τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα ῥυθμίζουσιν.

<sup>34</sup> Sc. with parasols.

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VIII (8.15–17) of the *Education*: In those days they still practiced the traditional Persian style of education, while wearing Median clothing and enjoying their dainty lifestyle. But nowadays they ignore the fact that the toughness they inherited from the Persians is becoming extinct, although they preserve the Medes' effeminacy. I would like to offer a more precise account of their depravity. It is no longer enough for them, first of all, merely to cover their beds with soft blankets; instead, they now place the feet of their couches on carpets, to prevent the floor from offering them any resistance and to allow the carpets to absorb the stress. As for the baked goods they consume, moreover, nothing that was invented in the past has been given up, and they are constantly inventing new items. The same is true of other delicacies (*opsa*), and they actually have people whose job is to experiment in both areas. In the winter it is not enough for them to cover up their heads, bodies, and feet, and they wear thick gloves that have fingers on their hands. And in the summer they are not satisfied with the shadows trees and rocks cast, and people stand beside them in such spots and produce even more shade.<sup>34</sup> So too in the section immediately after this (*Cyr.* 8.8.19–20, condensed) he says the following about them: But nowadays they have more blankets on their horses than on their beds, because they are less concerned about their ability to control the animal they are riding than in having a comfortable place to sit. Likewise in the case of their doorkeepers, bakers, chefs, and wine-stewards, and the slaves charged with setting and clearing their tables, and with putting them to bed and getting them up, and the beauticians who rub lotion on them, give them massages, and generally keep them in good condition.

Λυδοὶ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλθον τρυφῆς ὡς καὶ πρῶτοι  
 γυναικας εὐνουχίσαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς ἢ ὁ  
 τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας Ἱστορίας συγγεγρα-  
 φῶς—Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων, ὡς Ἀρτέμων φη-  
 e σὶν ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν | τῷ Περὶ Συναγωγῆς Βιβλίων,  
 ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἐφορος ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ  
 ὡς παλαιότερου ὄντος καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς  
 δεδωκότος—ὁ δ' οὖν Ξάνθος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Λυδι-  
 ακῶν Ἀδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον  
 γυναικας εὐνουχίσαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν  
 εὐνούχων. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Περὶ Βίων,  
 Λυδοί, φησί, διὰ τρυφὴν παραδείσους κατασκευα-  
 σάμενοι καὶ ἀνηλίους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες ἐσκιατρο-  
 f φοῦντο, τρυφερώτερον | ἡγησάμενοι τὸ μηδ' ὄλως  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγὰς. καὶ τέλος  
 πόρρω προάγοντες ὕβρεως τὰς τῶν ἄλλων γυναικας  
 καὶ παρθένους εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν  
 Ἀγνεῶνα κληθέντα συνάγοντες ὕβριζον. καὶ τέλος  
 τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποθηλυθέντες ἠλλάξαντο τὸν τῶν γυναι-  
 κῶν βίον, διόπερ καὶ γυναικα τύραννον ὁ βίος εὔρετο  
 αὐτοῖς μίαν τῶν ὑβρισθαισῶν Ὀμφάλην· ἣτις πρώτη  
 κατῆρξε μὲν τῆς εἰς Λυδοὺς πρεπούσης τιμωρίας· τὸ  
 γὰρ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἄρχεσθαι ὑβριζομένους σημείον  
 516 ἐστὶ βίας. οὐσα οὖν καὶ αὐτὴ ἀκόλαστος || καὶ ἀμνο-  
 μένη τὰς γενομένας αὐτῇ πρότερον ὕβρεις τοῖς ἐν τῇ

<sup>35</sup> Obscure; the most obvious explanation would seem to be

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The Lydians became so addicted to luxury that they were the first people to create female eunuchs, according to Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765 T 5), or whoever it was that composed the *History* attributed to him—it was Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrH* 32 T 6 = test. 4 Rusten), according to Artemon of Cassandreia in his *On Collecting Books* (fr. 9, *FHG* iv.342), who is unaware that the prose-author Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 180) refers to Xanthus as being earlier than himself and as providing Herodotus with his sources—Xanthus, at any rate, says in Book II of his *History of Lydia* (*FGrH* 765 F 4a) that the Lydian king Adramytes was the first person to create female eunuchs, and used them in place of male eunuchs. Clearchus says in Book IV of *On Lives* (fr. 43a Wehrli): The Lydians were so addicted to luxury that they made themselves parks (*paradeisoi*) into which the sun could not intrude, and lived in the shade, since they believed that it was more elegant to completely avoid the sun's rays. They finally grew even more depraved, and began to assemble other people's wives and daughters in the place referred to as Hagneôn because of what went on there,<sup>35</sup> and raped them. In the end they became so effeminate that they began to live like women, which is why life selected Omphale, who was one of the women they had raped, to rule over them. She initiated the punishment the Lydians deserved; because being ruled by a woman and abused is evidence of having behaved violently. So since she was herself an unbridled character and wanted to exact vengeance for the outrages committed against her previously, she gave the city's slaves

that the name is taken to be connected etymologically with the adjective *hagnos* ("pure, chaste, holy") and is an ironic euphemism.

## ATHENAEUS

πόλει δούλοις τὰς τῶν δεσποτῶν παρθένους ἐξέδωκεν  
 ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ πρὸς ἐκείνων ὑβρίσθη· εἰς τοῦτον οὖν  
 συναθροίσασα μετ' ἀνάγκης συγκατέκλινε τοῖς δού-  
 λοις τὰς δεσποίνας. ὅθεν οἱ Λυδοὶ τὸ πικρὸν τῆς  
 πράξεως ὑποκοριζόμενοι τὸν τόπον καλοῦσιν Γλυκὴν  
 Ἀγκῶνα.<sup>11</sup> οὐ μόνον δὲ Λυδῶν γυναῖκες ἄφρονοι οὔσαι  
 τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυριῶν,  
 ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἑται-  
 ρισμῶ | τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιούντων, παλαιᾶς  
 τινος ὕβρεως ἔοικεν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπόμημα  
 καὶ τιμωρίας. πρὸς ἣν εἰς τῶν Λυδῶν εὐγενῆς ἀνὴρ  
 ὀρμήσας καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς Μίδου βασιλείᾳ βαρυν-  
 θείς, τοῦ μὲν Μίδου ὑπ' ἀνανδρίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἐν  
 πορφύρᾳ κειμένου καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐν τοῖς ἰστοῖς  
 συνταλασιουργοῦντος, Ὀμφάλῃς δὲ πάντας τοὺς  
 συγκατακλιθέντας αὐτῇ ξενοκτονούσης, ἀμφοτέρους  
 ἐκόλασε, τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας κεκωφημένον τῶν  
 ὄτων ἐξελκύσας, ὃς διὰ τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν | ἔνδειαν τοῦ  
 πάντων ἀναισθητοτάτου ζώου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε·  
 τὴν δὲ < . . . > πρῶτοι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὴν καρύκην  
 ἐξεύρον, περὶ ἧς τῆς σκευασίας οἱ τὰ Ὀψαρτυτικὰ  
 συνθέντες εἰρήκασιν, Γλαῦκός τε ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Μίθαι-  
 κος καὶ Διονύσιος Ἡρακλείδαί τε δύο γένος Συρακό-  
 σιοι καὶ Ἄγις καὶ Ἐπαίνετος καὶ Διονύσιος ἔτι τε  
 Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Ἐρασίστρατος καὶ Εὐθύδημος καὶ

<sup>11</sup> γυναικῶν ἀγῶνα Γλυκὴν Ἀγκῶνα ACE: γυναικῶν ἀγῶ-  
να del. Schweighäuser

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their masters' daughters in the place where they had raped her; so she collected the women who belonged to the masters' houses in that spot and forced them to sleep with their slaves. As a consequence, the Lydians refer euphemistically to the unpleasantness that went on by calling the place *Glukus Ankôn*.<sup>36</sup> It was not just Lydian women who were allowed to have sex with anyone who came along, but also the women in Epizypherian Locris, as well as in Cyprus and, simply put, in all the places where they dedicate their daughters to serve as prostitutes, which seems to be, in fact, a form of remembrance and recompense for some ancient act of violence. This was what motivated one of the Lydians, who came from a good family and was unhappy with the way Midas ruled them, since Midas' effeminacy and addiction to luxury had led to him lying around in purple clothing and working at the loom along with his women, while Omphale used to murder all the foreigners who slept with her. He punished them both: he grabbed Midas, whose crude behavior had rendered him insensible, by the ears, and stretched them out—Midas' lack of intelligence earned him a nickname that referred to the stupidest creature there is<sup>37</sup>—while as for Omphale . . . The Lydians also invented *karukê*; recipes for this dish are given by the authors of *Cookbooks*: Glaucus of Locris, Mithaecus, Dionysius, the two Heracleides (both from Syracuse), Agis, Epaenetus, and Dionysius, as well as Hegesippus, Erasistratus (fr. 290 Garofalo), Euthydemus,

<sup>36</sup> Literally "Sweet Embrace."

<sup>37</sup> A donkey. For Midas' donkey-ears, cf. *Ar. Pl.* 287; *Ov. Met.* 11.146–93; *Hyg. Fab.* 191.

ATHENAEUS

Κρίτων, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ Στέφανος, Ἀρχύτας, Ἀκεσί-  
 as,<sup>12</sup> Διοκλῆς, Φιλιστίων· τοσοῦτους γὰρ οἶδα γρά-  
 ψαντας Ὀψαρτυτικά. καὶ κάνδαυλον δὲ τινα ἔλεγον |  
 d οἱ Λυδοί, οὐχ ἓνα ἀλλὰ τρεῖς· οὕτως ἐξήσκητο πρὸς  
 τὰς ἡδυπαθείας. γίνεσθαι δ' αὐτόν φησιν ὁ Ταραν-  
 τίνος Ἡγήσιππος ἐξ ἐφθοῦ κρέως καὶ κηστοῦ ἄρτου  
 καὶ Φρυγίου τυροῦ ἀνήθου τε καὶ ζυμοῦ πίονος. μνη-  
 μονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἄλεξις ἐν Παννυχίδι ἢ Ἐρίθιοις·  
 μάγειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ προσδιαλεγόμενος·

(A.) † ὅτι † δέ σοι παρὰ τοῦτο κάνδαυλόν τινα  
 παραθήσομεν. (B.) κάνδαυλον; οὐκ ἐδήδοκα  
 < . . . > οὐδ' ἀκήκο' οὐδε<πώ>ποτε.

(A.) θαυμαστὸν ἐμὸν εὔρημα· πάνυ πολὺν δ'  
 ἐγὼ |

e ἐὰν παραθῶ σοι, προσκατέδει τοὺς δακτύλους  
 σαντῶ γε χαίρων. † ἔρια † μὲν ποιήσομεν

(B.) ἄνθρωπε, ποίει λευκὰ καὶ βλέπ' εἰς < . . . >

(A.) ἐπὰν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν—ταρίχους, ἰχθύων,  
 κρεῶν, βατανίων—εὐθέως < . . . >

δίπυρον παραθήσεις, ὧν ἐπιτετμημένον,  
 πνόν, μέλιτος ὀξύβαφον, ἀποταγηνιώ,  
 τυροῦ τροφάλια χλωρὰ Κυθνίου παρατεμών,  
 βοτρυδιόν τι, χόριον, ἐν ποτηρίῳ  
 γλυκύν· τὸ τοιοῦτον γὰρ αἰεί πως μέρος |

f ἐπιπαίζεται, κεφαλὴ δὲ δείπνου γίγνεται—

<sup>12</sup> Ἀκέστιος Ἀκεσίας ACE: Ἀκέστιος del. Kaibel



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and Crito, and in addition Stephanus, Archytas, Acesias, Diocles (fr. dub. 234 van der Eijk), and Philistion (fr. 13 Wellmann). These are all the authors of *Cookbooks* that I am aware of. The Lydians also described something known as *kandaulos*, of which there was not one type but three; this is how sophisticated they were when it came to living luxuriously. According to Hegesippus of Tarentum, *kandaulos* is made of bits of stewed meat, bread crumbs, Phrygian cheese, anise, and fatty broth. Alexis mentions it in *The All-Night Festival or Hired Workers* (fr. 178); the man he is speaking to is a cook:

(A.) † That † on top of this, we'll serve you a *kandaulos*. (B.) A *kandaulos*? I've never eaten or heard . . .

(A.) It's an amazing invention of mine; even if I serve you a really big one, you'll enjoy yourself so much that

you'll eat your fingers too! We'll make [corrupt]

(B.) Make it white, pal—and concentrate on . . .

(A.) When it's made from ordinary ingredients—  
saltfish, fresh fish,

chunks of meat, casserole-dishes—immediately . . .

you'll serve a biscuit, a sliced hard-boiled egg,

beestings, a little cup of honey; I'll slice up

some hunks of fresh Cynthian cheese and fry them in  
a pan;

a few grapes, after-birth pudding, grape-must

in a cup. Because food like that always represents, as  
it were,

the cooling-down period, whereas the main course  
consists of—

(B.) ἄνθρωπ' ἐπίπαιζε· μόνον ἀπαλλάγηθί μου  
 < . . . > κανδαύλους λέγων καὶ χόρια καὶ  
 βατάνια πᾶσαν < . . . > τὴν ἡδονήν.

μνημονεύει τοῦ κανδαύλου καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Παρει-  
 σιόντι οὕτως·

τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 μάρτυρας ἔχω γὰρ ὅτι μόνος φύσκην ποῶ,  
 κάνδαυλον, ῥά, θρίον † ἐν στενω. † τί < . . . >  
 τούτων διάπτωμ' ἐγένετ' ἢ ἀμάρτημα τί; ||

517 καὶ Νικόστρατος ἐν Μαγείρῳ·

ὃς μέλανα ποεῖν ζωμὸν οὐκ ἠπίστατο,  
 θρίον δὲ καὶ κάνδαυλον.

καὶ Μέανδρος Τροφωνίῳ·

Ἴωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποῶ,  
 κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα.

καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους δὲ ἐξιόντες οἱ Λυδοὶ παρατά-  
 τονται μετὰ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν, ὡς φησιν Ἡρόδο-  
 τος. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετ' αὐλῶν ἐξορμῶσιν ἐπὶ  
 b τοὺς πολέμους, καθάπερ Κρήτες μετὰ | λύρας.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Κυμαῖος ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγ-  
 γράψας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Παρασκευαστικοῖς  
 εἰπὼν ὡς ὁ ἐν τῇ λιβανοφόρῳ χώρα βασιλεὺς αὐτόνο-

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(B.) You can go cool off, pal! Just get away from me  
. . . talking about *kandauloi* and after-birth puddings  
and  
casserole-dishes . . . all the pleasure.

Philemon in *The Man Who Tried to Sneak In* (fr. 63) also mentions *kandaulos*, as follows:

The people in town  
can attest to the fact that I'm the only one who makes  
sausage,  
*kandaulos*, eggs, fig-leaf pastry [corrupt]. Were any  
. . . of these stumbles or mistakes?

Also Nicostratus in *The Cook* (fr. 16.1–2):<sup>38</sup>

who didn't know how to make black broth,  
but as for a fig-leaf pastry or a *kandaulos*.

Also Menander in *Trophonius* (fr. 351.10–11):<sup>39</sup>

A rich Ionian fool—I make thick soups  
and *kandaulos*, lecherous foods.

So too, when the Lydians march into battle, they use Pan-pipes and pipes to keep their ranks in order, according to Herodotus (1.17.1). The Spartans as well march into battle to pipe-music, while the Cretans use lyre-music.<sup>40</sup>

Heracleides of Cumae, the author of the *History of Persia* (FGrH 689 F 4), first notes in the section entitled *Preliminaries* that the king in the region where incense is

<sup>38</sup> A complete version of the second verse is quoted, along with a third, at 14.664c.

<sup>39</sup> An extract from a much longer fragment quoted at 4.132e–f.

<sup>40</sup> Very similar material appears at 14.627d.

## ATHENAEUS

- μός τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοος, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα·  
 οὗτος δ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ. διατρίβει  
 τε γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ  
 τὸν βίον διάγων καὶ πράττει οὐδὲ ἐν πράγμα <αὐ-  
 τὸς><sup>13</sup> οὐδὲ <τοῖς><sup>14</sup> πολλοῖς πλησιάζει, ἀλλὰ δικα-  
 στας ἀποδεικνύει<sup>15</sup>. καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς ἡγήται μῆ  
 c δικαίως δεδικακέναι, | ἔστι θυρίς ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ  
 τῶν βασιλείων καὶ αὕτη ἀλύσει δέδεται. ὁ οὖν ἡγού-  
 μενος ἀδίκως δεδικασθαι ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς ἀλύσεως  
 καὶ ἔλκει τὴν θυρίδα, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπειδὴν αἰσθη-  
 ται εἰσκαλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς δικάζει. καὶ ἐὰν φαίνωνται οἱ  
 δικασταὶ ἀδίκως δικάσαντες, ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 δικαίως, ὁ κινήσας τὴν θυρίδα ἀπόλλυται. τὰ δ' ἀνα-  
 λώματα λέγεται τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰς  
 περὶ αὐτὸν γυναῖκας καὶ φίλους γίνεσθαι τάλαντα  
 πεντεκαίδεκα Βαβυλῶνια. |
- d Παρὰ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐκτόπως τρυφήσασιν ἱστορεῖ  
 Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὅτι αἱ θεράπαινοι γυμναὶ τοῖς  
 ἀνδράσι διακονοῦνται. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρα-  
 κοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ νόμον εἶναί φησιν  
 παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς κοινὰς ὑπάρχειν τὰς γυναῖκας.  
 ταύτας δ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι σφόδρα τῶν σωματῶν καὶ  
 γυμνάζεσθαι πολλάκις καὶ μετ' ἀνδρῶν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ  
 πρὸς ἑαυτάς· οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι αὐταῖς φαίνεσθαι  
 γυμναῖς. δειπνεῖν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς  
 e ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ παρ' οἷς ἂν | τύχωσι τῶν παρόντων, καὶ

<sup>13</sup> add. Wilamowitz; see below

<sup>14</sup> add. Meineke

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produced is independent and not subject to anyone, and then writes the following: He lives a life of extraordinary luxury and ease. For he spends all his time in his palace, enjoying a luxurious and expensive lifestyle; and he does nothing himself and has no contact with ordinary people. Instead, he appoints judges; and if anyone feels that the judges have made a bad decision, there is a window at the very top of the palace with a chain attached to it. The person who thinks that his case has been decided improperly takes hold of the chain and pulls the window open;<sup>41</sup> when the king hears him, he invites him in and hears the case himself. If, in his opinion, the judges made a bad decision, they die; but if they made a good decision, the person who opened the window dies. The amount of money spent every day on the king, the women he surrounds himself with, and his friends is said to amount to 15 Babylonian talents.<sup>42</sup>

According to Timaeus in Book I (*FGrH* 566 F 1b),<sup>43</sup> the Etruscans lead lives of such unheard-of luxury that the servant-girls wait on the men naked. And Theopompus in Book XLIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 204) says that it is an Etruscan custom that their women are common property. They take very good care of their bodies and frequently exercise with the men, although at other times they do so by themselves; because they are not ashamed to be seen naked. They do not eat dinner only with their husbands, but with anyone who happens to be there; and they

<sup>41</sup> Sc. and shouts into it.  
see 11.782a n.

<sup>42</sup> For the Babylonian talent,  
<sup>43</sup> Very similar material appears at 4.153d.

<sup>15</sup> *δικαστὰς αὐτὸς ἀποδεικνύει* ACE: Wilamowitz transferred *αὐτός* to the preceding clause

προπίνουσιν οἷς ἂν βουληθῶσιν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πιεῖν  
 δεινὰς καὶ τὰς ὄψεις πάνυ καλὰς. τρέφειν δὲ τοὺς  
 Τυρρηνοὺς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα παιδία, οὐκ εἰδότας  
 ὅτου πατρός ἐστιν ἕκαστον. ζῶσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς θρεψαμένοις, πότους τὰ πολλὰ  
 ποιούμενοι καὶ πλησιάζοντες ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀπάσαις.  
 οὐδὲν δ' αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ Τυρρηνοῖς οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 τῷ μέσῳ τι ποιῶντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάσχοντας· ἐπι-  
 χώριον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ. καὶ τοσοῦτου  
 δέουσιν αἰσχρὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν ὥστε καὶ λέγουσιν,  
 ὅταν ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τῆς οἰκίας ἀφροδισιάζεται, ζητῆ  
 f δέ τις αὐτόν, | ὅτι πάσχει τὸ καὶ τό, προσαγορεύοντες  
 αἰσχρῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐπειδὴν δὲ συνουσιάζωσι καθ'  
 ἑταιρίας ἢ κατὰ συγγενείας, ποιοῦσιν οὕτως· πρῶτον  
 μὲν ὅταν παύσωνται πίνοντες καὶ μέλλωσι καθεύδειν,  
 εἰσάγουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς οἱ διάκονοι τῶν λύχνων ἔτι  
 καιομένων ὅτε μὲν ἑταίρας, ὅτε δὲ παῖδας πάνυ κα-  
 λούς, ὅτε δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας· ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἀπολαύ-  
 σωσιν, αὐθις αὐτοῖς νεανίσκους ἀκμάζοντας, οἱ πλη-  
 σιάζουσιν αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοις. ἀφροδισιάζουσιν δὲ καὶ  
 ποιῶνται τὰς συνουσίας ὅτε μὲν ὀρώντες ἀλλήλους,  
 518 κλίνας, αἱ πεπλεγμένοι εἰσὶν ἐκ ῥάβδων, || ἐπι-  
 βέβληται δ' ἄνωθεν ἱμάτια. καὶ πλησιάζουσιν μὲν  
 σφόδρα καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, πολὺ μέντοι γε <μᾶλλον><sup>16</sup>  
 χαίρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μεираκίοις· καὶ  
 γὰρ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς πάνυ καλοὶ τὰς ὄψεις, ἅτε  
 τρυφερῶς δαισιώμενοι καὶ λεινόμενοι τὰ σώματα. |

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propose toasts to anyone they want. They are both heavy drinkers and extremely good-looking. The Etruscans raise all the children their wives produce, without knowing who the father is in any particular case. The boys live exactly as their parents do, having constant drinking parties and sleeping with all the women. The Etruscans are not embarrassed not only to do anything in public, but to have anything done to them; because this is another aspect of their local customs. They are so far from regarding any of this as shameful that when the master of the house is letting someone use him sexually, and another person comes looking for him, they actually say that he is having thus-and-such done to him, describing the situation in vulgar terms. When they have parties with their friends or their families, they behave as follows. First, when they are done drinking and are ready to go to sleep, but while the lamps are still lit, their servants bring prostitutes into the room for them, or sometimes very attractive boys, or at other times their wives. And after they enjoy them, the servants next bring them strapping young men, who take the active role in their relations. Sometimes they watch one another while they have sex and enjoy intercourse, but generally they put screens woven out of wicker around their couches and throw cloths over them. They have quite a bit of sex with women, but they much prefer sleeping with boys and young men; the young men in their country are in fact very good-looking, since they enjoy a luxurious lifestyle and remove the hair from their bodies. All the Western bar-

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<sup>16</sup> add. Kaibel

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- b πάντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι πιτ-  
 τούνται καὶ ξυροῦνται τὰ σώματα· καὶ παρά γε τοῖς  
 Τυρρηνοῖς ἐργαστήρια κατεσκευάσται πολλὰ καὶ  
 τεχνῖται τούτου τοῦ πράγματός εἰσιν, ὥσπερ παρ'  
 ἡμῖν οἱ κουρέεις. παρ' οὓς ὅταν εἰσέλθωσιν, παρέχου-  
 σιν ἑαυτοὺς πάντα τρόπον, οὐθὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς  
 ὀρώντας οὐδὲ τοὺς παριόντας. χρῶνται δὲ τούτῳ τῷ  
 νόμῳ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν<sup>17</sup> τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 οἰκοῦντων, μαθόντες παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Μεσαπίων.
- c ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τρυφῆς | οἱ Τυρρηνοί, ὡς Ἄλκιμος ἱστορεῖ,  
 πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ μάττουςιν καὶ πυκτεύουσι καὶ μαστι-  
 γοῦσιν.

Διαβόητοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν  
 τράπεζαι, οἷτινες καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς θάλατταν λέ-  
 γουσιν εἶναι γλυκεῖαν, χαίροντες τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γινο-  
 μένοις ἐδέσμασιν, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πέμπτῳ  
 Βίῳ. περὶ δὲ Συβαριτῶν τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; παρ' οἷς  
 πρώτοις εἰσῆχθησαν εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα λουτροχόοι καὶ  
 παραχύται πεπεδημένοι, τοῦ μὴ θάπτον ἰέναι καὶ ὅπως  
 μὴ σπεύδοντες κατακαίωσι τοὺς λουομένους. πρώτοι  
 δὲ Συβαρίται καὶ τὰς ποιούσας ψόφον τέχνας οὐκ  
 ἐῶσιν ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει, οἷον χαλκέων καὶ τεκτόνων

- d καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅπως | αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν ἀθόρυβοι  
 ὦσιν οἱ ὕπνοι· οὐκ ἐξῆν δ' οὐδ' ἀλεκτρύονα ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 τρέφεσθαι. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Τίμαιος ὅτι ἀνήρ

<sup>17</sup> καὶ τῶν ACE: καὶ del. Schweighäuser



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barians wax and shave their bodies, and in Etruria there are many shops that are set up for this, and individuals who specialize in the business, like barbers in our country. When they visit these individuals, they allow absolutely anything to be done to themselves and are not the least bit ashamed of what the people watching them or passers-by might think. Many of the Greeks who live in Italy behave this way, having taken over these practices from the Samnites and Messapians. According to Alcimus (*FGrH* 560 F 3), the Etruscans are so addicted to luxury that they knead bread, box,<sup>44</sup> and whip people while listening to pipe-music.

Sicilian tables<sup>45</sup> are notoriously luxurious, and the Sicilians even say that the sea in their country tastes sweet, since they like the food it produces, according to Clearchus in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 59 Wehrli). And why do I even need to mention the Sybarites? They were the first people to introduce the custom of keeping the water-pourers and attendants in their bathhouses in chains, to prevent them from moving too fast and scalding their clients in their haste. The Sybarites were also the first to bar occupations that produced noise, such as bronze-working, carpentry, and the like, from being practiced in their city, so as to prevent their sleep from being disturbed by noise emanating from any quarter; it was not even possible to keep a rooster in the city.<sup>46</sup> Timaeus has a story about

<sup>44</sup> Cf. 4.154a (citing Eratosthenes).

<sup>45</sup> I.e. the food served on them.

<sup>46</sup> Manuscript A preserves a marginal comment at this point: "Alciphro"—unidentified—"refers to this in his *On the Ancient Addiction to Luxury*, and to nearly all the other points as well."

Συβαρίτης εἰς ἀγρόν ποτε πορευόμενος ἔφη ἰδὼν τοὺς  
 ἐργάτας σκάπτοντας αὐτὸς ῥήγμα λαβεῖν· πρὸς δὲ  
 ἀποκρίνασθαί τινα τῶν ἀκουσάντων, “αὐτὸς δὲ σοῦ  
 διηγουμένου ἀκούων πεπονεκέναι τὴν πλευράν.” ἐν  
 Κρότωνι δὲ σκάπτοντί τιμὴν τὴν τῶν ἀθλούντων κόνιν  
 ἐπιστάντες τινὲς Συβαριτῶν ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες, εἰ  
 τηλικαύτην ἔχοντες πόλιν οἰκέτας μὴ κέκτηνται τοὺς  
 σκάψοντας ἑαυτοῖς τὴν παλαίστραν. ἄλλος δὲ Συβα-  
 e ρίτης παραγενόμενος | εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ κληθεὶς  
 εἰς φιδίτιον, ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων κατακείμενος καὶ δειπνῶν  
 μετ’ αὐτῶν, πρότερον μὲν ἔφη καταπεπλήχθαι τὴν τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων πυθνανόμενος ἀνδρείαν, νῦν δὲ θεα-  
 σάμενος νομίζειν μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς διαφέρειν·  
 καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀνανδρότατον μᾶλλον ἂν ἐλέσθαι ἀπο-  
 θανεῖν ἢ τοιοῦτον βίον ζῶντα καρτερεῖν. ἔθος δὲ παρ’  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας  
 ἀλουργίδας τε φορεῖν καὶ πλοκαμίδας ἀναδεδεμένους  
 χρυσοφορεῖν. ἐπιχωριάζειν δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν  
 φησιν ὁ | Τίμαιος, τοὺς καλουμένους παρά τισι στίλ-  
 f πωνας καὶ κυνάρια Μελιταῖα, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔπε-  
 σθαι εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια. πρὸς οὓς καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους  
 τούτοις Μασσανάσσης ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων βασιλεὺς  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς φησι Πτολεμαῖος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Ἑπομνη-

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47 I.e. it was not the field in which the work was going on that had been broken up, but his own body—and simply by watching the job being done!

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them, to the effect that a Sybarite was going out into the country at one point, and when he saw his laborers digging a hole, he said that he had gotten a rupture himself.<sup>47</sup> One of the people who heard him said: "Just listening to you *talk* has given *me* a pain in my side!" A man in Croton was turning up the dirt that athletes use,<sup>48</sup> and some Sybarites watched him and said that they were astonished that the inhabitants of such a big city did not own any slaves who could dig up their wrestling pit for them. Another Sybarite visited Sparta and was invited to a men's mess. He was lying on a couch made of bare wood and eating dinner with them, and he said that he had previously been stunned when he heard about the Spartans' courage, but now that he had seen them, he thought that they were no different from anyone else; because even the biggest coward in the world would prefer to die rather than go on living like this.<sup>49</sup> It was also a custom in their country for the boys to wear sea-purple robes and to keep their hair tied up in braids with gold ornaments until they reached the age of ephebes.<sup>50</sup> As a result of their addiction to luxury, they had midgets in their country, as well as the *skopaioi* that some people refer to as *stilpônes*, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 49), and little Melitaeian dogs, which followed them to school. According to Ptolemy in Book VIII of the *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 8), Massanassa, the king of Mauretania, offered a response that was appropriate for these

<sup>48</sup> Sc. in wrestling pits; the work was done by the athletes themselves, as part of their work-out.

<sup>49</sup> The anecdote is preserved, although in almost entirely different words, also at 4.138d-e.

<sup>50</sup> 18 or so.

μάτων, ζητοῦσιν συνωνείσθαι πιθήκους· “παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὧ οὔτοι, αἱ γυναῖκες οὐ τίκτουςιν παιδιά;” παιδίοις γὰρ  
 519 ἔχαιρον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἢ καὶ εἶχεν παρ’ αὐτῷ τρε-  
 φόμενα τῶν υἱῶν (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν  
 θυγατέρων ὁμοίως. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἔτρεφεν  
 μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν μεθ’ ἧ ἀπέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς γεγεν-  
 νηκότας, παραγινομένων ἄλλων. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ ἔφη καὶ  
 Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Χάρισιν οὕτως·

καὶ γὰρ πόσω κάλλιον, ἰκετεύω, τρέφειν  
 ἄνθρωπόν ἐστ’ ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἔχη βίον,  
 ἢ χῆνα πλατυγίζοντα καὶ κεχηνότα,  
 ἢ στρουθόν, ἢ πίθηκον, ἐπίβουλον κακόν. |

b καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σπουδῆς καὶ Παιδιάς  
 Ἀρχύταν φησὶ τὸν Ταραντῖνον πολιτικὸν ἄμα καὶ  
 φιλόσοφον γενόμενον πλείστους οἰκέτας ἔχοντα αἰεὶ  
 τούτοις παρὰ τὴν δίαίταν ἀφιεμένοις εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον  
 ἦδεσθαι· ἀλλ’ οἱ Συβαρίται ἔχαιρον τοῖς Μελιταίοις  
 κνυδίοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀνθρώποις. ἐφόρου δ’ οἱ  
 Συβαρίται καὶ ἱμάτια Μιλησίων ἐρίων πεποιημένα·  
 ἀφ’ ὧν δὴ καὶ αἱ φιλίαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὡς ὁ  
 Τίμαιος ἱστορεῖ· ἠγάπων γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας

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<sup>51</sup> Referring back to Massanassa’s supposed response to people who tried to purchase monkeys from him, marking the comment about his fondness for children that intervenes as an intrusion from a different source-document.

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people and others like them, when they tried to buy monkeys: “Hey—don’t the women in your country produce children?” For Massanassa enjoyed children and had those that belonged to his sons—of whom he had a large number—as well as his daughters brought up in his house. He raised them all himself until they were three years old, after which he sent them back to their parents, since others had arrived. The comic author Eubulus made the same observation<sup>51</sup> in *Graces* (fr. 114), as follows:

Because how much better is it, please, for one human  
being  
to take care of another, if he’s got the wherewithall,  
instead of keeping a splashing, honking goose,  
or a sparrow, or a monkey—that’s a mischievous pest!

So too Athenodorus in his *On Seriousness and Play* (*FGrH* 746 F 3) says that Archytas of Tarentum (A8 Huffmann), who was simultaneously a politician and a philosopher, had a large number of household slaves, whose company he routinely enjoyed at drinking parties, where they were allowed to eat with him; whereas the Sybarites took pleasure in little Melitaeian dogs and human beings who were not actually human.<sup>52</sup> The Sybarites also wore robes made of Milesian wool,<sup>53</sup> which in fact became the basis for an alliance between the two cities, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 50); for of the various peoples within Italy, (the Sybarites) preferred the Etruscans, whereas of the peoples

<sup>52</sup> Returning to the point made by Timaeus at 12.518f, and thus to the question of Sybarite luxury.

<sup>53</sup> Considered to be of extremely high quality; see *Ar. Lys.* 729; *Ra.* 543a; *Eub.* fr. 89.2–3 (preserved at 12.553b); cf. 12.540d.

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- c Τυρρηνοὺς, τῶν | δ' ἔξωθεν τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὅτι τρυφῇ προσεείχον. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς τῶν Συβαριτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντες ἐπόμενον ἔχοντες κροκωτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς θώραξιν, καὶ τοῦ θέρους οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν νυμφῶν λουτρὰ τῶν Λουσιάδων ἀποδημοῦντες διετέλουν μετὰ πάσης τρυφῆς. οἱ δ' εὐποροὶ αὐτῶν ὁπότε εἰς ἀγρὸν μεταβάλλοιεν, καίπερ ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πορευόμενοι τὴν ἡμερησίαν πορείαν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διήνουν. ἦσαν δέ τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
- d ἀγροὺς φερουσῶν ὁδῶν κατάστεγοι. τοῖς | δὲ πλείστοις αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἰνῶνες ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης, εἰς οὓς δι' ὀχετῶν τῶν οἴνων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀφειμένων τὸν μὲν ἔξω τῆς χώρας πιπράσκεισθαι, τὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πλοίοις διακομίζεσθαι. ποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλὰς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐστιάσεις καὶ τοὺς λαμπρῶς φιλοτιμηθέντας χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τιμῶσι καὶ τούτους ἀνακηρύττουσιν ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις θυσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, προσκηρύττοντες οὐκ εὐνοίαν,
- e ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς | τὰ δεῖπνα χορηγίαν· ἐν οἷς στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ τῶν μαγείρων τοὺς ἄριστα τὰ παρατεθέντα διασκευάσαντας. παρὰ Συβαρίταις δ' εὐρέθησαν καὶ πύελοι, ἐν αἷς κατακείμενοι ἐπυριῶντο. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ἀμίδασ ἐξεῦρον, ἃς εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια. καταγελῶντες δὲ τῶν ἀποδημούντων ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων αὐτοὶ ἐσεμνύοντο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγηρακέναι ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν γεφύραις. δοκεῖ δὲ μέγα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον εἶναι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀλιμένου
- f τῆς θαλάσσης παρηκούσης καὶ | τῶν καρπῶν σχεδὸν

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outside Italy, they preferred the Ionians, since the Ionians were devoted to a life of luxury.<sup>54</sup> There were over 5000 Sybarite knights, who used to ride in parades wearing saffron-dyed robes over their breastplates, and during the summer their young men visited the washing-places that were sacred to the nymphs of the Lusian River, and spent their time in enormous luxury there. Whenever rich Sybarites made a trip out into the country, even though they were travelling on a wagon, they used to complete the journey—which should have taken a single day—in three; and some of their roads that led out into the country had roofs over them. The majority of them own wine-cellars close to the sea; pipes transport the wine from the fields into these cellars, and some of it is sold for export, while the rest is transported to the city by ship. They also have large numbers of publicly funded feasts, one after another, and they honor individuals who have particularly distinguished themselves with gold garlands, and announce their names at their public sacrifices and games, advertising not the general good-will they have shown, but their specific contribution to the dinners—at which they also offer garlands to the cooks who prepared the best dish! The Sybarites also invented bathtubs, in which they lay down and took steambaths. In addition, they came up with the idea of pisspots, which they carried into their drinking parties. They made fun of people who emigrated from their fatherland, and were proud to grow old on the bridges that spanned their rivers. One significant reason for their wealth appears to be the fact that from the country, since the coast offered no harbor and nearly all the crops were

<sup>54</sup> For Ionian luxury, see 12.524f–6d.

ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καταναλισκομένων < . . . >  
 ὃ τε τῆς πόλεως τόπος καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμός  
 συμπαροξύνει πάντας ἐκτρυφῆσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ζῆσαι  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ἐκλελυμένως. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν  
 κοίλῳ κειμένη τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἔωθέν τε καὶ πρὸς  
 ἑσπέραν ψῦχος ὑπερβάλλον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μέσον τῆς  
 ἡμέρας καῦμα ἀνύποιστον ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους αὐ-  
 τῶν ὑπειληφέναι πρὸς ὑγίειαν διαφέρειν τοὺς πότους·  
 520 ἢ ὅθεν καὶ ῥηθῆναι ὅτι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν Συβάρει μὴ  
 πρὸ μοίρας ἀποθανεῖν οὔτε δυνόμενον οὔτε ἀνίσχοντα  
 τὸν ἥλιον ὄραν δεῖ. ἔπεμψαν δὲ ποτε καὶ εἰς θεοῦ τοὺς  
 χρησομένους, ὧν ἦν εἰς Ἄμυρις, πυνθανόμενοι μέχρι  
 τίνος εὐδαιμονήσουσι. καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἔφη·

εὐδαίμων, < . . . > σὺ μὲν αἰεὶ |  
 b ἐν θαλίῃσιν ἔσῃ, τιμῶν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων.  
 εὖτ' ἂν δὲ πρότερον θνητὸν θεοῦ ἄνδρα  
 σεβίσεως,  
 τηνίκα σοὶ πόλεμός τε καὶ ἔμφυλος στάσις ἦξει.

τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἔδοξαν λέγειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὡς  
 οὐδέποτε παύσονται τρυφῶντες· οὐδέποτε γὰρ τιμή-  
 c σειν ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον θεοῦ. ἐγένετ' οὖν αὐτοῖς | τῆς  
 τύχης ἢ μεταβολῆς, ἐπεὶ τις τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα μαστι-  
 γῶν καὶ τοῦτον καταφυγόντα εἰς τὰ ἱερά πάλιν  
 ἐμαστίγουν· ὡς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον κατέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήματα, ἀφήκεν αἰδεσθεῖς. ἐξαναλώ-



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consumed by the city's residents . . . ; the location of the city and the oracle they had got from the god also appear to have encouraged them all to enjoy a luxurious existence, and to have caused them to live in an enormously dissolute fashion. Since their city is located in a valley, it is very cool at dawn and in the evening during the summer, but unbearably hot at mid-day. As a consequence, most of them concluded that drinking parties were good for their health; hence the saying that anyone in Sybaris who does not want to die before his time should make it a point not to see the sun setting or rising.<sup>55</sup> They once sent some men, one of whom was Amyris, to the god's shrine to get an oracle, and asked how long their prosperity would last. The Pythia said (Delphic Oracle Q122 Fontenrose):

Lucky one, . . . your parties  
will go on forever, provided you honor the immortals.  
But when you show more respect for a mortal man  
than for a god,  
then war and internal dissent will visit you.

When they heard these words, they thought that the god was telling them that they would go on living in luxury forever, because they would never honor a human being more than a god. Their luck changed, however, when someone was whipping one of his domestic slaves, and after the man escaped into a temple, he resumed whipping him again there. But when the slave finally ran to the tomb of his master's father, the master was embarrassed and let him

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 12.526b.

θησαν δὲ φιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τρυφαῖς, καὶ ἡ πόλις δὲ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας ἡμιλλᾶτο περὶ τρυφῆς. εἶτα μετ' οὐ πολὺ γινομένων αὐτοῖς σημείων πολλῶν καὶ ἀπωλείας, περὶ ἧς οὐ κατεπείγει λέγειν, διεφθάρησαν. εἰς τηλικούτον δ' ἦσαν τρυφῆς ἐληλακότες ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰς εὐωχίας τοὺς ἵππους ἐθίσαι πρὸς αὐλὸν ὀρχεῖσθαι. τοῦτ' οὖν εἰδότες οἱ Κροτωνιάται ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης  
d ἱστορεῖ | διὰ τῆς Πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος· συμπαρήσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐληταὶ ἐν στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ. καὶ ἅμα αὐλούντων ἀκούοντες οἱ ἵπποι οὐ μόνον ἐξωρχήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ἔχοντες ἠὺτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας. τὰ ὅμοια ἱστόρησε καὶ περὶ Καρδιανῶν ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρων γράφων οὕτως· Βισάλται εἰς Καρδίην ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ ἐνίκησαν. ἡγεμῶν δὲ τῶν Βισαλτέων ἦν Νάρις. οὗτος δὲ παῖς ὢν ἐν τῇ Καρδίῃ ἐπράθη καὶ τινι Καρδιηνῶ δουλεύσας κορσωτῆς ἐγένετο. Καρδιηνοῖς δὲ λόγιον  
e ἦν ὡς Βισάλται ἀπίξονται | ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ πυκνὰ περὶ τούτου διελέγοντο ἐν τῷ κορσωτηρίῳ ἰζάνοντες. καὶ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Καρδίας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς Βισάλτας ἔστειλεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρδιηνοὺς ἀποδειχθεῖς ἡγεμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Βισαλτέων. οἱ δὲ Καρδιηνοὶ πάντες τοὺς

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<sup>56</sup> Thus showing that he cared more about the judgment of a human being than about that of the gods (although Athenaeus—

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go.<sup>56</sup> They wasted their money by trying to outdo one other in the luxury in which they lived, and their city competed in the same way with all the others. Then a bit later on, after they received many warning signs of their destruction (which there is no pressing need to discuss),<sup>57</sup> they were ruined. They had grown so addicted to luxury that they taught their horses to dance to pipe-music at their feasts. The people of Croton knew this, and when they were having a war with Sybaris, according to Aristotle in the *Constitution* dedicated to their city (fr. 600.1), they played dance-music for the horses; for pipe-players in military gear were included in their ranks. As soon as the horses heard them playing the pipes, they not only danced out of their ranks, but actually deserted to the Crotoniates, with their riders on their backs.<sup>58</sup> Charon of Lampsacus in Book II of the *Annals* (FGrH 262 F 1) told a similar story about the inhabitants of Cardia, writing as follows: The Bisaltians attacked Cardia and won a victory. The Bisaltian leader was Naris, who had been sold in Cardia when he was a boy and was a slave of one of the locals, and who had become a barber. The Cardians had an oracle to the effect that the Bisaltians would attack them, and they often sat in his barbershop and discussed it. Naris ran away from Cardia to his native land, and after the Bisaltians appointed him to be their commander, he prepared them to attack the Cardians. The Cardians all trained their horses to dance to

who is presumably condensing his source—never makes the point of the story explicit). <sup>57</sup> But see 12.521f–2a, where the topic is finally taken up after a series of additional loosely connected anecdotes about Sybarite luxury and related topics.

<sup>58</sup> Ael. NA 16.23 preserves very similar material.

ἵππους ἐδίδαξαν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὀρχεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν ἰστάμενοι τοῖς προσθίοις ὠρχοῦντο ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰ αὐλήματα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Νάρις ἐκτήσατο ἐκ τῆς Καρδίας αὐλητρίδα, καὶ ἀφικομένη ἢ αὐλητρίς εἰς τοὺς Βισάλτας ἐδίδαξε πολλοὺς αὐλητάς· μεθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ f  
στρατεύεται ἐπὶ τὴν Καρδίην. | καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη συνειστήκει, ἐκέλευσεν αὐλεῖν τὰ αὐλήματα ὅσα οἱ ἵπποι τῶν Καρδιηνῶν ἐξεπισταίατο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἵπποι τοῦ αὐλοῦ, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀρχησμὸν ἐτράποντο. τῶν δὲ Καρδιηνῶν ἢ  
521 ἰσχὺς ἐν τῇ ἵππῳ ἦν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνικήθησαν. || Συβαριτῶν δέ τις εἰς Κρότωνά ποτε διαπλευσαι βουλευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Συβάρεως ἰδιόστολον ἐναυλώσατο πλοῖον, ἐφ' ᾧ οὔτε ῥαντισθήσεται οὔτ' ἐμβήσεται ἕτερος καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἵππον ἀναλήψεται. τοῦ δ' οὕτως συμφωνήσαντος ἐνεβίβασέν τε τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὑποστορέσαι τῷ ζώῳ ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπειτα τινὸς τῶν προπεμπόντων ἐδεῖτο συμπλευσαι αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅτι “προδιεστειλάμην τῷ πορθμεί ἵνα παρὰ τὴν γῆν πλέῃ,” ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι “μόλις ἂν σου ὑπήκουσα, εἰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔμελλες πεζεύειν καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὴν γῆν πλεῖν.” Φύλαρχος δ' | ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν εἰπὼν b  
ὅτι παρὰ Συρακοσίοις νόμος ἦν τὰς γυναῖκας μὴ κοσμεῖσθαι χρυσῷ μηδ' ἀνθινὰ φορεῖν μηδ' ἐσθῆτας ἔχειν πορφυρᾶς ἐχούσας παρυφάς, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτῶν συγχωρῇ ἐταῖρα εἶναι κοινή, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλος ἦν νόμος

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pipe-music at their drinking parties; the horses stood on their hind feet and danced with their fore-feet, and were thoroughly familiar with pipe-music. Since Naris knew this, he got a pipe-girl from Cardia, and when she arrived in Bisaltia, she trained a large number of men to play the pipes. Naris took these men with him when he attacked Cardia, and once the battle was underway, he ordered them to play the pipe-songs the Cardians' horses were familiar with; when the horses heard the pipes, they stood on their hind feet and began to dance. The Cardians' strength was in their cavalry, and they were accordingly defeated. At one point a Sybarite wanted to sail across to Croton from Sybaris and hired a private vessel, on the condition that he would not get wet and that no one else would be allowed on board, and also that his horse could accompany him. The captain agreed to his terms, so he got his horse onboard and ordered them to make a bed for the animal. He then asked one of the people who had accompanied him to the shore to join him on his voyage, saying "I made arrangements with the ferryman ahead of time, to get him to sail by the coast." The other man responded: "I would almost have accepted your proposal, if you were going to walk by sea rather than sail by the shore."<sup>59</sup> Phylarchus in Book XXV of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 45) claims that there was a law in Syracuse that no woman was allowed to put on gold jewelry, wear bright-colored clothing, or own a garment with a purple border, unless she admitted that she was a common prostitute, and that they had another law to

<sup>59</sup> The point of the remark (which depends on a weak pun on two senses of the preposition *para*), and how it connects to the Sybarite's concern for the comfort of his horse, is unclear.

τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ καλλωπίζεσθαι μηδ' ἐσθῆτι περιέργω  
 χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλλαττούσῃ, ἐὰν μὴ ὁμολογῇ μοι-  
 χεύειν ἢ κίναϊδος εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθέραν μὴ ἐκπο-  
 ρεύεσθαι ἡλίου δεδυκότος, ἐὰν μὴ μοιχευθησομένην·  
 c ἐκωλύετο δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξιέναι ἄνευ τῶν ἢ γυναι-  
 κονόμων ἀκολουθούσης αὐτῇ μιᾶς θεραπαινίδος. Συ-  
 βαρίται, φησὶν, ἐξοκέιλαντες εἰς τρυφὴν ἔγραψαν  
 νόμον τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς καλεῖν καὶ τοὺς εἰς  
 τὰς θυσίας καλοῦντας πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν παρασκευὴν<sup>18</sup>  
 ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ἀξίως ποιούμενοι τοῦ χρόνου<sup>19</sup> τῶν τε  
 ἱματίων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου προάγωσιν οὕτως εἰς  
 τὰς κλήσεις. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ὀψοποιῶν ἢ μαγείρων ἴδιον  
 εὔροι βρῶμα καὶ περιττόν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν μὴ εἶναι  
 χρήσασθαι τούτῳ πρὸ<sup>20</sup> ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀλλ' <ἢ><sup>21</sup> αὐτῷ τῷ  
 εὐρόντι, τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὅπως ὁ πρῶτος εὐρῶν καὶ  
 d τὴν ἢ ἐργασίαν ἔχη, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοπονοῦν-  
 τας αὐτοὺς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις. ὡσαύτως  
 δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς τὰς ἐγγέλεις πωλοῦντας τέλος ἀποτίνειν  
 μηδὲ τοὺς θηρεύοντας. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς τὴν  
 πορφύραν τὴν θαλαττίαν βάπτοντας καὶ τοὺς εἰς-  
 άγοντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησαν. πάνν οὖν ἐξοκέιλαντες εἰς

<sup>18</sup> κλήσιν Casaubon      <sup>19</sup> ποιούμεναι τοῦ χρόνου <τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν> Casaubon, cf. *Plu. Mor.* 147e

<sup>20</sup> ἕτερον πρὸ ACE: ἕτερον del. Wilamowitz

<sup>21</sup> add. Wilamowitz

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<sup>60</sup> This peculiar expression appears again and again in this Book (e.g. 12.521d, 522a, 523c, 526a, 528b).

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the effect that no man was allowed to fuss about his appearance or wear elaborate or unusual clothing, unless he was willing to concede that he was trying to seduce women or was a pervert, and also that no free woman was allowed to leave her house after sundown, unless she was going to meet a lover. Women were also forbidden to go out during the day without the permission of the Supervisors of Women, and had to have at least one servant-girl following them. When the Sybarites, he says, ran aground on the reef of luxury,<sup>60</sup> they passed a law to the effect that they would invite their wives to their festivals, and that anyone who issued invitations to a sacrificial feast was to make the arrangements at least a year in advance, so that the guests could take full advantage of the time needed to prepare their clothing and everything else they were intended to wear, and could then respond to the summons.<sup>61</sup> And if one of their chefs or cooks invented an exceptional new dish, no one was permitted to make it for a year except the man who came up with it, in order that the inventor would have the exclusive right to produce it for that period, the goal being to encourage other individuals to work hard to outdo themselves in this area. In a similar way, their eel-vendors were not required to pay taxes, and neither were the people who caught the eels; and in the same spirit they made the men who dyed fabric with sea-purple or who imported it exempt from taxation. In the end,<sup>62</sup> after they had completely run aground on the reef of outrageous behav-

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Plu. Mor.* 147e.

<sup>62</sup> Athenaeus now returns to the story of the destruction of Sybaris (in 510 BCE) abruptly abandoned at 12.520c.

ὕβριν τὸ τελευταῖον παρὰ Κροτωνιατῶν τριάκοντα  
 πρεσβευτῶν ἠκόντων ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ  
 πρὸ τοῦ τείχους τὰ σώματα ἐξέριψαν καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων  
 e εἶασαν διαφθαρῆναι. | αὕτη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν  
 ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ μνησίαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου. ἔδοξαν γοῦν  
 μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί· τὴν γὰρ Ἥραν  
 ἰδόντες ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς μέσην τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐμοῦσαν  
 χολήν, ἀνέβλυσεν δὲ καὶ αἵματος πηγὴ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 αὐτῆς. καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔληξαν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ἕως  
 πάντες ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν ἀπώλοντο. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ  
 Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δικαιοσύνης φησὶν· Συβαρίται  
 τὴν Τήλυος τυραννίδα καταλύσαντες τοὺς μετασχόν-  
 f τας | τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιροῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἐπὶ  
 τῶν βωμῶν ἅπαντας.<sup>22</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις τούτοις  
 ἀπεστράφη μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἄγαλμα, τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος  
 ἀνῆκε πηγὴν αἵματος, ὥστε τὸν σύνεγγυς ἅπαντα  
 τόπον κατεχάλκωσαν θυρίσι, βουλόμενοι στῆσαι τὴν  
 τοῦ αἵματος ἀναφορὰν. διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο  
 καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες, οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ||  
 522 τῶν πάντων ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρῶσαι ἐβελήσαντες· καθ' ὃν  
 γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων ὑπερβολῇ  
 ὡς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς.

Καὶ Κροτωνιάται δ', ὡς φησι Τίμαιος, μετὰ τὸ  
 ἐξελεῖν Συβαρίτας ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν· ὥστε καὶ τὸν

<sup>22</sup> ἅπαντας Olson: ἅπαντες A



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ior, when 30 ambassadors arrived from Croton, they executed all of them, threw their bodies outside the city walls, and allowed them to be torn apart by wild animals. This was the beginning of their troubles, because divine resentment was provoked. A few days later, at any rate, all the Sybarite magistrates had the same dream on the same night: for they saw Hera walk into the middle of the marketplace and vomit bile, and a spring of blood suddenly appeared inside her temple. But even after this they did not stop behaving arrogantly, until the people of Croton killed them all. Heracleides of Pontus says in his *On Justice* (fr. 49 Wehrli = fr. 22 Schütrumpf): After the Sybarites overthrew Telys' tyranny,<sup>63</sup> they began killing the people who had participated in his government, murdering them all on the altars. Hera's statue responded to these murders by turning away, and a spring of blood emerged from the floor, requiring them to cover the entire area around it with bronze plates in an attempt to stop the blood from welling up. The result was that they were all driven out of their city and ruined—people who had also wanted to diminish the glory of the important games at Olympia; because they waited until the time when the games were celebrated, and then used extremely large prizes to try to lure the athletes to their own city instead.<sup>64</sup>

After the inhabitants of Croton eliminated the Sybarites, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 44), they too ran aground on the reef of luxury, to the extent that their

<sup>63</sup> For Telys, who provoked the crisis with Croton by expelling his political rivals from Sybaris, cf. *Hdt.* 5.44; *D.S.* 12.9.2–3.

<sup>64</sup> The only prize awarded to Olympic victors was a crown of wild olive.

ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν περιμέναι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀλουργίδα ἡμφιεσμένον καὶ ἐστεφανωμένον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὑποδεδεμένον λευκὰς κρηπίδας. οἱ δὲ οὐ διὰ τρυφὴν φασι τοῦτο γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ Δημοκῆδη τὸν  
 b ἱατρόν· ὃς τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Κροτωνιάτης, | Πολυκράτει δὲ τῷ Σαμίων τυράννῳ συνὼν καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἀνήχθη ὡς βασιλέα, Ὀροίτου τὸν Πολυκράτη ἀποκτείναντος. θεραπεύσας δ' ὁ Δημοκῆδης Ἄτοσσαν τὴν Δαρείου μὲν γυναικα, Κύρου δὲ θυγατέρα, τὸν μαστὸν ἀλγήσασαν, ἤτησε ταύτην δωρεὰν καταπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς ἐπανελυσόμενος· καὶ τυχὼν ἦκεν εἰς Κρότωνα. βουλομένου τε αὐτόθι καταμένειν, ἐπιλαβο-  
 c μένου τινὸς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ | λέγοντος ὅτι βασιλέως εἶη δούλος, ἐκείνον μὲν ἀφείλαντο οἱ Κροτωνιάται, ἐκδύσαντες δὲ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Πέρσου ἐνέδυσαν τὸν ὑπηρέτην τοῦ πρυτανεύοντος. ἐξ οὗ δὴ Περσικὴν ἔχων στολὴν περιέρχεται ταῖς ἐβδόμαις τοὺς βωμοὺς μετὰ τοῦ πρυτάνεως, οὐ τρυφῆς χάριν οὐδὲ ὕβρεως, ἀλλ' ἐπηρείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας τοῦτο πράττοντες. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κροτωνιάται, φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν πανήγυριν καταλύσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ  
 d χρόνῳ προθέντες ἀργυρικὸν | σφόδρα πλούσιον ἀγῶνα. οἱ δὲ Συβαρίτας τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν.

Ταραντίνους δὲ φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων

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<sup>65</sup> Hdt. 3.125–37 offers a considerably more elaborate version of the story.

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chief magistrate walked around the city wearing a sea-purple robe, with a gold garland on his head and high white boots on his feet. But other authorities claim this was not a consequence of an addiction to luxury, but happened because of Democedes the physician.<sup>65</sup> His family was from Croton, but he spent time with Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and after Polycrates' death he was captured by the Persians and taken inland to the King, after Oroetus killed Polycrates.<sup>66</sup> When Democedes cured Atossa, who was Darius' wife and the daughter of Cyrus, and who had a pain in her breast, he asked to be sent back to Greece as his reward, although he pretended that he planned to return. His request was granted, and he arrived in Croton; but although he wanted to remain there, a Persian arrested him and claimed that he was the King's slave. The Crotoniates, however, took Democedes away from him, and stripped off the Persian's clothing and put it on their chief official's assistant. Ever since then he wears Persian clothing when he makes the rounds of the altars on the seventh day of the month along with the chief official, and they do this not because of an addiction to luxury or ugly behavior, but as a way of insulting the Persians. Later on the Crotoniates as well, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 45), tried to disrupt the Olympic festival by proposing an extravagant set of games featuring cash prizes, to be held at the same time. But other authorities claim that it was the Sybarites who did this.<sup>67</sup>

According to Clearchus in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 48

<sup>66</sup> c.522 BCE. Oroetus was a Persian satrap who lured Polycrates to his death, and Democedes was captured along with him.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. 12.521f–2a.

ἀλκὴν καὶ δύναμιν κτησαμένους εἰς τοσοῦτο τρυφῆς  
 προελθεῖν ὥστε τὸν ὄλον χρῶτα παραλαίεσθαι καὶ  
 τῆς ψιλώσεως ταύτης τοῖς λοιποῖς κατάρξαι. ἐφόρουν  
 δέ, φησίν, καὶ παρυφίδα διαφανῆ πάντες, οἷς νῦν ὁ  
 τῶν γυναικῶν ἀβρύνεται βίος. ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῆς  
 τρυφῆς εἰς ὕβριν ποδηγηθέντες ἀνάστατον μίαν πό-  
 e λιν Ἰαπύγων ἐποίησαν | Κάρβιναν, ἐξ ἧς παῖδας καὶ  
 παρθένους καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀκμῇ γυναικάς ἀθροίσαντες εἰς  
 τὰ τῶν Καρβινατῶν ἱερὰ σκηνοποιησάμενοι γυμνὰ  
 πᾶσι τῆς ἡμέρας τὰ σώματα παρείχον θεωρεῖν· καὶ ὁ  
 βουλόμενος καθάπερ εἰς ἀτυχῆ παραπηδῶν ἀγέλην  
 ἐθιοιᾶτο ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τὴν τῶν ἀθροισθέντων ὥραν,  
 πάντων μὲν ὀρώντων, μάλιστα δὲ ὧν ἤκιστα ἐκείνοι  
 προσεδόκων θεῶν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἠγανάκτησεν  
 ὥστε Ταραντίνων τοὺς ἐν Καρβίνῃ παρανομήσαντας  
 f ἐκεραύνωσεν | πάντας. καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τάραντι  
 ἐκάστη τῶν οἰκιῶν ὅσους ὑπέδέξατο τῶν εἰς Ἰαπυγίαν  
 ἐκπεμφθέντων τοσαύτας ἔχει στήλας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν·  
 ἐφ' αἷς καθ' ὃν ἀπώλοντο χρόνον οὗτ' οἰκτίζονται τοὺς  
 ἀποικομένους οὔτε τὰς νομίμους χέονται χοάς, ἀλλὰ  
 θύουσι Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ.

Ἰαπύγων τε αὖ τὸ γένος ἐκ Κρήτης ὄντων κατὰ  
 Γλαύκου ζήτησιν ἀφικομένων καὶ κατοικησάντων, οἱ  
 523 || μετὰ τούτους λήθην λαβόντες τῆς Κρητῶν περὶ τὸν  
 βίον εὐκοσμίας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς, εἶθ' ὕστερον ὕβρεως

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Wehrli), after the inhabitants of Tarentum acquired power and influence, they became so seriously addicted to luxury that they removed all the hair from their bodies and introduced this practice of depilation to everyone else. He also claims that they all wore diaphanous purple robes—the type pampered women wear today. But later on their addiction to luxury led them to behave in a terrible way, when they destroyed Carbina, which was one of the Iapygian cities. They assembled the city's boys and girls and the younger married women in the temples in Carbina and put on a show, allowing everyone to inspect their naked bodies during the course of the day; and whoever wanted to could leap into this unfortunate herd, as it were, and glut his desire on the youthful beauty of the individuals crowded together there, while everyone watched—especially those they least expected would be watching, that is, the gods. Such terrible divine wrath was awoken that all the Tarentines who had behaved criminally in Carbina were blasted with lightning; even today in Tarentum every house has a column in front of its door for each individual who participated in the expedition to Carbina that it harbored. And on the anniversary of their destruction, they neither lament for those who died at these columns nor pour out the usual libations there, but instead sacrifice to Zeus Kataibatês.<sup>68</sup>

The Iapygians were originally from Crete, but came looking for Glaucus<sup>69</sup> and settled down. Their descendants, however, forgot the orderly way of life on Crete and grew so addicted to luxury, and after that to outrageous

<sup>68</sup> Literally “the Descender,” i.e. “Lord of the Lightning”; see Olson on Ar. *Pax* 41–2.      <sup>69</sup> Which of the various mythical Glaucuses is being referred to is unclear; cf. 7.296a–7c.

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ἦλθον ὥστε πρῶτοι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐντριψάμενοι καὶ προκόμια περιθετὰ<sup>23</sup> λαβόντες στολὰς μὲν ἀνθινὰς φορῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν αἰσχρὸν νομίσαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καλλίονας τὰς οἰκίας  
 b ποιῆσαι τῶν ἱερῶν, | τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας τῶν Ἰαπύγων ἐφυβρίζοντας τὸ θεῖον πορθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα, προειπόντας μεθίστασθαι τοῖς κρείττοσιν. διόπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῶ ταύτην διέδοσαν τὴν φήμην· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἦν μέχρι πόρρω κεχαλκευμένα τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βελῶν. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων μέχρι τήμερον ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένοι  
 c καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀμπεχόμενοι ζῶσιν, | πάντων τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων ἀγαθῶν σπανίζοντες.

Ἰβηρες δὲ καίτοι ἐν τραγικαῖς στολαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις προϊόντες καὶ χιτῶσι ποδήρεσι χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζονται τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμης. Μασσαλιῶται δ' ἐθελύνθησαν οἱ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἰβηρσι τῆς ἐσθῆτος φοροῦντες κόσμον. ἀσχημονοῦσι γοῦν διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς μαλακίαν καὶ τρυφὴν γυναικοπαθοῦντες· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία παρήλθε “πλεύσειας εἰς Μασσαλίαν.”

Καὶ οἱ τὴν Σίριν δὲ κατοικοῦντες, ἦν πρῶτοι κατέσχον οἱ ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐλθόντες, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ Κολοφώνιων < . . . >, ὡς φησι Τίμαιος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν οὐχ ἦσσαν Συβαριτῶν· καὶ γὰρ |  
 d ἰδίως παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπεχωρίασεν φορεῖν ἀνθινούς χιτῶ-

<sup>23</sup> περιθετὰ CE: περιθετά τε A

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behavior, that they became the first people to smear cosmetics on their faces and to wear wigs; they also wore colorful clothes and regarded working hard and engaging in physical labor as embarrassing. Many of them made their homes more beautiful than their temples, while the Iapygian leaders demonstrated their contempt for the divine by removing the gods' statues from their temples and telling their betters<sup>70</sup> to move elsewhere. They were accordingly blasted from the sky with fire and bronze, and they passed on the story about what happened; because for a long time afterward chunks of metal produced by the blasts from the sky were on display there. All their descendants even today keep their heads shaved and spend their lives dressed in mourning, and they have very few of the fine possessions they once owned.

The Iberians in fact go out dressed in elaborate robes that resemble those worn in tragedy, and wear tunics that hang to their feet, although this has no negative effect on their strength in war. The Massaliotes, on the other hand, who wear the same costume as the Iberians, became effeminate. The weakness and addiction to luxury in their hearts, at any rate, has led to them behaving in an ugly way and allowing themselves to be treated like women, hence the proverb "I hope you sail to Massalia!"<sup>71</sup>

The inhabitants of Siris, which was initially settled by refugees from Troy, although later by Colophonians . . . , according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 51) and Aristotle (fr. 601), also wrecked themselves on the reef of luxury at least as badly as the Sybarites did. Because it became their particular local custom to wear brightly colored tunics

<sup>70</sup> The gods.

<sup>71</sup> I.e. "Go get fucked!"

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νας, οὓς ἐξώννυντο μίτραις πολυτελέσιν, καὶ ἑκα-  
 λούντο διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων μιτροχίτωνες,  
 ἐπεὶ Ὅμηρος τοὺς ἀζώστους ἀμιτροχίτωνα καλεῖ.  
 καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος δ' ὁ ποιητῆς ὑπερτεθαύμακε τὴν χώ-  
 ραν τῶν Σιριτῶν διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. περὶ γοῦν τῆς  
 Θάσου λέγων ὡς ἥσسونός φησιν·

οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ' ἐφίμερος  
 οὐδ' ἐρατός, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς.

ὠνομάσθη δ' ἡ Σίρις, ὡς μὲν Τίμαιός φησιν καὶ  
 Εὐριπίδης ἐν Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππῃ,<sup>24</sup> ἀπὸ γυναικός  
 e τινος Σίριδος· ὡς δ' Ἀρχίλοχος, ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ. | οὐκ  
 ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ  
 σύμπαντος τούτου κλίματος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων· διὸ καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑλλὰς ἐκλήθη πᾶσα  
 σχεδὸν ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοίκησις.

Μιλήσιοι δ' ἕως μὲν οὐκ ἐτρύφων, ἐνίκων Σκύθας,  
 ὡς φησιν Ἐφορος, καὶ τὰς τε ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις  
 ἔκτισαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον κατώκισαν πόλεσι  
 λαμπραῖς, καὶ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν Μίλητον ἔθειον. ὡς δὲ  
 ὑπήχθησαν ἡδονῇ καὶ τρυφῇ, κατερρύη τὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 f ἀνδρείον, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, | καὶ παροιμία τις  
 ἐγεννήθη ἐπ' αὐτῶν·

πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

<sup>24</sup> Δεσμώτιδι ἢ Μελανίππῃ A: ἢ del. Schweighäuser

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<sup>72</sup> Literally "Big Greece," i.e. "Magna Graecia."



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(*chitones*), which they fastened around their waists with expensive bands (*mitrai*), and their neighbors accordingly began to refer to them as *mitrochitônes*, since Homer (*Il.* 16.419) calls people who do not wear belts *amitrochitônes*. The poet Archilochus (fr. 22 West<sup>2</sup>) was also extremely impressed by how prosperous the Siritians' territory was. He describes Thasos, at any rate, as inferior to it:

Because this territory is not as nice, or as desirable,  
or as lovely as that around the streams of the Siris.

According to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 52) and Euripides in *Melanippe the Captive* (fr. 496), Siris got its name from a woman called Siris; but according to Archilochus, the name came from a river. The population was quite substantial, matching the luxury and prosperity of the region as a whole; this is why virtually the entire portion of Italy inhabited (by Greeks) was referred to as Megalê Hellas.<sup>72</sup>

As long as the Milesians were not addicted to luxury, they maintained the upper hand over the Scythians, according to Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 183), and founded their cities on the Hellespont and established gorgeous settlements around the Euxine Sea;<sup>73</sup> all these places were subject to Milesian authority. But after they succumbed to pleasure and luxury, their city's courage collapsed, according to Aristotle (fr. 565.1), and a proverb was coined that referred to them:<sup>74</sup>

Once long ago the Milesians were valiant men.

<sup>73</sup> Miletus founded large numbers of colonies in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Ar. Pl.* 1002 with Sommerstein ad loc.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Δικαιο-  
 σύνης φησὶν ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυ-  
 χίαις διὰ τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας· οἱ τὸ  
 524 ἐπεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ριζῶν ἢ ἀνεῖλον τοὺς  
 ἐχθροὺς. στασιαζόντων γὰρ τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων  
 καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς ἐκείνοι Γέργιθας ἐκάλου, πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἐκ-  
 βαλὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν τὰ τέκνα τῶν φυγόντων εἰς  
 ἀλωνίας βούς εισαγαγόντες συνηλοίησαν καὶ παρα-  
 νομωτάτῳ θανάτῳ διέφθειραν. τοιγάρτοι πάλιν οἱ  
 πλούσιοι κρατήσαντες ἅπαντας ὧν κύριοι κατέστη-  
 σαν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατεπίττωσαν ὧν καιομένων  
 φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γενέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν  
 b ἱερὰν αὐτομάτην ἢ ἀναφθῆναι. διόπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν  
 χρόνον ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου καὶ ἐπερω-  
 τῶντων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελαύνονται εἶπεν·

καὶ μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμίστων  
 πισσῆρων τε μόρος καὶ δένδρεον αἰεὶ ἀθαλλές.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων ζηλώσαντάς φησι τοὺς  
 Μιλησίους τὴν Κολοφωνίων τρυφὴν διαδοῦναι καὶ  
 τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, ἔπειτ' ὄνειδιζομένους λέγειν ἑαυ-  
 c τοῖς· “οἴκοι τὰ Μιλήσια κάπιχώρια καὶ ἢ μὴ ἐν τῷ  
 μέσῳ.”

<sup>75</sup> See How and Wells on Hdt. 7.43.2.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Zenob. 5.57 (who preserves a different story about the origin of the saying).

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Heracleides of Pontus says in Book II of *On Justice* (fr. 50 Wehrli = fr. 23 Schütrumpf): The city of Miletus got into trouble because of their luxurious lifestyle and political animosities, since they felt no interest in behaving reasonably, and instead annihilated their enemies. For when a civil war was going on between the people who owned property and average citizens—the former referred to the latter as Gergithes<sup>75</sup>—initially the average citizens dominated, and they expelled the rich from the city, and then collected the exiles' children in threshing-yards, and drove oxen in and crushed them to death, killing them in the most criminal fashion possible. When the rich in turn got the upper hand, therefore, they smeared pitch on everyone they captured, along with their children; when they were burned, people say, among the many other marvels that occurred, a sacred olive tree spontaneously caught fire. This is why the god for many years refused to admit the Milesians to his oracular shrine, and when they asked why they were banned from it, he said (Didyma Oracle 3 Fontenrose):

I am in fact concerned about both the murder of the  
peaceful Gergithes,  
and their fate when they were smeared with pitch,  
and the tree that will never flourish again.

Clearchus in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 45 Wehrli) claims that the Milesians imitated the Colophonians' addiction to luxury and transmitted it to their neighbors, and that when they were criticized they said to themselves: "Milesian practices belong at home in our own country, not out in public."<sup>76</sup>

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Καὶ περὶ Σκυθῶν δ' ἐξῆς ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε ἱστορεῖ·  
μόνον δὲ νόμοις κοινοῖς πρῶτον ἔθνος ἐχρήσατο τὸ  
Σκυθῶν· εἶτα πάλιν ἐγένοντο πάντων ἀθλιώτατοι βρο-  
τῶν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν. ἐτρύφησαν μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδένες  
ἕτεροι, τῶν πάντων εὐροίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῆς λοι-  
πῆς αὐτοὺς χορηγίας κατασχούσης. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον  
ἐκ τῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπολειπούσης περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας  
αὐτῶν ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ διαίτης. τρυφήσαντες δὲ καὶ  
d μάλιστα δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων | ἐπὶ τὸ  
τρυφᾶν ὀρμήσαντες εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον ὕβρεως ὥστε  
πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοντο ἡκρωτη-  
ρίαζον τὰς ῥίνας· ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀπόγονοι μεταστάντες ἔτι  
καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. αἱ δὲ  
γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τὰς Θρακῶν τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ  
ἄρκτον περιοίκων<sup>25</sup> γυναῖκας ἐποίκιλλον τὰ σώματα,  
περόναις γραφὴν ἐνεῖσαι. ὅθεν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστε-  
ρον αἱ ὕβρισθῆναι τῶν Θρακῶν γυναῖκες ἰδίως ἐξ-  
e ηλείψαντο τὴν συμφορὰν | προσκαταγραψάμεναι τὰ  
λοιπὰ τοῦ χρωτός, ἵν' ὁ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης  
ἐπ' αὐταῖς χαρακτῆρ εἰς ποικιλίαν καταριθμηθεῖς  
κόσμου προσηγορία τοῦνειδος ἐξαλείψῃ. πάντων δὲ  
οὕτως ὑπερηφάνως προέστησαν ὥστε οὐδένων ἄδα-  
κρυς ἢ τῆς δουλείας ὑπουργία γιγνομένη διήγγειλεν  
εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν οἷα τις

<sup>25</sup> τῶν περιοίκων A: del. Wyttenbach

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<sup>77</sup> The reference is to the Rhinocolouritai ("Dock-Noses"), who lived in southern Palestine; cf. Str. 16.759; St. Byz. p. 545.9–12 Meineke.

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Immediately after this, Clearchus (fr. 46 Wehrli) offers the following information about the Scythians as well: The Scythians were the first people to rely exclusively on laws that applied to everyone. But then they became, by contrast, the most miserable people in the world due to their outrageous behavior. Because they were more addicted to luxury than anyone ever had been, since the abundance of everything, and their wealth, and their access to anything they needed overwhelmed them. This is apparent from the way their leaders continue to dress and live even today. They were profoundly addicted to luxury and were the first people to rush headlong into this style of life; they became so arrogant that they cut off the noses of everyone whose territory they invaded. The descendants of their victims moved elsewhere, but even now their name comes from what was done to them.<sup>77</sup> The Scythian women tattooed the bodies of the wives of the Thracians who lived to the west and north of them, using pins to produce the designs. As a consequence, many years later the Thracian women who had been mistreated independently erased the marks inflicted on them, by writing over the rest of their skin, so that the signs of outrage and shame that covered them could, by being converted into something more elaborate, wipe out the insult via the term “ornamentation.” The Scythians dominated everyone so high-handedly that whatever their slaves did was accompanied by tears, making the meaning of the saying “from the Scythians” apparent to everyone thereafter.<sup>78</sup> As a result of the enormous

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Hdt. 4.127.4, where an apparently intrusive remark identifies the phrase *klaiein legô* (literally “I tell you to wail,” i.e. “to go to Hell”) as “the saying from the Scythians”; D.L. 1.101.

ἦν. διὰ τὸ πλήθος οὖν τῶν κατασχοουσῶν αὐτοὺς  
 συμφορῶν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος ἅμα τὸν τε τῶν βίων  
 ὄλβον καὶ τὰς κόμας περιεσπίασθησαν, παντὸς ἔθνους  
 f | οἱ ἔξω τὴν ἐφ' ὕβρει κουρὰν ἀπεσκευθίσθαι προσηγό-  
 ρησαν.

Τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας Ἰωνας ἐπισκώπτων Καλλίας ἡ  
 Διοκλῆς ἐν Κύκλωσί φησιν·

τί γὰρ ἡ τρυφερὰ καὶ καλλιτράπεζος Ἰωνία; εἴφ'  
 ὅτι πράσσει.

καὶ Ἀβυδηνοὶ—Μιλησίων δ' εἰσὶν ἄποικοι—ἀνειμένοι  
 τὴν δίαιτάν εἰσιν καὶ κατεαγότες, ὡς παρίστησιν  
 Ἐρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·

(A.) χαῖρ', ὦ διαπόντιον  
 στράτευμα, τί πράττομεν;  
 † τὰ μὲν πρὸς ὄψιν μαλακῶς  
 ἔχειν ἀπὸ σώματος † ||

525 κόμη τε νεανικῇ  
 σφρίγει τε βραχιόνων.

(B.) ἦσθου τὸν Ἀβυδον ὡς  
 ἀνὴρ γεγένηται;

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Τριφάλῃτι παρακωμωδῶν πολλοὺς  
 τῶν Ἰώνων·

ἔπειθ' ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐπίσημοι ξένοι

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number of troubles that overwhelmed them, because their grief led to the loss of both their prosperous lifestyle and their hair, the members of all ethnic groups outside their territory referred to the haircut inflicted on people to humiliate them as *apuskuthisthai*.<sup>79</sup>

Callias (fr. 8) or Diocles in *Cyclopes*<sup>80</sup> makes fun of the Ionians as a group, saying:

What about luxury-loving, fine-dining Ionia? Tell me  
how it's doing!

The inhabitants of Abydus—they are Milesian colonists—also have a casual and depraved way of life, as Hermippus establishes in *Female Soldiers* (fr. 57):

(A.) Greetings, overseas  
battalion! How are we doing?  
† as for what involves appearance to be  
soft from a body †  
and with the long hair young men favor  
and muscular arms.

(B.) Did you notice how the guy from Abydus  
has turned into a man?

Also Aristophanes in *Triphales* (fr. 556), poking fun at many of the Ionians:

Then all the important foreigners who were there

<sup>79</sup> “to be Scythized, made to look like a Scythian,” i.e. “to have one’s head shaved.”

<sup>80</sup> Athenaeus (or his source) expresses similar doubts about the authorship of the play at 4.140e; 15.667d, but assigns it unambiguously to Callias at 7.285e, 286a; 11.487a.

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ἐπηκολούθουν κήντεβόλουν προσκείμενοι  
 “ὅκως ἔχων τὸν παῖδα πωλήσει ἴς Χίον,”  
 ἕτερος δ’ “ὅκως ἐς Κλαζομενάς,” ἕτερος δ’  
 “ὅκως |

b ἐς Ἐφεσον,” ὁ δ’ “ἐς Ἀβυδον.” ἦν δ’ † ἐκεῖνα  
 πανθόδω †.

περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀλκι-  
 βιάδου Λοιδορίας γράφει οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ ἐδοκιμάσθησ  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, παραλαβὼν παρ’ αὐτῶν τὰ σαν-  
 τοῦ χρήματα ὧχου ἀποπλέων εἰς Ἀβυδον, οὔτε χρέος  
 ἴδιον σαυτοῦ πραξόμενος οὐδὲν οὔτε προξενίας οὐδε-  
 μιᾶς ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ σαυτοῦ παρανομία καὶ ἀκολασία  
 τῆς γνώμης ὁμοίους ἔργων τρόπους μαθησόμενος  
 παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ γυναικῶν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ  
 c βίῳ σαυτοῦ ἔχοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. | ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ  
 Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ διὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνεθῆ-  
 ναι, ὡς φησι Καλλίνος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις καὶ Ἀρχίλο-  
 χος· ἐάλωσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων. καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ  
 τῶν Ἐφεσίων Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ  
 Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ναοῦ διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς χλι-  
 δῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν ἐφόρουν βαπτῶν ἱματίων γράφει  
 καὶ τάδε· τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων ἰοβαφῆ καὶ πορφυρᾶ καὶ  
 κρόκινα ρόμβοις ὑφαντά· αἱ δὲ κεφαλαὶ κατ’ ἴσα

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<sup>81</sup> Literally “because of a *proxenia*,” a relationship in which an influential individual in one city served as a semi-official representative of the interests of another city.



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started following me around and making insistent requests:

“Now that you’ve got the boy, please sell him on Chios!”

Someone else: “No—in Clazomenae!” And another person: “No—

in Ephesus!” And this guy: “In Abydos!” There was [corrupt].

As for the inhabitants of Abydos, Antiphon in his *Against Alcibiades for Slander* (fr. 67 Blass–Thalheim) writes as follows: After your guardians certified you as an adult, you got your money from them and left and sailed off to Abydos, not in order to collect some private debt you were owed, or because you had an official relationship with them,<sup>81</sup> but so that Abydos’ women could teach you types of behavior that matched your personal lawlessness and your reckless style, allowing you to behave this way for the rest of your life. The Magnesians who lived beside the Maeander were also ruined by their enormous dissipation, according to Callinus in his *Elegies* (fr. 3 West<sup>2</sup>) and Archilochus (fr. 20 West<sup>2</sup>); because their city was captured by the Ephesians.<sup>82</sup> As for the Ephesians themselves, Democritus of Ephesus in Book I of *On the Temple in Ephesus* (FGrH 267 F 1) offers an account of their decadence and of the colorful robes they wore, writing as follows: The Ionians’ robes are dyed violet, purple, and saffron, and have lozenge-shapes woven into them; animal-

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Str. 14.647–8, who offers more details about the passage in Callinus and quotes the Archilochus, making it clear the events in question occurred probably in the mid-7th century BCE.

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- d διελημμέναι ζώοις. καὶ σαράπεις μήλινοι καὶ ἰ πορφυροῖ καὶ λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ἀλουργεῖς. καὶ καλασίρεις Κορινθιουργεῖς· εἰσὶ δ' αἱ μὲν πορφυραῖ τούτων, αἱ δὲ ἰοβαφεῖς, αἱ δὲ ὑακίνθιναι· λάβοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ φλογίνας καὶ θαλασσοειδεῖς. ὑπάρχουσιν δὲ καὶ Περσικαὶ καλασίρεις, αἵπερ εἰσὶ κάλλιστα πασῶν. ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις, φησὶν, καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀκταίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ πολυτελέστατον ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς περιβλήμασιν. ἐστὶν δὲ τοῦτο σπαθητὸν ἰσχύος καὶ κουφότητος χάριν· καταπέπασται δὲ χρυσοῖς κέγχροι· οἱ δὲ
- e κέγχροι νήματι πορφυρῷ πάντες ἰ εἰς τὴν εἴσω μοῖραν ἄμματ' ἔχουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον.<sup>26</sup> τούτοις πᾶσι χρῆσθαι φησι τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιδόντας εἰς τρυφήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δοῦρις ἱστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα, ὅτι ἐφόρουν χλιδῶνας περὶ τοῖς βραχίουσιν καὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγοντες τῶν Ἑραίων ἐβάδιζον κατεκτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετάφρενον καὶ τοὺς ὤμους. τὸ δὲ νόμιμον τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ παροιμίας τῆσδε, “βαδίζειν <εἰς><sup>27</sup> Ἑραῖον ἐμπεπλεγμένον”. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη οὕτως ἔχοντα· ἰ
- f οἱ δ' αὐτῶς φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους  
 κτενίσαιντο  
 εἰς Ἑρῆς τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἴμασι καλοῖς,

<sup>26</sup> At this point CE contain the intrusive comment (identical to Σ A.R. 1.1139): “In the marginal notes in the book from which these extracts are drawn are the following comments about the *rhombos* mentioned above: ‘A *rhombos* is a small ball, which they

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designs were woven into the tops of them at fixed intervals. They also had quince-colored, purple, and white *sarapeis*, and some that were sea-purple. Also *kalasireis* made in Corinth; some of these are purple, while others are dyed violet, or are dark blue; you could also find some that are flame-red or sea-green. In addition, there are Persian *kalasireis*, which are the most beautiful of all. You could also see, he says, what are referred to as *aktatai*; this is the most expensive type of Persian garment. It is woven compactly, to make it strong and light, and is covered with gold beads; the beads are all attached to the inside by means of a purple thread that runs through their middle. After the Ephesians surrendered to luxury, he says, they wore all these items. Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 60) describes the Samians' addiction to luxury, citing some lines from Asius (fr. 13 Bernabé, quoted below) to the effect that they wore bracelets on their arms, and that when they celebrated the Heraia festival, they marched with their hair combed down over their backs and shoulders. Evidence for this custom is also found in the following proverb (p. 99 Strömberg): "to march to Hera's temple with braided hair." The verses from Asius run as follows (fr. 13 Bernabé):

They used to make their way thus, after they had  
combed their hair,  
to Hera's sanctuary, wrapped close in beautiful  
garments;

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strike with a strap a cause to turn, making it go in circles and produce a noise. Eupolis (fr. 72) called it a *rhumbos*, and it is also known as a *brutêr*."

27 add. Meineke

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χιονόεοισι χιτώσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον  
 χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσεῖοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,  
 χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὡς·<sup>28</sup>  
 δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίουσ'  
 ἔσαντες

< . . . >τες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν.

526 Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ἢ  
 Σαμίους φησὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τρυφήσαντας διὰ τὴν  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους μικρολογίαν ὥσπερ Συβαρίτας τὴν  
 πόλιν ἀπολέσαι. Κολοφώνιοι δέ, ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος,  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντες σκληροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς, ἐπεὶ εἰς  
 τρυφήν ἐξώκειλαν πρὸς Λυδοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμα-  
 χίαν ποιησάμενοι, προήεσαν διησκημένοι τὰς κόμας  
 χρυσῶ κόσμῳ, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφάνης φησὶν·

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,  
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς, |  
 b ἦεσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,  
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χεῖλιοι ὡς ἐπίπαν,  
 αὐχαλέοι, χαίτησιν † ἀγαλλομεν † εὐπρεπέεσσιν  
 ἀσκητοῖς ὀδμὴν χρίμασι δυνόμενοι.

οὕτω δ' ἐξελύθησαν διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον μέθην ὥστε τινὲς  
 αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὔτε δυόμενον

<sup>28</sup> A has the fourth and fifth verses of the quotation in the opposite order.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. 12.512b–c with n.

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their snow-white tunics touched the wide earth's  
plain.

Their hair was bound with gold and swung in the  
breeze,  
and gold top-knots that resembled cicadas<sup>83</sup> sat on  
top of it.

Placing elaborate bracelets, then, about their arms  
. . . -ing a warrior hidden behind his shield.

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 57 Wehrli = fr. 41 Schütrumpf) claims that even though the Samians were profoundly addicted to luxury, they lost their city, just as the Sybarites did,<sup>84</sup> because they treated one another so stingily. According to Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 66), the Colophonians originally practiced harsh social discipline, but after they ran aground on the reef of luxury and became friends and allies of the Lydians, they went out with their hair elaborately decorated with gold jewelry, as Xenophanes (fr. 3 West<sup>2</sup>) says:

After they learned useless daintiness from the  
Lydians,  
once they were free from hateful tyranny,  
they entered the marketplace wearing robes dyed a  
deep sea-purple,  
no less than 1000 of them in total,  
braggarts, with lovely hair [corrupt]  
soaked in the scent of fancy perfumes.

The fact that they got drunk at all hours made them so depraved, that some of them had never seen the sun rise or

<sup>84</sup> In 510 BCE; cf. 12.521d-2a.

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εώρακασιν. νόμον τε ἔθεντο, ὃς ἔτι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἦν,  
 c τὰς αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς ψαλτρίδας | καὶ πάντα τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀκροαμάτων τὰ μισθώματα λαμβάνειν  
 ἀπὸ πρῶτῃ μέχρι μεσοῦσης ἡμέρας καὶ μέχρι λύχνων  
 ἀφῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὴν λοιπὴν νύκτα ἦσαν πρὸς τῷ  
 μεθύειν. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν  
 χιλίους φησὶν ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀλουργεῖς φοροῦντας  
 στολὰς ἀστυπολείν· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν σπάνιον  
 τότε ἦν καὶ περισπούδαστον· ἰσοστάσιος γὰρ ἦν ἡ  
 πορφύρα πρὸς ἄργυρον ἐξεταζομένη. τοιγαροῦν διὰ  
 τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγωγὴν ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ στάσεσι γενό-  
 d μνοι αὐτῇ πατρίδι διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτὰ εἴρηκεν | περὶ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν  
 Νόμων. κοινῶς δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἰώνων τρυφῆς  
 Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δωδώνῃ τάδε λέγει·

πόθεν οἰκῆτωρ, ἢ τις Ἰώνων  
 τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἀβρὸς ἡδυπαθῆς  
 ὄχλος ὤρμηται;

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἰωνὰς φησι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τρυφῆς < . . . >  
 ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσῆ παροιμία διαμεμένηκε.

Καὶ τῶν παρωκεανιτῶν δέ τινὰς φησι Θεόπομπος  
 ἐν ὀγδόῃ Φιλιππικῶν ἀβροδιαίτους γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ  
 e Βυζαντιῶν | καὶ Καλχηδονίων ὁ αὐτός φησι Θεόπομ-  
 πος τάδε· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Βυζάντιοι καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοκρα-

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<sup>85</sup> Literally “until lamp-lighting.”

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set. They also passed a law—still in effect in our time—that pipe-girls, harp-girls, and all entertainers of this sort were to be paid to work from dawn until noon, and from then until dusk;<sup>85</sup> after that, they spent the rest of the night getting drunk. Theopompus in Book XV of the *History* (FGrH 115 F 114) says that 1000s of them wandered around the city wearing sea-purple robes. Even kings did not have much fabric of this sort in that period, and they went to great lengths to obtain it; for purple dye cost its weight in silver. So since they lived this way, they became enmeshed in tyranny and civil war, and were ruined along with their country. Diogenes of Babylon in Book I of his *Laws* (fr. 53, SVF iii.221) has the same to say about them. Antiphanes in *The Girl from Dodona* (fr. 91) says the following about how all the Ionians generally are addicted to luxury:

Whence its inhabitant? Has some  
pampered, luxury-loving crowd of Ionians wearing  
rich garments set off?

Theophrastus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 549 Fortenbaugh) claims that in fact, as a result of the Ionians' profound addiction to luxury, they . . . even today this exquisite proverb remains current.

According to Theopompus in Book VIII of the *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 62, including the material on the Byzantines and the Calchedonians below), some of the peoples who live alongside the ocean also lead a pampered existence. And as for the Byzantines and the Calchedonians, the same Theopompus says the following: Because the Byzantines had enjoyed a democratic form of govern-

τείσθαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίου  
 κειμένην ἔχειν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν  
 καὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβειν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ συνουσι-  
 ἀζειν καὶ πίνειν εἰθισμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν καπηλείων. Καλ-  
 χηδόνιοι δὲ πρὶν μὲν μετασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτείας  
 ἅπαντες ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ βίῳ βελτίονι διετέλουν  
 ὄντες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῶν Βυζαντιῶν ἐγένε-  
 σαντο, διεφθάρησαν εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν  
 f βίον ἐκ σωφρονεστάτων | καὶ μετριωτάτων φιλοπόται  
 καὶ πολυτελεῖς γενόμενοι. κὰν τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς  
 εἴκοσι τῶν Φιλιππικῶν τὸ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν φησὶν  
 ἔθνος—ἐστὶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν—ἐπεικῶς εἶναι  
 ἀβροδίαιτον παραπλησίως τε βιοτεύειν τοῖς Λυδοῖς ||  
 527 χώραν τε ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν, ὅθεν προελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαι-  
 μονίαν. περὶ δὲ Θετταλῶν λέγων ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ φησὶν  
 ὅτι, ζῶσιν οἱ μὲν σὺν ταῖς ὀρχηστρίσιν καὶ ταῖς  
 αὐλητρίσιν διατρίβοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν κύβοις καὶ πότοις  
 καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀκολασίαις διημερεύοντες, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον σπονδάζουσιν ὅπως ὄψων παντοδαπῶν τὰς  
 τραπέζας παραθήσονται πλήρεις ἢ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον  
 ὅπως παρασχέσονται κεκοσμημένον. Φαρσάλιοι δὲ  
 πάντων, φησὶν, ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυ-  
 b τελέστατοι. ὠμολόγηται δ' οἱ Θετταλοί, ὡς | καὶ  
 Κριτίας φησί, πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολυτελέστατοι γε-  
 γενῆσθαι περὶ τε τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ὅπερ  
 αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν

<sup>86</sup> Very similar material, including the reference to Critias that



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ment for a long time at this point, and because the city in which they lived was located at a central trade-point, and its citizens all spent their time in the marketplace and the harbor, they lacked discipline and were used to having parties and drinking in the bars. Before the Calchedonians were able to participate in politics, they all behaved better and lived a better life. But once they got a taste of Byzantine-style democracy, they descended into an addiction to luxury and went from being extremely self-controlled, moderate people, as far as their day-to-day existence was concerned, to loving to drink and running through their money. And in Book XXI of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 132) he claims that the Umbrians—they live near the Adriatic—lead a relatively pampered existence, live much like the Lydians, and inhabit a lovely country, as a consequence of which they grew rich. In his discussion of the Thessalians in Book IV (FGrH 115 F 49) he says:<sup>86</sup> Some of them pass their time with dancing-girls and pipe-girls, while others spend the whole day shooting dice, drinking, and indulging in similar wild behavior. And they are more interested in how to ensure that the tables set beside them are full of a wide variety of dishes, than in how they can keep their personal lives orderly. The inhabitants of Pharsalus, he claims, are the laziest people alive, and run through the most money. But, as Critias (88 B 31 D–K) too says, the Thessalians are generally agreed to have been the biggest spendthrifts of all the Greeks, as far as their diet and their clothing were concerned. This is why they encouraged the Persians to invade Greece, be-

follows, but with no mention of Theopompus, is preserved at 14.663a.

τοὺς Πέρσας, ζηλώσαντας τὴν τούτων τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. περὶ δὲ Αἰτωλῶν Πολύβιος μὲν ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν πολέμων συνέχειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν βίων πολυτέλειαν κατάχραιο ἐγένοντο. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν δωδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν, Αἰτωλοί, φησί, τοσούτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐτοιμότερον  
 c ἔχουσι πρὸς ἰθάνατον ὄσῳπερ καὶ ζῆν πολυτελῶς καὶ ἐκτενέστερον ζητοῦσι τῶν ἄλλων.

Διαβόητοι δ' εἰσὶ περὶ τρυφὴν Σικελιώται τε καὶ Συρακόσιοι, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν·

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ  
 μᾶλλον

πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ἄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν  
 Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ "Χίον ἐκ Λακαινᾶν".

Πλάτων δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς φησιν ταύτην δὴ τὴν  
 δ διάνοιαν ἔχων εἰς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν ἦλθον ὅτε  
 πρῶτον ἀφικόμεν. ἰ ἐλθόντα δέ με ὁ ταύτη βίος  
 οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσεν, δῖς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμπι-  
 πλάμενον ζῆν καὶ μηδέποτε κοιμώμενον μόνον νύκτωρ  
 καὶ ὅσα τούτῳ ἐπιτηδεύματα συνέπεται τῷ βίῳ· ἐκ  
 γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν οὐτ' ἂν φρόνιμος οὐδεὶς ποτε  
 γενέσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ νέου  
 ἐπιτηδεύων δύναιτο, σῶφρων δ' οὐδ' ἂν μελλήσαι

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cause they admired their luxurious lifestyle and their extravagance. As for the Aetolians, Polybius in Book XIII (1.1) of the *History* says that they fell deeply into debt as a result of their constant wars and the extravagance in which they lived. Agatharchides says in Book XII of the *History* (FGrH 86 F 6): The Aetolians are more willing to die than anyone else, to the same extent that they make a more vigorous effort than others to live expensively.

The Sicilians and the Syracusans are notorious for their addiction to luxury, as Aristophanes says in *Banqueters* (fr. 225.1–3):<sup>87</sup>

But this isn't what he learned when I sent him to  
school! Instead, (he learned)  
how to drink, and also how to sing out of key, and  
what a Syracusan table is,  
and Sybaritic feasts, and "Chian (wine) from Spartan  
cups."<sup>88</sup>

Plato says in his *Letters* (*Epist.* VII 326b–c): This is what I had in mind when I went to Italy and Sicily on my first visit. But once I got there, the local lifestyle didn't appeal to me in the least: to spend your life stuffing yourself twice a day and never sleeping alone at night, along with all the other practices that go with this type of existence. Because the consequence of habits like this, is that no one in the whole world could grow into a thoughtful person, if he'd behaved that way since he was young, and he'd be unlikely ever to become a person who could control himself. So too in

<sup>87</sup> The third verse, followed by a fourth, is quoted also at 11.484f.

<sup>88</sup> Presumably an otherwise unknown poetic fragment.

ποτὲ γενέσθαι. κὰν τρίτῳ δὲ Πολιτείας γράφει οὕτως· Συρακοσίαν δέ, ᾧ φίλε, τράπεζαν καὶ Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψου, ὡς ἕοικας, οὐκ αἰνεῖς· ψέγεις δὲ καὶ  
 e Κορινθίαν κόρην φίλην εἶναι ἀνδράσιν | μέλλουσιν εὖ σώματος ἔξειν καὶ Ἀττικῶν περμάτων τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι εὐπαθείας.

Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πόλεων λέγων ὡς ἐτρύφων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· τῶν γοῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν εὐβοσίαν τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδους νεμόντων πλείονας, ἐν αἷς εὐωχοῦντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι<sup>29</sup> ἑλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις·  
 f τοῖς δὲ γραμματέοις—οὕτως γὰρ | ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων—ὡς οἰκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαποφέρειν πολλὰ καὶ καταυλουμένους πρὸς χελωνίδος πολυκρότου ψόφον, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοιούτοις κελάδοις συνηγεῖσθαι. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν  
 528 Εὐρωπιακῶν, Ἀρυκανδεῖς, φησί, || Λυκίας ὄμοροι ὄντες Λιμυρεῦσι διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσωτίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν κατάχραιοι γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ φιληθονίαν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δάνεια

<sup>29</sup> ἀλειφόμενοι δ' A: ἀλείφεσθαι δ' CE: δ' del. Meineke

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Book III of the *Republic* (404d, condensed) he writes as follows: Apparently, my friend, you have nothing good to say about a Syracusan table or the elaborate Syracusan cuisine; and you object to a Corinthian girl<sup>89</sup> being friends with men who want to be physically robust, and to the seeming delights of Attic pastry.

Posidonius in Book XVI of the *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 10 = fr. 62a Edelstein–Kidd),<sup>90</sup> in his discussion of how addicted to luxury the Syrian cities were, writes as follows: Since the people in the cities, as a consequence of the natural wealth of their country, did not have to work hard for the necessities of life, they used to hold large numbers of parties, so that they could feast constantly. They used their wrestling-schools for bathhouses, and anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes; and they used their *grammateia*—this is how they referred to their communal dining-halls—as if they were their homes, and practically lived in them, stuffing their bellies full of wine and food in them for most of the day, to the extent that they even carried a large amount of food back home, and listening to pipe-music accompanied by the sound of the noisy lyre, to the extent that entire cities echoed with sounds of this sort. Agatharchides says in Book XXXV of his *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 16): As a result of their profligate and expensive lifestyle, the Arycandians in Lycia, whose territory borders on that of the Limyres, fell into debt; when they were unable to pay back what they owed, on account of their laziness and hedonism, they became in-

<sup>89</sup> I.e. a prostitute.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in almost identical form also at 5.210e–f.

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προσέκλιναν ταῖς Μιθριδάτου ἐλπίσιν, ἄθλον ἔξειν νομίσαντες χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς. ἐν δὲ τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ πρώτῃ Ζακυνθίους φησὶν ἀπίρους εἶναι πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τρυφῶντας ἐθίζεσθαι.

Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ Καπυησίους τοὺς ἐν |

- b Καμπαλία διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γῆς πλούτον περιβαλομένους ἐξοκεῖλαι εἰς τρυφήν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ὑπερβαλλομένους τὴν περὶ Κρότωνα καὶ Σύβαριν παραδεδομένην φήμην. οὐ δυνάμενοι οὖν, φησὶν, φέρειν τὴν παρούσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἀννίβαν· διόπερ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνήκεστα δεινὰ ἔπαθον. Πετηλίνοι δὲ τηρήσαντες τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν εἰς τοσοῦτον καρτερίας ἤλθον πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' Ἀννίβα ὥστε μετὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
- c δέρματα καταφαγεῖν, | ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δένδρων τοὺς φλοιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀπαλοὺς πτόρθους ἀναλώσαι, καὶ ἔνδεκα μῆνας ὑπομείναντες τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδενὸς βοηθοῦντος οὐδὲ συνευδοκοῦντος Ῥωμαίων παρέδοσαν ἑαυτούς.

Τοὺς δὲ Κουρήτας Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς ἐνδεκάτης τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Αἰσχύλον ἱστορεῖν διὰ τὴν τρυφήν τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας·

χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένοις ἀβραῖς·  
ὄθεν καλεῖν Κουρήτα λαὸν ἤνεσαν. |

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<sup>91</sup> Agatharchides belongs to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, and the Mithridates in question must be either the obscure

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volved in Mithridates' adventures,<sup>91</sup> in the expectation that they would be rewarded with a remission of their debts. And in Book XXXI (*FGrH* 86 F 14) he says that the Zacynthians had no experience of war, because they were accustomed to leading a luxurious life of prosperity and wealth.

Polybius in Book VII (1.1–3) (says) that the fertility of their land meant that the people of Capua in Campania were surrounded by wealth and ran aground on the reef of luxury and expensive living, outdoing the stories that have been passed down about Croton and Sybaris. So because they were unable, he says, to cope with how prosperous they were, they invited Hannibal in; they suffered horribly at the Romans' hands as a consequence. The inhabitants of Petelia, on the other hand, who respected their agreement with the Romans, were driven to such extremes of endurance when they were besieged by Hannibal, that after they ate all the hides in the city, and consumed the bark and the tender branches from all the trees, and held out against the siege for 11 months, they finally surrendered, because no Roman offered any assistance or sympathy.

As for the Curetes, Phylarchus (says) in Book XI of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 23) that Aeschylus (fr. 313) reports that they got their name because of their addiction to luxury:

and a lock of hair dainty enough for delicate girls;  
as a result of which they judged it right to call the  
people Curetes.<sup>92</sup>

Mithradates III, king of Pontus (reigned c.220–c.189/8) or the son of Antiochus III mentioned at Livy 33.19.9 (197 BCE).

<sup>92</sup> As if the name was derived from *kourê*, "young girl."

d Ἀγάθων δ' ἐν τῷ Θυέστη τοὺς τὴν Πρώνακτος θυγατέρα μνηστεύοντας τοῖς τε λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ἐξησκημένους ἐλθεῖν καὶ κομῶντας τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέτυχον τοῦ γάμου,

κόμας ἐκειράμεσθα (φησὶν) μάρτυρας τρυφῆς,  
ἧ που ποθεινὸν χρῆμα παιζούσῃ φρενί.  
ἐπώνυμον γοῦν εὐθύς ἔσχομεν κλέος,  
Κουρήτες εἶναι, κουρίμου χάριν τριχός.

e καὶ Κυμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἰταλία, ὡς φησιν Ὑπέροχος ἡ ὀ ποιήσας τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερόμενα Κυμαϊκά, | διετέλεσαν χρυσοφοροῦντες καὶ ἀνθιναῖς ἐσθῆσι χρώμενοι καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐξιόντες ἐπὶ ζευγῶν ὀχοῦμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων τρυφῆς τοσαῦτα μνημονεύω.

f Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα τάδ' ἤκουσα. Κτησίας ἐν τρίτῃ Περσικῶν καὶ πάντα μὲν φησι τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τρυφὴν σπουδάσαι, μάλιστα δὲ Νινύαν τὸν Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱόν. καὶ οὗτος οὖν ἔνδον μένων καὶ τρυφῶν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐωρᾶτο εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνούχων | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν. τοιοῦτος δ' ἦν καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἀνακυνδαράξω

<sup>93</sup> Pronax' daughter was Amphythea, and he gave her to his brother Adrastus, who was one of the Seven Against Thebes; cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.9.13.

<sup>94</sup> Diodorus Siculus, who preserves a much longer version of the material from Ctesias (= *FGrH* 688 F 1b), makes it clear that the women referred to below were concubines.



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Agathon in his *Thyestes* (*TrGF* 39 F 3) (claims that) the men who were courting Pronax' daughter came decked out in every way,<sup>93</sup> including wearing their hair long. And when they were unable to marry her, he says,

We sheared our hair, which bears witness to our love  
of luxury;  
this is something a carefree mind longs for, I suppose.  
At once, accordingly, we got a reputation that  
brought a name with it,  
that we are Curetes, because of our shorn (*kourimos*)  
hair.

The inhabitants of Cumae in Italy, according to Hyperochus (*FGrH* 576 F 1)—or whoever it was who wrote the *History of Cumae* attributed to him—likewise always wore gold jewelry and brightly colored clothing; and when they went out into the country with their wives, they rode on carts pulled by teams of draft-animals. This is the extent of what I have to say about the addiction to luxury of various peoples and cities.

As for anecdotes involving individuals, I have heard the following. Ctesias in Book III of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 688 F 1n)<sup>94</sup> claims that all the kings of Asia were eager to live in luxury, but especially Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis.<sup>95</sup> He accordingly stayed inside and enjoyed a luxurious existence, and no one saw him except his eunuchs and his women. Sardanapallus (said by some authorities to have been the son of Anacyndaraxes, while

<sup>95</sup> The Greeks regarded Ninus as the first king of Assyria and as the eponymous founder of its capital city Ninevah.

λέγουσιν υἱόν, οἱ δὲ Ἀναβαραξάρου. ὅτε δὴ οὖν Ἀρβάκης, εἰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατηγῶν Μῆδος γένος, διεπράξατο διὰ τινος τῶν εὐνούχων Σπαραμείζου θεάσασθαι Σαρδανάπαλλον καὶ μόλις αὐτῷ ἐπετράπη ἐκείνου ἐβελήσαντος, ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Μῆδος ἐψιμυθιωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον γυναικιστὶ καὶ  
 529 μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ξαίνοντα πορφύραν ἢ ἀναβάδην τε μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον, τὰς ὀφρῦς < . . . ><sup>30</sup> γυναικίαν δὲ στολὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατεξυρημένον τὸν πώγωνα καὶ κατακεκισηρισμένον—ἦν δὲ καὶ γάλακτος λευκότερος καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς—ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προσείδεν τὸν Ἀρβάκην τὰ λευκὰ ἐπαναβαλὼν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν, οἱ μὲν πολλοί, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Δοῦρις, ἱστοροῦσιν ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγανακτήσαντος, εἰ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν βασιλεύει, συγκεντηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. Κτησίας δὲ λέγει εἰς πόλεμον αὐτὸν καταστῆναι καὶ  
 b ἀθροίσαντα πολλὴν στρατιὰν καὶ καταλυθέντα ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρβάκου τελευτῆσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐμπρήσαντα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, πυρὰν νήσαντα ὕψος τεσσάρων πλέθρων, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέθηκεν χρυσᾶς κλίνας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἴσας τραπέζας καὶ ταύτας χρυσᾶς. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν

<sup>30</sup> <ὑπογεγραμμένον> Kaibel

<sup>96</sup> A longer but less colorful version of the material that follows (FGrH 688 F 1p), again from Ctesias, is preserved by Diodorus Siculus (2.24), who says that Arbaces bribed the eunuch—whom he does not name—to let him see the king, and only put together a conspiracy against him considerably later on. Perhaps the addi-

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others claim that he was the son of Anabaraxarus) was like this as well.<sup>96</sup> So when Arbaces, who was one of his generals and a Mede by birth, made arrangements via one of the eunuchs, named Sparameizus, to see Sardanapallus, and only got permission with considerable difficulty, after the king agreed; when the Mede came in and saw Sardanapallus covered with make-up<sup>97</sup> and jewelry like a woman, carding purple wool with his concubines, sitting among them with his feet up, with his eyebrows . . . , and wearing women's clothes, with his beard shaved and his chin smoothed with a pumice stone—he was whiter than milk, and had lines painted under his eyes; and when he saw Arbaces, he rolled his eyes, so that the whites showed—most authorities, including Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 42), report that Arbaces was revolted by the idea that someone like this was their king, and stabbed him to death. But Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 1q)<sup>98</sup> claims that Sardanapallus started a war and assembled a large army, and that after he was overthrown by Arbaces, he died by setting fire to himself in his palace, after he heaped up a pyre 400 feet<sup>99</sup> high and put 150 gold couches and an equal number of tables similarly made of gold on top of it. He constructed a room 100 feet

tional details in Athenaeus' account are drawn from Duris (cited below). Sardanapallus is the Greek name for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (reigned 669–631 BCE); cf. 8.335e–6b. What is given here as his father's name is apparently a misunderstanding of a royal title; see Cauer, *RE* i (1894) 2052.

<sup>97</sup> Literally "white lead" (used to lighten the complexion).

<sup>98</sup> Ctesias' version of the story, as preserved at Diodorus Siculus 2.27 (cf. above), lacks almost all the over-the-top details of Athenaeus' account, which may once again be drawn from Duris.

<sup>99</sup> Literally "four *plethra*."

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τῆ πυρᾷ καὶ οἶκημα ἑκατόμπεδον ἐκ ξύλων κἀνταῦθα  
 κλίνας ὑπεστόρεσε καὶ κατεκλίθη ἐνταῦθα αὐτός τε  
 μετὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παλλακίδες ἐν  
 ταῖς ἄλλαις κλίναις. τοὺς γὰρ τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ δύο  
 θυγατέρας ὁρῶν τὰ πράγματα κακοῦμενα προπεπόμ-  
 c φει εἰς Νίνον | πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα, δοὺς αὐτοῖς  
 τρισχίλια χρυσίου τάλαντα· ἐπεστέγασεν δὲ τὸ οἶκη-  
 μα δοκοῖς μεγάλαις τε καὶ παχείαις, ἔπειτα ἐν κύκλῳ  
 περιέθηκε πολλὰ ξύλα καὶ παχέα, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι  
 ἔξοδον. ἐνταῦθα ἐπέθηκεν μὲν χρυσίου μυριάδας χιλί-  
 ας, ἀργυρίου δὲ μυρίας μυριάδας ταλάντων καὶ ἱμάτια  
 καὶ πορφύρας καὶ στολὰς παντοδαπὰς. ἔπειτα ὑφάψαι  
 ἐκέλευσε τὴν πυρᾷ, καὶ ἐκαίετο πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέ-  
 d ραις. οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον ὁρῶντες τὸν καπνὸν καὶ ἐδόκουν  
 αὐτὸν θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν· ταῦτα | δὲ μόνοι ἤδεσαν οἱ  
 εὐνοῦχοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκτόπως ἠδυνπα-  
 θήσας ὡς ἐνῆν γενναίως ἐτελεύτησεν. Κλέαρχος δὲ  
 περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως διηγούμενος ὅτι, τοῖς  
 αὐτῷ πορίσασιν ἠδύ τι βρῶμα ἄθλα ἐτίθει, νοῦν οὐκ  
 ἔχων· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λεγόμενος, οἶμαι, Διὸς ἄμα  
 καὶ βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλος· ὅθεν ὁ πάντων εὐδαιμο-  
 νέστατος Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὁ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον τιμή-  
 σας τὰς ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ τελευτήσας δείκνυσιν ἐν τῷ  
 τοῦ μνήματος τύπῳ τοῖς δακτύλοις οἴου καταγέλωτός  
 e ἐστιν | ἄξια τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, οὐκ ἄξια  
 ὄντα ψόφου δακτύλων, ὃν πεποιήται ποιούμενος δις  
 ἐν χορῷ < . . . > ἢ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σπουδῆ. φαίνεται

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long out of logs on top of the pyre; covered the couches with bed-clothes there; and lay down on them along with his wife, while his concubines lay on other couches. Because when he saw that matters were going badly, he sent his three sons and two daughters away to Ninevah, to the king there, and gave them 3000 talents of gold. He covered the room with large, heavy roof-beams, and then surrounded it with many heavy logs, so that no one could escape. He put ten million talents of gold on top, along with 100 million talents of silver, as well as robes, purple fabric, and garments of all sorts, after which he ordered that the pyre be lit. It burned for 15 days. When people saw the smoke, they were puzzled and assumed that he was carrying out a sacrifice; only the eunuchs knew the truth. So Sardanapallus, who had lived a life of extraordinary luxury, died as nobly as was possible. But Clearchus (fr. 51d Wehrli) (says) in his description of the Persian king<sup>100</sup> that he offered prizes to people who found something delicious for him to eat, and rightly so; because this is what is referred to, I think, as “the brain of Zeus and of the king as well.” Thus Sardanapallus, the richest man there ever was, who emphasized physical pleasure throughout his life, shows after his death, by the gesture he makes with his fingers in the carving on his tomb, what contempt human affairs deserve and how they are not worth even a snap of one’s fingers, which he is represented as making twice in his dance<sup>101</sup> . . . seriousness in other matters. It is thus ap-

<sup>100</sup> Quoted also, in more complete form, at 12.514d–e.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 336c. Whatever gesture Sardanapallus was making in the carving, he was presumably not merely snapping his fingers.

οὖν οὐκ ἄπρακτος γενόμενος Σαρδανάπαλλος· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι Σαρδανάπαλλος  
 Ἀνακунδαράξω Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔδειμε καὶ Ταρσὸν μῆ  
 ἡμέρη, ἀλλὰ νῦν τέθνηκεν. Ἀμύντας δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ  
 Σταθμῶν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ὑψηλόν, ὅπερ  
 κατασπάσαι Κῦρον ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀντιχωννύντα τῇ  
 πόλει· λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ χῶμα τοῦτ' εἶναι Σαρδανα-  
 f πάλλου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος | Νίνου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγε-  
 γραφθαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Χαλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ὁ  
 μετενεγκεῖν Χοιρίλον ἔμμετρον ποιήσαντα. εἶναι δὲ  
 τοῦτο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐβασίλευσα καὶ ἄχρι ἑώρων τοῦ ἡλίου  
 <τὸ><sup>31</sup> φῶς, ἔπιον, ἔφαγον, ἠφροδισίασα, εἰδὼς τόν τε  
 530 χρόνον ὄντα || βραχὺν ὃν ζῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ  
 τοῦτον πολλὰς ἔχοντα μεταβολὰς καὶ κακοπαθείας,  
 καὶ ὧν ἂν καταλίπω ἀγαθῶν ἄλλοι ἔξουσι τὰς ἀπο-  
 λαύσεις. διὸ καγὼ ἡμέραν οὐδεμίαν παρέλιπον τοῦτο  
 ποιῶν. Κλείταρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρον γήρα τελευτήσαι φησιν Σαρδανάπαλλον μετὰ  
 b τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς. | Ἀριστόβουλος δ',  
 ἐν Ἀγχιάλῃ, ἣν ἐδείματο, φησί, Σαρδανάπαλλος,  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναβαίνων εἰς Πέρσας κατεστρατοπεδεύ-  
 σατο. καὶ ἦν οὐ πόρρω τὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου μνη-  
 μεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐστάναι τύπον λίθινον συμβεβληκότα  
 τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους, ὡς ἂν ἀποκρο-  
 τοῦντα, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ' αὐτῷ Ἀσσυρίοις γράμμασι·  
 Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακунδαράξω παῖς Ἀγχιάλῃν καὶ

<sup>31</sup> add. Kaibel

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parent that Sardanapallus was not idle. Indeed, the inscription on his grave reads: "Sardanapallus the son of Anacyndaraxes built Anchiale and Tarsus in a single day, but now is dead." Amyntas in Book III of the *Stages*<sup>102</sup> (*FGrH* 122 F 2) claims that there was a high mound in Ninevah, which was demolished by Cyrus when he was erecting a mound to counter the city's wall during his siege. And (he says that) this mound allegedly belonged to Sardanapallus, the king of Ninevah, and that a stone stele on top of it bore an inscription in Chaldean letters, which Choerilus translated and put into metrical form.<sup>103</sup> It ran as follows: "I was a king, and for as long as I saw the light of the sun, I drank, ate, and had sex, since I knew that human beings live for only a short time, in the course of which there are many reverses and troubles, and that others will enjoy whatever goods I leave behind. I therefore did not let a single day pass without behaving this way." Cleitarachus in Book IV of his *On Alexander* (*FGrH* 137 F 2), on the other hand, claims that Sardanapallus died of old age after being deposed from the Syrian<sup>104</sup> throne. And Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 9a) says: As Alexander was moving inland against the Persians, he set up camp in Anchiale, which was built by Sardanapallus. Not far from there was Sardanapallus' tomb, on top of which stood a carving made of stone, which had the fingers of its right hand pressed together, as if it were snapping them, and inscribed on it in Assyrian letters was: "Sardanapallus the son of Anacyndaraxes built Anchiale and Tarsus in a single day, but now is dead."

<sup>102</sup> Sc. on the *Perstan Royal Road* (e.g. 2.67a).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *SH* 335, quoted at 8.336a–b.

<sup>104</sup> A mistake for "the Assyrian throne"; a common error (e.g. 12.545d).

c Ταρσὸν ἔδειμεν ἡμέρη μιῇ. ἔσθιε, πῖνε, | παῖζε· ὡς  
τᾶλλα τούτου οὐκ ἄξια, τοῦ ἀποκροτήματος ἔοικε  
λέγειν.

Οὐ μόνος δὲ ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος διετέθρυπτο, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ Ἀνδρόκοττος ὁ Φρύξ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐνεδύσατο  
ἀνθινὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ γυναικὸς εὐπρεπέστερον ἐκοσμεί-  
το, ὡς Μνασέας φησὶν ἐν τρίτῳ Εὐρώπης. Κλέαρχος  
δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων Σάγαρίν φησι τὸν Μαριανδυνὸν  
ὑπὸ τρυφῆς σιτεῖσθαι μὲν μέχρι γήρωσ ἐκ τοῦ τῆς  
τιτθῆς στόματος, ἵνα μὴ μασώμενος πονέσειε, οὐ  
d πώποτε δὲ τὴν χεῖρα κατωτέρω | τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ προ-  
ενέγκασθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης Ξενοκράτην τὸν  
Χαλκηδόνιον σκώπτων ὅτι οὐρῶν οὐ προσῆγε τὴν  
χεῖρα τῷ αἰδοίῳ ἔλεγεν·

χεῖρες μὲν ἀγναί, φρῆν δ' ἔχει μίασμά τι.

Κτησίας δὲ ἱστορεῖ Ἄνναρον τὸν βασιλέως ὑπαρχον  
καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας δυναστεύσαντα στολῆ χρησθαι  
γυναικεία καὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι βασιλέως δούλῳ ὄντι  
αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσῆσαν πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν  
ψάλλουσαι καὶ ἄδουσαι<sup>32</sup> γυναῖκες. ἔψαλλον δὲ αὐται

<sup>32</sup> ψάλλουσαι καὶ ἄδουσαι del. Kaibel

<sup>105</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>106</sup> Parents or nurses commonly chewed up food to make it soft enough for a baby to eat; cf. *Ar. Eq.* 716–18.

<sup>107</sup> Sc. to hold his penis when he urinated (cf. below), or to wipe himself when he shat.



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daraxes built Anchiale and Tarsus in a single day. Eat, drink, and enjoy yourself; since the rest isn't worth this much," seemingly referring to a snap of one's fingers.

It was not just Sardanapallus who enjoyed a pampered existence, but also Androcottus the Phrygian,<sup>105</sup> because he too wore wildly-colored clothing and decked himself out in fancier jewelry than a woman, according to Mnaseas in Book III of *Europe* (fr. 14, *FHG* iii.152 = fr. 5 Capuletto). Clearchus in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 53 Wehrli) claims that Sagaris of Mariandyne was so addicted to luxury that his food passed through his nurse's mouth<sup>106</sup> until he was old man, to prevent him from wearing himself out chewing, and that his hand never went below his belly-button.<sup>107</sup> This is why Aristotle (test. 51b Düring) made fun of Xenocrates of Chalcedon<sup>108</sup> (test. 68 Isnarde Parente) for not touching his penis when he urinated, by saying (*E. Hipp.* 317):

My hands are pure, but my mind carries a stain.

Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 6) reports that Annarus,<sup>109</sup> who was one of the King's satraps and controlled Babylon, wore women's clothing and jewelry, and that even though he was the King's slave, 150 women who played the harp and sang came into the room while he was having dinner, and pro-

<sup>108</sup> Head of the Academy 339–314 BCE, and thus an intellectual rival of Aristotle.

<sup>109</sup> Presumably to be identified with the effeminate Nanaros discussed by Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 4 and associated there with Arbaces, who is supposed to be Sardanapallus' successor. Diodorus Siculus' version of Ctesias' account of the King's behavior (2.33) once again (cf. above) lacks any of the colorful details preserved by Athenaeus.

e καὶ ἦδον ἐκείνου δειπνοῦντος. | Φοῖνιξ δ' ὁ Κολοφώ-  
νιος ποιητῆς περὶ Νίνου λέγων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν  
Ἰάμβων φησὶν·

ἀνὴρ Νίνος τις ἐγένετ', ὡς ἐγὼ 'κούω,  
Ἄσσύριος, ὅστις εἶχε χρυσοῦ πόντον,  
τάλαντα πολλῶ πλεῦνα Κασπίης ψάμμου,  
† ὃς οὐκὶ δ' ἄστερ' οὐδιζωνεδιζητο, †  
οὐ πὰρ μάγοισι πῦρ ἱερὸν ἀνέστησεν,  
ὥσπερ νόμος, ῥάβδοισι τοῦ θεοῦ ψαύων·  
οὐ μυθιήτης, οὐ δικασπόλος κείνος·  
οὐ λεωλογεῖν ἐμάνθαν', οὐκ ἀμιθρήσαι, |  
f ἀλλ' ἦν ἄριστος ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν  
κῆρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ πετρῶν ὤθει.  
ὡς δ' ἀπέθαν' ὠνήρ, πᾶσι κατέλιπε ῥῆσιν  
ἴσθου Νίνος νῦν ἐστί καὶ τὸ σῆμ' ἄδει·  
“ἄκουσον, εἴτ' Ἄσσύριος εἶτε καὶ Μῆδος  
εἰς ἧ Κοραξός, ἧ 'πὸ τῶν ἄνω λιμνῶν  
Σινδὸς κομήτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κηρύσσω·  
ἐγὼ Νίνος πάλαι ποτ' ἐγενόμην πνεῦμα,  
νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' οὐδέεν, ἀλλὰ γῆ πεποίημαι·  
ἔχω δ' ὀκόσον ἔπαισα χῶκόσ' ἦεῖσα  
χῶκόσσ' ἐράσθην < . . . >,   
τὰ δ' ὄλβι' ἡμέων δήιοι συνελθόντες ||  
531 φέρουσιν, ὥσπερ ὠμὸν ἔριφον αἰ Βάκχαι·  
ἐγὼ δ' ἐς Ἄϊδην οὔτε χρυσὸν οὔθ' ἵππον

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110 Cf. 12.528e n.

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vided entertainment as he ate. The poet Phoenix of Colophon in Book I of his *Iambs* (fr. 1, pp. 231–2 Powell), discussing Ninus,<sup>110</sup> says:

There was a man named Ninus, so I hear,  
an Assyrian, who owned a sea of gold,  
far more talents than the sands of the Caspian,  
† but who did not a star [corrupt]. †  
He did not join the Magi in raising the sacred fire,  
as custom required, by touching it with the god's  
staff;  
he was no orator or judge;  
he never learned to number his people, or to count;  
but he was outstanding at eating, drinking,  
and loving, and shoved everything else aside.<sup>111</sup>  
When this man died, he left behind a speech for  
everyone  
telling where Ninus is now, and his tomb sings out:  
“Listen, whether you are an Assyrian, a Mede,  
a Coraxian, or a long-haired Sindian from  
the northern marshes! For I have no choice but to  
say:  
Once long ago I was Ninus, a living creature,  
whereas now I am nothing and have become dirt.  
What is mine is the fun I had, the songs I sang,  
and the love I made . . .  
As for my wealth, my enemies collected it and  
are carrying it off, as Bacchants do with a goat's raw  
flesh.  
But I departed for Hades, taking with me

<sup>111</sup> Literally “under rocks.”

## ATHENAEUS

οὐτ' ἀργυρῆν ἄμαξαν ὠχόμην ἔλκων  
σποδὸς δὲ πελλὴ χῶ μιτρηφόρος κείμαι.”

Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Φιλιππικῶν Ἱστο-  
ριῶν Στράτονα φησι τὸν Σιδώνιον βασιλέα ὑπερβάλ-  
λειν ἡδυπαθεία καὶ τρυφῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. οἷα  
γὰρ τοὺς Φαίακας Ὅμηρος ποιεῖν μεμυθολόγηκεν  
ἐορτάζοντας καὶ πίνοντας καὶ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ ραψω-  
b δῶν ἀκρωμένους, τοιαῦτα | καὶ ὁ Στράτων διετέλει  
ποιῶν πολὺν χρόνον. καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐκείνων  
παρεκεκινήκει πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, ὅσον οἱ μὲν Φαίακες,  
ὡς φησιν Ὅμηρος, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν καὶ  
θυγατέρων ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς πότους, ὁ δὲ Στράτων μετ'  
αὐλητρίδων καὶ ψαλτριῶν καὶ κιθαριστριῶν κατεσκευ-  
άζετο τὰς συνουσίας. καὶ μετεπέμπετο πολλὰς μὲν  
ἐταίρας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς ἐξ  
'Ιωνίας, ἐτέρας δὲ παιδίσκας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,  
c τὰς μὲν ὠδικάς, τὰς δὲ ὀρχηστρικές, | ὧν εἴθιστο μετὰ  
τῶν φίλων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καὶ μεθ' ὧν συνουσιάζων  
διέτριβεν, χαίρων μὲν καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ  
δούλος ὧν φύσει τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν  
Νικοκλέα φιλοτιμούμενος. ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ὑπερφιλο-  
τίμως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ σπουδάζων ἐκάτε-  
ρος αὐτὸς ἡδιον καὶ ραθυμότερον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βίον·

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112 Otherwise unknown. The location of the passage in Theopompus Book XV suggests a date in the 350s BCE, although Straton's supposed contemporary Nicocles of Salamis (below,

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no gold, or horse, or silver wagon.  
Although I wore a tiara, I lie here, black ash.”

Theopompus says in Book XV of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 114) that Straton, the king of Sidon,<sup>112</sup> outdid everyone else in the world in the extravagant style in which he lived and in his addiction to luxury. Because the life that Homer in his stories represents the Phaeacians as leading—having festivals, drinking, and listening to citharodes and rhapsodes<sup>113</sup>—is how Straton behaved for a long time. He was even more excited about pleasure than they were, to the extent that the Phaeacians, according to Homer, used to drink in the company of their own wives and daughters,<sup>114</sup> whereas Straton arranged for his parties to include girls who played the pipes, the harp, and the lyre. He imported large numbers of prostitutes from the Peloponnese, and many female musicians from Ionia, and other young women from all over Greece, some of whom were singers, while others danced. He made it a practice to have contests with his friends that involved these women, and he spent all his time with them, both because he enjoyed living this way, since his personality made him a slave to pleasure, and even more important, because he was engaged in a competition with Nicocles.<sup>115</sup> For they were extremely competitive with one another, and each of them was concerned to make his own life the more pleasurable

with n.) belongs a decade or so earlier. A condensed version of this material appears at Ael. *VH* 7.2.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. *Od.* 8.248–9 (quoted at 12.513c).

<sup>114</sup> Presumably a reference to the regular presence of Arete at the feasts in Alcinous' house (e.g. *Od.* 7.139–42).

<sup>115</sup> Nicocles of Salamis (reigned 374/3–c. 360 BCE).

οἷ γε προήλθον εἰς τοσαύτην ἄμιλλαν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων τὰς  
 d τε παρασκευὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας ἰ τῶν  
 θυσιῶν τὰς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ γινομένας ἐφιλονίκουν  
 ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀλλήλους. ἐσπούδαζον  
 δὲ δοκεῖν εὐδαίμονες εἶναι καὶ μακαριστοί· οὐ μὴν  
 περί γε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διητυύχησαν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀμφότεροι βιαίῳ θανάτῳ διεφθάρησαν. Ἀναξιμένης  
 δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Βασιλέων Μεταλλαγαὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ Στράτωνος τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορήσας διημιλλῆσθαι φη-  
 σιν αὐτὸν Νικοκλεῖ τῷ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Σαλαμῖνος ἰ  
 e βασιλεύσαντι ἐσπουδακότι περὶ τρυφῆν καὶ ἀσέλγει-  
 αν, ἀποθανεῖν τ' ἀμφοτέρους βιαίως.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν Θεόπομπος περὶ  
 Φιλίππου λέγων φησὶν· καὶ τριταῖος εἰς Ὀνόκαρσιν  
 ἀφικνεῖται, χωρίον τι τῆς Θράκης ἄλσος ἔχον πολὺ  
 κατεσκευασμένον καλῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνδαιτηθῆναι  
 κεχαρισμένον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν. ἦν γὰρ  
 καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Κότυος προκριθέντων, ὃς ἀπάντων τῶν  
 βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ γεγεννημένων μάλιστα  
 πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τρυφᾶς ὥρμησε, καὶ περιῶν ἰ  
 f τὴν χώραν ὅπου κατίδοι τόπους δένδρεσι συσκίους  
 καὶ καταρρύντους ὕδασι, τούτους κατεσκεύασεν ἐστια-  
 τόρια· καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς ἐκάστους ὁπότε τύχοι θυσίας τε  
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ συνῆν μετὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων,  
 εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαριστὸς ὧν ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναῶν

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and easier. Their rivalry became so extreme, I hear, that they questioned their visitors about the furnishings in the other man's house, and about how expensive the sacrifices he made were, and made aggressive efforts to outdo one another in these areas. They were eager to appear to be wealthy and fortunate; but their luck certainly did not continue where the end of their lives was concerned, and instead they both died a violent death. Anaximenes in his work entitled *Royal Ups and Downs* (FGrH 72 F 18) offers similar information about Straton, saying that he was a rival of Nicocles, the king of Cyprian Salamis, who was devoted to luxury and lewd behavior, and that both men died violently.

In Book I of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 31) Theopompus says in reference to Philip: Two days later he reached Onocarsis, an area in Thrace that contained a large, beautifully planted grove of trees, and which was a delightful place to spend time in generally, but especially during the summer. It was in fact one of the favorite spots of Cotys,<sup>116</sup> who was, of all the men who had ever been king of Thrace, the one most dedicated to living in elegance and luxury, and who accordingly, whenever in the course of his travels around the country he noticed spots that were full of shade-trees and well-supplied with water, turned them into places to hold feasts. Whenever he visited them, he used to make sacrifices to the gods and spend time there with his commanders, and was rich and extremely happy—until he attempted to blaspheme and of-

<sup>116</sup> Cotys ruled c.383–360/59 BCE, and eventually married his daughter or sister to the Athenian general Iphicrates (cf. below; 4.131a n.).

βλασφημεῖν καὶ πλημμελεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. διηγείται  
 τε ἐξῆς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι δεῖπνον κατεσκεύασεν ὁ  
 Κότυς ὡς γαμουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ θάλαμον  
 κατασκευάσας ἀνέμενε μεθύων τὴν θεόν. ἤδη δ' ἔκ-  
 532 φρων γενόμενος ἢ ἔπεμπέ τινα τῶν δορυφόρων ὀψό-  
 μενον εἰ παραγέγονεν ἢ θεὸς εἰς τὸν θάλαμον. ἀφικο-  
 μένου δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος μηδένα εἶναι ἐν τῷ  
 θαλάμῳ, τοξεύσας τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἄλλον δεύτε-  
 ρον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕως ὁ τρίτος συνεῖς παραγενο-  
 μένην ἔφη πάλαι τὴν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν. ὁ δὲ  
 βασιλεὺς οὗτός ποτε καὶ ζηλοτυπήσας τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 γυναῖκα ταῖς αὐτοῦ χερσὶν ἀνέτεμε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ  
 τῶν αἰδοίων ἀρξάμενος.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν περὶ Χα-  
 b βρίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου | στρατηγοῦ<sup>33</sup> ἱστορῶν φησιν·  
 οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν  
 ἀσέλγειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 περὶ τὸν βίον, τὰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἅπασι γάρ  
 εἰσι χαλεποί. διὸ καὶ εἴλοντο αὐτῶν οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἕξω τῆς  
 πόλεως καταβιοῦν, Ἴφικράτης μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ, Κόνων  
 δ' ἐν Κύπρῳ, Τιμόθεος δ' ἐν Λέσβῳ, Χάρης δ' ἐν  
 Σιγείῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χαβρίας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 c Χάρητος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ φησιν·  
 Χάρητός τε νωθροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ βραδέος, | καίτοι γε  
 καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν ἤδη ζῶντος· ὅς γε περιήγετο στρα-  
 τευόμενος αὐλητρίδας καὶ ψαλτρίας καὶ πεζὰς ἐταί-

<sup>33</sup> add. Kaibel; but CE have Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος.



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fend Athena. Immediately after this, the author explains that Cotys prepared a dinner on the pretence that he was going to marry Athena, and then made the bedroom ready, got drunk, and waited for the goddess. Having by this point lost his mind, he sent one of his bodyguards to see if the goddess was in the bedroom; when the man returned and reported that no one was there, Cotys shot him with his bow and killed him. He killed a second man under the same circumstances, and finally the third man grasped the situation and told him that the goddess had been there for a long time now and was waiting for him. At one point this king became jealous of his wife and carved her up into pieces with his own hands, beginning with her genitals.

In Book XIII of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 105), in his account of the Athenian general Chabrias,<sup>117</sup> (Theopompus) says: since he was unable to live in the city, on account of his crude behavior and the extravagance of his personal lifestyle, on the one hand, and on account of the Athenians, on the other; because they are nasty to everyone. This is why their most distinguished citizens chose to live elsewhere than in the city:<sup>118</sup> Iphicrates in Thrace, Conon in Cyprus, Timotheus on Lesbos, Chares in Sigeum, and Chabrias himself in Egypt. On the subject of Chares, he says in Book XLV (FGrH 115 F 213): Chares was sluggish and slow, and was in fact already living in luxury. When he was on campaign, he took pipe-girls, harp-girls, and common prostitutes everywhere with him, and

<sup>117</sup> PAA 970820 (c.420–357/6 BCE).

<sup>118</sup> Iphicrates (PAA 542925), Conon (PAA 581750), Conon's son Timotheus (PAA 886180), and Chares (PAA 979280) all belong to the late 400s and 300s BCE.

## ATHĒNAEUS

ρας, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν εἰσφερομένων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἀνήλισκε, τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κατέλειπεν Ἀθήνησιν τοῖς τε λέγουσιν καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφουσιν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς δικαζομένοις· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδεπώποτε ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἠγάπα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ δικαίως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοῦτον

d τὸν | τρόπον ἔζων, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν νέους ἐν τοῖς ἀγλητριδίοις καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἐταίραις διατρίβειν, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἐκείνων πρεσβυτέρους ἐν πότοις <καὶ> κύβοις<sup>34</sup> καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀσωτίαις, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἅπαντα πλείω καταναλίσκειν εἰς τὰς κοινὰς ἐστιάσεις καὶ κρεανομίας ἤπερ εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ τοῦ Θεοπόμπου συγγράμματι Περὶ τῶν Ἐκ Δελφῶν Συληθέντων Χρημάτων, Χάρητι, φησί, τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τάλαντα ἐξή-

e κοντα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐδείπνισεν Ἀθηναίους | ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θύσας τὰ ἐπινίκια τῆς γενομένης μάχης πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους. ὧν ἠγείτο μὲν Ἀδαῖος ὁ Ἀλεκτρῶν ἐπικαλούμενος· περὶ οὗ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τῶν κωμωδιῶν ποιητῆς μέμνηται οὕτως·

Ἀλεκτρῶνα τὸν τοῦ Φιλίππου παραλαβῶν  
 ἄωρὶ κοκκύζοντα καὶ πλανώμενον  
 κατέκοψεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν οὐδέπω λόφον.  
 ἔνα κατακόψας μάλα συχνοὺς ἐδείπνισεν

<sup>34</sup> ἐν πότοις <καὶ> κύβοις Kaibel, cf. 12.527a: ἐν τε τοῖς κύβοις A: ἐν κύβοις CE

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he used some of the money that was contributed to support the war on outrageous expenses of this sort, and left the rest right there in Athens for the people who were proposing and drafting decrees and for the private citizens who were bringing lawsuits. This never bothered the Athenian people, and the result was instead that they loved him more than any other citizen—and rightly so. For they themselves lived the same way, as a consequence of which their young men spent their time with pipe-girls and prostitutes, and those who were a little older than them drank and shot dice and engaged in similarly profligate behavior, while the populace generally spent more on public feasts and distributions of meat than on managing the war. In the treatise by Theopompus entitled *On the Money Plundered from Delphi* (FGrH 115 F 249) the author says: Chares the Athenian got 60 talents from Lysander, and used them to give a dinner in the marketplace for the Athenians when he offered a victory sacrifice to celebrate his battle against Philip's mercenaries.<sup>119</sup> Their commander was Adaeus, nicknamed Rooster; the comic poet Heracleides (fr. 1) mentions him, as follows:

He caught Philip's Rooster as he was  
squawking and wandering around early in the  
morning,  
and chopped him to pieces; because he didn't have a  
crest.  
Even though he only chopped up one Rooster,  
Chares fed

<sup>119</sup> Perhaps in the late 350s BCE; the Lysander in question is unidentified.

Χάρης Ἀθηναίων τόθ'· ὡς γενναῖος ἦν. |

f τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Δοῦρις.

Ἴδομενεὺς δέ φησι καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας Ἴππιαν καὶ Ἴππαρχον εὐρεῖν θαλίας καὶ κώμους· διὸ καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐταίρων<sup>35</sup> πολλῶν ἐπιπολάσαι τὸ πλήθος παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὅθεν βαρεῖαν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. καίτοι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν Πεισίστρατος μετρίως ἐχρήτο ταῖς ἡδοναῖς· ὅς γε οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς

533 κήποις φύλακας καθίστα, ὡς Θεόπομπος || ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ, ἀλλ' εἶα τὸν βουλόμενον εἰσιόντα ἀπολαύειν καὶ λαμβάνειν ὧν δεηθείη· ὅπερ ὕστερον ἐποίησε καὶ Κίμων μιμησάμενος ἐκείνων. περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ὁ Θεόπομπός φησι· Κίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ τοῖς κήποις οὐδένα τοῦ καρποῦ καθίστα φύλακα, ὅπως οἱ βουλόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσιόντες ὀπωρίζονται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν εἴ τινος δέοιντο τῶν ἐν

b τοῖς χωρίοις. | ἔπειτα τὴν οἰκίαν παρέιχε κοινὴν ἄπασιν· καὶ δεῖπνον αἰεὶ εὐτελὲς παρασκευάζεσθαι πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους προσιόντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσιόντας δειπνεῖν. ἐθεράπευεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τι δεομένους, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς περιήγετο μὲν αἰεὶ νεανίσκους δὴ τρεῖς ἔχοντας κέρματα τούτοις τε διδόναι προσέταττεν, ὁπότε τις

<sup>35</sup> ἐταίρων Meineke: ἐταιρῶν Casaubon: ἐτέρων A

<sup>120</sup> Hippias (PAA 537810; assassinated in 514 BCE) and Hip-

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an enormous number of Athenians dinner. What a generous guy he was!

Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 35) tells the same story.

Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 3) claims that Pisistratus' sons Hippias and Hipparchus<sup>120</sup> invented parties and wandering the streets drunk; this is why they were surrounded by a large number of horses and many friends, which led to their rule becoming oppressive. Their father Pisistratus,<sup>121</sup> in fact, adopted a moderate attitude toward pleasure, and did not post guards in his fields or his orchards, according to Theopompus in Book XXI (*FGrH* 115 F 135), but let anyone who wanted enter and enjoy them, and take whatever he needed. Later on Cimon<sup>122</sup> imitated him and adopted the same policy. In his account of the latter in Book X of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 89), Theopompus says: Cimon of Athens did not station guards to protect the crops in his fields or his orchards, allowing any citizens who wanted to enter them and pick the produce and take anything in his fields that they needed. In addition, he opened his house to everyone: a simple dinner sufficient for large numbers of people was always available, and Athens' poor came to his house, went inside, and ate. He also took care of the individuals who asked for something on an occasional basis, and the story goes that he was always accompanied by two or three young men who carried small change, and that he ordered them to hand it out,

parchus (*PAA* 537615) took over their father's tyranny when he died in 527. <sup>121</sup> *PAA* 771760.

<sup>122</sup> Cimon (*PAA* 569795; c.510–450/49 BCE) was one of Athens' most distinguished political and military leaders in the first half of the 5th century.

προσέλθοι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος. καί φασι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς  
 ταφήν εἰσφέρειν, ποιεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις, ὅποτε  
 c τῶν πολιτῶν τινα ἴδοι κακῶς ἢ ἡμφιεσμένον, κελεύειν  
 αὐτῷ μεταμφιένυσθαι τῶν νεανίσκων τινα τῶν συν-  
 ακολουθούντων αὐτῷ. ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡῦδο-  
 κίμει καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ δὲ Πεισίστρατος  
 καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ὅτου καὶ τὸ Ἀθήνησι  
 τοῦ Διονύσου πρόσωπον ἐκείνου τινές φασιν εἰκόνα.  
 Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Πον-  
 τικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ὡς ἀπήλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας  
 τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡδονῆς βίον προείλετο ᾧκει  
 d τε μετ' Ἀσπασίας ἢ τῆς ἐκ Μεγάρων ἐταίρας καὶ τὸ  
 πολὺ μέρος τῆς οὐσίας εἰς ταύτην κατανάλωσε. Θε-  
 μιστοκλῆς δὲ οὕτω Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων οὐδ'  
 ἐταίραις χρωμένων ἐκφανῶς τέθριππον ζεύξας ἐται-  
 ρίδων διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πληθύνοντος ἐωθινὸς ἤλα-  
 σεν. ἀμφιβόλως δ' αὐτὸ εἶρηκεν ὁ Ἰδομενεύς, εἴτε  
 ἐταίρας τέτταρας συννπέζευξεν ὡς ἵππους εἴτ' ἀνεβί-  
 βασεν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τέθριππον. Πόσσις δ' ἐν τρίτῳ  
 Μαγνητικῶν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ  
 e τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἢ ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντα θῦσαι Ἀθηνᾶ  
 καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Παναθήναια ὀνομάσαι καὶ Διονύσῳ  
 Χοοπότη θυσιάσαντα καὶ τὴν Χοῶν ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι

123 Aspasia (PAA 222330) was in fact from Miletus rather than Megara, and the confusion is presumably due to the comic account of her involvement in the passage of the Megarian Decree, which in turn helped spark the Peloponnesian War, at *Ar. Ach.* 526–31, where Pericles is referred to as “Olympian.”

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whenever someone approached him with a request. They also say that he contributed to funeral expenses, and often did the following: whenever he saw a citizen who was badly dressed, he ordered one of the young men accompanying him to trade clothes with the man. As a consequence of all this, he had a fine reputation and was their leading citizen. Pisistratus, on the other hand, was often unpleasant, and some authorities claim that the face of the well-known Dionysus in Athens is modeled on his. Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 59 Wehrli = fr. 43 Schütrumpf = Antisth. Socr. SSR V A 144) asserts that Olympian Pericles evicted his wife from his house, adopted a lifestyle devoted to pleasure, and lived with the courtesan Aspasia of Megara,<sup>123</sup> on whom he wasted most of his money. At a time when the Athenians were not yet getting drunk or spending their time with prostitutes, Themistocles<sup>124</sup> openly yoked up a team of four prostitutes and drove them through the Ceramicus at dawn as the area was filling up. Idomeneus' account of this (*FGrH* 338 F 4b)<sup>125</sup> is ambiguous as to whether Themistocles yoked four prostitutes in a team, like horses, or mounted them on a chariot drawn by four horses. Possis in Book III of the *History of Magnesia* (*FGrH* 480 F 1) claims that when Themistocles assumed an office in Magnesia that brought with it the right to wear a garland, he sacrificed to Athena and named the festival the Panathenaia, and that after he sacrificed to Dionysus Choöpotês ("Pitcher-Drinker"), he also introduced the

<sup>124</sup> PAA 502610.

<sup>125</sup> The same passage from Idomeneus is cited at 13.576b–c.

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καταδείξαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Φιλίας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ τρίκλινον οἰκοδομησάμενον περι-καλλέστατον ἀγαπᾶν <ἄν><sup>36</sup> ἔφησεν, εἰ τοῦτον φίλων πληρώσειεν.

Χαμαιλέον δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος προθεῖς τὸ

ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει  
ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων,

f τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν τὸν Ἰ Ἀρτέμωνα διὰ τὸ τρυφερῶς βιοῦντα περιφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ κλίνης. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνακρέων αὐτὸν ἐκ πενίας εἰς τρυφὴν ὀρμησαί φησιν ἐν τούτοις·

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ'  
ἔσφηκωμένα,

καὶ ξυλίνοὺς ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὧσιν καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ  
πλευρῆσιν < . . . > βοός,

534 ἠήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν  
κάθελοπόρνοισιν ἢ ὀμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,  
κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον,

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεῖς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν  
τροχῶ,

πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μᾶστιγι θωμιχθεῖς,  
κόμην

<sup>36</sup> add. Kaibel



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Choes festival<sup>126</sup> there. Clearchus in Book I of *On Friendship* (fr. 17 Wehrli) says that Themistocles built a gorgeous room for drinking parties and said that he would be happy if he could fill it with friends.

Chamaeleon of Pontus in his *On Anacreon* (fr. 36 Wehrli) begins by citing the passage (Anacr. *PMG* 372):

Blonde Eurypyle is interested  
in *periphorêtos* Artemon,

(and then claims) that Artemon was referred to this way because he led a luxurious life and was carried around (*peripheresthai*) on a litter.<sup>127</sup> Anacreon (*PMG* 388) says, in fact, that Artemon moved from poverty to luxury, in the following passage:

Someone who in the old days wore a *berberion*,  
pulled tight to hide his face,  
with wooden knuckle-bones in his ears, and an ox-  
hide  
rubbed bald . . . around his ribs,  
an unwashed sheath for a cheap shield—the nasty  
Artemon,  
who spent his time with bread-women and people  
who chose to be whores,  
discovering a life of fraud,  
who often put his neck in the stocks, and often on the  
wheel,  
whose back was often beaten with a leather whip, and  
who plucked

<sup>126</sup> The festival involved drinking wine from a personal pitcher; see 10.437b–d.      <sup>127</sup> But the adjective may well mean “notorious” instead; cf. *Ar. Ach.* 850 with Olson ad loc.

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πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος·  
 ἴνυ δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεια φορέων  
 καθέρματα  
 † παῖς Κύκης † καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην |  
 φορεῖ  
 γυναιξίν αὐτῶς.

b

c

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν, λέγεται, φησὶν, ὅτι ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μὲν ὦν <Ἰώνων><sup>37</sup> ἐφαίνετο τρυφερώτερος, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ σωμασκῶν καὶ γυμναζόμενος τῶν Θηβαίων αὐτῶν μᾶλλον Βοιωτίας, ἐν Θετταλίᾳ δὲ ἵπποτροφῶν καὶ ἡμιοχῶν τῶν Ἀλεναδῶν ἵππικώτερος, ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν ἐπιτηδεύων ἐνίκα τοὺς Λάκωνας, ὑπερῆρεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Θρακῶν ἀκρατοποσίαν. τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ γυναικὰ πειρῶν ὡς ἕτερος | ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ χιλίους Δαρεικοὺς. κάλλιστος δὲ ὦν τὴν μορφήν κόμην τε ἔτρεφεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ὑποδήματα παρηλλαγμένα ἐφόρει, ἃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδες καλεῖται. ὅτε δὲ χορηγοίη πομπεύων ἐν πορφυρίδι εἰσιὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἐθαυμάζετο οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν. διὸ καὶ Ἀντισθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὡς δὴ αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γεγονῶς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἰσχυρὸν

37 add. Musurus

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128 Alcibiades (PAA 121630) was extremely wealthy and an important figure in the Athenian social and political scene in the final decades of the 5th century BCE.

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his hair and beard—

whereas now he rides on a fancy mule-cart, wearing  
gold earrings

† child of Cycê † and carries an ivory parasol,  
like a woman!

In his description of the noble Alcibiades,<sup>128</sup> Satyrus (fr. 1, *FHG* iii.160 = fr. 20 Schorn) says: People say that when he was in Ionia, he seemed to be more addicted to luxury than the Ionians were; that when he practiced wrestling and worked out in Thebes, he appeared to be more of a Boeotian than the Thebans themselves; that when he raised horses and drove chariots in Thessaly, he was a better equestrian than the Aleuadae;<sup>129</sup> that in his practice of courage and simplicity in Sparta he outdid the Lacedaemonians; and that he drank more unmixed wine than the Thracians. As a way of testing his wife, he posed as someone else and sent her 1000 darics.<sup>130</sup> He was exceptionally handsome, and he kept his hair long for most of his life and wore unusual shoes, which get the name Alcibiadeses from him. When he served as a *choregos*,<sup>131</sup> he entered the Theater as part of the procession wearing a purple robe, and it was not just the men who were in awe of him, but the women as well. This is why Socrates' student Antisthenes (*SSR* V A 198), who actually saw Alcibiades with his

<sup>129</sup> An important Thessalian noble family. <sup>130</sup> Persian gold coins (which got their name from King Darius).

<sup>131</sup> A wealthy man required (as a form of taxation) to provide funds to train the chorus and underwrite many of the other expenses associated with a performance of tragedy, comedy, or dithyramb in Athens.

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αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνδρώδη καὶ εὐπαίδευτον<sup>38</sup> καὶ τολμηρὸν  
καὶ ὠραῖον ἐφ' ἡλικίας <πάσης><sup>39</sup> γενέσθαι φησίν. εἰς  
d | δὲ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὁπότε στέλλοιτο, τέσσαρσι τῶν  
συμμαχίδων πόλεων ὥσπερ θεραπαίνας ἐχρήτο· σκη-  
νὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Περσικὴν ἔπησσον Ἐφέσιοι, τρο-  
φὴν δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ Χίῳ παρέιχον, ἱερεῖα δὲ  
παρίστασαν εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ κρεανομίας Κυζικη-  
νοί, Λέσβιοι δὲ οἶνον παρέιχον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς  
τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν. ἀφικόμενος δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐξ  
ἽΟλυμπίας δύο πίνακας ἀνέθηκεν, Ἀγλαοφῶντος γρα-  
φήν· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶχεν ἽΟλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφα-  
e | νούσας αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ | Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ  
ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης, καλλίων φαινό-  
μενος τῶν γυναικείων προσώπων. καὶ στρατηγῶν δὲ  
ἔτι καλὸς εἶναι ἤθελεν· ἀσπίδα γοῦν εἶχεν ἐκ χρυσοῦ  
καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένην, ἐφ' ἧς ἦν ἐπίσημον  
Ἔρως κεραυνὸν ἠγκυλημένος. ἐπικωμάσας δέ ποτε ὡς  
Ἄνυτον ἐραστὴν ὄντα καὶ πλούσιον, συνεπικωμάζον-  
τος αὐτῷ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐνὸς Θρασύλλου (τῶν πενήτων  
δ' οὗτος ἦν), προπιῶν τῷ Θρασύλλῳ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν  
ποτηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κυλικείῳ προκειμένων ἐκέλευσε  
f | τοὺς | ἀκολούθους ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὸν Θρασύλλον·  
εἶθ' οὕτω φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν Ἄνυτον ἀπηλλάσ-

<sup>38</sup> εὐπαίδευτον Dalechamp (*optimis institutis eruditum*):  
ἀπαίδευτον ACE      <sup>39</sup> add. Kaibel, cf. Plu. Alc. 1

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<sup>132</sup> Plu. Alc. 12.1 is very similar (but makes no mention of the  
Cyzicenes).

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own eyes, reports that he was strong, courageous, sophisticated, bold, and good-looking throughout his entire life. Whenever he traveled abroad, he used four of the allied cities like servant-girls; because the Ephesians pitched a Persian-style tent for him, the Chians supplied fodder for his horses, the Cyzicenes furnished animals for his sacrifices and distributions of meat, and the Lesbians supplied wine and his other daily needs.<sup>132</sup> When he returned to Athens from Olympia,<sup>133</sup> he dedicated two votive-plaques painted by Aglaophon; one depicted the personified Olympic and Pythian festivals placing garlands on his head, while Nemea was seated on the other, with Alcibiades—whose face was more beautiful than a woman’s—on her knees.<sup>134</sup> Alcibiades even wanted to look good when he was serving as general. He had a shield, for example, that was made of gold and ivory, and the emblem on the front of it was Eros hurling a lightning-bolt.<sup>135</sup> At one point he wandered drunk to the house of his wealthy lover Anytus, accompanied by Thrasyllus,<sup>136</sup> who was one of his friends (but had no money). After proposing a toast to Thrasyllus, he told his slave-attendants to carry off half of the cups that were stored in the cupboard to Thrasyllus’ house; and then, after thus demonstrating the depth of his affection

<sup>132</sup> Sc. after the astonishing performance of his chariot-teams there in 420 BCE; cf. 1.3d–e.

<sup>134</sup> Pausanias apparently saw the plaque that depicted Nemea (1.22.7; cf. Plu. *Alc.* 16.5). For Aglaophon, see Plin. *Nat.* 35.60, who dates him to the Olympiad 420–417 BCE (cf. above).

<sup>135</sup> For Alcibiades’ shield-device, cf. Plu. *Alc.* 16.2.

<sup>136</sup> Anytus and Thrasyllus are PAA 139460 and 517485, respectively.

σετο. ὁ δὲ Ἄνυτος πάνυ ἐλευθερίως καὶ ἐρωτικῶς, λεγόντων τινῶν ὡς ἀγνώμονα εἶη πεποικηκὸς Ἀλκιβιάδης, “οὐ μὰ Δί,” ἔφη, “ἀλλ’ εὐγνώμονα· ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἅπαντα λαβεῖν τὰ ἡμίση κατέλιπεν.” Λυσίας δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τῆς τρυφῆς αὐτοῦ λέγων φησίν· ἐκπλεύσαντες γὰρ κοινῇ Ἀξίοχος καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰς Ἑλλησποντον ἔγημαν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ δύο ὄντε Μεδοντίδα ||  
 535 τὴν Ἀβυδηνὴν καὶ ξυνωκείτην. ἔπειτα αὐτοῖν γίνεται θυγάτηρ, ἣν οὐκ ἔφαντο δύνασθαι γινῶναι ὀποτέρου εἶη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἀνδρὸς ὠραία, ξυνεκοιμῶντο καὶ ταύτη, καὶ εἰ μὲν χρῶτο καὶ ἔχοι Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀξιόχου ἔφασκεν εἶναι θυγατέρα· εἰ δὲ Ἀξίοχος, Ἀλκιβιάδου. κекωμώδῃται δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐπόλιδος ὡς καὶ ἀκόλαστος πρὸς γυναῖκας ἐν Κόλαξιν οὕτως·

b (A.) Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξίτω. | (B.) τί ληρεῖς;  
 οὐκ οἶκαδ’ ἐλθὼν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις  
 δάμαρτα;

καὶ Φερεκράτης δέ φησιν·

οὐκ ὦν ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς δοκεῖ,  
 ἀνὴρ ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι νῦν.

ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ ὦν ἔφθειρε τὴν Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως γυναῖκα Τίμαιαν· ἐπιπληττόντων δ’ αὐτῷ τινων, οὐκ ἀκραςίας ἔνεκεν συνελθεῖν ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ὁ γενόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσῃ τε τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ μηκέτι λέ-

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for Anytus, he left. When some people remarked that Alcibiades had acted thoughtlessly, Anytus responded exactly as a free man and a lover should, and said: “No, by Zeus; he behaved quite well. Because he could have taken them all, and instead he left half!” The orator Lysias (fr. 8 Carey)<sup>137</sup> describes his addiction to luxury and says: Because Axiochus and Alcibiades sailed off together to the Hellespont, and in Abydus both of them married Medontis of Abydus and lived with her. Later they had a daughter and claimed to be unable to tell whose she was. So when she reached puberty, they both slept with her as well; and if Alcibiades had her and was enjoying her, he claimed she was Axiochus’ daughter, and *vice versa*. Eupolis in *Flatterers* (fr. 171) makes fun of him for his lack of self-control where women were involved, as follows:

(A.) Let Alcibiades leave the women’s ranks! (B.)  
What’re you babbling about?  
Go home and exercise your own wife!

Pherecrates (fr. 164) as well says:

For although Alcibiades isn’t a man, so it seems,  
he’s now every woman’s man.

When he was in Sparta, he seduced Timaea, the wife of King Agis.<sup>138</sup> When people criticized him for this, he said that he had not slept with her out of simple recklessness, but in order that his son could be king of Sparta, so that

<sup>137</sup> Cf. 13.574d. Axiochus is PAA 139755.

<sup>138</sup> Timaea is Poralla #695; the Agis in question is Agis II (Poralla #26; reigned 427/6–400 BCE). Alcibiades was in exile at this point; see below.

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γωνται οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀλλ' ἀπ' Ἀλκι-  
 c βιάδου. στρατηγῶν δὲ | συμπεριήγετο αὐτῷ τήν  
 τε Λαΐδος τῆς Κορινθίας μητέρα Τιμάνδραν καὶ  
 Θεοδότην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν φυγὴν  
 κυρίους Ἀθηναίους ποιήσας τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ  
 πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων Πελοποννησίους λαβὼν  
 ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. κατιῶν τε μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς  
 τὴν πατρίδα ἔστεφάνωσε τὰς Ἀττικὰς τριήρεις θαλλῶ  
 καὶ μίτραις καὶ ταινίαις, καὶ ἀναψάμενος τὰς αἰχμα-  
 λώτους ναῦς ἠκρωτηριασμένας εἰς διακοσίας ἵππα-  
 d γωγούς τε ἄγων σκύλων καὶ ὄπλων | Λακωνικῶν καὶ  
 Πελοποννησιακῶν μεστὰς εἰσέπλει. ἡ δὲ τριήρης ἐφ'  
 ἧς αὐτὸς κατέπλει μέχρι μὲν τῶν κλείθρων τοῦ Πει-  
 ραιέως προέτρεχεν ἀλουργοῖς ἰστίοις· ὡς δ' ἐντὸς ἦν  
 καὶ τὰς κώπας ἔλαβον οἱ ἐρέται, Χρυσόγονος μὲν  
 ἤυλει τὸ τριηρικὸν ἐνδεδυκῶς τὴν Πυθικὴν στολὴν,  
 Καλλιππίδης δ' ὁ τραγωδὸς ἐκέλευε τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 σκηνῆς στολὴν ἠμφιεσμένος. διὸ καὶ χαριέντως εἶπέν  
 τις· “οὔτ' ἂν δύο Λυσάνδρους ὑπήνεγκεν ἡ Σπάρτη  
 οὔτ' ἂν δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας Ἀθῆναι.” ἐμιμείτο δὲ Ἀλκι-

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139 A famous courtesan; cf. 12.544b, d; 13.574e–f (probably drawn from the same source, although Laïs' mother is there called Damasandra). 140 PAA 505035.

141 In 415 BCE, in the aftermath of the Affair of the Herms.

142 In 408 BCE. 143 Stephanis #2637. His “Pythian robes” indicated that he had been victorious in the games at Delphi. All these details appear to come from Duris *FGrH* 76 F 70, cited by Plu. *Alc.* 32.2 (who is dubious of the story).



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their kings would no longer be said to be descended from Heracles, but from Alcibiades. When he was serving as general, he used to take Timandra, the mother of Laïs of Corinth,<sup>139</sup> everywhere with him, along with the Athenian courtesan Theodote.<sup>140</sup> After he went into exile,<sup>141</sup> he got control of the Hellespont for the Athenians; he captured more than 5000 Peloponnesians and sent them off to Athens. Later, when he returned to his native land,<sup>142</sup> he hung olive branches, strips of cloth, and ribbons over the Athenian triremes; lashed about 200 captured ships with their prows lopped off to them; and sailed into harbor at the head of a column of horse-transport ships full of plunder, including Spartan and Peloponnesian arms. The trireme on which he personally sailed into port came all the way up to the Piraeus booms using sea-purple sails, and once it was inside the harbor and the rowers had taken hold of the oars, Chrysogonus<sup>143</sup> began to play the trireme-song on the pipes, wearing his Pythian robes, while the tragic actor Callippides<sup>144</sup> gave the commands, dressed in his stage-costume. This is why someone made the witty comment: "Sparta couldn't have put up with two Lysanders any more than Athens could with two Alcibiadeses!"<sup>145</sup> Alcibiades

<sup>144</sup> O'Connor #274; Stephanis #1348; PAA 558950. He was victorious five times at the Lenaia.

<sup>145</sup> Ael. *VH* 11.7 divides this into two separate quotations, one (about Lysander) by a Spartan, the other (about Alcibiades) by an Athenian. Lysander (Poralla #504; d. 395 BCE) was Sparta's most important general in the final years of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th, but came to be regarded as dangerously over-ambitious.

e βιάδης | τὸν Πausανίου Μηδισμὸν καὶ καθομιλῶν  
Φαρνάβαζον τὴν Περσικὴν ἐνεδύετο στολὴν καὶ τὴν  
Περσικὴν ἔμαθε φωνήν, καθάπερ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς.

Δούρις δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν,  
Πausανίας μὲν, φησὶν, ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς  
καταθέμενος τὸν πατριὸν τρίβωνα τὴν Περσικὴν ἐν-  
εδύετο στολὴν. ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος  
ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ περόνη μετελάμ-  
βανε τραγικόν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκυρί-

f ευσειν, Περσικαῖς ἐχρήτο | στολαῖς. Δημήτριος δὲ  
πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὑπόδεσιν ἦν εἶχεν  
κατεσκευάζεν ἐκ πολλοῦ δαπανήματος· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ  
μὲν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐργασίας σχεδὸν ἐμβάτης πύλημα  
λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας, τούτῳ δὲ  
χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνύφαινον ποικιλίαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἔμ-  
προσθεν ἐνιέντες οἱ τεχνῖται. αἱ δὲ χλαμύδες αὐτοῦ  
ἦσαν ὄρφνινον ἔχουσαι τὸ φέγγος τῆς χροῆς, τὸ δὲ  
πάν ὁ πόλος ἐνύφαντο χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχων καὶ τὰ  
536 δώδεκα ζῳδία. || μίτρα δὲ χρυσόπαστος ἦν, <ἦ><sup>40</sup>  
καυσίαν ἀλουργῆ οὔσαν ἔσφιγγεν, ἐπὶ τὸ νῶτον φέ-  
ρουσα τὰ τελευταῖα καταβλήματα τῶν ὑφασμάτων.

<sup>40</sup> add. Schweighäuser

<sup>146</sup> Pausanias (Poralla #595) was Sparta's greatest general in the post-Persian War years.

<sup>147</sup> A Persian satrap with whom Alcibiades took refuge, and who ultimately had him murdered in 404/3 BCE. Cf. 13.570c n., 574e. <sup>148</sup> Themistocles (PAA 502610; cf. 12.533d–e) was

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followed Pausanias<sup>146</sup> example in adopting Persian manners, and when he was trying to win over Pharnabazus,<sup>147</sup> he began to wear Persian clothes and learned to speak the language, just as Themistocles did.<sup>148</sup>

Duris says in Book XXII of his *History* (FGrH 76 F 14): The Spartan king Pausanias gave up the rough robe traditionally worn in his country and began to dress in Persian clothing; the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius<sup>149</sup> altered his style of dress to a *xustis*<sup>150</sup> and a gold garland held on with a pin, like those worn in tragedy; and after Alexander took control of Asia, he wore Persian robes. But Demetrius<sup>151</sup> outdid them all; for he spent enormous sums on the production of the shoes he wore. They were constructed more or less like *embatai*, but the felt was made from extremely expensive purple fabric, and the cobblers wove a large amount of gold decoration into it and attached it to the front and back. His cloaks, meanwhile, were a shiny reddish-black color, and images of the night sky, complete with gold stars and the 12 signs of the Zodiac, were woven into them from one end to the other. His tiara was spangled with gold and was wrapped tight around a sea-purple Macedonian hat, and the fringe extended down his back. When the Demetria festival was celebrated in Athens, the

ostracized sometime in the late 470s BCE and eventually made his way to Asia Minor, where Artaxerxes I appointed him governor of Magnesia on the Maeander; cf. 1.29f–30a with n.

<sup>149</sup> Presumably Dionysius I (d. 367 BCE).

<sup>150</sup> A long, ornately decorated robe of soft, rich fabric.

<sup>151</sup> Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 BCE), the son of Antigonus I. For the details of his costume (below), cf. Plu. *Demetr.* 41.4.

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γυνομένων δὲ τῶν Δημητρίων Ἀθήνησιν ἐγράφετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκηνίου ἐπὶ τῆς Οἴκουμένης ὀχούμενος.

Νύμφις δ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, Πανσανίας, φησὶν, ὁ περὶ Πλαταιᾶς νικήσας Μαρδόνιον, τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξελθὼν νόμιμα καὶ εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιδουὺς περὶ Βυζάντιον διατρίβων  
 b τὸν χαλκοῦν κρατῆρα τὸν ἀνακείμενον τοῖς | θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἰδρυμένοις, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἶναι συμβαίνει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιγράψαι ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναθείη, ὑποθεὶς τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, διὰ τὴν τρυφήν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ·

μῆμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι  
 Πανσανίας ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου  
 πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱὸς  
 Κλεομβρότου, ἀρχαίης Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς.

Ἐτρύφησεν δὲ καὶ Φάραξ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ὡς |  
 c Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἱστορεῖ· καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς οὕτως ἀσελγῶς ἐχρήσατο καὶ χύδην ὥστε πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι Σικελιώτην ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα Σπαρτιάτην. ἐν δὲ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ δευτέρῃ φησὶν ὡς Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Λάκων ἀποστὰς τῆς πατρίου διαίτης συνηθίσθη

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<sup>152</sup> I.e. the backdrop for the stage in the Theater of Dionysus, since the Demetria festival was actually the City Dionysia celebrated under another name (Plu. *Demetr.* 12.2; cf. 6.252f–3f).

<sup>153</sup> In 479 BCE, in the great battle that finally drove the Per-

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*proskênion*<sup>152</sup> featured a picture of him being carried on the shoulders of Oikoumenê (“the Inhabited World”).

Nymphis of Heracleia says in Book VI of his history of his native land (*FGrH* 432 F 9): Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius at Plataea,<sup>153</sup> abandoned Spartan customs and surrendered to arrogance; when he was staying in Byzantium, he dared to inscribe on the bronze mixing-bowl that was dedicated to the gods whose sanctuaries are located at the mouth of the harbor, and which is still preserved today, that he had dedicated it personally, by adding the following epigram (‘Simon.’ *FGE* 835–8), having been carried away by his addiction to luxury and his arrogance:

As a monument to his courage, Pausanias, the leader  
of spacious Greece, dedicated (this) to lord  
Poseidon  
at the edge of the Euxine Sea; (he was) a Spartan by  
birth, the son  
of Cleombrotus, and from the ancient race of  
Heracles.

Theopompus in Book XL (*FGrH* 115 F 192) reports that Pharax of Sparta<sup>154</sup> was also addicted to luxury; he was so crudely and completely devoted to enjoying himself, that he was far more likely to be suspected of being from Sicily on that account, than to be thought a Spartan because of his origins. And in Book LII (*FGrH* 115 F 232) he says that after Archidamus of Sparta<sup>155</sup> abandoned his ancestral lifestyle, he grew accustomed to behaving in a soft,

sians decisively out of Greece. For a similar anecdote, cf. Th. 1.132.2. For Pausanias, see 12.535e n. <sup>154</sup> Poralla #717.

<sup>155</sup> Archidamus III (Poralla #158) reigned 359–338 BCE.

- ξενικῶς καὶ μαλακῶς· διόπερ οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὸν οἶκον  
 βίον ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἔσπουδαζεν αἰεὶ δι' ἀκρασίαν  
 ἔξω διατρίβειν. καὶ Ταραντίνων πρεσβευσαμένων  
 d περὶ συμμαχίας ἔσπευσε | συνεξελθεῖν αὐτοῖς βο-  
 θός· κακεὶ γινόμενος καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ  
 ταφῆς κατηξιώθη, καίτοι Ταραντίνων πολλὰ χρήματα  
 ὑποσχομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνελέσθαι  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστο-  
 ριῶν Θρακῶν φησι τῶν καλουμένων Κροβύζων βασι-  
 λέα γενέσθαι Ἰσάνθην, τρυφῇ πάντας τοὺς καθ'  
 ἑαυτὸν ὑπερβαλλόμενον· ἦν δὲ καὶ πλούσιος καὶ κα-  
 λός. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖον  
 e φησι τὸν δεύτερον Αἰγύπτου | βασιλεύσαντα, πάντων  
 σεμνότατον γινόμενον τῶν δυναστῶν καὶ παιδείας εἶ-  
 τινα καὶ ἄλλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμεληθέντα οὕτως ἔξαπα-  
 τηθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκαί-  
 ρου τρυφῆς ὥστε τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὑπολαβεῖν βιώ-  
 σεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι μόνος εὖροι τὴν ἀθανασίαν.  
 κατατεινόμενον οὖν ὑπὸ ποδάγρας πλείους ἡμέρας, ὥς  
 ποτ' οὖν ἐρράισεν καὶ κατείδεν διὰ τινων ὑπολαμ-  
 πάδων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀριστοποι-  
 ομένους καὶ τὰ τυχόντα προσφερομένους ἐπὶ τε τῆς  
 ἄμμου χύδην ἐρριμμένους, εἶπεν· “ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, τὸ  
 μηδὲ τούτων ἕνα γενέσθαι.”  
 f Περὶ δὲ Καλλίου καὶ τῶν τούτου κολάκων | φθάνο-  
 μεν καὶ πρότερον εἰπόντες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καινῶς Ἡρακλεί-

156 Otherwise unknown.

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foreign style; he was accordingly unable to tolerate life at home and was always eager to spend time abroad, because of his lack of self-control. When the inhabitants of Tarentum sent an embassy seeking an alliance, he was eager to travel back with them to lend them his support; when he got there and died in the war, he was not regarded as deserving burial, even though the Tarentines offered a substantial amount of money to their enemies in an attempt to recover his body. Phylarchus says in Book X of his *History* (FGrH 81 F 20) that Isanthes<sup>156</sup> became king of the Thracian tribe known as the Crobyzoi and outdid all his contemporaries in the extent of his addiction to luxury; he was both rich and handsome. And in Book XXII (FGrH 81 F 40) the same author claims that, despite the fact that the second Ptolemy to become king of Egypt<sup>157</sup> was the most august of rulers and as devoted to learning as anyone ever has been, he was so deluded and corrupted by his inopportune addiction to luxury that he imagined that he was going to live forever and claimed that he alone had discovered the secret to immortality. So when he was tortured by gout for many days, and then eventually recovered and looked out a window and saw average Egyptians having lunch on the riverbanks, eating simple food and lounging on the sand, he said: "Poor me—I wish I was one of them!"

We discussed Callias and his flatterers earlier.<sup>158</sup> But since Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 58

<sup>157</sup> Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

<sup>158</sup> Perhaps a reference to 5.218b–c (where the discussion, however, is less detailed than would seem to be implied here). The Callias in question is Callias III (PAA 554500), and is to be distinguished from his ancestors who bore the same name (below).

δης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ἱστορεῖ περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ, ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβὼν διηγήσομαι. ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον  
 εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τότε, ὡς φασιν,  
 Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνὴρ Διόμνηστος κύριος ἐγένετο τῶν τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ χρημάτων· ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τῷ  
 ἐκείνου σκηνῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰς οἴκημά τι θέμενος  
 537 τῆς οἰκίας, ἢ τελευτησάντων δὲ πάντων διέλαθεν ἔχων  
 ὁ Διόμνηστος τὸ χρυσίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ τῶν Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν στρατεύ-  
 μα, προστάξας ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι<sup>41</sup> τὴν πόλιν, εἰκό-  
 τως ὑπέξειθέντο ὅσοι χρημάτων ἠπόρουσαν. οἱ οὖν  
 καταλελειμμένοι τῆς τοῦ Διομνήστου οἰκίας παρ' Ἰπ-  
 πόνικον τὸν Καλλίου τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἐπικαλούμενον  
 b ὑπέξέθεντο τὰ χρήματα ἢ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἀνα-  
 σκευασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀπάντων <τῶν><sup>42</sup>  
 Ἐρετριέων κατέσχον οὗτοι τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα.  
 ὥστε Ἰππόνικος ὁ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονὼς τοῦ τὴν παρα-  
 καταθήκην λαβόντος ἤτησεν Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ ἐν  
 ἀκροπόλει τόπον ἔν' οἰκοδομήσεται τοῖς χρήμασιν  
 ὅπου κείσεται, λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ὄν ἐν ἰδιωτικῇ  
 οἰκίᾳ πολλὰ χρήματα εἶναι. καὶ ἔδοσαν <ἂν><sup>43</sup> Ἀθη-

<sup>41</sup> ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ποιῆσαι A: γενέσθαι del. Dindorf:  
 ποιῆσαι del. Schweighäuser      <sup>42</sup> add. Musurus  
<sup>43</sup> add. Wilamowitz

159 In 490 BCE, when the Persian commander Datis burned and enslaved the city. The story that follows is historically confused—doubtless in large part because it is untrue.



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Wehrli = fr. 42 Schütrumpf) offers some unusual information about him, I will take the matter up from the beginning and give you the full story. When the Persians made their initial attack on Euboea,<sup>159</sup> people say, at that point a man from Eretria named Diomnestus got control of the commander's money; because the commander pitched his tent in Diomnestus' field and put his money in a storage box inside it, and when they all died, no one realized that Diomnestus had his gold. When the Persian king sent a second expedition against Euboea, he ordered them to destroy the city, and the rich people—as one would expect—quietly transferred their assets elsewhere. The surviving members of Diomnestus' family discreetly sent their money off to Athens to Hipponicus the son of Callias, who was nicknamed Ammon;<sup>160</sup> when all the inhabitants of Eretria were sent into exile by the Persians, (Callias and Hipponicus) got control of the money—of which there was quite a bit.<sup>161</sup> As a consequence, Hipponicus, the son of the Callias who had taken control of the money entrusted to him,<sup>162</sup> eventually asked the Athenians for a spot on the Acropolis to build a storeroom for his money, arguing that it was dangerous to keep such large sums in a private house. The Athenians would have given it to him; but one

<sup>160</sup> Hipponicus I (PAA 538905). His by-name apparently indicates an association with the oracular shrine of Zeus Ammon in Libya. His father is Callias I (PAA 554470). <sup>161</sup> In fact, the family's enormous wealth came primarily from mining; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 259–61. Plu. *Aristid.* 5.5–6 preserves a similarly wild tale about the origins of Callias' wealth. <sup>162</sup> Hipponicus II (PAA 538910), the son of Callias II (PAA 554480).

- ναίοι· νουθετηθεῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μετενόησεν. τούτων οὖν τῶν χρημάτων<sup>44</sup> Καλλίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν βιώσας—ποῖοι γὰρ οὐ κόλακες ἢ τί πλήθος οὐχ ἐταίρων περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ποίας δὲ δαπά-
- c νας οὐχ ὑπερέωρα | ἐκείνος;—ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν περιέστησεν ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆν βίος ὥστε μετὰ γραδίου βαρβάρου διατελεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεῆς γενόμενος τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν. τὸν δὲ Νικίου, φησί, τοῦ Περ-  
γασῆθεν πλοῦτον ἢ τὸν Ἴσχομάχου τίνες ἀπώλεσαν; οὐκ Αὐτοκλῆς καὶ Ἐπικλῆς, οἱ μετ' ἀλλήλων ζῆν προελόμενοι καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι ποιούμενοι τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατανάλωσαν, κώνειον πίνοντες ἅμα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν;
- d Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ | πάνυ τρυφῆς Ἐφίππος μὲν ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Τελευτῆς φησιν ὅτι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἔκειτο αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς θρόνος καὶ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενος ἐχρημάτιζε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων. Νικοβούλη δὲ φησιν ὅτι παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον πάντες οἱ ἀγωνισταὶ ἐσπούδαζον τέρπειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ δεῖπνῳ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεισὸδίοντι ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδας ἠγωνίσαστο καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον προθύμως προπίνων καὶ

<sup>44</sup> sic CE: οὖν ὄντων τῶν χρημάτων A

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of his friends advised against the idea, and he changed his mind. So Callias had control of this money and devoted his life to pleasure—and what flatterers and what a mass of friends surrounded him! and what opportunity for spending money did he ever pass up?—but all the same, his hedonistic lifestyle reduced him to such a condition that he was forced to live with an old barbarian woman and died lacking even the most basic necessities of life. And as for the wealth of Nicias of Pergase<sup>163</sup> or Ischomachus,<sup>164</sup> (Heracleides) says, who used it up? Was it not Autocles and Epicles,<sup>165</sup> who decided to live together and make pleasure their absolute priority, and who, after they spent everything they had, drank hemlock and died in one another's company?

As for the addiction to luxury of Alexander the Great, Ehippippus of Olynthus in his *On the Death of Hephæstion and Alexander* (FGrH 126 F 4) says that a gold throne and couches with silver feet were set up for him in the park, and that (Alexander) used to sit on these, in the company of his inner circle, and conduct his business. Nicoboule<sup>166</sup> (FGrH 127 F 2) claims that all the actors tried to keep the king amused during dinner, and that at his final dinner Alexander himself acted out a scene from Euripides' *Andromache* from memory, and aggressively proposed

<sup>164</sup> PAA 542610. He is probably to be identified with the wealthy landowner (PAA 542570, 542575, 542585) who appears in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and was the first husband of one of Callias III's wives, and the father of another; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B. C.* (Oxford, 1971) 265–8.

<sup>165</sup> PAA 238935 and 393135, respectively. For the anecdote, cf. Ael. VH 4.23.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. 10.434c with n.

e τοὺς ἄλλους | ἠνάγκαζεν. Ἐφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱεράς ἐσθήτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων τὴν Περσικὴν στολήν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον  
f καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσιν τὸ διάδημα | τὸ βασιλικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τά τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντῆν καὶ ρόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν εἰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Κόμμοδος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχημάτων παρακείμενον εἶχεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον ρόπαλον ὑπεστρωμένης αὐτῷ λεοντῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς καλεῖσθαι ἤθελεν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοτελικοῦ τοσοῦτοις αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦντος θεοῖς, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι; ἔρρανε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ μύρω σπουδαίῳ καὶ οἴνω εὐώδει τὸ δάπεδον, || ἐθυμιᾶτο δὲ αὐτῷ σμύρνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θυμιάματα, εὐφημία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχε πάντας ὑπὸ δέους τοὺς παρόντας· ἀφόρητος γὰρ ἦν καὶ φονικός· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι μελαγχολικός. ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ ποιήσας τῷ Διούσῳ θυσίαν καὶ

167 Shoes of some sort, which were "split around" the sides.

168 I.e. Hermes' costume, marking the comment about Alexander's everyday costume as an intrusion of some sort into the text.

169 The comment about Alexander's character—which is not

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toasts of unmixed wine and forced the other members of the group (to drink). Ephippus (*FGrH* 126 F 5) also says that Alexander wore sacred garments at dinner parties: sometimes Ammon's purple robe, *perischideis*,<sup>167</sup> and horns, like the god; at other times Artemis' costume (which he often wore when he was on his chariot), dressing in a Persian robe and allowing his bow and his quiver to be seen hanging from his shoulders; on occasion Hermes' costume; otherwise, generally, on an everyday basis a purple cloak, an off-white tunic, and his Macedonian hat with the royal diadem on it, but at parties the sandals, the traveler's hat on his head, and the herald's staff in his hand;<sup>168</sup> and frequently a lion-skin and a club, like Heracles. Why then does it come as a surprise that in our own day the emperor Commodus had Heracles' club lying beside him on his chariot, and a lion-skin stretched out beneath him, and wanted to be referred to as Heracles, given that Aristotle's student Alexander tried to make himself resemble so many gods, including Artemis? Alexander also had the ground sprinkled with expensive perfume and sweet-smelling wine, and myrrh and other fragrant substances were burned in his honor, and everyone present remained respectfully silent out of terror; because he was impossible and bloodthirsty, and appeared to be unbalanced.<sup>169</sup> He made a sacrifice to Dionysus in Ecbatana,<sup>170</sup> and the ar-

drawn from Ephippus, who was the king's contemporary (Berve i #331)—is also intended to apply obliquely to Commodus (sole emperor 180–92 CE), despite the superficially panegyric, exculpatory tone of the passage.

<sup>170</sup> In Spring 324 BCE, at which point there were tensions with Athens (see below) in connection with Alexander's Exiles Decree.

- πάντων δαψιλῶς ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ παρασκευασθέντων, καὶ Σατραβάτης ὁ σατράπης τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰστίασε πάντας. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν, φησὶν ὁ Ἑφιππος, κηρύγματα ἐγένετο ὑπερήφανα καὶ τῆς
- b Περσικῆς ὑπεροψίας ἀνθαδέστερα· ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἀνακηρυττόντων καὶ στεφανούντων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἷς τις τῶν ὄπλοφυλάκων ὑπερπεπαικῶς πᾶσαν κολακείαν κοινωσάμενος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ὅτι, “Γόργος ὁ ὄπλοφύλαξ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἄμμωνος υἱὸν στεφανοῖ χρυσοῖς<sup>45</sup> τρισχιλίοις, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθήνας πολιορκῆ, μυρίαίς πανοπλίαις καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καταπέλταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις βέλεσιν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανοῖς.” Χάρης δ’ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν
- c Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν, ὅτε, φησὶν, εἶλε Δαρεῖον, γάμους ἢ συνετέλεσεν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο θαλάμους κατασκευασάμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ οἶκος ἑκατοντάκλιμος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκάστη ἦν κλίνη κεκοσμημένη στολῇ γαμικῇ εἵκοσι μνῶν ἀργυρᾶ· ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρυσόπους ἦν. συμπάρελαβεν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοξένους ἅπαντας καὶ κατέκλινεν ἀντιπροσώπους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νυμφίοις, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦν-

<sup>45</sup> χρυσοῖς Olson: χρυσοῖς A

<sup>171</sup> I.e. offering him extravagant gifts (or promises of gifts), as what follows makes clear. Cf. 12.539a with n.

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rangements for the feast were all lavish, and the satrap Satrabates hosted a dinner for all the soldiers. Large crowds gathered to watch, according to Ehippus, and arrogant proclamations were made that were even more misguided than the insolence typical of the Persians; because as various people were making this proclamation and that, and garlanding Alexander,<sup>171</sup> one of the armorers, going beyond all normal flattery, with Alexander's complicity ordered the herald to announce: "Gorgus the armorer<sup>172</sup> garlands Alexander the son of Ammon with 3000 gold coins; and whenever he besieges Athens, (Gorgus promises to garland him) with 10,000 complete suits of armor, and an equal number of catapults, and with all the other missiles he needs for the war." Chares says in Book X of his *History involving Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 4): When he overthrew Darius,<sup>173</sup> he concluded marriages for himself and his friends, setting up 92 bed-chambers in a single spot. The structure was large enough to hold 100 couches, and every couch in it was decorated with a marriage robe worth 20 *minas* of silver;<sup>174</sup> his own couch had gold feet. He brought all his personal friends along to the party, and had them lie down opposite himself and the other bridegrooms, while the rest of his foot-soldiers and sailors, along with the ambassadors and other visitors, were given

<sup>172</sup> Berve i #236.

<sup>173</sup> Darius was killed by his own men in 330 BCE, after it became obvious that his defense of his empire had failed. The mass marriage of Alexander's men to local women, on the other hand, took place in 324. A condensed version of the material that follows is preserved also at Ael. *VH* 8.7.

<sup>174</sup>  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a talent.

d τας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. | κατεσκευάστο δὲ ὁ οἶκος πολυτελῶς  
καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀθονίοις πολυτελέ-  
σιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα πορφυροῖς καὶ φοινικοῖς χρυσοῦ-  
φέσιν. τοῦ δὲ μένειν τὴν σκηνὴν ὑπέκειντο κίονες  
εἰκοσαπήχεις περίχρυσοι καὶ διάλιθοι καὶ περιάργυ-  
ροι. περιεβέβληντο δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πολυτελεῖς  
αὐλαῖαι ζωωτοὶ καὶ διάχρυσοι, κανόνας ἔχουσαι περι-  
χρύσους καὶ περιαργύρους. τῆς δ' αὐλῆς ἦν τὸ περι-  
μετρον στάδιοι τέσσαρες. ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα πρὸς  
e σάλπιγγα τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, καὶ ἄλλως | δ' αἰεὶ  
ὄτε τύχοι σπονδοποιούμενος, ὥστε πᾶν εἰδέναί τὸ  
στρατόπεδον. ἐπὶ πέντε δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπετελέσθησαν οἱ  
γάμοι, καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ βαρβάρων  
καὶ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαυματοποιοὶ  
ἦσαν διαπρέποντες < . . . > Σκύμνος Ταραντίνος καὶ  
Φιλιστίδης Συρακόσιος Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Μιτυληναῖ-  
ος· μεθ' οὓς ἐπεδείξατο ῥαψωδὸς Ἄλεξις Ταραντίνος.  
παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ ψιλοκιθαρισταὶ Κρατίνος Μηθυμ-  
ναῖος, Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Τήσιος·  
ἐκιθάρωδησαν δὲ Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Ταραντίνος καὶ  
f Ἀριστοκράτης | ὁ Θηβαῖος. αὐλωδοὶ δὲ παρῆλθον  
Διονύσιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης, Ὑπέρβολος Κυζικηνός·

175 I.e. on the floor.

176 Literally "20 cubits."

177 Literally "four stades."

178 Scymnus of Tarentum is Berve i #713; Stephanis #2285. Philistides of Syracuse is Berve i #791; Stephanis #2508. Hera-  
cleitus of Mitylene is Berve i #351; Stephanis #1092. Cf. 1.20a,  
which is clearly a reference to the same passage of Chares.



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couches in the courtyard. The structure was expensively and ostentatiously decorated with costly draperies and linen cloths, beneath which<sup>175</sup> was purple and scarlet fabric with gold woven into it. Gilded columns 30 feet<sup>176</sup> high, set with precious stones and covered with silver, were set beneath the canopy to keep it in place. Expensive curtains with animals woven into them and shot through with gold extended around the perimeter; the rods that held them up were gilded and silvered. The courtyard was half a mile<sup>177</sup> in circumference. The meal was organized by trumpet-blasts, some of which came during the marriage ceremonies, while others occurred whenever (the king) was making a libation, so that the entire army would know what was going on. The marriage-celebrations went on for five days, and enormous numbers of barbarians and Greeks performed; the Indian magicians were outstanding . . . Scymnus of Tarentum, Philistides of Syracuse, and Heracleitus of Mitylene;<sup>178</sup> after them, the rhapsode Alexis of Tarentum<sup>179</sup> put on a show. The *psilokitharistai*<sup>180</sup> Cratinus of Methymna, Aristonymus of Athens, and Athenodorus of Teos<sup>181</sup> also appeared; and Heracleitus of Tarentum and Aristocrates of Thebes<sup>182</sup> played the lyre and sang. The aulodes Dionysius of Heracleia and Hyper-

<sup>179</sup> Berve i #44; Stephanis #127.

<sup>180</sup> *Psilokitharistai* played the *kithara* (lyre), but did not sing along with it.

<sup>181</sup> Cratinus of Methymna is Berve i #449; Stephanis #1494. Aristonymus of Athens is Berve i #141; Stephanis #398; PAA 201920. Athenodorus of Teos is Berve i #28; Stephanis #76.

<sup>182</sup> Heracleitus of Tarentum is Berve i #352; Stephanis #1093. Aristocrates of Thebes is Berve i #124; Stephanis #345.

παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐληταί, οἱ πρῶτον τὸ Πυθικὸν  
 ἠϋλησαν, εἰθ' ἐξῆς μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, Τιμόθεος, Φρύνι-  
 χος, Καφισίας, Διόφαντος, ἔτι δὲ Εὐϊος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς.  
 καὶ ἔκτοτε οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Διονυσοκόλακες  
 Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν δῶρων  
 ὑπερβολάς, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἦσθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὑπεκρί-  
 θησαν δὲ τραγωδοὶ μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ||  
 539 καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῶδοι δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων  
 καὶ Ἀρίστων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Φασίμηλος ὁ ψάλτης. οἱ  
 δὲ πεμφθέντες, φησί, στέφανοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν  
 καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταλάντων ἦσαν μυρίων πεντακισχι-  
 λίων. Πολύκλειτος δ' ὁ Λαρισαῖος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν  
 Ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι φησι τὸν  
 b Ἀλέξανδρον | καὶ αὐλητρίδας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐλητὰς αἰεὶ  
 ἔπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πίνειν ἄχρι τῆς ἕω.  
 Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βίων περὶ Δαρείου λέγων  
 τοῦ καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησὶν ὁ Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλεὺς ἀθλοθετῶν τοῖς τὰς ἡδονὰς αὐτῷ πορί-

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<sup>183</sup> Dionysius of Heracleia is Berve i #277; Stephanis #723.  
 Hyperbolus of Cyzicus is Berve i #761; Stephanis #2446.

<sup>184</sup> Timotheus of Thebes is Berve i #749; Stephanis #2417.  
 Phrynichus is Berve i #815; Stephanis #2585. Caphisias is Berve i  
 #416; Stephanis #1387. Diophantus is Berve i #282; Stephanis  
 #783. Euius of Chalcis is Berve i #315; Stephanis #952.

<sup>185</sup> Literally "Dionysus-flatterers," i.e. actors; cf. 6.249f n.

<sup>186</sup> Thessalus is Berve i #371; O'Connor # 239; Stephanis  
 #1200; PAA 513215. Athenodorus of Teos is Berve i #28;  
 O'Connor #13; Stephanis #75; PAA 110960. Aristocritus is Berve i

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bolus of Cyzicus<sup>183</sup> were also there, as were the pipe-players Timotheus, Phrynichus, Caphisias, and Diophantus, along with Euius of Chalcis;<sup>184</sup> they first played the Pythian piece and then performed immediately afterward with their choruses. From then on the individuals previously referred to as *Dionusokolakes*<sup>185</sup> were known as *Alexandrolakes* (“Alexander-flatterers”), because of the extravagance of the gifts made to the performers Alexander enjoyed. The tragic actors Thessalus, Athenodorus, and Aristocritus<sup>186</sup> gave performances, as did the comic actors Lycon, Phormio, and Ariston.<sup>187</sup> The harp-player Phasimelus<sup>188</sup> was also there. The garlands<sup>189</sup> sent by the ambassadors and the other guests, says (Chares), were worth 15,000 talents. Polyclitus of Larisa in Book VIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 128 F 1) claims that Alexander slept on a gold couch, and that pipe-girls and pipe-players always went with him to his camp and drank there until dawn. Clearchus says in his *On Lives* (fr. 50 Wehrli), in his discussion of the Darius who was killed by Alexander:<sup>190</sup> Although the Persian king established prizes for anyone who provided him with new pleasures, he put it beyond doubt

#125; O’Connor #65; Stephanis #352. For these performances, cf. *Plu. Alex.* 29.1–3. <sup>187</sup> Lycon of Locrian Scarphe is Berve i #478; O’Connor #319; Stephanis #1567; PAA 611915. Phormio is Berve i #811; O’Connor #498; Stephanis #2579. Ariston is Berve i #140; O’Connor #74; Stephanis #377.

<sup>188</sup> Berve i #769; Stephanis #2463.

<sup>189</sup> I.e. “the gifts”; cf. 12.538b n., above.

<sup>190</sup> I.e. Darius III, who was in fact killed not by Alexander, but by his own men in 330 BCE. The fragment is clearly an intrusion into what is otherwise an extended discussion of Alexander in particular.

ζουσι·ν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων ἡττωμένην ἀπέδειξε  
 τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ καταγωνιζόμενος ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἤσθε-  
 το πρότερον ἢ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἕτεροι λαβόντες ἀνεκη-  
 c ρύχθησαν. | Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν  
 Ἱστοριῶν καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ  
 Περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους φησὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τρυφῇ χρῆσασθαι. ὧν εἷς ὧν καὶ  
 Ἄγων χρυσοῦς ἦλος ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσι<sup>46</sup> καὶ τοῖς  
 ὑποδήμασιν ἐφόρει. Κλείτος δ' ὁ Λευκὸς καλούμενος  
 ὅτε χρηματίζειν μέλλοι, ἐπὶ πορφυρῶν ἱματίων δια-  
 περιπατῶν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν διελέγετο. Περδίκκα δὲ  
 καὶ Κρατερῶ φιλογυμναστοῦσιν ἠκολούθουν διφθέ-  
 ραι σταδιαῖαι τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ὑφ' αἷς περιλαμβάνον-  
 τες τόπον ἐν ταῖς καταστρατοπεδείαις ἐγυμνάζοντο·  
 ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποζύγια πολλὰ τὰ τὴν κόνιν  
 d κομίζοντα πρὸς τὴν | ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ χρεῖαν. Λεον-  
 νάτῳ δὲ καὶ Μενελάῳ φιλοκυνήγοις οὖσιν αὐλαῖαι  
 σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἠκολούθουν, αἷς περιστάντες τὰς  
 θήρας ἐκυνήγουν. τὰς δὲ χρυσᾶς πλατάνους καὶ τὴν  
 χρυσοῦν ἄμπελον, ὑφ' ἣν οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρη-  
 μάτιζον πολλάκις καθήμενοι, σμαραγδίνους βότρυσ  
 ἔχουσαν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἀνθράκων ἄλλων τε παντο-  
 दाπῶν λίθων ὑπερβαλλόντων ταῖς πολυτελείαις, ἐλάτ-

<sup>46</sup> κρηπίσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ACE: καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμα-  
 σιν del. Kaibel

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that all this high living brought about the collapse of his kingship, although he failed to realize that he was defeating himself, until others took away his sceptre and were proclaimed the ruler. Phylarchus in Book XXIII of his *History* (FGrH 81 F 41) and Agatharchides of Cnidus in Book X of *On Asia* (FGrH 86 F 3) claim that the members of Alexander's inner circle lived in extraordinary luxury.<sup>191</sup> Hagnon,<sup>192</sup> who was one of them, wore gold nails in his boots and his sandals. When Cleitus (the one known as "the White")<sup>193</sup> was going to conduct business, he walked around on purple robes while talking to the people he was meeting. Because Perdicas and Craterus<sup>194</sup> loved to work out, their baggage included hides that totaled 100s of yards<sup>195</sup> in length, with which they fenced off an area wherever the army camped to exercise in. Their baggage-train also included a large number of draft-animals that carried the dust needed for their wrestling pit. And because Leonnatus and Menelaus<sup>196</sup> liked to hunt, their baggage included about 12 miles<sup>197</sup> of fabric screens, with which they surrounded the areas where they hunted. As for the gold plane-trees and the gold grapevine beneath which the Persian kings commonly sat to conduct their business, and which featured grapes made of emeralds as well as of Indian rubies and extremely expensive jewels of all other

<sup>191</sup> The opening section of Ael. *VH* 9.3 is very similar to what follows; cf. Plu. *Alex.* 40.1.      <sup>192</sup> Berve i #17.

<sup>193</sup> Berve i #428; to be distinguished from Cleitus "the Black" (Berve i #427).      <sup>194</sup> Berve i #627 and 446, respectively.

<sup>195</sup> Literally "a number of stades."

<sup>196</sup> Berve i #466 and 505, respectively.

<sup>197</sup> Literally "100 stades."

τω φησὶν ὁ Φύλαρχος φαίνεσθαι τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν  
 ἐκάστοτε γινομένης παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δαπάνης. ἦν  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ κλινῶν ἐνενήκοντα, χρυσοῖ δὲ  
 κίονες πενήκοντα κατεῖχον αὐτήν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερτείνοντες  
 e οὐρανίσκοι | διάχρυσοι ποικίλμασιν ἐκπεπονημένοι  
 πολυτελέσιν ἐσκέπαζον τὸν ἄνω τόπον. καὶ πρῶτοι  
 μὲν Πέρσαι πεντακόσιοι μηλοφόροι περὶ αὐτήν ἐντὸς  
 εἰστήκεσαν πορφυραῖς καὶ μηλίαις ἐσθῆσιν ἐξησκη-  
 μένοι· μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοξόται τὸν ἀριθμὸν χίλιοι, οἱ  
 μὲν φλόγινα ἐνδεδυκότες, οἱ δὲ ὑσγινοβαφῆ, πολλοὶ  
 δὲ καὶ κυάνεα εἶχον περιβόλαια. προειστήκεσαν δὲ  
 τούτων ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες πεντακόσιοι. κατὰ  
 δὲ μέσσην τὴν σκηνὴν χρυσοῦς ἐτίθετο δίφρος, ἐφ' οὗ  
 καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν σωματο-  
 φυλάκων πανταχόθεν ἐφεστηκότων. ἔξωθεν δὲ κύκλω  
 f τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ | τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἄγλημα διεσκευασμέ-  
 νον ἐφειστήκει καὶ Μακεδόνες χίλιοι Μακεδονικὰς  
 στολὰς ἔχοντες, εἶτα μύριοι Πέρσαι, τό τε τὴν πορφύ-  
 ραν ἔχον πλήθος εἰς πεντακοσίους ἦν, οἷς Ἀλέξαν-  
 δρος ἔδωκε φορεῖν τὴν στολὴν ταύτην. τοσοῦτων δὲ  
 ὄντων καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν θεραπευόντων οὐδεὶς  
 ἐτόλμα προσπορεύεσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τοιοῦτον ἐγεγό-  
 νει τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ ποτε Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος καὶ ταῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεσιν καὶ πρῶτοις Χίσις,  
 540 || ὅπως αὐτῷ πορφύραν ἀποστείλωσιν· ἤθελεν γὰρ  
 τοὺς ἐταίρους ἅπαντας ἀλουργὰς ἐνδύσαι στολὰς.  
 ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Χίσις παρῶν Θεό-

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types, Phylarchus claims that these appeared to be worth less than what Alexander routinely spent in a day. For his tent was large enough to accommodate 90 couches; 50 gold columns supported it; and the canopies that extended overhead and covered the top had gold woven into them and were expensively embroidered. 500 Persian “apple-bearers”<sup>198</sup> stood in a first ring around its inside perimeter, dressed in purple and quince-colored clothing; after them were 1000 bowmen, some wearing flame-colored robes, others crimson, while many had cobalt-blue wraps; and in front of them stood 500 Macedonians carrying silver shields.<sup>199</sup> A gold throne stood in the middle of the tent; Alexander sat on it to conduct his business, with his bodyguards stationed on all sides. Outside the tent and surrounding it stood the elephant corps in full armor, along with 1000 Macedonians wearing Macedonian clothing, and then 10,000 Persians, while the group that wore purple, and to whom Alexander had granted the privilege of dressing this way, numbered 500. Although Alexander had so many friends and servants, no one dared to approach him; this is how extraordinary the majesty was that surrounded him.<sup>200</sup> Alexander wrote at one point to the Ionian cities, and in particular to the Chians, asking them to send him purple fabric, because he wanted to dress all the members of his inner circle in sea-purple clothing. After the letter was read to the Chians, the sophist Theoc-

<sup>198</sup> Cf. 12.514b–c.

<sup>199</sup> An elite infantry unit (D.S. 17.57.2; cf. Plb. 5.79.4).

<sup>200</sup> A slightly condensed version of the preceding discussion of Alexander’s tent and the terror he inspired is preserved in the second section of Ael. *VH* 9.3.

κριτος ὁ σοφιστῆς νῦν ἐγνωκέναι ἔφη τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ εἰρημένον·

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

Ἄντιοχον δὲ τὸν Γρυντὸν ἐπικαλούμενον βασιλέα φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὰς ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦντα ὑποδοχὰς λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, | ἐν αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναδόσεις ἐγίγνοντο ὀλομελῶν βρωμάτων, εἶτ' ἤδη καὶ ζώντων χηνῶν καὶ λαγῶν καὶ δορκάδων. ἀνεδίδοντο δέ, φησίν, καὶ χρυσοῖ στέφανοι τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλήθος καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων. ἔδει τε ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον ἕκαστον πιεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν<sup>47</sup> τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὸν παρεστῶτα παῖδα. ἐν δὲ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ περὶ τοῦ ὀμωνύμου αὐτοῦ Ἄντιόχου λέγων  
 c τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀρσάκην εἰς Μηδίαν στρατεύσαντός | φησιν ὅτι ὑποδοχὰς ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ἡμέραν ὀχλικάς· ἐν αἷς χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλισκομένων καὶ ἐκφατνιζομένων σωρευμάτων ἕκαστος ἀπέφερε τῶν ἐστιατόρων ὀλομελῆ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ θαλαττίων ζώων ἀδιαίρετα ἐσκευασμένα, ἄμαξαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μελιπήκτων καὶ στεφάνων ἐκ σμύρνης

<sup>47</sup> λαβεῖν τε ACE: τε om. 5.210e



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ritus,<sup>201</sup> who was there, said that he now understood the Homeric line (*Il.* 5.83):

Purple death and a harsh fate lay hold of him.

Posidonius in Book XXVIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 21a = fr. 72a Edelstein–Kidd)<sup>202</sup> says that when the King Antiochus nicknamed Grypus (“Hook-nose”)<sup>203</sup> was celebrating his festivals at Daphne, he gave spectacular parties, at which, first of all, whole animals were distributed, followed by live geese, hares, and gazelles. Gold garlands were also given out to the dinner-guests, he reports, along with large quantities of silver vessels, slaves, horses, and camels. Everyone was required to mount his camel, have a drink, and take the camel, plus whatever was on it and the slave standing beside it. And in Book XIV (*FGrH* 87 F 9a = fr. 61a Edelstein–Kidd),<sup>204</sup> discussing another king named Antiochus, he says that when he invaded Media, attacking Arsaces, he gave receptions for large numbers of people every day. In addition to the heaps of food consumed or thrown away at these, everyone who attended the feast took away whole uncarved cuts of meat from land-animals, birds, and sea-creatures, enough to fill a cart, and after that large amounts of honey-cakes, garlands made of myrrh,

<sup>201</sup> See *FHG* ii.86; and cf. 1.21c n.; 8.344b with n.

<sup>202</sup> The same passage of Posidonius is quoted, with a few minor variants, also at 5.210d–e.

<sup>203</sup> Antiochus VIII Grypus (reigned 125/1–96 BCE). Daphne was located outside of Antioch (one of the Seleucid royal capitals)

<sup>204</sup> The same passage of Posidonius is quoted, with some minor variants, also at 5.210e–f, immediately after fr. 72b Edelstein–Kidd (cf. above). The Antiochus in question is Antiochus VII Sidetes (reigned 139–129 BCE).

καὶ λιβανωτοῦ <σὺν><sup>48</sup> ἀνδρομήκεσι λημνίσκων χρυσῶν πιλήμασιν πλήθη.

- Κλύτος δ' ὁ Ἀριστοτελικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μιλήτου
- d Πολυκράτην φησὶ τὸν Σαμίων τύραννον ὑπὸ Ἰ τρυφῆς τὰ πανταχόθεν συνάγειν, κύνας μὲν ἐξ Ἡλείου, αἰγας δὲ ἐκ Σκύρου, ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου πρόβατα, ὕς δ' ἐκ Σικελίας. Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Σαμίων Ὀρων ἐκ πολλῶν πόλεων φησιν κοσμηθῆναι τὴν Σάμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυκράτους, κύνας μὲν Μολοτικὰς καὶ Λακαίνας εἰσαγαγόντος, αἰγας δ' ἐκ Σκύρου καὶ Νάξου, πρόβατα δ' ἐκ Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετεστέλλετο δέ, φησὶ, καὶ τεχνίτας ἐπὶ μισθοῖς μεγίστοις. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ τυραννῆσαι κατασκευασάμενος στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς
- e ἰ καὶ ποτήρια ἐπέτρεπε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἡ γάμον ἡ μείζονας ὑποδοχὰς ποιουμένοις. ἐκ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἄξιον θαυμάζειν τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι οὐδαμῶθεν ἀναγέγραπται γυναικας ἡ παῖδας μεταπεμψάμενος, καίτοι περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων ὀμιλίας ἐπτοημένος, ὡς καὶ ἀντερᾶν Ἀνακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ· ὅτε καὶ δι' ὀργὴν ἀπέκειρε τὸν ἐρώμενον. πρῶτος δ' ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ ναῦς πήξας ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος Σαμαίνας ἐκάλεσεν. Κλέαρχος δὲ φησιν ὡς Πολυκράτης ὁ τῆς ἀβρᾶς
- f Σάμου τύραννος διὰ ἰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκολασίαν ἀπώλετο, ζηλώσας τὰ Λυδῶν μαλακά. ὅθεν τῷ τ' ἐν Σάρδεσιν Ἀγκῶνι Γλυκεῖ προσαγορευομένῳ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Σαμίοις λαύραν ἀντικατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ πόλει

<sup>48</sup> hab. 5.210d

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and frankincense with ribbons of pressed gold as long as a man is tall.

Aristotle's follower Clytus in his *On Miletus* (FGrH 490 F 2) claims that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos,<sup>205</sup> was so addicted to luxury that he collected goods from everywhere: dogs from Epirus, goats from Scyros, sheep from Miletus,<sup>206</sup> and pigs from Sicily. And Alexis in Book III of the *Annals of Samos* (FGrH 539 F 2) reports that Polycrates made Samos a more attractive place by importing Molossian and Spartan dogs, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and sheep from Miletus and Attica. He also sent for craftsmen, he says, and offered them extremely high wages. Before Polycrates became tyrant, he had expensive couches and cups made, and allowed anyone who was celebrating a wedding or having a large party to use them. Given all this, it is appropriate to express astonishment at the fact that the tyrant is nowhere recorded as having sent for women or boys, even though he got very excited about sex with males, to the extent that he and the poet Alcman were rivals in love; this was the occasion when he got angry and cut off his boyfriend's hair.<sup>207</sup> Polycrates was the first to construct the ships known as Samainai, after his native land. Clearchus (fr. 44 Wehrli) claims that Polycrates, the tyrant of dainty Samos, was ruined by his reckless personal behavior, because he aspired to Lydian effeminacy. He accordingly constructed the alley in the city on Samos that imitates the area in Sardis known as Sweet Embrace,<sup>208</sup> and wove the notorious "Samian flowers" to match the

<sup>205</sup> Reigned c.535–522 BCE.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. 12.519b n.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Anacr. PMG 414; Ael. VH 9.4.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. 12.516a (also drawn from Clearchus).

καὶ τοῖς Λυδῶν ἄνθεσιν ἀντέπλεξε τὰ διαγγελθέντα  
 Σαμίων ἄνθεα. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν Σαμίων λαύρα στε-  
 νωπή τις ἦν γυναικῶν δημιουργῶν, καὶ τῶν πρὸς  
 ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἀκρασίαν πάντων<sup>49</sup> ὄντως ἐνέπλησε  
 541 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἢ τὰ δὲ Σαμίων ἄνθη γυναικῶν καὶ  
 ἀνδρῶν κάλλη διάφορα. ἔτι δὲ τῆς συμπάσης πόλεως  
 ἐν ἑορταῖς τε καὶ μέθαις < . . . > καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ  
 Κλέαρχος· οἶδα δὲ καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρεῦσιν λαύραν τινὰ καλουμένην μέχρι καὶ νῦν Εὐ-  
 δαιμόνων, ἐν ἣ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τρυφήν ἐπωλεῖτο.

Ἄλκισθένης δὲ τὸν Συβαρίτην φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης  
 ἐν τοῖς Θαυμασίοις<sup>50</sup> ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἰμάτιον τοιοῦτον  
 κατασκευάσασθαι τῇ πολυτελείᾳ ὡς προτίθεσθαι  
 αὐτὸ ἐπὶ Λακινίου ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας, εἰς ἣν  
 b συμπορεύονται ἢ πάντες Ἰταλιῶται, καὶ τῶν δεικνυ-  
 μένων < μάλιστα ><sup>51</sup> πάντων ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζεσθαι. οὗ  
 φασὶ κυριεύσαντα Διονύσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀπο-  
 δόσθαι Καρχηδονίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ταλάντων.  
 ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Πολέμων περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα-  
 φομένῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Καρχηδόνι Πέπλων. περὶ δὲ  
 Σμινδυρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τῆς τούτου τρυφῆς  
 ἱστόρησεν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ, ὡς ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τὴν  
 μνηστείαν τῆς Κλεισθένου τοῦ Σικωνίων τυράννου  
 θυγατρὸς Ἀγαρίστης, φησὶν, ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰταλίας < ἤλ-

<sup>49</sup> πάντων βρωμάτων A: βρωμάτων del. Olson

<sup>50</sup> τοῖς περὶ τρυφῆς Θαυμασίοις A: ἐν τῷ περὶ τρυφῆς CE:  
 περὶ τρυφῆς del. Casaubon

<sup>51</sup> add. Kaibel ex Aristotele

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“Lydian flowers.” As for the above, the “Samian alley” was a narrow street occupied by working women, and it literally filled Greece with everything that promotes hedonism and reckless behavior, while the “Samian flowers” were exceptionally beautiful women and men. In addition, since the entire city was devoted to festivals and drunkenness . . . Thus Clearchus; but I am personally familiar with an alley in my native city of Alexandria<sup>209</sup> referred to even today as the Rich People’s Alley, where luxury goods of every sort were for sale.

According to Aristotle in his *Marvels* (838<sup>a</sup>15–21), Alcisthenes<sup>210</sup> of Sybaris was so addicted to luxury that he had such an expensive robe made that it was put on display in Lacinium at Hera’s festival, which all the Italians attend, and was regarded as the most astonishing of all the objects exhibited. After the elder Dionysius<sup>211</sup> got possession of it, they say, he sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. Polemon also discusses it in his work entitled *On the Robes in Carthage* (fr. 85 Preller). Herodotus in Book VI told the story of Smindyrides of Sybaris and his addiction to luxury, describing how he sailed off to court Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon:<sup>212</sup> From Italy, he

<sup>209</sup> Although there are no individual speakers in Book 12 (cf. 12.510b n.), this remark is either assigned implicitly to the character Plutarch (who is from Alexandria) or comes direct from Athenaeus’ source.

<sup>210</sup> Called Alcimenes in the manuscripts of Aristotle.

<sup>211</sup> Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who reigned from the end of the 5th century to 367 BCE.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. 6.273b–d with n.; 12.511c; *VH* 12.24.

c θε<sup>52</sup> Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἴπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ἰ ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο. εἶποντο γοῦν αὐτῷ χίλιοι μάγειροι καὶ ὀρνιθευταί. ἰστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου Σικελίας τυράννου τρυφῆς Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἰστορῶν ἐν τοῖς Βίοις πληροῦσθαί φησιν παρ' αὐτῷ τριακοντακλίτους οἴκους ὑπὸ τῶν εὐωχουμένων. καὶ Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων γράφει οὕτως· Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Διονυσίου ἀπάσης γενόμενος Σικελίας ἀλάστωρ εἰς τὴν Λοκρῶν πόλιν παρελθὼν οὔσαν αὐτῷ  
d ἰ μητρόπολιν (Δωρὶς γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἦν Λοκρις) στρώσας οἶκον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μέγιστον ἐρπύλλοις καὶ ῥόδοις μετεπέμπετο μὲν ἐν μέρει τὰς Λοκρῶν παρθένους· καὶ γυμνὸς μετὰ γυμνῶν οὐδὲν αἰσχύνῃς παρέλιπεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρώματος κυλινδούμενος. τοιγαροῦν μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οἱ ὑβρισθέντες γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνου λαβόντες ὑποχείρια ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ στήσαντες μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐνηκολάσταινον αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς ὕβρεως πλήρεις ἐγένοντο, κεντοῦντες ὑπὸ τοὺς τῶν χειρῶν ὄνυχας βελόνας ἀνεῖλον αὐτούς. καὶ  
e τελευτησάντων ἰ τὰ μὲν ὅστ' αὐ κατέκοψαν ἐν ὄλμοις, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρεανομησάμενοι ἐπηράσαντο πάντες τοῖς μὴ γευσασμένοις αὐτῶν· ὅθεν πρὸς τὴν ἀνόσιον ἀρὰν κατήλεσαν αὐτῶν τὰς σάρκας, ἔν' ἡ τροφή σιτοποιουμένων κατεδεσθῆ· τὰ δὲ λείψανα κατεπόντωσαν.

<sup>52</sup> add. Kaibel ex Herodoto

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says (6.127.1), came Smindyrides the son of Hippocrates of Sybaris, who was more devoted to luxury than any of the others. He was accompanied, for example, by 1000 cooks and fowlers. Timaeus also discusses him in Book VII (*FGrH* 566 F 9).

Satyros the Peripatetic in his *Lives* (fr. 2, *FHG* iii.160 = fr. 21 Schorn) offers an account of the addiction to luxury of the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Younger,<sup>213</sup> saying that he had rooms large enough to hold 30 couches that were filled with people feasting. So too Clearchus in Book IV of his *Lives* (fr. 47 Wehrli) writes as follows: Dionysius the son of Dionysius, the scourge of all of Italy, visited Locris, which was his ancestral city on his mother's side (because his mother was a Dorian whose family came from Locris); covered the floor of the largest house in town with thyme and roses; summoned the local girls, one after another; and committed every possible disgraceful deed, rolling around naked in the sheets with naked women. Shortly thereafter, therefore, the people he had insulted captured his wife and children,<sup>214</sup> stood them in the street, and brutally raped them; when they felt they had abused them enough, they jammed needles under their fingernails and executed them. After they were dead, they ground up their bones in mortars, chopped up the rest of their bodies, and called down a common curse on anyone who refused to eat part of them. In order to satisfy their unholy curse, therefore, they ground up their flesh, so that they could make food from it and consume it; and they threw the leftovers

<sup>213</sup> Reigned 367–357 BCE.

<sup>214</sup> The revolt took place in the mid-340s BCE; cf. Ael. *VH* 9.8 (an account closely related to this one); Str. 6.259–60.

αὐτὸς δὲ Διονύσιος τέλος μητραγυρτῶν καὶ τυμπανοφορούμενος οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν. εὐλαβητέον οὖν τὴν καλουμένην τρυφὴν οὖσαν τῶν βίων ἀνατροπὴν ἀπάντων τε ὀλέθριον ἠγείσθαι τὴν ὕβριν.

Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Σικελιώτης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βιβλιο-  
 f θήκης | Ἀκραγαντίνους φησὶ κατασκευάσαι Γέλωνι  
 κολουμβήθραν πολυτελῆ τὸ περίμετρον ἔχουσαν στα-  
 δίων ἑπτὰ, βάθος δὲ πηχῶν εἴκοσι, εἰς ἣν ἐπαγομένων  
 ποταμίων καὶ κρηναίων ὑδάτων ἰχθυοτροφεῖον εἶναι  
 καὶ πολλοὺς παρέχεσθαι ἰχθῦς εἰς τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ  
 ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ Γέλωνι καθίπτασθαι δὲ καὶ κύκνων  
 πλῆθος εἰς αὐτήν, ὡς γίνεσθαι ἐπιτερπεστάτην τὴν  
 θέαν. ὕστερον δὲ αὕτη διεφθάρη καταχωσθεῖσα. Δου-  
 542 ρις δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα || καὶ  
 πλησίον Ἰππωνίου πόλεως ἄλλος τι δείκνυσθαι κάλ-  
 λει διάφορον καὶ κατάρρυντον ὕδασι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον  
 τινὰ εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, ὃ τὸν Γέλω-  
 να κατασκευάσαι. Σιληνὸς δ' ὁ Καλλατιανὸς ἐν τρίτῳ  
 Σικελικῶν περὶ Συρακούσας φησὶν κῆπον εἶναι πολυ-  
 τελῶς κατεσκευασμένον, ὃν καλεῖσθαι Μῦθον, ἐν ᾧ  
 χρηματίζειν Ἰέρωνα τὸν βασιλέα. ἡ δὲ Πανορμίτις  
 τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσα κῆπος προσαγορεύεται διὰ τὸ  
 πᾶσα εἶναι πλήρης δένδρων ἡμέρων, ὡς φησιν Καλ-  
 λίας ἐν ὀγδόῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἱστοριῶν. Ποσει-

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215 Dionysius ultimately retired into private life in Corinth, and—despite Clearchus' slanders—most likely led a very pleasant life.



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into the sea. Dionysius himself ultimately had a miserable death, carrying a drum as a wandering priest of Cybele.<sup>215</sup> We should accordingly avoid what is known as “luxury,” since it ruins lives, and regard insolent behavior as universally destructive.

Diodorus of Sicily in his *On the Library* (11.25.4) reports that the inhabitants of Acragas constructed an expensive swimming pool almost a mile<sup>216</sup> around and 30 feet<sup>217</sup> deep for Gelon;<sup>218</sup> river- and spring-water was diverted into it, and it served as a fishpond and provided large numbers of fish to support Gelon’s luxurious, hedonistic lifestyle. A flock of swans also settled in it, lending it an extremely attractive appearance. Later on, however, it silted up and disappeared. Duris in Book IV of his *On Agathocles* (FGrH 76 F 19) (says) that a lovely, well-watered grove is pointed out near the city of Hipponium, and that a spot within it is known as Amaltheia’s Horn,<sup>219</sup> and was constructed by Gelon. Silenus of Calacte in Book III of the *History of Sicily* (FGrH 175 F 4) reports that there is an expensively planted garden near Syracuse called Mythus,<sup>220</sup> where King Hieron<sup>221</sup> conducted his business. The entire area around Panormus in Sicily is referred to as a garden, because it is all full of fruit-trees, according to Callias in Book VIII of his *History involving Agathocles* (FGrH 564

<sup>216</sup> Literally “seven stades.”

<sup>217</sup> Literally “20 cubits.”

<sup>218</sup> Tyrant of various cities in Sicily c.491–478/7 BCE. Hieron (below) was his brother.

<sup>219</sup> I.e. “The Horn of Plenty”; cf. 11.783c n.

<sup>220</sup> Literally “Word, Speech,” i.e. “a place for talking.”

<sup>221</sup> Tyrant of Syracuse 478/7–466 BCE.

## ATHENAEUS

- b δώνιος δ' ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν | Ἱστοριῶν περὶ Δαμοφίλου λέγων τοῦ Σικελιώτου, δι' ὃν ὁ δουλικὸς ἐκινήθη πόλεμος, ὅτι τρυφῆς ἦν οἰκείος, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· τρυφῆς οὖν δούλος ἦν καὶ κακουργίας, διὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τετρακύκλους ἀπήνας περιηγόμενος καὶ ἱππέας<sup>53</sup> καὶ θεράποντας ὠραίους καὶ παραδρομὴν ἀνάγωγον κολάκων τε καὶ παίδων στρατιωτικῶν. ὕστερον δὲ πανοικία ἐφυβρίστως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν περιβρισθείς.
- c Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς, ὡς φησι Δοῦρις | ἐν τῇ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων τάλαντων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κύριος γενόμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων βραχέα δαπανῶν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀκρασίαν ἠφάνιζεν, θοίνας καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πλῆθός τι συνδείπνων ἔχων. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δαπάναις ταῖς εἰς τὰ δείπνα τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑπερέβαλλε, τῇ δὲ καθαριότητι Κυπρίους καὶ Φοίνικας· ράσματά τε μύρων ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀνθινὰ
- d τε πολλὰ τῶν ἐδαφῶν | ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρῶσιν κατεσκευάζετο διαπεποικιλμένα ὑπὸ δημιουργῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γυναικάς ὀμιλῖαι σιωπώμεναι καὶ νεανίσκων ἔρωτες νυκτερινοί, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιθέμενος θεσμούς Δημήτριος καὶ τοὺς βίους τάπτων ἀνομοθέτητον ἑαυτῷ τὸν βίον κατεσκεύαζεν. ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθι-

<sup>53</sup> ἱππέας Olson: ἵππους ACE

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F 2). Posidonius in Book VIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 7 = fr. 59 Edelstein–Kidd), in the course of his discussion of the profound addiction to luxury of Damophilus of Sicily, who was responsible for the outbreak of the Slave War,<sup>222</sup> writes the following: He was enslaved to luxury and crime, and used to drive four-wheeled carts through the countryside, accompanied by horsemen, good-looking servant-boys, and a crude escort of flatterers and young soldiers. But later he and his entire household died violently at the hands of their slaves in a very ugly fashion.

According to Duris in Book XVI of his *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 10 = *Demetr. Phal.* fr. 34 Wehrli = fr. 43A Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf),<sup>223</sup> Demetrius of Phaleron had an income of 1200 talents per year; he spent only a small portion of this money on his troops and running the city, and wasted all the rest on his depraved personal life, by giving fantastic feasts every day and having large numbers of guests. He outdid the Macedonians in the amount of money he spent on dinner parties, and the Cyprians and the Phoenicians in his elegance: showers of perfume were spilled on the floor, and his craftsmen constructed large numbers of elaborate, brightly colored mosaic floors in his dining rooms. There were also discreet liaisons with women, and night-time affairs with young boys, and Demetrius—who established laws for other people and tried to govern their lives—made his own life as lawless as possible. He was also concerned about his appearance: he dyed the hair on his head blond, smeared his face with rouge,

<sup>222</sup> c.136 BCE.

<sup>223</sup> *Ael. VH* 9.9 is very similar, although the manuscripts there refer to Demetrius Poliorcetes.

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ζόμενος καὶ παιδέρωτι τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος  
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλείμμασιν ἐγχρίων ἑαυτόν· ἠβούλετο  
e γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἰλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἠδύς | φαί-  
νεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἣν ἔπεμφεν  
ἄρχων γενόμενος, ἦδεν ὁ χορὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ποιήματα  
Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως, ἐν οἷς ἠλιόμορφος προσηγο-  
ρεύετο·

ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἠλιόμορφος ζαθεοῖς  
ἄρχων τιμαῖς σε γεραίρει.

Καρύστιος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Ἑπομνημάτων,  
Δημήτριος, φησὶν, ὁ Φαληρεὺς Ἱμεραίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου αὐτὸς μετὰ Νικάνορος  
διέτριβεν, αἰτίαν ἔχων ὡς τὰ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
θύων. Κασάνδρῳ δὲ γενόμενος φίλος μέγα ἴσχυσεν.  
f καὶ κατ' | ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄριστον ὀξύβαφα  
παντοδαπὰς ἐλάας ἔχοντα καὶ τυρὸν νησιωτικόν. ὡς  
δ' ἐπλούτησε, Μοσχίωνα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν τότε μαγεί-  
ρων καὶ δειπνοποιῶν ἐωνήσατο, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἦν τὰ  
παρασκευαζόμενα καθ' ἡμέραν ὥστε χαρισαμένου τῷ  
Μοσχίω τὰ λείψανα Μοσχίων ἐν ἔτεσι δύο τρεῖς  
συννοικίας ἐωνήσατο παιδὰς τε ἐλευθέρους ὑβρίζεν καὶ

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<sup>224</sup> Literally “sun-shaped.”

<sup>225</sup> According to Ael. VH 12.43, Demetrius was actually the child of a slave-woman.

<sup>226</sup> In 321 BCE (before Demetrius was given control of Athens by Cassander, as what follows makes clear). Himeraeus is PAA 535130.

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and covered his body with ointments of other types, because he wanted to appear cheerful and pleasant to the people he came in contact with. In the procession at the Dionysia, where he marched in front, the chorus sang hymns composed in his honor by Seiron of Soli, in which he was addressed as “sun-like”<sup>224</sup> (*PMG* 845):

Our extraordinarily well-born,<sup>225</sup> sun-like leader  
honors you with sacred rites.

Carystius of Pergamum says in Book III of the *Commentaries* (fr. 10, *FHG* iv.358): After Antipater had his brother Himeraeus killed,<sup>226</sup> Demetrius of Phaleron himself began to spend time with Nicanor,<sup>227</sup> offering as his excuse that he was making expiatory sacrifices in response to an appearance by his brother’s ghost. He acquired considerable power by being Cassander’s friend.<sup>228</sup> In the beginning, his lunch consisted of a small cup that contained various types of olives and cheese from the islands. But after he got rich, he purchased Moschion,<sup>229</sup> who was the best cook and culinary artist of his time, and he had so much food prepared every day that, because he gave Moschion the leftovers, within two years Moschion had bought three apartment buildings and was raping free-born boys and

<sup>227</sup> Nicanor of Macedon (*PAA* 709553) was the commander of Cassander’s garrison in Munychia. He is perhaps to be identified with Nicanor of Stagira (Berve i #557; *FGrH* 146?; *PAA* 709570), to whom Aristotle in his will left his daughter and control of his household (D.L. 5.11–16), meaning that he almost certainly knew Demetrius, who was one of Aristotle’s students.

<sup>228</sup> I.e. through his connection with Nicanor (above).

<sup>229</sup> *PAA* 658137.

γυναῖκας τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ἐζηλοτύπου δὲ πάντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ Δίογνιν· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν τῷ Δημητρίῳ προσελθεῖν ὥστε μετ' ἄριστον αὐτοῦ περιπατήσαντος παρὰ τοὺς Τρίποδας ||  
543 συνῆλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον παῖδες <οἱ><sup>54</sup> κάλλιστοι ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις, ἵν' ὀφθείεν αὐτῷ.

Νικόλαος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Λεύκολλον φησιν ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ θριαμβεύσαντα λόγον τε ἀποδόντα τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου ἐξοκεῖλαι εἰς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς σωφροσύνης τρυφῆς τε πρῶτον εἰς ἅπαν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι, καρπωσάμενον δυνεῖν βασιλέων πλοῦτον.<sup>55</sup> διαβόητος δ' ἦν  
b παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰσίτιος ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μαλακίᾳ, ὡς φησι Ῥουτίλιος· περὶ γὰρ Ἀπικίου προειρήκαμεν. Παισανίαν δὲ καὶ Λύσανδρον ἐπὶ τρυφῇ διαβοήτους γενέσθαι σχεδὸν πάντες ἱστοροῦσι. διόπερ καὶ Ἄγισ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ἔφη ὅτι, “δεύτερον τοῦτον ἢ Σπάρτη φέρει Παισανίαν.” Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰναντία φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι

<sup>54</sup> παῖδες κάλλιστοι A: οἱ παῖδες tantum CE: corr. Kaibel

<sup>55</sup> πλοῦτον Μιθριδάτου καὶ Τιγράνου ACE: Μιθριδάτου καὶ Τιγράνου del. Olson

<sup>230</sup> PAA 328125.

<sup>231</sup> The Street of the Tripods (so called from the choregic victory monuments that lined it) ran from the Prytaneion in the Agora around the Acropolis, and ended at the shrine of Dionysus Eleuthereus near the Theater.

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women from the most distinguished families. All the boys were jealous of Demetrius' boyfriend Diognis,<sup>230</sup> and meeting Demetrius was so important to them that if he took a walk around the Tripods<sup>231</sup> after lunch, the best-looking boys congregated there on subsequent days, in the hope that he would see them.

Nicolaus the Peripatetic in Book CX of his *History* (*FGrH* 90 F 77a)<sup>232</sup> reports that when Lucullus came to Rome and celebrated his triumph, he offered an account of his conduct during the war against Mithridates, and then wrecked himself on the reef of an extravagant lifestyle, abandoning his earlier self-discipline and becoming the first person to introduce the Romans to every sort of luxury, by exploiting the wealth of the two kings.<sup>233</sup> According to Rutilius (fr. 6, *FHG* iii.200), Sittius was also notorious in Rome for his addiction to luxury and effeminacy; because we discussed Apicius earlier (1.7a–c).<sup>234</sup> Almost all authorities report that Pausanias and Lysander<sup>235</sup> were notorious for their addiction to luxury. This is why Agis<sup>236</sup> said about Lysander, “Here’s a second Pausanias that Sparta’s producing.” But Theopompus in Book X of his *History of Greece* (*FGrH* 115 F 20) says the opposite about

<sup>232</sup> The same passage is cited at 6.274e–f, where see n.

<sup>233</sup> I.e. Mithridates and Tigranus, whose names were added above the line as an explanatory gloss that eventually made its way into the text.

<sup>234</sup> Sc. “meaning that there is no need to take his case up again now.”

<sup>235</sup> Pausanias is Poralla #595; cf. 12.535e n. Lysander is Poralla #504; cf. 6.233f n.

<sup>236</sup> Agis II (Poralla #26), reigned c.427–400 BCE.

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φιλόπονος ἦν καὶ θεραπεύειν δυνάμενος καὶ ιδιώτας καὶ βασιλεῖς, σώφρων ὦν καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀπασῶν κρείττων. γενόμενος γοῦν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σχεδὸν ἀπά-  
c σης κύριος | ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ φανήσεται τῶν πόλεων οὔτε πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδισίους ἡδονὰς ὀρμήσας οὔτε μέθαις καὶ πότοις ἀκαίροις χρησάμενος.

Οὗτω δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὰ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας ἠσκέετο ὡς καὶ Παρράσιον τὸν ζωγρά-  
φον πορφύραν ἀμπέχεσθαι, χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις. οὗτος γὰρ παρὰ μέλος ὑπὲρ τὴν γραφικὴν τρυφῆσας λόγῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ ἐπέγραφεν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελουμένοις ἔργοις. |

d ἀβροδίαίτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετὴν τε σέβων τάδ' ἔγραψεν.

καὶ τις ὑπεραλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρέγραψεν “ῥαβρο-  
δίαίτος ἀνὴρ.” ἐπέγραψεν δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε·

ἀβροδίαίτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετὴν τε σέβων τάδ' ἔγραψεν  
Παρράσιος κλεινῆς πατρίδος ἐξ Ἐφέσου.  
οὐδὲ πατρὸς λαθόμην Εὐήγορος, ὅς <μ'> ἀνέφυσε  
γνήσιον, Ἑλλήνων πρῶτα φέροντα τέχνης.



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Lysander, claiming that he liked hard work and was able to serve both private citizens and kings, since he could control himself and was not a hedonist of any sort. Although he got power over almost all of Greece, at any rate, it is impossible to point to a single city where he became involved in sexual escapades or got drunk or attended parties when he should not have.

The ancients were so devoted to a luxurious, expensive lifestyle that the painter Parrhasius wore purple clothes and put a gold garland on his head, according to Clearchus in his *Lives* (fr. 42 Wehrli).<sup>237</sup> Even though he led a life that was inappropriately luxurious for a painter, he laid verbal claim to being a decent person and used to inscribe on the works he completed (*FGE* 279):

This was painted by a man who led a dainty life (*anêr habrodiaitos*), but respected virtue.

Someone who was annoyed by this wrote *anêr rhabdodaiitos* (“a man who lived off his paintbrush”) on the side. The following is inscribed on many of his paintings (*FGE* 279–82):

This was painted by a man who led a dainty life, but respected virtue:

Parrhasius, whose famous fatherland is Ephesus.  
Nor do I omit my father Euenor, whose legitimate son

I am; he was the best of the Greeks at his trade.

<sup>237</sup> Quoted also at 15.687b–c, where the passage is said to come specifically from Book III. Ael. *VH* 9.11 (citing Theophrastus fr. 552A Fortenbaugh) offers a much-condensed version of what follows; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 35.71–3. For Parrhasius, cf. 11.782b n.

ἠϋχῆσε δ' ἀνεμεσήτως ἐν τούτοις·

- e εἰ καὶ ἄπιστα | κλύουσι, λέγω τάδε· φημὶ γὰρ  
 ἦδη  
 τέχνης εὐρήσθαι τέρματα τῆσδε σαφῆ  
 χειρὸς ὑφ' ἡμετέρης· ἀνυπέρβλητος δὲ πέπηγεν  
 οὔρος· ἀμώμητον δ' οὐδὲν ἔγεντο βροτοῖς.

ἀγωνιζόμενος δέ ποτε πρὸς καταδεέστερον ἐν Σάμῳ  
 τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἠττηθείς, συναχθομένων αὐτῷ τῶν  
 φίλων, ἔφη ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὀλίγον φροντίζοι, Αἴαντι δὲ  
 f συνάχθοιτο δεύτερον ἠττηθέντι. | ἐφόρει δὲ ὑπὸ τρυ-  
 φῆς πορφυρίδα καὶ στρόφιον λευκὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 εἶχεν σκίπωνί τε ἐστηρίζετο χρυσᾶς ἔλικας ἐμπε-  
 παισμένῳ χρυσοῖς τε ἀνασπαστοῖς ἐπέσφιγγε τῶν  
 βλαυτῶν τοὺς ἀναγωγέας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 τέχνην ἀηδῶς ἐποιεῖτο ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως, ὡς καὶ ἄδειν  
 γράφοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐδαι-  
 μονίας. τερατενόμενος δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτε τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ  
 Ἡρακλέα ἔγραφεν, ὡς ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐπιφαινόμενος ὁ  
 θεὸς σχηματίζοι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν τῆς γραφῆς ἐπιτη-  
 δειότητα. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τῷ πίνακι ||

- 544 οἶος δ' ἐννύχιον φαντάζετο πολλάκι φοιτῶν  
 Παρρασίῳ δι' ὕπνου, τοῖος ὄδ' ἐστὶν ὄραν.

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<sup>238</sup> Sc. by an inferior, referring to the Achaeans' decision to award Odysseus rather than Ajax the dead Achilleus' armor, an injustice that drove Ajax to suicide.

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He boasted in a way designed to avert divine resentment in the following passage (*FGE* 283–6):

Even if those who hear this disbelieve me, I say the  
following: I claim that  
the certain boundaries of this craft have been  
discovered  
by my hand. The limit has been fixed and no one can  
go  
beyond it; but nothing mortals do is perfect.

At one point he was competing on Samos with a painting of Ajax against someone who was not as good an artist as he was, but lost. When his friends expressed their condolences, he said that he was not particularly concerned about himself, but did feel sorry for Ajax, who had been defeated a second time.<sup>238</sup> He was so addicted to luxury that he used to wear a purple robe and a white band around his head; supported his weight on a staff embossed with silver curlicues; and tightened the straps of his slippers with gold lachets. He found engaging in his art not just painless, but easy, to the extent that he actually sang as he painted, according to Theophrastus in his *On Happiness* (fr. 552B Fortenbaugh). When people expressed surprise at this, he used to say that when he was painting Heracles on Lindos, the god appeared to him, as if in a dream, and positioned himself exactly as the picture required. He accordingly inscribed on the panel (*FGE* 287–8):

Just as he looked when he came repeatedly by night  
to Parrhasius in his sleep, this is how he appears  
here.

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Καὶ φιλοσόφων δὲ αἰρέσεις ὄλαι τῆς περὶ τὴν  
 τρυφήν αἰρέσεως ἀντεποιήσαντο· καὶ ἡ γε Κυρηναϊκὴ  
 καλουμένη ἀπ’ Ἀριστίππου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ τὴν ἀρ-  
 χὴν λαβοῦσα, ὅς ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν ἡδυπάθειαν ταύ-  
 την τέλος εἶναι ἔφη καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν  
 βεβλήσθαι καὶ μονόχρονον αὐτὴν εἶναι, παραπλη-  
 σίως τοῖς ἀσώτοις οὔτε τὴν μνήμην τῶν | γεγονυιῶν  
 ἀπολαύσεων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος οὔτε τὴν ἐλπίδα  
 τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀλλ’ ἐνὶ μόνῳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρίνων τῷ  
 παρόντι, τὸ δὲ ἀπολελαυκέναι καὶ ἀπολαύσειν οὐδὲν  
 νομίζων πρὸς αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκέτ’ ὄν, τὸ δὲ οὐπω  
 καὶ ἄδηλον· ὁποῖον καὶ οἱ τρυφῶντες πάσχουσι τὸ  
 παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν ἀξιούντες. ὠμολόγησεν δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ  
 δόγματι καὶ ὁ βίος, ὃν ἐβίωσεν ἐν πάσῃ τρυφῇ καὶ  
 πολυτελείᾳ μύρων καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ γυναικῶν. Λαῖδα  
 γοῦν ἀναφανδὸν εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν καὶ ταῖς Διονυσίου  
 πολυτελείαις | ἔχαιρεν καίτοι πολλάκις ἐνυβριζόμε-  
 νος. Ἡγήσανδρος γοῦν φησιν ὡς καὶ ἀδόξου ποτὲ  
 κλισίας παρ’ αὐτῷ τυχῶν ἤνεγκεν ἐρωτήσαντός τε τοῦ  
 Διονυσίου τί φαίνεται ἢ κατάκλισις, πρὸς τὴν χθὲς  
 ἔφησεν παραπλησίαν εἶναι. “ἐκείνη τε γάρ”, ἔφησεν,  
 “ἀδοξεῖ τήμερον χωρισθεῖσα ἐμοῦ, χθὲς δὲ πασῶν ἦν  
 ἐνδοξοτάτη δι’ ἡμᾶς, αὕτη τε τήμερον καὶ ἐνδοξος

239 Cf. Ael. VH 14.6.

240 For Aristippus and Laïs, cf. 13.588e–f, 599b.

241 Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse (reigned 367–357 BCE).

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Entire philosophical sects laid claim to the idea of organizing one's life around luxury, for example the so-called Cyrenaic sect, which originated with Socrates' student Aristippus (fr. 157, 207 Mannebach = SSR IV A 174), who expressed his approval of a life of luxury, and said that this is what one should aim for, as well as what happiness is based on. He also argued that pleasure exists only in the individual moment; and like profligates generally, he believed that neither the memory of past pleasures nor the expectation of those to come was of any significance to him. Instead, he was of the opinion that the Good exists exclusively in the moment, and felt that having enjoyed himself before or being likely to do so again meant nothing to him, since the former was over, while the latter had not yet occurred and was uncertain;<sup>239</sup> this is what hedonists feel, when they maintain that it is the moment that gives one pleasure. The way he lived matched his teachings (fr. 78 Mannebach = SSR IV A 53), since he immersed himself in luxury of every sort and spent lavishly on perfume, clothing, and women. He made no secret, for example, of supporting the courtesan Laïs,<sup>240</sup> and he enjoyed Dionysius'<sup>241</sup> extravagant parties, even though he was often treated badly at them. Hegesander (fr. 18, *FHG* iv.417 = SSR IV A 36, incorporating both quotations) reports, for example, that on one occasion (fr. 42B Mannebach) he made no protest when he was assigned an undistinguished couch at Dionysius' house, and when Dionysius asked him how he felt about where he was seated, he said that it was about the same as the previous day. "Because that couch over there," he said, "is undistinguished today, as a result of my absence, whereas yesterday it was the most distinguished of them all, because of me; and this one here has

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γέγονεν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρουσίαν, χθὲς δὲ ἠδόξει  
 μὴ παρόντος ἐμοῦ.” καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ φησιν ὁ Ἡγή-  
 d σανδρος· Ἀρίστιππος ραϊνόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ | τῶν τοῦ  
 Διονυσίου θεραπόντων, σκωπτόμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνέχε-  
 σθαι ὑπ’ Ἀντιφῶντος, “εἰ δ’ ἀλιευόμενος ἐτύγχανον,”  
 ἔφη, “καταλιπὼν τὴν ἐργασίαν ἂν ἀπῆλθον;” διέτρι-  
 βεν δ’ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος τὰ πολλὰ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τρυφῶν· διὸ  
 καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασί φησιν ὅτι  
 πολλάκις ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν ἠθοποι-  
 ῖαν πλάσας τῆς Ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς εἰσήγεν. ὁ δ’  
 Ἀρίστιππος ἐπὶ τῆς Λαΐδος ἔλεγεν “ἔχω καὶ οὐκ  
 ἔχομαι.” καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ διηνέχθη τισὶ περὶ τῆς  
 ἐκλογῆς τῶν τριῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ μύροις ἐλούετο καὶ  
 ἔφασκεν ὅτι· |

e κάν<sup>56</sup> βακχεύμασιν  
 οὐσ’ ἢ γε σῶφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

κωμῶδων δὲ αὐτὸν Ἄλεξις ἐν Γαλατεία ποιεῖ τινα  
 θεράποντα διηγούμενον περὶ τινος τῶν μαθητῶν τάδε·

ὁ δεσπότης οὐμὸς περὶ λόγους γὰρ ποτε

<sup>56</sup> The traditional text of Euripides has καὶ γὰρ ἐν.

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<sup>242</sup> Cf. D.L. 2.73.      <sup>243</sup> Cf. D.L. 2.67 (where Aristippus is  
 not splashed with water by a servant but spat upon by Dionysius  
 himself, and then refers to fishing since being spat on is the price  
 of catching a particularly nice bit of seafood for dinner).

<sup>244</sup> Xenophon says that the story was in fact invented by Prodi-  
 cus. Cf. 12.510c; D.L. 2.76.

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become distinguished today, as a result of my presence, whereas yesterday it wasn't, since I was someplace else."<sup>242</sup> And elsewhere Hegesander (fr. 18 continued, *FHG* iv.417) says: When Dionysius' servants splashed water on Aristippus (fr. 40B Mannebach), and Antiphon made fun of him for putting up with this, he said: "If I were fishing, would I have quit and gone home?"<sup>243</sup> Aristippus (fr. 108 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 20) used to spend most of his time on Aegina, living in luxury; this is why Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (2.1.21–34) says that Socrates frequently criticized him and cited the moralizing story about Virtue and Pleasure he had made up.<sup>244</sup> Aristippus (fr. 57D Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 96, including the anecdote that follows) used to say about Laïs, "She's mine; I'm not hers."<sup>245</sup> When he was visiting Dionysius, he (fr. 58B Mannebach) disagreed with some people about picking one of the three women.<sup>246</sup> He (fr. 39C Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 31) used to bathe in perfume and say (*E. Ba.* 317–18):

Even during Bacchic rites  
a decent woman will not be corrupted.

Alexis makes fun of him in *Galateia* (fr. 37 = Aristipp. fr. 5 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 9), by representing a servant as offering the following description of one of his pupils:

Because at one point, when my master was a young  
man,

<sup>245</sup> Cf. *D.L.* 2.74–5.      <sup>246</sup> A more complete version of the story is preserved at *D.L.* 2.67: Dionysius offered Aristippus one of three courtesans, but he took all three and noted that Paris' choice of only one woman in a similar situation turned out badly for him.

διέτρυψε μειρακίσκος ὦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν  
 ἐπέθετο. Κυρηναῖος ἦν ἐνταῦθά τις,  
 ὡς φασ', Ἀρίστιππος, σοφιστῆς εὐφυής, |  
 f μᾶλλον δὲ πρωτεύων ἀπάντων <τῶν> τότε,  
 ἀκολαστία τε τῶν γεγονότων διαφέρων.  
 τούτῳ τάλαντον δούς μαθητῆς γίγνεται  
 ὁ δεσπότης, καὶ τὴν τέχνην μὲν οὐ πάνυ  
 ἐξέμαθε, τὴν δ' ἀρτηρίαν συνήρπασεν.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀνταίῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων  
 τρυφερότητος διαλεγόμενός φησιν·

(A.) ὦ τᾶν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὕτοσι  
 ὁ γέρων; (B.) ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός· ||  
 545 λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιδὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός,  
 πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμος βακτηρία,  
 † βεβαία τράπεζα. † τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως  
 αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν δοκῶ.

Ἀριστόξενος δ' ὁ μουσικὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρχύτα Βίῳ  
 ἀφικέσθαι φησὶ<sup>57</sup> παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου  
 πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν, ἐν οἷς εἶναι  
 καὶ Πολύαρχον τὸν Ἡδυπαθῆ ἐπικαλούμενον, ἄνδρα  
 περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς ἐσπουδακότα καὶ οὐ μό-  
 νον τῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ. ὄντα δὲ γνώριμον τῷ |  
 b Ἀρχύτῃ καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ παντελῶς ἀλλότριον

<sup>57</sup> ἀφικέσθαι φησὶ Casaubon: ἀφίησι A



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he spent all his time talking with people and made an effort to be a philosopher. There was a guy from Cyrene there, people say, named Aristippus, a brilliant sophist—better put, he was the leading man of his day, and more depraved than anyone who'd ever lived. My master gave him a talent and became his student, and although he didn't entirely master the business, he did get control of his windpipe.<sup>247</sup>

Antiphanes in *Antaeus* (fr. 35) discusses the luxurious life-style of the philosophers and says:

(A.) Sir—who do you think this old man is? (B.) He's Greek, by the looks of him: a white mantle, a nice little gray cloak; a small, soft felt cap; an elegant staff; † a secure table †. Why should I go on at length? I think I'm seeing the Academy itself, pure and simple.

The musician Aristoxenus in his *Life of Archytas* (fr. 50 Wehrli = Archyt. A9 Huffmann) claims that ambassadors came to Tarentum from Dionysius the Younger; one of them was Polyarchus (nicknamed "High-Life"), who was devoted to physical pleasure not just in deeds, but in words as well. He was a student of Archytas and not entirely unacquainted with philosophy, and he used to meet Archytas

<sup>247</sup> What this means is unclear, although one would expect the reference to be somehow to Aristippus' alleged hedonistic gluttony.

ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὰ τεμένη καὶ συμπεριπατεῖν τοῖς περὶ  
 τὸν Ἀρχύταν ἀκροώμενον τῶν λόγων. ἐμπεσοῦσης δέ  
 ποτε ἀπορίας καὶ σκέψεως περὶ τε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ  
 τὸ σύνολον περὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἔφη ὁ Πολύ-  
 αρχος· “ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πολλάκις ἤδη πέφηνεν  
 ἐπισκοποῦντι κομιδῇ τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν τούτων κατα-  
 σκεύασμα καὶ πολὺ τῆς φύσεως ἀφεστηκὸς εἶναι. ἢ  
 γὰρ φύσις ὅταν φθέγγηται τὴν ἑαυτῆς φωνήν, ἀκο-  
 λουθεῖν κελεύει ταῖς ἡδοναῖς | καὶ τοῦτό φησιν εἶναι  
 νῦν ἔχοντος· τὸ δὲ ἀντιτείνειν καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι  
 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας οὔτ’ ἔμφρονος οὔτε εὐτυχοῦς οὔτε ξυν-  
 ιέντος εἶναι τίς ποτε ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως  
 σύστασις. τεκμήριον δ’ ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι τὸ πάντας  
 ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν ἐξουσίας ἐπιλάβωνται μέγεθος ἀξι-  
 ὄχρεων ἐχούσης, ἐπὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς κατα-  
 φέρεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο νομίζειν τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἐξουσίας,  
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐν παρέργου  
 τίθεσθαι χώρα. προφέρειν δ’ ἔξεστι νῦν μὲν τοὺς  
 d Περσῶν | βασιλεῖς, νῦν δὲ καὶ εἴ τίς που τυραννίδος  
 ἀξιολόγου κύριος ὢν τυγχάνει· πρότερον δὲ τοὺς τε  
 Λυδῶν καὶ τοὺς Μήδων καὶ ἔτι ἀνώτερον καὶ τοὺς  
 Σύρων· οἷς οὐδὲν γένος ἡδονῆς ἀζήτητον γενέσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις προκεῖσθαι λέγε-  
 ται τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐξευρίσκειν καινὴν ἡδονήν. καὶ  
 μάλα ὀρθῶς· ταχὺ γὰρ ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἐμπί-  
 πλαται τῶν χροιζουσῶν ἡδονῶν, κἂν ὡσιν σφόδρα  
 διηκριβωμένοι· ὥστε ἐπεὶ μεγάλην ἔχει δύναμιν ἢ  
 e καινότης πρὸς τὸ μείζω φανῆναι τὴν ἡδονήν, | οὐκ

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and his followers in the sanctuaries and walk around with them, listening in on their conversation. At one point there was some confusion and debate about desires, and about physical pleasure generally, and Polyarchus said: "It's often seemed to me, gentlemen, when I considered the matter, that the contortions these virtues require have very little to do with nature. Because when nature speaks in her own voice, she encourages us to pursue pleasures and claims that this is a mark of a sensible person. Whereas attempting to resist or subdue one's desires is the mark of someone who is neither sensible nor lucky, and who fails to understand how human beings are constituted. Compelling evidence of this is the fact that all human beings, if they get as much power as they need for this, are carried off in the direction of physical pleasure and believe that this is the point of such power, and treat almost everything else, to put it simply, as a secondary matter. One might cite as a contemporary example the Persian kings, or anyone else anywhere who has somehow got a substantial amount of unchecked political authority; in the past, there were the Lydian and Median kings, and even before them, the kings of Syria.<sup>248</sup> They left no type of pleasure unexplored; in fact, people say that in Persia rewards are offered for anyone who can invent a new pleasure. And rightly so; because human nature quickly becomes sated with the pleasures it experiences repeatedly, even if they are extremely intense. As a consequence, since novelty has a tremendous ability to increase the apparent magnitude of pleasure, we should

<sup>248</sup> Properly "of Assyria"; cf. 12.530a with n., 546a.

ὀλιγορρητέον οὖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῆς ποιητέον. διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν πολλὰ μὲν ἐξευρεθῆναι βρωμάτων εἶδη, πολλὰ δὲ πεμμάτων, πολλὰ δὲ θυμιαμάτων καὶ μύρων, πολλὰ δὲ ἱματίων καὶ στρωμάτων, καὶ ποτηρίων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν· πάντα γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα συμβάλλεσθαι τινας ἡδονάς, ὅταν ἦ ἡ ὑποκειμένη ὕλη τῶν θαυματομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ὁ δὲ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖ ὁ τε χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν εὐοφθάλμων τε καὶ σπα-  
 f νίων, ὅσα | καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀπεργαζομένας τέχνας διηκριβωμένα φαίνεται.” εἰπὼν δὲ τούτοις ἐξῆς τὰ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, οἷους καὶ ὄσους ἔχει θεραπευτῆρας, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων αὐτοῦ χρήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χρώτα αὐτοῦ ὀδμῆς καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ τῆς ὀμιλίας καὶ περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, εὐδαιμονέστατον ἔφη κρῖναι τῶν νῦν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα· “πλείσται γὰρ εἰσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τελειόταται παρεσκευασμένα ἡδοναί. δεύτερον δέ”, φησί, “τὸν ἡμέτερον τύραννον θείη τις ἂν καίπερ πολὺν λειπόμενον· ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἦ τε Ἀσία ὅλη χορηγεῖ < . . . >, τὸ δὲ Διουνσίου ||  
 546 χορηγεῖον παντελῶς ἂν εὐτελές τι φανείη πρὸς ἐκείνο συγκρινόμενον. ὅτι μὲν οὖν περιμάχητός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος φανερόν ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. Σύρους μὲν γὰρ Μῆδοι μετὰ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἀφείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἢ τοῦ κυριεῦσαι τῆς Σύρων ἐξουσίας, Μήδους δὲ Πέρσαι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν σωματικῶν

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not despise it, but pay it considerable attention. This is why many types of food have been invented, and many types of pastry, and of incense and perfume, and robes and blankets, and cups and other vessels; because all these produce pleasure of some sort, provided that the basic material consists of something human nature finds appealing. This, in my opinion, is what has happened in the case of gold and silver, and of most other rare and beautiful substances that appear to have been brought to perfection as far as the crafts associated with them are concerned." Immediately after this he described the services the Persian king is provided with: all the servants of various sorts that belong to him, and his sex-life, and how nice his skin smells, and how handsome he looks, and the company he keeps, and what he watches and listens to;<sup>249</sup> and he said that, in his opinion, the Persian king was the most fortunate man alive at the time. "Because he enjoys the largest number of pleasures, and the most perfectly crafted ones. But in second place," he said, "—although a substantial distance behind the king—one might rank our tyrant. Because all of Asia caters to the king's needs . . . , whereas what Dionysius receives would have to be regarded as an absolute trifle in comparison to that. But that this life is worth fighting for is apparent from the course of historical events. Because the Medes took enormous risks in order to wrest the kingship away from the Syrians, for no other reason than that they wanted to control Syria,<sup>250</sup> and the Persians (did the same) to the Medes for the same reason. This is the attraction of

<sup>249</sup> I.e. his dancers and musicians.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. 12.545d with n.

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ἡδονῶν ἀπόλαυσις. οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ὁμαλίζουσιν βουλευ-  
θέντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ μηδένα τῶν πολι-  
b τῶν τρυφᾶν ἀνακῦσαι | πεποιήκασιν τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν  
εἶδος· καὶ ἔγραψαν νόμους περὶ συναλλαγμάτων καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινω-  
νίαν ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς  
λοιπῆς διαίτης, ὅπως ἦ ὁμαλῆς. πολεμούντων οὖν τῶν  
νομοθετῶν τῷ τῆς πλεονεξίας γένει πρῶτον μὲν ὁ περὶ  
τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔπαινος ἠυξήθη, καὶ πού τις καὶ  
ποιητῆς ἐφθέγγετο·

δικαιοσύνας τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον.

καὶ πάλιν † τὸ χρύσειον ὄμμα τὸ τᾶς δίκας †. ἀπεθεώ-  
θη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς δίκης ὄνομα· ὥστε παρ' ἐνίοις |  
c καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ θυσίας γίνεσθαι Δίκη. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ  
καὶ Σωφροσύνην καὶ Ἐγκράτειαν ἐπεισεκώμασαν καὶ  
πλεονεξίαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἐν ἀπολαύσεσιν ὑπεροχὴν·  
ὥστε τὸν πειθαρχοῦντα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ τῶν πολ-  
λῶν φήμῃ μετριάξουσιν περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονάς.”

Καὶ Δούρις δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ τῶν  
Ἱστοριῶν ὡς ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς δυνάσταις ἐπιθυμία  
τῆς μέθης, διὸ ποιεῖν τὸν Ὅμηρον τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι  
λοιδοροῦμενον τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα καὶ λέγοντα·

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων. |

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physical pleasure. Since our lawgivers wanted to make everyone equal and keep any of their citizens from becoming addicted to luxury, they have caused the category of virtues to emerge; and they drafted laws having to do with our dealings with one another and with all other matters that appeared to be required for a political society, and in particular with clothing and the other aspects of daily life, to make it uniform. As the lawgivers waged their war against those who wanted more than their share, first justice was praised increasingly, and some poet, I suppose, said (E. fr. 486(a)):<sup>251</sup>

the golden face of justice.

And again (S. fr. 12.1–2, unmetrical): † the golden eye of justice †. The very name of justice was transformed into a deity; as a consequence, there are altars and sacrifices to Justice in some places. After Justice, they added Decency and Self-Control to the group, and referred to the ability to enjoy oneself more than others as greed. As a consequence, those who pay attention to the laws and to what average people say adopt a moderate approach to physical pleasure.”

So too Duris in Book XXIII of his *History* (FGrH 76 F 15) claims that in ancient times the individuals in power wanted to get drunk, which is why Homer represents Achilles as insulting Agamemnon by saying (*Il.* 1.225):<sup>252</sup>

Heavy with wine, with a dog's eyes!

<sup>251</sup> Identified by a scholiast to Aristotle as drawn from *Melanippe the Wise*.

<sup>252</sup> Quoted, in more complete form, also at 5.178d.

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d και τὸν θάνατον δ' ἀποσημαίνων τοῦ βασιλέως φησίν·

ὡς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας  
κείμεθα,

δεικνύων καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ' αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς μέθης γενόμενον.

Φιλήδονος ἦν καὶ Σπεύσιππος ὁ Πλάτωνος συγγενῆς καὶ διάδοχος τῆς σχολῆς. Διονύσιος γοῦν ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῇ κατὰ τῆς φιληδονίας αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν αὐτῷ ὀνειδίζει καὶ τὸν Λασθενείας τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς ἔρωτα, ἦτις καὶ Πλάτωνος ἠκηκόει.

e Οὐ μόνος δ' Ἀρίστιππος | καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ κίνησιν ἡδονὴν ἡσπάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου. καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοὺς καταγιγισμοὺς λέγω καὶ τὰ ἐπ<ικ>εντρώματα,<sup>58</sup> ἅπερ πολλάκις προφέρεται ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ τοὺς γαργαλισμοὺς καὶ τὰ νύγματα, ἃ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Τέλους εἶρηκεν, τούτων μνηθῆσομαι. φησὶν γάρ· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε δύναμαι νοῆσαι τὰ γαθὸν ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκροαμάτων,  
f ἀφαιρῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς | κατ' ὄψιν ἡδέϊας κινήσεις. καὶ Μητροδώρος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς φησιν·

<sup>58</sup> ἐπ<ικ>εντρώματα Meineke

<sup>253</sup> Speusippus (c.409–339 BCE; PAA 830380) was Plato's



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And when he describes the king's death, he says (*Od.* 11.419–20):

how we were lying around the mixing-bowl and the  
tables  
full of food,

as a way of indicating that his death was connected specifically with his desire to get drunk.

Speusippus (test. 39b Tarán), who was Plato's relative<sup>253</sup> as well as his successor as head of the school, was also a hedonist. Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, at any rate, in his letter to him, denounces his hedonism, criticizing him for being too interested in money, as well as for being in love with Lasthenia of Arcadia,<sup>254</sup> who was one of Plato's students.

It was not just Aristippus (fr. 195 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 203) and his followers who welcomed the pleasure associated with motion,<sup>255</sup> but also Epicurus and his followers. To keep from discussing the "gusts" and "pangs" to which Epicurus refers again and again, as well as the "tinglings" and "pricklings" he mentions in his *On the End* (fr. 413, p. 280 Usener), I will quote the following. Because (Epicurus) says (fr. 67, p. 120 Usener):<sup>256</sup> For I, at any rate, am unable to conceive of "the Good" if I remove from consideration the pleasure derived from the flavors of food, or from sex, or from music, or if I exclude bodily motions that are pleasant to watch. And Metrodorus says in his *Letters*

nephew by his sister Potone. Very similar material is preserved at 7.279e, where see n. <sup>254</sup> PAA 601987. <sup>255</sup> A Cyrenaic term for pleasure; cf. D.L. 2.86–7. <sup>256</sup> Quoted also, in a slightly abbreviated form, at 7.278f, 280a–b.

περὶ γαστέρα, ὧ φυσιολόγε Τιμόκρατες, περὶ γαστέρα ὁ κατὰ φύσιν βαδίζων λόγος τὴν ἅπασαν ἔχει σπουδὴν. καὶ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος δέ φησιν· ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἢ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονή· καὶ τὰ σοφὰ <καὶ><sup>59</sup> τὰ περισσὰ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν. κὰν τῷ Περὶ Τέλους δὲ πάλιν φησὶν· τιμητέον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τοιουτότροπα, ἐὰν ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζῃ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρασκευάζῃ, χαίρειν ἑατέον, σαφῶς ὑπουργὸν ἐν τούτοις ποιῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν

547 τῆς ἡδονῆς || καὶ θεραπαίνης τάξιν ἐπέχουσιν. κὰν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν· προσπτύω τῷ καλῷ καὶ τοῖς κενῶς αὐτὸ θαυμάζουσιν, ὅταν μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν ποιῇ. καλῶς ἄρα ποιοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι Ἄλκιον καὶ Φιλίσκον τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐξέβαλον τῆς πόλεως, Λευκίου τοῦ Ποστουμίου ὑπατεύοντος, δι' ἧς εἰσηγοῦντο ἡδονάς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ

b ψήφισμα ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους, Ἀντίοχος | δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, γράψας τάδε· βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Φανία. ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ὅπως μηδεὶς ἢ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. πυνθανόμεθα δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς νέους λυμαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηθὲν πεποιηκέναι ὑμᾶς ὧν ἐγράψαμεν περὶ τούτων. ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, σύνταξον κήρυγμα

<sup>59</sup> cf. 7.280a

<sup>257</sup> Quoted also at 7.279f–80a, where see n.

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(fr. 39 Körte):<sup>257</sup> Reasoning that proceeds in accord with nature is entirely devoted to the belly, my philosophical friend Timocrates, to the belly! Epicurus (fr. 409, p. 278 Usener = 21M Long–Sedley, encompassing both quotations) as well says: The origin and root of everything good is the pleasure derived from our belly, and whatever is wise or exceptional is to be measured by that standard. So too in his *On the End* (fr. 70, p. 123 Usener)<sup>258</sup> he says again: We ought to respect beauty, the virtues, and the like if they give us pleasure. But if they do not, we should ignore them. He thus patently represents virtue as subordinate to pleasure and as occupying the position of a servant-girl. And elsewhere as well he says (fr. 512, p. 315 Usener): I spit on the Good and the people who admire it to no purpose, if it produces no pleasure. The Romans—the best people there are in all regards—were therefore right to expel the Epicureans Alcuius and Philiscus from the city during the consulship of Lucius Postumius<sup>259</sup> on account of the pleasures they were attempting to introduce. The Messenians similarly passed a decree expelling the Epicureans, while King Antiochus expelled all philosophers from the territory he controlled, writing the following: King Antiochus to Phnias. I wrote you previously, ordering that no philosophers were to be allowed in the city or the territory around it. But I hear that there are quite a few of them, and that the young men are suffering because of your failure to carry out any of my instructions regarding these people. The moment you receive this letter, therefore, order a

<sup>258</sup> Quoted also at 7.280b.

<sup>259</sup> I.e. in either 173 or 154 BCE. Cf. Ael. *VH* 9.12 (where the philosophers in question are called Alcaeus and Philiscus).

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ποιήσασθαι ὅπως οἱ μὲν φιλόσοφοι πάντες ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐκ τῶν τόπων ἤδη, τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων ὅσοι ἂν ἀλίσκωνται πρὸς τούτοις γινόμενοι, διότι κρεμῆσονται, καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσονται ταῖς  
 c μεγίσταις· | καὶ μὴ ἄλλως γένηται.

Τῆς δ' ἡδονῆς πρὸ Ἐπικούρου εἰσηγητῆς ἐγένετο  
 Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν Ἀντιγόνη τοιαῦτα εἰπών·

τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς  
 ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες,<sup>60</sup> οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ  
 ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.  
 πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλει, μέγα,  
 καὶ ζῆ τύραννον σχῆμ' ἔχων, ἐὰν δ' ἀπῆ  
 τούτων τὸ χαίρειν, τᾶλλ' ἐγὼ καπνοῦ σκιᾶς  
 οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν. |

d Καὶ Λύκων δὲ ὁ περιπατητικός, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος, κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιδημήσας παιδείας ἔνεκα ταῖς Ἀθήναις περὶ συμβολικοῦ κώθωνος καὶ πόσον ἐκάστη τῶν ἑταιρουσῶν ἐπράττετο μίσθωμα ἀκριβῶς ἡπίστατο. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῦ περιπάτου προστάς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς φίλους ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν παραλαμβανομένων εἰς αὐτὰ ἀκροαμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων καὶ στρωμνῆς ἢ λοιπῆ παρασκευῆ καὶ ἢ τῶν δείπνων

<sup>60</sup> The traditional text of Sophocles has καὶ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ / ὅταν προδῶσιν ἀνδρός.

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proclamation made to the effect that all philosophers are to leave the area immediately, that any young men caught associating with them are to be hanged, and that their fathers can expect to be tried on capital charges. Be sure this happens.

Before Epicurus,<sup>260</sup> the poet Sophocles in *Antigone* (1165–71)<sup>261</sup> advocated for pleasure, saying something along the following lines:

Because in fact, when a man  
can no longer enjoy himself, I don't regard  
him as alive; I consider him a living corpse.  
Have enormous wealth in your house, if you like,  
and spend your time dressed like a king! If no  
joy goes along with that, I wouldn't buy the rest of it  
from someone for a plugged nickel, compared to  
pleasure.

So too, according to Antigonus of Carystus (pp. 84–5 Wilamowitz = fr. 23 Dorandi), when Lycon the Peripatetic (fr. 7 Wehrli) visited Athens initially, in order to get an education, he acquired a detailed knowledge of the type of drinking party to which everyone contributes money, and of the price that each of the city's prostitutes charged. And later, after he became the head of Aristotle's school,<sup>262</sup> he gave ostentatious and extremely expensive dinner parties for his friends. For in addition to the entertainers who were invited to them, and the silver dishes, and the bedding, the rest of the preparations, including the elabo-

<sup>260</sup> 341–270 BCE. Sophocles died in 406.

<sup>261</sup> Quoted also at 7.280b–c, where see n.

<sup>262</sup> In 269 BCE. Lycon is PAA 611920.

περιεργία καὶ ὁ τῶν τραπεζοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων |  
 e ὄχλος τοσοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πολλοὺς ὀρρωδεῖν καὶ  
 βουλομένους προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν διατριβὴν ἀνα-  
 κόπτεσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς πολίτευμα πονηρὸν καὶ  
 χορηγιῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν πλήρες εὐλαβουμένους  
 προσάγειν. ἔδει γὰρ ἄρξαι τε τὴν νομιζομένην ἐν τῷ  
 περιπάτῳ ἀρχὴν (αὕτη δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν  
 ἐπιχειρούντων) τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, εἶτα τῇ ἔνῃ καὶ νέα  
 λαβόντα ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων ἑννέα ὀβο-  
 λοὺς ὑποδέξασθαι μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὴν συμ-  
 βολὴν εἰσενεγκόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς παρακαλέσειεν ὁ  
 Λύκων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελῶς συναντῶντας τῶν  
 f πρεσβυτέρων | εἰς τὴν σχολήν, ὥστε γίνεσθαι μηδὲ  
 εἰς τὸν μυρισμὸν καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἱκανὸν τὸ ἐκλε-  
 γόμενον ἀργύριον ἱεροποιῆσαι τε καὶ τῶν Μουσειῶν  
 ἐπιμελητὴν γενέσθαι. ἃ δὲ πάντα ἐφαίνετο λόγου μὲν  
 ἀλλότρια καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἶναι, τρυφῆς δὲ καὶ περι-  
 στάσεως οἰκειότερα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ παριέντό τινες τῶν μὴ  
 δυναμένων εἰς ταῦτα ἀναλίσκειν ἀπὸ βραχείας καὶ  
 τῆς τυχούσης ὀρμώμενοι χορηγίας, ὃ γ' ἔθισμὸς ἱκα-  
 νῶς ἦν ἄτοπος. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα συρρύνετες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς  
 548 ἔως ὀρθρου γενομένης τραπέζης || ἀπολαύσωσιν ἢ  
 χάριν ἐξοινίας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς συνόδους ταύτας οἱ  
 περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σπεύσιππον, ἀλλ' ἵνα φαίνωνται  
 καὶ τὸ θεῖον τιμῶντες καὶ μουσικῶς ἀλλήλοις συμ-  
 περιφερόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἕνεκεν ἀνέσεως καὶ  
 φιλολογίας. ἃ δὲ πάντα γέγονεν δεύτερα παρὰ τοῖς

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rate nature of the meals and the host of waiters and cooks, were enough to horrify most people; and even though they wanted to be associated with the school, they were kept from doing so, in the same way that people are reluctant to have any contact with a nasty city full of obligatory duties and mandated services. For a person was required to assume the standard duties in Aristotle's school (that is, to supervise the behavior of the new students) for 30 days, and on the final day of the month he had to collect nine obols<sup>263</sup> from every new student and offer a dinner not only to the individuals who had contributed money, but to anyone Lycon might invite as well, along with whatever older men visited the school regularly. The result was that the money collected was not even enough to pay for the perfume and the garlands. In addition, he had to make a sacrifice and take care of the rites in honor of the Muses. All of this patently had nothing to do with dialectic or philosophy, and more to do with luxury and pomp. For even if some people who were unable to spend money this way were excused, because their resources were of the average sort and thus limited, the practice was quite disconcerting. Because the followers of Plato and Speusippus<sup>264</sup> (test. 35 Tarán) did not hold meetings like these in order to crowd together in a room to enjoy a meal that lasted until the sun was almost up, or to get drunk, but so that they could be seen honoring the gods and associating with one another in an educated manner, and above all else with an eye to relaxing and discussing literature. Among their successors, however, all

<sup>263</sup> = 1½ drachmas, more than a skilled workman made in a day.      <sup>264</sup> I.e. the early Academy (Speusippus being Plato's successor as head of the school; cf. 12.546d).

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ὑστερον τῶν τε χλανίδων καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας τῆς εἰρημένης· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπεξαιροῦμαι. ὁ δὲ Λύκων ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ  
 b τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ ἐν τῇ Κόνωνος | οἰκίᾳ εἶχεν εἰκοσίκλινον οἶκον, ὃς ἦν ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχάς. ἦν δὲ ὁ Λύκων καὶ σφαιριστῆς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐπιδέξιος.

Περὶ δὲ Ἀναξάρχου Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων οὕτω γράφει· τῷ εὐδαιμονικῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀναξ-  
 ἀρχῷ διὰ τὴν τῶν χορηγησάντων ἄγνοιαν περιπεσοῦ-  
 σης ἐξουσίας γυμνῇ μὲν ὠνοχόει παιδίσκη πρόσηβος  
 ἢ προκριθεῖσα διαφέρειν ὥρα τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνασύ-  
 ρουσα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὴν τῶν οὕτως αὐτῇ χρωμένων  
 c ἀκрасίαν, ὁ δὲ σιτοποιοὺς χειρῖδας ἔχων | καὶ περὶ τῷ στόματι κημὸν ἔτριβε τὸ σταῖς, ἵνα μῆτε ἰδρῶς ἐπιρ-  
 ρέοι μῆτε τοῖς φυράμασιν ὁ τρίβων ἐμπνέοι. διὸ πρεπόντως ἂν τις εἴποι τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ φιλοσόφῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀναξίλα Λυροποιοῦ·

ξανθοῖς τε μύροις χρώτα λιπαίνων,  
 χλανίδας θ' ἔλκων, βλαύτας σύρων,  
 βολβοὺς τρώγων, τυροὺς κάπτων,  
 ὧ' ἐκλάπτων, κήρυκας ἔχων,  
 Χῖον πίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις

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<sup>265</sup> It is unclear whether the Conon in question is the wealthy late 5th/early 4th-century BCE Athenian general (PAA 581750) or his eponymous grandson (PAA 581755), but the house had clearly



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such goals took second place to expensive cloaks and the sort of extravagance described above; for I regard none of the others as exceptions. Lycon was such a buffoon that he had a room in Conon's house,<sup>265</sup> in the nicest part of the city, that could hold 20 couches and which he used for his parties. Lycon was also a good, talented ballplayer.<sup>266</sup>

Clearchus of Soli in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 60 Wehrli) writes as follows about Anaxarchus:<sup>267</sup> After Anaxarchus (known as the "happiness philosopher") got rich as a result of the ignorance of the people who supported him, his wine was poured by a naked teenage girl who had been selected as the most beautiful of the time—although what she actually exposed was the lack of self-discipline of the people who treated her this way—while his bread-maker wore gloves and a mask over his mouth as he kneaded the dough, to keep any sweat from dripping into it, and to prevent the individual who was working the material from breathing on it. As a consequence, one might appropriately recite to this wise philosopher the passage from Anaxilas' *Lyre-Maker* (fr. 18):

oiling his skin with golden perfumes,  
trailing cloaks, dragging slippers,  
eating hyacinth bulbs, gobbling cheeses,  
gulping down eggs, having whelks,  
drinking Chian wine, and on top of all that

passed out of the family by the time Lycon moved into a section of it in the middle of the 3rd century.

<sup>266</sup> An oddly inappropriate detail, which would seem to belong instead with material of the sort collected at 1.14e, 15c.

<sup>267</sup> Berve i #70; cf. 6.250f-1a.

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ἐν σκυταρίοις ραπτοῖσι φορῶν  
Ἐφεσῆια γράμματα καλά.

d πόσῳ γὰρ τούτων βελτίων Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος, περὶ  
οὗ ἰ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Βίων,  
ὅτι διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν σχεδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα<sup>61</sup> ἔτη τῷ  
φρονεῖν συνεβίωσεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τίνη  
διαίτη χρώμενος οὕτως ἐμμελῶς καὶ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως  
τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζήσειεν, “οὐδὲν πώποτε”, εἶπεν,  
“ἡδονῆς ἔνεκεν πράξας.” Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν  
τετάρτῳ Περὶ Ποιημάτων, Γοργίας, φησὶν, ὁ Λεον-  
τίνος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ βιώσαι  
e πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ἔφη, “τὸ μὴτὲν πώποτε ἐτέρου  
ἐνεκεν πεποιηκέναι.” Ὀχος δὲ πολλῷ ἰ χρόνῳ τὴν  
βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν περὶ τὸν βίον χορηγίαν  
διαρκῆ κτησάμενος, ὡς τελευτῶντος ἠρώτησεν ὁ  
πρεσβύτατος τῶν υἱῶν τί πράσσων τοσαυτ’ ἔτη δια-  
φυλάξειεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο μιμοῖ-  
το, “τὰ δίκαια πράττων”, εἶπε, “πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώ-  
πους καὶ θεούς.” Καρύστιος δ’ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν  
Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, Κηφισόδωρος, φησὶν, ὁ  
Θηβαῖος Πολύδωρον τὸν Τήιον ἰατρὸν Ἀντιπάτρῳ  
συσσιτεῖν ψιλοτάπιδα ἔχοντι Κρητικῆν<sup>62</sup> εὐτελεῆ, ἐφ’ ἰ  
f ἧς κατακεῖσθαι, κάδους δὲ χαλκοῦς καὶ ποτήρια ὀλί-  
γα· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὀλιγοδίαιτον καὶ τρυφῆς ἀλλό-  
τριον.

<sup>61</sup> ὀγδοήκοντα (i.e. π’) ACE: ἑκατὸν (i.e. ρ’) Wilamowitz

<sup>62</sup> Κρητικῆν Olson: κρικωτῆν καθάπερ τοὺς στρωματεῖς A

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wearing lovely Ephesian letters  
in scraps of stitched leather.<sup>268</sup>

How much better Gorgias of Leontini (82 A 11 D–K) was than these people! The same Clearchus in Book VIII of his *Lives* (fr. 62 Wehrli) reports that, because Gorgias led a decent life, he survived to almost 80 without growing demented. When someone asked him how he had behaved, to have lived for so long, and to be so comfortable and in full possession of his faculties, he said: “I never did anything simply because it felt good.” Demetrius of Byzantium says in Book IV of *On Poems* (FHG ii.624): When Gorgias of Leontini was asked how he had lived to be over 100, he said: “It’s because I’ve never done anything for anyone else.” Much later on Ochus<sup>269</sup> got control of the kingdom and of a considerable amount of everything else one needs to enjoy life, and when his oldest son asked him, as he was dying, how he had managed to hold onto the throne for so many years, his own plan being to behave in the same way, Ochus said: “By treating all human beings and all gods the right way.” Carystius of Pergamum says in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 7, FHG iv.357–8): Cephisodorus of Thebes (FGrH 112 F 2) (claims that) the Teian physician Polydorus used to eat with Antipater, who had a cheap Cretan carpet that he lay on top of, and bronze winejars, and a few cups; because he led a simple life and avoided luxury.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>268</sup> I.e. magical amulets of some sort.

<sup>269</sup> I.e. Artaxerxes III of Persia (reigned 359/8–338 BCE); cf. 4.150b–c with n.

<sup>270</sup> For Antipater’s abstemious lifestyle, cf. 10.435d.

Τιθωνὸν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἕως μέχρι δυσμῶν κοιμώμενον  
 μόλις <αἶ> ἐπιθυμίαι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπήγειρον· ὅθεν  
 Ἴοι συγκοιμᾶσθαι λεχθεῖς διὰ τὸ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις  
 ἐμπεπλέχθαι < . . . > ἐπὶ τῷ γήρα καθεῖρκεται, κρε-  
 549 μαστὸς ὦν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τούτων. ἢ καὶ Μελάνθιος  
 δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ τράχηλον κατατείνων ἀπήγγετο ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀπολαύσεων, κνισότερος ὦν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως Μελαν-  
 θίου. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διεστράφησαν  
 διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους ἡδονάς, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς πάχος σώματος  
 ἐπέδωκαν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀναισθησίαν διὰ πολλὴν  
 τρυφήν. Νύμφις γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ δω-  
 δεκάτῃ<sup>63</sup> Περὶ Ἡρακλείας, Διονύσιος, φησὶν, ὁ Κλε-  
 ἀρχου τοῦ πρώτου τυραννήσαντος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ υἱὸς  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς πατρίδος τυραννήσας ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ  
 b τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ἰαδικίας ἔλαθεν ὑπερσαρκήσας,  
 ὥστε διὰ τὸ πάχος ἐν δυσπνοίᾳ αὐτὸν συσχεθῆναι καὶ  
 πνιγμῷ. διὸ συνέταξαν οἱ ἰατροὶ κατασκευάσαι βε-  
 λόνας λεπτὰς τῷ μήκει διαφερούσας, ἅς διὰ τῶν  
 πλευρῶν καὶ τῆς κοιλίας διωθεῖν, ὅταν εἰς ὕπνον τύχη  
 βαθύτερον ἐμπεσῶν. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ὑπὸ τῆς  
 πεπωρωμένης ἐκ τοῦ στέατος σαρκὸς οὐκ ἐνεποιεῖ τὴν  
 αἴσθησιν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθαρὸν τόπον ἢ βελόνη  
 διελθοῦσα ἔθιγεν, τότε διηγείρετο. τοὺς δὲ χρημα-  
 c τισμοὺς ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς βουλομένοις προτιθέμενος ἢ κι-

<sup>63</sup> δωδεκάτη (i.e. ιβ' ) Müller: δευτέρα (i.e. β') A

<sup>271</sup> This material appears to be closely related to Clearchus fr. 55 Wehrli (cited at 1.6b–c, where see nn.).

<sup>272</sup> Referring to the insolent Ithacan goatherd (esp. *Od.*

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Because Tithonus slept from dawn until sunset, his desires barely managed to wake him up in the evening;<sup>271</sup> as a consequence, he was said to sleep with Dawn, because he was wrapped up in his desires . . . in his old age he was locked up, and was genuinely suspended from them. So too Melanthius (*TrGF* 23 T 7b) stretched his neck so far that his pleasures choked him to death, since he was more interested in rich food than Odysseus' Melanthius<sup>272</sup> was. Many other people as well utterly ruined their bodies as a consequence of their inopportune indulgence in pleasure, some surrendering to obesity, others to a stupor resulting from their enormous self-indulgence. Nymphis of Heracleia, for example, says in Book XII of *On Heracleia* (*FGrH* 432 F 10):<sup>273</sup> Dionysius, the son of the Clearchus who was the first tyrant of Heracleia, also got control of his native land,<sup>274</sup> and grew imperceptibly ever fatter as a consequence of his addiction to luxury and his overeating every day, with the result that he was so obese that he had difficulty breathing and choked. His physicians accordingly ordered him to have extremely long, thin needles made, and to have them stuck into his sides and his belly whenever he fell into too deep a sleep. As long as the needle was in a part of his body that had been deadened by the fat, he felt nothing; but once it passed through there and came in contact with an undamaged area, he woke up. When someone wanted to conduct business with him, he placed a box

17.212–60, 369–73; 20.173–82), who is not expressly characterized by Homer as a glutton, although he does eat in the palace at *Od.* 17.258–60 (and cf. 20.256, where Philoetius and Melanthius might be mistakenly taken as the subject).

<sup>273</sup> Very similar material is preserved at *Ael. VH* 9.13.

<sup>274</sup> In 337/6 BCE.

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βωτὸν τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ μέρη κρύπτοι, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον μόνον ὑπερέχων διαλέγοιτο τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Μένανδρος ἡκιστα γ' ὦν λοῖδορος ἐν τοῖς Ἀλιεύσιν, τὸν μῦθον ὑποστησάμενος ὑπὲρ τινῶν φνυγάδων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας·

< . . . > παχὺς γὰρ ὅς ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ στόμα.

καὶ πάλιν·

< . . . > ἐτρύφησεν, ὥστε μὴ πολὺν τρυφᾶν χρόνον.

καὶ ἔτι·

ἴδιον ἐπιθυμῶν, μόνος μοι θάνατος οὗτος  
φαίνεται  
εὐθάνατος, ἔχοντα πολλὰς χολλάδας κείσθαι  
παχὺν |

d ὑπτιον, μόλις λαλοῦντα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔχοντ'  
ἄνω,

ἐσθίουντα καὶ λέγοντα “σῆπομ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.”

ἀπέθανεν δὲ βιώσας ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα, ὦν ἐτυράννησεν τρία καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀπάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τυράννων πραότητι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ διεννηοχῶς. τοιοῦτος ἐγεγόνει καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἕβδομος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσας, ὁ αὐτὸν μὲν Εὐεργέτην ἀνακηρύττων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέων Κακεργέτης ὀνομαζό-

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275 Ptolemy VIII (reigned 145–116 BCE); the opening portion

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around his body, so that he could keep the rest of himself hidden, allowing him to speak with his visitors with only his head sticking out of the top. Menander—who is not much given to insulting people—mentions Dionysius in his *Fishermen* (fr. 25, encompassing all three quotations), offering the story on behalf of some exiles from Heracleia:

Because a fat pig was lying on its snout.

And again:

He lived in luxury, in a way that guaranteed he  
wouldn't do so for long.

Furthermore:

wanting something peculiar—this seems to me to be  
the only good  
way to die—to be fat and lie on your back, with an  
enormous  
gut, barely able to speak or breathe in and out,  
eating and saying “I feel so good that I'm rotting.”

He died at age 55, having been tyrant for 33 years, and having been gentler and more reasonable than any of the tyrants who preceded him. The seventh Ptolemy to rule Egypt—the one who tried to have himself referred to as Euergetês (“the Benefactor”), although the inhabitants of Alexandria called him Kakergetês (“the Malefactor”)<sup>275</sup>—

of this sentence is clearly drawn from the same source at 4.184b–c, where the Alexandrians' enmity is explained. The combination of ugly and erratic behavior and extreme obesity might suggest a glancing allusion to the career of G. Bedlinensis, except that Ptolemy published extensively; perhaps one should think instead of C. Nappensis.

μενος. Ποσειδάωνιος γοῦν ὁ στωικός, συναποδημήσας  
 e Σκιπίωνι τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ κληθέντι | εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτόν, γράφει ἐν ἐβδόμῃ τῶν Ἱστο-  
 ριῶν οὕτως· διὰ δὲ τρυφὴν διέφθαρτο τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ  
 παχύτητος καὶ γαστρὸς μεγέθους, ἣν δυσπερίληπτον  
 εἶναι συνέβαινε· ἐφ' ἧς χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδή-  
 ρη μέχρι τῶν καρπῶν χειρῖδας ἔχοντα <προῆει>.<sup>64</sup>  
 προῆει δὲ οὐδέποτε πεζός, εἰ μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα. ὅτι δὲ  
 τρυφῆς οὐκ ἦν ἀλλότριος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, αὐτὸς  
 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Ἱπομνημάτων  
 διηγούμενος ὅπως τε ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐν Κυρήνῃ  
 f Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὅπως δείπνον | παρεσκεύασε τοῖς πρὸ  
 αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἱερεῦσι, γράφων οὕτως· Ἀρτεμίτια  
 μεγίστη ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυρήνῃ,<sup>65</sup> ἐν ἣ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος (ἐνιαύσιος δ' ἐστὶ) δειπνίζει τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 ἱερευσαμένους καὶ παρατίθησιν ἐκάστω τρυβλίον·  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κεραμοῦν ἄγγος ἐπιδεχόμενον ὡς εἴκοσι  
 ἀρτάβας, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγριμαίων ἔγκειται  
 πεπονημένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων ὀρνίθων,  
 ἔτι δὲ θαλαττίων ἰχθύων ταρίχου τε ξενικοῦ πλείονα  
 550 γένη· || πολλάκις δέ τινες καὶ καθάριον<sup>66</sup> ἀκολου-  
 θίσκον προσδιδόασιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιείλομεν τὰ τοι-  
 αῦτα· φιάλας δ' ὀλαργύρους κατασκευάσαντες, τὸ

<sup>64</sup> <προῆει> Olson: <περιῆει> Kaibel

<sup>65</sup> sic CE: μεγίστη ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυρήνῃ ἑορτὴ A

<sup>66</sup> καθάριον Casaubon: κιθάριον A



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was the same type of person. Posidonius the Stoic (*FGrH* 87 T 10a = test. 7 Edelstein–Kidd), at any rate, who visited Alexandria along with Scipio Africanus when he was invited there,<sup>276</sup> and who saw Ptolemy, writes as follows in Book VII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 6 = fr. 58 Edelstein–Kidd): His addiction to luxury led to him being physically disabled, as a result of his obesity and the size of his belly, which was too large to get one’s arms around easily. When he went out, he covered it with a tunic that hung to his feet and had sleeves that extended to his wrists; but he never went out on foot, except on Scipio’s account.<sup>277</sup> The king himself attests to the fact that he was no stranger to luxury in Book VIII of his *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 9), when he describes how he was a priest of Apollo in Cyrene and held a dinner for the men who had been priests before him. He writes as follows: The Artemitia is the most important festival in Cyrene, and during the course of it Apollo’s priest—this is an annual office—gives a dinner for the men who served as priests before him, and places a bowl beside each of them. This is a ceramic vessel that holds about 20 *artabai*,<sup>278</sup> and it contains many cooked pieces of wild game, as well as many pieces of domesticated birds, along with numerous types of sea-fish and imported saltfish; people frequently add an elegant slave-boy as a gift as well. But I did away with all that; I had solid silver *phialai* (“liba-

<sup>276</sup> Scipio visited Alexandria sometime in the late 140s BCE. It was not Posidonius who accompanied him, however, but the Stoic philosopher Panaetius; cf. 14.657e–f, which features the same error. <sup>277</sup> Apparently intended as a pun, the second meaning being “without a stick to lean on.”

<sup>278</sup> An enormous amount, equivalent to about 24 bushels.

τίμημα ἔχουσαν ἐκάστην ἧς προειρήκαμεν δαπάνης, ἵππον τε κατεσκευασμένον σὺν ἵπποκόμῳ καὶ φιλάρους διαχρύσοις ἐδώκαμεν καὶ παρεκαλέσαμεν ἕκαστον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ καθεσθέντα οἴκαδ' ἀπιέναι. εἰς πάχος δ' ἐπεδεδώκει καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα ἀποκτείνας συμβασιλεύουσιν αὐτῷ.

b φησὶ γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδώνιος | ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν οὕτως· ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δυνάστης μισούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων, κολακευόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ τρυφῇ ζῶν, οὐδὲ περιπατεῖν οἶός τε ἦν, εἰ μὴ δυσὶν ἐπαπεριεϊδόμενος ἐπορευέτο. εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὀρχήσεις ἀπὸ μετεώρων κλινῶν καταλλόμενος ἀνυπόδητος συντονωτέρας αὐτὰς τῶν ἡσκηκότων ἐποιεῖτο.

Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκαϊδεκάτῃ Εὐρωπαϊκῶν Μάγαν φησὶ τὸν Κυρήνης βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη πενήκοντα ἀπολέμητον γενόμενον καὶ τρυφῶντα κατάσαρκον | γενέσθαι ἐκτόπως τοῖς ὄγκοις κατὰ τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάχους ἀποπνιγῆναι δι' ἀργίαν σώματος καὶ τῷ προσφέρεσθαι πλήθος τροφῆς. παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἀδοξίας νομίζεσθαι, εἴ τις ἦ<sup>67</sup> τὸ σχῆμα ἀνανδρότερον ἔχων ἢ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος προπετῇ ἐφαίνετο, γυμνῶν κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας παρισταμένων τοῖς ἐφόροις τῶν νέων. κἀφεώρων

67 ἦν ἢ ACE: ἦν del. Schweighäuser

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tion-bowls”) made—each one cost as much as everything mentioned earlier—and I also gave them a horse, complete with a groom and cheek-pieces inlaid with gold, and I invited each of them to sit on his horse and go home. Ptolemy’s son Alexander (the one who murdered his own mother when she was sharing the throne with him)<sup>279</sup> also surrendered to obesity. Posidonius in Book XLVII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 26 = fr. 77 Edelstein–Kidd), at any rate, says the following about him: The ruler of Egypt, who was hated by the common people, but flattered by his inner circle, and who lived in enormous luxury, was incapable of walking, unless he leaned on two people as he moved. But he would jump down barefoot from his high couch to join the dances at his drinking parties, and he performed them more vigorously than others who had practiced them.

Agatharchides in Book XVI of the *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 7) claims that Magas, who was king of Cyrene for 50 years,<sup>280</sup> never fought a war and became enormously heavy near the end of his life as a consequence of his addiction to luxury; he ultimately suffocated because of his obesity, since he never got any exercise and consumed large amounts of food. The same author reports in Book XXVII (*FGrH* 86 F 10)<sup>281</sup> that in Sparta it was regarded as an extraordinary disgrace, if a person seemed to have a relatively unmanly build or a large potbelly, and that the ephors inspected the young men in the nude every ten

<sup>279</sup> Ptolemy X Alexander I (reigned 107–88 BCE). His mother Cleopatra III died in 101. <sup>280</sup> c.300–250 BCE.

<sup>281</sup> Similar but more extensive material (unattributed) is preserved at Ael. *VH* 14.7.

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- d δ' οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ ἰ περιὶ τὴν ἔνδυσιν καὶ τὴν στρωμὴν τῶν νέων· εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ ὀψοποιοὶ ἦσαν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις κρέως σκευασίας, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός. κὰν τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἔφη ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ναυκλείδην τὸν Πολυβιάδου παντελῶς ὑπερσαρκοῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ παχὺν διὰ τρυφὴν γενόμενον καταβιβάσαντες εἰς μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ Λυσάνδρου πολλὰ ὀνειδίσαντος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ὡς τρυφῶντι παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀπειλήσαντες τοῦτο ποιήσειν,
- e εἰ μὴ τὸν βίον ἐπανορθώσοιτο· ἰ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λυσάνδρου ὅτι καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, ὅτε διέτριβεν περιὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πολεμῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὄρων τοὺς Ἀσιαγενεῖς ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένους, τοῖς σώμασιν δ' οὕτως ἀχρεῖους ὄντας, γυμνοὺς πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἄγειν καὶ χωρὶς πωλεῖν τὸν τούτων ἱματισμόν, ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι γιγνώσκοντες διότι πρὸς μὲν ἄθλα μεγάλα, πρὸς δ' ἄνδρας εὐτελεῖς ὁ ἀγὼν συνέστηκε, προθυμότερον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὀρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους. καὶ
- f Πύθων δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος ῥήτωρ, ὡς Λέων ἰ ιστορεῖ ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πάνυ ἦν παχὺς τὸ σῶμα· καί<sup>68</sup> ποτε στασιάζουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολίταις παρακαλῶν εἰς φιλίαν ἔλεγεν· “ὄρατέ με, ἄνδρες πολῖται, οἶός εἰμι τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχω πολλῶ ἔμου παχυτέραν. ὅταν οὖν ὁμονοῶμεν, καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἡμᾶς

<sup>68</sup> καὶ Βυζαντίοις A: Βυζαντίοις del. Wilamowitz

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days. The ephors also kept a close eye daily on how the young men dressed and what they slept on, and rightly so. There were actually chefs in Sparta who prepared meat, but nothing else. So too in Book XXVII Agatharchides (*FGrH* 86 F 11) reported that because Naucleides the son of Polybiades<sup>282</sup> became extremely corpulent and fat, as a result of his addiction to luxury, the Spartans made him stand in the middle of the Assembly; and after Lysander<sup>283</sup> criticized him at length in public for his behavior, they all but kicked him out of the city, and threatened to actually do so, unless he straightened out his life. Because Lysander said that when Agesilaus<sup>284</sup> was spending time in the Hellespont fighting the barbarians, he saw that the Asiatics were wearing expensive clothing, but had correspondingly unimpressive physiques. He accordingly ordered his men to strip all their prisoners-of-war and take them to the auction block, but to sell their clothing separately, so that the allies would recognize that they were struggling for great prizes, but that the contest was against unimpressive men, and would feel more eager to attack their enemies. The orator Python of Byzantium, according to his fellow-citizen Leon (*FGrH* 132 F 1), was also enormously fat. At one point when the inhabitants of Byzantium were involved in a political quarrel with one another, he tried to get them to make up by saying: “Look how large I am, my fellow-citizens; and my wife is even fatter. When we’re getting along,

<sup>282</sup> Poralla #548. Naucleides was an ephor in 404/3 and supported Pausanias’ policies rather than Lysander’s, hence Lysander’s ostentatious public abuse of him reported below.

<sup>283</sup> Poralla #504.

<sup>284</sup> Agesilaus II (Poralla #9), reigned 400–360/59 BCE.

σκιμπόδιον δέχεται· ἐὰν δὲ στασιάσωμεν, οὐδὲ ἡ σύμπασα οἰκία.”

551 Πόσω οὖν κάλλιόν ἐστιν, ἀγαθὲ Τιμόκρατες, ἢ πενόμενον εἶναι λεπτότερον ὧν καταλέγει Ἑρμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψιν ἢ ὑπερπλουτοῦντας τῷ Ταναγραίῳ κήτει ἐοικέναι, καθάπερ οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες. φησὶ δ' οὕτως ὁ Ἑρμιππος πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

νῦν γὰρ πενόμενοι  
ἀνάπηρά σοι θύουσιν ἤδη βοΐδια,  
Λεωτροφίδου λεπτότερα καὶ Θουμάντιδος.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ λεπτοὺς τοῦσδε καταλέγει, οὓς καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν  
b εἰς Ἰᾶιδου πέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ποιητὰς λέγων οὕτωςί·

(A.) καὶ τίς νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
ἔτλη κατελθεῖν; (B.) ἔνα † δ' ἀφ' ἐκάστης  
τέχνης

εἰλόμεθα κοινῇ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας,  
οὓς ἦσμεν ὄντας ἀδοφοίτας καὶ θαμὰ  
ἐκέϊσε φιλοχωροῦντας. (A.) εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες  
ἄνδρες παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδοφοῖται; (B.) νῆ Δία

285 See 12.510b n.

286 Presumably a reference to the greedy Triton described at Paus. 9.20.4.

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any little couch has enough room for us. But when we're arguing, the whole house isn't big enough!"

How much better it is, my good Timocrates,<sup>285</sup> to be poor and thinner than the individuals Hermippus lists in *Cercopes* (fr. 36), than to be much too rich and resemble the sea-monster in Tanagra,<sup>286</sup> like the men mentioned above! Hermippus says the following, addressing the speech to Dionysus:

Because now, since they're poor,  
they sacrifice little, crippled cows to you  
that are thinner than Leotrophides and Thumantis.<sup>287</sup>

So too Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 156, encompassing both quotations) lists the following thin men, who, he claims, were sent to Hades by the poets as ambassadors to the poets there.<sup>288</sup> He puts it as follows:

(A.) And who dared descend to the hiding-place of  
the dead and  
the shadowy gates?<sup>289</sup> (B.) There was an assembly,  
and  
we agreed on one man † from each profession,  
people we knew traveled to Hades and liked  
to spend time there whenever they could. (A.) You  
mean there are  
people in your country who travel to Hades? (B.)  
There certainly are,

<sup>287</sup> Leotrophides is PAA 607070. Thumantis is PAA 515550.

<sup>288</sup> A radically condensed version of the material that follows (to 12.552b) is preserved at Ael. VH 10.6.

<sup>289</sup> An echo of E. *Hec.* 1.

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μάλιστά γ'. (A.) ὡσπερ Θρακοφοῦται; (B.) πάντ' ἔχεις.

(A.) καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν; (B.) πρῶτα μὲν  
Σαννυρίων |

- c ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγιδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς φησιν·

(A.) ὡς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὠχεῖσθ' ἄρα.  
τούτους γάρ, ἦν πολλῶ ξυνέλθη, ξυλλαβῶν  
ὁ τῆς διαρροίας ποταμὸς οἰχῆσεται.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ Σαννυρίωνος καὶ Στράττις ἐν Ψυχασταῖς  
φησιν·

Σαννυρίωνος σκυτίνην ἐπικουρίαν.

περὶ δὲ Μελήτου αὐτὸς ὁ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλωτι λέγει  
οὕτως·

< . . . > Μέλητον τὸν ἀπὸ Ληναίου νεκρόν.

- d ἦν δ' ὄντως | λεπτότατος καὶ μακρότατος ὁ Κινησίας,  
εἰς ὃν καὶ ὄλον δράμα γέγραφεν Στράττις, Φθιώτην  
Ἀχιλλέα αὐτὸν καλῶν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ποιήσει  
συνεχῶς τὸ Φθιώτα λέγειν. παίζων οὖν εἰς τὴν ἰδέαν  
αὐτοῦ ἔφη·

Φθιώτ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.

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<sup>290</sup> Sannyrio is PAA 811865. Meletus is PAA 639320; TrGF 47.  
Cinesias is Stephanis #1406; PAA 569985. <sup>291</sup> For this as a  
feature of the Comic Underworld, cf. Ar. Ra. 145–6.



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by Zeus! (A.) Like people who travel to Thrace? (B.)  
That's it.

(A.) And who would they be? (B.) First of all, from  
the comic poets  
there's Sannyrio; and from the tragic choruses there's  
Meletus; and from the cyclic choruses there's  
Cinesias.<sup>290</sup>

Then immediately after this he says:

(A.) Well—what awfully slender hopes supported  
you, then!  
Because if the diarrhea river<sup>291</sup> suddenly picks up  
some force,  
it'll grab these guys and carry them off.

As for Sannyrio, Strattis says in *Men Who Keep Cool* (fr. 57):

Sannyrio's leather auxiliary force.<sup>292</sup>

And as for Meletus, Sannyrio himself in *Laughter* (fr. 2) says the following:

Meletus the corpse from Lenaion<sup>293</sup>.

Cinesias was in fact very thin and tall; Strattis wrote an entire play about him, referring to him as "Phthian Achilles" because he constantly uses the word "Phthian" in his own poetry. (Strattis) (fr. 17) therefore made fun of this characteristic of his, by saying:

Phthian Achilles.

<sup>292</sup> I.e. a dildo.

<sup>293</sup> Presumably referring somehow to the Lenaia festival (and Meletus' alleged lack of success there).

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ἄλλοι δ' αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ Ἄριστοφάνης, πολλάκις εἰρή-  
 κασι φιλύρινον Κινησίαν διὰ τὸ φιλύρας<sup>69</sup> λαμβάνον-  
 τα σανίδα συμπεριζώννυσθαι, ἵνα μὴ κάμπηται διὰ  
 τε τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν ἰσχυρότητα. ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὁ Κινησίας  
 νοσώδης καὶ δεινὸς τᾶλλα Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ |  
 e Ὑπὲρ Φανίου Παρανόμων ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ εἴρη-  
 κεν, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀφέμενον τῆς τέχνης συκοφαντεῖν  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πλουτεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ  
 ἕτερος, σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὧν σημαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 ἀθεότητι κωμωδούμενον ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦ  
 λόγου τοιοῦτον δείκνυσθαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ·  
 θανμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴ βαρέως φέρετε ὅτι Κινησίας ἐστὶν ὁ  
 τοῖς νόμοις βοηθός, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε  
 ἀσεβέστατον ἀπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἀνθρώπων  
 f γεγονέναι. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν | ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοῦς  
 ἐξαμαρτάνων, ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ  
 λέγειν, τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων <δ'><sup>70</sup> ἀκούετε καθ'  
 ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν; οὐ μετὰ τούτου ποτὲ Ἀπολλοφάνης  
 καὶ Μυσταλίδης καὶ Λυσίθεος συνεισιτῶντο, μίαν  
 ἡμέραν ταξάμενοι τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἀντὶ δὲ νομη-  
 νιαστῶν κακοδαιμονιστὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦνομα θέ-  
 μενοι, πρέπον μὲν ταῖς αὐτῶν τύχαις· οὐ μὴν ὡς τοῦτο

<sup>69</sup> τὸ φιλύρας τοῦ ξύλου ACE: τοῦ ξύλου del. Kaibel

<sup>70</sup> add. Musurus

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<sup>294</sup> Apollphanes is PAA 143890. Mystalides is PAA 663545.  
 Lysitheus is PAA 614467.

## BOOK XII

But other authors, such as Aristophanes (*Av.* 1378), routinely refer to Cinesias as *philurinos*, because he took a plank of lime-tree (*philura*) wood and wrapped it around himself, to keep him from bending, since he was so tall and skinny. That Cinesias was unhealthy and a generally conniving character is asserted by the orator Lysias in his speech entitled *On Behalf of Phanius on a Charge of Proposing an Illegal Motion*, where he says that Cinesias abandoned his profession in favor of bringing false charges against people and growing rich that way. As for whether this is the poet rather than someone else, he is manifestly shown to be the same person by the fact that he is openly mocked in comedy for being an atheist and is shown to be such in this speech. The orator puts it as follows (fr. 195 Carey): I am astonished if you are not profoundly upset that the man supposedly defending the laws is Cinesias, since you are all aware that he is the most impious, lawless person alive. Isn't this the individual who committed the sort of crimes against the gods that other people are embarrassed even to mention, but that you hear about from the comic poets every year? Didn't Apollophanes, Mystalides, and Lysitheus<sup>294</sup> used to have feasts with him at one point? and didn't they set aside an unlucky day of the month for this, and refer to themselves not as New-Mooners,<sup>295</sup> but as *Kakodaimonistai*<sup>296</sup>—an appropriate name for how matters turned out for them! This wasn't

<sup>295</sup> I.e. individuals who gathered on the first day of every month for a party; cf. 7.287f (a "fourth-day" club) with n.

<sup>296</sup> "Troublemakers" *vel sim.*, although the name could also be understood to mean the "Bad-luck Boys," as the comment that follows makes clear.

552 διαπραξόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὡς κατα-  
 γελῶντες τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων.  
 ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς  
 τοιούτους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πλείστων γινγνωσκόμενον  
 οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως διέθεσαν ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς βούλεσθαι  
 αὐτὸν ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ τεθνάναι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλ-  
 λοις, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς λίαν ὑβριστικῶς πρὸς τὰ  
 θεία διακειμένοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς  
 τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολλύουσι, μείζους καὶ  
 χαλεπωτέρας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς νόσους (αὐ-  
 τοῖς)<sup>71</sup> ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις προσβάλλοντες. τὸ  
 b μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἢ καμῖν νομίμως κοινὸν ἡμῖν  
 ἄπασιν ἔστι, τὸ δ' οὕτως ἔχοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον  
 διατελεῖν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντα μὴ  
 δύνασθαι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον τούτοις μόνοις προσ-  
 ἤκει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄπερ οὗτος ἐξημαρτηκόσιν. περὶ  
 μὲν οὖν Κινησίου ταῦτα ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶρηκεν. λεπτότερος  
 δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλίτας ὁ Κῶος ποιητής, ὃς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 σώματος ἰσχνότητα σφαίρας ἐκ μολύβου πεποιη-  
 μένας εἶχε περὶ τὸ πόδε, ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἀνα-  
 τραπείη. Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιγηγητής ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἢ  
 c Θαυμασίων Ἀρχέστρατόν φησι τὸν μάντιν ἀλόντα  
 ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ ἐπὶ ζυγὸν ἀναβληθέντα ὀβολοῦ  
 ὀλκὴν εὐρεθῆναι ἔχοντα· οὕτως ἦν ἰσχνός. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς  
 ἱστορεῖ ὡς καὶ Πανάρετος ἰατρῷ μὲν οὐδενὶ ὠμίλησεν,  
 Ἀρκεσιλάου δὲ ἠκροᾶτο τοῦ φιλοσόφου, καὶ ὅτι συν-

<sup>71</sup> add. Kaibel

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what they planned to accomplish, of course; their goal was to make fun of the gods and your laws. But the fact is that they all died just as one would expect people like that to. As for the most widely known of them, the gods treated him in such a way that his enemies would have wanted him to go on living rather than die, making him an example to others, so that they realize that the gods do not wait and punish the children of people who behave in an utterly outrageous way where divine matters are concerned, but destroy the individuals in question themselves, by striking them with greater and harsher misfortunes and diseases than they impose on others. Because dying and suffering from ordinary diseases is an experience we all share; but to go on like this for so long, and to be dying every day, but nonetheless unable to bring one's life to an end—that is reserved exclusively for people who commit the sort of crimes this man did. This is what the orator has to say about Cinesias. The poet Philetas of Cos (test. 8 Sbardella = test. 22a Spanoudakis = adesp. com. fr. \*122) was also quite thin; he was so skinny that he had balls of lead attached to his feet, to keep the wind from blowing him over.<sup>297</sup> The travel-writer Polemon in his *On Marvels* (fr. 84 Preller) claims that when the seer Arcestratus<sup>298</sup> was captured by the enemy and placed on a scale, they discovered that he weighed only one obol; that is how scrawny he was. The same author records that Panaretus never visited a physician even once, and was a student of the philosopher Ar-

<sup>297</sup> Very similar material is preserved at Ael. *VH* 9.14.

<sup>298</sup> Otherwise unknown.

ATHENAEUS

εγένετο Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Εὐεργέτῃ τάλαντα δώδεκα τὸν  
 ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνων· ἦν δὲ ἰσχνότατος, ἄνοσος δια-  
 τελέσας. Μητροδῶρος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περι  
 Ἰατρικῆς Ἰππώνακτα τὸν ποιητὴν οὐ μόνον μικρὸν  
 d γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα, ἰ ἀλλὰ καὶ λεπτόν, ἀκρότονον δ'  
 οὕτως ὡς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κενὴν λήκυθον βάλλειν  
 μέγιστόν τι διάστημα, τῶν ἐλαφρῶν σωματίων διὰ τὸ  
 μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἀέρα τέμνειν οὐκ ἐχόντων βιαίαν τὴν  
 φοράν. λεπτὸς δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλιππίδης, καθ' οὗ λόγος  
 ἐστὶν Ὑπερείδῃ τῷ ῥήτορι, λέγων αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν  
 πολιτευομένων εἶναι. ἦν δ' εὐτελής τὸ σῶμα διὰ λε-  
 πτότητα, ὡς ὁ Ὑπερείδης ἔφη. Ἄλεξις τ' ἐν Θεσπρω-  
 τοῖς φησιν·

Ἐρμῆ θεῶν προπομπὴ καὶ Φιλιππίδου ἰ  
 e κληροῦχε, Νυκτός τ' ὄμμα τῆς μελαμπέπλου.

καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν Πλάτωνι·

(A.) ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶν  
 ἰσχνότερον αὐτὸν ἀποφανῶ Φιλιππίδου.

(B.) οὕτως ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις νεκροὺς ποεῖς;

Μένανδρος δὲ Ὀργῆ·

ὁ λιμὸς ὑμῖν τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον δακὼν  
 Φιλιππίδου λεπτότερον ἀποδείξει νεκρόν.

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<sup>299</sup> The coordination with Arcesilaus (PAA 202740; head of the Academy c.268–242/1 BCE) makes it clear that this must be Ptolemy III Euergetês I (reigned 246–221). Panaretus is otherwise unknown.

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cesilaus; also that he spent time with Ptolemy Euergetês<sup>299</sup> and was paid 12 talents a year. He was extremely scrawny, but died without ever having been sick. Metrodorus of Scepsis in Book II of *On Athletic Training* (FGrH 184 F 6) (reports) that the poet Hipponax (test. 19 Degani) was not only short, but skinny as well, but was so muscular that, among other feats, he could throw an empty oilflask a tremendous distance, despite the fact that light objects do not attain much momentum, since they are unable to cut through the air. Philippides<sup>300</sup> was also thin; the orator Hyperides (p. 57 Jensen) attacks him in a speech in which he identifies him as a politician. His thinness made him physically unattractive, according to Hyperides. And Alexis says in *Thesprotians* (fr. 93):

Hermes, divine escort, to whom Philippides  
belongs by lot;<sup>301</sup> and thou, eye of dark-robed  
Night.<sup>302</sup>

Also Aristophon in *Plato* (fr. 8):

(A.) You'll see—in three  
days I'll make him thinner than Philippides!  
(B.) You produce corpses that fast?

Menander in *Anger* (fr. 266):

Famine will know on this handsome guy for you  
and make him look like a skinnier corpse than  
Philippides.

<sup>300</sup> PAA 928850. Cf. 6.230c with n., 238c.

<sup>301</sup> Sc. because his thinness makes him appear to be on Death's door.

<sup>302</sup> Referring to the moon.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ πεφιλιπιδῶσθαι ἔλεγον τὸ λελεπτύνθαι  
Ἄλεξις ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένη φησίν·

f (A.) κακῶς ἔχεις, † στρουθὶς ἀκαρῆς νῆ Δί' εἶ·  
πεφιλιππίδωσαι. (B.) μὴ | σὺ καινῶς μοι λάλει.  
ὅσον οὐ τέθνηκα. (A.) τοῦ τάλαιπῶρου πάθους.

πολλῶ οὖν κάλλιόν ἐστι τοιοῦτόν τινα εἶναι τὴν ιδέα  
ἢ ὡς φησιν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Αἰόλω·

τούτον οὖν

δι' οἰνοφλυγίαν καὶ πάχος τοῦ σώματος  
Ἄσκον καλοῦσι πάντες οὐπιχώριοι.

Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς Δει-  
νίαν φησὶ τὸν μυροπώλην διὰ τρυφήν εἰς ἔρωτας  
ἐμπεσόντα καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντα, ὡς ἔξω  
τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκταραχθέντα ἐκτε-  
553 μείν αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ταῦτα πάντα ποιούσης || τῆς  
ἀκολάστου τρυφῆς.

Ἔθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν τρυφών-  
των ἐναλείφειν μύροις, ὡς Κηφισόδωρος μὲν ἐν  
Τροφωνίῳ φησίν·

ἔπειτ' ἀλείφεισθαι τὸ σῶμά μοι πρίω

<sup>303</sup> Returning to the point made at 12.550f–1a, before the extended catalogue of emaciated individuals that begins there.

<sup>304</sup> Otherwise unknown.



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Alexis in *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 148) claims that they used the term “Philippidized” to mean “to have lost weight”:

(A.) You're in bad shape, † you're nothing but a  
sparrow, by Zeus!  
You've Philippidized. (B.) Don't use newfangled  
vocabulary on me;  
I'm as good as dead. (A.) What a miserable turn of  
events!

It is therefore much better to look like this<sup>303</sup> than like what Antiphanes describes in *Aeolus* (fr. 20):

So because this guy  
guzzles wine and is big and fat,  
all the locals call him Askos (“Wineskin”).

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 61 Wehrli = fr. 44 Schütrumpf) claims that the perfume-vendor Deinias<sup>304</sup> addiction to luxury led him to become involved in love-affairs and spend large amounts of money, and that when he failed to get what he wanted, he was so ravaged by grief that he castrated himself, but that his reckless addiction to luxury was responsible for all of this.

It was an Athenian practice to rub the feet of people addicted to luxury with perfume, according to Cephisodorus in *Trophonius* (fr. 3.1–3):<sup>305</sup>

Then buy me iris- or rose-perfume

<sup>305</sup> Quoted also, along with two additional verses, at 15.689f, and followed there by a discussion of what *bakcharis/bakkaris* might be (15.690a–c).

## ATHENAEUS

μύρον ἴρινον καὶ ρόδινον, ἄγαμαι, Ξανθία·  
καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρῶ μοι βάκχαριν.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Σφιγγοκαρίωνι·

ἐν θαλάμῳ μαλακῶς κατακείμενον· ἐν δὲ κύκλῳ  
νιν  
παρθενικὰ τρυφερὰ † χλανιδανα μαλακὰ  
κατάθρυπτοι †  
τὸν πόδ' ἀμαρακίνοισι μύροις τρίψουσι τὸν †  
ἐμόν †. |

b ἐν δὲ Προκρίδι λέγει τις πῶς δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ τῆς  
Προκρίδος κυνὸς ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν  
λόγον ποιούμενος·

(A.) οὐκουν ὑποστορεῖτε μαλακῶς τῷ κυνί;  
κάτω μὲν ὑποβαλεῖτε τῶν Μιλησίων  
ἐρίων, ἄνωθεν δ' ἐπιβαλεῖτε ξυστίδα.

(B.) Ἄπολλον. (A.) εἶτα χόνδρον αὐτῷ δεύσετε  
γάλακτι χηνός. (B.) Ἡράκλεις. (A.) καὶ τοὺς  
πόδας

ἀλείψετε αὐτοῦ τῷ Μεγαλλείῳ μύρῳ.

c Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἀλκήστιδι ἐλαίῳ τινὰ ποιεῖ |  
χριόμενον τοὺς πόδας. ἐν δὲ Μητραγύρτῃ φησί·

τὴν τε παῖδ' ἀλείμματα  
παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ λαβοῦσαν εἶτα τοὺς πόδας  
ἐκέλευ' ἀλείφειν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ γόνατα.  
ὡς θᾶπτον ἢ παῖς δ' ἦψατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ποδῶν  
ἔτριψέ τ', ἀνεπήδησεν.

## BOOK XII

to rub on my body, please, Xanthias;  
and on top of that, buy me *bakcharis* for my feet!

Eubulus in *Sphinx-Cario* (fr. 107):

lying on soft blankets in a bedroom; and all around  
him

luscious young girls † [corrupt] soft mincing †  
will massage † my † foot with marjoram-perfumes.

In *Procris* (Eub. fr. 89) someone describes how Procris' dog<sup>306</sup> should be treated, discussing the animal as if it were a human being:

(A.) Spread a soft bed for the dog!

Put one of our Milesian wool blankets  
under him, and a saffron-dyed robe over him!

(B.) Apollo! (A.) Then moisten his wheat-pudding  
with goose milk! (B.) Heracles! (A.) And rub  
his feet with the Megalleian perfume!

Antiphanes in *Alcestis* (fr. 31) represents someone as having his feet anointed with olive oil. And in *The Mendicant Priest of Cybele* (fr. 152) he says:

And he ordered the slave-girl  
to get some lotion from the goddess, and to rub  
it on his feet first, and then on his knees.  
But as soon as the girl touched his feet  
and rubbed them, he jumped up.

<sup>306</sup> Procris' husband Cephalus had an extraordinary hunting-dog, which is presumably the animal being pampered here.

καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ·

εἴτ' οὐ δικαίως εἰμὶ φιλογύνης ἐγὼ  
καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας ἠδέως πάσας ἔχω;  
τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρῶτον ὃ σὺ ποεῖς παθεῖν,  
μαλακαῖς καλαῖς τε χερσὶ τριφθῆναι πόδας, |  
d πῶς οὐχὶ σεμνὸν ἔστιν;

καὶ ἐν Θορικίοις·

(A.) λούται δ' † ου ο † ἀληθῶς (B.) ἀλλὰ τί;  
(A.) ἐκ χρυσοκολλήτου γε κάλπιδος μύρω  
Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη,  
φοινικίνῳ δὲ τὰς γνάθους καὶ τιθθία,  
σισυμβρίνῳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον βραχίονα,  
ἀμαρακίνῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὴν κόμην,  
ἐρπυλλίνῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Ἄναξανδρίδης δὲ ἐν Πρωτεσιλάῳ·

μύρω δὲ παρὰ Πέρωνος, οὐ̄περ ἀπέδοτο |  
e ἐχθρὸς Μελανώπῳ, πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου,  
ᾧ νῦν ἀλείφει τοὺς πόδας Καλλιστράτου.

καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ βίον Τηλεκλείδης ἐν

<sup>307</sup> Quoted also at 15.689e–f, where the play is referred to as *Men from Thoricus* or *The Man Who Was Digging a Trench*.

<sup>308</sup> A verse describing how the other arm was treated has perhaps dropped out of the text.

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And in *The Man from Zacynthus* (fr. 101):

So aren't I right to love women  
and enjoy all the prostitutes?  
Because, number one, to have done to me what  
    you're doing now—  
I mean having my feet rubbed by your soft, pretty  
    hands—  
isn't that great?

And in *Men from Thoricus* (fr. 105):<sup>307</sup>

(A.) She's actually washing [corrupt]—(B.) What?  
    what?

(A.) her feet and her legs with Egyptian  
perfume she took from a container inlaid with gold,  
and her cheeks and titties with palm-perfume,  
and one arm with mint-perfume,<sup>308</sup>  
and her eyebrows and her hair with marjoram-  
    perfume,  
and her knees and her neck with thyme-perfume.

Anaxandrides in *Protesilaus* (fr. 41):<sup>309</sup>

with perfume from Peron,<sup>310</sup> some of which he sold  
yesterday to Melanopus—an expensive Egyptian  
    variety  
he's now using to rub Callistratus'<sup>311</sup> feet.

Teleclides in *Prytaneis* (fr. 25) informs us that life in The-

<sup>309</sup> Quoted also, with a few variants, at 15.689f–90a.

<sup>310</sup> PAA 772900. Melanopus (mentioned in the next verse) is  
PAA 638765.

<sup>311</sup> PAA 561575; cf. 2.44a with n.

ATHENAEUS

Πρυτάνεσιν ἀβρὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι. Κρατῖνός τ' ἐν  
Χείρωσι τὴν τρυφήν ἐμφανίζων τὴν τῶν παλαιτέρων  
φησίν·

ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον <ἦ> ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον παρ'  
οὖς ἐθάκει,  
μετὰ χερσὶ δὲ μῆλον ἕκαστος ἔχων σκίπωνά τ'  
ἠγόραζον.

Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἑρωτικοῖς, διὰ τί, φησί,  
μετὰ χεῖρας ἄνθη καὶ μῆλα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φέρομεν;  
f πότερον ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων ἀγαπήσεως | ἢ φύσις  
μηνύει τοὺς τῆς ὥρας ἔχοντας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; διὰ  
τοῦτ' οὖν οἰοῦναι δεῖγμα τῆς ὄψεως τὰ ὠραῖα μετὰ  
χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ χαίρουσιν αὐτοῖς; ἢ δυοῖν χάριν  
ταῦτα περιφέρουσιν; ἀρχή τε γὰρ ἐντυχίας καὶ παρά-  
δειγμα τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῖς γίνεται διὰ τούτων,  
αἰτηθεῖσι μὲν τὸ προσαγορευθῆναι, δοῦσι δὲ <τὸ><sup>72</sup>  
προυπογράφειν ὅτι δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς μεταδιδόναι τῆς  
ὥρας. ἢ γὰρ τῶν ὠραίων ἀνθῶν καὶ καρπῶν αἵτησις ||  
554 εἰς ἀντίδοσιν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὥρας προκαλεῖται τοὺς  
λαβόντας. ἢ τὴν τούτων ὥραν παραψυχὴν καὶ παρα-  
μυθίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὥρας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις  
χαίροντες ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐκκρούεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς  
τούτων παρουσίας ὁ τῶν ἐρωμένων πόθος. εἰ μὴ ἄρα

<sup>72</sup> add. Kaibel

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mistocles' time<sup>312</sup> was refined. And Cratinus in *Cheirons* (fr. 257) brings out how addicted to luxury people in ancient times were, when he says:

They used to put some soft mint, or a rose or a lily,  
behind their ear,  
and everyone had an apple or a staff in his hands, and  
they hung around the marketplace.

Clearchus of Soli says in his *Erotica* (fr. 25 Wehrli): Why do we carry flowers, apples, and the like in our hands? Is it because nature uses our fondness for such objects to mark individuals who desire youthful beauty (*hōra*)? Is this the reason, then—visual evidence, as it were—that they hold items that are in season (*hōraia*) in their hands and enjoy them? Or do they carry such objects around for two reasons? Because they serve them as a means of initiating an encounter and as a way of showing what they want: for those who are approached, their willingness to be addressed, and for those who make gifts, their advertising in advance that the others need to share their youthful beauty. Because an approach accompanied by flowers and fruits that are in season (*hōraia*) invites whoever accepts such gifts to offer the youthful beauty (*hōra*) of his body in return. Or perhaps they cling to the beauty of these objects and enjoy the desires they awaken for their own purposes, as a way of calming and mollifying their feelings about the beauty of the individuals they lust for; because their longing for their love-objects is distracted by the presence of such items. Unless perhaps they hold these objects and en-

<sup>312</sup> The prominent Athenian statesman Themistocles (PAA 502610) lived c.524–459 BCE.

## ATHENAEUS

τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς κόσμου χάριν καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν  
 πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν συντεινόντων ἔχουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ  
 χαίρουσιν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον στεφανουμένων τοῖς  
 ὡραίοις ἄνθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἐχόντων τὸ  
 b πᾶν εἶδος ἐπικοσμεῖται. τάχα | δ' ἴσως διὰ τὸ φιλο-  
 κάλους εἶναι· δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν καλῶν ἐρᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 ὡραῖα φιλικῶς ἔχειν. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀπώρας καὶ τὸ  
 τῆς ὄρας ὄντως πρόσωπον ἔν τε καρποῖσι καὶ ἄνθεσι  
 θεωρούμενον. ἦ πάντες οἱ ἐρώντες οἶον ἐκτρυφῶντες  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὠραινόμενοι τοῖς ὡραίοις ἀβρύ-  
 νονται; φυσικὸν γὰρ δὴ τι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι  
 καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους ἀνθολογεῖν. ὅθεν αἶ τε περὶ τὴν  
 Περσεφόνην ἀνθολογεῖν λέγονται καὶ Σαπφώ φησιν  
 ἰδεῖν

ἀνθε' ἀμέργοισαν παῖδ' ἄγαν ἀπάλαν.

c Οὕτω δ' | ἐξήρτηντο τῶν ἡδυπαθειῶν οἱ τότε ὡς καὶ  
 Καλλιπύγου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἀπὸ τοι-  
 αύτης αἰτίας. ἀνδρὶ ἀγροίκῳ ἐγένοντο δύο καλαὶ  
 θυγατέρες· αὐταὶ φιλονικήσασαί ποτε πρὸς ἑαυτὰς  
 προελθοῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν λεωφόρον διεκρίνοντο ποτέρα  
 εἶη καλλιπυγοτέρα. καὶ ποτε παρίοντος νεανίσκου  
 πατέρα πρεσβύτην ἔχοντος ἐπέδειξαν ἑαυτὰς καὶ  
 τούτῳ· καὶ ὡς θεασάμενος ἔκρινε τὴν πρεσβυτέραν· ἥς  
 καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα ἐμπεσῶν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἄστνυ κλινήρης

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<sup>313</sup> Identified by Wilamowitz as an echo of some otherwise un-  
 attested passage of poetry.



## BOOK XII

joy them as a means of making themselves more handsome, like anything else that serves to make a person more attractive; because people's appearance generally is improved not just when they wear garlands made of the flowers that are in season, but when they hold them in their hands. And it might perhaps be because they love beauty; loving whatever is beautiful also indicates a positive attitude toward whatever is *hōraios*. Because the visage of harvest-time, like that of the spring (*hōra*), is truly beautiful when seen in fruits and flowers.<sup>313</sup> Or have all lovers, as it were, sunk deep into luxury as a consequence of what has happened to them, and have they been daintified by using beautiful objects to make themselves attractive? Because it is natural for individuals who believe that they are handsome and full of youthful beauty to gather flowers. This is why the girls who accompany Persephone are said to be gathering flowers (*h.Cer.* 5–8), and why Sappho (fr. 122) claims that she sees

a very delicate girl collecting flowers.

People in those days were so attached to a life of luxury that they actually dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Kallipugos (“of the Beautiful Ass”), for the following reason. A farmer had two beautiful daughters, who got into an argument with one another one day and went out to the road and began soliciting opinions as to which of them had the nicer ass. A young fellow, whose father was an old man, came along at that point, and they showed themselves off to him. After he saw them, he voted for the older girl and fell in love with her; and after he reached the city he got

## BOOK XII

sick, and told his brother, who was younger than him, what had happened. His brother also went out into the country, and after he got a look at the girls, he fell in love with the other one. Their father tried to convince them to marry someone more respectable; but when he failed to convince them, he fetched the girls for them from the countryside, having persuaded their father,<sup>314</sup> and joined them to his sons in marriage. The inhabitants of the city accordingly referred to them as the Kallipugoi (“Women with Beautiful Asses”), as Cercidas of Megalopolis reports in his *Iambs* (fr. 14, p. 213 Powell), where he says:

There were a pair of *kallipugoi* in Syracuse.

After they became owners of some valuable property, therefore, they dedicated a temple to Aphrodite and called the goddess Kallipugos, according to Archelaus in his *Iambs* (SH 131).

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 56 Wehrli = fr. 40 Schütrumpf) offers quite an amusing account of a very pleasant style of luxury that involved insanity. He writes as follows:<sup>315</sup> Thrasyllus the son of Pythodorus of the deme Aexone<sup>316</sup> became so unbalanced at one point that he was convinced that all the ships putting in to the Piraeus belonged to him; he kept lists of them, ordered them out to sea, made all the necessary arrangements, and received them back into port with as much joy as someone would feel if he were actually that rich. When they were lost, he asked no questions about them; but he was delighted when they returned safely, and he lived an extremely happy life.

<sup>316</sup> PAA 517600.

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When his brother Crito, who was visiting from Sicily, took charge of him, and turned him over to a physician and got him cured of his madness, he explained . . . saying that he had never been happier in his life; because he was never upset about anything, and the amount of pleasure he experienced was extraordinary.<sup>317</sup>

<sup>317</sup> Unlike most other Books of *The Learned Banqueters*, Book 12 does not conclude with a few brief remarks by the internal narrator Athenaeus designed to justify bringing his account to a temporary conclusion at this point, and to set up what follows. Cf. 12.510b n.

## ΙΓ

- 555 Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιός, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ὡς ἀνεγίνωσκέ τινα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμωδιῶν, ὁ δὲ δῆλος ἦν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀποδεχόμενος, “δεῖ γάρ,” ἔφησεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ταῦτα ἀποδεξόμενον ἀπὸ συμβόλων τε πολλάκις δεδειπνηκέσαι καὶ περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέσαι πληγὰς,” ὡς φησι Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν τοῖς
- b Περὶ Κωμωδίας. ἡμεῖς οὖν τὸν περὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἢ λόγον ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντες κατατάττειν (ἐγένοντο γὰρ καὶ περὶ γαμετῶν καὶ ἑταιρῶν πολλάκις λόγοι) εἰδόσιν ἐκτιθέμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μουσῶν τὴν Ἐρατῶ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι εἰς μνήμην ἡμῖν ἰέναι τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκεῖνον κατάλογον, ἐντεῦθεν τὴν καταρχὴν ποιησόμεθα·

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατῶ, πάρ θ'<sup>1</sup> ἴστασο καί μοι  
ἔνισπε

τίνας λόγους περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ γὰρ τὰς γαμετὰς ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶ-  
άτωρ ἐπαινῶν Ἑρμιππον ἔφη ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Νομοθετῶν

<sup>1</sup> The traditional text of Apollonius has παρά θ'.

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When the comic poet Antiphanes (test. 8), my friend Timocrates, was reading one of his comedies to King Alexander, and Alexander was obviously not much taken by it, Antiphanes said: "That's because, your majesty, anyone who's going to appreciate this material has to have repeatedly eaten dinners for which the guests split the costs,<sup>1</sup> and have traded plenty of punches over whores." Thus Lycophron of Chalcis in his *On Comedy* (fr. 13 Strecker). So since I am now about to set down here my account of our discussion of matters relating to love—for we often talked about married women as well as courtesans—and am offering my report to experts, I will first invoke the Muse Erato,<sup>2</sup> asking that I have no difficulty recalling my catalogue of erotica, and will begin from there (A.R. 3.1):

Come now, Erato! Stand beside me and tell me what was said about love itself and about subjects connected with it. For our noble host,<sup>3</sup> in the course of praising married women, observed that Hermippus in his *On*

<sup>1</sup> A standard way of organizing a dinner party; cf. Alex. fr. 15 (preserved at 3.117e–18a) with Arnott, *Alexis* pp. 86–7.

<sup>2</sup> Erato was the Muse charged with responsibility for lyric poetry; but her name also puns on *erôs* and "erotica".

<sup>3</sup> Larensius.

- c | ἰστορεῖν ὅτι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς οἴκημά τι σκοτεινὸν  
 πᾶσαι ἐνεκλείοντο αἱ κόραι, συνεγκλειομένων καὶ τῶν  
 ἀγάμων νεανίσκων· καὶ ἕκαστος ἧς ἐπιλάβοιτο, ταύ-  
 την ἀπῆγεν ἄπροικον. διὸ καὶ Λύσανδρον ἐζημίωσαν,  
 ὅτι καταλιπὼν τὴν προτέραν ἐτέραν ἐβουλεύετο περι-  
 καλλεστέραν ἀγαγέσθαι. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, φησί, τοὺς  
 ἀγάμους αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι περὶ τὸν βωμὸν  
 ἔλκουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος
- d ὕβριν | φεύγοντες φιλοστοργῶσί τε καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ προσ-  
 ἴωσι τοῖς γάμοις. ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις πρῶτος Κέκροψ μίαν  
 ἐνὶ ἕξειξεν, ἀνέδην τὸ πρότερον οὐσῶν τῶν συνόδων  
 καὶ κοινογαμίων ὄντων. διὸ καὶ ἔδοξέ τισιν διφυῆς  
 νομισθῆναι, οὐκ εἰδότην τῶν πρότερον διὰ τὸ πλήθος  
 τὸν πατέρα. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὀρμώμενος μέμψαιτ' ἂν  
 τοὺς περιτιθέντας Σωκράτει δύο γαμετὰς γυναῖκας,  
 Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου Μυρτώ, οὐ τοῦ δικαίου  
 556 καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ οὐ συγχωροῦσιν) || ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ' ἐκείνου. εἰσὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης, Δημήτρι-  
 ος ὁ Φαληρεὺς, Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικός, Ἀριστόξε-

<sup>4</sup> Lysander (Porolla #504; d. 395 BCE) was one of Sparta's most important generals in the late 400s and early 300s.

<sup>5</sup> The mythical king Cecrops was commonly represented as half-snake, half-man. But here the point is that he somehow embodied the two sexes he brought together in marriage.

<sup>6</sup> PAA 730275.

<sup>7</sup> Myrto is [PAA 662870], but is probably not a real person. For her supposed marriage to Socrates, see also D.L. 2.26. Her sup-

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*Lawgivers* (fr. 87 Wehrli) records that in Sparta all the unmarried girls used to be locked in a dark room, and all the eligible young men were locked in there with them; and each man married whichever girl he grabbed, without a dowry. This is why they fined Lysander<sup>4</sup>, because he wanted to abandon the first girl he got and marry one who was more attractive. Clearchus of Soli says in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 73 Wehrli): There is a festival in Sparta at which the women drag the unmarried men around the altar and hit them with sticks, in order to make them fall in love and get married while they are still young, as a way of escaping the insult this treatment involves. In Athens, Cecrops was the first to join individual men and women in marriage; before this, they had sex with anyone they wanted, and all relationships were open. This is why, some people believed, he was thought to have a double nature,<sup>5</sup> since no one before this could identify his father, given the number of candidates. On this basis, therefore, one might criticize the authorities who assign Socrates two legitimate wives, Xanthippe<sup>6</sup> and Myrto the daughter of Aristides<sup>7</sup> (not the Aristides known as “the Just”,<sup>8</sup> who was not Socrates’ contemporary, but that man’s grandson). The authors in question are Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 43), Demetrius of Phaleron (*FGrH* 228 F 45b = fr. 94 Wehrli = fr. 105 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf), Satyrus the Peripatetic (fr. 15, *FHG* iii.163 = fr. 17b Schorn), and Aristoxenus (fr. 57

posed father Aristides (a student of Socrates in Plato’s dialogues) is *PAA* 165185.

<sup>8</sup> Aristides “the Just” (*PAA* 165170) belongs to the early 5th century BCE, making him several generations older than Socrates (469–399 BCE).

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Wehrli); Aristotle set the tone for them by reporting this in his *On Nobility* (fr. 71.2). The alternative explanation, of course, is that this had been agreed to in that period by means of a public decree in response to a population shortage, making it possible for anyone who wished to have two wives; that would explain why the comic poets never mention this fact,<sup>9</sup> even though they frequently refer to Socrates. Hieronymus of Rhodes (fr. 44 Wehrli) cited a decree having to do with women; I will send it to you after I acquire the book. Panaetius of Rhodes (fr. 133 van Straten), on the other hand, argued against those who discuss Socrates' multiple wives. In Persia, the queen puts up with the enormous number of concubines because the king rules his wife in the same way a master does (his slaves), and also because the queen, according to Dinon in his *History of Persia* (FGrH 690 F 27), is worshipped by the concubines, who bow down to her, for example. Priam as well sleeps with large numbers of women, and Hecabe gives him no trouble about it. Priam says, for example (*Il.* 24.496–7):

Nineteen (sons) were born to me from a single  
womb,  
and the women in my house produced the rest.

Among the Greeks, on the other hand, Phoenix's mother did not put up with Amyntor's concubine.<sup>10</sup> And although Medea is aware that this is common practice among the barbarians, she herself refuses to accept (Jason's) marriage to Glauce, since she has by this point grown used to the

<sup>9</sup> I.e. that Socrates supposedly had two wives—as he did not.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Il.* 9.449–51.



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better Greek customs.<sup>11</sup> Clytemnestra as well becomes extremely upset and kills Cassandra, along with Agamemnon himself, because the king brought Cassandra to Greece, since he had come to regard barbarian marriages as normal.<sup>12</sup> One might be surprised, says Aristotle (fr. 42), that nowhere in the *Iliad* does Homer represent a concubine as sleeping with Menelaus, although he gives all his other heroes women. Even his old men, Nestor and Phoenix, after all, sleep with women;<sup>13</sup> for they had not ruined their bodies when they were young by getting drunk, or sleeping around, or suffering the sort of indigestion that results from overeating, making it believable that they were still vigorous in their old age. It is thus apparent that the Spartan<sup>14</sup> is showing respect for Helen, who is his legitimate wife and on whose account he put the expedition together; this is why he avoids having sex with anyone else. Agamemnon, on the other hand, is vilified by Thersites as a philanderer (*Il.* 2.226–8):

Your huts are full of bronze, and many women  
are in them as well—choice women, whom we  
Achaean  
give to you before anyone else.

But it seems unlikely, says Aristotle, that all these women

<sup>13</sup> The slave-woman Hecamede is said to belong to Nestor at *Il.* 11.624–5. The reference to Phoenix is perhaps a garbled recollection of *Il.* 9.658–68, where Achilles and Patroclus are said to sleep with women, but Phoenix, who shares their hut for the night, does not. For the thought, cf. 1.25f (patently from the same source).

<sup>14</sup> Menelaus.

τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς γέρας· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸν πολὺν οἶνον εἰς τὸ μεθύειν παρεσκευάσατο. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πλείστας δόξας ἐσχηκέναι γυναῖκας (ἦν γὰρ f φιλογύνης) ἀνὰ ἰ μέρος αὐτὰς εἶχεν, ὡς ἂν στρατευόμενος καὶ κατὰ διάφορα γιγνόμενος χωρία· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἐγένετο. ἐν ἑπτὰ μέντοι γε ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα διεπαρθένευσε Θεστίου κόρας, ὡς Ἡρόδωρος ἱστορεῖ. πολυγύναιος δ' ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰγεύς· πρώτην μὲν γὰρ ἔγημε τὴν Ὀπλητος θυγατέρα, μεθ' ἣν τῶν Χαλκώδοντος μίαν. παραδοῦς δ' ἀμφοτέρας φίλοις συνῆν πολλαῖς χωρὶς γάμων. ἔπειτα τὴν 557 Πιθθέως ἔλαβεν Αἰθραν, μεθ' ἣν Μήδειαν. ἢ Θησεύς δὲ Ἑλένην ἀρπάσας ἐξῆς καὶ Ἀριάδην ἤρπασεν. Ἰστρος γοῦν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν καταλέγων τὰς τοῦ Θησέως γενομένας γυναῖκας φησιν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἔρωτος γεγενῆσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, ἄλλας δ' ἐκ νομίμων γάμων· ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς μὲν Ἑλένην, Ἀριάδην, Ἰππολύτην καὶ τὰς Κερκύονος καὶ Σίνιδος θυγατέρας, νομίμως δ' αὐτὸν γῆμαι

<sup>15</sup> Cf. D.S. 4.29.2–3; Paus. 9.27.6 (who claims that Heracles completed the task in a single night); [Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.4.10 (who says that 50 nights were needed). Thespius was the king of Thespie; Pausanias and [Apollodorus] call him Thestius.

<sup>16</sup> A mythical early king of Athens, and the father of Theseus by Aethra. <sup>17</sup> Cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.15.6, who reports that Hoples' daughter was named Meta, and identifies Aegeus' next wife as Chalciopie the daughter of Rhexenor.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Plu. *Thes.* 31–2; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.10.7; *Epit.* 1.23. Helen's brothers Castor and Polydeuces promptly recovered her.

Μελίβοιαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα. Ἡσίοδος δέ φησιν  
 καὶ Ἴππην καὶ Αἴγλην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἀριάδην  
 b ὄρκους παρέβη, | ὡς φησι Κέρκωψ. Φερεκύδης δὲ  
 προστίθησι καὶ Φερέβοιαν. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ἐκ  
 Τροιζῆνος ἤρπασεν Ἀναξώ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἴππολύτην  
 Φαίδραν ἔσχευ.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Μακεδῶν οὐκ ἐπήγετο μὲν εἰς τοὺς  
 πολέμους γυναικάς, ὥσπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καταλυθείς, ὃς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολεμῶν τριακοσίας  
 ἐξήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακάς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρ-  
 χος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου· ὁ δὲ Φίλιπ-  
 πος αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει. ἐν ἔτεσι γοῦν εἴκοσι  
 c καὶ δυσὶν οἷς ἐβασίλευεν, ὡς φησι Σάτυρος | ἐν τῷ  
 Περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ, Αὐδάταν Ἰλλυρίδα γήμας ἔσχευ  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα Κύνναν· ἔγημεν δὲ καὶ Φίλαν  
 ἀδελφὴν Δέρδα καὶ Μαχάτα. οἰκειώσασθαι δὲ θέλων  
 καὶ τὸ Θετταλῶν ἔθνος ἐπαιδοποιήσατο ἐκ δύο Θεττα-  
 λίδων γυναικῶν, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν Φεραία Νικησίπολις,  
 ἣτις αὐτῷ ἐγέννησε Θετταλονίκην, ἡ δὲ Λαρισαία

<sup>22</sup> Called Periboea at Plu. *Thes.* 29.1, where Phereboea (mentioned by Pherecydes, below) is also referred to.

<sup>23</sup> Sc. to marry her after she betrayed her father Minos to save his life. For Aegle (the daughter of Panopeus), cf. Plu. *Thes.* 20.1; 29.2. Hippe is otherwise unknown.

<sup>24</sup> For Cercops of Miletus, cf. 11.503d.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Plu. *Thes.* 29.1.

<sup>26</sup> The Cretan princess who fell in love with Theseus' son Hippolytus and accidentally brought about the ruin of the entire household; cf. 13.560c–d.

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mother of Arrhidaeus.<sup>31</sup> In addition, he acquired the Molossian throne by marrying Olympias,<sup>32</sup> who produced Alexander and Cleopatra for him. So too, when he captured Thrace, the Thracian king Cothelas came to him bringing his daughter Meda,<sup>33</sup> along with a large number of gifts; after Philip married her, he forced Olympias to live in the same house with her. On top of all these women, he fell in love with Cleopatra, who was the sister of Hippostratus and the niece of Attalus, and married her;<sup>34</sup> but when he forced Olympias to share a house with her as well, he wrecked his entire life. For right away, at the wedding feast, Attalus said: "Now, certainly, legitimate kings are going to be born, and not just bastards." When Alexander heard this, he threw the goblet he was holding at Attalus, and Attalus threw his own cup back at him. Afterward, Olympias escaped to Molossia, and Alexander to Illyria. Cleopatra also produced a daughter, named Europe,<sup>35</sup> for Philip. The poet Euripides also liked women. Hieronymus in his *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 36 Wehrli = S. test. 58a = E. test. 107a), for example, says the following: When someone remarked to Sophocles that Euripides hated women, Sophocles said: "In his tragedies he does; but he certainly likes women in bed!"

daughter Cleopatra (to be distinguished from the other Cleopatra mentioned below) is Berve i #433.

<sup>33</sup> The marriage probably dates to 342 BCE; Meda appears to have produced no children.

<sup>34</sup> Cleopatra (Berve i #434) gave birth to Europe (below) shortly before Philip was assassinated in 336 BCE; Olympias had them both killed shortly thereafter. Cleopatra's brother Hippostratus is Berve i #390, while her uncle Attalus is Berve i #182.

<sup>35</sup> Berve i #326.

f Αἰ δὲ γαμεταὶ ἡμῶν γυναῖκες | οὐκ εἰσι τοιαῦται  
οἷας Εὐβουλός φησιν ἐν Στεφανοπόλῳσιν·

μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ περιπεπλασμένοι ψιμυθίοις  
οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς συκαμίνῳ τὰς γνάθους  
κεχριμένοι. κὰν ἐξίητε τοῦ θέρους,  
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑδρορροαὶ δύο  
ρέουσι μέλανος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν γνάθων ἰδρῶς  
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἄλοκα μιλτώδη ποεῖ,  
ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δ' αἰ τρίχες φορούμεναι ||  
558 εἴξασι πολιαῖς, ἀνάπλεω ψιμυθίου.

Ἄναξίλας δὲ ἐν Νεοττίδι φησίν·

ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἐταίραν ἠγάπησε πώποτε,  
οὗ γένος τίς ἂν δύναίτο παρανομώτερον φράσαι;  
τίς γὰρ ἢ δράκαιν' ἄμεικτος, ἢ Χίμαιρα  
πύρπνοος,  
ἢ Χάρυβδις, ἢ τρίκρανος Σκύλλα, ποντία κύων,  
Σφίγξ, Ἵδρα, Λέαιν', ἔχιδνα, πτηνά θ' Ἀρπυιῶν  
γένη,

εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀφίικται τοῦ καταπτύστου  
γένους; |

b οὐκ ἔνεσθ'· αὐταὶ δ' ἀπάντων ὑπερέχουσι τῶν  
κακῶν.

ἔστι δὲ σκοπεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὴν  
Πλαγγόνα,  
ἥτις ὥσπερ ἡ Χίμαιρα πυρπολεῖ τοὺς  
βαρβάρους.

## BOOK XIII

Our married women are not like those Eubulus describes in *Female Garland-Vendors* (fr. 97):

not plastered with white lead, by Zeus,  
or with their cheeks smeared with mulberry juice,  
like you! If you go outside during the summer,  
two streams of ink flow  
from your eyes, the sweat cuts a bright red  
furrow from your cheeks to your neck,  
and the hairs that grow on your face  
turn gray, they're so full of white lead!

Anaxilas says in *Neottis* (fr. 22):

If anyone's ever grown attached to a courtesan—  
could you name a more criminal bunch?  
Because what fearsome dragon, or fire-breathing  
Chimaera,  
or Charybdis, or three-headed Scylla, or shark,  
Sphinx, Hydra, lion, poisonous snake, or winged flock  
of Harpies  
outdoes this revolting group?  
It's impossible; they're worse than the worst!  
You can think about it systematically, starting with  
Plangon,<sup>36</sup>  
who reduces the barbarians to cinders, like the  
Chimaera.

<sup>36</sup> PAA 774620.

ATHENAEUS

εἷς μόνος δ' ἰππεύς τις αὐτῆς τὸν βίον  
παρείλετο·

πάντα τὰ σκεύη γὰρ ἔλκων ὄχετ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.  
οἱ Σινώπη δ' αὖ συνόντες οὐχ Ἵδρα σύνεισι νῦν;  
γραῦς μὲν αὐτῇ, παραπέφυκε δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα  
πλησίον, |

c ὥστ' ἀπαλλαγείσι ταύτης ἐστὶ διπλάσιον κακόν.  
ἡ δὲ Νάννιον τί νυνὶ διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ;  
οὐ δὲ ἀποπνίξασ' ἐταίρους τὸν τρίτον θηρεύεται  
ἔτι λαβεῖν; ἀλλ' † ἐξέπεσε † πορθμῖς ἐλατίνῳ  
πλάτῃ.

ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποεῖ,  
τόν τε ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ  
σκάφει;

ἡ Θεανῶ δ' οὐχὶ Σειρῆν ἐστὶν ἀποτετιλμένη; |  
d βλέμμα καὶ φωνὴ γυναικός, τὰ σκέλη δὲ  
κοψίχου.

Σφίγγα Θηβαίαν δὲ πάσας ἔστι τὰς πόρνas  
καλεῖν,

αἱ λαλοῦσ' ἀπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς  
τισιν,

ὡς ἐρώσι καὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ σύνεισιν ἠδέως.

εἶτα “τετράπους μοι γένοιτο”, φησί, “† τήνπρος †  
ἢ θρόνος,”

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<sup>37</sup> Recalling Bellerophon, who rode Pegasus when he killed the Chimaera.

<sup>38</sup> PAA 823225.

ATHENAEUS

εἶτα δὴ “τρίπους τις”, εἶτα, φησί, “παιδίσκη  
δίπους.”

εἶθ' ὁ μὲν γνοὺς ταῦτ' ἀπήλθεν εὐθύς ὥσπερ  
<Οιδίπους>,

οὐδ' ἰδεῖν δόξας ἐκείνην, σφύζεται δ' ἄκων  
μόνος. |

e οἱ δ' ἐράσθαι προσδοκῶντες εὐθύς εἰσιν ἡρμένιοι  
καὶ φέρονθ' ὑψοῦ πρὸς αἴθρα. συντεμόντι δ'  
οὐδὲ ἐν

ἔσθ' ἐταίρας ὅσα πέρ ἐστιν θηρί' ἐξωλέστερον.

τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τοῦ Δαρηνσίου λέγοντος ὁ Λεωνίδης  
ψέγων τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα τὰ ἐκ τῶν Μάντεων  
Ἀλέξιδος προηγέκατο ταυτὶ τῶν ἐπῶν

ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς < . . . > πεπρακότες  
τὴν τοῦ βίου παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν |  
f γυναιξὶ δοῦλοι ζῶμεν ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.  
ἔπειτ' ἔχειν προῖκ', οὐχὶ τιμὴν πάσχομεν;  
πικράν γε καὶ μεστήν γυναικείας χολῆς.  
ἢ τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην μέλι·  
οἱ μὲν γε συγγνώμην ἔχουσ' ἀδικούμενοι,  
αὐταὶ δ' ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι·  
ὦν οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἄρχουσιν, ὦν δ' ἄρχειν ἐχρῆν  
ἀμελοῦσιν, ἐπιорκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἐν κακὸν  
ἔχουσι καὶ κάμνειν λέγουσ' ἐκάστοτε. ||

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. 2.49c n.; 10.456b.



559 Ξέναρχος δ' ἐν Ὑπνω φησίν·

εἴτ' εἰσὶν οἱ τέττιγες οὐκ εὐδαίμονες,  
ὦν ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν φωνῆς ἔνι;

Φιλέταιρος Κορινθιαστῆ·

ὡς τακερόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν τὸ βλέμμ' ἔχει.  
οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,  
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Ἀθάμαντι·

εἴτ' οὐ γυναικός ἐστιν εὐνοϊκώτερον  
γαμετῆς ἑταίρα; πολὺ γε καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως. |  
b ἡ μὲν νόμῳ γὰρ καταφρονοῦσ' ἔνδον μένει,  
ἡ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος  
ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Χρυσίλλα·

κακὸς  
κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις γυναῖκα δεύτερος  
ἔγημε· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐρῶ κακῶς.  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἄπειρος, οἴμαι, τοῦ κακοῦ,

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<sup>44</sup> Verses identical to the second and third in this fragment are quoted at 13.572d, but are assigned there to *The Huntress*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. 13.571c (an epithet of Aphrodite).

BOOK XIII

Xenarchus says in *Sleep* (fr. 14):

Aren't the cicadas lucky,  
given that their wives are completely unable to  
speak?

Philetaerus in *The Whore-Monger* (fr. 5):<sup>44</sup>

Zeus! what a tender, gentle expression's on her face!  
It's no wonder there are temples of the Courtesan  
everywhere,<sup>45</sup>  
but not a single one dedicated to the Married Woman  
anyplace in Greece.

Amphis in *Athamas* (fr. 1):

So isn't a courtesan something more pleasant  
than a woman you're married to? A lot more—and  
for obvious reasons!  
The law lets your wife treat you with contempt but  
still stay in the house,  
whereas a courtesan understands she either has to  
buy a person  
with the way she acts, or else go find someone else.

Eubulus in *Chryzilla* (fr. 115, encompassing both quotations):

I hope  
the bastard who was the second man to get married  
gets  
what he deserves! Because I won't say anything bad  
about the first guy—  
since he lacked experience of the trouble he was  
getting into, I think,

### BOOK XIII

whereas the second one had heard what sort of  
problem a wife was.

And further on he says:

Oh much-honoured Zeus! Then am I ever going to  
say  
anything nasty about women? By Zeus, I hope I die if  
I do;  
they're the best possession there is! If Medea  
was a bad woman, Penelope was  
something great. Someone'll say Clytemestra was  
bad;  
I counter her with the excellent Alcestis. Maybe  
someone'll  
speak badly of Phaedra; but, by Zeus,  
there's the marvellous . . . Who was there? Who? Oh,  
miserable me—  
I ran out of good women right away,  
and I still have lots of lousy ones to mention!

Aristophon in *Callonides* (fr. 6):

I hope the bastard who was the second person to  
marry gets  
what he deserves! The first guy wasn't doing anything  
wrong,  
since he didn't know what kind of problem a wife was  
when he got married. But the next one to do it  
knew, and threw himself into obvious danger.

Also Antiphanes in *The Man Who Loved His Father* (fr.  
220):

ATHENAEUS

(A.) γεγάμηκε δήπου. (B.) τί σὺ λέγεις; ἀληθινῶς  
γεγάμηκεν, ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά <τε>  
κατέλιπον;

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἀρρηφόρῳ ἢ Αὐλητρίδι· I

(A.) οὐ γαμείς, ἂν νοῦν ἔχης,  
τοῦτον καταλιπὼν τὸν βίον. γεγάμηκα γὰρ  
αὐτός· διὰ τοῦτό σοι παραινῶ μὴ γαμείν.  
(B.) δεδογμένον τὸ πρᾶγμ'· ἀνερρίφθω κύβος.  
(A.) πέραινε, σωθείης δέ. νῦν ἀληθινὸν  
εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων,  
οὐ Λιβυκὸν οὐδ' Αἰγαῖον < . . . >,  
οὗ τῶν τριάκοντ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τρία  
πλοιάρια· γήμας δ' οὐδὲ εἰς σέσωσθ' ὄλως.

ἐν δὲ Ἐμπιπραμένη·

ἐξώλης ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις ποτὲ I  
ὁ πρῶτος ἦν γήμας, ἔπειθ' ὁ δεύτερος,  
εἶθ' ὁ τρίτος, εἶθ' ὁ τέταρτος, εἶθ' ὁ μεταγένης.

Καρκίνος δ' ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Σεμέλῃ, ἧς ἀρχὴ

ὦ νύκτες,

φησίν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί χρὴ γυναῖκας ἐξειπεῖν κακόν;  
ἀρκοῦν ἂν εἶη, κἂν γυναῖκ' εἶπης μόνον.

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(A.) He's gotten married, of course! (B.) What're you talking about? He's actually gotten married—and he was walking around alive when I left him?

Menander in *The Arrhephoros* or *The Pipe-Girl* (fr. 64):

(A.) If you've got any sense, you won't get married and give up living like this. I'm married myself—which is why I'm advising you not to do it.

(B.) It's all decided; the die's been cast.

(A.) Go ahead—and good luck. Because you're going to throw yourself into a real sea of troubles now, and not the Libyan or the Aegean sea . . . , where less than three ships out of thirty get wrecked. Not one married man escapes undamaged.

And in *The Girl Who Was Set on Fire* (fr. 119):

Damn to hell whoever the first guy was who got married—and then the second one, and the third one, and the fourth one, and whoever came after him!

The tragic author Carcinus in *Semele* (*TrGF* 70 F 2), which begins:

O nights!,

says (*TrGF* 70 F 3):

O Zeus, why do I need to say that women are trouble?

It would be enough, if you simply said “a woman”.

οὐκ αἰσθάνονται δ' οὐδ' οἱ παρ' ἡλικίαν νέας ἀγόμενοι  
 γυναῖκας εἰς προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλοντες,  
 καίτοι τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ποιητοῦ παραινέσαντος αὐ-  
 τοῖς· ἢ

560 οὗτοι σύμφυτον ἔστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι·  
 οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,  
 οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ  
 πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

καὶ Θεόφιλος δὲ ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ ἔφη·

οὐ συμφέρον νέα ἔστι πρεσβύτη γυνή·  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται  
 ἐνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πείσμι' ἀπορρήξασα <δὲ>  
 ἐκ νυκτὸς ἕτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' ἐξευρέθη. ἢ

b οὐδένα δὲ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἶομαι, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι καὶ  
 οἱ μέγιστοι πόλεμοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο, ὁ Ἰλιακὸς  
 δι' Ἑλένην, ὁ λοιμὸς διὰ Χρυσήϊδα, Ἀχιλλέως μῆνις  
 διὰ Βρισηΐδα. καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς δὲ καλούμενος πόλεμος δι'  
 ἑτέραν γαμετήν, φησὶν Δοῦρις ἐν δευτέρῃ Ἱστοριῶν,  
 Θηβαίαν γένος, ὄνομα Θεανώ, ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φω-  
 κέως τινός. δεκαετῆς δὲ καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος τῷ  
 δεκάτῳ ἔτει Φιλίππου συμμαχήσαντος πέρας ἔσχεν·

46 A tendentious summary of events in *Iliad* 1.

47 I.e. the Third Sacred War, which began around 356 BCE and ended with the destruction of Phocis by Philip II of Macedon in 346.

## BOOK XIII

Men marrying women younger than themselves fail to realize that they are getting into trouble they could have foreseen, given that the poet from Megara advised them (Thgn. 457–60):

A young wife's not a good fit for an old man.  
Because she's like a rowboat: she pays no attention  
to the oar,  
and anchors don't keep her in place, and often at  
night  
she breaks her rope and sails into a different  
harbor.

Theophilus as well said in *Neoptolemus* (fr. 6):

A young wife's not a good fit for an old guy.  
Because, like a rowboat, she doesn't pay the slightest  
attention  
to a single oar, and at night she breaks  
her cable and is found in a different harbor.

I imagine that none of you is unaware, my friends, that the greatest wars occurred on account of women: the Trojan War because of Helen, the plague because of Chryseis, and Achilles' wrath because of Briseis.<sup>46</sup> The so-called Sacred War<sup>47</sup> likewise happened because of another married woman,<sup>48</sup> according to Duris in Book II of the *History* (FGrH 76 F 2); she was a Theban by the name of Theano, and was kidnapped by a Phocian. This war lasted for ten years and finally came to an end in the tenth year, when Philip allied himself with one side; for at that point the

<sup>48</sup> Sc. like Helen, whose decision to run off with Paris sparked the Trojan War.

τότε γὰρ εἶλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Φωκίδα. καὶ ὁ Κρι-  
 c σαϊκὸς δὲ πόλεμος | ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς φησι Καλ-  
 λισθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Πολέμου, ὅτε Κιρραῖοι  
 πρὸς Φωκεῖς ἐπολέμησαν, δεκαέτης ἦν, ἀρπασάντων  
 Κιρραίων τὴν Πελάγοντος τοῦ Φωκέως θυγατέρα Με-  
 γιστῶ καὶ τὰς Ἀργείων θυγατέρας ἐπανιούσας ἐκ τοῦ  
 Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ· δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐάλω καὶ ἡ Κίρρα.  
 ἀνετράπησαν δὲ καὶ ὄλοι οἴκοι διὰ γυναῖκας, ὁ Φιλίπ-  
 που τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρὸς διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας  
 γάμον, ὁ Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὴν Ἰόλης ἐπιγαμίαν τῆς  
 d Εὐρύτου θυγατρὸς, ὁ Θησέως διὰ τὸν<sup>2</sup> | Φαίδρας τῆς  
 Μίνως, ὁ Ἀθάμαντος διὰ τὸν Θεμιστοῦς τῆς Ὑψέως,  
 ὁ Ἰάσονος διὰ τὴν<sup>3</sup> Γλαύκης τῆς Κρέοντος, ὁ Ἀγα-  
 μέμνονος διὰ Κασσάνδραν. καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ  
 Καμβύσου στρατεία, ὡς φησι Κτησίας, διὰ γυναῖκα  
 ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Καμβύσης πυνθανόμενος τὰς Αἴγυπτί-  
 ας γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Ἄμασιν τὸν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέα, μίαν  
 αἰτῶν πρὸς γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν  
 e ἐαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ὑπονοήσας μὴ γυναικὸς | ἕξειν  
 αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἀλλὰ παλλακίδος· ἔπεμψε δὲ τὴν Ἀπρίου

<sup>2</sup> τὸν CE: τὴν A

<sup>3</sup> τὴν Kaibel: τὸν ACE

<sup>49</sup> I.e. the First Sacred War in the early 6th century BCE.

<sup>50</sup> See 13.557d–e with nn.

<sup>51</sup> News of Heracles' involvement with Iole led his wife Deianeira to send him a robe smeared with what she thought was a love-charm, but was in fact a terrible poison.



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Thebans captured Phocis. According to Callisthenes in his *On the Sacred War* (*FGrH* 124 F 1), what is known as the Crisaic War,<sup>49</sup> when the Cirrhaeans fought the Phocians, also lasted ten years, after the Cirrhaeans kidnapped Megisto, the daughter of Pelagus of Phocis, along the other daughters of the Argives as they were on their way home from the temple in Delphi; Cirrha was captured in the tenth year. Entire households were also ruined because of women: that of Alexander's father Philip, because he married Cleopatra;<sup>50</sup> that of Heracles, because he took a second wife, Iole the daughter of Eurytus;<sup>51</sup> that of Theseus, because he married Phaedra the daughter of Minos;<sup>52</sup> that of Athamas, because he married Themisto the daughter of Hypseus;<sup>53</sup> that of Jason, because he took a second wife, Glauce the daughter of Creon;<sup>54</sup> and that of Agamemnon, because of Cassandra.<sup>55</sup> According to Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 13a), Cambyses' expedition against Egypt also occurred because of a woman; for when Cambyses heard that Egyptian women were better in bed than any others, he sent a message to King Amasis of Egypt, asking to marry one of his daughters. Amasis did not give him one of his own children, since he suspected that Cambyses would treat her as a concubine rather than as a wife, but sent him Neitetis

<sup>52</sup> Cf. 13.557b with n.

<sup>53</sup> After Athamas' second wife Ino disappeared, he married Themisto, who plotted to kill Ino's children but was tricked into killing her own (*Hyg. fab.* 4); the story provided the basis of the plot of Euripides' *Ino*.

<sup>54</sup> Leading to Medea's terrible anger and revenge; cf. 13.556c n.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. 13.556c.

θυγατέρα Νειτήτιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπρίας ἐκπεπτώκει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἦτταν πρὸς Κυρηναίους καὶ ἀνήρητο ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος. ἦσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καμβύσης τῇ Νειτήτιδι καὶ σφόδρα ἐρεθισθεὶς ἐκμανθάνει παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα καὶ δεηθείσης ἐκδικῆσαι τοῦ Ἀπρίου τὸν φόνον πείθεται<sup>4</sup> πολεμῆσαι Αἰγυπτίοις. Δίνων δ' ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ Λυκέας ὁ f Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τρίτῃ Αἰγυπτιακῶν | τὴν Νειτήτιν Κύρῳ πεμφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος· ἐξ ἧς γεννηθῆναι τὸν Καμβύσην, ὃν ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ποιήσασθαι στρατείαν. Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος καὶ πρῶτον γενέσθαι πόλεμόν φησι δύο γυναικῶν <τὸν><sup>5</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης· ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν βακχικώτερον μετὰ τυμπάνων προελθεῖν, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην Μακεδονικῶς καθωπλισμένην, ἀσκηθεῖσαν τὰ πολεμικὰ παρὰ Κύννη τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι. ||

561 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν φιλοσόφων περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ αὐτούς τι εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ κάλλους. καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι φιλόσοφοι πάνπολλοι, ἐν οἷς τινες καὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ σκηνικοῦ φιλοσόφου Εὐριπίδου ἁσμάτων, ὧν ἦν καὶ τάδε·

<sup>4</sup> πείθεται Schweighäuser: πείθει ACE

<sup>5</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 15.680b–c, where Aprias is called Patarmis.

## BOOK XIII

Eros, child of Wisdom, † is  
the greatest part of virtue †,  
and this deity is the most pleasant  
of them all for mortals to associate with;  
for he offers a painless sort of pleasure and  
encourages us to hope. May I not be  
among those uninitiated in his labors,  
and may I dwell far from rustic manners!  
I recommend to the young that they love  
and never try to avoid the experience,  
but make proper use of it, when it comes.

And someone else said, quoting Pindar (fr. 127.1–2):<sup>60</sup>

May I have the opportunity to love and to bestow  
love (*eros*) at the proper time!

Another person added the following passage from Euripides (fr. 136):<sup>61</sup>

Eros, master of both gods and human beings,  
either do not teach what is beautiful to appear  
beautiful,  
or else assist lovers, who are your creatures,  
in their struggle, so that they succeed.  
If you do this, you will be honored † to gods †,  
whereas if you do not, the very fact that they have  
learned to love  
will lead to you being deprived of the thanks with  
which they honor you.

<sup>60</sup> Quoted again, along with a third verse, at 13.601c.

<sup>61</sup> Assigned to the *Andromeda* on the basis of a striking resemblance to the subject matter of E. fr. 138a.

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Pontianus observed that Zeno of Citium understood Eros to be a god who prepares us for friendship and freedom, as well as for consensus, but for nothing else. This is why he said in his *Republic* (fr. 263, SVF i.61 = 67D Long–Sedley) that Eros is a god who helps keep the city safe. That his philosophical predecessors felt that Eros deserved respect and had nothing to do with shameful behavior is obvious from the fact that he shares cults in the wrestling-schools with Hermes (who represents the power of speech) and Heracles (who represents physical power); when these are combined, friendship and consensus result and enable the individuals who pursue them to attain more of the finest type of freedom. The Athenians were so far from believing that Eros represents sexuality of any kind that, even though the Academy was explicitly dedicated to Athena,<sup>62</sup> they established a cult of Eros there and sacrifice to him as well. The inhabitants of Thespieae celebrate the Erotideia (“Festival of Eros”) in the same way the Athenians celebrate the Panathenaia, the Elians the Olympic festival, and the Rhodians the Halieia;<sup>63</sup> Eros is also honored routinely in their public libations. The Spartans make a preliminary sacrifice to Eros before their troops line up for battle, on the ground that safety and victory depend on the men in the ranks being friends. So too the Cretans put their best-looking citizens in the ranks and sacrifice to Eros on their account, according to Sosicrates (*FGrH* 461 F 7). The Thebans’ so-called Sacred Band was composed of adult lovers and their boyfriends, as a way of emphasizing their

<sup>62</sup> A virgin goddess.      <sup>63</sup> The Panathenaia honored Athena, the Olympic festival Olympian Zeus, and the Halieia the Sun-god (Helios, known on Rhodes as Halios).

ἐμφαίνων, ἀσπαζομένων θάνατον ἔνδοξον ἀντ' αἰ-  
 σχροῦ καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου. Σάμιοι δέ, ὡς φησιν  
 562 Ἐρξίας ἐν Κολοφωνιακοῖς, γυμνάσιον ἢ ἀναθέντες τῷ  
 Ἐρωτι τὴν διὰ τοῦτον ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν Ἐλευθερία  
 προσηγόρευσαν· δι' ὃν θεὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑλευθερίας  
 ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐκπεσόντες ἐπεχείρη-  
 σαν διαβάλλειν πρῶτοι<sup>8</sup> τὰς περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον  
 πράξεις.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Πλούταρχος ἀπεμνημόνευσε  
 τῶν ἐκ Φαίδρου Ἀλέξιδος·

πορευομένῳ δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν  
 καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπήλθέ μοι. |  
 b καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγνοεῖν οἱ ζωγράφοι  
 τὸν Ἐρωτα, συντομώτατον δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι  
 τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου ποοῦσιν εἰκόνας.  
 ἔστιν γὰρ οὔτε θῆλυς οὔτ' ἄρσην, πάλιν  
 οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος, οὔτ' ἀβέλτερος  
 οὔτ' αὔθις ἔμφρων, ἀλλὰ συνειρηγεγμένος  
 πανταχόθεν, ἐνὶ τύπῳ <τε> πόλλ' εἶδη φέρων.  
 ἢ τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρός, ἢ <δὲ> δειλία  
 γυναικός, ἢ δ' ἄνοια μανίας, ὁ δὲ λόγος |

<sup>8</sup> πρῶτον Musurus

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<sup>64</sup> Sc. because, on the interpretation implicitly offered here, pederastic relationships are a source of extreme embarrassment for everyone involved. For the Sacred Band, cf. 13.602a with n.

<sup>65</sup> Sc. because Harmodius and Aristogiton, who assassinated

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for the god, since they preferred a glorious death  
 unemul and widely-criticized lifestyle.<sup>64</sup> According  
 to Erxias in the *History of Colophon* (FGrH 449 F 1), when  
 the Samians dedicated a school to Eros, they called the fes-  
 tival celebrated in his honor the Eleutheria (“Festival of  
 Freedom”); the Athenians were in fact liberated because  
 of Eros,<sup>65</sup> and after the Pisitratids were driven from power,  
 they were the first to attempt to give all the practices asso-  
 ciated with this god a bad reputation.

After these remarks were made, Plutarch quoted the  
 passage from Alexis’ *Phaedra* (fr. 247):

As I was traveling from Piraeus, my troubles  
 and the lack of any way out of them made me start to  
 philosophize.

In my opinion, the painters who produce  
 pictures of Eros don’t know much  
 about the god, to put it simply.

Because he’s neither female nor male, and  
 neither a god nor a human being, and also  
 neither a fool nor thoughtful. Instead, he’s a jumble  
 of everything, and combines lots of characteristics in  
 a single shape.

He’s as bold as a man, but as cowardly as  
 a woman; his irrationality suggests madness, but his  
 ability to calculate  
 suggests he’s sane; he’s as violent as a wild animal, as  
 tough as  
 steel, and as prone to resentment as a deity.

the Pisitratid tyrant Hipparchus in 510 BCE—but did not in fact  
 liberate Athens; cf. 15.695a–b with n.—were a pederastic couple.  
 Cf. 13.602a.

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- c φρονούντος, ἢ σφοδρότης δὲ θηρός, ὁ δὲ πόνος  
ἀδάμαντος, ἢ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος.  
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγώ, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς,  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει γέ τι  
τοιούτον, ἐγγύς τ' εἰμὶ τούνοματος.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἢ Ἀραρῶς ἐν Καμπυλίῳιν·

τίς ἦν ὁ γράψας πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἄρα  
ἢ κηροπλαστήσας Ἔρωθ' ὑπόπερον;  
ὡς οὐδὲν ἤδει πλὴν χελιδόνας γράφειν,  
ἀλλ' ἦν ἄπειρος τῶν τρόπων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. |

- d ἔστιν γὰρ οὔτε κούφος, οὔτε ῥάδιος  
ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῷ φέρουσι τὴν νόσον,  
βαρὺς δὲ κομιδῆ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοι πτερὰ  
τοιούτο πρᾶγμα; λήρος, εἰ κᾶφῆσέ τις.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀποκοπτομένῳ·

λέγεται γὰρ λόγος  
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν, μὴ πέτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν  
τὸν Ἔρωτα, τοὺς δ' ἐρῶντας· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχειν  
ἐκείνον ἄλλως, ἡγνοσηκότας δὲ τοὺς |

- e γραφεῖς ἔχοντα πτέρυγας αὐτὸν ζωγραφεῖν.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν  
τραγικὸν λέγειν, ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων κεράν-

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<sup>66</sup> Athenaeus also expresses doubt about the authorship of the play at 11.471e, but attributes it unambiguously to Eubulus at 7.295e; 13.571f; 14.642c.

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ior; because when he is moderately strong, he is quite charming, whereas when he is intense and disruptive, he is extremely difficult to deal with. This is why this poet is quite right to distinguish among his powers when he says (E. IA 548–51):

(because) † he stretches † . . .  
twin bows that belong to the Graces,  
one of which leads to happy good fortune,  
while the other destroys one's life.

This same poet in his play entitled *The Man Who Was Wounded* (Alex. fr. 236) says the following about lovers:

Who denies that lovers are the only people who really  
enjoy life?  
First of all, they have to be like  
soldiers: capable of extremely hard physical  
labor, and outstanding at waiting in ambush for what  
they want;  
creative; bold; eager; resourceful  
in impossible situations; and looking really miserable!

Theophilus in *The Man Who Loved the Pipes* (fr. 12):

Who says lovers don't have any sense?  
It must be someone who's a real fool!  
Because if you take all the pleasure out of life,  
nothing's left but dying.  
As for me personally, I'm in love with a young woman



## ATHENAEUS

παιδὸς κόρης, οὐ νοῦν ἔχω πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;  
κάλλει καλῆς, μεγέθει μεγάλης, τέχνη σοφῆς·  
ἦν ἔστ' ἰδεῖν ἥδιον ἢ τὸ θεωρικὸν |

b ἔχουσιν ὑμῖν διανέμειν ἐκάστοτε.

Ἄριστοφῶν δὲ ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

εἶτ' οὐ δικαίως ἔστ' ἀπεψηφισμένος  
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν δώδεκ' εἰκότως <τ'> Ἔρως;  
ἐτάραττε κακείνους γὰρ ἐμβάλλων στάσεις,  
ὄτ' ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ λίαν ἦν θρασὺς  
καὶ σοβαρός, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερά,  
ἵνα μὴ πέτηται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,  
δεῦρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδευσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς κάτω,  
τὰς δὲ πτέρυγας ἅς εἶχε τῇ Νίκῃ φορεῖν |

c ἔδοσαν, περιφανὲς σκῦλον ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν Ἄμφις ἐν Διθυράμβῳ φησὶν·

τί φῆς; σὺ ταυτὶ προσδοκᾶς πείσειν ἐμέ,  
ὡς ἔστ' ἐραστής ὅστις ὠραῖον φιλῶν  
τρόπων ἐραστής ἐστι, τὴν ὄψιν παρεῖς  
σώφρων τ' ἀληθῶς; οὔτε τοῦτο πείθομαι  
οὔθ' ὡς πένης ἄνθρωπος ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις  
τοῖς εὐποροῦσιν οὐ λαβεῖν τι βούλεται.

Ἄλεξις Ἐλένη· |

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<sup>69</sup> I.e. the audience in the theater.

δεῖν λέγοντες συνέχειν τοὺς ἐρωμένους. καί μοι δοκεῖ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος ὁ περιπατητικὸς οὐ κακῶς εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν Ὁμοίων πρὸς τινα Ἀττικόν, μέγαν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδεικνύντα ὡς καλόν, ᾧ Δῶρος ἦν ὄνομα· “τὴν πρὸς Δόλωναί μοι”, φησί, “δοκῶ παρ’ Ὀδυσσεῶς ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ σὲ μεταφέρειν·

ἢ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων Δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός.” ||

564 Ἐγήσανδρος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι τῶν ἡδυσμάτων φησὶν ἐρᾶν πάντας, οὐ τῶν κρεῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰχθύων· ἀπογενομένων γοῦν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἡδέως ἔτι προσφέρεται τὸ κρέας οὐδὲ τὸν ἰχθὺν οὐδ’ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῶν ὤμων καὶ τῶν ἀνηδύντων.

Καὶ γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν παίδων ἤρων, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔφη, ὅθεν καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους συνέβη παιδικά. πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γάρ, καθάπερ φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν, Λυκοφρονίδην εἰρηκέναι<sup>12</sup>.

b οὔτε | παιδὸς ἄρρενος οὔτε παρθένων  
τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων  
καλὸν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἀλλ’ ὁ κόσμιον πεφύκει  
ἢ γὰρ αἰδῶς ἄνθος ἐπισπείρει.

καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν

<sup>12</sup> εἰρηκέναι φησὶν A: φησὶν del. Meineke

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boyfriends' bodies that lovers pay attention to is the eyes, which is where the sense of decency resides. Sophocles (fr. \*474)<sup>75</sup> somewhere represents Hippodameia as discussing Pelops, and says:

Such is the captivating love-magic, a lighting-bolt  
that emerges from his eyes, that Pelops commands!  
He himself is warmed by it, and he reduces me to  
ash,  
staring straight into my eyes, just as the carpenter's  
string stretches straight when he goes to mark a line.

Licymnius of Chios says that Sleep was in love with Endymion, and therefore did not cover the boy's eyes even when he was asleep, but put his beloved to bed with his eyes wide open, so that he could always enjoy looking at them. He puts it as follows (*PMG* 771):

Sleep enjoyed  
the light from his eyes, and lulled  
the boy to sleep with them wide open.

Sappho (fr. 138) as well says to the man who is much-admired for his physique and considered handsome:

Stand † also opposite †, dear one,  
and spread wide the delight that is in your eyes.

And what does Anacreon (*PMG* 360) say?

<sup>75</sup> Probably from *Oenomaus*. Hippodameia's father Oenomaus required her suitors to compete with him in a chariot race, and killed them if they lost. Pelops won the race (and Hippodameia's hand) by convincing Oenomaus' driver to sabotage his chariot.

ATHENAEUS

ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων,  
 δίζημαί σε, σὺ δ' οὐ κλύεις,  
 οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἠνιοχεύεις.

ὁ δὲ μεγαλοφωνότατος Πίνδαρος

- e τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου (φησίην) ἀκτῖνας | < . . . >  
 ὄσσω  
 μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεῖς  
 ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος  
 ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν <καρδίαν>  
 ψυχρᾶ <φλογί>.

ὁ δὲ τοῦ Κυθηρίου Φιλοξένου Κύκλωψ ἐρῶν τῆς Γαλα-  
 τείας καὶ ἐπαινῶν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος, προμαντευόμενος  
 τὴν τύφλωσιν πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτῆς ἐπαινεῖ ἢ τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν μνημονεύει, λέγων ὧδε·

ὦ καλλιπρόσωπε χρυσεοβόστρυχε,<sup>13</sup>  
 χαριτόφωνε θάλος Ἑρώτων.

- f τυφλὸς ὁ ἔπαινος καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιος | τῷ Ἴβυκείῳ  
 ἐκείνῳ·

Εὐρύαλε γλαυκέων Χαρίτων θάλος < . . . >  
 καλλικόμων μελέδημα, σὲ μὲν Κύπρις  
 ἄ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πει-  
 τῶ ροδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

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O boy with a virginal glance,  
I am seeking you out, but you pay no attention,  
unaware that you hold the reins  
that govern my soul.

The outspoken Pindar (fr. 123.2–6) says:<sup>76</sup>

As for the sparkling rays of Theoxenus'  
eyes, whoever looks on them  
and is not roiled with desire has a black heart  
forged with cold fire out of steel  
or iron.

The Cyclops of Philoxenus of Cythera (*PMG* 821) is in love with Galateia<sup>77</sup> and praises her beauty; and because he foresees that he will be blinded, he praises all her parts, except that he makes no mention of her eyes, putting it thus:

O child of the Love-gods, with your beautiful face,  
and your golden locks of hair, and your pleasant  
voice!

His praise is blind and utterly unlike that offered by the famous Ibycus (*PMG* 288):

Euryalus, offspring of the brilliant Graces and  
cared for by the fair-haired . . . , Cypris<sup>78</sup> and  
Persuasion with her gentle glances  
brought you up among rose-petals.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted at greater length at 13.601d–e.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. 1.6e–7a with nn.      <sup>78</sup> Aphrodite.

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<sup>13</sup> χρυσεοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια ACE: Γαλάτεια del. Wilamowitz

Φρύνιχός τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρωίλου ἔφη·

λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος.

Ἵμεῖς δὲ ξυρουμένους τὰ γένεια περιφέρετε τοὺς ἐρωμένους· τοῦ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ εὐρημένου, ὡς φησιν ὑμῶν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ 565 τετάρτῳ Περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς. οὐκ ἀκαίρως δ', ὡς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, μεμνήσομαι τῆς λέξεως· χαίρω γὰρ πάντῳ ἀνδρὶ διὰ τε τὴν πολυμαθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥθους ἐπιείκειαν. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος· τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται, τῶν προτέρων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητῆς πώγωνα μέγαν ἔχων ἠΰλει, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις διατηροῦσιν οὐ σφόδρα ἀρχαῖον τὸν πρῶτον περικει-  
b ράμενον ἢ παρωνύμιον ἔχειν Κόρσην. διὸ καὶ Ἄλεξις ἔφη πον·

<ἄν> πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον  
ὄρας, † τοῦτον ἔχει τι † θάτερον·  
ἢ γὰρ † στρατεύειν † ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται  
καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία,

<sup>79</sup> Quoted also at 13.603f–4a.

<sup>80</sup> A handsome young prince of Troy, killed by Achilles (*Cypr.* arg. 63 Bernabé; cf. *Il.* 24.255–7).

<sup>81</sup> Sc. because they are actually adult men—and thus too old to properly be anyone's boyfriend. Cf. 13.563e–f, 565e–f.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander the Great lived 356–323 BCE.

<sup>83</sup> Like the objects of this attack, Chrysippus was a Stoic.

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And Phrynichus (*TrGF* 3 F 13)<sup>79</sup> said about Troilus:<sup>80</sup>

The light of love shines on his rosy cheeks.

The boyfriends you take everywhere with you, on the other hand, have their cheeks shaved.<sup>81</sup> The practice of shaving one's beard was invented in Alexander's time,<sup>82</sup> according to your<sup>83</sup> Chrysippus in Book IV of *On the Beautiful and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 2, *SVF* iii.198). Nor is this a bad time, in my judgment, to quote his remarks; for I am quite fond of the man, on account of both his enormous learning and his good character. The philosopher puts it as follows: The practice of shaving one's beard became fashionable in Alexander's time; previously people did not do this. The piper Timotheus,<sup>84</sup> in fact, used to have a full beard when he played, and in Athens they maintain that it was not very long ago that the first person to shave his face completely got the nickname Korsês.<sup>85</sup> This is why Alexis (fr. 266) said somewhere:<sup>86</sup>

If you see someone with his legs waxed or his beard shaved, † something has this guy † one or the other: because either, I'd say, he's got it in mind † to go on campaign † and to do everything directly opposite to what a beard implies,

<sup>84</sup> Timotheus of Thebes (*Berve* i #749; *Stephanis* #2417) was a contemporary of Alexander the Great (cf. 12.538f), hence the reference to him here.

<sup>85</sup> Cognate with *keirô*, "cut off, shear hair".

<sup>86</sup> The quotation may well be Athenaeus' own insertion into the text of Chrysippus.

ἡ πλουσιακὸν τούτῳ <τι> προσπίπτει κακόν.  
 τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς, πρὸς θεῶν,  
 δι' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται, |

c εἰ μή τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς;

Διογένης δὲ ἰδὼν τινα οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ γένειον ἔφη-  
 σεν· “μή τι ἔχεις ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ φύσει, ὅτι ἄνδρα σέ  
 ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ γυναῖκα;” ἕτερον δέ τινα ἐπὶ ἵππου  
 ἰδὼν παραπλησίως ἔχοντα καὶ μεμυρισμένον καὶ τού-  
 τοις ἀκολούθως ἡμφιεσμένον, πρότερον μὲν ἔφησε  
 ζητεῖν τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἵππόπορνος, νῦν δ' εὐρηκένας. ἐν  
 Ῥόδῳ δὲ νόμου ὄντος μὴ ξύρεσθαι οὐδ' ὁ ἐπιλη-  
 ψόμενος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν διὰ τὸ πάντας ξύρεσθαι· ἐν

d Βυζαντίῳ δὲ ζημίας ἐπικειμένης | τῷ ἔχοντι ξυρὸν<sup>14</sup>  
 οὐδὲν ἦττον πάντες χρῶνται αὐτῷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ  
 θαυμάσιος εἶρηκε Χρύσιππος. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς ἐκείνος  
 Ζήνων, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος, προμαν-  
 τευόμενος ὑμῶν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς  
 προσποιητοῦ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἔφη ὡς οἱ παρακούσαντες  
 αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων καὶ μὴ συνέντες ἔσονται ῥυπαροὶ  
 καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι, καθάπερ οἱ τῆς Ἀριστίππου παρ-  
 ενεχθέντες αἰρέσεως ἄσωτοι καὶ θρασεῖς. καὶ δὴ τοι-  
 e οὔτοι ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι, | συνεσπασμένοι καὶ

<sup>14</sup> τῷ ἔχοντι κουρέϊ ξυρὸν ACE: κουρέϊ del. Kaibel

<sup>87</sup> Literally “horse-whore”; but the element *hippo-* was used colloquially in the sense “big”.

<sup>88</sup> Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoa; cf. 13.563e n.



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or he's been hit with the sort of trouble that comes  
with being rich.

Because what trouble does hair cause us, by the gods,  
when it's what makes it apparent that we're all men—  
unless you're planning to do something that suggests  
the contrary?

When Diogenes (Diog. Sinop. SSR V B 404) saw someone whose chin was shaved, he said: "So you've got a complaint against nature, because it made you a man rather than a woman?" And when he saw someone else on horseback (*epi hippou*) who had also shaved, and who was soaked in perfume and dressed in a way that matched all this, he said that he had always wondered what a *hippopornos*<sup>87</sup> was, but now he had figured it out. Although there is a law on Rhodes that no one is allowed to shave his beard, there is no one who can prosecute the cases, because everyone does this; and although in Byzantium a penalty is supposedly imposed on anyone who owns a razor, they all use them nonetheless. This is what the marvellous Chrysippus says. The well-known sage Zeno<sup>88</sup> (fr. 242, SVF i.57–8), on the other hand, according to Antigonus of Carystus (p. 118 Wilamowitz = fr. 37 Dorandi), apparently had a foreboding about how you live and about your hypocritical style, and said that people who misunderstood his remarks and failed to grasp what he meant would be dirty and cheap, like the misguided profligate, insolent characters who belong to Aristippus' sect (SSR IV A 161).<sup>89</sup> This is what most of you are like, in fact: shrivelled and filthy not just in your behav-

<sup>89</sup> Aristippus of Cyrene was a student of Socrates, and was routinely portrayed as a hedonist.

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ior but in your attitude. Because even though you want to wrap yourselves in self-sufficiency and thrift, you can be found at the gates of greed, living a dirty existence, dressed in cheap little robes that are too small for you, with the soles of your shoes full of nails,<sup>90</sup> and calling anyone who puts on perfume or wears clothing a bit more comfortable than yours a pervert. So if you dress like this, you should not get so excited about money<sup>91</sup> or take everywhere with you as your boyfriends the young men with shaved cheeks and rear ends who follow along

at the Lyceum with a crowd of sophists, by Zeus—  
thin, hungry, leathery characters,

to quote Antiphanes (fr. 120.3–4).<sup>92</sup> I myself speak highly of good looks; because in the contests for manliness they select the best looking individuals and allow them to lead the processions. There is a beauty-contest in Elis, and the winner is awarded the right to carry the goddess' vessels;<sup>93</sup> the second-place finisher is allowed to lead the cow;<sup>94</sup> and the third-place finisher places the sacrificial meat on the altar. Heracleides of Lembos (fr. 2, *FHG* iii.168) reports that in Sparta the most attractive man and the most attractive woman are shown more respect . . . , since Sparta produces the most beautiful women in the world. This is why, they say, when King Archidamus<sup>95</sup> was shown one woman

<sup>93</sup> Or perhaps "armor". For beauty-contests, cf. 13.609e–10a. The goddess in question is presumably Hera.

<sup>94</sup> Sc. to the altar. <sup>95</sup> Archidamus III (reigned 360/59–338 BCE; Poralla #158). Plu. *Ages*. 2.3 (citing Thphr. fr. 604 Fortenbaugh) offers a more intelligible version of the story, claiming that the woman Archidamus chose to marry was not too ugly but too short for the ephors' taste.

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λέως, γυναικὸς αὐτῷ καλῆς φαινομένης, ἐτέρας δὲ αἰσχρᾶς καὶ πλουσίας, ὡς ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὴν πλουσίαν, ζημιῶσαι τοὺς ἐφόρους αὐτόν, ἐπιλέγοντας ὅτι βασιλίσκους ἀντὶ βασιλέων τῆ Σπάρτα γεννᾶν προ-  
b αἰρεῖται. Εὐριπίδης τε | ἔφη·

πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος.

καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δὲ δημογέροντες θαυμάζοντες τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ κάλλος φασίν·

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐνκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα  
πάσχειν·

αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν.

c ἐκπέπληκται οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πρίαμος ἐπὶ τῷ | κάλλει<sup>17</sup> καίτοι ἐν δεινοῖς ὑπάρχων. θαυμάζει γοῦν ἐπὶ κάλλει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοιαῦτα ἐκφωνῶν·

καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὐ πω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆϊ δὲ<sup>18</sup> ἀνδρὶ ἔοικεν.

καθίστων δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς καλλίστους βασιλέας, ὡς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἀθάνατοι καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες, ὡς φησι Βίων ἐν Αἰθιοπικοῖς· ὡς ἔοικε γάρ, τὸ κάλλος

<sup>17</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς γυναικὸς ACE: τῆς γυναικὸς del. Kaibel      <sup>18</sup> The traditional text of Homer has γάρ.

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<sup>96</sup> Identified by Stobaeus (who cites three additional verses) as drawn from *Aeolus*.

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who was good-looking, and another who was ugly but rich, and he expressed more interest in the rich one, the ephors fined him, saying when they did so that he was opting to produce kinglets rather than kings for Sparta. Euripides (fr. 15.2)<sup>96</sup> as well said:

an appearance, first of all, that befits a tyranny.

So too the Homeric elders are astonished at Helen's beauty and say (*Il.* 3.156–8):<sup>97</sup>

It is no cause for resentment that the Trojans and the  
well-greaved Achaeans  
suffer griefs for a long time for a woman like this;  
she is remarkably like the immortal goddesses in  
appearance.

Priam himself, then, was also stunned by beauty, despite the difficult situation he was in. He expresses admiration, for example, for Agamemnon's good looks by offering remarks along the following lines (*Il.* 3.169–70):

I have never seen anyone so handsome with my eyes,  
nor so majestic; he looks like a king.

Many people used to make their handsomest citizens kings, as the so-called Immortal Ethiopians do even today, according to Bion in the *History of Ethiopia* (FGrH 668 F 2),<sup>98</sup> because beauty is, apparently, a trait closely associ-

<sup>97</sup> Quoted also at 5.188b, but followed there by verse 159, which makes it clear that the speaker (a Trojan) would nonetheless be delighted to see Helen return to Menelaus.

<sup>98</sup> Bion in turn presumably cited Hdt. 3.20.2 for this detail.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος,

ταυτὶ καὶ τολμᾶς σὺ λέγειν,

οὐ

ῥοδοδάκτυλος οὔσα,

κατὰ τὸν Κρατῖνον, ἀλλὰ βολίτινον ἔχων θάτερον  
 f σκέλος, ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου σοι ποιητοῦ τὴν | κνή-  
 μην φορῶν, ὃς ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις καὶ τοῖς πανδοκείοις  
 αἰεὶ διαιτᾶ, καίτοι Ἴσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐν τῷ  
 Ἄρεοπαγικῷ εἰρηκότος· ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ  
 πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐτόλμησεν· σεμνύνεσθαι  
 γὰρ ἐμελέτων, οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι. Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν  
 τῷ Κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς  
 Ἄρεοπαγίτας φησὶν ἀριστήσαντά τινα ἐν καπηλείῳ  
 κωλύσαι ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον. σὺ δέ, ὦ σοφιστά,  
 567 ἐν || τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρη οὐ μετὰ ἐταίρων  
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐταιρῶν, μαστροπενούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγας ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων αἰεὶ τοιαντὶ βιβλία Ἄρι-  
 στοφάνους καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἀντι-  
 φάνους, ἔτι δὲ Γοργίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, πάντων τούτων

109 Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 294–6.

110 The Old Comic poet Myrtilus (test. 2); the point of the remark is unclear.

111 Isocrates actually says “a decent slave.”

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Cynulcus (responded):

Do you dare say this,

despite not

being rosy-fingered,

to quote Cratinus (fr. 351), when you have instead one leg made of cowshit,<sup>109</sup> and your shin is borrowed from the poet with whom you share a name,<sup>110</sup> and you constantly spend your time in bars and inns, even though the orator Isocrates says in his *Areopagitus* (49): Not even a slave<sup>111</sup> would have dared to eat or drink in a bar; because they did their best to appear dignified, rather than behaving like buffoons. Hyperides in his *Against Patroclus* (fr. 138 Jensen)—if the speech is genuine—claims that the members of the Areopagus Council prevented an individual who had lunch in a bar from joining the Areopagus.<sup>112</sup> Whereas you, you sophist, mess around in the bars, and not with your friends (*hetairoi*) but with whores (*hetairai*), surrounding yourself with large numbers of women who make a business of arranging sexual liaisons, and constantly carrying books of this type around with you, by Aristophanes (Ar. Byz. *FGrH* 347 T 1 = fr. 364A Slater), Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 T 17), Ammonius (*FGrH* 350 T 2), and Antiphanes (*FGrH* 349 T 2), as well as by Gorgias of Athens (*FGrH* 351 T 1), all of whom produced treatises on

<sup>112</sup> The Areopagus Council in Athens was made up of men who had served as one of the city's archons, and exercised considerable political power in the time of Hyperides (389–322 BCE). But what kernel of truth (if any) there is in this anecdote is impossible to say.

συγγεγραφότων περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἑταιρίδων. ὦ τῆς  
 καλῆς σου πολυμαθίας, ὡς κατ' οὐδὲν ἐμμήσω Θεό-  
 μανδρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὃν φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ  
 Περί Εὐδαιμονίας περιούonta ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι διδά-  
 b σκειν εὐτυχίαν, ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλε· | οὐδὲν ἄρα δια-  
 φέρεις Ἀμάσιος τοῦ Ἡλείου, ὃν Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ  
 Ἐρωτικῷ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινὸν γεγονέναι λέγει.  
 οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι δέ τίς σε καὶ πορνογράφον καλῶν, ὡς  
 Ἀριστείδην καὶ Πausίαν ἔτι τε Νικοφάνη τοὺς ζω-  
 γράφους. μνημονεὺει δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ταῦτα καλῶς γρα-  
 φόντων Πολέμων ἐν τῷ Περί τῶν Ἐν Σικυῶνι Πι-  
 νάκων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς πολυμαθίας, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τῆς  
 τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τοῦδε, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἀλλ'  
 c ἀναφανδὸν τὰ Εὐβούλου αἰεὶ ἐκ Κερκώπων | λέγει·

Κόρινθον ἦλθον. ἠδέως ἐνταῦθά πως  
 λάχανόν τι τρώγων \*Ωκιμον διεφθάρην·  
 κἀνταῦθα κατελήρησα τὴν ἐξωμίδα.

καλὸς γε ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων σοφιστῆς, ὁ τοῖς μαθηταῖς  
 διηγούμενος ὅτι \*Ωκιμον ἑταίρας ὄνομα. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ

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113 Cf. 13.583d for a similar, if shorter list of scholars who worked on the topic. A fragment of Aristophanes' treatise is cited at 13.586f, as fragments of the treatises of Apollodorus, Antiphanes, and Gorgias are at 13.586a, 13.587b–c, and 13.596f, respectively. Most likely much of what follows is drawn more or less direct from such sources, although without attribution. Cf. 13.587a n.

114 Otherwise unknown.

115 Otherwise unknown.

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πολλά, ὄναιδές, δράματα ἀπὸ ἐταιρῶν ἔσχε τὰς ἐπι-  
 γραφάς, Θάλαττα Διοκλέους, Φερεκράτους Κοριανῶ,  
 Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἄντεια, Μενάνδρου δὲ Θαῖς καὶ  
 d Φάνιον, Ἀλέξιδος Ὀπώρα, | Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα.  
 οὕτω δ' ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἡ ἐταίρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν  
 συνουσίαζεν ἕως κενωθῆ, ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης εἶρηκεν ὁ  
 τοῦ Ἀρείου ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως  
 συγγράμματι, τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι  
 Μητίχην.

ἔστιν δ' ἐταίρα,

ὡς Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ,

τῷ τρέφοντι συμφορά·

εὐφραίνεται γὰρ κακὸν ἔχων οἴκοι μέγα.

διόπερ καὶ θρηνῶν τις αὐτὸν παράγεται ὑπὸ Τιμο-  
 e κλέους | ἐν Νεαίρῳ·

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχῆς

Φρύνης ἐρασθεῖς, ἠνίκ' ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν

συνέλεγεν οὐπω τ' εἶχεν ὄσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,

<sup>119</sup> Poll. 10.100 (quoting fr. 1) assigns the play, which is other-  
 wise lost, unambiguously to Eunucus. Cf. 13.586e.

<sup>120</sup> Thalatta is PAA 500234; Corianno is PAA 582037; Anteia is  
 PAA 131297; Thais is PAA 500159; Phanion is PAA 915485; and  
 Opora is PAA 748485. For Clepsydra, see below.

<sup>121</sup> Or perhaps “the student of Areius”; nothing else is known  
 of either man.

<sup>122</sup> PAA 650620.



ATHENAEUS

πάμπολλ' ἀναλίσκων ἐφ' ἐκάστω τῆς θύρας  
ἀπεκλειόμην.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δ' Ὀρεσταυτοκλείδης <ὁ>  
αὐτὸς Τιμοκλῆς φησι·

περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον  
εὐδοσυι γράες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα, |  
f Γνάθαινα, Φρύνη, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη,  
Χρυσίς, † Κοναλίς, † Ἱερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον.

τούτων τῶν ἐταιρῶν καὶ Ἄμφις μνημονεύει ἐν Κουρίδι  
λέγων·

568 τυφλὸς ὁ Πλούτος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,  
ὅστις γε παρὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται, ||  
παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκα καὶ Ναννίῳ  
ἐτέραις τε τοιαύταισι παγίσι τοῦ βίου  
ἔνδον κάθητ' ἀπόπληκτος οὐδ' ἐξέρχεται.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἴσοστάσιον  
τὴν ἐταιρικὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὰς δι' ἐπιτεχνήσεως  
κομμώσεις τῶν ἐταιρῶν οὕτως ἐκτίθεται·

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<sup>126</sup> Apparently a parody of the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, with a group of prostitutes taking the place of the band of Furies that surround Orestes there. Whether the Autocleides who appeared in the guise of Orestes (hence the title) was the notorious pederast (PAA 238785) mentioned by the orator Aeschines is unclear.

ATHENAEUS

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος καὶ τὸ συλᾶν  
 τοὺς πέλας  
 πάντα τᾶλλ' αὐταῖς πάρεργα γίγνεται, ράπτουσι  
 δὲ

πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλὰς. ἐπειδὴν δ' εὐπορήσωσιν ποτε,  
 ἀνέλαβον καινὰς ἐταίρας, πρωτοπείρους τῆς  
 τέχνης·

εὐθὺς ἀναπλάττουσι ταύτας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς  
 τρόπους

μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ὁμοίας διατελεῖν οὔσας ἔτι. |

b τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὔσα· φελλὸς ἐν ταῖς  
 βαυκίσιν

ἐγκεκάττυται. μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτὸν  
 φορεῖ

τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὤμον καταβαλοῦσ'  
 ἐξέρχεται·

τοῦτο τοῦ μήκουσ ἀφείλεν. οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία·  
 ὑπενέδυσ' ἐρραμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν  
 ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας. κοιλίαν ἀδρὰν ἔχει·  
 στηθί' ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ  
 κωμικοί·

ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα τοῦνδυτον τῆς κοιλίας |  
 c ὡσπερὶ κοντοῖσι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ'  
 ἀπήγαγον.

τὰς ὀφρῦς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις· ζωγραφοῦσιν  
 ἀσβόλω.

συμβέβηκ' εἶναι μέλαιναν· κατέπλασεν ψιμυθίῳ.  
 λευκόχρως λίαν τις ἐστίν· παιδέρωτ' ἐντρίβεται.

## BOOK XIII

Everything else, first of all, is less important to them  
than making a profit  
and plundering the people they associate with, and  
they stitch together  
plots against everyone. And whenever they get rich,  
they take new courtesans, novices at the craft, into  
their houses.

They immediately reshape them, so they don't act  
or look the same any more.

A girl happens to be short; cork's attached  
to the soles of her shoes. She's tall; she wears a thin-  
soled shoe

and rests her head on her shoulder when she goes  
outside,

reducing her height. She's got no ass;  
her mistress discreetly puts a pad on her, so that  
people who see her

comment loudly on what a fine rear end she has.

She's got a big belly;

they have some of the comic actors' chest-pieces,<sup>129</sup>  
and by attaching them at a right angle, they use them  
like poles to separate her clothing from her belly.

A girl's got blond eyebrows; they draw them in with  
soot.

Her skin happens to be dark; her mistress covers her  
with white lead.

Another one's skin's too white; she rubs rouge on  
herself.

<sup>129</sup> I.e. "falsies", used by male actors playing female parts.

## ATHENAEUS

καλὸν ἔχει τοῦ σώματός τι· τοῦτο γυμνὸν  
δείκνυται.

d εὐφνεῖς ὀδόντας ἔσχεν· ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ γελᾶν, |  
ἵνα † θεωροῖεν<sup>19</sup> † οἱ παρόντες τὸ στόμ' ὡς  
κομψὸν φορεῖ.

ἂν δὲ μὴ χαίρη γελῶσα, διατελεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν  
ἔνδον, ὥσπερ τοῖς μαγείροις ἂ παράκειθ'  
ἐκάστοτε,

ἥνικ' ἂν πωλῶσιν αἰγῶν κρανία, ξυλήφιον  
μυρρίνης † ἔχουσι<sup>20</sup> † λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς  
χείλεσιν·

ὥστε τῷ χρόνῳ σέσηρεν, ἂν τε βούλητ' ἂν τε  
μῆ.

ὄψεις διὰ τούτων σκευοποιούσι τῶν τεχνῶν.<sup>21</sup>

διὸ συμβουλεύω σοι,

Θετταλὲ ποικιλόδιφρε,

e τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ κατανα-  
λίσκειν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον τὰ τῶν υἱῶν κέρματα. ὄντως  
γὰρ ἄριστα | χωλὸς οἰφέεις, τοῦ κρηπιδοποιοῦ πατρός  
σου πολλά σε σωφρονίσαντος καὶ διδάξαντος σκύτη  
βλέπειν. ἧ οὐκ οἶδας κατὰ τὴν Εὐβούλου Παννυχίδα

<sup>19</sup> θεωρῶσ' Clement (rightly)

<sup>20</sup> ἔξουσα Clement (rightly)

<sup>21</sup> This verse (not mentioned by Kassel–Austin) is apparently spurious, but Athenaeus may well have found it in his source.

## BOOK XIII

She's got an attractive feature; it's put on display  
naked.

She's got nice teeth; she has to laugh, whether she  
wants to or not,  
so everyone there † can see † what a pretty mouth  
she has.

And if she doesn't like laughing, she'll stay inside  
all day with a sliver of myrtle wood, like what the  
butchers always have  
when they sell goats' heads, † they have † stuck  
upright between her lips.

So eventually she grins, like it or not.

These are the tricks they use to change how they  
look.

I therefore advise you, my

elaborately decorated Thessalian chariot-board,<sup>130</sup>

to introduce yourself to the brothel-girls and not waste  
your sons' limited inheritance on something you do not  
need. Because you are, beyond a doubt, "the lame man  
who rides best,"<sup>131</sup> since your father the shoemaker tried  
to straighten you out repeatedly and taught you to "look  
leather."<sup>132</sup> Or are you unfamiliar, to quote Eubulus' *All-  
Night Festival* (fr. 82), with

<sup>130</sup> Identified by Poll. 7.112 as a fragment of an otherwise un-  
known Delphic oracle; cf. 15.677a; Fontenrose on Delphic Oracle  
Q151.

<sup>131</sup> Identified by Diogen. 2.2 as a proverb, in which  
"ride" is to be understood "have sex".

<sup>132</sup> Identified by  
Zenob. 6.2 as a proverbial expression meaning "to have a suspi-  
cious attitude toward impending troubles," i.e. "to look like you're  
expecting to be whipped"; cf. Ar. V. 643; Eup. fr. 304.

< . . . > τὰς φιλωδοὺς κερμάτων παλευτρίας  
 < . . . > πώλους Κύπριδος ἐξησκημένας,  
 γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας,  
 ἐν λεπτοπήνοισι ὑμέσιν ἐστώσας, οἷας  
 Ἴηριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας·  
 παρ' ὧν βεβαίως ἀσφαλῶς τ' ἕξεστί σοι |  
 f μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν.

καὶ ἐν Ναννίῳ, <εἰ> Εὐβούλου τὸ δράμα καὶ μὴ Φιλίπ-  
 που, φησίν·

ὅστις λέχη γὰρ σκότια νυμφεύει λάθρα,  
 πῶς οὐχὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτατος;  
 ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον  
 γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας,  
 ἐν λεπτοπήνοισι ὑμέσιν ἐστώσας, οἷας  
 Ἴηριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας,  
 569 μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν, ||  
 καὶ μὴ λαθραίαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων  
 πασῶν, διώκειν, ὕβρεος οὐ πόθου χάριν.  
 Ἑλλάδος ἔγωγε τῆς ταλαιπώρου στένω,  
 ἢ Κυδίαν ναύαρχον ἐξεπέμψατο.

ἐπιτιμᾶ δὲ καὶ Ξέναρχος ἐν Πεντάθλῳ τοῖς παρα-

<sup>133</sup> Aphrodite's.

<sup>134</sup> A mythical river (sometimes identified with the Po), beside which the Heliades wept tears of amber for their brother Phaethon.

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πλησίως σοι βιοῦσιν καὶ ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ τὰς μεγαλομίσθους ἐταίρας καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας τῶν γυναικῶν ταυτὶ λέγων·

δεινά, δεινὰ κοῦκ ἀνασχετὰ  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι. |  
 b ὅπου γὰρ οὐσῶν μειράκων μάλ' εὐπρεπῶν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖσι πορνείοισιν, ἅς ἔξεσθ' ὄρᾶν  
 εἰληθερούσας, στέρν' ἀπημφισμένας,  
 γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας·  
 ὧν ἔστιν ἐκλεξάμενον ἢ τις ἤδεται,  
 λεπτῇ, παχείᾳ, στρογγύλῃ, μακρᾷ, ρικνῇ,  
 νέᾳ, παλαιᾷ, μεσοκόπῳ, πεπαιτέρᾳ,  
 μὴ κλίμακα στησάμενον εἰσβῆναι λάθρα  
 μηδὲ δι' ὀπῆς κάτωθεν εἰσδύναι στέγης |  
 c μηδ' ἐν ἀχύροισιν εἰσενεχθῆναι τέχνη.  
 αὐταὶ βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσέλκουσί τε  
 τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι  
 πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀπφάρια, τοὺς νεωτέρους.  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἐκάστην ἔστιν ἀδεῶς, εὐτελῶς,  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν, πρὸς ἐσπέραν, πάντας τρόπους·  
 ἅς δ' οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστ', οὐθ' ὀρώντ' ἰδεῖν σαφῶς,  
 αἰεὶ δὲ τετραμαίοντα καὶ φοβούμενον  
 δεδιότα, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα<sup>22</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>22</sup> Most likely a spurious verse (but known to Athenaeus).

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live like you and are interested in extremely high-priced prostitutes and free women, saying the following:

The young men are behaving terribly,  
terribly—unbearably—in our city!  
Because (they live in a place) where there are very  
attractive girls  
in the brothels, girls you can see  
basking in the sun with their breasts bare,  
lined up one after another in a column, half-naked.  
A man can pick whichever one he likes—  
thin, fat, round, tall, withered up,  
young, old, middle-aged, ancient—  
without setting up a ladder and entering the house  
secretly,  
or getting in through a peep-hole beneath the roof,  
or being carried in sneakily in a heap of bran.  
Because they're the aggressors, and they drag  
customers in,  
calling the old men  
“daddykins” and the younger ones “sweet brother”.  
And you can (have sex with) any of them without fear,  
and cheaply,  
during the day, in the evening, however you want.  
Whereas the women you can't see, and can't see  
clearly when you *do* see them,  
but always trembling and frightened  
fearful, having your life in your hand<sup>137</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>137</sup> Casaubon (followed by Meineke) expelled this verse from the text of Xenarchus, on the ground that this is a Hebrew rather than a Greek idiom. But Athenaeus apparently knew the text in the form in which it appears here in any case.



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- d ἄς πῶς ποτ', ὦ δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι, |  
βινεῖν δύνανται, τῶν Δρακοντείων νόμων  
ὅποταν ἀναμνησθῶσι προσκινούμενοι;

καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς προσιστορῶν ὅτι πρῶτος Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμὴν ἔστησεν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος, καθὰ καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ Κολοφωνιακῶν φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν πρῶτον ιδρύσασθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἡγγυρίσαντο αἱ προστάσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Φιλήμων οὕτως φησί: |

- e σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὔρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων  
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, μόνον  
δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον  
(καὶ μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρμοστόν, Σόλων),  
μεστὴν ὀρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων  
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν  
ἀμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,  
στήσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναικας κατὰ τόπους  
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.  
ἐστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ ἕξαπατηθῆς· πάνθ' ὄρα. |

138 Borrowed from Phaedra's speech at *E. Hipp.* 415.

139 Draco (PAA 374190; late 7th century BCE) was Athens' first lawgiver; his law on adultery specified that no one was to be punished for taking revenge on a seducer of women (Paus. 9.36.8).

140 Solon (PAA 827640; eponymous archon in 594/3 BCE) was remembered as Athens' greatest lawgiver and sage, and as something approaching the founding father of the classical city.

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How in the world, Cypris, mistress of the sea,<sup>138</sup>  
can they fuck them, when they recall  
Draco's laws<sup>139</sup> as they're moving in time with their  
partners?

Philemon as well in *Brothers* (fr. 3, quoted below) describes, among other things, how Solon,<sup>140</sup> motivated by the energy of the young men, was the first person to buy women and put them in brothels; Nicander of Colophon offers similar information in Book III of the *History of Colophon* (*FGrH* 271 F 9), saying that Solon established the first temple of Aphrodite Pandêmos<sup>141</sup> by using the money brought in by the women who worked in<sup>142</sup> the brothels. But Philemon (fr. 3) puts it as follows:

You invented something everyone appreciates, Solon!  
Because they say you were the first person to see this,  
something  
uniquely good for average people and salutary, by  
Zeus—  
and I'm the right person to be saying this, Solon—  
when you saw that the city was full of young men,  
who had urges that couldn't be controlled  
and were making the wrong kind of mistakes;  
and you bought women, set them up in various  
places,  
and got them ready and gave everyone access to  
them.  
They stand there naked, so you can't be fooled. Look  
at everything!

<sup>141</sup> "Belonging to All the People" *vel sim.*

<sup>142</sup> Literally "who stood in front of."

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τῶν οὖν μεγαλομίσθων ἑταιρῶν ἀποτρέπω σε, γραμματικώτατε, διότι

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔστιν ἀυλοῦσας ἰδεῖν  
 ἀλλητριίδας πάσας Ἀπόλλωνος νόμον,  
 < . . . > Διὸς νόμον·  
 αὐταὶ δὲ μόνον ἀυλοῦσιν Ἰέρακος νόμον,

Ἐπικράτης φησὶν ἐν Ἀντιλαΐδι, ἐν ᾧ δράματι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου Λαΐδος τάδε λέγει·

αὐτὴ δὲ Λαῖς ἀργός ἐστι καὶ πότις,  
 τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ὀρώσα πίνειν κἀσθίειν  
 μόνον· πεπουθέναι δὲ ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ |  
 c τοῖς ἀετοῖς. οὗτοι γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν νέοι  
 ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πρόβατ' ἐσθίουσι καὶ λαγῶς  
 μετέωρ' ἀναρπάζοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος·  
 ὅταν δὲ γηράσκωσιν ἤδη, τότε < . . . >  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς νεὸς ἴζουσι πεινῶντες κακῶς·  
 κᾶπειτα τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζεται τέρας.  
 καὶ Λαῖς ὀρθῶς <νῦν> νομίζοιτ' ἂν τέρας.  
 αὐτὴ γὰρ οὖν ὀπότ' ἦν νεοττὸς καὶ νέα,  
 ὑπὸ τῶν στατήρων ἦν ἀπηγγιωμένη,  
 εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θάττον ἄν. |  
 d ἐπεὶ δὲ δόλιχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει  
 τὰς ἀρμονίας τε διαχαλᾶ τοῦ σώματος,

147 Literally “the hawk’s.”

148 A Persian satrap in Asia Minor from the late 410s BCE until around 390, when he returned to Susa and married one of the Great King’s daughters; he appears to have died around 370.

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I therefore advise you, my distinguished grammarian, to  
stay away from high-priced prostitutes, since

You can see all the other  
pipe-girls playing Apollo's tune,  
. . . (or) Zeus' tune.

But the only thing *these* women play is the  
predator's<sup>147</sup> tune,

as Epicrates says in *Antilai's* (fr. 2). He also says the following  
in the same play about the notorious Laïs (fr. 3):

Laïs herself's a lazy drunk,  
who's only interested in eating and drinking  
every day. I think she's in the same situation  
as eagles. When they're young, they  
eat sheep and goats and hares they catch in the  
mountains,  
snatching them up into the air, they're so strong.  
But when they eventually grow old, at that point  
they perch on top of the temples, ravenously hungry;  
and then this is considered a marvel.

Laïs as well would be properly considered a marvel  
nowadays;

because when she was a young nestling,  
she was driven wild by the largest coins,  
and you would've got an audience with  
Pharnabazus<sup>148</sup> sooner than with her.

But now that she's running the long-distance race in  
years  
and is losing her figure,

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ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾶόν ἐστιν ἢ πτύσαι·  
 ἐξέρχεται τε πανταχόσ' ἤδη πιομένη,  
 δέχεται δὲ καὶ στατήρα καὶ τριώβολον,  
 προσίεται δὲ καὶ γέροντα καὶ νέον·  
 οὕτω δὲ τιθασὸς γέγονεν ὥστ', ὧ φίλτατε,  
 τὰργύριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἤδη λαμβάνει.

μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Λαΐδος καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Γε-  
 ροντομανία καὶ ἄλλας ἐταίρας αὐτῇ συγκαταλέγει |  
 e διὰ τούτων·

(A.) τὴν ἐκ Κορίνθου Λαΐδ' οἶσθα; (B.) πῶς γὰρ  
 οὐ;

τὴν ἡμετέριον. (A.) ἦν ἐκείνη τις φίλη  
 Ἄνθεια. (B.) καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέτερον ἦν παίγνιον.  
 (A.) νῆ τὸν Δί' ἦνθει τότε Λαγίσκη † ἦν δὲ τότε  
 καὶ Θεολύτη μάλ' εὐπρόσωπος καὶ καλή,  
 ὑπέφαινε' ἐσομένη δ' Ὀκιμον λαμπρὰ πάνυ.

ταῦτά σοι παραινεῖν ἔχω, ἐταῖρε Μυρτίλε. καὶ κατὰ  
 τὴν Φιλεταίου Κυνηγίδα, |

f παῦσαι γέρων ὧν τοὺς τρόπους. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἐστιν ἡδιστον<sup>25</sup> ἀποθανεῖν βινούνηθ' ἄμα,  
 ὥσπερ λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν Φορμίσιον;

<sup>25</sup> Thus Athenaeus. But as Toup (followed by Kassel–Austin) saw, Philetaerus presumably wrote ἡδιστόν ἐστιν (del. οὐκ).

149 PAA 131297.

150 PAA 600533.

151 PAA 508540.

152 Phormisius (PAA 962695) was an important Athenian poli-

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seeing her's easier than spitting.  
She goes out everywhere to drink now,  
and accepts the largest coin or the smallest one;  
and she has sex with anyone of any age.  
She's grown so tame, my dear friend, that  
she now takes money from a man's hand.

Anaxandrides also mentions Laïs in *The Madness of Old Men* (fr. 9), including her in a list along with other courtesans in the following passage:

(A.) Do you know Laïs from Corinth? (B.) Of course—  
that's where we're from. (A.) She had a friend named Anteia.<sup>149</sup> (B.) We also played around with her.  
(A.) By Zeus, Lagisce<sup>150</sup> was young and beautiful then, and Theolyte<sup>151</sup>  
† was really pretty and attractive then;  
and Ocimon looked like she was going to be absolutely gorgeous.

This is my advice for you, my friend Myrtilus. To quote Philetaerus' *The Huntress* (fr. 6):

You're an old man—stop acting like this! Don't you realize  
that the nicest way to die is *not* while you're fucking—  
which is how they say Phormisius<sup>152</sup> died?

tician in the first quarter of the 4th century BCE; cf. 6.229f. The “*not*” has been inserted (against the meter) in the second verse by Cynulcus (cf. 13.571b with n.), reversing the original sense of the passage, for which cf. Philetaer. fr. 7 (quoted at 7.280c–d); 9.4 (quoted at 13.587e).

ἢ ἡδιστόν ἐστί σοι, ὡς ἐν Μαραθωνίοις φησὶ Τιμοκλῆς,

571 ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ μετὰ κορίσκης ἢ μετὰ  
 χαμαιτύπης τὴν νύκτα κοιμᾶσθαι. βαβαί,  
 ἢ στιφρότης, τὸ χρώμα, πνεῦμα, δαίμονες.  
 τὸ μὴ σφόδρ' εἶναι πάνθ' ἔτοιμα, δεῖν δέ τι ||  
 ἀγωνιᾶσαι καὶ ῥαπισθῆναί τε καὶ  
 πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἀπαλαῖσι χερσίν· ἡδύ γε  
 νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον.

Ἔτι πολλὰ τοῦ Κυνούλκου θέλοντος λέγειν καὶ  
 τοῦλπιανοῦ ἐπιραπίσαι βουληθέντος αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν  
 τοῦ Μυρτίλου, φθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος (διήχθρευεν γὰρ  
 τῷ Σύρω) ἔφη·

οὐχ ὧδ' ἐμόγησαν  
 ἐλπίδες ὥστ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχίην καλέσαι,

φησὶν ὁ Καλλίμαχος. οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκεις ἡμεῖς ἀμύ-  
 νασθαι, ὦ Κύνουлке;

b ὡς σκαιὸς εἶ κᾶγροικος αἰσχροεπῶν < . . . >  
 ἐπαρίστερ' ἐν τῷ | στόματι τὴν γλῶσσαν φορεῖς,  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἐφίππου Φιλύραν. δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ἐκείνων  
 εἰς εἶναι

οὓς ἐδίδαξαν ἀριστερὰ γράμματα Μοῦσαι,

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153 Ulpian. 154 Literally "left-handed", as again in the  
 adespotia parodic fragment below.

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Or is what you like best, as Timocles puts it in *Men from Marathon* (fr. 24):

What an enormous difference between spending the  
night  
with a free girl and with a prostitute! Damn!  
The firmness of her flesh! Her color, and the smell of  
her breath! Ye gods!  
The fact that everything's not too ready for you, and  
you have  
to wrestle a little, and get slapped and  
punched by her soft hands. That's nice,  
by Zeus the greatest!

Although Cynulcus still had a great deal he wanted to say, and Ulpian was eager to attack him in defense of Myrtilus, Myrtilus—who despised the Syrian<sup>153</sup>—began speaking first:

My situation is not so  
desperate that I have to call on enemies for  
assistance,

as Callimachus (fr. 477 Pfeiffer) says. Do you consider me incapable of defending myself, Cynulcus?

What a clumsy, unsophisticated foul-mouth you are!  
The tongue in your mouth gets everything  
backward,<sup>154</sup>

to quote Ehippus' *Philyra* (fr. 23). You appear to me to be one of those people

whom the Muses taught to write backward,



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ὥς τις ἔφη τῶν παρωδῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες σύσσιτοι, οὐ κατὰ τὰς Μεταγένους Αὔρας ἢ τὸν Ἄρισταγόρου Μαρμάκυθον

ὑμῖν ὀρχηστρίδας εἶπον ἑταίρας  
 ὠραίας πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐχ<sup>26</sup> ὑμῖν ἀγορεύω  
 ἄρτι χνοαζούσας ἀλλητρίδας, αἶ τε τάχιστα  
 ἀνδρῶν φορητῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν. |

- c ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντως ἑταιρῶν τὸν λόγον πεποιήμαι, τουτέστιν τῶν φιλίαν ἄδολον συντηρεῖν δυναμένων, ἃς ὁ Κύνουλκος τολμᾷ λαιδορεῖν, <τὰς><sup>27</sup> μόνας τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι προσηγορευμένας ἀπὸ<sup>28</sup> τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλουμένης Ἑταίρας τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. περὶ ἧς φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θεῶν οὕτως· Ἑταίραν δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας συνάγουσαν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν φίλας. καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ
- d αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες | ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ αἱ παρθέναι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἑταίρας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ·

τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις  
 ταῖς ἔμαις † τέρπνα † κάλως ἀείσω.

<sup>26</sup> νῦν δ' οὐχ A: νῦν δ' αὐθ' Bergk

<sup>27</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>28</sup> ἢ ἀπὸ A: ἢ del. Kaibel

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<sup>155</sup> Athenaeus cites the play as Metagenes' *The Bonehead or Breezes* at 8.355a, and as Metagenes' *Breezes* at 9.385b. Lexico-

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as one of the parodists (adesp. parod. fr. 6 Olson–Sens) put it. Because I, my fellow banqueters, did not, to quote Metagenes' *Breezes* (fr. 4) or Aristagoras' *The Bonehead*,<sup>155</sup>

discuss pretty young dancing-girl prostitutes  
with you previously. Nor<sup>156</sup> do I now I proclaim to  
you  
pipe-girls just getting a bit of pussy-hair, who quickly  
weaken the knees of merchant-sailors—for a price.

What I have described are instead actual courtesans, which is to say, women capable of maintaining a friendship not based on trickery, but whom Cynulcus dares to insult, even though they are the only women addressed as “friendly,” a name they get from the Aphrodite known in Athens as *Hetaira* (“the Courtesan”).<sup>157</sup> Apollodorus of Athens in his *On the Gods* (FGrH 244 F 112) says the following about her: Aphrodite *Hetaira*, who brings together male and female companions (*hetairai*), that is to say female friends (*philai*). Even today, at any rate, free women and girls refer to their friends and associates as *hetairai*, for example Sappho (fr. 160):

I will now sing these  
† pleasant † songs beautifully for my *etairai*.

graphical sources cite several words from Aristagoras' *The Bonehead* (Aristag. fr. 1–2; 5), but nothing else is known of him, and Meineke argued that his play must have been a revised version of Metagenes'.

<sup>156</sup> The negative has once again (cf. 13.570f) been added to the text by Cynulcus.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. 13.559a.

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Furthermore (Sapph. fr. 142):

Lato and Nioba were very close *etairai*.

They also refer to women who work for pay as *hetairai*, and to being paid for sex as *hetairein* (“to be a *hetaira*, a courtesan”), no longer giving the word its true sense, but using it as a euphemism. Thus Menander in *The Deposit* (fr. 287) distinguishes male companions (*hetairoi*) from courtesans (*hetairai*), saying:

Because you’ve done something *hetairoi* don’t . . .  
. . . ; the fact that the words are spelled the same  
doesn’t make the term particularly attractive.

Ephippus in *Merchandise* (fr. 6)<sup>158</sup> says the following about courtesans:

Then, if one of us happens to be unhappy  
when he goes into her house, she’s sweet and  
flattering.  
She doesn’t kiss him with her lips squeezed together,  
as if he was an enemy; instead, she opens her mouth  
wide  
just like baby swallows do † she who you † and coaxes  
him and  
makes him cheerful (*hilaros*), and in a flash she  
makes whatever’s  
upsetting him disappear, and puts him in a good  
mood (*hileôs*).

Eubulus in *Campylion* (fr. 41) introduces a courtesan who has nice manners, and says:

What nice manners she had at dinner—

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572 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι  
 τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν ||  
 ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχροῦς, ἀλλ' ἐκάστου μικρὸν ἂν  
 ἀπεγεύεθ' ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία.

Ἀντιφάνης Ἰδρία·

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω  
 ἐν γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς  
 ἰδὼν ἐταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,  
 ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,  
 ἦθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,  
 ὄντως ἐταίρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοῦνομα  
 βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὃν καλόν. |

b Ἀναξίλας Νεοττίδι·

(A.) εἴαν δέ τις μέτρια † καὶ λέγουσα  
 τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῆ πρὸς χάριν,  
 ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρείας ἐταίρα τοῦνομα  
 προσηγορεύθη. καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις  
 πόρνης, ἐταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις  
 ἐληλυθὼς ἄρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἔστι γοῦν  
 ἀπλή τις. (B.) ἀστεία μὲν οὔν, νῆ τὸν Δία.

ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος τοιοῦτος οἶον  
 Ἄλεξις ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἰπνω παράγει. |

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- c     διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πόρνος οὗτος οὐδὲ τῶν πράσων  
       ἐκάστοτ' ἐπεδείπνει μεθ' ἡμῶν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν,  
       ἵνα μὴ τι λυπήσειε τὸν ἔραστήν φιλῶν.

καλῶς δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἐφιππος ἐν Σαπφοῦ  
 φησιν·

ὄταν γὰρ ὦν νέος  
 ἀλλότριον † εἰσελθὼν † ὄψον ἐσθίειν μάθη  
 ἀσύμβολόν τε χεῖρα προσβάλη βορᾶ,  
 διδόναι νόμιζ' αὐτὸν σὺ τῆς νυκτὸς λόγον.

- τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκεν καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἰ  
 d Τιμάρχου. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρῶν καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἐν  
 Κυνηγίδι τάδε φησίν·

οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἐταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

- οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν τιν' Ἐταιρίδεια ἀγομένην ἐν  
 Μαγνησίᾳ οὐ διὰ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν,  
 ἧς μνημονεῦει Ἠγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι γράφων  
 ὧδε· τὴν τῶν Ἐταιριδείων ἑορτὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνη-  
 e αγωγόντα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Ἐταιρείῳ Διὶ θύσαι καὶ  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἐταιρίδεια προσαγορεύσαι. θύουσι δὲ καὶ  
 οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἐταιρίδεια. Πόρνης δὲ

<sup>160</sup> Sc. by supplying sexual services to his benefactor.

<sup>161</sup> Identical verses (preceded by one other) are quoted also at 13.559a, but are assigned there to *The Whore-Monger*.

Ἄφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστι παρὰ Ἀβυδηνοῖς, ὡς φησι Πάμφιλος· κατεχομένης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως δουλεία τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτε θύσαντας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης ἐν τοῖς Μυθικοῖς, καὶ μεθυσθέντας ἑταίρας πλείονας προσλαβεῖν, ὧν μίαν κατακοιμηθέντας αὐτοὺς ἰδοῦσαν ἀνελομένην τὰς κλείς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος f ὑπερβᾶσαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς Ἀβυδηνοῖς. | τοὺς δ' αὐτίκα μεθ' ὄπλων ἀφικομένους ἀνελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φύλακας, κρατήσαντας δὲ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ γενομένους ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας χαριστήρια τῇ πόρνη ἀποδιδόντας Ἄφροδίτης Πόρνης ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁρων Σαμιακῶν, τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἄφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἐν Ἑλει, Ἀττικάι, φησίν, ἑταῖραι ἰδρύσαντο αἰ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν 573 Σάμον, ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας. || Εὐάλκης δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσιακοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ φησὶν ἱερὰ ἰδρῦσθαι Ἑταῖρα Ἄφροδίτη. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν, Γύγης, φησίν, ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον περὶ ζῶσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην περιβόητος γέγονεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνη πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτησιάσης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυδοὺς πάντας ἔχωσε μὲν τὸ νῦν<sup>29</sup> ἔτι καλούμενον τῆς ἑταίρας μνήμα, εἰς ὕψος ἄρας ὥστε περιοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ

<sup>29</sup> μὲν Λυδίας τὸ νῦν A: τὸ νῦν tantum CE: Λυδίας del. Kaibel

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Hetairideia. According to Pamphilus (fr. XXIX Schmidt), there is a temple of Aphrodite Pornê (“the Whore”) in Abydos. For during the period when the city was enslaved, the members of the garrison stationed in it made a sacrifice at one point, according to Neanthes in his *Legends* (FGrH 84 F 9), and after they got drunk, they got hold of a large number of prostitutes. One of the women saw that the soldiers had fallen asleep, and she stole the keys; scaled the wall; and described the situation to the inhabitants of the city. They immediately came with weapons and killed the guards, and after they captured the walls and recovered their freedom, they expressed their thanks to the whore by establishing a temple of Aphrodite Pornê. Alexis of Samos says in Book II of the *Annals of Samos* (FGrH 539 F 1): (The cult of) Samian Aphrodite, referred to by some authorities as Aphrodite in the Reeds, but by others as Aphrodite in the Marsh, was established by the Athenian prostitutes who accompanied Pericles when he was besieging Samos,<sup>162</sup> after they made a substantial amount of money as a result of their youth and beauty. Eualces in his *History of Ephesus* (FGrH 418 F 2) says that a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite Hetaira was also established in Ephesus. Clearchus says in Book I of his *Erotica* (fr. 29 Wehrli): Gyges, the king of Lydia, was not only outspokenly devoted to his lover while she was alive, to the extent that he turned himself and his entire realm over to her, but also after she died, he assembled all the Lydians from the countryside and heaped up what is even today referred to as the Courtesan’s Tomb. He made it high enough that

<sup>162</sup> In 439 BCE; the implication is that they were camp-followers, not official members of the expedition.

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when he traveled around the territory on this side of Mt. Tmolus, he could see the tomb, no matter where he happened to be, and it would be visible to all the inhabitants of Lydia. The orator Demosthenes says in his speech *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.122)—if it is genuine<sup>163</sup>—which Apollodorus<sup>164</sup> delivered: We have courtesans for pleasure; concubines to take care of a concubine's daily duties;<sup>165</sup> and wives to produce legitimate children for us and to keep a careful watch on everything inside our house. But I will tell you an Ionian story, Cynulcus, stretching it out, as Aeschylus (fr. 313a) puts it in . . . which involves prostitutes; and I will take as my starting point the lovely city of Corinth, since you criticized me for working as a sophist there.<sup>166</sup> It is an ancient custom in Corinth, as Chamaeleon of Heracleia records in his *On Pindar* (fr. 31 Wehrli), that whenever the city offers prayers to Aphrodite about important matters, as many prostitutes as possible are involved in the petition, and that they pray to the goddess and are present during the rites that follow. So when the Persian mounted his expedition against Greece,<sup>167</sup> according to both Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 285) and Timaeus in Book VII (*FGrH* 566 F 10), the Corinthian prostitutes went to Aphrodite's temple and prayed for her to save the Greeks. This is why, after the Corinthians dedicated a votive plaque (still preserved today) to the goddess and listed individually the prostitutes who made the petition at that

<sup>163</sup> Ancient and modern authorities generally agree that the speech is not, in fact, by Demosthenes. <sup>164</sup> PAA 142545.

<sup>165</sup> The traditional text of the speech has "our day-to-day physical needs". <sup>166</sup> See 13.567c with n.

<sup>167</sup> In 480 BCE.



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time and were present afterward,<sup>168</sup> Simonides composed the following epigram ('Simon.' *FGE* 732–5):<sup>169</sup>

These women stood here to pray to the divine Cypris  
on behalf of the Greeks and their fair-fighting  
fellow-citizens.

For bright Aphrodite had no intention of betraying  
the

Greeks' acropolis to the bow-bearing Persians:

Private citizens as well vow to the goddess that if they get what they request, they will bring the prostitutes to worship her. Since there was a custom of this sort involving the goddess, when Xenophon of Corinth<sup>170</sup> set off for Olympia for the competition, he vowed that he personally would bring prostitutes to worship Aphrodite if he took the prize. And Pindar (*O.* 13.1–2) first wrote a panegyric hymn in his honor, which begins:

Praising a house that  
has won three Olympic victories,

and later he also composed the song performed at the sacrifice. At the very beginning of this piece he refers to the prostitutes who joined Xenophon, who was present there making his sacrifice to Aphrodite. This is why he said (*Pi.* fr. 122.17–20):

Lady of Cyprus, here to your sacred grove  
Xenophon, cheered by the prayers that were  
fulfilled, brought a 100-bodied  
band of kept women.

<sup>170</sup> Moretti #249–50; victorious in the stade-race and the pentathlon in 464 BCE.

ATHENAEUS

ἤρξατο δ' οὕτως τοῦ μέλους·

πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι  
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ,  
αἶ τε τὰς χλωρᾶς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη  
θυμιᾶτε, πολλάκι ματέρ' Ἐρώτων  
οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι  
νόηματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν,  
ὕμῖν ἄνευθ' ἐπαγορίας ἔπορευ,  
ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς <έν> εὐναῖς  
μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι.  
σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ πᾶν καλόν.

ἀρξάμενος δ' οὕτως ἐξῆς φησιν·

- b ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, | τί με λέξοντι Ἴσθμοῦ  
δεσπότηι τοιάνδε μελίφρονος ἀρχὰν  
εὐρόμενον σκολίου  
ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξίν.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας διαλεγόμενος ἠγωνία  
ποιόν τι φανήσεται τοῖς Κορινθίοις τὸ πρᾶγμα. πι-  
στεύων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν εὐθέως·

διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρᾷ βασάνῳ.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίσια ἴδια ἄγουσιν αὐτόθι αἱ ἑταῖραι,  
Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλούσῃ φησίν·

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He began his song as follows (Pi. fr. 122.1–9):

Young women who welcome many strangers,  
    attendants  
of Persuasion in wealthy Corinth,  
you who burn auburn drops of fresh  
frankincense, and often soar in your thoughts  
    to Aphrodite, the heavenly  
mother of the Love-gods—  
she granted you the right, children,  
to pick without reproach in your  
lovely beds the fruit of tender, youthful beauty.  
Everything forced upon us is good.

After beginning this way, he says immediately afterward (Pi. fr. 122.10–15):

But I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus  
will say about me for discovering such a beginning  
    for my lovely song,  
making common cause with women shared in  
    common.

For it is obvious that he felt some anxiety, when he addressed the prostitutes, about how the situation would look to the Corinthians. But he apparently felt confident enough to write immediately after this (Pi. fr. 122.16):

We reveal gold by using a pure touchstone.

Alexis in *Philousa*<sup>171</sup> (fr. 255) asserts that the prostitutes in Corinth celebrate a private festival of Aphrodite:

<sup>171</sup> Or perhaps *The Girl Who Was Kissing Someone*.

ATHENAEUS

Ἀφροδίσι ἤγε ταῖς ἐταίραις ἢ πόλις· |

c ἔτερα δὲ χωρὶς ἐστὶ ταῖς ἐλευθέραις.

ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις δὲ κωμάζειν ἔθος

ἔστιν † νόμος τε τὰς ἐταίρας ἐνθάδε μεθ' ἡμῶν. †

ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀναθημάτων, εἰκῶν ἐστὶ τῆς διαβοήτου ἐταίρας Κοττίνας, ἣν φησιν καὶ βούν ἀναθεῖναι χαλκῆν, γράφων οὕτως· καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἐταίρας εἰκόνιον, ἧς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οἰκημά τι

d λέγεται | καὶ νῦν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Κολώνης, ἵνα τὸ Διονύσιόν ἐστιν, ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀνάθημα δ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου βοίδιον τι χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ὁ καλός, ἐφ' οὗ τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἔφη·

Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν ἀβρόν, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί,

ὄν ἢ Λακεδαίμων μοιχὸν ἐπιθυμῆ λαβεῖν,

e ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄγιδος ἀγαπώμενος γυναικὸς ἐπὶ | τὰς τῶν ἐταιρίδων θύρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἀπολιπὼν τὰς Λακαίνας καὶ τὰς Ἀττικάς. Μεδοντίδος γοῦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐρασθεῖς ἔστερξε καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ἑλλάσπον-

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172 Poralla #452; otherwise unknown.

173 Athena.

174 Alcibiades son of Cleinias (PAA 121625), the late 5th-century BCE Athenian politician and libertine, who spent some of the late Peloponnesian War years in exile in Sparta.

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The city was celebrating a festival of Aphrodite for  
the prostitutes;  
there's a separate one for the free women.  
It's common practice on those days to have wild  
parties † and a law the prostitutes here with us. †

In Sparta, according to the travel-writer Polemon in his *On the Dedications in Sparta* (fr. 18 Preller), there is a portrait-statue of the notorious courtesan Cottina<sup>172</sup> who, he claims, dedicated a bronze bull. He writes as follows: Also the small portrait-statue of the courtesan Cottina, who was so famous that a well-known brothel located very close to Colone, where the sanctuary of Dionysus is, and with which many inhabitants of the city are familiar, bears her name even today. Her dedication is located just beyond the statue of the goddess of the Bronze House,<sup>173</sup> and consists of a miniature bronze bull and the small portrait-statue mentioned above. The handsome Alcibiades,<sup>174</sup> about whom one of the comic poets said (adesp. com. fr. 123):

The dainty Alcibiades, O earth and gods,  
with whom Sparta wants to have an affair,

used to neglect the Spartan and Athenian citizen-women and organize drunken processions to prostitutes' doors—despite the fact that Agis' wife loved him.<sup>175</sup> He fell in love with Medontis of Abydus, for example, on the basis of her reputation, and sailed off to the Hellespont with

<sup>175</sup> The Agis in question is Agis II (Poralla #26; reigned 427/6–400 BCE); his wife was named Timaea (Poralla #695). Cf. 12.535b.

τον σὺν Ἀξιόχῳ, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας ἐραστής, ὡς φησιν Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἐκοινωνήσεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ δύο ἑταίρας περιήγετο αἰεὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Δαμασάνδραν τὴν Λαΐδος τῆς νεωτέρας μητέρα καὶ Θεοδότην· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ  
 f ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη ἐν Μελίσσῃ κώμῃ | τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου. εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν Μελίσσῃ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μνήμα ἐκ Συννάδων εἰς Μητρόπολιν ἀφικνούμενοι· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατ' ἔτος θύεται βούς, διακελευσαμένου τούτου τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως· ὃς καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 575 μνήματι Παρίου λίθου εἰκόνα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. || οὐ χρῆ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τινες ἠράσθησάν τινων, ὅποτε Χάρης ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον φησιν ὀνειράτι θεασαμένους τινὰς οὓς μὴ πρότερον εἶδον ἐρασθῆναι αὐτῶν. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· Ἰστιάσπη νεώτερος ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ζαριάδρης, περὶ ᾧ λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅτι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀδώνιδος ἐγεννήθησαν. ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἰστιάσπης Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας, ὁ  
 b δὲ Ζαριάδρης τῆς ὑπεράνω Κασπίων | πυλῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ταναΐδος. τῶν δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ταναΐδος Ὀμάρτη βασιλεῖ Μαραθῶν θυγάτηρ ἦν ὄνομα Ὀδάτις· περὶ ἧς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις γέγραπται ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδρην ἐρασθείη, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο

176 PAA 139755; he was in fact Alcibiades' uncle.

177 Quoted at 12.534f-5a.

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Axiochus,<sup>176</sup> who was infatuated with Alcibiades' youthful beauty, according to the orator Lysias in the speech directed against him (fr. 8 Carey),<sup>177</sup> and shared her with him. Alcibiades also routinely took two other courtesans, Damasandra (the mother of the younger Laïs) and Theodote, with him on his travels;<sup>178</sup> Theodote took care of his body after a plot by Pharnabazus led to his death in the Phrygian village of Melisse.<sup>179</sup> I myself saw Alcibiades' grave in Melisse as I was on my way from Synnada to Metropolis; a bull is sacrificed on it every year on the order of the universally excellent emperor Hadrian, who also had a statue of Alcibiades made of Parian marble erected beside the grave. There is no reason to be surprised if people occasionally fall in love with others on the basis of their reputation alone, given that Chares of Mitylene in Book X of his *History involving Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 5) claims that some individuals fall in love with people they have never seen after getting a glimpse of them in a dream. He writes as follows: Hystaspes had a younger brother named Zariadres; according to the locals, their parents were Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes controlled Media and the lower country, whereas Zariadres was master of the territory beyond the Caspian Gates as far as the Tanaïs River. Homartes, the king of the Marathoi on the other side of the Tanaïs, had a daughter named Odatis; the histories record that she saw Zariadres in her sleep and fell in love with

<sup>176</sup> Cf. 12.535b–c (apparently drawn from the same source, although the woman called Damasandra here is there referred to as Timandra).

<sup>179</sup> In 404/3 BCE. Pharnabazus (see 13.570c n.) was the local Persian satrap, who had Alcibiades killed at the request of the Spartan general Lysander. Cf. 12.535e.

κάκείνω πάθος συμπεσεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν. διετέλουν οὖν  
 ἀλλήλων ἐπιθυμοῦντες διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον φαντα-  
 σίαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ὀδάτις καλλίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 γυναικῶν, καὶ ὁ Ζαριάδρης δὲ ἦν καλός. πέμποντος  
 οὖν τοῦ Ζαριάδρου πρὸς τὸν Ὀμάρτην | καὶ φιλο-  
 τιμουμένου γῆμαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ συνετίθετο ὁ  
 Ὀμάρτης διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρρένων παίδων ἔρημος· ἤθελεν  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν δοῦναι ἐνὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκείων. καὶ μετ'  
 οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Ὀμάρτης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
 βασιλείας δυνάστας καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐποι-  
 εῖτο τοὺς γάμους, οὐ προειπὼν ὅτῳ μέλλοι διδόναι τὴν  
 θυγατέρα. ἀκμαζούσης οὖν τῆς μέθης εἰσκαλέσας τὴν  
 Ὀδάτιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εἶπεν ἀκουόντων  
 τῶν συνδείπνων, “ἡμεῖς, ὦ θύγατερ Ὀδάτι, νῦν ποι-  
 ούμεθα | τοὺς σοὺς γάμους. περιβλέψασα οὖν καὶ  
 θεωρήσασα πάντας λαβοῦσα χρυσοῦν φιάλην καὶ  
 πληρώσασα δὸς ᾧ θέλεις γαμηθῆναι· τούτου γὰρ  
 κεκλήση γυνή.” κάκείνη περιβλέψασα πάντας ἀπήει  
 δακρύνουσα, ποθοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδρην ἰδεῖν· ἐπεστάλκει  
 γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ γάμοι συντελεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ  
 στρατοπεδεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ Τανάιδος καὶ διαλαθὼν τὴν  
 στρατοπεδείαν διέβη μετὰ μόνου τοῦ ἄρματηλάτου  
 καὶ νυκτὸς ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διήλθεν διὰ γῆς  
 πολλῆς, διώξας περὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους | σταδίους.  
 πλησίον δὲ τῆς κώμης γενόμενος ἐν ἧ τὸς γάμους  
 συνετέλουν καὶ καταλιπὼν ἔν τινι τόπῳ αὐτῷ ἄρματι  
 τὸν ἄρματηλάτην προῆγεν ἐνδεδυκῶς στολήν Σκυθι-  
 κήν. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν Ὀδάτιν



## BOOK XIII

him, and the same happened to him in regard to her. As a result, they longed constantly for one another on the basis of what they had seen while asleep. Odatis was the most beautiful woman in Asia, and Zariadres was handsome. Zariadres accordingly sent a message to Homartes and begged to marry the girl, but Homartes refused, on the ground that he had no sons, since he wanted to give her to one of his close relatives. Shortly thereafter, Homartes assembled his kingdom's nobles, along with his friends and relatives, and celebrated a wedding feast, although without announcing in advance who he intended to give his daughter to. When everyone was very drunk, therefore, Odatis' father called her into the party and said, with all the guests listening: "My daughter Odatis, we are now celebrating your wedding. So look around; and after you have considered everyone, take a gold bowl, fill it, and give it to the man you wish to marry. For he will be your husband." But after she looked around at them all, she left in tears, since she wanted to see Zariadres; because she had written to tell him that her wedding was about to be celebrated. He was camped with his army on the banks of the Tanais, but crossed it without his troops noticing, accompanied only by his charioteer. Setting out by night on his chariot, he covered a large amount of territory, driving about 800 stades.<sup>180</sup> When he was near the village where the wedding was being celebrated, he left the charioteer with the chariot somewhere and went ahead, dressed in Scythian clothing. When he got to the courtyard and saw Odatis standing

<sup>180</sup> About 100 miles.

ἔστηκυῖαν πρὸ τοῦ κυλικείου καὶ δακρύουσαν κιν-  
 νᾶσαν τε βραδέως τὴν φιάλην εἶπεν πλησίον στὰς  
 παρ' αὐτήν· “ὦ Ὀδάτι, πάρειμι δὴ σοι καθάπερ ἠξίω-  
 σας, ἐγὼ Ζαριάδρης.” ἡ δὲ κατανοήσασα ξένον ἄνδρα  
 καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἑωραμένῳ |  
 f περιχαρῆς γενομένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν φιάλην· καὶ ὅς  
 ἀρπάσας αὐτὴν ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ ἔφυγεν  
 ἔχων τὴν Ὀδάτιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι  
 συνειδυῖαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατεσιώπησαν καὶ κελεύοντος  
 τοῦ πατρὸς λαλεῖν οὐκ ἔφασαν εἰδέναι ὅπου πεπόρευ-  
 ται. μνημονεύεται δὲ ὁ ἔρωσ οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις καὶ περισσῶς ἐστὶ ζηλω-  
 τός, καὶ τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον ζωγραφοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 καὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ιδιωτικαῖς οἰκίαις· καὶ  
 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν θυγατράσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν δυναστῶν  
 576 ὄνομα τίθενται Ὀδάτιν. || τὸ ὅμοιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι  
 καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν Πολιτείᾳ  
 γράφων οὕτως· Φωκαεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἐμπορία χρώμε-  
 νοι ἔκτισαν Μασσαλίαν. Εὐξενος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς Νάνω  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ (τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα) ἦν ξένος. οὗτος ὁ  
 Νάνος ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρὸς κατὰ τύχην  
 παραγενόμενον τὸν Εὐξενον παρακέκληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 θοίνην. ὁ δὲ γάμος ἐγίγνετο τόνδε <τὸν><sup>31</sup> τρόπον· ἔδει  
 μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσελθοῦσαν τὴν παιῖδα φιάλην κεκε-  
 ρασμένην ᾧ βούλοιο δοῦναι τῶν παρόντων μνηστή-  
 ρων· ᾧ δὲ δοίη, τοῦτον εἶναι νυμφίον. ἡ δὲ παῖς |  
 b εἰσελθοῦσα δίδωσιν εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλην

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in front of the cupboard, crying and slowly mixing wine in the bowl, he stood close beside her and said: "Odatis, I am here with you, just as you asked; I am Zariadres!" When she saw a handsome stranger who looked like the man she had seen in her sleep, she was overjoyed and offered him the bowl; and he grabbed her and took her off to his chariot, and ran away with Odatis. Although the slaves and the servant-women knew about the romance, they kept quiet about it and denied that they knew where the girl had gone, even after her father ordered them to speak. The barbarians who live in Asia tell this love-story, and it is extremely popular among them; they have pictures that depict the tale in their temples and their palaces, as well as in their private homes, and many nobles give their own daughters the name Odatis. Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Massaliotes* (fr. 560) claims that something similar happened (there). He writes as follows: The Phocaeans who inhabit Ionia were traders and founded Massalia. Euxenus of Phocaea was a guest-friend of King Nanos—which was actually his name.<sup>181</sup> Euxenus happened to be visiting when this Nanos was celebrating his daughter's wedding, and he was invited to the feast. The wedding was organized as follows: After the meal, the girl had to come in and offer a bowl full of wine mixed with water to whichever suitor there she wanted, and whoever she gave it to would be her bridegroom. When the girl entered the room, she gave the bowl, either by accident or for some other reason, to

<sup>181</sup> *Nanos* normally means "dwarf", hence the need for the note.

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<sup>31</sup> add. Musurus

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Euxenus; her name was Petta. After this happened, and her father decided that the gift had been made in accord with the god's will, so that he ought to have her, Euxenus married and set up housekeeping with her, although he changed her name to Aristoxene.<sup>182</sup> There is still a family in Massalia today descended from her and known as the Protiadae; because Protis was the son of Euxenus and Aristoxene.

And did not Themistocles,<sup>183</sup> according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 4a),<sup>184</sup> yoke a team of prostitutes to a chariot and drive it into the city when the marketplace was at its most crowded? The women in question were Lamia, Scione, Satyra, and Nannion.<sup>185</sup> And was not Themistocles himself the child of a courtesan named Abrotonon?<sup>186</sup> As Amphicrates records in his treatise *On Distinguished Men* (fr. 1, *FHG* iv.300):

Abrotonon, a Thracian woman by birth; but they say  
that she gave birth  
to Themistocles, who was a great man in Greece.  
(anon. *FGE* 1158–9)<sup>187</sup>

Neanthes of Cyzicus in Books III and IV of his *History of Greece* (*FGrH* 84 F 2a), on the other hand, claims that Themistocles was the son of Euterpe.<sup>188</sup> And did not the Cyrus who mounted an expedition against his brother<sup>189</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Quoted also at Plu. *Them.* 1.1, but with a first-person singular verb in the second clause (“I say that I gave birth”).

<sup>188</sup> PAA 445835.

<sup>189</sup> Cyrus the Younger, who revolted from Artaxerxes II in 401 BCE and died at the Battle of Cunaxa. The reference to the two women who accompanied Cyrus comes from X. *An.* 1.10.2–3 (where the former is called a concubine, not a courtesan).

εταίραν οὔσαν τὴν Φωκαίδα τὴν σοφωτάτην <καὶ><sup>32</sup>  
 καλλίστην γενομένην εἶχε συστρατενομένην; ἦν Ζη-  
 νοφάνης φησὶ πρότερον Μιλτῶ καλουμένην Ἀσπα-  
 σίαν μετονομασθῆναι. συνηκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ  
 Μιλησία παλλακίς. ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ Θαΐδα  
 εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εταίραν; περὶ ἧς φησι  
 e Κλείταρχος ὡς ἰ αἰτίας γενομένης τοῦ ἐμπρησθῆναι  
 τὰ ἐν Περσεπόλει βασίλεια. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Θαῖς καὶ μετὰ  
 τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη τῷ  
 πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτῷ  
 τέκνον Λεοντίσκον<sup>33</sup> καὶ Λάγον, θυγατέρα δὲ Εἰρήνην,  
 ἣν ἔγημεν Εὐνοστος ὁ Σόλων τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασι-  
 λεύς. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, Φιλά-  
 δελφος δ' ἐπίκλην, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολε-  
 μαῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ἰπομνημάτων, πλείστας ἔσχεν  
 ἐρωμένας, Διδύμην μὲν μίαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν  
 f μάλ' εὐπρεπεστάτην τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἰ Βιλιστίχην, ἔτι δὲ  
 Ἀγαθόκλειαν καὶ Στρατονίκην, ἧς τὸ μέγα μνημεῖον  
 ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι θαλάσση, καὶ Μύρτιον  
 καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πλείστας, ἐπιρρεπέστερος ὢν πρὸς  
 ἀφροδίσια. Πολύβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ  
 τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Κλεινοῦς φησὶ τῆς οἰνοχοοῦσης αὐτῷ  
 εἰκόνας πολλὰς ἀνακείσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 μονοχίτωνας καὶ ῥυτὸν ἐχούσας ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. αἱ δὲ

<sup>32</sup> add. Casaubon

<sup>33</sup> Λεοντίσκον καὶ Λάγον ACE: καὶ Λάγον del. Berve

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have an extremely wise and beautiful Phocaeen courtesan who accompanied him on the campaign? Zenophanes reports that she was originally known as Milto, but changed her name to Aspasia. Cyrus' concubine from Miletus also accompanied him. And did not Alexander the Great have the Athenian courtesan Thaïs<sup>190</sup> with him? Cleitarchus (*FGrH* 137 F 11) claims that she was responsible for the palace in Persepolis being burned down. After Alexander's death, this same Thaïs married the first Ptolemy to become king of Egypt<sup>191</sup> and produced sons named Leontiscus and Lagus for him, as well as a daughter named Eirene, who married Eunostus, the king of Soli in Cyprus.<sup>192</sup> So too, according to Ptolemy Euergetes in Book III of his *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 4), the second king of Egypt, nicknamed Philadelphus,<sup>193</sup> had an enormous number of lovers, including Didume (who was a native woman and extremely good-looking) and Bilistiche,<sup>194</sup> as well as Agathocleia, Stratonice<sup>195</sup> (to whom the large tomb located by the Bay of Eleusis belonged), Myrtion, and many others, since he was extremely interested in sex. Polybius in Book XIV (11.2–5)<sup>196</sup> of his *History* claims that many statues of Cleino, who poured his wine for him, are set up throughout Alexandria, wearing nothing but tunics and holding drinking-horns in their hands. And are not the

<sup>190</sup> Berve i #359; PAA 500158.

<sup>191</sup> Ptolemy I Soter (367/6–282 BCE)

<sup>192</sup> c.307 BCE.

<sup>193</sup> Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

<sup>194</sup> Cf. 13.596e, where she is said to have been from Argos.

<sup>195</sup> PAA 838200.

<sup>196</sup> Polybius' comment about Cleino is cited also at 10.425f.

κάλλισται τῶν οἰκιῶν, φησίν, οὐ Μυρτίου καὶ Μνη-  
 σίδος καὶ Ποθεινῆς προσαγορεύονται; καίτοι Μνησις  
 μὲν ἦν αὐλητρίς καὶ Ποθεινή, Μύρτιον δὲ μία τῶν  
 ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ κοινῶν δεικτηριάδων. τοῦ δὲ Φι-  
 577 λοπάτορος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου οὐκ Ἀγαθόκλεια ἢ ἡ  
 ἑταίρα ἐκράτει, ἢ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψασα τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν; Εὐμαχος δὲ ὁ Νεαπολίτης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν  
 Περὶ Ἀντίβαν Ἱστοριῶν Ἱερώνυμόν φησι τὸν τυραν-  
 νήσαντα Συρακοσίων ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπὶ  
 οἰκῆματος προεστηκυῶν Πειθῶ ὄνομα καὶ ἀποδείξαι  
 βασιλίδα. Τιμόθεος δ' ὁ στρατηγῆσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπι-  
 φανῶς ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Θράττης τὸ γένος, σεμνῆς δ'  
 ἄλλως τοὺς τρόπους· μεταβάλλουσαι γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται  
 b εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμννομένων | εἰσὶ  
 βελτίους. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος καὶ σκωπτόμενός ποτε ὅτι  
 τοιαύτης εἶη μητρός, “καὶ χάριν γε αὐτῇ”, φησίν,  
 “οἶδα, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν Κόνωνός εἰμι υἱός.” Φιλέταιρον  
 δὲ τὸν Περγάμου καὶ τῆς Καινῆς ταύτης λεγομένης  
 βασιλεύσαντα χώρας Βόας αὐλητρίδος ἑταίρας τὸ  
 γένος ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας υἱόν φησι γενέσθαι Κα-  
 ρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ἱπομνήμασιν. Ἀριστοφῶν δ'  
 ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ τὸν νόμον εἰσενεγκῶν ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρ-

197 Mnesis is Stephanis #1729; Potheine is Stephanis #2076; and Myrtion is Stephanis #1761.

198 I.e. Ptolemy IV (reigned 221–205 BCE, when he was murdered in a palace coup).

199 Hieronymus was the son of Gelon II, and took power in 215 BCE.

200 Literally “one of the women who stand in front of a brothel”.

- χοντος, ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι, αὐτὸς  
 c ἀπεδείχθη | ὑπὸ Καλλιᾶδου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκ Χορη-  
 γίδος τῆς ἐταίρας παιδοποιησάμενος, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς  
 ἱστορεῖ Καρύστιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἑπομνημάτων. Δημή-  
 τριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητῆς οὐ δαιμονίως ἦρα Λαμίας τῆς  
 αὐλητρίδος, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε καὶ θυγατέρα Φίλαν; τὴν δὲ  
 Λάμιαν Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἐν Σικυῶνι  
 Ποικίλης Στοᾶς θυγατέρα μὲν εἶναι Κλεάνορος Ἀθη-  
 ναίου, κατασκευάσαι δὲ Σικυωνίοις τὴν προκειμένην  
 στοάν. ἦρα δὲ καὶ Λεαίνης καὶ αὐτῆς ἐταίρας Ἀττικῆς  
 d ὁ Δημήτριος | καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων. Μάχων δ' ὁ  
 κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Χρείαις φησὶν  
 οὕτως·

ὑπερβολῇ δὲ τῆς Λεαίνης σχῆμά τι  
 περαιομένης εὖ παρά τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ  
 εὐημερούσης, φασὶ καὶ τὴν † Λαμίαν  
 τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτὲ  
 ἐπαινεθῆναί θ'. ἡ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίθη, †  
 “πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κράτει.”

- e ἦν δὲ ἡ Λάμια σφόδρα εὐθικτος καὶ ἀστική | πρὸς τὰς

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<sup>204</sup> Callias' (PAA 553915) initial victory at the City Dionysia belongs to the mid-440s BCE (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2325.53), which makes it difficult to believe that he attacked Aristophon over 40 years later, while the comic poet Calliades (PAA 553000) belongs to the very end of the 4th century (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2325.166). The claim that Aristophon's mother was a courtesan is in any case merely typical comic slander. <sup>205</sup> PAA 176170.



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offered, much like Gnathaena, whom I will discuss later.<sup>210</sup> Macho (174–87 Gow) writes as follows, once again discussing Leaina:

At a drinking party once, King Demetrius  
was showing Lamia various different types of  
perfume.

(Lamia was a pipe-girl, and they say that Demetrius  
was very sweet on her and found her sexually  
exciting.)

When she claimed not to like any of them and was  
acting very

haughty toward the king, he signaled for a slave to  
bring him

some expensive spikenard perfume. He rubbed  
his penis with his hand, smeared the result on his  
fingers,

and said: "Smell *this*, Lamia, and  
you'll see how much better it is than the others!"

She laughed and said: "In my opinion, you poor  
bastard,

that one smells more disgusting than all the rest."

Demetrius responded: "But the fact is, by the gods,  
Lamia, that this one comes from royal nuts."

Ptolemy the son of Agesarchus in his *History involving Philopator* (FGrH 161 F 4) offers a list of royal mistresses and says: of the Philip who made Macedon a great power,<sup>211</sup> the dancing-girl Philinna,<sup>212</sup> who gave birth to the Arrhidaeus who became king after Alexander;<sup>213</sup> of Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the women mentioned

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Ἀντιγόνου δὲ Δημῶ, ἐξ ἧς Ἀλκυονέα γεννηθῆναι, Σελεύκου δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου Μύσταν καὶ Νῦσαν. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Δημῶ φησιν ἐρωμένην γενέσθαι τοῦ Δημη-  
 b τρίου. | ἢ ἐπιμανῆναι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀντίγονον καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι Ὀξύθεμιν ὡς καὶ πολλὰ συνεξαμαρ-  
 τάνοντα τῷ Δημητρίῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀπέκτεινε τὰς τῆς Δημοῦς θεραπαίνας στρεβλῶν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου τῆς Μανίας ὀνόματος ὁ Μάχων τάδε φησίν·

ἴσως δ' ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις εὐλόγως θ' ἅμα  
 τῶν νῦν ἀκροατῶν εἴ τις Ἀττικὴ γυνὴ  
 προσηγορεύετ' ἢ ἰνομίσθη Μανία,  
 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄνομα Φρυγιακὸν γυναικ' ἔχει |  
 c καὶ ταύθ' ἑταίραν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 † ἢ τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι † κωλύσαι πόλιν,  
 ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντές εἰς' ἐπηγορθωμένοι.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχον εὐθέως ἐκ παιδίου  
 αὐτῇ Μέλιττ' ἦν ὄνομα. τῷ μεγέθει μὲν <ἦν>  
 τῶν τότε γυναικῶν βραχὺ τι καταδεεστέρα,  
 φωνῇ δ' ὁμιλία τε κεχορηγημένη,

214 PAA 639735.

215 Plu. *Demetr.* 27.4 claims that Demo (otherwise unknown, like her child Alcyoneus) was the real name of the courtesan Mania; but he may well be confused.

216 Probably Seleucus II Callinicus (reigned 246–225 BCE).

217 Oxymythes (Billows #86) was closely associated with Demetrius Poliorcetes throughout his career (cf. 6.253a; 14.614e–f), but was executed by Antigonus Gonatas (confused here with

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- d πάνυ δ' εὐπρόσωπος οὔσα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ πολλοὺς ἐραστάς, καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους, | εἶχ', οἷς ὅπου περὶ <τῆς> γυναικός τις λόγος γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ προσεξειργάζετο αὐτὴ τὸ πλεῖον· ἠνίκα σκώψειε γάρ, ῥημάτιον εὐθὺ τοῦτο “μανίαν” ἀνεβόα, αὐτὴ θ' ὄτ' ἐπαινοίη τιν' ἢ ψέγοι πάλιν, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων προσέκειτο “μανία” τῶν λόγων. διὸ τῆς μανίας τὸ ῥῆμ' ἐπεκτείνας δοκεῖ καλέσαι τις αὐτὴν τῶν ἐραστῶν Μανίαν. |
- e μᾶλλον τὸ πάρεργον ἐπεκράτησ' ἢ τοῦνομα. ἐδόκει δὲ λιθιάν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἢ Μανία, Γνάθαινα δ' εἰς τὰ στρώμαθ' ὅτι προίετο, ἐνουθετήθη τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ Διφίλου. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἢ Γνάθαινα πρὸς τὴν Μανίαν ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ λέγει, “τί τοῦτο, παῖ; εἰ δὲ λίθον εἶχες—” ὑπολαβοῦσ' ἢ Μανία, “ἔδωκ' ἄν, ἔν' ἔχῃς”, φήσ', “ἀποψᾶσθαι, τάλαν.”
- f ὅτι δ' ἦν καὶ ἀστεία τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, τάδε περὶ | αὐτῆς ὁ Μάχων ἀναγράφει·

220 I.e. made the initial *alpha* long; see above.

221 Another famous courtesan (PAA 278790).

222 The comic poet (PAA 369380); associated with Gnathaena by Macho again in the passage quoted at 13.579e–80a.

223 The Greeks had no equivalent of toilet paper, and instead sometimes used smooth stones to wipe themselves. Cf. the very similar story (attributed to Lynceus) at 13.584c–d; as Gow (on Macho 215ff) notes, “the anecdote . . . is not very easy to follow in

τῆς Μανίας ἦρα Λεοντίσκος ποτὲ  
 ὁ παγκρατιαστῆς καὶ συνείχ' αὐτὴν μόνος  
 γαμετῆς τρόπον γυναικός, ὑπὸ δ' Ἀντήνορος  
 μοιχευομένην αἰσθόμενος αὐτὴν ὕστερον  
 σφόδρ' ἠγανάκτησ'. ἡ δέ, "μηθέν", φησί, "σοί,  
 ψυχῆ, μελέτω, μαθεῖν γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι θ' ἅμα  
 Ὀλυμπιονικῶν νυκτὸς ἀθλητῶν δυεῖν ||  
 579 πληγὴν < . . . > τί δύναταί ποτ' ἤθελον."  
 αἰτουμένην λέγουσι τὴν πυγὴν ποτε  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Μανίαν Δημητρίου  
 ἀνταξιῶσαι δωρεὰν καὐτόν τινα,  
 δόντος δ' ἐπιστρέψασα μετὰ μικρὸν λέγει,  
 "Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι."  
 εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος  
 καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθήνησιν ποτε  
 τὴν Μανίαν μετεπέμψαθ', ὅσον ἤτησε δούς. |  
 b εἰς τὸν δὲ < πότον > ἦν συμπαρειληφώς τινας  
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιγελαῶν εἰθισμένων  
 ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν.  
 βουλόμενος εἶναι γλαφυρὸς ἀστεῖός θ' ἅμα  
 τῆς Μανίας ἄριστα παιζούσης σφόδρα  
 † ἀνισταμένης τε πολλάκις εἰς δασύποδα †

224 Leontiscus of Messana in Sicily, victorious perhaps in 304 BCE (Paus. 6.4.3; Moretti #495).

225 Antenor of Miletus, another pancratiast, victorious at Olympia in 308 BCE (PAA 131460; Moretti #488). The basic sense of Mania's excuse in the verses that follow is clear enough, although the text has never been convincingly restored.

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At one point the pancratiast Leontiscus<sup>224</sup> was in love with Mania, and he tried to keep her to himself,

as if she was his legitimate wife. Later on he realized that she had been seduced by Antenor,<sup>225</sup> and he was extremely upset. But she said: “Don’t let it

worry you, sweetheart; because I wanted to learn and experience what it would mean . . . a pounding from a pair of Olympic victors at night.”

They say that at one point King Demetrius asked Mania to have anal sex with him, and she requested a present in return.

When he gave it to her, she twisted around a bit and said:

“Child of Agamemnon, now what you wanted is yours.”<sup>226</sup>

At one point a foreigner, who was apparently a military deserter, was visiting Athens, and he sent for Mania and paid her what she asked.

He had brought with him to the party some of the people in the city who were used to laughing at anything to keep those who fed them happy.<sup>227</sup>

Because he wanted to appear both smooth and sophisticated, even though Mania was being highly amusing

† and getting up repeatedly to a hare †<sup>228</sup>

<sup>226</sup> A quotation of *S. El.* 2.

<sup>227</sup> I.e. some parasites.

<sup>228</sup> Mania is presumably leaving the room to urinate, and the speed with which she moves causes her customer to compare her to a hare. But a verse (or more) seems to have fallen out of the text.

- αὐτὴν ἐπικροῦσαι βουλόμενος, “πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, |  
 c μεράκια, τί δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων ὑμῖν ποτε  
 ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τάχιστα θηρίον τρέχειν;”  
 ἢ Μανία δ’, “αὐτόμολος, ὦ βέλτιστ’,” ἔφη.  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ὡς εἰσῆλθε πάλιν ἢ Μανία,  
 τὸν αὐτόμολον ἔσκωπτε ρίψασπίν τ’ ἔφη  
 αὐτὸν γεγυμέναι προσβολῆς οὔσης ποτέ.  
 ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ὑπό τι <δὴ> σκυθρωπάσας  
 ἀπεπέμψατ’ αὐτήν, διαλιπούσα δ’ ἡμέραν,  
 “μηθὲν παρὰ τοῦτο,” φησί, “λυποῦ, φίλτατε,  
 οὐ γὰρ σὺ φεύγων ἀπέβαλες τὴν ἀσπίδα, |  
 d μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ’ ὁ σοι χρήσας τότε.”  
 ἐν συμποσίῳ δ’, ὡς φασι, παρὰ τῇ Μανίᾳ  
 παρεδέξατ’ αὐτήν τῶν πονηρῶν τις πάνυ,  
 κᾶθ’ ὡς ἐπηρώτησε, “πότερ’ ἄνω θέλεις  
 ἐλθοῦσ’ ἅμα βαλεῖν ἢ κάτω;”, γελάσασ’, “ἄνω,  
 βέλτιστε,” φησίν. “ὑπό τι γὰρ δέδοικά σε  
 μὴ μου προπεσούσης τοῦμπλόκιον ὑπεκτράγης.”

- καὶ ἄλλων δὲ ἐταιρῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα ὁ Μάχων |  
 e συνήγαγεν, ὧν οὐκ ἄκαιρόν ἐστιν κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς μνη-  
 μονεύσαι. Γναθαίνης μὲν οὕτως·

παρὰ Γναθαίην Δίφιλος πίνων ποτέ,  
 “ψυχρόν γ’”, ἔφη, “τάγγειον, ὦ Γνάθαιν’, ἔχεις.”

229 Sc. so that he could run away more rapidly, shields being cumbersome and heavy, and thus generally the first item soldiers trying to escape a battle discarded.

230 For Gnathaena and Diphilus (below), see 13.578e n.

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wanting to slap her around: “By the gods,  
dudes; which wild animal do you think  
runs the fastest in the mountains?”

Mania said: “A deserter, my good sir.”

And when Mania came back in again afterward,  
she made fun of the deserter and accused him of  
having thrown away his shield<sup>229</sup> once, when an  
attack took place.

The soldier scowled a bit

and sent her away; but a day later

she said: “Don’t let that bother you, dearest.

You aren’t the one who lost the shield when you ran  
away,

by Aphrodite; it was the guy who loaned it to you!”

At a drinking party in Mania’s house, they say,

a very dubious individual got a turn with her,

and then when he asked: “Do you want to be on your  
back

when we have sex, or on your knees?”, she laughed  
and said:

“On my back, my good sir; because I’m afraid that if  
I’m

on my knees, you’ll swipe my hair-clasp!”

Macho collected anecdotes about other courtesans as well,  
and this seems a good time to quote all of them. (He says  
the following about Gnathaena<sup>230</sup> (258–332 Gow):

At one point Diphilus was drinking in Gnathaena’s  
house,

and he said: “This is a cold jar you’ve got,  
Gnathaena!”

“τῶν σῶν γάρ”, εἶπεν, “ἐπιμελῶς, ᾧ Δίφιλε,  
 εἰς αὐτό γ’ αἰεὶ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν.”  
 πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν Δίφιλος κληθείς ποτε  
 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοῖς Ἀφροδισίοις,  
 τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων  
 † ληθητ’ † ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκτενῶς ἀγαπώμενος,  
 παρῆν ἔχων δύο Χῖα, Θάσια τέτταρα,  
 μύρον, στεφάνους, τραγήματ’, ἔριφον, ταινίας,  
 ὄψον, μάγειρον, τὰ μετὰ ταυτ’ αὐλητρίδα. |  
 f καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν Συριακοῦ τινος ξένου  
 πέμψαντος αὐτῇ χιόνα σαπέρδην θ’ ἓνα  
 αἰσχυνομένη τὰ δῶρα μή τις καταμάθῃ  
 φυλαττομένη τε πολὺ μάλιστα Δίφιλον  
 μὴ δῶ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμωδομένη,  
 τὸ μὲν τάριχος εἶπε ταχέως ἀποφέρειν  
 πρὸς τοὺς σπανίζειν ὁμολογουμένους ἀλῶν,  
 τῇ χιόνα δ’ εἰς τὸν ἄκρατον ἐνσεῖσαι λάθρα ||  
 580 τῷ παιδί τ’ ἐπέταξ’ ἐγχείανθ’ ὅσον δέκα  
 κυάθους προσενεγκεῖν Διφίλῳ ποτήριον.  
 ὑπερηδέως δὲ τὴν κύλικ’ ἐκπιῶν ἄφνω  
 καὶ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Δίφιλος,

<sup>231</sup> The adjective *psuchros* (“cold”) also had the literary-critical sense “stiff, forced”; cf. Austin–Olson on *Ar. Th.* 168–70. A more extended version of the anecdote is preserved below (Macho 262–84 Gow).

<sup>232</sup> An inexpensive and unpalatable fish of some sort (here apparently salted); cf. 7.308e–f. For snow mixed into wine to cool it (below), cf. 4.125c–d.

<sup>233</sup> I.e. to the poor.



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She said: "Yes, Diphilus; because we always deliberately put some of your plays into it!"<sup>231</sup>  
At one point Diphilus (test. 8) was invited to  
    Gnathaena's house  
for dinner, so they say, during the Aphrodisia festival,  
and since he was the lover she liked best  
[corrupt] she was intensely fond of him,  
he arrived with two jars of Chian wine, four of  
    Thasian,  
perfume, garlands, snacks, a kid, ribbons,  
fish, a cook, and a pipe-girl for afterward.  
A Syrian foreigner, who was another one of her  
    lovers,  
had sent her snow and a single *saperdê*.<sup>232</sup>  
Since she was embarrassed that someone might  
    notice the gifts,  
and was particularly concerned about Diphilus,  
because she did not want to be punished, by being  
    made fun of in a comedy afterward,  
she ordered that the saltfish be taken away quickly  
    and given  
to the people who were generally agreed to be short  
    of salt,<sup>233</sup>  
and had the snow discreetly added to the wine;  
and she instructed the slave to pour ten ladlesful  
or so into a cup and offer it to Diphilus.  
The moment Diphilus emptied the cup, he was  
    delighted  
by it, and struck by how unusual it was,

ATHENAEUS

“νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς, ψυχρόν γ’,” ἔφη,  
 “Γνάθαιν’, ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως.”  
 ἢ δ’ εἶπε, “τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς  
 εἰς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν.”

μαστιγίας μώλωπας ὑψηλοὺς ἔχων  
 μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀπὸ τύχης ἀνεπαύετο. |

b περιλαμβάνουσα δ’ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνώμαλον  
 τὸ νῶτον εἶχε παντελῶς, “τάλαν, τάλαν  
 ἄνερ, πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ’”, ἔφη, “τὰ τραύματα;”  
 κἀκείνος αὐτῇ συντόμως ἀπεκρίνατο  
 ὅτι παῖς ποτ’ ὦν ἀνείλετ’, εἰς πυρὰν ὅτε  
 παίζων μετὰ τινων ἡλικιωτῶν ἐνέπεσεν.

“ναὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, δικαίως † τοιγαρ †,  
 ἄνθρωπε,” φησὶν, “ἐξεδάρης ἀκόλαστος ὢν.”  
 παρὰ Δεξιθέα δειπνοῦσα θῆταίρα ποτὲ  
 Γνάθαινα, τοῦψον ἀποτιθείσης πᾶν σχεδὸν |

c τῆς Δεξιθέας τῇ μητρὶ, “νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν,  
 εἶ”, φησὶν, “ἦδειν”, ἢ Γνάθαινα, “τοῦτ’ ἐγώ,  
 τῇ μητρὶ συνεδείπνουν ἄν, οὐχὶ σοί, γύναι.”  
 ἐπεὶ προέβη τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἢ Γνάθαινα καὶ  
 ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένως σορός,  
 εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίναί  
 καὶ τοῦψον ἐφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμανεῖν πόσου

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234 A similar anecdote (but involving a different courtesan) is preserved at 13.585b–c.

235 PAA 303388.

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and he said: "By Athena and the other gods,  
Gnathaena—  
everyone will agree, that cistern of yours is a cold  
one!"

And she said: "Yes; because we always deliberately  
put the prologues of your plays into it!"

A man who had been publicly whipped and had  
prominent scars

happened to be sleeping with Gnathaena.

She put her arms around him, and because he had an  
extremely rough back, she said: "You poor,  
poor creature—how did you get hurt like this?"

He gave her a curt answer, to the effect  
that he got (the scars) as a boy, when he was playing  
with some children his own age and fell into a fire.

"By my beloved Demeter, sir," she said, "you  
deserved

[corrupt] to get whipped for behaving so  
recklessly!"<sup>234</sup>

At one point Gnathaena was having dinner at the  
house of

the courtesan Dexithea,<sup>235</sup> and when Dexithea set  
aside most

of the fish for her mother, Gnathaena said:

"By Artemis, if I'd been expecting this, I would've  
had dinner with your mother rather than with you,  
lady!"

After Gnathaena grew old and  
was now, everyone agreed, as good as dead,  
they say she went off to the marketplace  
and was inspecting the delicacies and busily inquiring  
how much

ATHENAEUS

- πωλείθ' ἕκαστον. εἶτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην  
 ἰστῶντα κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστεῖον πάνν |  
 d τῇ θ' ἠλικία σφόδρα νέον, “ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν  
 μειράκιον ὁ καλός,” φησί, “πῶς ἴστης φράσου.”  
 ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, “κύβδ”, ἔφη, “τριωβόλον.”  
 “τίς δ' οὐπιτρέψων ἐστί σοι,” φησίν, “τάλαν,  
 ὄντα γ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Καρικοῖς χρῆσθαι  
 σταθμοῖς;”  
 Στρατοκλῆς δὲ ἐρίφους προῖκ' ἐδίδου τοῖς  
 γνωρίμοις  
 † λοπάδας συνάλμους τε συναρτύνειν δοκῶν  
 καὶ διψᾶν ὑπολειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν αὔριον |  
 e τοῖς ἐπισυνάπτειν βουλομένοις τὸν ἐωθινόν †,  
 μακρὰς δὲ πράττειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ συμβολάς.  
 Γνάθαινα δ' αὐτῆς εἶπε πρὸς ἐραστήν τινα  
 στραγγευόμενον ὀρώσα περὶ τὰς συμβολάς,  
 “Στρατοκλῆς ἐπ' ἐρίφοις”, φησί, “χειμῶνας ποεῖ.”  
 ἰδοῦσ' ἔφηβον ἢ Γνάθαιν' ἰσχνὸν πάνν  
 καὶ μέλανα, λεπτόν θ' ὡς ἔοιχ' ὑπερβολῇ  
 καὶ † λιπαρόν †, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων βραχύτερον,

<sup>236</sup> Hsch. κ 818 (cf. κ 822) explains that “the Carian position” was a “shameful” sexual posture of some sort, presumably the one mentioned two lines earlier.

<sup>237</sup> PAA 837400; also mentioned at Matro fr. 1.30, 122 Olson–Sens (quoted at 4.135b, 137c), and probably to be identified with the late 4th-century Athenian politician Stratocles son of Euthydemus of the deme Diomeia (PAA 837635; cf. 13.596f).

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everything cost. Then, when she happened to notice a butcher who was very cute and extremely young standing there, she said: "By the gods, handsome boy, tell me what price you're selling at." He smiled and said: "Three obols, if I take it from behind."

And she said: "Who gave you permission, you bastard, to use Carian standards when you're in Athens?"<sup>236</sup> Stratocles<sup>237</sup> used to offer his friends two kids as a gift

† and salted casserole-dishes, to season expecting and to be thirsty being left over on the next day for those who wanted to join in the one first thing in the morning †, but required substantial contributions for everything else.

Gnathaena said to one of her lovers, when she saw him haggling about how much he was assessed:

"Stratocles is producing storms", she said, "over the kids."<sup>238</sup>

When Gnathaena saw an ephebe<sup>239</sup> who was extremely skinny and tan, and apparently very scrawny and † sleek †, as well as much shorter than the other ephebes,

<sup>238</sup> A punning reference to a constellation known as "the Kids", which was associated with stormy weather (Theoc. 7.53–4 with Gow's n.).

<sup>239</sup> I.e. a young man 18 or 19 years old.

ATHENAEUS

f ἔσκωπτεν εἰς Ἄδωνιν. ἀναγώγως δέ πως |  
 τοῦ μαιρακίσκου καὶ τυραννικώτερον  
 αὐτῇ συναντήσαντος ἐμβλέψασα τῇ  
 θυγατρὶ μετ' αὐτῆς συμπορευομένη λέγει·  
 “δικαιότερον ἦν, ὦ τέκνον, νῆ τῶ θεῷ,

\* \* \*

λέγουσι Ποντικόν τι μαιρακύλλιον  
 ἀναπανόμενον μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀξιούν  
 πρῶτῳ γενόμενον ὥστε τὴν πυγὴν ἅπαξ  
 αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, τὴν δὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν· “τάλαν,  
 ἔπειτα τὴν πυγὴν με νῦν αἰτέεις, ὅτε ||  
 581 τὰς ὑς ἐπὶ νομῆν καιρός ἐστιν ἐξάγειν;”

καὶ Γναθαίνιου δέ γε τῆς θυγατριδῆς αὐτῆς τάδε  
 ἀναγράφει·

εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παρεπιδημήσας ξένος  
 σατράπης πάνυ γέρον ὡς ἐνενήκουτ' <ὦν> ἐτῶν  
 Κρονίοις ἀπιούσαν εἶδε τὴν Γναθαίνιον  
 μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἐξ Ἀφροδισίου τινός,  
 τό τ' εἶδος αὐτῆς τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καταμαθὼν  
 ἐπυθάνετο μίσθωμα πρᾶττεται πόσον |  
 b τῆς νυκτός, ἢ Γνάθαινα δ' εἰς τὴν πορφύραν

<sup>240</sup> Adonis, one of Aphrodite's mortal lovers, was killed by a boar; cf. 2.69b–d with 2.69b n.; 13.566d. The comparison would not appear to have been intended kindly.

<sup>241</sup> Gulick suggested that the lost punchline was something like “to call him not Adonis, but the boar.” The “two gods” by whom Gnathaena swears are Demeter and Persephone.

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she made a joke about Adonis.<sup>240</sup> When the boy responded rather crudely and insolently to her, she looked at her daughter, who was out walking with her, and said: “It would have been more appropriate, by the two gods, my child,<sup>241</sup>

\* \* \*

They say that a boy from Pontus was sleeping with Gnathaena, and when the morning came, he asked her to let him have anal sex with her just once. She said the following: “You bastard— you’re asking me for my ass now, when it’s time to drive the pigs<sup>242</sup> out to feed?”

Macho (333–401 Gow) also records the following anecdotes about Gnathaena’s daughter Gnathaenion:<sup>243</sup>

A very old satrap—he was about 90— from abroad was visiting Athens and saw Gnathaenion at the Cronia festival, as she was leaving a shrine of Aphrodite accompanied by Gnathaena. After he studied the way she looked and moved, he asked how much she charged per night, and Gnathaena glanced at his purple clothing

<sup>242</sup> Although Gnathaena says *hus* (“pig”), the humor depends on a colloquial sense of *choiros* (literally “piglet”), which means “cunt” at *Ar. Ach.* 767–96.

<sup>243</sup> PAA 278850.

ATHENAEUS

καὶ τὰ δόρατ' ἀποβλέψασα δραχμὰς χιλίας  
 ἔταξεν. ὁ δ' ἄφνω καιρίμην πληγείς, “παπαῖ,  
 ζωγρεῖς, γύναι,” φήσ', “ἔνεκα τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ,  
 μνᾶς πραξαμένη δὲ πέντε τὰς σπονδὰς ποοῦ  
 καὶ στρώσον ἡμῖν ἔνδον.” ἡ δ' ἐπιδέξιον  
 βουλόμενον εἶναι τὸν σατράπην ἀπεδέξατο, |  
 c εἶπεν δέ, “< . . . > δὸς ὅσον ἐπιθυμείς, πάτερ·  
 οἶδα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πέποιθα τοῦθ' ὅτι  
 εἰς νύκτ' ἀποδώσεις τῷ θυγατρῷ μου διπλοῦν.”  
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις χαλκοτύπος σφόδρ' εὐφυῆς  
 καταλελυκίας τῆς Γναθαινίου σχεδὸν  
 οὐκέτι θ' ἔταιρεῖν ὑπομενούσης διὰ τό πως  
 τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἠδέως αὐτῆς ἔχειν  
 τὸν ὑποκριτὴν, τότε δ' ὄντος ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ |  
 d ἐξ οὗ γεγονὸς ἦν ἄρρεν αὐτῷ παιδίον,  
 οὐχ ὑπομένουσαν τὴν Γναθαίνιον λαβεῖν  
 μίσθωμα, λιπαρῶν δὲ καὶ προσκείμενος  
 πολὺ δαπανήσας ἔσχεν αὐτὴν χρυσίον.  
 ἀνάγωγος ὢν δὲ καὶ βάνανσος παντελῶς  
 ἐν σκυτοτομίῳ μετὰ τινων καθήμενος  
 κατεσχόλαζε † τῆς Γναθαινίου λέγων †  
 ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ μὲν συγγεγενῆσθαι μηδενί, |  
 e ἐξῆς καθιππᾶσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις.

244 I.e. 500 drachmas, half what Gnathaena asked.

245 Sc. because of what Gnathaena assumes will be his inability to maintain an erection.

246 O'Connor #29; Stephanis #179; PAA 128692.



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and his bodyguard, and set the price at 1000 drachmas. He was struck a deadly blow and immediately said:

“Damn, woman! You’re keeping me alive to get the money I have for my troops!

Take five *minas*,<sup>244</sup> and conclude a truce with me and get our bed ready inside!” Since the satrap was trying to be urbane, she accepted his offer, but said: “Pay her whatever you like, old sir; because I know for certain, and I’m confident of this, that

you’ll double what you give my daughter tonight!”<sup>245</sup> There was a extremely handsome bronze-smith in Athens;

Gnathaenion was living very close to his place and was no longer willing to work as a prostitute, because

the actor Andronicus<sup>246</sup> was sweet on her, although he was out of the country at that point,

ever since a male child had been born to him. Although Gnathaenion was no longer interested in being paid for her services, by begging and insisting and spending a lot of money the bronze-smith got her.

He was a crude and thoroughly low-class individual, and as he was sitting with some people in a shoemaker’s shop,

he passed the time † of Gnathaenion saying † that he hadn’t had sex with her any other way, but that she’d ridden him like a horse five times in a row.

μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀνδρόνικος τὸ γεγονὸς  
 ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου προσφάτως ἀφιγμένος  
 < . . . > πικρῶς τε λοιδορούμενος  
 παρὰ τὸν πότον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε τῇ Γναθαινίῳ·  
 αὐτὸν μὲν ἀξιούντα μὴ τετευχέναι  
 τούτου παρ' αὐτῆς μηδέποτε τοῦ σχήματος,  
 ἐν τῷδε δ' ἑτέρους ἐντρυφᾶν μαστιγίας.  
 ἔπειτεν εἰπεῖν φασὶ τὴν Γναθαίνιον, |

f “περιλαμβάνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον, τάλαν,  
 ἄνθρωπον ἄχρι τοῦ στόματος ἡσβολωμένον.  
 διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινα πολὺ λαβοῦσα χρυσίον  
 ἐφιλοσόφησά θ', ἵν' ἄκρον ὡς μάλιστα καὶ  
 ἐλάχιστον αὐτοῦ περιλάβω τοῦ σώματος.”

ἔπειτα, φασί, τῆς Γναθαίνιου ποτὲ  
 τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον οὐ θελούσης παρὰ πότον ||  
 582 φιλεῖν καθάπερ ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις αἰεί,  
 ὀργιζομένης δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμβάνειν,  
 † ἔπειθε πῶς † “οὐχ ὀρᾶς, Γνάθαιν’,” ἔφη,  
 “ὑπερηφάνως μοι τὴν θυγατέρα χρωμένην;  
 ἢ γραῦς δ' ἀγανακτήσασα, “τάλαν”, ἔφη,  
 “τέκνον·  
 περίλαβε”, φησί, “καὶ φίλησον, εἰ θέλεις.”

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Afterward, when Andronicus, who had just returned  
from Corinth, heard what had happened  
. . . and ranted bitterly,  
saying the following to Gnathaenion at a drinking  
party:

although he had asked, she had never  
let him do it in that position,  
but other people—scum—had enjoyed this.

Then, they say, Gnathaenion responded:

“Yes, because I didn’t like the idea, you bastard, of  
wrapping my arms around  
someone who was covered with soot from head to  
foot.

That’s why I put up with it only after I got a lot of  
money,  
and I figured out a clever way to take hold of the  
smallest part  
of his anatomy and the one that stuck the furthest  
out.”

At some point after this, they say, Gnathaenion  
refused to kiss Andronicus at a drinking party  
in the way she always had on previous days,  
since she was angry because he wasn’t giving her  
anything.

† He convinced how † “Gnathaena,” he said, “don’t  
you see  
that your daughter’s acting like she’s too good for  
me?”

The old woman was annoyed and said: “Damn it,  
child—  
hug him”, she said, “and kiss him, please!”

- ἡ δ' εἶπε, “μῆτερ, πῶς”, ἔφη, “μέλλω φιλεῖν  
 τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα, τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας  
 τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος δωρεὰν θέλουτ' ἔχειν;” |  
 b πανηγύρεως οὔσης ποθ' ἡ Γναθαίνιον  
 εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατέβαινε πρὸς ξένον τινα  
 ἔμπορον ἔραστὴν εὐσταλῶς ἐπ' ἀστράβης  
 τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ὀνάρια μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τρία  
 καὶ τρεῖς θεραπαίνας καὶ νέαν τίτθην μίαν.  
 ἔπειτεν αὐταῖς ἐπὶ τινος στενῆς ὁδοῦ  
 κακὸς παλαιστῆς ἐνέτυχέν τις τῶν αἰεὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν † ἐπιμελῶς † ἡττωμένων,  
 ὃς οὐ δυνάμενος τότε παρελθεῖν ραδίως  
 ἀλλὰ στενοχωρῶν εἶπεν, “ὦ τρισάθλιε |  
 c ὀνηλάτ', εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ἐκστήσῃ ποτὲ  
 ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὰ γύναια ταυτὶ καταβαλῶ  
 σὺν τοῖς ὀναρίοις”, φησί, “καὶ ταῖς ἀστράβαις.”  
 Γναθαίνιον δ' εἶπ', “ὦ τάλαν, μὴ δῆτ', ἄνερ·  
 οὐδέποτε γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σοι πεπραγμένον.”

ἑξῆς δὲ καὶ ταυτ' ἀναγράφει·

Λαῖδα λέγουσι τὴν Κορινθίαν ποτὲ  
 Εὐριπίδην ἰδοῦσαν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ  
 πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρητημένον

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<sup>247</sup> Probably paratragic, and thus appropriate to refer to a tragic actor (cf. 13.581c n.).

<sup>248</sup> Paratragic (e.g. S. OC 378, 1387; cf. previous n.), and apparently used by Gnathaenion as a euphemism for her vagina.

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attached to it, and she said: “Tell me, Mr. Poet—  
What did you mean when you wrote in your tragedy,  
‘Go to hell, you pervert!’?”<sup>250</sup> Euripides was

astonished

at her audacity, and said: “Who are you, woman?  
Aren’t *you* a pervert?” And she laughed and  
responded:

“‘What’s perverted, if it doesn’t seem that way those  
who do it?’”<sup>251</sup>

Glycerion<sup>252</sup> got a fashionable Corinthian spring dress  
with a purple stripe from one of her lovers  
and sent it to the fuller;<sup>253</sup> then, when it should  
have been ready, she sent her little servant-girl  
with the money, and told her to bring the robe  
back. But the fuller said: “If you also  
bring me three-quarters of a measure of olive oil,  
you can have it; because that’s what’s holding me  
up.”<sup>254</sup>

When the girl brought this message back, Glycerion  
said:

“Damn, what a mess! He’s planning to fry up  
my dress”, she said, “like a bunch of sprats!”  
Sophocles’ (test. 79) boyfriend Demophon<sup>255</sup>  
was involved with Nico<sup>256</sup>—that is, Aix—even though  
she was quite old  
at that point and he himself was still a young man.  
She was nicknamed Aix<sup>257</sup>

<sup>255</sup> PAA 321632.

<sup>256</sup> PAA 719540.

<sup>257</sup> Literally “She-goat, Nanny-goat.”

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because she once gobbled up<sup>258</sup> a wealthy lover  
named Thallus,<sup>259</sup> who came to Attica  
to buy swallow-figs  
and to take home Hymettan honey.<sup>260</sup>  
The story goes that this woman had  
a gorgeous ass, and that Demophon at one point  
asked to have access  
to it. She laughed and said: “Fine—but  
after you get it, pass it on to Sophocles with my  
compliments, sweetie!”  
At one point Callistion<sup>261</sup>—also known as Hus<sup>262</sup>—  
was exchanging angry words with her  
mother—the mother’s nickname was Corone<sup>263</sup>—  
and Gnathaena tried to break it up. When someone  
asked her  
what they were arguing about, she said: “What else,  
except that  
Corone was blaming Gnathaena for this, and  
Gnathaena was blaming Corone for that?”<sup>264</sup>  
They say that the courtesan Hippe had as a lover  
Theodotus, who was at that point in charge  
of the fodder.<sup>265</sup> Late in the day one time  
she came in to drink with King  
Ptolemy<sup>266</sup>—she routinely drank  
with him. She was running extremely late, and she  
said:

<sup>264</sup> Alluding to the proverb “An owl says one thing, a raven something else”, which Zenob. 1.69 glosses: “referring to people who disagree with one another”.

<sup>265</sup> Sc. for the royal stables in Alexandria (see below).

<sup>266</sup> Perhaps Ptolemy II Philadelphus (thus Gow).

ATHENAEUS

“Πτολεμαίε, διψῶ,” φησί, “παππία, σφόδρα·  
 ἀλλ’ ἐγχεέτω μοι τέτταρας κοτύλας † ἔπειτα †  
 εἰς τὴν μεγάλην.” ἔπειτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει,  
 “εἰς τὴν λεκάνην μὲν οὖν, δοκεῖς γάρ μοι πολύν,  
 Ἴππη, πάνυ χόρτον”, φησί, “καταβεβρωκέαι.”

- Φρύνην ἐπίερα Μοίριχος τὴν Θεσπικὴν |  
 c κᾶπειτεν αἰτήσασαν αὐτὸν μνᾶν μίαν  
 ὁ Μοίριχος, “μέγ’,” εἶπεν. “οὐ πρόην δύο  
 χρυσοῦς λαβοῦσα παρεγένου ξένω τινί;”  
 “περίμενε τοίνυν καὶ σύ,” φησ’, “ἕως ἂν οὐ  
 βινητιάσω, καὶ τοσοῦτον λήψομαι.”  
 Νικῶ λέγεται τὴν Αἶγα, Πύθωνός τινος  
 αὐτὴν ποτ’ ἀπολιπόντος, Εὐαρδιον δὲ τὴν  
 παχείαν ἀναλαβόντος, εἶτεν ὕστερον  
 μεταπεμπομένου ποθ’, ὡς ἔοικ’, αὐτὴν, λέγειν  
 πρὸς τὸν μετιόντα παῖδα, “Πύθων,” φήσ’, “ἐπεὶ |  
 d ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν υἱῶν ἐγένετο,  
 ἐπ’ αἰγὲ’ οἶός ἐστιν ἀνακάμπτειν πάλιν.”

μέχρι μὲν τούτων μνημονεύω τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάχωνος  
 εἰρημένων· αἱ γὰρ καλαὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον πλη-  
 θος ἤνεγκαν ἐταῖρῶν, περὶ ὧν ἐπεξελεύσομαι ὅσον γε  
 δύναμαι, ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδροῦσα πόλις οὐκ ἔσχειν.

267 PAA 964975.

268 PAA 795375.

269 Literally “She-Goat” (cf. 13.582e–f), setting up the witti-  
 cism that follows.

270 PAA 426575.

271 Literally “our”; but the speaker is in any case nominally  
 Myrtilus (cf. 13.571a), who comes from Thessaly.

ἀναγέγραφε γοῦν Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἑκα-  
 τὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ τούτων  
 πλείους, ὁ Γοργίας δὲ πλέονας, παραλειφθῆναι φά-  
 e σκοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους μετὰ ἰ ἐταιρῶν πλει-  
 ὄνων καὶ τάσδε, < . . . > τὴν Πάροινον ἐπικληθεῖσαν  
 καὶ Λαμπυρίδα καὶ Εὐφροσύνην· αὕτη δὲ ἦν γναφέως  
 θυγάτηρ. ἄγραφοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτῷ Μεγίστη, Ἀγαλλίς,  
 Θαυμάριον, Θεόκλεια (αὕτη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κορώνη),  
 Ληναιτόκυστος, Ἄστρα, Γνάθαινα καὶ ταύτης θυγα-  
 τριδῆ Γναθαίνιον, καὶ Σιγῆ καὶ Συνωρίς ἢ Λύχνος  
 ἐπικαλουμένη καὶ Εὐκλεια καὶ Γρυμέα καὶ Θρυαλλίς,  
 ἔτι Χίμαιρα καὶ Λαμπάς. τῆς δὲ Γναθαίνης ἦρα  
 δεινῶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδι-  
 f οποιός, ὡς καὶ Λυγκεὺς ὁ ἰ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνη-  
 μονεύμασιν ἱστορεῖ. ἐν ἀγῶνι οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀσχη-  
 μονήσαντα σφόδρα ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου συνέβη  
 καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν. κελεύον-  
 τος οὖν τοῦ Διφίλου ὑπονύψαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 Γνάθαιναν, ἢ δέ, “τί γάρ;” εἶπεν “οὐκ ἠρμένος ἦκεις;”  
 σφόδρα δ' ἦν εὐθικτος πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἢ Γνάθαι-  
 να. καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἐταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνουσαν ἐφ' αὐταῖς,  
 παιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἀπο-  
 μερίζουσαι· διόπερ καὶ εὐθικτοὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις

272 Cf. 13.567a n.

273 Paroinos (literally “Under the Influence, Drunk”) is PAA 767463; Lampyrus is PAA 601650; and Euphrosyne is PAA 451287.



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Aristophanes of Byzantium (*FGrH* 347 T 2 = fr. 364b Slater), at any rate, lists 135, and Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 208) lists more than that, and Gorgias (*FGrH* 351 T 2) even more, both claiming that among the many courtesans omitted by Aristophanes are the following:<sup>272</sup> . . . (who was nicknamed Paroinos), Lampyris, and Euphrosyne;<sup>273</sup> the latter was a fuller's daughter. He also fails to list: Megiste, Agallis, Thaumaron, Theocleia (she was nicknamed Corone), Lenaetocystus, Astra, Gnathaena and her daughter Gnathaenion, and Sige, Synoris (nicknamed Lychnus), Eucleia, Grymea, and Thryallis, as well as Chimaera and Lampas.<sup>274</sup> As was noted earlier,<sup>275</sup> the comic poet Diphilus was deeply in love with Gnathaena, as Lynceus of Samos reports in his *Memoirs* (fr. 23 Dalby = Diph. test. 7). It happened at one point, therefore, after he thoroughly disgraced himself and had been thrown out of the Theater, that Diphilus went to visit Gnathaena anyway. So when he asked Gnathaena to wash his feet, she said: "Why? Didn't you travel here by air?" Gnathaena was very good at generating witty responses. There were also other courtesans who thought a lot of themselves, and who tried to get an education and devoted time to their lessons; as a result, they too were capable of generating witty responses. On

<sup>274</sup> Megiste is PAA 636705; Agallis is PAA 105710; Thaumaron is PAA 501243; Theocleia is PAA 507884; Lenaetocystus is PAA 607695; Astra is PAA 222870; Gnathaena is PAA 278790; Gnathaenion is PAA 278850; Sige is PAA 819560; Synoris is PAA 853365; Eucleia is PAA 435690; Grymea is PAA 281958; Thryallis is PAA 518755; Chimaera is PAA 989805; and Lampas is PAA 601507.

<sup>275</sup> 13.579e, where see n.

584 ἦσαν. ἢ κατηγοροῦντος γοῦν ποτε Στίλπωνος Γλυκέρας παρὰ πότον ὡς διαφθειρούσης τοὺς νέους, ὡς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις, ὑποτυχοῦσα ἢ Γλυκέρα, “τὴν αὐτὴν”, ἔφη, “ἔχομεν αἰτίαν, ὧ Στίλπων. σέ τε γὰρ λέγουσιν διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σοι ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἐριστικὰ σοφίσματα διδάσκοντα, ἐμέ τε ὡσαύτως. μηθὲν οὖν διαφέρειν ἐπιτριβομένοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἢ μετὰ φιλοσόφου ζῆν ἢ ἐταίρας.” κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγάθωνα·

γυνή τ<κοι> σώματ<κος> δι' ἀργίαν |

b ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

Γναθαίνης δὲ πολλὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λυγκεύς. παρασίτου γάρ τινος ὑπὸ γραδὸς τρεφομένου καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ ἔχοντος, “χαριέντως γ’,” ἔφη, “ὧ νεανίσκε, τὸ σωματίον διάκεισαι.” “τί οὖν οἶει, εἰ μὴ ἐδευτεροκοίτουν;” “τῷ λιμῷ ἄν”, ἔφη, “ἀπέθανες.” Πανσανίου δὲ τοῦ Λάκκου ὀρχουμένου καὶ εἰς κάδον τινὰ ἐμπεσόντος, “ὁ Λάκκος”, ἔφη, “εἰς τὸν κάδον ἐμπέπτωκεν.” ἐπιδόντος δὲ τινος οἶνον ἐν ψυκτηριδίῳ μικρὸν  
c καὶ εἰπόντος ὅτι ἐκκαϊδεκαέτης, | “μικρὸς γε,” ἔφη, “ὡς τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν.” νεανίσκων δὲ τινων παρὰ πότον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τυπτόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἠττώμενον,

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276 Stilpo (PAA 835530; d. early 200s BCE) was the final head of the Megarian school of philosophy.

277 PAA 277490.

278 Picking up the point about educated courtesans made

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one occasion, for example, when Stilpo<sup>276</sup> (fr. 157 Döring = SSR II O 18) criticized Glycera<sup>277</sup> at a drinking party for corrupting the young men, according to Satyrus in his *Lives* (fr. 19, FHG iii.164 = fr. 19 Schorn), she replied: “We get accused of the same thing, Stilpo. People claim you corrupt those who meet you, by teaching them your worthless eristic drivel; and they criticize me the same way. So it makes no difference to individuals who are being ruined and injured if they spend their time with a philosopher or with a courtesan.” Because, to quote Agathon (*TrGF* 39 F 14):<sup>278</sup>

The fact that a woman does no physical labor  
does not mean she has a lazy mind inside her.

Lynceus (fr. 24 Dalby) recorded many of Gnathaena’s responses. When a parasite was being kept by an old woman, for example, and had put on weight, she said: “Young man, you’re in lovely shape!” “How do you think I’d look, if I were sleeping alone?” “You’d have starved to death,” she said. When Pausanias<sup>279</sup> (known as “the Cistern”) was dancing and fell into a wine-jar, she said: “The Cistern’s fallen into the wine-jar!”<sup>280</sup> When someone gave her a tiny quantity of wine in a cooling-vessel and announced that it was 16 years old, she said: “It’s awfully small, for being as old as that!” When some young men at a drinking party got into a fistfight over her, she said to the loser: “Cheer up,

above, the anecdote about Glycera having been inserted from a different source-document.

<sup>279</sup> PAA 769440. His nickname presumably reflects his ability to hold enormous amounts of wine.

<sup>280</sup> Sc. as opposed to the other way around.

“θάρρει, παιδίον· οὐ γὰρ στεφανίτης ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἀργυρίτης.” ὡς δ’ ὁ τὴν μῶν τῇ θυγατρὶ δοὺς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔφερεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφοίτα μόνον, “παιδίον,” ἔφη, “ὥσπερ πρὸς Ἰππόμαχον τὸν παιδοτρίβην μῶν δοὺς οἶει αἰεὶ φοιτήσῃν;” Φρύνης δὲ πικρότερον εἰπούσης αὐτῇ, “εἰ δὲ λίθον εἶχες;”, ἔφη· “ἀποψήσασθαι ἄν σοι ἔδωκα.” (ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ἡ μὲν αἰτίαν ἔχουσα λι-  
d θιάν, ἢ δὲ κοιλίαν προπετεστέραν ἔχειν.) τῶν δὲ πινόντων παρ’ αὐτῇ συμβαλλομένων εἰς βολβοφακῆν καὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἐν τῷ καθαίρειν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐμβαλλομένης τῶν φακῶν, ἡ Γνάθαινα ἔφη, “κολποφακῆν διανοεῖται ποιεῖν.” Ἀνδρονίκου δὲ τοῦ τραγωδοῦ ἀπ’ ἀγῶνός τινος, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους εὐημερῆκει, πίνειν μέλλοντος παρ’ αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς κελεύοντος τὴν Γνάθαιναν προαναλῶσαι,

ὀλόμενε παίδων (ἔφη), ποῖον εἶρηκας λόγον;

πρὸς δὲ ἀδολέσχην τινὰ διηγούμενον ὅτι παραγέγονεν ἢ ἀφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου, “πῶς οὖν”, φησὶν, “εἰς τὴν  
e πρῶτην πόλιν οὐχ ἦκες τῶν ἐκεῖ;” τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος, “εἰς

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281 The wit of Gnathaena’s remark depends on the distinction between normal athletic competitions, at which cash-prizes and the like were offered, and the most important and prestigious games, at which winners received only a garland—and the glory that went with being e.g. an Olympic victor. For the distinction between the two types of contests, cf. 12.522c–d.

282 Gnathaenion.

283 PAA 538715; perhaps to be identified with Moretti #506.

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kiddo! There's no glory in this contest; it's a matter of cash."<sup>281</sup> When someone who had paid her daughter<sup>282</sup> a *mina* failed to bring any more money, but simply continued to visit her, she said: "Kiddo—do you think it's like visiting the trainer Hippomachus,<sup>283</sup> and you get to keep coming here forever, just because you gave her a *mina*?" When Phryne rather nastily said to her, "And if you'd had a stone?", she responded: "I'd have given it to you—to wipe yourself!" (One of them was thought to have kidney stones, the other to suffer from diarrhea.)<sup>284</sup> When the men drinking in her house contributed money for bulb-and-lentil soup, and the slave-girl hid some of the lentils in her cleavage while she was cleaning them,<sup>285</sup> Phryne said: "She's planning to make boob-and-lentil soup." When the tragic actor Andronicus<sup>286</sup> intended to drink with Gnathaena after a performance in which he had a success with *The Epigoni*, and his slave asked her to put up the money in advance, she said (S. fr. \*\*185):<sup>287</sup>

Wretched slave—what is this that you have said?

To a talkative man who told her that he was visiting from the Hellespont, she said: "So how is it, then, that you've never visited the most important city in the area?" When

<sup>284</sup> Cf. 13.578e with n.

<sup>285</sup> Sc. so that she would have them to eat herself afterward.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. 13.581c n.

<sup>287</sup> The otherwise gratuitous reference to *The Epigoni* would seem to guarantee that that play is the source of the quotation (the first words of which in the original must have meant "Wretched child"); but Aeschylus and Astydamos II (and doubtless other poets as well) also produced plays by the same title.

ποιάν;”, “εἰς Σίγειον” εἶπεν. εἰσελθόντος δέ τινος ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδόντος ἐπὶ τινος ἀγγείου ὡς εἰπόντος τε, “ὡμὰ ταῦτα, Γνάθαινα, ἢ ἐφθά;”, “ἔγχαλκα,” ἔφη, “παιδίον.” Χαιρεφῶντος δ’ ἀκλήτου ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθόντος, προπιούσα ποτήριον αὐτῷ ἢ Γνάθαινα, “λαβέ,” ἔφησεν, “ὑπερήφανε.” καὶ ὅς, “ἐγὼ ὑπερήφανος;”, “τίς δὲ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν ἢ Γνάθαινα, “ὅς οὐδὲ καλούμενος ἔρχη;” Νικῶ δὲ ἢ Αἰξὶ ἐπικαλουμένη, φησὶν ὁ Λυγκεύς, παρασίτου | τινὸς ἀπαντήσαντος λεπτοῦ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας, “ὡς ἰσχνός,” ἔφη. “τί γὰρ οἶε με ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καταβεβρωκέμαι;” “ἦτοι τὴν λήκυθον”, ἔφη, “ἢ τὰ ὑποδήματα.” Μετάπειρα δὲ ἢ ἑταῖρα, Δημοκλέους τοῦ παρασίτου Λαγυνίωτος ἐπὶ κλην καταπεσόντος ἐν τινι κονιάματι, “καὶ γὰρ σύ”, φησί, “σαυτὸν ἔδωκας οὐ ψῆφοι εἰσὶν.” διαπηδῶντος δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον κλίνην, “πρόσεχε,” φησί, “μὴ ἀνατραπῆς.”

585 τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ Ἡγήσανδρος. ἢ Ἀριστόδημος δ’ ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, Γνάθαιναν, φησί, δύο ἐμισθώσαντο, στρατιώτης καὶ μαστιγίας· ἀναγωγότερον οὖν τοῦ στρατιώτου λάκκον αὐτὴν εἰπόντος, “πῶς;” ἔφησεν. “ἢ ὅτι δύο ποταμοὶ ἐμβάλλετε μοι,

288 Literally “Sigeum” (with a pun on *sigê*, “silence”).

289 I.e. “You’ll have to pay to eat them.”

290 PAA 975770; a notorious parasite and the subject of a collection of anecdotes preserved at 6.242f–4a, 245a.

291 The Greek can mean both “when you don’t come, although invited” and “when you come, without being invited.”

292 Cf. 13.582e–f with n.

- Λύκος καὶ Ἐλεύθερος;” ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Γναθαίνης πτωχῶν ἐραστῶν κωμαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κατασκάψειν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνηνοχένοι γὰρ δικέλλας <καὶ><sup>34</sup> ἄμας, “εἰ ταῦτ’ εἶχεθ’ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα,
- b “ἐνέχυρα θέντες | τὸ μίσθωμα ἂν ἀπεστείλατε.” ἐμμελῆς δ’ ἦν πάνυ ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστειος ἀποφθέγγασθαι, ἦτις καὶ νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν, καθ’ ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εἰσιέναι, κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συνταξαμένων φιλοσόφων. ἀνέγραψε δ’ αὐτὸν Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν Νόμων καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τήνδε παρέθετο· ὃδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὁμοιος, στίχων τριακοσίων εἴκοσι τριῶν. Καλλίστιον δὲ τὴν
- c ἐπικληθεῖσαν Πτωχελένην | μαστιγίας ἐμισθώσατο. θέρους δὲ ὄντος ἐπεὶ γυμνὸς κατέκειτο, τοὺς τύπους τῶν πληγῶν ἰδοῦσα, “πόθεν οὔτοι, τάλαν;” εἶπε. καὶ ὅς, “παιδὸς ὄντος μου ζωμὸς κατεχύθη.” ἡ δέ, “δηλαδὴ μόςχειος.” Μενάνδρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ δυσημερήσαντι καὶ εἰσελθόντι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Γλυκέρα προσενέγκασα γάλα παρεκάλει ροφήσαι. ὁ δ’, “οὐ θέλω,” εἶπεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐφεστηκυῖα γραῦς αὐτῷ. ἡ δέ, “ἀποφύσα,” εἶπε,

<sup>34</sup> add. Schweighäuser

<sup>298</sup> Literally “the Wolf and the Free Man”, with the criminal presumably being the former, the soldier the latter; but the exact point of the remark is obscure.

<sup>299</sup> Gnathaenion (PAA 278850); cf. 13.581a.

<sup>300</sup> PAA 560170; perhaps to be identified with the woman by

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rivers, the Lycus and the Eleutherus,<sup>298</sup> empty into me?” When some impoverished customers came in a drunken mob to visit Gnathaena’s daughter<sup>299</sup> and threatened to demolish the house, claiming to have brought mattocks and shovels, Gnathaena said: “If you actually owned tools like that, you could’ve pawned them and sent the money it costs to hire her.” Gnathaena was extremely witty and sophisticated in conversation, and composed a set of dinner-regulations, which her lovers were required to follow when they visited her and her daughter, in imitation of the philosophers who put together similar documents. Callimachus (fr. 433 Pfeiffer) catalogued it in the third tablet of his *Laws* and quoted its beginning, which is as follows: This set of regulations was drafted to be equitable and to apply to everyone; 323 lines long. A common criminal hired Callistion<sup>300</sup> (nicknamed Ptochelene). It was summer, and he was lying there naked; and when she saw the scars from where he had been beaten, she said: “You poor thing—where did these come from?” He said: “When I was a boy, some broth spilled on me.” And she said: “Beef-broth, obviously!”<sup>301</sup> When the poet Menander had a failure and visited Glycera’s<sup>302</sup> house, she brought him some milk and encouraged him to drink it up. He said: “I don’t want to;” because there was scum (*graus*) on top of it. But she said:

the same name mentioned by Macho at 13.583a. Her nickname is literally “Beggar-Helen.”

<sup>301</sup> Since whips are made of leather, and Callistion knew perfectly well that his story was untrue. Cf. the very similar anecdote involving Gnathaena at 13.580a–b (from Macho).

<sup>302</sup> PAA 277495; for her relationship with Menander, cf. 13.594d.



“καὶ τῷ κάτω χρῶ.” Θαῖς ἐραστοῦ τινος αὐτῆς ἀλα-  
d ζόνος παρὰ πολλῶν ποτήρια | χρησαμένου καὶ λέγον-  
τος θέλειν ταῦτα συγκόψαι, ἄλλα δὲ κατασκευάσαι,  
“ἀπολείς”, ἔφη, “ἐκάστου τὸ ἴδιον.” Λεόντιον κατα-  
κειμένη μετ’ ἐραστοῦ, ἐπεισελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμ-  
πόσιον Γλυκέρας καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ αὐτῆς ταύτη μᾶλ-  
λον προσέχοντος, κατάστυγνος ἦν. ὡς δ’ ἐπιστρέψας  
ὁ γνώριμος αὐτὴν ἠρώτησε τί λυπεῖται, “ἢ ὑστέρα με  
λυπεῖ,” ἔφη. πρὸς Λαΐδα τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐραστῆς ἀπο-  
σφράγισμα πέμψας ἐκέλευε παραγίνεσθαι. ἢ δ’, “οὐ  
δύναμαι,” εἶπε· “πηλὸς ἐστι.” Θαῖς πρὸς γράσωνα |  
e πορευομένη ἐραστὴν, ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὴν ἠρώτα ποῦ πο-  
ρεύεται, εἶπεν·

Αἰγεί συνοικήσουσα τῷ Πανδίωνος.

Φρύνη συνδειπνοῦσά ποτε γράσωνι ἄρασα φορίνην,  
“λαβέ”, εἶπε, “καὶ ταῦτα τράγε.” πέμψαντος δέ τινος  
αὐτῇ τῶν γνωρίμων οἶνον χρηστὸν μὲν, ὀλίγον δέ,  
καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι δεκαέτης ἐστίν, “μικρὸς ὡς πολλῶν

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<sup>303</sup> *graus* also means “an old woman”, and Glycera’s advice thus has the second sense “Ignore what I look like, and use my lower parts.”

<sup>304</sup> Presumably to be identified with the famous courtesan mentioned at 13.576d–e (Berve i #359; PAA 500158).

<sup>305</sup> I.e. of each cup—but also of each person from whom a cup had been borrowed.

<sup>306</sup> PAA 603114; perhaps to be identified with Epicurus’ lover by the same name (13.588b with n.).

<sup>307</sup> But *hē hūstera* (“my womb”) can also mean “the woman who came in after me”.

<sup>308</sup> But the words can also be taken to mean “it’s clay” (i.e.

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“Blow it off, and enjoy what’s down below.”<sup>303</sup> When one of Thais’<sup>304</sup> lovers, who was a big talker, borrowed cups from a large number of people and claimed that he wanted to smash them all and make new ones, she said: “You’re going to destroy the unique property of each of them.”<sup>305</sup> Leontion<sup>306</sup> was lying down with a lover when Glycera came into the party, and Leontion’s lover began to pay far more attention to Glycera. Leontion looked unhappy, and when her customer turned back toward her and asked why she was upset, she said: “My womb’s hurting me.”<sup>307</sup> One of her lovers sent Laïs of Corinth an impression of his seal and asked her to visit him. “I can’t,” she said; “it’s muddy.”<sup>308</sup> Thais<sup>309</sup> was on her way to a customer who stank, and when someone asked where she was going, she said (*E. Med.* 1385):

To stay with Aegeus<sup>310</sup> son of Pandion.

Once when Phryne<sup>311</sup> was having dinner with a man who stank, she picked up a piece of pigskin and said: “Take this and eat it!”<sup>312</sup> When one of her customers sent her some good wine but not a lot of it, and told her that it was ten years old, she said: “It’s small, for being that old!”<sup>313</sup>

rather than something more valuable, like gold, which might have motivated her to make the trip). <sup>309</sup> PAA 500159.

<sup>310</sup> A punning reference to the fact that the man smelled as bad as a she-goat (*aix*, genitive *aigos*).

<sup>311</sup> Presumably Phryne of Thespiae (PAA 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f.

<sup>312</sup> But if the final word is accented differently, her remark can be understood to mean: “Take this too, goat!”

<sup>313</sup> Compare the very similar anecdote involving Gnathaena at 13.584b–c (from Lynceus).

ἐτώων,” ἔφη. ζητουμένου δὲ ἔν τινι συμποσίῳ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οἱ στέφανοι κρήμναι, εἶπεν, “ὅτι ψυχαγωγούσιν.” μαστιγίου δὲ τινος μειρακιευομένου | πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φαμένου πολλαῖς συμπεπλέχθαι, καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν ἐσκυθρώπασεν. ἐπερωτήσαντος δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, “ὀργίζομαί σοι,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχεις.” φιλάργυρος δὲ τις ἐραστής ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὴν εἶπεν, “Ἀφροδίσιον εἶ Πραξιτέλους.” ἡ δέ, “σὺ δ’ Ἔρως Φειδίου.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἰδὰ τίνας μνημονεύοντας αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ ἀπολογουμένους, μνησθήσομαι καὶ τούτων. Δημοσθένης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ  
 586 Κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος Σινώπης || μέμνηται καὶ Φανοστράτης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Σινώπης Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν ἔκτῳ Κωμωδουμένων φησὶν ὅτι Ἄβυδος ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ γραυῖς εἶναι. μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκάδι καὶ ἐν Κηπουρῷ, ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ, ἐν Ἀλιευομένῃ, ἐν Νεοττίδι, καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Κλεοβουλίνῃ καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐν Μοσχίωνι. περὶ δὲ τῆς Φανοστράτης Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνη-

<sup>314</sup> Sc. at the end of a night of drinking; cf. 10.437b.

<sup>315</sup> Or “Because they attract the spirits of the dead”; but why this qualifies as a memorably witty comment is unclear.

<sup>316</sup> I.e. “so many women”—or “so many whippings.”

<sup>317</sup> The sculptor Praxiteles (active c.375–300 BCE) was best known for his statue of Aphrodite on Cnidus; cf. 13.591a. But the point of the reference to Phidias (active c.465–425 BCE) is not that he produced a famous statue of Eros, but that his name recalls the verb *pheidomai*, “be thrifty, stingy.”

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When the question came up at a party of why garlands are hung up,<sup>314</sup> she said: "Because they're attractive."<sup>315</sup> When a common criminal was teasing her and claiming to have slept with large numbers of women, she pretended to scowl at him. When he asked why, she said: "I'm angry at you, because you've had so many."<sup>316</sup> When a lover who was a miser tried to flatter her by saying, "You're Praxiteles' little Aphrodite!", she responded: "And you're Phidias' Eros!"<sup>317</sup>

Since I am aware that some politicians refer to courtesans either to condemn or to defend them, I will mention them as well. Demosthenes in his *Against Androtion* (22.56), for example, mentions Sinope and Phanostrate.<sup>318</sup> As for Sinope, Herodicus the Crateteian in Book VI of *Individuals Mentioned in Comedy* (fr. IV.1, p. 125 Düring) says that she was known as Abydos, because she was an old woman.<sup>319</sup> Antiphanes mentions her in *Arcas*<sup>320</sup> (fr. 43) and in *The Gardener* (fr. 114), *The Seamstress* (fr. 23), *The Fisherwoman* (fr. 27.12),<sup>321</sup> and *Neottis* (fr. 168); Alexis mentions her in *Cleoboulina* (fr. 109); and Callicrates mentions her in *Moschion* (fr. 1). As for Phanostrate, Apollodorus in his *On the Courtesans in Athens* (FGrH 244 F

<sup>318</sup> Sinope is PAA 823225. Phanostrate is PAA 916750.

<sup>319</sup> Sinope was the name of a city on the southern shore of the Black Sea, while Abydos was located on the Asian side of the Hellespont, and the witticism apparently depends on the (otherwise unattested) idea that Abydos was archetypically old and decayed.

<sup>320</sup> The title of the play is given as *Arcadia* at 10.444b.

<sup>321</sup> Quoted at 8.338f.

Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν, Ἀντικύραν αὐτὴν φάσκων κληθῆναι ἦτοι ὅτι συνέπιπε παρακινουῦσι καὶ μεμνηόσιν ἢ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἰατρὸς Νικόστρατος καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπεν αὐτῇ πολὺν ἐλλέβορον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Λεωκράτους Εἰρηνίδος ἐταίρας μέμνηται ὡς ἐταιρούσης τῷ Λεωκράτει.

587 ἢ Ναννίου δὲ Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Πατροκλέους· αὐτὴ δὲ ὅτι Αἰξ̄ ἐπεκαλεῖτο προείπομεν, διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κάπηλον ἐξαναλώσαι. ὅτι δὲ θαλλῶ χαίρουσιν αἱ αἴγες, διόπερ οὐδ' εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἄνεισι τὸ ζῶον οὐδ' ὅλως Ἀθηνᾶ θύεται διὰ τοῦτο, ἄλλος ἔσται λόγος. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ποιμέσιν ὅτι θαλλοφαγῆ τὸ ζῶόν φησιν οὕτως·

ἔωθινὸς γάρ, πρὶν τιν' αὐλιτῶν ὄραν,

θαλλὸν χιμαίραις προσφέρων νεοσπάδα, |

b εἶδον στρατὸν στείχοντα παραλίαν ἄκραν.<sup>36</sup>

μνημονεύει τῆς Ναννίου καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Ταραντίνοις οὕτως·

<sup>36</sup> Harpocration N 2 has *πέτραν*.

<sup>336</sup> PAA 717932; otherwise unknown.

<sup>337</sup> Hellebore was also known as *antikuria* or *antikurikon*, and was used to treat schizophrenic breakdowns and the like (hence the first explanation of Anticyra's nickname).

<sup>338</sup> PAA 382240; her lover Leocrates is PAA 605195.

ATHENAEUS

ἔπειτα τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ  
πρὸς Ἀερόπην ἔλθουσα πέμψαι στρώματα  
αὐτὴν κέλευε, φησί, καὶ παρ' Ὠκιμον  
χαλκώματα.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κόλακι τάσδε καταλέγει ἐταίρας· |

Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην, Ἀντίκυραν, Ἴσχαδα,  
καὶ Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας ὠραίαν σφόδρα.

Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυναγίδι·

οὐχὶ Κερκώπη μὲν ἤδη γέγον' ἔτη τρισχίλια,  
ἡ δὲ Διοπίθους ἀηδῆς Τέλεισις ἕτερα μυρία;  
Θεολύτην δ' <οὐδ' > οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον  
ἐγένετο.

οὐχὶ Λαῖς μὲν τελευτῶσ' ἀπέθανεν βινουμένη, |  
Ἴσθμιας δὲ καὶ Νέαιρα κατασέσηπε καὶ Φίλα;  
Κοσσύφας δὲ καὶ Γαλήνας καὶ Κορώνας οὐ  
λέγω.

περὶ δὲ Ναῖδος σιωπῶ· γομφίους γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει.

Θεόφιλος Φιλαύλω·

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<sup>345</sup> PAA 108227.

<sup>346</sup> Chrysis is PAA 994150; Corone is PAA 582915; Anticyra/  
Oia (cf. 13.586f) is PAA 740525; Ischas is PAA 542560; and  
Nannarion is PAA 700560.

<sup>347</sup> PAA 566472.

<sup>348</sup> PAA 879675; her lover Diopeithes is PAA 363140.

<sup>349</sup> PAA 508540.

φιλοσοφείν ἤρξατο ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικούρω δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν· ὥστ' ἐκείνον πολλὴν φροντίδα ποιούμενον αὐτῆς τοῦτ' ἐμφανίζειν διὰ τῶν Πρὸς Ἑρμαρχον Ἐπιστολῶν. Λαΐδος τε τῆς ἐξ Ἑκκάρων (πόλις δ' αὕτη  
 c Σικελική, ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμάλωτος | γενομένη ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Τίμαιον), ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ἦρα καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ Διογένης τε ὁ κύων ἢ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἢ Μελαινὶς καλουμένη νυκτὸς ἐπιφαινομένη ἐμήνυνεν ἐραστῶν ἕφοδον πολυταλάντων, οὐχ Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας δευτέρῳ; Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἔτι παρθένον οὔσαν τὴν Λαΐδα θεασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης ὑδροφοροῦσαν καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος ἠγαγέν ποτε αὐτὴν εἰς φίλων  
 d συμπόσιον. | χλευασάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων ὅτι ἀνθ' ἑταίρας παρθένον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγοι, “μὴ θαυμάσητε,” εἶπεν “ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μέλλουσαν ἀπόλαυσιν μετ' οὐδ' ὄλην τριετίαν καλὴν δείξω.” τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ Θεοδότης τῆς

359 Cf. 7.327b; 13.588f–9a.

360 Cf. 13.589a. According to Σ Ar. Pl. 179, Laïs was captured by Nicias in 415 BCE during the Sicilian Expedition and sold to a Corinthian; she could thus easily have been a lover of Aristippus, who was a contemporary of Socrates (d. 399). But this Laïs is unlikely also to have had Demosthenes (384–322) and Diogenes (c.412/403–324/321) as lovers, or to have been mentioned by Hyperides (389–322), and certainly could not have been seen by

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she stop working as a prostitute once she began to study philosophy, and she had sex with all Epicurus' followers in the Gardens, even right before Epicurus' eyes. He was accordingly quite concerned about her, as he makes clear in his *Letters to Hermarchus* (fr. 121, pp. 138–9 Usener). As for Laïs of Hyccara—this is a city in Sicily,<sup>359</sup> and after she was taken prisoner in a war she went from there to Corinth, according to Polemon in Book VI of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 44 Preller);<sup>360</sup> Aristippus (SSR IV A 91 = fr. 60 Mannebach) was her lover, as were the orator Demosthenes and Diogenes the Cynic (Diogenes of Sinope SSR V B 213); the Corinthian Aphrodite known as Melainis, moreover, used to appear to her by night, and tell her when she was about to be visited by extremely wealthy lovers—does not Hyperides mention her in his second speech *Against Aristagoras* (fr. 13 Jensen, quoted at 13.587c–d)? When Laïs was still a girl, the painter Apelles saw her fetching water from the Peirene spring,<sup>361</sup> and he was so astonished at how stunning she was, that he eventually took her to a party given by some friends. When the other guests made fun of him for bringing a young girl rather than a prostitute to the party, he said: “Don't be surprised; because in less than two years I'll put her on display as a beauty guaranteed to make people happy.” Socrates offered a similar prediction about Theodote of Athens,<sup>362</sup> ac-

Apelles when she was young. Most likely two or more women with the same name have become hopelessly confused in the ancient scholarly tradition.

<sup>361</sup> Apelles of Colophon and Ephesus (late 4th century BCE) was regarded as one of the greatest painters the Greek world produced; cf. 13.590f–1a. The Peirene spring was located in Corinth; cf. 2.43b.

<sup>362</sup> PAA 505035.



Ἀθηναίας, ὡς φησι Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ὅτι δὲ καλλίστη εἶη καὶ στέρνα κρείττω λόγου παντὸς ἔχει λέγοντός <τινος>,<sup>37</sup> “ἰτέον ἡμῖν”, ἔφη· “θεασομένοις τὴν γυναῖκα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούουσιν ἔστιν κρίναι τὸ κάλλος.” οὕτω δ’ ἦν ἡ καλῆ<sup>38</sup> ὡς καὶ τοὺς ζωγράφους | ἐρχομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπομιμῆσθαι τῆς  
 e γυναικὸς τοὺς μαστοὺς καὶ τὰ στέρνα. διαζηλοτυπουμένη δέ ποτε ἡ Λαῖς Φρύνη πολὺν ἐραστῶν ἔσχηκεν ὄμιλον, οὐ διακρίνουσα πλούσιον ἢ πένητα οὐδ’ ὑβριστικῶς αὐτοῖς χρωμένη. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ κατ’ ἔτος δύο μῆνας συνδιημέρευεν αὐτῇ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τοῖς Ποσειδωνίοις· καὶ ὄνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ οἰκέτου, ὅτι “σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ προῖκα Διογένει τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεται,” ἀπεκρίνατο· “ἐγὼ Λαῖδι χορηγῶ  
 f πολλά, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύω, | οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος.” τοῦ δὲ Διογένους εἰπόντος αὐτῷ· “Ἀρίστιππε, κοινῇ συνοικεῖς πόρνη. ἡ κύνιζε οὖν, ὡς ἐγώ, ἡ πέπασο,” καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος· “ἄρά γε μή τί σοι ἄτοπον δοκεῖ εἶναι, Διόγευες, οἰκίαν οἰκεῖν ἐν ἧ πρότερον ᾤκησαν ἄλλοι;” “οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη. “τί δὲ ναῦν ἐν ἧ πολλοὶ πεπλεύκασιν;” “οὐδὲ τοῦτο,” ἔφη. “οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ συνέιναι ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν ἧ πολλοὶ κέχρηται.”  
 589 Νυμφόδωρος δ’ ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Σικελίᾳ Θαυμαζομένων ἐξ Ἐκκάρου || φησὶν Σικε-

<sup>37</sup> λέγοντός <τινος> Kaibel: λεγέει τε Α

<sup>38</sup> ἦν ἡ Λαῖς καλῆ ACE: Λαῖς del. Wilamowitz

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ording to Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (3.11.1):<sup>363</sup> When someone observed that she was extremely beautiful and had a chest that was lovelier than words could describe, he said: “We have to go see this woman; because you can’t judge beauty by hearing about it.” She was so attractive that painters came to visit her and copied her breasts and her chest. At one point Laïs was in competition with Phryne<sup>364</sup> and had a large group of lovers, since she did not discriminate between rich and poor, and did not treat them badly. Aristippus (SSR IV A 92 = fr. 61 Mannebach) used to spend two months every year with her on Aegina during the Posidonia festival. When one of his slaves criticized him, saying: “You give her this much money—and she rolls around with Diogenes the Cynic for free!”, he responded: “I take good care of Laïs so that I can enjoy her myself, not to prevent anyone else from doing so.” When Diogenes said to him: “Aristippus, you’re living with a common whore. So either become a Cynic, like me, or cut it out!”, Aristippus (fr. 64A Mannebach) said: “Well—it doesn’t seem odd to you, does it, Diogenes, to live in a house other people lived in before?” “Of course not,” he said. “What about sailing a boat many people have sailed in?” “That doesn’t bother me either,” he said. “So too, there’s nothing odd about sleeping with a woman many people have had sex with.”<sup>365</sup> Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *On the Marvellous Sights in Sicily* (FGrH 572 F 1) reports that Laïs was from Hyccarus, which was a fortified

<sup>363</sup> What follows is a rough paraphrase of the passage rather than a quotation.

<sup>364</sup> Presumably Phryne of Thespieae (PAA 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f.

<sup>365</sup> The same anecdote (but in largely different words) is preserved at D.L. 2.74.

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λικού φρουρίου εἶναι τὴν Λαΐδα. Στράτις δ' ἐν Μακεδόνσι ἢ Πausanία Κορινθίαν αὐτὴν εἶναί φησιν διὰ τούτων·

(A.) εἰσὶν δὲ πόθεν αἱ παῖδες αὐται καὶ τίνες;

(B.) νυνὶ μὲν ἤκουσιν Μεγαρόθεν, εἰσὶ δὲ Κορίνθια· Λαῖς μὲν † ἦι μέγα κλεος ἴδι †.

Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐξ Ἑκκάρων καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἶρηκεν, ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τινων γυναικῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Πausanίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ φθόνον  
 b καὶ δυσζήλιαν | ταῖς ξυλίταις χελώναις τυπτομένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κληθῆναι Ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης. δείκνυσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τάφον παρὰ τῷ Πηνειῷ σημείον ἔχοντα ὑδρίαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῆσδέ ποθ' ἦ μέγалаυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς  
 ἀλκὴν

Ἑλλὰς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,  
 Λαῖδος, ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρωσ, θρέψεν δὲ  
 Κόρινθος·

κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

c αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ | τεθάφθαι πρὸς τῷ Κρανείῳ. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ Σταγυρίτης<sup>39</sup> οὐκ ἐξ Ἑρπυλλίδος τῆς ἐταίρας ἐπαιδο-

<sup>39</sup> Σταγυρίτης Musurus: σατυριστῆς ACE

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Herpyllis<sup>368</sup> and live with her until he died, according to Hermippus in Book I of his *On Aristotle* (fr. 46 Wehrli), where he says that she received the attention she deserved in the philosopher's will?<sup>369</sup> And was not our noble Plato fond of the Colophonian courtesan Archeanassa? Fond enough that he sang the following to her (Asclep. AP 7.217 = HE 1002–5 = 'Plato' FGE 608–11):<sup>370</sup>

I'm holding Archeanassa, the courtesan from  
Colophon;  
a poignant Love-god sits even on her wrinkles!  
O miserable creatures, who confronted her youth  
on its maiden voyage; what an enormous pyre you  
passed through!

And did not Olympian Pericles, according to Clearchus in Book I of the *Erotica* (fr. 30 Wehrli), throw all of Greece into turmoil on account of Aspasia<sup>371</sup>—not the younger Aspasia,<sup>372</sup> but the one who spent time with the wise Socrates—despite having such a great reputation for intelligence and political power? This man was extremely interested in sex, to the extent that he even slept with his son's wife, according to Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who was his contemporary and had seen him (FGrH 107 T 2), in his work entitled *On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles* (FGrH 107 F 10a). Antisthenes Socraticus (fr. 35 Declava

<sup>368</sup> Herpyllis (otherwise unknown) is PAA 422602; Nicomachus is PAA 716905.

<sup>369</sup> The relevant passage is preserved at D.L. 5.12.

<sup>370</sup> Also quoted and assigned to Plato at D.L. 3.31.

<sup>371</sup> An echo of Ar. *Ach.* 526–31 (not to be taken seriously as historical evidence). <sup>372</sup> Cf. 13.576d.

σθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας δις τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσι-  
 όντα καὶ ἐξίόντα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρω-  
 πον, καὶ φευγούσης ποτὲ αὐτῆς γραφὴν ἀσεβείας  
 λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλείονα ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 βίου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευε. καὶ Κίμωνος δ' Ἐλπι-  
 νίκη τῇ ἀδελφῇ παρανόμως συνόντος, εἶθ' ὕστερον  
 f ἐκδοθείσης Καλλία, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος | μισθὸν ἔλα-  
 βε τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἐλπινίκη  
 μιχθῆναι. Πυθαίετος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Αἰγίνης Πε-  
 ριανδρὸν φησιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τὴν Προκλέους θυγα-  
 τέρα Μέλισσαν ἰδόντα Πελοποννησιακῶς ἠσθημένην  
 (ἀναμπέχονος γὰρ καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν καὶ ὠνοχόει τοῖς  
 ἐργαζομένοις) ἐρασθέντα γῆμαι. Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἑπειρωτῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν τρίτος ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ  
 ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος, ἐρωμένη ἦν Τίγρις ἢ  
 590 Λευκαδία· ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς || ἢ τοῦ νεανίσκου μήτηρ  
 φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινεν.

Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ὥσπερ ἔρμαιόν τι, ἔτι λαλοῦντος  
 τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἔφη, εἰ ἔχομεν ἀρρενικῶς εἰρημένον τὸν  
 τίγριν. Φιλήμονα γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτ' εἰρηκότα ἐν Νεαίρα·

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<sup>373</sup> Cimon son of Miltiades (PAA 569795) was an important Athenian political and military leader in the 470s and 460s BCE, but was ostracized in 461; he was recalled from exile in the late 450s. Elpinice is PAA 387165, while her husband, the extraordinarily wealthy Callias son of Hipponicus, is PAA 554480. The lurid details that follow are echoed in other sources, but are unlikely to be anything other than typically vicious Athenian political slander.

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Caizzi = SSR V A 143) claims that Pericles was in love with Aspasia and went into and out of her house twice a day just to say hello to her, and that at one point when she was on trial for impiety, he spoke on her behalf and wept more than when his own life and property were at risk. So too when Cimon<sup>373</sup> broke the law by sleeping with his sister Elpinice (who was later married off to Callias) and had been sent into exile, Pericles accepted the opportunity to have sex with Elpinice as his price for arranging Cimon's return. Pythaenetus in Book III of *On Aegina* (FGrH 299 F 3) says that when Periander,<sup>374</sup> on his way home from Epidaurus, saw Procles' daughter Melissa, who was dressed in the Peloponnesian style—she had no outer garment on, and was wearing only a tunic and pouring wine for the workers—he fell in love with her and married her. And Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, who was the grandson of the Pyrrhus who invaded Italy,<sup>375</sup> was in love with Tigris of Leucas; Olympias, the young man's mother, poisoned her.

Ulpian, acting as if he had just stumbled upon a lucky find, said while Myrtilus was still speaking: (I wonder) if we have the word *tigris* ("tiger") used in the masculine? For I know that Philemon in *Neaera* (fr. 49) says the following:

<sup>374</sup> The late 7th-/early 6th-century BCE tyrant of Corinth. Procles was tyrant of Epidaurus. Periander eventually killed Melissa and overthrew Procles; cf. Hdt. 3.50–2.

<sup>375</sup> In 280–275 BCE; although Pyrrhus nominally won a number of major battles, he also suffered heavy losses and ultimately accomplished nothing (hence the term "Pyrrhic victory"). The younger Pyrrhus was king of Epirus c.254–234.

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(A.) ὡσπερ Σέλευκος δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν,  
 ἦν εἶδομεν ἡμεῖς, τῷ Σελεύκῳ πάλιν ἔδει  
 ἡμᾶς τι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιπέμψαι θηρίου.

(B.) τρυγέρανον· οὐ γὰρ γίγνεται τοῦτ' αὐτόθι.

b πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· ἐπεὶπερ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἐγέ-  
 νου κατάλογον γυναικῶν ποιουμένοις, οὐ κατὰ | τοὺς  
 Σωσικράτους τοῦ Φαναγορείτου Ἡοίους ἢ τὸν τῶν  
 Γυναικῶν Κατάλογον Νικαινέτου τοῦ Σαμίου ἢ Ἀβδη-  
 ρίτου, μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ τρέψομαι  
 πεύσιν,

Φοῖνιξ ἄττα γεραιέ.

μάθε οὖν ὅτι ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκε τὸν τίγριν Ἄλεξις ἐν  
 Πυραύνῳ οὕτως·

ἄνοιγ' ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν· ἐλάνθανον  
 πάλαι περιπατῶν ἀνδριάς, ἀλέτων ὄνος,  
 ποτάμιος ἵππος, τοῖχος, ὁ Σελεύκου τίγρις.

c ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια ἀνατίθεμαι | τὰ νῦν, ἕως  
 ἂν ἀπομνημονεύσω τὸν τῶν<sup>42</sup> καλῶν γυναικῶν κατά-

<sup>42</sup> τὸν περὶ τῶν A: περὶ del. Meineke

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<sup>376</sup> The tigress belonging to Seleucus I is mentioned again by Alexis below (see n.) and was probably among the exotic gifts sent him by the Indian king Chandragupta ("Sandrocottus"; Berve i #696); cf. 1.18d–e with n.; Arnott, *Alexis* p. 590.

<sup>377</sup> A *trugôn* is a turtledove, while a *geranos* is a crane; but what the joke is, is impossible to say.

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(A.) Since Seleucus sent us the tigress<sup>376</sup> (*tigris*,  
fem.),

the one we saw, we should have sent Seleucus  
some wild animal back from us in return.

(B.) How about a *trugeranos*?<sup>377</sup> Because they're not  
found there.

Myrtilus responded: Since you interfered as I was producing my catalogue of women—although not one to match the *Ehoioi*<sup>378</sup> of Sosicrates of Phanagoreia (*SH* 732) or the *Catalogue of Women* of Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdera (fr. 2, p. 2 Powell)—I will pause for a moment and give my attention to your question,

old father Phoenix<sup>379</sup> (*Il.* 9.607).

Be aware, then, that Alexis in *The Pan of Coals* (fr. 207) uses *tigris* as a masculine, as follows:

Open the door! Open it! I didn't notice that  
I've been walking around for a long time like a statue,  
a mill-stone,  
a hippopotamus, a wall, or Seleucus' tiger<sup>380</sup> (masc.).

Although I have other examples, I am deferring them for the moment,<sup>381</sup> until I can complete my catalogue of beau-

<sup>378</sup> Literally "Or Such Men As", this being the standard formula to introduce the next item in catalogues of this type; cf. 13.597d–e with n.

<sup>379</sup> A punning reference to Ulpian's Syrian (i.e. "Phoenician") ancestry.

<sup>380</sup> Clearly caged somewhere in public view and now notorious for walking endlessly—and helplessly—in circles.

<sup>381</sup> In fact, Myrtilus never returns to the question.



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λογον. Κλέαρχος γὰρ περὶ Ἐπαμινώνδου φησὶν οὕτως· Ἐπαμινώνδας δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος σεμνότερον μὲν τούτων, οὐκ εὐσχημόνως δὲ περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐσφάλλετο τὴν γνώμην, εἴ τις θεωροίη τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Λάκωνος γυναῖκα. Ἐπερείδης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβαλὼν Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ἄστει εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὲ Ἀρισταγόραν, | Φίλαν δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἐπερὶ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ἐπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν. ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν, κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθίου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν· διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθίας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησὶν Ἑρμιππος. ὁ δὲ e Ἐπερείδης | συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦννε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικασταὶ καταψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς καὶ περιρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικούς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαί τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς τὴν ὑποφήτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέφ' ἡμισαμένους μὴ

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<sup>382</sup> The 4th-century Theban general and political leader (d. 362 BCE). Nothing else is known of the incident involving “the Spartan’s wife”. <sup>383</sup> PAA 275855.

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tiful women. For Clearchus (fr. 31 Wehrli) says the following about Epaminondas: Epaminondas of Thebes<sup>382</sup> behaved more respectably than these people, but nonetheless betrayed his own convictions about personal relations in an unseemly way, if one considers what he did in the case of the Spartan's wife. The orator Hyperides threw his son Glaucippus<sup>383</sup> out of their ancestral home and took up with the extremely expensive courtesan Myrrhine.<sup>384</sup> He kept her in the city; Aristagora<sup>385</sup> in the Piraeus; and Phila<sup>386</sup> (a woman he had purchased for a large sum of money and then set free, and whom he had later made his housekeeper) in Eleusis, according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 14a). In his speech *On Behalf of Phryne* (fr. 171 Jensen), Hyperides admits that he was in love with her and had by no means escaped these feelings when he moved the Myrrhine mentioned above into his house. Phryne<sup>387</sup> was from Thespieae, and when Euthias successfully indicted her,<sup>388</sup> she escaped the death penalty; Euthias was so angry about this that he never argued another case, according to Hermippus (fr. 68a I Wehrli). Hyperides spoke in support of Phryne, and when his speech accomplished nothing, and the jurors seemed likely to convict her, he brought her out in public, ripped her dress to shreds, exposed her chest, and at the conclusion of his speech produced cries of lament as he gazed at her, causing the jurors to feel a superstitious fear of this priestess and temple-attendant of Aphrodite, and to give in to pity rather than

<sup>384</sup> PAA 662210.

<sup>385</sup> PAA 163101.

<sup>386</sup> PAA 921855.

<sup>387</sup> PAA 964975.

<sup>388</sup> Cf. Baiter-Sauppe ii.319–20. Euthias is PAA 431560.

ἀποκτείναι. καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψή-  
 φισμα, μηδένα οἰκτιρίζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπέρ τινος  
 f μηδὲ βλεπόμενον | τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγο-  
 ρουμένην κρίνεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ὄντως μᾶλλον ἢ Φρύνη  
 καλὴ ἐν τοῖς μὴ βλεπομένοις. διόπερ οὐδὲ ῥαδίως ἦν  
 αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν γυμνήν· ἐχέσαρκον γὰρ χιτώνιον ἡμπεί-  
 χετο καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐκ ἐχρήτο βαλανείοις. τῇ δὲ  
 τῶν Ἐλευσινίων πανηγύρει καὶ τῇ τῶν Ποσειδωνίων  
 ἐν ὄψει τῶν Πανελλήνων πάντων ἀποθεμένη θοιμάτιον  
 καὶ λύσσασα τὰς κόμας ἐνέβαινε τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ ἀπ’  
 591 αὐτῆς Ἀπελλῆς || τὴν Ἀναδυομένην Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ-  
 εγράψατο. καὶ Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν  
 αὐτῆς τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐπλάσατο  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ  
 θεάτρον ἐπέγραψε·

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἔρωτα  
 ἐξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης,  
 Φρύνη μισθὸν ἐμείο διδοὺς ἐμέ· φίλτρα δὲ  
 βάλλω  
 οὐκέτ’ οἰστεύων,<sup>43</sup> ἀλλ’ ἀτενιζόμενος. |

<sup>43</sup> τίκτω / . . . τοξεύων Anth. Pl.

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<sup>389</sup> Presumably a reference to events on the second day of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Boedromion 16), when initiates went down to the sea with a piglet and washed themselves and it there; cf. Olson on Ar. *Pax* 374–5. Something similar must have gone on at an (otherwise unidentified) local festival of Poseidon.

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He gave her a choice of statues, letting her decide whether she would like to have the Eros or the satyr that stood in the Street of Tripods, and she chose the Eros and dedicated it in Thespieae.<sup>393</sup> The people who lived in the area had a gold statue made of Phryne herself and dedicated it, mounted on a column of Pentelic marble, in Delphi; Praxiteles produced it.<sup>394</sup> When the Cynic Crates (SSR V H 28) saw it, he called it a monument to Greek depravity.<sup>395</sup> This statue stood between those of Archidamus, the king of Sparta,<sup>396</sup> and Philip son of Amyntas,<sup>397</sup> and carried the inscription “Phryne the daughter of Epicles of Thespieae”, according to Alcetas in Book II of *On the Dedications in Delphi* (FGrH 405 F 1). Apollodorus in his *On Courtesans* (FGrH 244 F 212) records that there were two Phrynes, one of whom was nicknamed Clausigelôta,<sup>398</sup> while the other was called Saperdion.<sup>399</sup> Herodicus in Book VI of *Individuals Mentioned in Comedy* (IV fr. 2, p. 126 Düring) says that the Phryne referred to by the orators as Sestos got her name from the fact that she robbed (*apôsêthein*) and ruined the men who slept with her, whereas the other was the one from Thespieae. Phryne was extremely rich, and offered to build walls around Thebes, if the Thebans would inscribe on them: “Alexander tore them down,<sup>400</sup> but the courtesan Phryne erected them again,” according to Callistratus in his *On Courtesans*

<sup>396</sup> Probably Archidamus III (Poralla #158; reigned 360/59–338 BCE). <sup>397</sup> I.e. Philip II of Macedon.

<sup>398</sup> “Laughing through her Tears” *vel sim*.

<sup>399</sup> Diminutive of *saperdê* (an unidentified fish; cf. 13.579f with n.). <sup>400</sup> Sc. in 335 BCE, when Thebes revolted from his authority and was crushed.

πλούτου αὐτῆς Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Νεαίρα—πρό-  
 κειται τὸ μαρτύριον—καὶ Ἄμφις ἐν Κουρίδι. παρεσί-  
 τει δὲ τῇ Φρύνῃ Γρυλλίων εἰς ὧν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν,  
 ὡς καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ Ὀλύμβιος ὑποκριτῆς Παμφίλῃ.  
 e Ἀριστογοείτων | δὲ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Φρύνῃς τὸ κύριόν  
 φησιν αὐτῆς εἶναι ὄνομα Μνησαρέτην. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ  
 ὅτι τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον κατ' αὐτῆς Εὐθύιου λόγον Διό-  
 δωρος ὁ περιηγητῆς Ἀναξιμένους φησὶν εἶναι. Ποσει-  
 διππος δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἐφεσῖα τάδε φησὶν περὶ  
 αὐτῆς:

Φρύνῃ πρό <γ'> ἡμῶν γέγονεν ἐπιφανεστάτη  
 πολὺ τῶν ἑταιρῶν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεωτέρα  
 τῶν τότε χρόνων εἶ, τὸν γ' ἀγῶν' ἀκήκοας.  
 βλάπτειν δοκοῦσα τοὺς βίους μείζους βλάβας |  
 f τὴν ἡλιαίαν εἶλε περὶ τοῦ σώματος  
 καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καθ' ἓνα δεξιουμένη  
 μετὰ δακρύων διέσωσε τὴν ψυχὴν μόλις.

ἴστε δὲ ὅτι καὶ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐξ αὐλητρίδος  
 ἑταίρας ἐπαιδοποιήσατο Δημέαν· ὃν φρουαττόμενον

401 At 13.567d–e, quoting Timocl. fr. 25.

402 PAA 281930; cf. Axionic. fr. 2 (quoted at 6.244f).

403 Satyrus (O'Connor #429; Stephanis #2235; PAA 813890)  
 was a comic actor.

404 Perhaps to be identified with PAA 761905 (apparently the  
 title-character of a play by Alexis—but not necessarily a real per-  
 son on that account).

405 Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 401a.

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συνῆν ἢ Ἀρχίππη, ὁ πρότερος αὐτῆς ἐραστῆς Σμικρί-  
 νης ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τινος τί πράττει Ἀρχίππη χαρι-  
 έντως ἔφη· “ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφον κάθηται.”  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἴσοκράτης ὁ τῶν ῥητόρων αἰδημο-  
 νέστατος Μετάνειραν εἶχεν ἐρωμένην † καὶ καλήν †,  
 ὡς Λυσίας ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς. Δημοσθένης |  
 c δ' ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Νεαίρας τὴν Μετάνειραν τοῦ Λυσίου  
 φησὶν ἐρωμένην εἶναι. ἤττητο δὲ καὶ ὁ Λυσίας Λαγί-  
 δος τῆς ἐταίρας, ἧς ἔγραψεν ἐγκώμιον Κέφαλος ὁ  
 ῥήτωρ, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας ὁ Ἐλαίτης ὁ Γοργίου  
 μαθητῆς ἔγραψεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκώμιον Ναΐδος τῆς  
 ἐταίρας. τὴν δὲ Ναΐδα ταύτην Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατὰ  
 Φιλωνίδου Βιαίων, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, ἐρωμένην φησὶ  
 γενέσθαι Φιλωνίδου γράφων ὧδε· ἔστιν οὖν γυνὴ  
 ἐταίρα Ναῖς ὄνομα, ἧς Ἀρχίας κύριός ἐστιν, ὁ δ'  
 Ὑμέναιος ἐπιτήδειος, ὁ Φιλωνίδης δ' ἐρᾶν φησιν.  
 d μνημονεύει αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ | Γηρυτάδῃ,  
 μήποτε δὲ κὰν τῷ Πλούτῳ ἐν ᾧ λέγει·

ἐρᾶ δὲ Ναῖς<sup>44</sup> οὐ διὰ σὲ Φιλωνίδου;

γραπτέον Ναῖς καὶ οὐ Λαῖς. Ἐρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ  
 Ἴσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἴσο-  
 κράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ἐταίραν εἰς τὴν οἰ-

<sup>44</sup> The traditional text of Aristophanes has Λαῖς.

415 PAA 825490.

416 PAA 647752.

417 PAA 600532.

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he was an old man, when someone asked her previous lover Smicrines<sup>415</sup> what Archippe was up to, he offered the witty response: “She’s sitting on a tomb, like owls do.” Isocrates, again, who was the most modest of the orators, had Metaneira<sup>416</sup> as his lover † and beautiful †, as Lysias reports in his *Letters* (fr. 456 Carey). But Demosthenes in his *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.21) says that Metaneira was Lysias’ lover. Lysias was also smitten with the courtesan Lagis,<sup>417</sup> about whom the orator Cephalus wrote a praise-speech (fr. 2, Baier–Sauppe ii.217), just as Gorgias’ student Alcidas of Elis (II, Baier–Sauppe ii.155) wrote one about the courtesan Naïs.<sup>418</sup> Lysias in his *Against Philonides for Battery* (fr. 299 Carey)—if the speech is genuine—claims that this Naïs was Philonides’ lover, writing as follows: There is, then, a courtesan named Naïs; Archias is her legal guardian, Hymenaeus is her close friend, and Philonides admits to being in love with her.<sup>419</sup> Aristophanes too mentions her in *Gerytades* (fr. 179), and perhaps also in *Wealth* (179), where he says:

Doesn’t Naïs love Philonides because of you?<sup>420</sup>

“Naïs” rather than “Lais” should be read.<sup>421</sup> Hermippus in his *On Isocrates* (fr. 65 Wehrli) says that when Isocrates was growing old, he moved the courtesan Lagisca<sup>422</sup> into

<sup>418</sup> PAA 700450.

<sup>419</sup> Archias is PAA 212245; Hymenaeus is PAA 901530; and Philonides is PAA 957480.

<sup>420</sup> Addressed to the blind god Wealth.

<sup>421</sup> Marking this as an ancient emendation; see the note on the Greek text.

<sup>422</sup> PAA 600533.

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κίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον. μνημονεύει  
δ' αὐτῆς Στράτις ἐν τούτοις·

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
ιδεῖν<sup>45</sup> με συκάζουσαν εὐναίαν ἔτι,  
τόν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτόν. |

- e καὶ Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Λαΐδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος,  
μνημονεύει αὐτῆς, καταλέγων καὶ ἄλλας ἐταίρας ἐν  
τούτοις· Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνεομένη ἔτι<sup>46</sup>  
νέα οὔσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἰππάφεις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ  
Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἄνθεια καὶ Ἀριστόκλεια.  
Δημοσθένη δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ  
ἐταίρας ἔχει λόγος. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χρυσίου  
λόγῳ προαγήοχε τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δι'  
ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔξων χωρὶς τῆς μητρός, καίτοι ἔθος  
f ἐχόντων | τῶν κρινομένων τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπάγεσθαι  
ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, φεύγων τὴν διαβολήν.  
ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ὧς  
φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεῖς  
μειρακίου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον  
ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ

<sup>45</sup> εὐρεῖν Zosimus (who also adds a few words to the end of the  
third verse)      <sup>46</sup> καὶ ἔτι A: καὶ om. 13.586e

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<sup>423</sup> Identified by Zosimus (who gives a slightly more complete  
version of the text) as coming from *Atalantus* or *Atalante*.

<sup>424</sup> Quoted also, in slightly abbreviated form, at 13.586e.

<sup>425</sup> Scione is PAA 824375; Hippaphesis is PAA 537770;



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his house and had a daughter by her. Strattis (fr. 3.1–3) mentions her in the following passage:<sup>423</sup>

that I saw Isocrates' concubine  
Lagisca still in bed and eating figs,  
and the flute-lover himself.

Lysias in his *Against Laïs* (fr. 208 Carey)<sup>424</sup>—if the speech is genuine—also mentions her, and includes other courtesans as well in his list, in the following passage: Philyra, at any rate, stopped working as a whore when she was still young, as did Scione, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathe, Lagisca, Antheia, and Aristocleia.<sup>425</sup> Rumor has it that the orator Demosthenes also had a child by a courtesan. He himself, at any rate, in his speech *On the Gold* (IV, Baier-Sauppe ii.251), brought his children before the court without their mother in order to elicit pity on their account, even though married men normally brought their wives in. He did this, however, out of a concern for public opinion, as a way of avoiding malicious gossip. Demosthenes had a strong sex-drive, according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 12). When he was in love with a boy named Aristarchus,<sup>426</sup> for example, he made a wild, drunken assault on Nicodemus because of him and gouged out his eyes. Tradition

Theocleia is PAA 507884; Psamathe is PAA 996120; Lagisca is PAA 600533; Antheia is PAA 129522; and Aristocleia is PAA 169590.

<sup>426</sup> PAA 164185. Aristarchus murdered Nicodemus (below; PAA 714295) in 348 BCE. The details of the incident are impossible to disentangle from the wild slanders in which they are embedded (see MacDowell on D. 21.104), but it certainly had political as well as personal aspects.

περὶ ὄψα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας πολυτελής. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς ποτ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε· “τί δ' ἄν  
 593 τις περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγειν δύναίτο; ἢ τὰ γὰρ ἐν-  
 αὐτῷ μελετηθέντα ἐκείνῳ μία γυνή μιᾷ νυκτὶ συν-  
 ἔχεεν.” ἀναλαβεῖν γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγεται τινα  
 Κνωσίωνα μεираκίσκον, καίτοι γυναῖκα ἔχων· ὡς καὶ  
 αὐτὴν ἀγανακτήσασαν συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῷ Κνωσίωνι.

Μυρρίνην δὲ τὴν Σαμίαν ἑταίραν Δημήτριος εἶχεν  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς διαδοχῆς τελευταῖος καὶ ἔξω τοῦ  
 διαδήματος κοινωνὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ὡς φησιν  
 Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ τὴν ἐν  
 Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὦν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου  
 b βασιλέως Εἰρήνην ἰεῖχε τὴν ἑταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρα-  
 κῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλεομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ  
 καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατ-  
 ἔφυγεν· καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἡ Εἰρήνη  
 ἔχομένη τῶν ρόπτρων τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπέρραινεν  
 τοῦ αἵματος τοῖς βωμοῖς, ἕως καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσφαξαν.  
 Δανάην δὲ τὴν Λεοντίου τῆς Ἐπικουρείου θυγατέρα  
 ἑταιριζομένην καὶ αὐτὴν Σώφρων εἶχεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Ἐφέσου δι' ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη ἐπιβουλεόμενος ὑπὸ  
 Λαοδίκης, ἡ δὲ κατεκρημνίσθη, ὡς γράφει Φύλαρχος  
 c διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης ἢ τάδε· ἡ πάρεδρος τῆς Λαοδίκης  
 Δανάη, πιστευομένη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα, Λεοντίου δ'

427 PAA 580150. For the story, cf. Aeschin. 2.149.

428 Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 BCE).

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the natural philosopher Epicurus; previously she had been Sophron's lover. When Danae realized that Laodice wanted to kill Sophron, she nodded her head at him, as a way of informing him about the plot. He understood and pretended to agree with Laodice's proposals, but asked for two days to think them over; when she agreed, he escaped by night to Ephesus. When Laodice realized what Danae had done, she had her thrown off a cliff, ignoring all her previous kindnesses. They say that when Danae recognized how dangerous her situation was, she nonetheless did not treat Laodice as worthy of a response, when Laodice tried to interrogate her. And as she was being led off to the cliff, she said that people generally are right to despise the divine powers, "given that this is the sort of thanks I get from the divinity for saving someone who was once my man, while Laodice, who killed her husband, is accorded such tremendous honor." The same Phylarchus in Book XIV (*FGrH* 81 F 30) offers the following information about Mysta: Mysta was a lover of King Seleucus.<sup>432</sup> When Seleucus was defeated by the Celts and barely escaped the rout alive, she took off her royal clothing and put on the rags of a common servant-woman. She was then captured and taken away with the other prisoners-of-war, and was sold, just like her own servant-women, and came to Rhodes. There she revealed her identity, and the Rhodians sent her off with considerable pomp to Seleucus.

<sup>432</sup> Seleucus II; the events in question took place in 238 BCE.

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Demetrius of Phaleron was in love with the Samian courtesan Lampito<sup>433</sup> and enjoyed being called Lampito himself on account of her, according to Diyllus (*FGrH* 73 F 4 = *Demetr. Phal.* fr. 37 Wehrli = fr. 5 Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf); he was also referred to as Charitoblepharos ("Grace-Eyed").<sup>434</sup> The courtesan Nicarete<sup>435</sup> was a lover of the orator Stephanus, while Metaneira was a lover of the sophist Lysias;<sup>436</sup> these women were slaves who belonged to Casius of Elis along with other courtesans, including Anteia, Stratola, Aristocleia, Phila, Isthmias, and Neaera.<sup>437</sup> Neaera was a lover of the poet Xenocleides; of the actor Hipparchus; and of Phrynion of the deme Paeania,<sup>438</sup> who was the son of Demon and the nephew of Demochares.<sup>439</sup> Phrynion and the orator Stephanus<sup>440</sup> had Neaera on an alternate-day basis; their friends mediated the arrangement.<sup>441</sup> Stephanus married off Neaera's daughter Strymbele<sup>442</sup> (later known as Phano) to Phrastor

<sup>437</sup> Anteia is PAA 131297; Stratola is PAA 837970; Aristocleia is PAA 169585; Phila is PAA 921855; Isthmias is PAA 539827; and Neaera is PAA 702905.

<sup>438</sup> Xenocleides is Stephanis #1901; PAA 731760. Hipparchus (a highly successful tragic actor) is O'Connor #256; Stephanis #1278; PAA 537695. Phrynion is PAA 965660.

<sup>439</sup> Demon is PAA 322755; Demochares is PAA 322000. The genealogy is drawn straight from [D.] 59.30, except that there Demochares is correctly identified as Phrynion's brother rather than his nephew.

<sup>440</sup> PAA 834250.

<sup>441</sup> Cf. [D.] 59.45–6 (where the friends and the arbitrators are different groups).

<sup>442</sup> PAA 842620.

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ρι τῷ Αἰγυαλεῖ, ὡς φησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ  
Νεαίρας. ὃς καὶ περὶ Σινώπης τῆς ἐταίρας τάδε λέγει·  
Ἄρχίαν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικα-  
στηρίῳ ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα καὶ θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς  
θυσίας ἐκολάσατε· καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ καὶ  
ὅτι Σινώπη τῇ ἐταίρα Ἀλώοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν  
b τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσίνι | προσαγούση ἱερεῖον θύσειεν,  
νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα μὴ θύειν, οὐδὲ  
ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας.