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ATHENAEUS

VI

ATHENAEUS

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VI

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PREFATORY NOTE

In an essay written in 1867 James Russell Lowell took occasion to say : " The somewhat greasy heap of a literary rag-and-bone-picker, like Athenaeus, is turned to gold by time." In this volume the reader will find that Athenaeus goes further, and presents " a rag and bone and a hank o' hair " with embarrassing frankness.

The text, like that of the fifth volume, is based on my own collation of Codex Marcianus (A) and the Paris Excerpts (C). Dr. S. P. Peppink's *Observationes in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* (Leyden, 1936) has been helpful in restoring the correct attribution of emendations to scholars of the Netherlands.

My translation of Hermesianax first appeared in Dr. Loeb's *Alexandrian Poetry* (1931). It is here further revised, and proper credit, I trust, has been given to the many learned men who have laboured with this difficult poem.

C. B. G.

Harvard University,
March 1937

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VI

ABBREVIATIONS

Allinson = *Menander*, in Loeb Classical Library.
Aristoph. = Aristophanes.
Aristot. = Aristotle.
Athen. = Athenaeus.
B. and S. = Baiter and Sauppe.
Brandt = *Parodorum Epicorum Graecorum Reliquiae*, ed. P. Brandt, 1888.
Diehl = *Anthologia Lyrica*, ed. E. Diehl, 1922–1924.
Diels = *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, ed. Hermann Diels, 1901.
Diels[3] = *Vorsokratiker*, 3rd edition.
Dittmer = W. A. Dittmer, *Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae found in Rome*, 1923.
Edmonds = *Elegy and Iambus*, in Loeb Classical Library.
= *Lyra Graeca*, in Loeb Classical Library.
F.H.G. = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller.
Frag. ep. = *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel.
G. and H. = Grenfell and Hunt, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.
H.S.C.P. = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.
Hort = *Theophrastus*, in Loeb Classical Library.
I.G. = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
J. = Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.
Kaibel = *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kaibel (for Epicharmus, Sophron, Sopater).
Kock = *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, ed. Th. Kock.
Olivieri = *Frammenti della commedia greca*, Naples, 1930.
P.L.G.[4] = Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th edition.
P.L.G.[5] = 5th edition of the preceding work, Vol. i. (Pindar), by Schroeder, 1900, reprinted with a new appendix (*P.L.G.*[5]), 1923. Vols. ii. and iii. reprinted with indices by Rubenbauer, 1914.

ABBREVIATIONS

Powell	= *Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J. U. Powell, Oxford, 1925.
P.-W.	= Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie.*
S. V. F.	= *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim, 1903.
Script. Al. M.	= *Scriptores Historiarum Alexandri Magni.*
T. G. F.	= *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck, 2nd edition.

The references are to pages, unless otherwise indicated.

In the case of an ancient author whose work is known only through quotations, a proper name following a reference indicates the modern editor or compiler of the quoted fragments. Thus, "Frag. 200 Rose," means the edition of Aristotle's *Fragmenta* by Valentin Rose; "Frag. 72 Gaede," Gaede's edition of the *Fragmenta* of Demetrius of Scepsis, etc.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE

Aemilianus Maurus, grammarian.
Alceides of Alexandria, musician.
Amoebeus, harp-player and singer.
Arrian, grammarian.
Athenaeus of Naucratis, the author.
Cynulcus, nickname of a Cynic philosopher, Theodorus.
Daphnus of Ephesus, physician.
Democritus of Nicomedia, philosopher.
Dionysocles, physician.
Galen of Pergamum, physician.
Larensis (P. Livius Larensis), Roman official, *pontifex minor*, *procurator patrimonii*.
Leonidas of Elis, grammarian.
Magnus, probably a Roman.
Masurius, jurist, poet, musician.
Myrtilus of Thessaly, grammarian.
Palamedes the Eleatic, lexicographer.
Philadelphus Ptolemaeensis, philosopher.
Plutarch of Alexandria, grammarian.
Pontianus of Nicomedia, philosopher.
Rufinus of Nicaea, physician.
Timocrates, to whom Athenaeus relates the story of the banquet.
Ulpian of Tyre, Roman jurist and official.
Varus, grammarian.
Zoïlus, grammarian.

ATHENAEUS

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

ΙΓ

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ[1]

555 Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμῳδιοποιός, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ὡς ἀνεγίνωσκέ τινα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῳδιῶν, ὁ δὲ δῆλος ἦν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀποδεχόμενος, "δεῖ γάρ, ἔφησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ταῦτα ἀποδεχόμενον[2] ἀπὸ συμβολῶν[3] τε πολλάκις δεδειπνηκέναι καὶ περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγάς," ὥς φησι Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κωμῳδίας. ἡμεῖς οὖν τὸν περὶ ἐρωτικῶν λόγον ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντες κατατάτ-
b τειν (ἐγένοντο γὰρ καὶ περὶ γαμετῶν καὶ ἑταιρῶν πολλάκις λόγοι) εἰδόσιν ἐκτιθέμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μουσῶν τὴν Ἐρατὼ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι εἰς μνή-

[1] ΙΓ A. This is the only book dignified with a special title. See the colophon at p. 300.
[2] ACE: ἀποδεξόμενον Meineke.
[3] συμβολῶν C: συμβόλων A.

THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS OF ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS

BOOK XIII

Concerning Women [a]

The comic poet Antiphanes, friend Timocrates, was once reading one of his plays to King Alexander, who, however, made it plain that he did not altogether like it. "No wonder, sire," the poet said; "for the man who likes this play of mine must have dined often at contribution-dinners,[b] and he must have received and given even oftener hard knocks over a courtesan;" this we have on the authority of Lycophron of Chalcis in his work *On Comedy*.[c] As for us, then, now that we are on the point of setting down our stories of love and lovers (for we often indulged in conversation on the subject of married women and courtesans as well), and since experts will listen to our history, the Muse we must invoke to come to the aid of our

[a] Other similar titles in antiquity were: περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν, περὶ Κάλλους, περὶ Γάμου. See Rohde *Gr. Roman*, F. Wilhelm *Zu Achilles Tatius*, in *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902), 55 ff. On the relations of the sexes in general, see Plat. *Laws* 835 D-842.

[b] For "contribution-dinners" (ἀπὸ συμβολῶν) see Athen. 365 a-d (vol. iv. p. 152), *cf.* 338 f, 449 a (vol. iv. p. 535 note *a*).

[c] Frag. 13 Strecker.

μην ἡμῖν ἰέναι τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκεῖνον κατάλογον,[1] ἐντεῦθεν τὴν καταρχὴν ποιησόμεθα·

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, πάρ θ' ἵστασο[2] καί μοι ἔνισπε,

τίνες λόγοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐλέχθησαν.

Καὶ γὰρ τὰς γαμετὰς ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἑστιάτωρ
c ἐπαινῶν Ἕρμιππον ἔφη ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νομοθετῶν ἱστορεῖν ὅτι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς οἴκημά τι σκοτεινὸν πᾶσαι ἐνεκλείοντο[3] αἱ κόραι, συνεγκλειομένων[4] καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων νεανίσκων· καὶ ἕκαστος ἧς ἐπιλάβοιτο, ταύτην ἀπῆγεν ἄπροικον. διὸ καὶ Λύσανδρον ἐζημίωσαν ὅτι καταλιπὼν τὴν προτέραν ἑτέραν[5] ἐβουλεύετο περικαλλεστέραν ἀγαγέσθαι. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Παροιμιῶν " ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, φησί, τοὺς ἀγάμους αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἕλκουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν,
d ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ὕβριν φεύγοντες φιλοστοργῶσί τε καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ προσίωσι τοῖς γάμοις. ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις πρῶτος Κέκροψ μίαν ἑνὶ ἔζευξεν, ἀνέδην τὸ πρότερον οὐσῶν τῶν συνόδων καὶ κοινογαμίων ὄντων. διὸ καὶ ἔδοξέ τισιν διφυὴς νομισθῆναι, οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν πρότερον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος

[1] κατὰ λόγον A. [2] ἵσταται A.
[3] Kaibel: συνεκλείοντο ACE.
[4] Kaibel: συγκλειομένων A.
[5] Lemma in A: ἑταίραν ACE.

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[a] Patroness of love.
[b] Ap. Rhod. iii. 1, *cf. Od.* xii. 112, εἰ δ' ἄγε δή μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες. [c] Larensis.
[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 37; Plut. *Lycurg.* 15 gives a different account of Spartan marriages.

memory in that long erotic muster-roll is Eratô[a]; and we shall make the auspicious beginning with this line[b]: "Come now I pray thee, Eratô, stand beside me and tell me" what words were spoken concerning love itself, and love-affairs.

In the course of his encomium of married women, our noble host[c] quoted Hermippus as recording, in his work *On Lawgivers*,[d] that in Lacedaemon all the young girls used to be shut up in a dark room, the unmarried young men being locked up with them; and each man led home, as his bride without dower, whichever girl he laid hold of. Hence they punished Lysander with a fine because he abandoned the first girl and plotted to marry another who was much prettier.[e] Clearchus of Soli says[f] in his work *On Proverbs*: "In Lacedaemon at a certain festival the married women pull the bachelors round the altar and thrash them, the object being that the young men in trying to avoid the humiliation of this treatment may yield to the natural affections, and enter upon their marriage in good season.[g] In Athens Cecrops was the first to join one woman to one man; before his time unions had been loose and promiscuity was general. This is why, as some have thought, he is regarded as having a two-fold nature[h]; earlier men did not know who was their own father, there were

[e] *Cf.* below, 566 a, p. 56, of King Archidamus. On Lysander see Prentice, *A.J.A.* xxxviii, 1. 37-42. [f] *F.H.G.* ii. 319.

[g] Pollux iii. 48, viii. 40 says that court prosecutions were directed against those who postponed marriage; *cf.* Plut. *loc. cit.*

[h] The epithet διφυής was variously explained (Immisch in Rosch. *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1018). Cecrops himself was of "two natures," half man and half serpent; but here διφυής refers to lawful birth from a union of the two sexes; τὸ νομίμως ἐκ δυοῖν φύεσθαι, Charax frag. 10. See Suid. *s.* Κέκροψ.

τὸν πατέρα." ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὁρμώμενος μέμψαιτ' ἂν τοὺς περιτιθέντας Σωκράτει δύο γαμετὰς γυναῖκας, Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου[1] Μυρτώ, οὐ τοῦ δικαίου καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ
556 οὐ συγχωροῦσιν) ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ' ἐκείνου. εἰσὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικός, Ἀριστόξενος, οἷς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον Ἀριστοτέλης ἔδωκεν ἱστορῶν τοῦτο ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐγενείας· εἰ μὴ ἄρα συγκεχωρημένον κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐγένετο τότε διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι καὶ δύο ἔχειν γυναῖκας τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητὰς ἀποσιωπῆσαι τοῦτο, πολλάκις τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντας. παρέθετο δὲ περὶ[2] τῶν γυναικῶν
b ψήφισμα Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὅπερ σοι διαπέμψομαι εὐπορήσας τοῦ βιβλίου. ἀντεῖπε δὲ τοῖς λέγουσι περὶ τῶν Σωκράτους γυναικῶν Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος.

Παρὰ δὲ Πέρσαις ἀνέχεται ἡ βασίλεια τοῦ πλήθους τῶν παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ ὡς δεσπότην ἄρχειν τῆς γαμετῆς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλίδα, ὥς φησιν Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν παλλακίδων θρησκεύεσθαι· προσκυνοῦσι

[1] ἀριστίδου A.
[2] τὸ περὶ Meineke, Cobet, perhaps rightly.

[a] Aristeides the Just died *ca.* 467 B.C., when about eighty years old; Socrates was born 470/469.

[b] Grandson, the son of Lysimachus. He is mentioned as one of Socrates' disciples, Plat. *Theaet.* 151 A, *Lach.* 179 A, *Theag.* 130 B. The story that Myrtô was the second wife (Diog. Laert. ii. 26) cannot be reconciled with Plat. *Phaedo* 60 A, and she may be the invention of some comedian. See Zeller, *Phil. d. Griech.* ii.[4] 1. 54, note 2.

so many." Proceeding, then, from this fact, one may find fault with those writers who ascribe to Socrates two wedded wives, Xanthippê and Myrtô, daughter of Aristeides; not the one who was called the Just (since chronology is against that),[a] but the third[b] in descent from him. These writers are Callisthenes,[c] Demetrius of Phalerum,[d] Satyrus the Peripatetic, and Aristoxenus, and it was Aristotle who gave them the keynote by telling this story in his treatise *On Noble Birth*[e]; a story we may doubt unless, to be sure, this bigamy was made allowable by special decree at that time because of the scarcity of people, so that any one who so desired was permitted to have two wives; this would explain why the comic poets passed it over in silence, although they often mention Socrates. Hieronymus of Rhodes has quoted[f] a decree pertaining to women which I will send over to you when I have procured his book. But Panaetius of Rhodes has given the lie to those who talk about the wives of Socrates.[g]

Among the Persians the queen tolerates the large number of concubines because the king rules his wife as absolute owner, and for another reason, according to Dinon in his *History of Persia*,[h] because the queen is treated with reverence by the concubines; at any

[a] J. 2 B 654. [d] J. 2 B 972.

[e] Frag. 93 Rose; Plut. *Aristeid.* 27 doubts the authenticity of this work. For Aristotle's use of the technical term ἐνδόξιμον *cf.* 520 d ἐνέδοσαν . . τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος (vol. v. p. 344).

[f] Frag. 26 Hiller; Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.* says that the decree permitted a man to marry one woman, but to have children by another also.

[g] Apparently by accepting the fact, but attributing it to another Socrates, Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1539.

[h] *F.H.G.* ii. 92.

γοῦν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος δὲ πολλαῖς χρῆται γυναιξὶ καὶ ἡ Ἑκάβη οὐ δυσχεραίνει. λέγει γοῦν ὁ Πρίαμος·

c ἐννεακαίδεκα μέν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι[1]
γυναῖκες.

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἡ τοῦ Φοίνικος μήτηρ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμύντορος παλλακίδα. Μήδεια δὲ καίπερ εἰδυῖα τὸ ἔθος ὅτι ἐστὶ βαρβαρικὸν οὐ φέρει οὐδὲ αὐτὴ τὸν Γλαύκης γάμον, ἤδη εἰς τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐκδεδιῃτημένη. καὶ ἡ Κλυταιμήστρα[2] δὲ περιπαθὴς γενομένη τὴν Κασσάνδραν σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἀποκτείνει, ἣν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ κρείων ἐπηγάγετο,[3] ἐν ἔθει γενόμενος βαρβαρικῶν γάμων.[4] θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν
d τις, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰλιάδος Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε Μενελάῳ συγκοιμωμένην παλλακίδα, πᾶσι δοὺς γυναῖκας. κοιμῶνται γοῦν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ γέροντες μετὰ γυναικῶν, Νέστωρ καὶ Φοῖνιξ. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι ἐκλελυμένοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐν τοῖς τῆς νεότητος χρόνοις ἢ διὰ μέθης ἢ δι' ἀφροδισίων ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς[5] ἐν ταῖς ἀδηφαγίαις[6] ἀπεψίας, ὥστε εἰκότως ἔρρωντο[7] τῷ γήρᾳ. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰδεῖσθαι γαμετὴν οὖσαν τὴν

[1] ἐνιμμεγάροισι A.
[2] *sic* A here; but *cf.* 14 b, 559 c.
[3] ἐπήγετο C.
[4] A: νόμων CE, perhaps rightly.
[5] CE: τὰς A.
[6] ἐν ἀδηφαγίᾳ C.
[7] CE: ἔρρωνται A.

[a] *Il.* xxiv. 496; Priam had fifty sons.
[b] *Il.* ix. 447, *cf.* 450.

rate they do obeisance to her. So, too, Priam has many wives, and Hecuba feels no annoyance. Priam, for example, says[a]: "Nineteen sons were born to me of one womb, but all the rest were born by the women within my halls." But among the Greeks the mother of Phoenix does not tolerate the concubine of Amyntor.[b] And Medea, though she knows that the practice of concubinage obtains among the barbarians,[c] cannot put up with the marriage of Glaucê any the better because she has now changed her habits of life so as to accord with habits more civilized and Greek. Again, Clytaemnestra flew into a passion and killed Cassandra along with Agamemnon himself, because her lord and master had brought Cassandra with him to Greece,[d] having become used to barbarian marriage customs. "And one may feel surprise," says Aristotle,[e] "that nowhere in the *Iliad* has Homer represented a concubine as sleeping with Menelaus, although he has assigned women to all the men. In his poem, for example, even the old men, Nestor and Phoenix, sleep with women.[f] For these two had not allowed their bodies to become enervated in the period of their youth either by hard drinking or by sexual indulgence or by digestive disorders arising from gluttony; hence, of course, they were vigorous in their old age. It is plain, then, that the Spartan[g] had respect for Helen, his wedded wife, for whose

[c] She is a barbarian herself, *cf.* Eur. *Med.* 222, 1330. Her husband Jason left her to marry Glaucê in Corinth.

[d] Clytaemnestra, of course, alleges a different motive: Agamemnon had murdered her first-born, Iphigenia; Aesch. *Ag.* 1415 ff. Yet *cf.* 1438-1447.

[e] Frag. 144 Rose, Athen. 25 f (vol. i. p. 112).

[f] *Il.* xi. 624, of Nestor; as for Phoenix, Aristotle's memory seems to be at fault, *cf. Il.* ix. 658-668.

[g] Menelaus.

Ἑλένην, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἤθροισεν·
e διόπερ φυλάττεται τὴν πρὸς ἄλλην κοινωνίαν. ὁ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ὡς πολυγύναιος ὑπὸ Θερσίτου λοιδορεῖται·

πλεῖαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἃς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν.

ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς χρῆσιν εἶναι 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 φιλογύνης) ἀνὰ μέρος αὐτὰς εἶχεν,
f ὡς ἂν στρατευόμενος[1] 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[2] ἱστορεῖ. πολυγύναιος δ' ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰγεύς· πρώτην μὲν γὰρ ἔγημε τὴν Ὅπλητος θυγατέρα, μεθ' ἣν[3] τῶν Χαλκώδοντος[4] μίαν. παραδοὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρας φίλοις συνῆν πολλαῖς χωρὶς γάμων. ἔπειτα τὴν Πιτθέως ἔλαβεν Αἴθραν, μεθ' ἣν Μήδειαν.
557 Θησεὺς δὲ Ἑλένην ἁρπάσας ἑξῆς καὶ Ἀριάδνην

[1] στρεφόμενος C.
[2] AC: ἡρόδοτος E.
[3] εἶτα τὴν C.
[4] χαλκόδοντοσ AC.

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[a] *Π.* ii. 226; so Clytaemnestra calls him bitterly Χρυσηίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ "darling of all the Chryseïses at Troy" (Aesch. *Ag.* 1439).

[b] *Π.* vii. 467; many ships brought wine from Lemnos to the Achaeans. See also Athen. 11 a (vol. i. p. 46).

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 30, J. 1, 219. The stories of Heracles and the

sake, in fact, he had gathered the expedition together; hence he refrains from any association with another woman. Agamemnon, on the other hand, is taunted by Thersites with having numerous women[a]: 'Verily thy huts are full of bronze, and many women are in thy huts—chosen women whom we Achaeans give to thee first of all.' Yet it is not probable, Aristotle continues, that the great number of women were given to him for concubinage, but rather as a mark of honour, any more than that he procured his large quantities of wine for the purpose of getting drunk."[b]

Heracles, who won the reputation of having had very many wives (he was, in fact, fond of women), had them in succession, as would be natural in one who was always marching on expeditions and arriving in various localities; that is why he had such a large number of children. Yet it is true that in the space of five days he deflowered fifty daughters of Thestius, as Herodorus records.[c] Aegeus, again, was another hero who had many wives; the first that he married was the daughter[d] of Hoplês; after her he married one of Chalcodon's daughters.[e] But after yielding them both to friends Aegeus kept company with many women without marrying them. Later he took to wife Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, and after her Medea. As for Theseus, he carried off Helen, and soon thereafter carried off Ariadnê also.

daughters of Thestius (or Thespius) vary greatly; *cf.* Pausan. ix. 27. 6, Diodorus iv. 29, Ps.-Apollodor. ii. 4. 10 (L.C.L. i. 176–178, Frazer).

[a] Melitê.

[e] Chalciopê, according to Schol. Eur. *Med.* 673; but Ps.-Apollodor. iii. 15. 6 (followed by Tzetzes *in Lycophr.* 494) gives Meta for Melitê, and Rhexenor for Chalcodon.

ἥρπασεν. Ἴστρος γοῦν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν καταλέγων τὰς τοῦ Θησέως γενομένας γυναῖκάς φησιν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἔρωτος γεγενῆσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς, ἄλλας δ' ἐκ νομίμων γάμων· ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς μὲν Ἑλένην, Ἀριάδνην, Ἱππολύτην, καὶ τὰς Κερκύονος καὶ Σίνιδος[1] θυγατέρας, νομίμως δ' αὐτὸν γῆμαι Μελίβοιαν[2] τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα. Ἡσίοδος δέ φησιν καὶ Ἵππην[3]
b καὶ Αἴγλην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἀριάδνην ὅρκους παρέβη, ὥς φησι Κέρκωψ. Φερεκύδης δὲ προστίθησι καὶ Φερέβοιαν. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ἐκ Τροιζῆνος[4] ἥρπασεν Ἀναξώ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱππολύτην Φαῖδραν ἔσχεν.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐκ ἐπήγετο μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλυθείς, ὃς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολεμῶν[5] τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακάς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει. "ἐν ἔτεσι γοῦν εἴκοσι καὶ δυσὶν[6] οἷς ἐβασίλευεν,[7]
c ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ, Αὐδάταν Ἰλλυρίδα γήμας ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα Κύνναν· ἔγημεν δὲ καὶ Φίλαν ἀδελφὴν Δέρδα καὶ Μαχάτα. οἰκειώσασθαι δὲ θέλων καὶ τὸ Θετταλῶν

[1] Musurus: ειωιδος A, *cf.* Plut. *Thes.* 29.
[2] Περίβοιαν Plut. [3] Ἰόπην Plut.
[4] O. Jahn: τροίασ A. [5] CE, lemma in A: πολέμων A.
[6] Schweighäuser: δύο A, δ' Kaibel.
[7] Kaibel: ἐβασίλευσεν A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 420; *cf.* Plut. *Thes.* 20, 29, *Compar. Thes. et Rom.* 6, M. Wellmann, *De Istro* 19 ff.
[b] Frag. 130 Rzach.

Istrus, at any rate, when giving[a] a list of the women associated with Theseus, in the fourteenth book of his *History of Attica*, says that some of them became his through love, others by rape, and still others through lawful wedlock; by rape, Helen, Ariadnê, Hippolytê, and the daughters of Cercyon and Sinis; but he married lawfully Meliboea, the mother of Ajax. But Hesiod says[b] that Theseus also married Hippê and Aeglê, for whose sake he even violated his sworn promises to Ariadnê, according to Cercops.[c] Pherecydes adds[d] Phereboea as well. But before his adventure with Helen he had also carried off Anaxô from Troezen. After Hippolytê he married Phaedra.[e]

Philip of Macedon did not, to be sure, take women along with him on his campaigns, as did Darius, the one who was deposed by Alexander; for Darius, although engaged in a war in which his entire empire was at stake, took round with him three hundred and sixty concubines, according to the account[f] given by Dicaearchus in the third book of his *History of Greece*. Yet Philip always married a new wife with each new war he undertook. "In the twenty-two[g] years of his reign, at any rate," as Satyrus says[h] in his *Life* of him, "he married Audata of Illyria, and had by her a daughter, Cynna[i]; he also married Phila, a sister of Derdas and Machatas. Wishing to put in a claim to the Thessalian nation as his own besides others, he

[a] *Cf.* Athen. 503 d (vol. v. p. 256).
[b] *F.H.G.* i. 97, J. 1. 99.
[c] *Cf.* the Greek argument prefixed to Eur. *Hipp.*
[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 240, *cf.* Athen. 514 b (vol. v. p. 312).
[e] Really twenty-three and a half (359-336 B.C.), Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* ii. 281; see critical note 6.
[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 161.
[g] Athen. 155 a (vol. ii. p. 204). Polyaenus 8. 20 gives the form Cynanê; so at 560 f, below, A has Κυνάνῃ (dat.).
[h] *F.H.G.* iii. 161.
[i] Athen. 155 a (vol. ii. p. 204). Polyaenus 8. 20 gives the form Cynanê; so at 560 f, below, A has Κυνάνῃ (dat.).

ἔθνος ἐπαιδοποιήσατο ἐκ δύο Θετταλίδων γυναικῶν, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν Φεραία Νικησίπολις, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐγέννησε Θετταλονίκην, ἡ δὲ Λαρισαία Φίλιννα, ἐξ ἧς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐτέκνωσε. προσεκτήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν Μολοττῶν βασιλείαν γήμας Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐξ
d ἧς ἔσχεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν. καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην δὲ ὅτε εἷλεν, ἧκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Κοθήλας ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἄγων Μήδαν τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ δῶρα πολλά. γήμας δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισήγαγεν τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἐπὶ πάσαις δ' ἔγημε Κλεοπάτραν ἐρασθεὶς τὴν Ἱπποστράτου μὲν ἀδελφήν, Ἀττάλου δὲ ἀδελφιδῆν· καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισάγων τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἅπαντα τὸν βίον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συνέχεεν. εὐθέως γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις ὁ μὲν Ἄτταλος 'νῦν μέντοι γνήσιοι, ἔφη, καὶ οὐ νόθοι βασιλεῖς γεννηθήσονται.' καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ἔβαλεν ᾗ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχεν κύλικι τὸν Ἄτταλον, ἔπειτα
e κἀκεῖνος αὐτὸν τῷ ποτηρίῳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν εἰς Μολοττοὺς[1] ἔφυγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς Ἰλλυριούς. καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐγέννησε τῷ Φιλίππῳ θυγατέρα τὴν κληθεῖσαν Εὐρώπην."

Φιλογύνης δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής. Ἱερώνυμος γοῦν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασίν φησιν οὕτως· "εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινος ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἔν γε ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς· ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης."

Αἱ δὲ γαμεταὶ ἡμῶν γυναῖκες οὔκ εἰσι τοιαῦται
f οἵας Εὔβουλός φησιν ἐν Στεφανοπώλισιν·

[1] μολοττὸν C.

[a] Below, 578 a. [b] Below, 560 c. [c] Frag. 6 Hiller.
[d] Kock ii. 198, Eustath. 976. 56. This play may have been imitated in the *Corollaria* of Naevius.

begot children by two women of Thessaly, one of whom was Nicesipolis of Pherae, who bore to him Thettalonicê, while the other was Philinna of Larisa, by whom he became the father of Arrhidaeus.[a] Further, he acquired also the kingdom of the Molossians by marrying Olympias, by whom he had Alexander and Cleopatra. Again, when he subjugated Thrace, there came over to his side Cothêlas the Thracian king, who brought with him his daughter Meda and a large dowry. By marrying her also he thus brought home a second wife after Olympias. After all these women he married Cleopatra,[b] with whom he had fallen in love, the sister of Hippostratus and niece of Attalus; and by bringing her home to supplant Olympias, he threw the entire course of his life into utter confusion. For immediately, during the celebration of the wedding itself, Attalus remarked, 'But now, I warn you, princes will be born who will be legitimate, and not bastards.' Alexander, on hearing that, threw the goblet which he held in his hand at Attalus, and he retaliated upon Alexander with his own cup. After this Olympias fled to the country of the Molossians, while Alexander went to Illyria. Cleopatra, in her turn, bore to Philip a daughter, the one who was called Europa."

Another man who was fond of women was the poet Euripides. At any rate, Hieronymus in *Historical Notes* puts it as follows[c]: "When somebody remarked to Sophocles that Euripides was a woman-hater, Sophocles answered: 'Yes, in his tragedies; for certainly when he is in bed he is a woman-lover.'"

Now our married women are not like those described by Eubulus in *The Wreath-sellers*[d]: "They are not,

μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ περιπεπλασμέναι ψιμυθίοις[1]
οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς συκαμίνῳ τὰς γνάθους
κεχριμέναι. κἂν ἐξίητε[2] τοῦ θέρους,
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν[3] ὀφθαλμῶν ὑδρορρόαι[4] δύο
ῥέουσι μέλανος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν γνάθων ἱδρὼς
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἅλοκα μιλτώδη ποιεῖ,
ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δ' αἱ τρίχες φορούμεναι
558 εἴξασι πολιαῖς, ἀνάπλεῳ ψιμυθίου.

Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἐν Νεοττίδι φησίν·

ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἑταίραν ἠγάπησε πώποτε,
οὗτος οὐ γένος δύναιτ' ἂν[5] παρανομώτερον[6] φράσαι.
τίς' γὰρ ἢ δράκαιν' ἄμικτος ἢ Χίμαιρα πυρπνόος
ἢ Χάρυβδις ἢ τρίκρανος Σκύλλα, ποντία κύων,
Σφίγξ, Ὕδρα, λέαιν', ἔχιδνα, πτηνά θ' Ἁρπυιῶν γένη,
εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀφῖκται τοῦ καταπτύστου γένους;
b οὐκ ἔνεσθ'· αὗται δ' ἁπάντων ὑπερέχουσι τῶν κακῶν.
ἔστι δὲ σκοπεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Πλαγγόνα,
ἥτις ὥσπερ ἡ Χίμαιρα πυρπολεῖ τοὺς βαρβάρους·
εἷς μόνος δ' ἱππεύς τις αὐτῆς τὸν βίον παρείλετο·
πάντα τὰ σκεύη γὰρ ἕλκων ᾤχετ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.
οἱ Σινώπη δ' αὖ συνόντες οὐχ Ὕδρᾳ σύνεισι νῦν;
γραῦς μὲν αὐτή,[8] παραπέφυκε δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα πλησίον,

[1] ψιμυθίῳ C, Eustath. [2] CE: ἐξείητε A.
[3] μὲν τῶν C, Eustath. [4] CE: ὑδρορόαι A.
[5] Capps: οὐ γένοσ τίσ ἂν δύναιτο ACE (τίς om. C, Eustath. 1714. 38).

Zeus knows, plastered over with layers of white lead, and they have not, like you, their jowls smeared with mulberry-juice. And if *you* go out on a summer's day, two rills of inky water flow from your eyes, and the sweat rolling from your cheeks upon your throat makes a vermilion furrow, while the hairs blown about on your faces look grey, they are so full of white lead." And Anaxilas says in *The Chick*[a]: "Any man who has ever had an affair with a harlot would be unable to name a more lawless creature. For what savage dragon, what fire-breathing Chimaera,[b] or Charybdis, or three-headed Scylla,[c] that sea-bitch, or Sphinx, Hydra, she-lion, viper, and the winged broods of Harpies, have ever succeeded in surpassing that abominable class? It can't be done; these women surpass all the pests in the world. We may pass them in review, starting first with Plangôn,[d] who, just like the Chimaera, sets all the foreigners[e] afire; but one cavalier alone purloined her substance; he left her house dragging all her furniture after him. Again, isn't it true that the men who keep company with Sinopê are now keeping company with a Hydra? She herself, to be sure, is an old hag, but Gnathaena is an offshoot from her just

[a] Kock ii. 270. [b] *Cf. Il.* vi. 182.
[c] *Cf. Od.* xii. 90.
[d] Below, 567 c (p. 66), 594 c (p. 204).
[e] Rich merchants travelling in Athens. The Chimaera breathed fire, *Il.* vi. 182 δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο. But just as she was overcome by Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, so Plangôn met her match in some nameless lover here described as ἱππεύς τις, "a man on horseback." *Cf.* the riotous Heracles, Aristoph. *Ran.* 567.

[6] Grotius: παρανομώτατον ACE.
[7] Grotius: τί ACE. [8] αυτη (*sic*) A: αὕτη Kock.

ὥστ' ἀπαλλαγεῖσι[1] ταύτης ἔστι διπλάσιον κακόν.
c ἡ δὲ Νάννιον τί νυνὶ[2] διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ;
οὐ δύ' ἀποπνίξασ' ἑταίρους τὸν τρίτον θηρεύεται
ἔτι λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπαισε[3] πορθμὶς ἐλατίνῳ πλάτῃ·
ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ,
τόν τε ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ σκάφει.
ἡ Θεανὼ δ' οὐχὶ Σειρὴν ἐστιν ἀποτετιλμένη;
βλέμμα καὶ φωνὴ γυναικός, τὰ σκέλη δὲ κοψίχου.
d Σφίγγα Θηβαίαν δὲ πάσας ἔστι τὰς πόρνας καλεῖν,
αἳ λαλοῦσ'[4] ἁπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς τισιν,
ὡς ἐρῶσι καὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ σύνεισιν ἡδέως.
εἶτα "τετράπους μοι γένοιτο, φησί, σκίμπους ἢ θρόνος,"[5]
εἶτα δὴ "τρίπους τις," εἶτα, φησί, "παιδίσκη δίπους."
εἶθ' ὁ μὲν γνοὺς ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς ὥσπερ Οἰδίπους,
e οὐδ' ἰδεῖν[6] δόξας ἐκείνην, σῴζεται δ' ἄκων μόνος.
οἱ δ' ἐρᾶσθαι προσδοκῶντες εὐθύς εἰσιν ἠρμένοι'

[1] Dobree: ὡσ τὰ πολλά γ' εἰσὶ A.
[2] Jacobs: νῦν A. [3] Casaubon: ἐξέπεσε ACE.
[4] Casaubon: λαβοῦσ' A, λαβοῦσαι CE.
[5] σκίμπους ἢ θρόνος CE: τήνπρου ἢ· θρόνυσ A.

next door, so that when they have quitted the first, they have a pest that's twice as bad. As for Nannion, how do you think she differs to-day from Scylla? Didn't she throttle two of her companions,[a] and isn't she still on the hunt to catch the third? But his barque landed him safely with the help of his pine oar.[b] And Phrynê, somewhere not so far away,[c] acts the part of Charybdis, and grabbing the skipper has swallowed him up, ship and all. Is not Theanô a defeathered[d] Siren? The eye and voice of a woman, but her legs are the legs of a grackle. You may call every harlot a Theban Sphinx; they babble not in simple language, but in riddles, of how they like to love and kiss and come together.[e] And one says, 'Let me have a four-footed bed or chair'; another 'Make it a tripod'; still another 'A two-footed girlie.' Now the man who understands these riddles, like Oedipus, quickly goes away, pretending not even to have seen the woman, and saves himself, though reluctantly[f]—the only man who does. But other men, expecting to enjoy love, are quickly swept off their feet and

[a] Lovers; but the word is chosen in allusion to Odysseus's men, *cf. Od.* xii. 110, 231, 245; Scylla had six heads, not three only.

[b] So Odysseus rowed himself to safety, *Od.* xii. 444.

[c] From Nannion, the new Scylla. [d] Lit. "depilated."

[e] That is, when soliciting they use euphemistic slang, illustrated in the next lines, for the various *σχήματα συνουσίας*. The curious in such matters will find a parallel in Aristoph. *Pax*. 894 ff. and Schol. There is an allusion also to the riddle of the Sphinx, Athen. 456 b (vol. iv. p. 569 note *e*), and *cf.* vol. i. p. 215.

[f] Like Odysseus listening to the Sirens, *Od.* xii. 192-193, *αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ | ἤθελ' ἀκουέμεναι.*

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[6] *ὥσπερ Οἰδίπους, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν* Grotius: *ὥσπερ γ' οὐδ' ἰδεῖν* ACE. [7] CE: *ἠιρμένοι* A.

καὶ φέρονθ' ὑψοῦ πρὸς αἴθραν. συντεμόντι δ' οὐδὲ ἓν
ἔσθ' ἑταίρας ὅσα περ ἔστιν θηρί' ἐξωλέστερον.

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τοῦ Λαρηνσίου λέγοντος ὁ Λεωνίδης ψέγων τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα τὰ ἐκ τῶν Μάντεων Ἀλέξιδος προηνέγκατο ταυτὶ τῶν ἐπῶν[1]·

ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς γαμέται[2] πεπρακότες
τὴν τοῦ βίου παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν,
f γυναιξὶ δοῦλοι ζῶμεν ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.
ἔπειτ' ἔχειν προῖκ', οὐχὶ τιμὴν πάσχομεν;[3]
πικράν γε καὶ μεστὴν γυναικείας χολῆς.
ἡ τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι πρὸς ἐκείνην[4] μέλι.
οἱ μέν γε[5] συγγνώμην ἔχουσ'[6] ἀδικούμενοι,
αὗται[7] δ' ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι·
ὧν οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἄρχουσιν, ὧν δ' ἄρχειν ἐχρῆν
ἀμελοῦσιν, ἐπιορκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἓν κακὸν
ἔχουσι καὶ κάμνειν λέγουσ'[8] ἑκάστοτε.

559 Ξέναρχος δ' ἐν Ὕπνῳ φησίν·

εἶτ' εἰσὶν οἱ[9] τέττιγες οὐκ εὐδαίμονες,
ὧν ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν φωνῆς ἔνι;

Φιλέταιρος Κορινθιαστῇ·

ὡς τακερόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν τὸ βλέμμ' ἔχει.

[1] τῶν ἐπῶν (A) deleted by Kaibel.
[2] γαμέται added by Gulick, μὲν οἱ Grotius: ἡμεῖσ πεπρακότεσ A.
[3] λύμην φάσκομεν Kock.
[4] Dindorf: προσκεινην A.
[5] μέλι· οἱ μέν γε Musurus: μελιομενγε A.
[6] ἔχουσιν A. [7] ανται A.
[8] λεγουσιν A.
[9] εἶτ' εἰσὶν οἱ CE: εἰ τισιν οἱ A.

borne aloft to the winds.[a] To cut it short, not one of the wild beasts is more devastating than a harlot."

After Larensis had recited many lines of this sort, Leonides, spurning the very thought of marriage,[b] cited this group of verses from *The Soothsayers* of Alexis[c]: "Oh, unlucky we, men who are married! We have sold our right of free speech and our comfort in life, and live as slaves to wives instead of being free. But then, you say, in holding the dowry do we not submit to paying the price?[d] Ay, dowry! Bitter that, and filled with woman's bile. For a husband's bile is honey compared with her's; men, when injured, will forgive, but these dames add insult to injury: they, when they injure, throw the blame for it on the husband. Whom they should not rule they rule, and whom they should rule they neglect; they forswear themselves, and though they have nothing at all the matter with them, they always say they are ill." And Xenarchus says in *Sleep*[e]: "Are not the male cicadas a happy lot? Their females haven't a bit of voice in them."[f] Philetaerus in *Playing the Corinthian*[g]: "How melting, great Zeus, and soft is her eye! No wonder there is a shrine to

[a] So of the men caught by Scylla, *Od.* xii. 249, ὑψόσ' ἀειρομένων.

[b] Lit. "the name (or word) 'married woman.

[c] Kock ii. 350. For similar accusations against women *cf.* Aristoph. *Thesm.* 385 ff. and H. W. Haley, *H.S.C.P.* i. 159-186.

[d] The Greek can hardly be right, but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. Adopting Kock's conjecture (see critical note 3) we may render: "Can we not assert that to have the dowry is an insult?"

[e] Kock ii. 473.

[f] So Aelian, *N.A.* i. 20: τέττιξ δὲ θήλεια ἄφωνός ἐστι, καὶ ἔοικε σιωπᾶν δίκην νύμφης αἰδουμένης "like a modest bride."

[g] Said of a fornicator; Kock ii. 231, below, 572 d (p. 92).

οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Ἀθάμαντι·

εἶτ' οὐ γυναικός ἐστιν εὐνοϊκώτερον
γαμετῆς ἑταίρα; πολύ γε καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως.
b ἡ μὲν νόμῳ γὰρ καταφρονοῦσ' ἔνδον μένει,
ἡ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἢ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος
ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Χρυσίλλᾳ·

κακὸς
κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις γυναῖκα δεύτερος[1]
ἔγημε· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐρῶ κακῶς.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἄπειρος, οἶμαι, τοῦ κακοῦ,
ὁ δ' οἷον ἦν γυνὴ κακὸν πεπυσμένος.[2]

καὶ προελθών[3] φησιν·

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', εἶτ' ἐγὼ κακῶς ποτε[4]
c ἐρῶ γυναῖκας; νὴ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα,
πάντων ἄριστον κτημάτων. εἰ δ' ἐγένετο
κακὴ γυνὴ Μήδεια, Πηνελόπη δέ γε[5]
μέγα πρᾶγμ'. ἐρεῖ τις ὡς Κλυταιμνήστρα κακή
Ἀλκηστιν ἀντέθηκα χρηστήν. ἀλλ' ἴσως
Φαίδραν ἐρεῖ κακῶς τις· ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία
χρηστή τις ἦν μέντοι—τίς; οἴμοι δείλαιος,
ταχέως γέ μ' αἱ χρησταὶ γυναῖκες ἐπέλιπον,
τῶν δ' αὖ πονηρῶν ἔτι λέγειν πολλὰς ἔχω.

[1] δεύτερος Cobet, Meineke (*cf.* 559 d): δεύτερον AE, δευτέραι C, Schweighäuser.
[2] Porson: πεπεισμένος ACE.
[3] CE: προσελθὼν A.
[4] Jacobs: ποτε κακῶσ ACE.
[5] γε added by Cobet.

the Companion[a] everywhere, but nowhere in all Greece is there one to the Wife." And Amphis in *Athamas*[b]: "Besides, is not a 'companion' more kindly than a wedded wife? Yes, far more, and with very good reason. For the wife, protected by the law, stays at home[c] in proud contempt, whereas the harlot knows that a man must be bought by her fascinations or she must go out and find another."

Eubulus says in *Chrysilla*[d]: "To perdition go the wretch, whoever he was, who was the second man to marry a wife; the first man I will not blame. For he, I fancy, had had no experience of the evil, but the second must have learned what an evil a wife is." And going on, he says: "O most worshipful Zeus! Shall I then ever blame women? I swear, may I die if I do, she is the best of all our possessions. Even if Medea was an evil woman, yet Penelopê, at least, was of great worth. Someone will say that Clytaemnestra was an evil woman; I match against her the good Alcestis. But perhaps one will blame Phaedra; surely there must have been *some* good woman;—yes, but who? Unlucky that I am, alas, the good women have given out all too quickly for me, while I still have many bad women to tell of."[e] And

[a] Epithet of Aphroditê at Athens and Ephesus, as patroness of harlots, Hesych. *s.* ἑταίρας ἱερόν, *Arch. Zeit.* ii. 332, below, 571 c (p. 86).

[b] Kock ii. 236.

[c] Meaning also that she retains her place as mistress of the house; the husband could not dismiss her without losing the dowry.

[d] Kock ii. 205. *Cf.* Aristoph. *Thesm.* 549 μίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποις | τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπην, Φαίδρας δ' ἀπαξαπάσας.

[e] For a "legend of bad women" see Aesch. *Cho.* 585-638 and Paley's note (vs. 576).

Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ἐν Καλλωνίδῃ·

d κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ'[1] ὁ γήμας δεύτερος
θνητῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος οὐδὲν ἠδίκει·
οὔπω γὰρ εἰδὼς οὗτος οἷον ἦν κακὸν
ἐλάμβανεν γυναῖχ'· ὁ δ' ὕστερον λαβὼν
εἰς προὔπτον εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν κακόν.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλοπάτορι·

γεγάμηκε δήπου. B. τί σὺ[2] λέγεις; ἀληθινῶς
γεγάμηκεν, ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά τε[3]
κατέλιπον;

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἀρρηφόρῳ ἢ Αὐλητρίδι·

e οὐ γαμεῖς, ἂν[4] νοῦν ἔχῃς,
τοῦτον καταλείπων[5] τὸν βίον. γεγάμηκα γὰρ
αὐτός· διὰ τοῦτό σοι παραινῶ μὴ γαμεῖν.
B. δεδογμένον τὸ πρᾶγμ'· ἀνερρίφθω κύβος.
A. πέραινε, σωθείης δέ· νῦν ἀληθινὸν
εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν[6] ἐμβαλεῖς[7] γὰρ πραγμάτων,
οὐ Λιβυκὸν οὐδ' Αἰγαῖον . . .,[8]
οὗ τῶν τριάκοντ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τρία
πλοιάρια· γήμας δ' οὐδὲ εἷς σέσωσθ' ὅλως.

ἐν δὲ Ἐμπιμπραμένῃ·

ἐξώλης ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις ποτὲ
f ὁ πρῶτος ἦν γήμας, ἔπειθ' ὁ δεύτερος,
εἶθ' ὁ τρίτος, εἶθ' ὁ τέταρτος, εἶθ' ὁ Μεταγένης.[9]

[1] Jacobs: γένοιτο A. [2] τί σὺ Dobree: σὺ τί A, τί CE
[3] τε added by Koppiers.
[4] CE: ἐὰν A. [5] Naber: καταλιπὼν A.
[6] Musurus: σεαυτὸν A. [7] Casaubon: ἐμβάλλεις A.
[8] οὐδ' Αἰγύπτιον added by Grotius, οὐδὲ Σικελικόν Cobet, οὐδὲ Κρητικόν Kock. The last is to be preferred.
[9] CE: μεταγενής A.

Aristophon in *Callonides* [a]: "To perdition go the wretch who was the second mortal to marry. The first man did no wrong; for *he* did not know as yet what an evil thing he took when he took a wife; but the one who married afterwards hurled himself with full knowledge into manifest evil." Again, Antiphanes in *Fond of his Father* [b]: "A. He is married, I tell you! B. What's that you say? He's really married—the man I left alive and walking?" Menander, in the *Symbol-Bearer* or *The Flute Girl* says [c]: "A. You won't marry if you have any sense, abandoning the life you now lead! For I've been married myself; for that reason I advise you not to marry. B. The thing is settled; let the die be cast for once and all. A. All right, go ahead, but I hope you come out safe! As it is, you'll be hurling yourself into a veritable sea of troubles [d]—not the Libyan, not the Aegean . . ., where three boats out of thirty escape destruction; but not one man who is married has ever been saved, not one!" And in *She Set Herself on Fire* [e]: "Perish the man, root and branch, who was the first to marry, then the second, then the third, then the fourth, and then—Metagenes!" [f]

[a] Kock ii. 277. [b] *Ibid.* 108.

[c] Kock iii. 22, Allinson 318. On ἀρρηφόροι, the little girls (Aristoph. *Lys.* 641) who carried magical symbols on their heads in the festival of Athena Polias (Paus. i. 27. 3), see Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. xxxiv, 512; Broneer, *Hesperia*, i. 50. See also Athen. vol. ii. p. 35.

[d] On this phrase see vol. iv. p. 90 note *b*, *cf.* 530 e (vol. v. p. 394). [e] Kock iii. 45, Allinson 350.

[f] Metagenes is not otherwise known, but the same kind of joke occurs in Aristoph. *Ran.* 587: "May I perish root and branch, myself, my wife, my kiddies—and bleary-eyed Archedemus as well!" Metagenes as an adjective (see critical note 9) means "born afterwards." The poet doubtless hints at this meaning in his survey of past and present husbands.

Καρκίνος δ' ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Σεμέλῃ, ἧς ἀρχὴ "ὦ νύκτες," φησίν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί χρὴ γυναῖκας ἐξειπεῖν κακόν;
ἀρκοῦν ἂν εἴη κἂν γυναῖκ' εἴπῃς μόνον.

Οὐκ αἰσθάνονται δ' οὐδ' οἱ παρ' ἡλικίαν νέας ἀγόμενοι γυναῖκας εἰς προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ποιητοῦ παραινέσαντος αὐτοῖς·

560 οὔ τοι σύμφορόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι[1]·
οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,
οὐδ' ἄγκυραι[2] ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ
πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

καὶ Θεόφιλος δὲ ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ ἔφη·

οὐ σύμφορον[3] νέα 'στὶ πρεσβύτῃ γυνή.
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται
ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμ' ἀπορρήξασα δὲ[4]
ἐκ νυκτὸς ἕτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' ἐξευρέθη.

b Οὐδένα δὲ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἴομαι, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι πόλεμοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο. ὁ Ἰλιακὸς δι' Ἑλένην, ὁ λοιμὸς διὰ Χρυσηίδα, Ἀχιλλέως μῆνις διὰ Βρισηΐδα· καὶ[5] ὁ ἱερὸς δὲ καλούμενος πόλεμος δι' ἑτέραν γαμετήν, φησὶν Δοῦρις ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἱστοριῶν, Θηβαίαν γένος, ὄνομα

[1] A: γεραιῷ CE. [2] Brunck: ἄγκυραν ACE.
[3] Valckenaer: συμφέρον A.
[4] δὲ added by Musurus.
[5] This excerpt concerning the Sacred War is placed in C just before the other quotation from Duris in 560 f.

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 798. [b] Theognis 457.
[c] Possibly used with the double meaning seen in Aristoph. *Pax*. 142 and Schol.

Again, the tragic poet Carcinus says in *Semelê*, a play beginning "O watches of the night"[a]: "O Zeus, why need one say evil of women in detail? It were enough if you say merely *woman*."

Nor do even men of advanced age, who marry young wives, perceive that they are hurling themselves into manifest evil, although the poet of Megara has given the warning[b]: "Surely a young wife is not suited to an aged husband; for she obeys not the rudder[c] like a boat, nor do the anchors hold; breaking away from her moorings, oft-times in the night-watches she finds another haven." So, too, Theophilus said in *Neoptolemus*[d]: "A young wife is not suited to an old man. She's like a boat which obeys not even in the slightest one rudder, but breaks her cable and is found at night in another haven."

I think that none of you, my friends, are unaware that even the gravest wars have broken out because of women. Helen was the cause of the Trojan War, Chryseïs of the pestilence, Briseïs of Achilles' wrath[e]; and the so-called Sacred War,[f] as Duris says[g] in the second book of his *Histories*, was caused by[h] another married woman, a Theban by birth, named Theanô,

[a] Kock ii. 475.

[b] See *Il.* i.; the thought expressed with brutal vulgarity in *Priapeum* xxix, cited by Wilamowitz. *Cherchez la femme* is the principle on which Herodotus proceeds at the beginning of his history; so Aristoph. *Ach.* 523 ff., of the cause of the Peloponnesian War.

[f] 355 B.C., between Phocis and Thebes; Athen. 231 c, 232 e (vol. iii. pp. 40, 46).

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 469, J. 2 A 138.

[h] For the real reasons see Diod. xvi. 23. The war was caused by the refusal of the Phocians to pay a fine imposed on them by the Delphic Amphictyons, instigated by Thebans and Thessalians, for alleged sacrilege against Apollo.

Θεανώ, ἁρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φωκέως τινός. δεκαετὴς δὲ καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Φιλίππου συμμαχήσαντος πέρας ἔσχεν· τότε γὰρ εἷλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Φωκίδα. καὶ ὁ Κρισαϊκὸς δὲ πόλεμος
c ὀνομαζόμενος, ὥς φησι Καλλισθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Πολέμου, ὅτε Κιρραῖοι πρὸς Φωκεῖς ἐπολέμησαν, δεκαέτης ἦν, ἁρπασάντων Κιρραίων τὴν Πελάγοντος τοῦ Φωκέως θυγατέρα Μεγιστὼ καὶ τὰς Ἀργείων θυγατέρας ἐπανιούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἑάλω καὶ ἡ Κίρρα. ἀνετράπησαν δὲ καὶ ὅλοι οἶκοι διὰ γυναῖκας· ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρὸς διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας γάμον, ὁ Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὴν Ἰόλης ἐπιγαμίαν τῆς Εὐρύτου θυγατρός, ὁ Θησέως διὰ τὴν
d Φαίδρας τῆς Μίνωος, ὁ Ἀθάμαντος διὰ τὸν Θεμιστοῦς τῆς Ὑψέως, ὁ Ἰάσονος διὰ τὸν Γλαύκης τῆς Κρέοντος, ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος διὰ Κασσάνδραν.[1] καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ Καμβύσου στρατεία, ὥς φησι Κτησίας, διὰ γυναῖκα ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Καμβύσης πυνθανόμενος[2] τὰς Αἰγυπτίας γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Ἄμασιν τὸν[3] Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, μίαν αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ

[1] *κασάνδραν* CE. [2] *πυθόμενος* CE.
[3] Musurus: *τῶν* A.

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[a] At the invitation of the Thessalians, 353 B.C.; this led to Philip's complete intervention in Greek affairs; hostilities continued until the Peace of Philocrates, 346 B.C.

[b] *Ser. Rer. Al.* 17, J. 2 B 639.

[c] The first Sacred War, *ca.* 600 B.C.; Aeschin. iii. 107, Plut. *Solon* 77, Paus. x. 37. 6. See J. H. Wright in *H.S.C.P.* iii. 49.

who had been carried off by a Phocian. This war, like the Trojan, lasted ten years, but in the tenth year it came to an end when Philip entered into alliance with the Thebans[a]; for then the Thebans overcame Phocis. And again, the war called Cirrhaean, as Callisthenes says[b] in his book *On the Sacred War*,[c] at the time when the men of Cirrha went to war against the Phocians,[d] lasted ten years, the Cirrhaeans having carried away Megistô, daughter of the Phocian Pelagon, as well as the daughters of Argives who were on their way home from the Delphic shrine. But in the tenth year Cirrha also was overcome. And even entire households have been overthrown through women: that of Philip, Alexander's father, by his marriage with Cleopatra[e]; of Heracles, by his subsequent marriage with Iolê,[f] the daughter of Eurytus; of Theseus, on account of Phaedra, the daughter of Minos; of Athamas, by his marriage with Themistô,[g] the daughter of Hypseus[h]; of Jason, by his marriage with Glaucê, the daughter of Creon; and of Agamemnon, on account of Cassandra. Even the expedition of Cambyses against Egypt, as Ctesias says,[i] occurred on account of a woman. For Cambyses, hearing that Egyptian women excelled all others in passionate embraces, sent to Amasis, the king of Egypt, a demand for one of his daughters in marriage. But Amasis did not give one of his own, suspecting that

[a] Of Delphi. [e] Above, 557 d, p. 14.

[f] Who thus roused the jealousy of Deianeira; Soph. *Trach.* 359 ff.

[g] Supplanting his goddess wife Nephelê, whence the proverbs μὴ θεᾶς ἄνθρωπον and μὴ ὥσπερ Ἀθάμας.

[h] Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 13.

[i] Frag. 37 Müller, 30 Gilmore. On Amasis see Athen. 438 b, 680 b.

ἔδωκεν, ὑπονοήσας μὴ γυναικὸς ἕξειν αὐτὴν τιμὴν
e ἀλλὰ παλλακίδος· ἔπεμψε δὲ τὴν Ἀπρίου θυγατέρα
Νειτῆτιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπρίας ἐκπεπτώκει τῆς Αἰγυ-
πτίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἧτταν πρὸς
Κυρηναίους καὶ ἀνῄρητο ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος. ἡσθεὶς
οὖν ὁ Καμβύσης τῇ Νειτήτιδι καὶ σφόδρα
ἐρεθισθεὶς[1] ἐκμανθάνει παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα[2] καὶ
δεηθείσης ἐκδικῆσαι τοῦ Ἀπρίου τὸν φόνον πεί-
θεται[3] πολεμῆσαι Αἰγυπτίοις. Δίνων δ' ἐν τοῖς
f Περσικοῖς καὶ Λυκέας ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τρίτῃ
Αἰγυπτιακῶν τὴν Νειτῆτιν Κύρῳ πεμφθῆναί φασιν
ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος· ἐξ ἧς γεννηθῆναι τὸν Καμβύσην,
ὃν ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ποιήσασθαι
στρατείαν. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος καὶ πρῶτον[4] γε-
νέσθαι πόλεμόν φησι δύο γυναικῶν τὸν[5] Ὀλυμ-
πιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης· ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν βακχικώτερον
μετὰ τυμπάνων προελθεῖν, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην Μα-
κεδονικῶς καθωπλισμένην, ἀσκηθεῖσαν[6] τὰ πολε-
μικὰ παρὰ[7] Κύννῃ[8] 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
πάμπολλοι· ἐν οἷς τινες καὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ
σκηνικοῦ φιλοσόφου Εὐριπίδου ᾀσμάτων, ὧν ἦν
καὶ τάδε·

[1] Musurus: *αἱρεθισθεὶς* A.
[2] *τὰ πάντα* A: *πάντα* C.
[3] Schweighäuser: *πείθει* AC.
[4] *καὶ πρῶτον* A: Ἠπειρωτικὸν Casaubon.
[5] *τὸν* added by Kaibel.
[6] *ὡπλισμένην, προησκημένην* C.
[7] *πολεμικὰ παρὰ sic* A.
[8] Valckenaer: *κυννάνῃ* A.

she would not have the station of a wife, but that of a concubine; and so he sent the daughter of Aprias, Neitetis. Now Aprias had been deposed from his kingship over Egypt because of his defeat at the hands of the Cyrenaeans,[a] and had been killed by Amasis. Cambyses, then, having found pleasure in Neitetis and being very much stirred up by her, learned the whole story from her, and when she entreated him to avenge the murder of Aprias he consented to make war on the Egyptians. But Dinon in his *Persian History* and Lyceas of Naucratis in the third book of his *Egyptian History* say [b] that Neitetis was sent by Amasis to Cyrus; Cambyses was her son, and it was to avenge his mother that he undertook an expedition against Egypt. Duris of Samos says [c] that the first war between two women was that waged by Olympias and Eurydicê; in it Olympias marched forth rather like a Bacchant, to the accompaniment of tambourines, whereas Eurydicê was armed cap-à-pie in Macedonian fashion, having been trained in military matters by Cynna,[d] the princess from Illyria.

Following this discussion the philosophers present decided to say something on their own account concerning love and personal beauty. And many indeed were the philosophic words that were spoken, in the course of which some called to mind songs of that philosopher of the stage, Euripides, including the

[a] Under their king Adicran. Aprias, better known under the Ionic form of his name, Apriês, was the seventh king of the 26th dynasty. He is the Pharaoh of Jeremiah xxxvii. 5. See Herod. ii. 161, 169, iii. 1 (with How and Wells's note), iv. 159, Athen. 680 d.

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 91, iv. 441.

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 475, J. 2 A 150.

[d] On the name see above, 557 c (p. 13 note *i*).

παίδευμα δ' Ἔρως σοφίας, ἀρετῆς
πλεῖστον ὑπάρχει,[1]
καὶ προσομιλεῖν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων
πάντων ἥδιστος ἔφυ θνητοῖς.
καὶ γὰρ ἄλυπον τέρψιν τιν' ἔχων
εἰς ἐλπίδ' ἄγει. τοῖς δ' ἀτελέστοις
b τῶν τοῦδε πόνων μήτε συνείην[2]
χωρίς τ' ἀγρίων ναίοιμι[3] τρόπων.
τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν
μή ποτε φεύγειν,
χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς ὅταν ἔλθῃ.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον δὲ ἄλλος τις ἔφη·

εἴη καὶ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἔρωτι
χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν.

ἕτερος δέ τις προσέθηκε τῶν Εὐριπίδου τάδε·

σὺ δ', ὦ τύραννε θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλὰ
ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
c μοχθοῦσι μόχθους εὐτυχῶς συνεκπόνει.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος θνητοῖς[4] ἔσῃ,
μὴ δρῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι φιλεῖν
ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσί σε.

Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνωνα ἔφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἔρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας,[5] ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίας παρασκευαστικόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἔφη τὸν Ἔρωτα

[1] Casaubon: ὑπάρχειν A. [2] Musurus: συνιειν A.
[3] Musurus: νέοιμι A.
[4] Dobree: θεοῖσ A, νέοις Musgrave.

following[a]: "Eros, nursling of wisdom, is more than aught else the inspiration of virtue, and this divinity is the sweetest of all for mortals to consort with. For, with joy that knows no pain he leads on to hope. With those who know not the labours of his mystic rites may I have no part, and may I dwell far from the ways of the churlish. Love! I warn the young never to shun it, but enjoy it rightly whensoever it shall come." And another guest also quoted Pindar[b]: "Be it mine to love and to yield to love in due season."[7] Still another added these lines from the works of Euripides[c]: "As for thee, Eros, lord of gods and men, either teach us not to deem fair things fair or else help to a happy issue the lovers who toil in the toils of which thou art the artificer. And in doing that thou shalt be honoured in the eyes of mortals, but doing it not thou shalt be robbed, by the very act of learning to love, of the graces wherewith they honour thee."

Thereupon Pontianus said that Zeno of Citium conceived Eros to be a god who prepared the way for friendship and concord and even liberty, but nothing else. Hence, in his *Republic*, Zeno has said[d] that

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 648, lyric anapaests. The text is uncertain, but the meaning seems plain: Love, when properly guided and instructed by wisdom, is the chief source (lit. basis) of virtue. For other songs in Euripides concerning Eros see *Medea* 627 ff., *Hipp.* 525 ff.; and on the cult of Eros in Athens, Broneer in *Hesperia* i. 49.

[b] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 441, Sandys 584, below, 601 c (p. 241).

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 399, from *Andromeda*. See Lucian, *De hist. conscr.* 1, Athen. 537 d (vol. v. p. 428).

[d] *S.V.F.* i. 61.

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[5] φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, καὶ ἐλευθερίας C (om. ἔτι δὲ): φιλίασ και ἐλευθερίασ· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίασ A.

θεὸν εἶναι συνεργὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς
d πόλεως σωτηρίαν. ὅτι[1] δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνόν τινα τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ᾤδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ[2] γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγου, τῷ δ' ἀλκῆς προεστῶτι· ὧν ἐνωθέντων φιλία τε καὶ ὁμόνοια γεννᾶται, δι' ὧν ἡ καλλίστη ἐλευθερία τοῖς ταῦτα μετιοῦσιν συναύξεται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ συνουσίας τινὸς διαλαβεῖν προεστάναι
e τὸν Ἔρωτα ὥστε τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἐκδήλως τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καθιερωμένης αὐτόθι τὸν Ἔρωτα ἱδρυσάμενοι συνθύουσιν αὐτῷ. Θεσπιεῖς τε τὰ Ἐρωτίδια τιμῶσιν καθάπερ Ἀθήναια Ἀθηναῖοι[3] καὶ Ὀλύμπια Ἠλεῖοι Ῥόδιοί τε τὰ Ἁλίεια.[4] καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι δὲ σπονδαῖς ὡς ἐπίπαν ὁ Ἔρως τιμᾶται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν παρατάξεων Ἔρωτι προθύονται, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν παραταττομένων φιλίᾳ κειμένης τῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης. καὶ
f Κρῆτες δ' ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοσμήσαντες διὰ τούτων θύουσι τῷ Ἔρωτι, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἱστορεῖ. ὁ δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις ἱερὸς λόχος καλούμενος συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα ἐμφαίνων, ἀσπαζομένων θάνατον ἔνδοξον ἀντ'

[1] Schweighäuser: ἔτι A.
[2] κατὰ τὰ CE: κατὰ A.
[3] Ἀθηναῖοι added by Musurus.
[4] Ἁλίεια Meineke: αλεια A (so *I.G.* xii. 1. 58).

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[a] A virgin goddess.
[b] A festival held every four years at which there were athletic and musical contests, Plut. *Erot.* 1, Paus. ix. 31. 3.

Eros is a god who stands ready to help in furthering the safety of the State. But that others, also, who preceded Zeno in philosophic speculation knew Eros as a holy being far removed from anything ignoble is clear from this, that in the public gymnasia he is enshrined along with Hermes and Heracles, the first presiding over eloquence, the second over physical strength; when these are united, friendship and concord are born, which in turn join in enhancing the noblest liberty for those who pursue the quest of them. And the Athenians were so far removed from apprehending Eros as a god presiding over sexual intercourse, that right in the Academy, which was quite obviously consecrated to Athena,[a] they enshrined Eros and joined his sacrifices with hers. Further, the people of Thespiae celebrate the Erotidia[b] as religiously as Athenians the Athenaea[c] or Elians the Olympia or Rhodians their Halieia.[d] And speaking generally, Eros is honoured at all public sacrifices. Thus the Lacedaemonians offer preliminary sacrifices to Eros before the troops are drawn up in battle-line, because they think that their safe return and victory depend upon the friendship of the men drawn up. So, too, the Cretans post their handsomest citizens in the battle-lines and through them offer sacrifice to Eros, as Sosicrates records.[e] Again, the so-called Sacred Band in Thebes[f] is composed of lovers and their favourites, thus indicating the dignity of the god Eros in that they embrace a glorious death

[a] Older name of the Panathenaea, Plut. *Thes.* 24, Paus. viii. 2. 1.

[d] Festival of the sun, Helios.

[e] *F.H.G.* iv. 501; the illustration from the Lacedaemonians seems also to come from Sosicrates.

[f] Below, 602 a (p. 244), Plut. 761 B.

αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου. Σάμιοι δέ, ὥς
φησιν Ἐρξίας ἐν Κολοφωνιακοῖς, γυμνάσιον ἀνα-
562 θέντες τῷ Ἔρωτι τὴν διὰ τοῦτον ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν
Ἐλευθέρια προσηγόρευσαν· δι' ὃν θεὸν καὶ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλευθερίας ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι
ἐκπεσόντες ἐπεχείρησαν διαβάλλειν πρῶτοι[1] τὰς
περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον πράξεις.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Πλούταρχος ἀπεμνημόνευσε
τῶν ἐκ Φαίδρου Ἀλέξιδος·

πορευομένῳ[2] δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν
καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι.
b καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγνοεῖν οἱ ζωγράφοι
τὸν Ἔρωτα, συντομώτατον[3] δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι
τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου ποιοῦσιν εἰκόνας.
ἐστὶν γὰρ οὔτε θῆλυς οὔτ' ἄρσην,[4] πάλιν
οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος, οὔτ' ἀβέλτερος
οὔτ' αὖθις ἔμφρων, ἀλλὰ συνενηνεγμένος[5]
πανταχόθεν, ἑνὶ τύπῳ τε[6] πόλλ' εἴδη φέρων.
ἡ τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρός, ἡ δὲ δειλία
γυναικός, ἡ δ' ἄνοια μανίας, ὁ δὲ λόγος
φρονοῦντος, ἡ σφοδρότης δὲ θηρός, ὁ δὲ πόνος
c ἀδάμαντος, ἡ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος.
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγώ, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς,
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει γέ τι
τοιοῦτον, ἐγγύς τ' εἰμὶ[8] τοῦ νοήματος.[9]

[1] πρῶτον Musurus.
[2] Musurus: πορευομένων A.
[3] συντομώτερον CE, perhaps rightly.
[4] ἄρρην Dindorf.
[5] Valckenaer: συνενηγμένοσ A, συνηνεγμένος CE.
[6] τε added by Schweighäuser.
[7] δὲ δειλία Musurus: δειλία δὲ CE, δειλία (om. δὲ) A.
[8] εἰ μὴ A. [9] νοήματος Emperius: ὀνόματοσ A.

in preference to a dishonourable and reprehensible life. And the people of Samos, as Erxias says[a] in his *History of Colophon*, on dedicating a gymnasium to Eros, called the festival held in his honour the Eleutheria[b]; and it was through this god that the Athenians also obtained their liberty, and so the Peisistratidae, after they were ejected, were the first to enter upon the practice of defaming the acts which pertain to this god.[c]

After these remarks Plutarch recited from memory the verses from *Phaedrus* by Alexis[d]: "As I was walking up from the Peiraeus, I was moved by perplexity over my troubles[e] to meditate in philosophic mood. And I think that the painters, or, to put it most concisely, all who make images of this god, are unacquainted with Eros. For he is neither female nor male; again, neither god nor man, neither stupid nor yet wise, but rather composed of elements from everywhere, and bearing many qualities in a single frame. For his audacity is that of a man, his timidity a woman's; his folly argues madness, his reasoning good sense, his impetuosity is that of a wild animal, his persistence that of adamant, his love of honour that of a god. Now all this, Athena and the gods are my witnesses, I cannot explain, but still it is something like this, and I've come close to the general idea."

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 406.

[b] Festival of Liberty.

[c] The tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton were lovers, and an insult offered by Hipparchus to the sister of Harmodius prompted their conspiracy. Thucydides concedes this point, but denies that the liberties of Athens were won by the two young men, vi. 52-59, *cf.* i. 20, Herod. v. 55.

[d] Kock ii. 386.

[e] In love, as the lines following show.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἢ Ἀραρὼς ἐν Καμπυλίωνι·

τίς ἦν ὁ γράψας πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἄρα
ἢ κηροπλαστήσας Ἔρωθ' ὑπόπτερον;
ὡς οὐδὲν ᾔδει πλὴν χελιδόνας γράφειν,
ἀλλ' ἦν ἄπειρος τῶν τρόπων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.
d ἐστὶν γὰρ οὔτε κοῦφος οὔτε ῥᾴδιος
ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῷ φέροντι τὴν νόσον,
βαρὺς δὲ κομιδῇ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοι πτερὰ
τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα; λῆρος, εἰ κἄφησέ[1] τις.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀποκοπτομένῳ·

λέγεται γὰρ λόγος
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν μὴ πέτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
τὸν Ἔρωτα, τοὺς δ' ἐρῶντας· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχειν
ἐκεῖνον ἄλλως, ἠγνοηκότας δὲ τοὺς
e γραφεῖς ἔχοντα πτέρυγας αὐτὸν ζωγραφεῖν.

⌈Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων τοῖς τρόποις[2] κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα· ὃς μετριάζων μέν ἐστιν εὔχαρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων[3] χαλεπώτατος⌉ . . . . διόπερ

[1] Dindorf: εἰ κἂν φήσειέ A.
[2] τοῖς τρόποις added by Grotius from Plut.
[3] διαταραττόμενος CE.

[a] Kock ii. 178. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 574 says that the representation of Nikê and Eros with wings was an innovation, but the words *καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα* have been regarded as an interpolation. The earliest art, but not earlier than the end of the sixth century B.C., depicts him as winged, Roscher, *Lex. griech. u. röm. Myth.* i. 1350.

And Eubulus, or Ararôs, says in *The Hunchback* [a]: "Who was the fellow, I wonder, who first painted or modelled Eros with wings? He didn't know anything but how to paint swallows; on the contrary, he was utterly ignorant of the god's character. For the god is neither light [b] nor easy to throw off when one is carrying the pest, but he is out-and-out heavy. How, then, can such a thing have wings? It's nonsense, no matter if one *has* said it." And Alexis in *Cut Loose* [c]: "It is commonly said by the wiseacres that the god Eros cannot fly, but that lovers can; and that he is falsely charged with being winged, and the painters knew nothing about it when they depicted him as having wings."

Theophrastus,[d] in his essay *On Love*, quotes [e] the tragic poet Chaeremon as saying [f] that just as wine is mixed to suit the character of the drinkers, so also is the emotion inspired by Eros [g]; when he comes in moderation, he is gracious,[h] but when he comes too intensely and puts men to utter confusion, he is most

[b] In weight, like a bird. For the sake of consistency, the name of the god is given throughout the translation of the passages following. But it should be remembered, as in the case of other gods who represent the emotions, that love in the abstract is also meant. *Cf.* the use of ἔρις, an abstraction, and Ἔρις, a person, in Aesch. *Agam.*

[c] Kock ii. 305. At 431 c (vol. iv. p. 454) the title is given as feminine, Ἀποκοπτομένη.

[d] This paragraph is out of its original position, since ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητής in 562 f, below, refers again to Alexis, just quoted in c-d. Something also is lost in the middle.

[e] Frag. cvii. Wimmer.

[f] *T.G.F.*[2] 787.

[g] Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 406 B: ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος, ὡς ἔλεγε Χαιρήμων, τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται τῶν πινόντων; *cf.* Plut. 620 F.

[h] So of Aphroditê, Eur. *Med.* 630: εἰ δ' ἅλις ἔλθοι Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεὸς εὔχαρις οὕτως.

ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος οὐ κακῶς αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διαιρῶν φησι "δίδυμα (γὰρ)[1] τόξα αὐτὸν ἐντείνεσθαι Χαρίτων, τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίωνι τύχᾳ, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς."

f Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τραυματίᾳ φησὶν οὕτως·

τίς οὐχί φησι τοὺς ἐρῶντας ζῆν πόνοις;[2]
οὓς δεῖ[3] γε πρῶτον μὲν στρατευτικωτάτους
εἶναι πονεῖν τε δυναμένους τοῖς σώμασιν
μάλιστα προσεδρεύειν τ' ἀρίστους τῷ πόθῳ,
ποιητικούς, ἰταμούς, προθύμους, εὐπόρους
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις, βλέποντας ἀθλιωτάτους.[4]

563 Θεόφιλος δ' ἐν τῷ Φιλαύλῳ·

τίς φησι τοὺς ἐρῶντας οὐχὶ νοῦν ἔχειν;
ἦ πού τίς ἐστι τοὺς τρόπους ἀβέλτερος.
εἰ γὰρ ἀφέλοι τις τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡδονάς,
καταλείπετ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τεθνηκέναι.
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὐτὸς κιθαριστρίας ἐρῶν,[5]
παιδὸς κόρης, οὐ νοῦν ἔχω πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;
κάλλει καλῆς, μεγέθει μεγάλης, τέχνῃ σοφῆς·
ἥν ἐστ' ἰδεῖν ἥδιον ἢ τὸ θεωρικὸν[6]
b ἔχουσιν ὑμῖν[7] διαπονεῖν[8] ἑκάστοτε.

[1] γὰρ not a part of the quotation but belonging to the speaker.
[2] Koek: μόνους A. [3] οὓς δεῖ Casaubon: ἔδει A.
[4] ἀλκιμωτάτους Dobree, ἀσχολωτάτους Lumb.
[5] ἐρῶ AC. [6] Canter: ἣν ἰδεῖν ἰδιόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ θεωρητικὸν A.
[7] Grotius: ἡμῖν A. [8] Herwerden: διανέμειν A.

[a] Not Chaeremon, but Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 548 ff.:

δίδυμ' Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας
τόξ' ἐντείνεται Χαρίτων,
τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίωνι πότμῳ,
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς.

cruel. . . . Wherefore this poet,[a] aptly distinguishing the influences of Eros, says: "With two arrows (verily) from the Graces he stretches his bow, the one bringing a happy lot, the other, utter confounding of life."

Now this same poet[b] speaks of lovers in the play entitled *The Wounded Man* as follows: "Who denies that lovers live at hard labour? Why, in the first place, they must ever be on the war-path, their bodies must be able to endure toil to the utmost, and they must be most patient in pursuing their desire; inventive, impulsive, eager, skilfully managing the unmanageable, in utter misery while they live!" And Theophilus in *He liked to play the Flute*[c]: "Who says that lovers have no sense? Surely, it must be somebody whose make-up is stupid. For if one take away from life its pleasures, there's nothing else left to do but die. Take my own case; in loving a harp-girl, a little maid, haven't I sense, in the gods' name? In beauty beautiful, in stature stately, in art clever; just to look at her is pleasanter than working for you all the time when you have the price of admission."[d]

Wilamowitz thinks that Frag. 967 (*T.G.F.*[2] 673) may have occupied the gap: *εἴης μοι, μέτριος δέ πως εἴης μηδ' ἀπολείποις.* But many other passages from Euripides would be appropriate here, as *Hipp.* 443, *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός ἢν πολλὴ ῥύῃ.*

[b] Alexis, Kock ii. 382; see note *d* on p. 39.

[c] Kock ii. 477.

[d] The text is uncertain, and many changes have been proposed. Herwerden's *διαπονεῖν* for *διανέμειν* involves the least change. The actor, playing the rôle of the lover, steps out of the picture to make a sarcastic remark to the audience. The Theoric Fund supplied to the poor the price of admission to the theatre; against the abuses of it Demosthenes directs the 1st and 3rd Olynthiac Speeches. Important military advantages were often sacrificed to it; Dem. *Olynth.* iii. 11, *οἱ (νόμοι) τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά.*

Ἀριστοφῶν δὲ ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

εἶτ'[1] οὐ δικαίως ἔστ' ἀπεψηφισμένος
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν δώδεκ' εἰκότως τ'[2] Ἔρως;
ἐτάραττε κἀκείνους γὰρ ἐμβάλλων στάσεις
ὅτ' ἦν[3] μετ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ λίαν ἦν θρασὺς
καὶ σοβαρός, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερὰ
ἵνα μὴ πέτηται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,
δεῦρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδευσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς κάτω,
τὰς δὲ πτέρυγας ἃς εἶχε τῇ Νίκῃ φορεῖν
c ἔδοσαν, περιφανὲς σκῦλον ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν Ἄμφις ἐν Διθυράμβῳ φησίν·

τί φῄς; σὺ ταυτὶ προσδοκᾷς πείσειν ἐμὲ
ὡς ἔστ' ἐραστὴς ὅστις ὡραῖον φιλῶν[4]
τρόπων ἐραστής ἐστι, τὴν ὄψιν παρείς;
ἄφρων γ'[5] ἀληθῶς. οὔτε τοῦτο πείθομαι
οὔθ' ὡς πένης ἄνθρωπος ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις
τοῖς εὐποροῦσιν οὐ λαβεῖν τι βούλεται.

Ἄλεξις Ἑλένῃ·

d ὡς ὅστις αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς[6] τῶν σωμάτων
ἐρᾷ, τὸν ἄλλον δ' οὐδὲ γινώσκει λόγον,[7]
τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔστ', οὐχὶ τῶν φίλων φίλος,
ἀδικεῖ τε τὸν Ἔρωτ' ἐμφανῶς θνητὸς θεόν,
ἄπιστον αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς[8] ποιῶν.

τούτων τῶν Ἀλέξιδος ἀπομνημονεύσας ὁ Μυρτίλος κᾆτα ἀποβλέψας εἰς τοὺς τὰ τῆς στοᾶς αἱρουμένους

[1] Musurus: ἐτ' A. [2] τ' added by Porson.
[3] CE: ὁ τὴν A. [4] Jacobs: ὡραῖων φίλων A.
[5] Jacobs: τ' A.
[6] αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς Jacobs: αὖ τῆσ ἀκμῆσ A, αὖθις ἀκμῆς CE.

And Aristophon in *The Disciple of Pythagoras* [a]: "And so is it not right and fitting that Eros has been banished by the twelve gods from their company? For he used to upset even them by the quarrels he provoked when he lived among them. And since he was so very bold and haughty, they cut off his wings to keep him from flying back to Heaven, drove him hither into exile among us down below, while they gave the wings which he had worn to Victory to wear—manifest booty taken from the enemy." And on the subject of love Amphis says in *Dithyrambus* [b]: "What's that you say? Do you expect to convince me of this, that there is any lover who, loving a handsome boy, is a lover of his character, without regard to his looks? A silly fool, really! I do not believe that any more than I believe that a pauper who often bothers the rich does not want to get something."

And yet Alexis says in *Helen* [c]: "For anyone who loves only the ripe beauty of the body, but knows no other reason [d] for loving, is a lover of his pleasure, not of his friends, and though a mortal, plainly wrongs Eros, a god, because he makes Eros distrusted by all the pretty boys." [e] After Myrtilus had recited these lines from Alexis, he then cast a glance at those who hold to the principles of the

[a] Kock ii. 280. The title is derogatory, like Κορνθιαστής, quite different from Πυθαγόρειοι, Pythagoreans.

[b] Kock ii. 240. On the title see vol. ii. p. 295 note *c*.

[c] Kock ii. 320. At this point the discussion begun by Plutarch at 562 a is taken up by Myrtilus.

[d] Or, reading τρόπον for λόγον, "regards not character besides."

[e] See critical note 8.

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[7] λόγον Musurus: χρόνον A, τρόπον Musurus.

[8] τοῖς καλοῖς Meineke: τοῖσ ἄλλοισ A.

τὰ Ἑρμείου τοῦ Κουριέως ἐκ τῶν Ἰάμβων προειπών·

ἀκούσατ', ὦ Στύακες,[1] ἔμποροι λήρου,
e λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες,[2] οἱ μόνοι πάντα
τάν τοῖς πίναξι πρίν τι[3] τῷ σοφῷ δοῦναι,
αὐτοὶ καταρροφεῖτε κᾆθ' ἁλίσκεσθε
ἐναντία πράσσοντες οἷς τραγῳδεῖτε,

παιδοπῖπαι ὄντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐζηλωκότες τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ὑμῶν τῆς σοφίας Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα, ὃς οὐδέποτε γυναικὶ ἐχρήσατο, παιδικοῖς δ' αἰεί, ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ. θρυλεῖτε[4] γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρᾶν· οἵτινες μέχρι ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν δεῖν λέγοντες συνέχειν τοὺς ἐρω-
f μένους. καί μοι δοκεῖ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος[5] ὁ περιπατητικὸς οὐ κακῶς εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν Ὁμοίων πρός τινα Ἀττικόν,[6] μέγαν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδεικνύντα ὡς καλόν, ᾧ Δῶρος ἦν ὄνομα· "τὴν πρὸς Δόλωνά μοι, φησί, δοκῶ παρ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ σὲ[7] μεταφέρειν·

ἦ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων Δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός."

564 Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι τῶν ἡδυσμάτων φησὶν ἐρᾶν πάντας, οὐ τῶν κρεῶν οὐδὲ τῶν

[1] στύακας CE (in a different construction): στόακασ A.
[2] Musurus: ὑποκρητῆρεσ A. [3] Porson: πρινὴ A.
[4] Musurus: θρυλεῖται A.
[5] C: κίοσ AE. [6] στωικόν Kaibel.
[7] Musurus: ἔπεισι A.

[a] Powell 237, Diehl iii. 301; the verses are choliambic, and in rhythm and cynical bitterness recall Hipponax. In

Porch, first quoting the verses from the *Iambics* of Hermeias of Curium [a]: "Hear, ye Styacs, vendors of twaddle, hypocritical mouthers of words who alone by yourselves gobble up everything on the platters before the wise man can get a share, and then are caught doing the very opposite of what you solemnly chant;" oglers of boys you are, and in that alone emulating the founder of your philosophy, Zeno the Phoenician,[b] who never resorted to a woman, but always to boy-favourites, as Antigonus of Carystus records [c] in his *Biography* of him. For you are always repeating that one should not love *bodies* but *soul*; you, who say that favourites should be retained until twenty-eight years old.[d] And it seems to me that the Peripatetic Ariston of Ceos, in the second book of his *Erotic Likenesses*, made a good retort to an Athenian [e] who was pointing out a certain person, named Dorus, large in stature, as being handsome; he said: "Methinks I can apply to you the answer which Odysseus made to Dolon [f]: 'Surely now thy heart was eager for large rewards.'" [g]

Hegesander in his *Commentaries* says [h] that all persons love the sauces, not the meat or the fish; at

the form Στύακες, the reading in CE, Diehl sees a retort to the epithet σκύλακες, "pups," bestowed on the Cynics. But παιδοπῖπαι below shows that there is also an allusion to στύω, *penem erigere*.

[b] His native city, Citium, was in Cyprus.

[c] Wilamowitz 117, *S.V.F.* i. 58.

[d] See below, 564 f. p. 51 note *e*.

[e] Or, reading στωικόν for Ἀττικόν, "a certain Stoic."

[f] *Il.* x. 401.

[g] Punning on the name Dorus and the word dorôn, meaning gifts, favours.

[h] *F.H.G.* iv. 418. The source is still Ariston.

ἰχθύων· ἀπογενομένων γοῦν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἡδέως ἔτι προσφέρεται τὸ κρέας οὐδὲ τὸν ἰχθὺν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμεῖ τῶν ὠμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνηδύντων.

Καὶ γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν παίδων ἤρων, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστων[1] ἔφη, ὅθεν καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους συνέβη παιδικά. πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γάρ, καθάπερ φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν, Λυκοφρονίδην εἰρηκέναι φησίν[2]·

b οὔτε παιδὸς ἄρρενος οὔτε παρθένων
τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων
καλὸν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἂν μὴ[3] κόσμιον πεφύκῃ.[4]
ἡ γὰρ αἰδὼς ἄνθος ἐπισπείρει.

καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν. Σοφοκλῆς δέ που περὶ τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ Πέλοπος διαλεγομένην ποιήσας τὴν Ἱπποδάμειάν φησιν·

τοίαν Πέλοψ ἴυγγα[5] θηρατηρίαν
c ἔρωτος, ἀστραπήν τιν' ὀμμάτων ἔχει·
ἣ θάλπεται[6] μὲν αὐτός, ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμέ,[7]
ἴσον μετρῶν[8] ὀφθαλμόν, ὥστε τέκτονος
παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανών.

[1] Meineke: ἀριστοφῶν A.
[2] φησίν deleted by Meineke.
[3] ἂν (ἐὰν) μὴ Meineke: ἀλλὰ A.
[4] Meineke: πεφύκει A.
[5] τοίαν Πέλοψ ἴυγγα Valckenaer: τοιάνδ' ἐν ὄψει ACE, ἴυγγα Musurus, λύγγα A, λύγκα CE.
[6] Papageorgius: ἢ θάλλεται A.
[7] Brunck: δέ με A.
[8] μετρων A.

[a] *i.e.* the seasonings ("sweetenings") that go with meat and fish.

any rate, if they [a] be absent, no one any longer likes to take meat or fish, and no one wants them raw and unseasoned.

It is a fact that even in ancient times they loved boys, as Ariston has said, whence it came about that those who were loved were called *paidika*.[b] For in truth, as Clearchus says [c] in the first book of his *Love Stories*, quoting Lycophronides [d]: "Neither in boy, nor in gilded [e] maid, nor in deep-bosomed matron is the countenance fair if it be not modest. For it is modesty that sows the seed of beauty's flower." And Aristotle also has said [f] that lovers look to no other part of their favourite's body than the eyes, in which dwells modesty. And Sophocles, I believe, representing Hippodameia as discoursing on the beauty of Pelops, says [g]: "Such is the charm to ensnare love, a kind of lightning-flash that Pelops has in his eyes; with it he is warmed himself, but scorches me with the flame, measuring me with even glance of eye, just as the craftsman's rule is laid straight when he proceeds according to the pattern-line." [h]

[a] Lit. "boy-favourites."

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 314.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 633, Diehl ii. 157, Edmonds iii. 414 (vol. vii. p. 93).

[d] Lit. "wearing gold." But Wilamowitz interprets as *τῶν τὰ καλλιστεῖα νενικηκυιῶν*, "girls who have won prizes for beauty," below, 609 f.

[e] Frag. 96 Rose.

[f] *T.G.F.*[2] 235, doubtless from the lost *Oenomaus*, the tragedy in which the orator Aeschines, acting the title part, came to grief, *Vit. Aeschin.* 269. 26, *cf.* Demosth. *De Cor.* 242.

[g] The literal translation means: "as the carpenter's rule exactly follows the line, so the flash of Pelops' eye is answered by an equal flash in mine."

Λικύμνιος δ' ὁ Χῖος τὸν Ὕπνον φήσας ἐρᾶν τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οὐδὲ καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ κατακαλύπτει τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν βλεφάρων κοιμίζει τὸν ἐρώμενον, ὅπως διὰ παντὸς ἀπολαύῃ τῆς τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἡδονῆς. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

d Ὕπνος δὲ χαίρων ὀμμάτων αὐγαῖς ἀναπεπταμένοις
ὅσσοις ἐκοίμιζεν κοῦρον.

καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζόμενον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενόν φησιν·

στᾶθι κἄντα, φίλος,[1]
καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοις ἀμπέτασον χάριν.

ὁ δ' Ἀνακρέων τί φησιν;

ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων,[2]
δίζημαί σε, σύ δ' οὐκ ἄεις,[3]
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς
ψυχῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

ὁ δὲ μεγαλοφωνότατος Πίνδαρος·

e τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου (φησίν) ἀκτῖνάς ποτ' ὄσσων[4]
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεὶς
ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν[5]
ψυχρᾷ φλογί.[6]

ὁ δὲ τοῦ Κυθηρίου Φιλοξένου Κύκλῳψ ἐρῶν τῆς

[1] στᾶθι καντα φίλοσ A, στάθι κἄντα φίλος C: στᾶθι καὶ ἄντα φίλος φίλα μοι Kaibel, ὅσταθι (= ἀνάστηθι) κἄντα θᾶ με φίλαν φίλος Edmonds.
[2] βλέπουσαν CE.
[3] οὐκ ἄεις (= ἀίεις O. Schneider): οὐ καιεισ A, οὐκ ἀίεις CE, οὐ κοεῖς Bergk.

Licymnius of Chios, after explaining that Sleep was in love with Endymion, says that Sleep does not cover the eyes of Endymion when he slumbers, but lays his beloved to rest with eyelids wide opened, that he may enjoy the delight of gazing upon them continually. His words are [a]: "Sleep, joying in the light of his eyes, was wont to lay the boy to rest with lids wide open." And Sappho, too, says to the man who is extravagantly admired for his beauty and commonly deemed fair [b]: "Stand thou even before me, dear one, and open wide the charm that lies in thine eyes." And what says Anacreon [c]? "O lad with eyes of a maiden, I seek for thee, but thou heedest not, not knowing that thou holdest the reins of my heart." And Pindar, the most grandiloquent of all [d]: "But whosoever, once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, is not tossed on the waves of desire, hath a black heart forged, in cold flame, of adamant or of iron." But the Cyclops of Philoxenus of Cythera,

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 598, Diehl ii. 131, Edmonds iii. 338. *Cf.* Diogenian. iv. 40.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 100, Diehl i. 387, Edmonds i. 268. Wilamowitz rightly takes the verses as ironical. The quotation is incomplete.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 255, Diehl i. 448, Edmonds ii. 138. Perhaps addressed to the lad Cleobulus; Max. Tyr. viii. 96, *μεστὰ αὐτοῦ* [*Ἀνακρέοντος*] *τὰ ᾄσματα τῶν Κλεοβούλου ὀφθαλμῶν.* Below, 599 a, p. 227 n. *g*. *Cf.* Philostr. *Ep.* 33 *ἐμοὶ δὲ μόνοις πρόπινε τοῖς ὄμμασιν*, "drink to me only with thine eyes."

[d] *P.L.G.*[5] iii. 437, Sandys 584, Puech, *Pindare* ii. 189; more fully quoted Athen. 601 d (pp. 241-243).

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[4] *ποτ' ὄσσων* Wilamowitz (Kaibel *πρὸς*): *προσώπου* 601 d, *ὄσσων* alone A.

[5] Athen. 601 d: *ψυχὰν* A.

[6] *φλογί* added from 601 d.

Γαλατείας καὶ ἐπαινῶν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος, προμαντευόμενος τὴν τύφλωσιν πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτῆς ἐπαινεῖ ἢ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μνημονεύει, λέγων ὧδε·

ὦ καλλιπρόσωπε,
χρυσεοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια,
χαριτόφωνε, κάλλος[1] Ἐρώτων.

f τυφλὸς ὁ[2] ἔπαινος καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ Ἰβυκείῳ[3] ἐκείνῳ·

Εὐρύαλε, γλαυκέων[4] Χαρίτων θάλος,[5]

. . . . . .

καλλικόμων μελέδημα, σὲ μὲν Κύπρις
ἅ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πειθὼ ῥοδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

Φρύνιχός τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρωίλου ἔφη "λάμπειν ἐπὶ πορφυραῖς παρῇσι[6] φῶς ἔρωτος."

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυρουμένους τὰ γένεια περιφέρετε τοὺς ἐρωμένους· τοῦ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ'
565 Ἀλέξανδρον εὑρημένου, ὥς φησιν ὑμῶν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς. οὐκ ἀκαίρως δ', ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεμνήσομαι τῆς λέξεως· χαίρω γὰρ πάνυ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διά τε τὴν πολυμαθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἤθους ἐπιείκειαν. λέγει δὲ οὕτως[7] ὁ φιλόσοφος· "τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται, τῶν πρώτων[8] οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητὴς πώγωνα μέγαν ἔχων ηὔλει, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις δια-

[1] κάλλοσ ACE: θάλος Jacobs (θάλλος).
[2] ὁ CE: om. A. [3] CE: ἰβυκίωι A.
[4] AC: γλυκέων Jacobs.
[5] Lacuna indicated by Bergk. Μουσῶν supplied by Hecker.
[6] E: παρῆσι C, παριησι A.

in love with Galateia and praising her beauty, has a premonition of his own blindness, and so praises everything else about her rather than mention her eyes; he says [a]: "O thou of the fair countenance, Galateia, with golden curls and voice that charms, a beauty among the Loves!" [b] Blind this praise is, and nothing like that which Ibycus utters [c]: "Euryalus, scion of the blue-eyed Graces . . . darling of the fair-haired Muses, thee did Cypris and Persuasion of the tender eyes rear amid the flowers of the rose." And so Phrynichus said of Troïlus [d]: "There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love."

Now you Stoics take your favourites about with their chins shaven [e]; shaving the beard came into fashion under Alexander, as your Chrysippus says in the fourth book of his work *On Pleasure and the Good*. It will not be inappropriate, I am convinced, if I recall his exact words; for I like the man very much for his wide learning and respectable character. The philosopher speaks as follows [f]: "The custom of shaving the beard increased under Alexander, although the foremost men did not follow it. Why, even the flute-player Timotheüs wore a long beard when he played the flute.[g] And at Athens they

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 611, Diehl ii. 132, Edmonds iii. 390.
[b] Or, reading θάλος for κάλλος, "child of the Loves."
[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 238, Diehl ii. 55, Edmonds ii. 88.
[d] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 561, *T.G.F.*[2] 723, *cf.* below, 604 a, p. 254.
[e] These words seem to have been originally attached to the reproach against the Stoics in 563 e, above, p. 44.
[f] *S.V.F.* iii. 198, below, 565 e-f, p. 55.
[g] In the presence of Alexander, Athen. 538 f (vol. v. p. 436). See critical note 8.

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[7] Musurus: οὗτος A.
[8] AC: προτέρων Meineke wrongly.

τηροῦσιν[1] *οὐ σφόδρα ἀρχαῖον τὸν πρῶτον περι-*
b *κειράμενον*[2] *παρωνύμιον ἔχειν Κόρσην.*" *διὸ καὶ*
"*Αλεξις ἔφη που·*

ἂν[3] *πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον*
ὁρᾷς, δυοῖν[4] *τούτων*[5] *ἔχει τι θάτερον·*
ἢ γὰρ στρατεύειν[6] *ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται*
καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία,
ἢ πλουσιακὸν τούτῳ τι[7] *προσπίπτει κακόν.*
τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς,[8] *πρὸς θεῶν;*
δι' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται,
c *εἰ μή τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς.*

"*Διογένης δὲ ἰδών τινα οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ γένειον ἔφησεν· 'μή τι ἔχεις ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ φύσει ὅτι ἄνδρα σὲ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ γυναῖκα;' ἕτερον δέ τινα ἐπὶ ἵππου ἰδὼν παραπλησίως ἔχοντα καὶ μεμυρισμένον καὶ τούτοις ἀκολούθως ἠμφιεσμένον, πρότερον μὲν ἔφησε ζητεῖν τί ἐστιν ὁ ἱππόπορνος, νῦν δ' εὑρηκέναι. ἐν Ῥόδῳ δὲ νόμου ὄντος μὴ ξύρεσθαι οὐδ' ὁ ἐπιληψόμενος οὐδείς ἐστιν διὰ τὸ πάντας*

[1] *διασύρουσιν*, "ridicule," Lumb.
[2] Kaibel: *προσκειράμενον* A, *προκειράμενον* CE.
[3] *ἂν* added by Meineke.
[4] *δυοῖν* added by Erfurdt. [5] CE: *τοῦτον* A.
[6] *ἢ μαστροπεύειν* Jacobs.
[7] *τι* added by Meineke. [8] *ὑμᾶς* C.

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[a] Kock ii. 394. This quotation interrupts the remarks of Chrysippus.

[b] See Athen. 518 a and note *a* (vol. v. p. 333). Philemon wrote a comedy entitled Πιττοκοπούμενος.

[c] The text is in dispute and the meaning far from clear.

maintain that it is not so very long ago that the first man shaved his face all round, and had the nickname Shaver." Hence, also, Alexis said, I believe[a]: "If you see a man whose hair has been removed by pitch[b] or by shaving, one or other of two things ails him: either he plainly means to 'go on a campaign' and do all kinds of things inconsistent with a beard, or else some vice peculiar to a rich man is descending upon him.[c] For really, what harm do our hairs do us, in the gods' name? By them each one of us shows himself a real man, unless you secretly intend to do something which conflicts with them."—"Again, Diogenes, seeing a man with a chin in that condition, said: 'It cannot be, can it, that you have any fault to find with nature because she made you a man instead of a woman?' And seeing another person on horse-back in nearly the same condition, reeking with perfume and dressed in a style of clothing to match these practices, he said that he had often before asked what the word horse-bawd[d] meant, but now he had found out. At Rhodes, although there is a law which forbids shaving, there is not so much as a single prosecutor who will try to stop

στρατεύειν may be a slang term for "go a-whoring," Heysch. στρατά, στατή· πόρνη.

[d] "A big prostitute"; here, however, the word slants in meaning toward "prostitute on horseback." *Cf.* the use of ἵππος for "loose woman" 532 f (vol. v. p. 405 note *f*). The prefix *hippo-* "horse," was used to denote great size; Aristoph. *Ran.* 931:

ἤδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς διηγρύπνησα
τὸν ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκτρύονα ζητῶν τίς ἐστιν ὄρνις,

"for a long time before this I've lain awake nights asking what kind of bird the nimble horsecock is." See also Aristoph. *Av.* 800, Eustath. 1909. 63.

d ξύρεσθαι. ἐν Βυζαντίῳ δὲ ζημίας ἐπικειμένης τῷ ἔχοντι κουρεῖ[1] ξυρὸν οὐδὲν ἧττον πάντες χρῶνται αὐτῷ." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θαυμάσιος εἴρηκε Χρύσιππος.

Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς ἐκεῖνος Ζήνων, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος, προμαντευόμενος ὑμῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, 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 παρενεχθέντες αἱρέσεως ἄσωτοι καὶ θρασεῖς. καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτοι ὑμῶν
e εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι, συνεσπασμένοι καὶ κακοπινεῖς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕξει. βουλόμενοι γὰρ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν αὐτάρκειαν καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εὑρίσκεσθε[2] ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φιλαργυρίας θύραις ῥυπαρῶς ζῶντες καὶ τριβωνάρια περιβαλλόμενοι μικρὰ καὶ ἥλων[3] ἐμπιπλάντες τὰ[4] καττύματα καὶ κιναίδους καλοῦντες τοὺς ἢ μύρου προσβάλλοντας ἢ μικρῷ μαλακωτέραν ἠμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτα. οὐ δεῖ οὖν οὕτως ἐσταλμένους περὶ ἀργύριον ἐπτοῆσθαι καὶ
f ἐρωμένους περιάγεσθαι ξυρουμένους τὴν ὑπήνην καὶ τὸν ὄρρον τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας

ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ[5] μετὰ σοφιστῶν, νὴ Δία,
λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, σκυτίνων,[6]

κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην.

[1] κουρεῖ deleted by Cobet. [2] Musurus: εὑρίσκεσθαι A.
[3] ἥλων Meineke: τῶν ἥλων A.
[4] τὰ Schweighäuser: ὁ τὰ A.
[5] λυκίωι A. [6] συκίνων Athen. 98 f.

[a] Wilamowitz 118. [b] The Hedonist.
[c] Lit. "contracted," as by cold.
[d] Lit. "self-sufficiency," the philosopher's ideal.

it, because everybody shaves. And in Byzantium, although a fine is imposed on the barber who has a razor, everybody makes use of one just the same." These, then, are the remarks of the admirable Chrysippus.

As for your wise Zeno, says Antigonus of Carystus,[a] he, having a premonition, as it would seem, of the lives you were to lead, and of your hypocritical profession, asserted that they who listened casually to his precepts and failed to understand them would be filthy and mean, just as those who have gone wrong in respect of the principles of Aristippus [b] are prodigal and insolent. And so most of you are like that, all wizened [c] and foul not only in your manners but also in your morals. For, professing to clothe yourselves in the garments of independence [d] and economy, you are discovered living squalidly at the gates of avarice, while you wrap yourselves about with worn cloaks too small for you,[e] and fill the soles of your shoes with hobnails,[f] and give the name of sodomite to those who either put on a little perfume or dress in garments a little too dainty. You ought not, therefore, when rigged up in that fashion, to be in such a flutter over money, or take about in your train lovers with shaven chins and posteriors, the lads who follow along "in the Lyceum in the company of the Sophists—Heaven save the mark!—skinny, unfed, mere skin and bones,[g]" as Antiphanes put it.[h]

[e] *Cf.* Theophr. *Char.* iv. of the boor; "wearing a cloak which does not reach to the knee, he sits down."

[f] *Ibid.* εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ ἥλους ἐγκροῦσαι, "driving nails into his shoes."

[g] Or, reading συκίνων for σκυτίνων, "worthless."

[h] Kock ii. 58, Athen. 98 f (vol. i. p. 425), *cf.* 551 c and note *c* (vol. v. p. 502).

Ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς[1] τὸ κάλλος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν
ταῖς Εὐανδρίαις τοὺς καλλίστους ἐγκρίνουσι καὶ
τούτους[2] πρωτοφορεῖν[3] ἐπιτρέπουσιν. ἐν Ἤλιδι δὲ
καὶ κρίσις γίνεται κάλλους, καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ τὰ τῆς
θεοῦ φέρειν τεύχη δίδοται, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὸν βοῦν
566 ἄγειν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς θυηλὰς ἐπιτίθησιν. Ἡρα-
κλείδης δ' ὁ Λέμβος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην
θαυμάζεται παντὸς[4] μᾶλλον ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ γυνὴ
ἡ καλλίστη, καλλίστας γεννώσης τῆς Σπάρτης τὰς[5]
γυναῖκας. διὸ καί φασιν περὶ[6] Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ
βασιλέως, γυναικὸς αὐτῷ καλῆς φαινομένης, ἑτέρας
δὲ αἰσχρᾶς καὶ πλουσίας, ὡς ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὴν
πλουσίαν, ζημιῶσαι τοὺς ἐφόρους αὐτόν, ἐπι-
b λέγοντας ὅτι "βασιλίσκους[7] ἀντὶ βασιλέων τᾷ
Σπάρτᾳ[8] γεννᾶν" προαιρεῖται. Εὐριπίδης τε ἔφη·

πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος·

καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δὲ δημογέροντες θαυμάζοντες
τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ κάλλος φασίν·

[1] Meineke: αὐτὸ A. [2] τούτοις?
[3] πτορθοφορεῖν "carry branches," like the θαλλοφόροι, Valois.
[4] παντὸς added by Gulick. [5] τὰς om. CE.
[6] περὶ added by Schweighäuser.
[7] Musurus: βασιλικοῦσα AC.
[8] τᾷ Σπάρτᾳ Meineke: ταῖσ Σπάρταισ ACE.

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[a] Contests were held among the ten tribes of Attica at the Panathenaea and the Theseia; see Harpocr. *s.v.* (Philochorus). From Xen. *Mem.* iii. 3. 12 ff., it would appear that not only bodily size and strength but also mental and moral qualities were taken into account. Later, apparently, the handsomest boys were especially favoured; contrast

And yet I too praise beauty. Indeed, in the contests of physical fitness [a] they select the handsomest boys and command them to be the first among the carriers. But in Elis there is actually held a contest of beauty, and to the winner of the first prize is assigned the duty of carrying the vessels of the goddess,[b] to the winner of the second, leading the ox, while the winner of the third lays the preliminary offerings on the fire.[c] Further, Heracleides Lembus records [d] that in Sparta the handsomest man and the prettiest woman are admired above all things, the prettiest women in the world being born in Sparta.[e] Hence they say of King Archidamus, that when a beautiful woman was presented to him, along with another who was ugly and rich, and he showed an inclination to take the rich woman, the Ephors fined him, adding the remark that he was preferring to "beget princelings instead of princes for Sparta." [f] Euripides has said [g]: "First of all, a form that is worthy of kingly rule;" and even the elders of the people in Homer say, as they admire

Aristot. *E.N.* 1099 a 3 (of the Olympic Games). πρωτοφορεῖν occurs only here, and taken with the accusative τούτους, is under suspicion. See crit. note 3. For other "beauty-contests" see below, 609 e, p. 284.

[b] Hera?

[c] *Il.* ix. 220 of Patroclus, ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 168.

[e] *Od.* xiii. 412, Σπάρτην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.

[f] Theophrastus *ap.* Plut. *Ages.* 2 (*cf. De Educ. Puer.* 1 c–D) tells the story somewhat differently: the Ephors fined him for marrying a *little* woman, saying οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἄμμιν ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γεννάσει. *Cf.* the story of Lysander, above, 555 c, p. 5.

[g] *T.G.F.*[2] 367, from the lost *Aeolus* (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 65. 1). The poet goes on to say that it is a great merit to have a physical beauty in keeping with a noble estate.

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

ἐκπέπληκται γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πρίαμος ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς γυναικός, καίτοι ἐν δεινοῖς ὑπάρχων. c θαυμάζει γοῦν ἐπὶ κάλλει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοιαῦτα ἐκφωνῶν·

καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὔ πω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικεν.

καθίστων δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς καλλίστους βασιλέας, ὡς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἀθάνατοι καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες, ὥς φησι Βίων ἐν Αἰθιοπικοῖς. ὡς ἔοικε γάρ, τὸ κάλλος βασιλείας οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν. θεαὶ περὶ κάλλους d ἤρισαν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ διὰ κάλλος οἱ θεοὶ ἀνηρείψαντο[1] Διὶ οἰνοχόον τὸν Γανυμήδη

κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν'[2] ἀθανάτοισι μετείη.

αἱ θεαὶ δὲ τίνας ἀναρπάζουσιν;[3] οὐ τοὺς καλλίστους; οἷς καὶ σύνεισιν· Ἠὼς μὲν Κεφάλῳ καὶ Κλείτῳ καὶ Τιθωνῷ, Δημήτηρ Ἰασίωνι,[4] Ἀφροδίτη Ἀγχίσῃ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι. διὰ κάλλος δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν θεῶν διὰ κεράμων χρυσὸς ἔρχεται, ταῦρος γίνεται, ἀετὸς πτεροῦται πολλάκις, ὥσπερ

[1] ἀνηρίψαντο A.
[2] οἷ ἵν' A.
[3] ἤρπασαν C, ἁρπάζουσιν E.
[4] E: ἰασίονι C, ἰάσωνι A.

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[a] *Π.* iii. 156, Athen. 188 b (vol. ii. p. 352).
[b] Implied in *Π.* iii. 162, 172.
[c] *Π.* iii. 169.
[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 351; so Herod. iii. 20, Aristot. *Pol.* 1290 b 5,

Helen's beauty[a]: "'Tis no cause for anger that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should suffer woes a long time for such a woman as she; for she is marvellously like the deathless goddesses in countenance." Even Priam himself, at any rate, is struck with admiration of the woman's beauty, although he is in the midst of dangers.[b] At least he admires Agamemnon for beauty, uttering praise such as this[c]: "Yet I have never beheld with my eyes one so beautiful or so majestic; for he is like unto a king." And many people have set upon the throne their handsomest men as kings, as, for instance, the Ethiopians called the Immortals, who do it to this day, as Bion says in his *Ethiopian History*.[d] In fact, it would seem that beauty is a special attribute of kingship. Goddesses quarrelled with one another on the question of their beauty, and because of his beauty the gods "caught up and carried off" Ganymede to be Zeus's cupbearer, "for the sake of his beauty, that he might dwell among the immortals."[e] As for the goddesses, whom do they carry off? Is it not the most beautiful men? Certainly they live together with them: Dawn with Cephalus,[f] Cleitus,[g] and Tithonus,[h] Demeter with Iasion,[i] Aphroditê with Anchises and Adonis. Attracted by beauty, too, the highest of the gods goes through roof-tiles in the form of gold, or turns into a bull, or as an eagle frequently

and Newman's note on 1282 b 27 (iii. 228). With the epithet Ἀθάνατοι *cf.* μακρόβιοι Αἰθίοπες, Herod. iii. 23 and How and Wells's note.

[a] *Il.* xx. 235, *cf.* 234.

[b] J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, lx-lxiii.

[c] *Od.* xv. 250.

[d] See vol. v. p. 489 and note *a*.

[e] *Od.* v. 125.

καὶ ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ. Σωκράτης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ πάντων καταφρονῶν. τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου κάλλους οὐχ
e ἥττων ἐστίν; ὡς καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦ Φασηλίτου μαθητοῦ. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ κάλλιστα προκρίνομεν; ἐπαινεῖται καὶ[1] τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὸ ἔθος τὸ γυμνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις. ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ βαδίζειν ἥδιστόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια[2] καὶ τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ὁρᾶν προσπαλαίοντας τοὺς νέους ταῖς κόραις.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος "ταυτὶ[3] καὶ τολμᾷς σὺ λέγειν," οὐ "ῥοδοδάκτυλος οὖσα" κατὰ τὸν Κρατῖνον, ἀλλὰ βολίτινον ἔχων θάτερον σκέλος, ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου σοι ποιητοῦ τὴν κνήμην
f φορῶν· ὃς ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις καὶ τοῖς πανδοκείοις αἰεὶ διαιτᾷ,[4] καίτοι Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐν τῷ Ἀρεοπαγιτικῷ εἰρηκότος· "ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν[5] οἰκέτης ἐτόλμησεν.

[1] ἐπαινεῖται καὶ CE: ἐπαινοῦντεσ A, Kaibel (who assumed a lacuna before it).
[2] ἐν χίῳ δὲ καὶ βαδίζειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡδὺ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια CE.
[3] Dobree: ταυτη (*sic*) A.
[4] Schweighäuser: διαιτᾶται A.
[5] οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν A.

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[a] Daughter of the Boeotian King Asopus, and mother of Aeacus, Nonnus vii. 211 ff. But Ovid, *Met.* vi. 113, says that Zeus came upon her in the form of fire, "aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis." In gold and bull the allusion is, of course, to the stories of Danaë and Europa. Against such metamorphoses see Plato's protest, *Rep.* 381 D, etc.

[b] Plat. *Symp.* 222 D, Athen. 219 b (vol. ii. p. 492).

[c] Theodectas, Steph. Byz. *s.* Φασηλίς, Θ. δ' ἦν γένος . . . κάλλει διαφέρων; Val. Max. viii. 14. 3. Against all such slanders one may cite the verse of Eudemus: ἀνδρὸς (Aristotle) δν οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις.

sprouts feathers, as when he went to get Aegina.[a] Is not even the philosopher Socrates, who scorns all things, overcome by the beauty of Alcibiades?[b] Even so the most august Aristotle, by that of his pupil from Phaselis.[c] As for ourselves, do we not prefer even those inanimate objects which are most beautiful? The Spartan custom, also, of stripping young girls before strangers[d] is highly praised. And on the island of Chios it is very pleasant just to walk to the gymnasia and running-tracks and watch the young men wrestling with the girls.[e]

Whereupon Cynulcus burst forth in Cratinus's words[f]: "This you dare to say to me?" though you are not "rosy-fingered," but rather have one leg made of cow-dung,[g] while the shank which you carry about is that of the poet, your namesake[h]; for you spend all your time in the wineshops and the public houses, although the orator Isocrates has said in his *Areopagiticus*[i]: "No one, not even a slave,[j] would have stooped to eat or drink in a wineshop. For

[a] Or, "their guests."

[b] Petron. *Sat.* 63, uses *vita Chia* as a commonplace term describing licentiousness. But Thuc. viii. 24. 4 says the Chians were remarkable for sobriety joined with wealth. Great freedom was permitted to girls on the island of Ceos, Plut. 249 D, but it is not necessary, with Wilamowitz, to alter the text above. This ends the discourse of Myrtilus, begun by him at 563 d.

[f] Kock i. 104; obviously Aurora is the person addressed. The original line reads: "This you dare to say to me, rosy-fingered though you are."

[g] Aristoph. *Ran.* 294-295.

[h] Myrtilus, poet of the Old Comedy.

[i] § 49, of the good old times.

[j] Isocrates says, "not even a slave who was decent (ἐπιεικής)."

σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι." Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας φησὶν ἀριστήσαντά τινα ἐν καπηλείῳ κωλῦσαι ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἄρειον
567 πάγον.[1] σὺ δέ, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρῃ οὐ μετὰ ἑταίρων ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἑταιρῶν, μαστροπευούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων αἰεὶ τοιαυτὶ βιβλία Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους, ἔτι δὲ Γοργίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, πάντων τούτων συγγεγραφότων περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι[2] Ἑταιρίδων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς σου πολυμαθίας, ὡς κατ' οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσω
Gr. 80 wi b Θεόμανδρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὅν φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐδαιμονίας περιιόντα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι διδάσκειν[3] εὐτυχίαν, ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλε· οὐδὲν ἄρα διαφέρεις Ἀμάσιος τοῦ Ἠλείου, ὃν Θεόφραστος ἐν
Gr. 105 wi τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινὸν γεγονέναι λέγει. οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι δέ τίς σε καὶ πορνογράφον καλῶν, ὡς Ἀριστείδην καὶ Παυσίαν[4] ἔτι τε Νικοφάνη τοὺς ζωγράφους. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ταῦτα καλῶς γραφόντων Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι Πινάκων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς πολυμαθίας, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τῆς τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τοῦδε,

[1] τὸν ἄρειον πάγον C. [2] ἀθήνησι A.
[3] διδάξειν CE.
[4] Sillig: παυσανίαν ACE.

they used to study dignity, not vulgarity." And Hypereides, in the speech *Against Patrocles*, if that speech be genuine, says [a] that the Areopagites debarred anyone who had lunched in a wineshop from being promoted to the Court of the Areopagus. But you, my professor of wisdom, wallow in the wineshops, not with male friends, but with mistresses, keeping around you not a few female pimps, and always carrying round books of that sort,[b] by Aristophanes,[c] Apollodorus,[d] Ammonius, and Antiphanes; further, Gorgias of Athens; all these have written treatises *On the Prostitutes at Athens*.[e] Ah, that beautiful erudition of yours! How true it is that you are not in the least like Theomander of Cyrene, of whom Theophrastus says,[f] in his book *On Happiness*, that he went about professing to teach happiness, you teacher of lust! So you differ in no respect from Amasis of Elis, who, Theophrastus tells [g] us in his essay *On Love*, was an adept in love affairs. One would make no mistake in calling you a pornographer also, like the painters Aristeides [h] and Pausias [i] and again Nicophanes. They are mentioned [j] as good painters of these subjects by Polemon in his work *On the Painted Tablets of Sicyon*. Ah, the beautiful erudition, my dear friends, of our scholar here, who does not even

[a] Frag. 138 Kenyon.
[b] *i.e.* seductive, pandering books.
[c] Of Byzantium.
[d] Of Athens.
[e] See also below, 583 d, 586 a, 591 d and the article *Hetairai* in P.-W. viii. 1331 ff.
[f] Frag. 80 Wimmer.
[g] Frag. 108.
[h] Of Thebes. Plin. *N.H.* xxxv. 98 gives him a better character.
[i] Of Sicyon, Plin. *N.H.* xxxv. 123. See critical note 4.
[j] Frag. 16 Preller.

ὃς οὐδ' ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν τὰ Εὐβούλου αἰεὶ ἐκ Κερκώπων λέγει·

c Κόρινθον ἦλθον. ἡδέως ἐνταῦθά πως
λάχανόν τι τρώγων Ὤκιμον διεφθάρην·
κἀνταῦθα κατελήρησα τὴν ἐξωμίδα.

καλός γε ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων σοφιστής, ὁ τοῖς μαθηταῖς διηγούμενος ὅτι Ὤκιμον ἑταίρας ὄνομα. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλά, ὦναιδές, δράματα ἀπὸ ἑταιρῶν[1] ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς,[2] Θάλαττα Διοκλέους, Φερεκράτους Κοριαννώ, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἄντεια, Μενάνδρου δὲ Θαὶς καὶ Φάνιον, Ἀλέξιδος Ὀπώρα, Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα. οὕτω δ' ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἡ
d ἑταίρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν συνουσίαζεν ἕως κενωθείη,[3] ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης εἴρηκεν ὁ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἐν τῷ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως συγγράμματι, τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι Μητίχην.

Ἐστὶν δ' ἑταίρα,

ὡς Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ,

τῷ τρέφοντι συμφορά·
εὐφραίνεται γὰρ κακὸν ἔχων οἴκοι μέγα.

διόπερ καὶ θρηνῶν τις αὐτὸν παράγεται ὑπὸ Τιμο-
e λέους ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

[1] ἑταίρων C: ἑτέρων A.
[2] ὀνόματα δὲ ἑταιρῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δράματα ἐπεγράφη, ἄλλα τε καὶ τάδε C.
[3] κενωθείη Cobet, Meineke: κενωθῇ ACE.

[a] Kock ii. 182. On Ocimon, whose name meant also "sweet basil," *cf.* Athen. 570 e, 587 c. Corinth was notorious for vice. ἀναφανδόν means that Myrtilus openly

veil his face in shame, but ever speaks right out the words of Eubulus in *The Cercopes*[a]: "I went to Corinth. There, finding pleasure somehow in tasting a sweet morsel named Ocimon, I came to grief; and there in idle chat I lost my shirt." Noble, at the least, is this sophist of the Corinthians,[b] who informs his pupils that Ocimon is the name of a prostitute. And many dramas, besides, yon shameless one, have taken their titles from prostitutes: *Thalatta*[c] by Diocles, *Coriannô* by Pherecrates, *Anteia* by Eunicus or Philyllius, *Thaïs* and *Phanion* by Menander, *Opora*[d] by Alexis, *Clepsydra*[e] by Eubulus. Now this last prostitute got her name because she timed her favours by the water-clock, stopping when it was emptied, as Asclepiades, the son of Areius,[f] records[g] in his *History of Demetrius of Phalerum*, alleging that her real name was Metichê.

"Now a courtesan," as Antiphanes says[h] in *The Farmer*, "is a calamity to the man who keeps her; indeed, he rejoices in keeping a mighty pest in the house." Wherefore a man is brought on the scene by Timocles in *Neaera* bemoaning his fate[i]: "But I,

exemplifies in his own conduct the words of Eubulus, whose speaker may be the dissolute Heracles.

[b] Meaning either that he is an authority on the vice of the Corinthians (Dalechamps), or that he posed as a sophist in Corinth; below, 573 c, p. 97. Myrtilus was really a Thessalian (see Introd. vol. i. p. xiii.).

[c] Lit. "The Sea." *Cf.* the sea-woman in Semon. Amorg. frag. 7. 27 ff., and on such titles in general see Kock i. 162-163.

[d] "Ripe Fruit."

[e] "Water Clock."

[f] Or perhaps, "the disciple of Areius." Nothing is known of either person.

[g] *F.H.G.* iii. 306, J. 2 B 883.

[h] Kock ii. 13.

[i] *Ibid.* 462, *cf.* below, 591 d, p. 188.

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχὴς
Φρύνης ἐρασθεὶς ἡνίκ' ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν
συνέλεγεν οὔπω τ' εἶχεν ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,
πάμπολλ' ἀναλίσκων ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς θύρας
ἀπεκλειόμην.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δ' Ὀρεσταυτοκλείδης ὁ[1] αὐτὸς Τιμοκλῆς φησι·

περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον
εὕδουσι γρᾶες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα,
f Γνάθαινα, Φρύνη, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη,
Χρυσίς, Κοναλίς,[2] Ἱερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον.

τούτων τῶν ἑταιρῶν καὶ Ἄμφις μνημονεύει ἐν Κουρίδι λέγων·

τυφλὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,
ὅστις γε παρὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται,
παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκᾳ καὶ Ναννίῳ
ἑτέραις[3] τε τοιαύταισι παγίσι τοῦ βίου
ἔνδον κάθητ' ἀπόπληκτος οὐδ' ἐξέρχεται.

568 Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἰσοστάσιον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὰς δι' ἐπιτεχνήσεως κομμώσεις τῶν ἑταιρῶν οὕτως ἐκτίθεται·

πρῶτα[4] μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος καὶ τὸ συλᾶν τοὺς πέλας
πάντα τἄλλ' αὐταῖς πάρεργα γίνεται, ῥάπτουσι δὲ
πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλάς. ἐπειδὰν δ' εὐπορήσωσίν ποτε,

[1] ὁ added by Schweighäuser.
[2] χρυσισκοναλισ A: Κοβαλίς Meineke, Κονισαλίς Kaibel, Κοναλλίς Kock.

unlucky that I was, fell in love with Phrynê in the days when she was picking up capers [a] here and there and did not yet have all the wealth she has to-day; and in spending huge sums for each visit I came to be excluded from her door." And in the play entitled *Orestautocleides* the same Timocles says [b]: "Around this abject creature sleep old hags like Nannion,[c] Plangôn,[d] Lyca,[e] Gnathaena,[f] Phrynê, Pythionicê,[g] Myrrhinê, Chrysis, Conalis, Hierocleia, and Lopadion." These prostitutes are mentioned also by Amphis in *The Tirewoman*; he says [h]: "I'm sure that Plutus is blind, because he never visits this girl here, but sits paralysed in the house of Sinopê, or Lyca, or Nannion, and other traps of this sort set to catch a man's substance, and never goes out of their doors." Alexis, in the play entitled *Fair Measure*, sets forth the elaborate devices of the prostitutes and the artful tricks by which they care for their bodies in these words [i]: "First of all, to make their gains and plunder their neighbours, they count all other means as trivial, but stitch plots against all. And once they have become rich, they take into their houses fresh

[a] Capers were cheap, Athen. 161 e (vol. ii. p. 234); Phrynê was still unknown and poor.

[b] Kock ii. 462. Autocleides was a paederast, Aeschin. *Or.* i. 52, *cf.* Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 347.

[c] *Cf.* above, 558 c and 587 a.

[d] 558 b, 594 c.

[e] 558 b, 594 c. [f] Lyca = Lycaena, "she-wolf."

[g] Pythonicê in Diod. xvii. 108. Her relations with Harpalus are described below, 594 e, p. 205.

[h] Kock ii. 242.

[i] Kock ii. 329; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 2. 8 quotes the same, with many variants.

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[2] Musurus: ἑταίραισ ACE.

[4] Clement Alex.: πρῶτον A.

ἀνέλαβον καινὰς[1] ἑταίρας, πρωτοπείρους τῆς τέχνης.
εὐθὺς ἀναπλάττουσι ταύτας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς τρόπους
μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ὁμοίας διατελεῖν οὔσας ἔτι.
b τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὖσα· φελλὸς ἐν ταῖς βαυκίσιν
ἐγκεκάττυται. μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτὸν φορεῖ
τήν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον καταβαλοῦσ' ἐξέρχεται·
τοῦτο τοῦ μήκους ἀφεῖλεν. οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία·
ὑπενέδυσ' ἐρραμμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν
ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας.[2] κοιλίαν ἁδρὰν[3] ἔχει·
στηθί'[4] ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ κωμικοί·
ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα τοὐνδυτὸν[5] τῆς κοιλίας
c ὥσπερεὶ κοντοῖσι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' ἀπήγαγον.[6]
τὰς ὀφρῦς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις· ζωγραφοῦσιν ἀσβόλῳ.
συμβέβηκ' εἶναι[7] μέλαιναν· κατέπλασε[8] ψιμυθίῳ.
λευκόχρως λίαν τίς ἐστιν· παιδέρωτ' ἐντρίβεται.
καλὸν ἔχει τοῦ σώματός τι· τοῦτο[9] γυμνὸν δείκνυται.
εὐφυεῖς ὀδόντας ἔσχεν· ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ γελᾶν,

[1] Musurus: κένὰσ A.
[2] Sylburg: τοὺσ ἰδόντασ ACE, τοὺς εἰσιόντας Clem.
[3] ἁδρὰν Clem.: om. A.
[4] τιτθί' Clem.
[5] Sylburg (τοὐνδυτον): γ' οὖν αὐτῶν A, ταῦτα ουτοϊντινδυτον Clem., τοὔκλυτον "loose skin" (?) Kaibel.
[6] κοντοῖσιν εἰς τοὔπισθε τοῖσδ' ἀνήγαγον (?) Kaibel.
[7] CE, Clem.: συμβεβηκέναι A.
[8] κατέπλασε C: κατέπασε, κατέσπασε Clem. codd., κατέπλασεν A.
[9] τοῦτο Clem.: ταυτο A, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ CE.

prostitutes, who are making their first trial of the profession. They straightway remodel these girls, so that they retain neither their manners nor their looks as they were before. Suppose that one girl is too small: a cork sole is stitched into her dainty shoes. Another is too tall: she wears a thin slipper, and cocks her head on one side when she walks abroad. This reduces her height. One has no hips: she sews together a bustle and puts it on beneath her dress, so that all who catch sight of the fine curves of her back cry out in applause. One has too fat a stomach: for her they have bosoms made of the stuff the comic actors [a] use; padding themselves straight out in such fashion, they then pull forward, as with punting-poles, the covering of their stomachs.[b] Another woman has eyebrows too light: they paint them with lamp-black. Still another, as it happens, is too dark: she plasters herself over with white lead.[c] One has a complexion too white: she rubs on rouge. A part of one's body is beautiful: this part she displays bare. She has pretty teeth: she must, of course, laugh, that the

[a] Women's rôles were played by men.

[b] The text is unsound, and a mere male can scarcely offer a sure interpretation. *ἐνδυτόν* may be a kind of corset drawn so tightly over the hips as to suggest to the comedian that a windlass is used in the process; we should expect *εἰς τοὔπισθ'* (Emperius) for *εἰς τὸ πρόσθ'*, but to read it would require, for metrical reasons, other alterations less probable. If the fastening of the *ἐνδυτόν* was in the front, *εἰς τὸ πρόσθ'* is fairly intelligible. The main idea is that much pulling and hauling were necessary to adjust the figure as the women desired. For *ὀρθὰ προσθεῖναι* *cf.* Suid. *s.* *ὀρθοτίτθιος· ἡ παρθένος ἡ ὀρθοὺς τοὺς τιτθοὺς ἔχουσα.*

[c] Aristoph. *Eccles.* 878:

ἐγὼ δὲ καταπεπλασμένη ψιμυθίῳ
ἕστηκα.

ἵνα θεωρῶσ'[1] οἱ παρόντες τὸ στόμ' ὡς κομψὸν
φορεῖ.
d ἂν δὲ μὴ χαίρῃ γελῶσα, διατελεῖ[2] τὴν ἡμέραν
ἔνδον, ὥσπερ τοῖς μαγείροις ἃ παράκειθ' ἑκάστοτε,
ἡνίκ' ἂν πωλῶσιν αἰγῶν κρανία, ξυλήφιον
μυρρίνης ἔχουσα λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν·
ὥστε τῷ χρόνῳ σέσηρεν,[3] ἄν τε βούληθ'[4] ἄν τε μή.
. . .[5] ὄψεις διὰ τούτων σκευοποιοῦσι τῶν
τεχνῶν.

Διὸ συμβουλεύω σοι, "Θετταλὲ ποικιλόδιφρε,"
τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ καταναλίσκειν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον τὰ τῶν υἱῶν κέρματα.
e ὄντως γὰρ "ἄριστα χωλὸς οἰφεῖς," τοῦ κρηπιδοποιοῦ πατρός σου[6] πολλά σε σωφρονίσαντος καὶ διδάξαντος σκύτη βλέπειν. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας κατὰ τὴν Εὐβούλου Πανυχίδα·

τὰς φιλῳδοὺς[7] κερμάτων παλευτρίας,
. . . πώλους Κύπριδος ἐξησκημένας,
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως[8] τεταγμένας,
ἐν λεπτοπήνοις[9] ὕφεσιν[10] ἑστώσας, οἷας

[1] Clem.: θεωροῖεν ACE.
[2] Clem.: διατελουσ A, διὰ τέλους CE.
[3] Clem.: σεσηρέναι ACE
[4] βούληται C, βου E, βουλετ' Clem., βούλωνται A.
[5] The entire verse, omitted in CE and Clem., is spurious.
[6] Dobree: οὐ A.
[7] Dobree: φειδωλοὺσ ACE.
[8] Musurus: ἐπικαιρωσ A, ἐπικαίρους CE.
[9] CE (νήτοις superscr.): λεπτονήτοισ A.
[10] Porson: ὑμέσιν (sic) ACE.

[6] Compare the treatment of blackbirds in the poulterers' shops, Aristoph. *Av.* 1081 τοῖς τε κοψίχοισιν ἐς τὰς βίνας

company present may see what a nice mouth she has. But if she doesn't like to laugh, she must spend the whole day indoors, and like the wares always displayed by the butchers, when they offer goats' heads for sale,[a] she must keep a thin piece of myrtle wood upright between her lips; hence in course of time, she opens her mouth in a grin, whether she wants to or not. It is by such artful devices that they make up their bodies and faces."

Wherefore I advise you, "Thessalian of the painted chariot-board,[b]" to limit your embraces to the ladies who run the houses[c] and not squander unprofitably the cash belonging to your sons. For it is really true that "the lame man rides best,"[d] meaning you, whose cobbler-father often whipped you and taught you "to wear a hang-dog look."[e] Or don't you know, to quote *The Vigil* of Eubulus,[f] that "those tuneful decoy-birds which lure the coin, Aphroditê's trained fillies, stripped for action and posted in battle-line,[g] stand in scarfs of finest weaving, like the

ἐγχεῖ τὰ πτερά ("their feathers"). C. Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* xx. 210, H. J. Rose *ibid.* xxi. 257.

[b] Or, "decorated throne," *cf.* Athen. 28 b (vol. i. p. 122). The address of Cynulcus to Myrtilus is quoted from an oracle, Pollux vii. 112; Myrtilus hailed from Thessaly, hence he is called τὸ Θετταλὸν σόφισμα, 11 b (vol. i. p. 48), and Θετταλὸν πάλαισμα 308 b (vol. iii. p. 384).

[c] Instead of keeping a more expensive mistress.

[d] A proverb, Diogenianus ii. 2, in which "ride" is used *sens. obsc.* See Suid. *s.* ἄριστα. Kock iii. 404 gives it as a fragment from the Old Comedy.

[e] σκύτη βλέπειν, "to look leather," was an expression used of one who looked as if he were about to be whipt; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 643, ἢ μὴν ἐγώ σε τήμερον σκύτη βλέπειν ποιήσω.

[f] Kock ii. 193.

[g] The figure changes from trained colts to battleships and then back to women.

Ἠριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας·
παρ' ὧν[1] βεβαίως ἀσφαλῶς τ' ἔξεστί σοι
f μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν.

καὶ ἐν Ναννίῳ[2] εἰ[3] Εὐβούλου τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ μὴ Φιλίππου,[4] φησίν·

ὅστις λέχη γὰρ σκότια νυμφεύει λάθρᾳ,
πῶς οὐχὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτατος;
ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως[5] τεταγμένας,
ἐν λεπτοπήνοις[6] ὕφεσιν' ἑστώσας, οἷας
Ἠριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας,
μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν,
569 καὶ μὴ λαθραίαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων[8]
πασῶν, διώκειν, ὕβρεος[9] οὐ πόθου χάριν.
Ἑλλάδος ἔγωγε τῆς ταλαιπώρου στένω,[10]
ἣ Κυδίαν[11] ναύαρχον ἐξεπέμψατο.

ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ Ξέναρχος ἐν Πεντάθλῳ τοῖς παραπλησίως σοι βιοῦσιν καὶ ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ τὰς μεγαλομίσθους ἑταίρας καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας τῶν γυναικῶν ταυτὶ λέγων·

δεινά, δεινὰ κοὐκ ἀνασχετὰ
ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι.
b ὅπου γὰρ οὐσῶν μειράκων μάλ' εὐπρεπῶν

[1] CE: παρὼν A. [2] ἐνναυιωι A.
[3] εἰ added by Coraes.
[4] B, Meineke: φιλιππίδου A.
[5] ἐπικαιρωσ A. [6] So A here: cf. above in e.
[7] ὑμέσιν A. [8] Casaubon: ὅσων A.
[9] Musurus: ὕβρεωσ A. [10] Eur.: περιστένω A.
[11] Musurus: ηκυδια A.

maidens [a] whom the Eridanus refreshes with his pure waters? From them, constantly and securely, you may purchase your pleasure for a little coin." Again, in *Nannion*, if that is by Eubulus and not by Philip, the poet says: [b] "Whosoever privily seeks unions in the dark,[c] is he not the most pitiable man in the world? For he may, in the broad sunlight, gaze at girls stripped for action and posted in battle-line, standing in scarfs of finest weaving, like the maidens whom the Eridanus refreshes with his pure waters; and he may purchase his pleasure for a little coin, and not pursue a clandestine love—most scandalous of all maladies—to gratify his rioting, not his desire. 'For my part, I mourn for our wretched Greece' [d] for sending forth Cydias [e] as admiral of the fleet." Xenarchus, also, in *The Pentathlum* [f] condemns those who live as you do and are devoted to high-priced mistresses and freeborn married women in these words: "Dreadful, dreadful, and utterly intolerable, are the practices of the young men in our city. For here there are very pretty lasses at the brothels,

[a] The Heliades, sisters of Phaethon, were changed into poplars in the gardens of the fabled river Eridanus. The verse has an Euripidean sound. Is it borrowed from his *Phaethon*? See frag. 782, Athen. 503 d (vol. v. p. 256). *Cf.* the next quotation, with its borrowing from Euripides.

[b] Kock ii. 187.

[c] With other men's wives.

[d] A verse from Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 370, spoken by Menelaus in dispute with Agamemnon.

[e] A Cydias is quoted in Plat. *Charm.* 155 D as giving good advice in love affairs. He may possibly be the sober statesman mentioned by Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 6. 24 (see Cope's note) in connexion with the Athenian occupation of Samos, 352 B.C.

[f] Or, *The Man who entered for the Pentathlum*; Kock ii. 468.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι πορνείοισιν, ἃς ἔξεσθ' ὁρᾶν
εἰληθερούσας, στέρν' ἀπημφιεσμένας,[1]
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως[2] τεταγμένας·
ὧν ἔστιν ἐκλεξάμενον ᾗ τις[3] ἥδεται,
λεπτῇ, παχείᾳ, στρογγύλῃ, μακρᾷ, ῥικνῇ,
νέᾳ, παλαιᾷ, μεσοκόπῳ, πεπαιτέρᾳ,
μὴ κλίμακα[4] στησάμενον[5] εἰσβῆναι λάθρᾳ,
μηδὲ δι' ὀπῆς κάτωθεν εἰσδῦναι[6] στέγης
c μηδ' ἐν ἀχύροισιν εἰσενεχθῆναι τέχνῃ.
αὗταὶ[7] βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσέλκουσί τε
τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι
πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀπφάρια, τοὺς νεωτέρους.
καὶ τῶνδ' ἑκάστην[8] ἔστιν ἀδεῶς, εὐτελῶς,
μεθ' ἡμέραν, πρὸς ἑσπέραν, πάντας τρόπους·
ἃς δ' οὔτ' ἰδεῖν[9] ἔστ', οὔθ' ὁρῶντ' ἰδεῖν σαφῶς,
αἰεὶ δὲ τετρεμαίνοντα[10] καὶ φοβούμενον . . .[11]
δεδιότα, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα.[12]
d ἃς πῶς ποτ', ὦ δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι,
βινεῖν δύνανται, τῶν Δρακοντείων νόμων
ὁπόταν ἀναμνησθῶσι προσκινούμενοι;

[1] Tyrwhitt: στερμνατ' ἠμφιεσμένας A (στέρνα B).
[2] ἐπικαιρωσ A, ἐπικαίρους CE.
[3] ᾗ τις E: ητισ A, ᾗ τις C. [4] Musurus. See next note.
[5] Meineke: μη και μακαιτησάμενον A, καὶ μὴ λάθρᾳ εἰσδῦναι CE (εἰσδύναι C).
[6] Dobree: ἐκδῦναι AE, ἐκδυναστείης C (*cf.* Aristoph. *Vesp.* 351). [7] Dobree: αὖται CE, ἄυται A.
[8] Dalechamps: ἕκαστον A.
[9] Musurus: τροπουσασ δουτιδειν A.
[10] Musurus: τετραμένοντε A. [11] Lacuna marked by Kock.
[12] The verse bracketed by Kaibel.

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[a] *Cf.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 411,

παραβλέψας τι μειρακίσκης
νῦν δὴ κατεῖδον καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου

whom the boys may see basking in the sun, their breasts uncovered,[a] stripped for action and posted in battle-line; of these one may select the girl that pleases his fancy, thin or fat, tubby or tall or squat, young, old, middle-aged, over-ripe, and not be obliged to set up a ladder [b] and climb in secretly, nor crawl in through the smoke-hole below the roof, nor be trickily carried in under a heap of straw.[c] Not at all! For the girls themselves use force and pull them in, dubbing those who are old, Daddy, and those who are younger, Big Boy. And any one of these may be visited fearlessly, cheaply, by day, at evening, in any manner desired; but the married women you either cannot see, or if seen, you cannot see them plainly, but always in a state of tremor and fright . . . in fear, and carrying your life in your hands. How then, pray, O mistress Aphroditê of the Sea,[d] can the men press their attentions too far, once they remember the laws of Draco [e] while dandled in the woman's embraces?" [f]

> συμπαιστρίας
> χιτωνίου παραρραγέν-
> τος τιτθίον προκύψαν.

But there the exposure was caused by the jostling crowd at the Dionysiac revel. For ἐλληθερούσας see Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 235.

[b] Illustrated on the well-known Phlyakes vase, representing Zeus in the act of climbing up to Alcmena's window.

[c] *Cf. Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iv., of Falstaff.

[d] A verse from Eur. *Hipp.* 415, in a speech by Phaedra denouncing unfaithful wives.

[e] On the laws of Athens relating to adultery see Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 555. There is no proof that they go back to Draco; see Aeschin. *Or.* i. 6, P.-W. v. 1655.

[f] For the exact meaning of προσκινούμενοι see Aristoph. *Eccl.* 227, 257.

Καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς[1] προσιστορῶν[2] ὅτι πρῶτος Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμὴν[3] ἔστησεν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος, καθὰ καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ[4] Κολοφωνιακῶν φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν πρῶτον ἱδρύσασθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἠργυρίσαντο αἱ προστᾶσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Φιλήμων οὕτως φησί·

σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους νόμον[5]·
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, Σόλων,[5]
e δημοτικόν,[6] ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον
(καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἁρμοστόν, Σόλων),
μεστὴν ὁρῶντα[7] τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν
ἁμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι[8] γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ἑστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ 'ξαπατηθῇς· πάνθ' ὅρα.
f οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων· ἔχεις
λυποῦν τι.[9] πῶς; ἀλλ'[10] ἡ θύρα 'στ'[11] ἀνεῳγμέη.
εἷς ὀβολός· εἰσπήδησον· οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἷς
ἀκκισμὸς οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ' ὑφήρπασεν·

[1] Casaubon: δελφοῖσ A.
[2] προιστορῶν Meineke.
[3] ἀνάγκην Kaibel, *cf.* below.
[4] ς'(=ἕκτῳ) Harpocration *s.* Πάνδημος.
[5] νόμον and Σόλων transposed by Kock.
[6] δημωτικὸν A.
[7] Grotius: ὁρῶντι A.
[8] τότε for τοι Meineke.
[9] λυποῦν τι added by Capps.

Now Philemon, also, in *Brothers*, records incidentally that Solon, impelled by the crisis [a] which comes in young men's lives, purchased and established wenches [b] in houses of resort; just so Nicander of Colophon records [c] the same in the third book of his *History of Colophon*; Nicander alleges that Solon was the first to found a temple of Aphroditê Pandemus [d] from the profits taken in by the women in charge of the houses. But to return to Philemon, he, at least, says: [e] "But you found a law for the use of all men; for you, they say, Solon, were the first to see this—a thing democratic, Zeus is my witness, and salutary (yes, it is fitting that I should say this, Solon); seeing our city full of young men, seeing, too, that they were under the compulsion of nature, and that they went their erring way in a direction they should not, purchased and stationed women in various quarters, equipped and ready for all alike. They stand in nakedness, lest you be deceived; take a look at everything. Perhaps you are not feeling quite up to your form; maybe you have something that distresses you. Absurd! Well, their door stands open, Price, one obol; hop in! There isn't a bit of prudishness or nonsense, nor does she snatch herself away;

[a] See critical note 3. Perhaps *ἀκμή*, if right, is used with the medical meaning of acne, itch.

[b] The Greek form of the word is derogatory, "common women."

[c] Frag. 9, 10 Schneider.

[d] Contrasted with Aphroditê Urania, Plat. *Symp.* 180 D, *πῶς δ' οὐ δύο τὼ θεά; ἡ μέν γέ που πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἀμήτωρ Οὐρανοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὴ καὶ Οὐρανίαν ἐπονομάζομεν· ἡ δὲ νεωτέρα Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν δὴ Πάνδημον καλοῦμεν*; so Xen. *Symp.* 8. 9.

[e] Kock ii. 479.

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[10] *ἀλλ'* added by Gulick.

[11] Bentley: *ἔσται* A.

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὡς βούλει σὺ χῶν[1] βούλει τρόπον.
ἐξῆλθες· οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοτρία 'στί[2] σοι.

καὶ Ἀσπασία δὲ ἡ Σωκρατικὴ ἐνεπορεύετο πλήθη καλῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης[3] ἑταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς καὶ ὁ χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης παρασημοίνεται, λέγων τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον[4] ὅτι Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀσπασίας ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς ἁρπασθείσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς θεραπαίνας ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἀνερρίπισεν[5] τὸ δεινόν·

570

πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγάραδε
νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκότταβοι·
κἆθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι
ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας δύο·
κἀκεῖθεν ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη
Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.

b

Τῶν οὖν μεγαλομίσθων ἑταιρῶν ἀποτρέπω σε, γραμματικώτατε, διότι

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔστιν αὐλούσας ἰδεῖν
αὐλητρίδας πάσας Ἀπόλλωνος νόμον,
. . . . . Διὸς νόμον·
αὗται δὲ μόνον αὐλοῦσιν Ἡέρακος νόμον,

Ἐπικράτης φησὶν ἐν Ἀντιλαΐδι, ἐν ᾧ δράματι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου Λαΐδος τάδε λέγει·

[1] σὺ χῶν Bentley: συχνὸν A.
[2] Grotius: τί A.
[3] τῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης Schweighäuser.
[4] τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον deleted by Jacobs.
[5] ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων repeated after ἀνερρίπησεν (sic A) deleted by Musurus.

but straight to it, as you wish and in whatever way you wish. You come out; you can tell her to go hang, she is nothing to you." Even Aspasia, who belonged to the Socratic circle,[a] imported large numbers of beautiful women, and Greece came to be filled with her prostitutes, as the witty Aristophanes notes in passing, when he says of the Peloponnesian War that Pericles fanned its terrible flame because of his love for Aspasia and the serving-maids who had been stolen from her by Megarians[b]: "Some young fellows, made drunk at too many games of cottabos,[c] went to Megara and stole a whore named Simaetha; thereupon the Megarians, in agonies of excitement, as though stuffed with garlic,[d] stole in revenge two whores of Aspasia; and with that began the war which broke out over all Greece, caused by three strumpets."

So, then, most learned grammarian, I urge you to keep away from the high-priced prostitutes, because "you may see all the other flute-girls playing Apollo's tune, . . . Zeus's tune; but these ladies play nothing but the Hawk's tune[e]; " so says Epicrates in *Anti-Laïs*, in which play he has this also to say about

[a] Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 526: ἡ δὲ Ἀσπασία Περικλέους ἦν σοφίστρια ("a female sophist") καὶ διδάσκαλος λόγων ῥητορικῶν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ γαμετὴ γέγονε ("later she became his wife").

[b] *Acharn.* 524-529; Dicaeopolis speaks. See Athen. 533 d and note *c* (vol. v. p. 408). The kidnapping was laid at the door of Alcibiades, according to Schol. *Ach.* 523.

[c] Athen. 427 d and note *b* (vol. iv. p. 437).

[d] Fighting-cocks were fed on garlic.

[e] Alluding to their rapacity. Cobet, to fill out the preceding line, suggested "Hermes' tune, Pan's tune."

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[a] δύω A. [b] κἀντεῦθεν codd. Aristoph.
[c] ἀρχῇ Meineke.

αὐτὴ[1] δὲ Λαῖς ἀργός ἐστι καὶ πότις,
τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρῶσα πίνειν κἀσθίειν
μόνον, πεπονθέναι δὲ ταὐτά μοι[2] δοκεῖ
c τοῖς ἀετοῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν νέοι
ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πρόβατ' ἐσθίουσι καὶ λαγὼς
μετέωρ' ἀναρπάζοντες[3] ὑπὸ[4] τῆς ἰσχύος·
ὅταν δὲ γηράσκωσιν ἤδη, τότε θεῶν[5]
ἐπὶ τοὺς νεὼς ἵζουσι πεινῶντες κακῶς·
κἄπειτα τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζεται τέρας.
καὶ Λαῖς οὖν[6] ὀρθῶς νομίζοιτ' ἂν τέρας.
αὕτη γὰρ ὁπότ' ἦν μέν[7] νεοττὸς καὶ νέα,
ὑπὸ τῶν στατήρων ἦν ἀπηγριωμένη,
εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θᾶττον ἄν·
d ἐπεὶ δὲ δόλιχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει
τὰς ἁρμονίας τε διαχαλᾷ τοῦ σώματος,
ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἢ[8] πτύσαι·
ἐξέρχεταί τε πανταχόσ' ἤδη πετομένη,[9]
δέχεται δὲ καὶ στατῆρα καὶ τριώβολον,
προσίεται δὲ καὶ γέροντα καὶ νέον.
οὕτω δὲ τιθασὸς γέγονεν ὥστ', ὦ φίλτατε,[10]
ταργύριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἤδη λαμβάνει.

μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Λαΐδος καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν

[1] Schweighäuser: αυτη A. [2] E: ταῦτά μοι AC.
[3] A: ἀναρπάσαντες CE. [4] Porson: ἀπὸ ACE.
[5] θεῶν added by Meineke.
[6] οὖν transposed by Kaibel from following verse (after γὰρ).
[7] μὲν added by Porson. [8] Valckenaer: καὶ ACE.
[9] Kock: πιομένη ACE, πενομένη Meineke.
[10] CE: φίλταται A.

the notorious Laïs [a]: "Now Laïs herself is lazy and bibulous, having an eye only for her daily drinks and food,[b] and she seems to me to have had the same things happen to her that the eagles have; for these when they are young snatch up in their strength and carry off in mid-air the sheep and hares from the mountain side to devour; but when they begin to grow old they then perch in miserable hunger upon the temples of the gods [c]; and this act of theirs is thereupon accounted a portent. So Laïs, too, must rightly be accounted a portent. For when she was a fresh young chick, she was made wild and untamed by all her golden fees,[d] and you could have got a sight of Pharnabazus [e] sooner than of her; but since she has now run the long course [f] in years, and the symmetries of her body are becoming distorted, it is easier to see her than to spit; what is more, she now goes out everywhere on the wing,[g] and will accept a sovereign or a thrippence, and submits to old man and young alike. She has become so tamed, my very dear sir, that she now will take the money right out of your hand." Laïs is mentioned also by Anaxandrides in *Old Men's*

[a] Kock ii. 282. Probably the elder Laïs is meant; she died in 392 B.C., Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 179.

[b] *Cf.* the ass-woman of Semonid. Am. 7. 46, *τόφρα δ' ἐσθίει μὲν ἐν μυχῷ πρόνυξ, προῆμαρ, ἐσθίει δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ.*

[c] Waiting, of course, to snatch pieces of meat from the altar; *cf.* the fable of the fox and the eagle, Aesop. *Fab.* 5.

[d] Lit. "the staters," gold coins, each of which was worth more than a guinea.

[e] As a Persian satrap he would grant audiences but sparingly. See below, 574 f (p. 104), and 535 e (vol. v. p. 420).

[f] The *δόλιχος* varied in length from 7 to 24 stades.

[g] Aristoph. *Lys.* 55, *πετομένας ἥκειν*, of eager, rapid motion; *πτομένη* in the MSS. cannot be right on account of ῑ in this position. See critical note 9.

Γεροντομανίᾳ καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας αὐτῇ συγκατα-
λέγει διὰ τούτων·

e τὴν ἐκ Κορίνθου Λαΐδ' οἶσθα; Β. πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
τὴν ἡμετέρειον.[1] Α. ἦν ἐκείνῃ τις φίλη[2]
Ἄντεια. Β. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέτερον ἦν παίγνιον.
Α. νὴ τὸν Δί', ἤνθει τότε Λαγίσκ', ἤνθει τότε[3]
καὶ Θεολύτη[4] μάλ' εὐπρόσωπος καὶ καλή,
ὑπέφαιν' ἐσομένη δ' Ὤκιμον λαμπρὸν[5] πάνυ.

ταῦτά σοι παραινεῖν ἔχω, ἑταῖρε Μυρτίλε. καὶ
κατὰ τὴν Φιλεταίρου Κυνηγίδα·

f παῦσαι, γέρων ὤν, τοὺς τρόπους. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι
οὐκ ἐστιν ἥδιστον[6] ἀποθανεῖν βινοῦνθ' ἅμα,
ὥσπερ λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν Φορμίσιον;

ἢ ἥδιστόν ἐστί σοι, ὡς ἐν Μαραθωνίοις φησὶ
Τιμοκλῆς·

ὅσον' τὸ μεταξὺ μετὰ κορίσκης ἢ μετὰ
χαμαιτύπης τὴν νύκτα κοιμᾶσθαι. βαβαί,
ἡ στιφρότης, τὸ χρῶμα, πνεῦμα,[8] δαίμονες.
τὸ μὴ σφόδρ' εἶναι πάνθ' ἕτοιμα, δεῖν δέ τι
571 ἀγωνιᾶσαι καὶ ῥαπισθῆναί τε καὶ
πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἁπαλαῖσι χερσίν· ἡδύ γε
νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον.

[1] Abresch: ημεριον A. [2] Musurus: φιαλη A.
[3] Kaibel: λαγίσκη· ἦν δὲ τότε A.
[4] νεολύτη C. [5] λαμπρὰ Dobree.
[6] οὐκ ἔστιν ἥδιστον A: ἥδιστόν ἐστιν (om. οὐκ) Toup.
[7] Jacobs: θεόν A.
[8] τὸ χρῶμα πνεῦμα A: ὁ χρώς Wilamowitz: τὸ πνεῦμα Meineke. Read πνεῦμ', ὦ δαίμονες?

[a] Kock ii. 138. The actor Philemon played the protagonist's rôle in this play, Aristot. *Rhet.* 1413 b 26, *cf.* Aeschin. *Or.* i. 115.

Madness, and he joins with her in a list other courtesans in these lines [a]: "A. You know Laïs, who came from Corinth? B. Of course! She is from our home town. A. She had a friend named Anteia. B. Yes, she also was a pet of ours. A. Zeus knows, in those days flourished Lagiscê, flourished also Theolytê, who had a very pretty face and was lovely, and gave promise of becoming a very splendid Ocimon." [b] This, friend Myrtilus, is the advice I have to offer you. And adapting the words of Philetaerus in *The Huntress* [c]: "Cease your ways, now that you are an old man. Don't you know that it is *not* the most delightful thing to die in the act of coition, as they say Phormisius [d] died?" Or do you find it most delightful, as Timocles puts it in *The Marathonians* [e]: "What a great difference there is between sleeping at night with a nice girl and with a strumpet! Ah! Her firm young body, her complexion, her sweet breath, ye gods! Everything not being so very ready for business but that one has to struggle a bit, be slapped and receive blows from soft hands; it is pleasant indeed, by Zeus most mighty."

[b] Above, 567 c, p. 65; ocimon also meant "sweet basil."

[c] Kock ii. 232; Cynulcus inserts a negative in the second verse, distorting the metre as well as the original meaning, which was: "Cease being an old man in your ways. Don't you know that it is most delightful," etc. *Cf.* the hedonistic advice from the same play, Athen. 280 c (vol. iii. p. 258). See critical note 6.

[d] Mentioned before as having been corrupted by the Persian king, Athen. 229 f (vol. iii. p. 34). See Aristoph. *Ran.* 965 (and van Leeuwen's note), where he is represented as a true disciple of Euripides' immoral teaching.

[e] Kock ii. 461, the only quotation from this play.

Ἔτι πολλὰ τοῦ Κυνούλκου θέλοντος λέγειν καὶ τοὐλπιανοῦ[1] ἐπιρραπίσαι[2] βουληθέντος αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Μυρτίλου, φθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος (διήχθρευεν γὰρ τῷ Σύρῳ) ἔφη·

οὐχ ὧδ' ἐμόγησαν
ἐλπίδες ὥστ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχίαν καλέσαι,

φησὶν ὁ Καλλίμαχος. οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκεις ἡμεῖς ἀμύνασθαι, ὦ Κύνουλκε;

ὡς σκαιὸς εἶ κἄγροικος αἰσχροεπῶν· ἔα,
b ἐπ' ἀριστέρ'[3] ἐν τῷ στόματι τὴν γλῶσσαν φορεῖς,

κατὰ τὴν Ἐφίππου Φιλύραν. δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ἐκείνων εἶς εἶναι

οὓς ἐδίδαξαν ἀριστερὰ γράμματα Μοῦσαι,

ὥς τις ἔφη τῶν παρῳδῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες σύσσιτοι, οὐ κατὰ τὰς Μεταγένους Αὔρας ἢ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρου Μαμμάκυθον

ὑμῖν ὀρχηστρίδας εἶπον ἑταίρας
ὡραίας πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐχ[4] ὑμῖν ἀγορεύω
ἄρτι χνοαζούσας αὐλητρίδας, αἵ τε τάχιστα
ἀνδρῶν φορτηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν,

c ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντως ἑταιρῶν τὸν λόγον πεποίημαι, τουτέστιν τῶν φιλίαν ἄδολον συντηρεῖν δυναμένων,

[1] τοὐλπιανοῦ Kaibel: τοῦ μάγνου A.
[2] *Cf.* 422 c: ἐπιραπίσαι A. [3] Dindorf: εαπαριστερα A.
[4] δ'οὐχ A, which seems to be due to Myrtilus (*cf.* note 6 p. 82 and note *c* p. 83): δ' αὖθ' Bergk, probably what Metagenes wrote.

[a] Ulpian.
[b] Frag. 134 Schneider, om. Mair, Wilamowitz.

Although Cynulcus desired to say a great deal more, and Ulpian wanted to rebuke him in vindication of Myrtilus, the latter anticipated him (for he thoroughly hated the Syrian [a]) and said, quoting Callimachus [b]: "Our hopes have not sunk so far in wretchedness that we should summon help from our enemies." Are we not, in fact, able to defend ourselves alone, Cynulcus? "How stupid you are, and boorish, and given to foul language; ah! you carry your tongue on the left side of your mouth," as Ephippus says [c] in *Philyra*. It seems to me that you are one of those "whom the Muses have taught left-handed letters" [d] as one of the parodists has said.[e] As for myself, fellow-banqueters, I have not discussed courtesans after the manner of Metagenes' *Breezes*, or *The Blockhead* of Aristagoras [f]: "I told you first of beautiful dancing prostitutes, and now I do not speak to you of flute-girls just beginning to be ripe,[g] who have very quickly, and for a price, undermined the strength of sailors aboard the freighters;" no, I have spoken of the real "companions," that is, those who are capable of preserving strictly a friendship with-

[a] Kock ii. 263. To the Greeks the left side was unlucky, hence "towards the left" means awkward, *gauche*. So Poseidon rebukes the boorish Triballian god for wrapping his cloak from right to left, thus confining his right arm: Aristoph. *Av.* 1567, ἐπ' ἀριστερ' οὕτως ἀμπέχει; Soph. *Aj.* 182, φρενόθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἕβας.

[d] And so have not been taught at all.

[e] Brandt, p. 98; a parody of *Od.* viii. 488, ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε. *Cf.* Athen. 104 c (vol. i. p. 446).

[f] Kock i. 705. Again Myrtilus changes the sense in the second line: "but now, on the other hand, I speak to you," etc. The verses are dactylic hexameters; see J. W. White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, pp. 153, 366.

[g] nuper puberes.

ἃς ὁ Κύνουλκος τολμᾷ λοιδορεῖν, μόνας τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι προσηγορευμένας, ἢ ἀπὸ 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."
d καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ αἱ παρθένοι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἑταίρας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ·

τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις
ταῖς ἐμαῖσι[1] τερπνὰ καλῶς ἀείσω.

καὶ ἔτι·

Λατὼ καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἑταῖραι.

καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς μισθαρνούσας ἑταίρας καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνουσίαις μισθαρνεῖν ἑταιρεῖν, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ἔτυμον ἀναφέροντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον, καθὸ δὴ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταιρῶν τοὺς ἑταίρους διαστέλλων φησί·

e πεποιήκατ' ἔργον οὐχ ἑταίρων γάρ, φίλαι,[2]
μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἑταιρῶν[3]· ταὐτὰ[4] δ' ὄντα γράμματα
τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐ σφόδρ' εὔσχημον[5] ποιεῖ.

[1] Seidler: ἐμαῖσ A.
[2] φίλαι added by Capps.
[3] μὰ . . . ἑταιρῶν added by Zedelius (following Casaubon).
[4] Casaubon: ταυτα A.
[5] εὔσχημον Schweighäuser (confirmed by the error in the next line, see note 1 p. 88): εὔσημον A.

[a] Above, 559 a, p. 22.
[b] *F.H.G.* i. 431, J. 2 B 1074, Hesych. *s.* Ἑταίρας ἱερόν, *cf.* Macrob. iii. 8. 3.

out trickery, and whom Cynulcus insolently reviles, although they are the only women in all the world who are addressed by the title of "friendly," or who derive their name from that Aphroditê who, among the Athenians, is called "the Companion Aphroditê." [a] Concerning her, Apollodorus of Athens says in his work *On the Gods* [b]: "The Companion Aphroditê is she who brings companions together, male and female; that is, women friends." At any rate, even freeborn matrons, to this day, and young girls as well, call their intimate and dear friends "companions," as does Sappho [c]: "These joyous songs I will sing well to-day in honour of my companions." And again [d]: "Leto and Niobê were indeed very dear companions." Still it is true that they call the women also who make a business of love "companions," and taking pay for their favours they call "to companion," not so much with reference to the original sense [e] of the word, as for greater decency [f]; wherefore Menander also, while distinguishing in *The Deposit* male friends from female prostitutes, says [g]: "You, dear women, have verily done a deed, Zeus knows, more becoming to prostitutes than to friends; for although the letters are the same,[h] they make the appellation not very decent."

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 93, Diehl i. 332, Edmonds i. 192, *cf.* 463 d (vol. v. p. 21, note *c*); Lesbian forms are disregarded in the text above.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 100, Diehl i. 378, Edmonds i. 278.

[c] *i.e.* of companion, comrade, chum, pal.

[d] *i.e.* euphemistically for prostitute.

[e] Kock iii. 110: the text is incomplete. The title refers to the common custom of entrusting money or other valuables to the keeping of friends.

[f] In both words, genitive plural.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρῶν Ἔφιππος[1] ἐν Ἐμπολῇ τάδε φησίν·

ἔπειτά γ' εἰσιόντ', ἐὰν λυπούμενος
τύχῃ τις ἡμῶν,[2] ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως·
ἐφίλησεν[3] οὐχὶ συμπιέσασα τὸ στόμα
ὥσπερ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι στρουθίοις
f χανοῦσ'[4] ὁμοίως, ἧσε, παρεμυθήσατο[5]
ἐποίησέ θ' ἱλαρὸν εὐθέως τ' ἀφεῖλε πᾶν
αὐτοῦ τὸ λυποῦν[6] κἀπέδειξεν ἵλεων.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Καμπυλίωνι κοσμίαν ἑταίραν παράγων φησίν·

ὡς δ' ἐδείπνει κοσμίως,
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι
τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν
572 ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου μικρὸν ἂν
ἀπεγεύεθ'[7] ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία.

Ἀντιφάνης Ὑδρίᾳ[8]·

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω
ἐν[9] γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς
ἰδὼν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,
ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,
ἤθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,
ὄντως ἑταίρας. αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι[10] τοὔνομα
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὂν καλόν.

[1] Ἔφιππος Casaubon (*cf.* 363 c): *εὔσχημος* A.
[2] 363 c: *ὑμῶν* A.
[3] *ἡδέως· ἐφίλησεν* 363 e: *ἢ κατεφίλησεν* A.
[4] Meineke: *χαυνοῦσα* A.
[5] *ἧσ ἐ παρεμυθήσατο* A: *ἤ σε παρεμυθήσατο* 363 c.
[6] 363 c: *λοιπὸν* A.
[7] *ἂν ἀπεγεύεθ'* Pierson: *ἀναπετευε* A.

Now concerning prostitutes Ephippus has the following to say in *Merchandise* [a]: "And then, let me tell you, if one of us happen to come in feeling downcast, she greets him with pleasant flattery; she kisses him, not tightly pressing her lips together, as if he were hateful to her, but opening her mouth as fledgling sparrows do; she gives him a chair, she speaks consoling words, she makes him cheerful, and soon takes away all his gloom, and renders him jolly again." Also Eubulus in *The Hunchback*, when bringing on a well-behaved prostitute, describes her thus [b]: "How well-behaved she was at the dinner-table! Not like other women, who stuffed their jaws with leeks which they rolled up in balls, and greedily bit off pieces of meat in ugly fashion; no! from each portion she would take a small taste, as demurely as a young girl from Miletus." [c] Compare Antiphanes in *The Water Jar* [d]: "This lad of whom I speak saw a prostitute who lived in a neighbour's house and fell in love with her; she was of the citizen class,[e] but destitute of guardian and kinsmen; she had a character of golden excellence, a real pal. For all the other women of her profession spoil by their manners that name which is really so fair." Anaxilas

[a] Kock ii. 254, Athen. 363 c (vol. iv. p. 144).

[b] Kock ii. 178.

[c] Milesian women were forbidden to drink wine, Athen. 429 a-b (vol. iv. p. 442). About their eating habits we are not informed. The men of Miletus bore an evil reputation, Aristoph. *Lys.* 108 and Schol.

[d] Kock ii. 103. On the term ἑταίρα, "companion," see above, p. 87, and *cf.* Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 42-52.

[e] Not an alien, as many, if not most of them, were.

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[8] Schweighäuser: ὕδρα A. [9] Sauppe: ἐκ A.
[10] Musurus: ἃ μὲν ἄλλοι A.

b Ἀναξίλας Νεοττίδι·

ἐὰν δέ τις μετρίως ἔχουσα χρημάτων[1]
τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,
ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρίας[2] ἑταίρα τοὔνομα
προσηγορεύθη. καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις
πόρνης, ἑταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις
ἐληλυθώς· ἆρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι γοῦν[3]
ἁπλῆ τις; B. ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νὴ τὸν Δία.

Ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος τοιοῦτος οἷον Ἄλεξις ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὕπνῳ παράγει·

c διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πόρνος οὗτος οὐδὲ τῶν πράσων
ἑκάστοτ' ἐπεδείπνει[4] μεθ' ἡμῶν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν
ἵνα μή τι λυπήσειε τὸν ἐραστὴν φιλῶν.

καλῶς δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἔφιππος ἐν Σαπφοῖ φησιν·

ὅταν γὰρ ὢν νέος
ἀλλότριον εἰσελθών τις οἶκον διαλάθῃ[5]
ἀσύμβολόν[6] τε χεῖρα προσβάλῃ βορᾷ,
διδόναι νόμιζ' αὐτὸν σὺ τῆς νυκτὸς λόγον.

τὰ αὐτὰ εἴρηκεν καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ
d Τιμάρχου.

[1] *μετρίως ἔχουσα χρημάτων* Meineke: *μέτρια λέγουσι* CE, *μετρια καὶ λέγουσα* A.
[2] ACE: *ἑταιρείας* Meineke.
[3] *νοῦν* Jacobi.
[4] Bothe: *ἐπιδειπνεῖ* A.
[5] *εἰσελθών . . . διαλάθῃ* (?) Kaibel: *εἰσελθὼν ὄψον ἐσθίειν μάθῃ* AC.
[6] *ἀσύμβολός* Nauck.

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[a] Kock ii. 269: the title is the nickname of a prostitute, *cf.* French *poulette.*

in *The Chick*[a]: "A. But if a girl who is tolerably well off as to money submits herself in service free to those who ask for certain favours, she gets from that act of companionship the name of 'companion.' And so in this instance, the girl with whom you have fallen in love is not, as you say, a common woman, but a companion; but is she, at the least, really so single-minded?[b] B. More than that; she's a lady, so help me Zeus!"

Now your philosopher-boy-lover[c] is of the same breed that Alexis or Antiphanes brings on the stage in *Sleep*[d]: "For these reasons this male whore on all occasions at dinner with us never took any leeks either; this was because he did not want to offend his lover when he kissed him." And Ephippus in *Sappho* puts it well concerning such persons[e]: "For when one who is young furtively enters another man's house and lays upon the food a hand that does not pay its share,[f] you may believe he pays the reckoning for the night." The orator Aeschines says the same thing in his speech *Against Timarchus*.[g]

[b] *i.e.* free from duplicity.

[c] The word φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος (lit. "philosopher-laddie") is coined in allusion to φιλομείραξ (below, 602 e), with a contemptuous diminutive suffix.

[d] Kock ii. 385.

[e] Kock ii. 262. See critical note 5; the alterations of the text are drastic, but conform best to the passage from Aeschines. See note *f*.

[f] Or, reading ἀσύμβολος, "without paying his share."

[g] *Or.* i. 75 τί χρὴ λέγειν ὅταν μειράκιον νέον . . . ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις νυκτερεύῃ, τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρον, καὶ πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα δειπνῇ ἀσύμβολον; "What is one to say when a young lad, unusually good-looking, spends the night in other men's houses and dines on costly fare without paying his share?"

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρῶν καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυνηγιδι τάδε φησίν·

οὐκ ἐτὸς[1] Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν Ἑταιρίδεια[2] ἀγομένην ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ οὐ διὰ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν, ἧς μνημονεύει Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι γράφων ὧδε· "τὴν τῶν Ἑταιριδείων[3] ἑορτὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνητες. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον Ἰάσονα τὸν Αἴσονος συναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Ἑταιρείῳ Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν
e Ἑταιρίδεια[4] προσαγορεῦσαι. θύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἑταιρίδεια." Πόρνης δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστι παρὰ Ἀβυδηνοῖς, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος· κατεχομένης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως δουλείᾳ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτε θύσαντας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης[5] ἐν τοῖς Μυθικοῖς, καὶ μεθυσθέντας ἑταίρας πλείονας προσλαβέσθαι[6] ὧν μίαν κατακοιμηθέντας αὐτοὺς ἰδοῦσαν ἀνελομένην τὰς κλεῖς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβᾶσαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς Ἀβυ-
f δηνοῖς. τοὺς δ' αὐτίκα μεθ' ὅπλων ἀφικομένους ἀνελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φύλακας, κρατήσαντας δὲ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ γενομένους ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας χαριστήρια τῇ πόρνῃ ἀποδιδόντας Ἀφροδίτης Πόρνης ναὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὥρων[7] Σαμιακῶν "τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφρο-

[1] ἐτὸσ ἐτὸσ A.
[2] ἑορτὴν ἑταιριδεια (sic) A, ἑορτὴ ἑταιρείδια (in different constr.) C.
[3] Casaubon: ἑταιρίδων A.
[4] ἑταιρειδια (ι written above ει) CE.
[5] Müller: κλεάνθησ A.

Concerning the professional "companions" Philetaerus says this in *The Huntress* [a]: "No wonder there is a shrine to the Companion everywhere, but nowhere in all Greece is there one to the Wife." But I know also of a festival, the Hetairideia, celebrated in Magnesia, not in honour of these "companions" (*hetaerae*), but for a different reason, which is mentioned by Hegesander in his *Commentaries*, writing thus [b]: "The Magnesians celebrate the festival of the Hetairideia. They record that Jason the son of Aeson, after gathering the Argonauts together, was the first to sacrifice to Zeus Hetaireios [c] and that he called the festival Hetairideia. And the kings of Macedonia also celebrate with sacrifices the Hetairideia." There is a sanctuary of Harlot Aphroditê in Abydus, according to Pamphilus; for when that city was oppressed by slavery, the guards in it once offered sacrifice, as recorded [d] by Neanthes in his *Legends*, and having got drunk, they had their will of a number of harlots, one of whom, seeing that the guards had fallen asleep, picked up the keys, and climbing over the wall, she reported to the Abydenes. They immediately came with weapons, and after killing the guards they got possession of the walls, and having recovered their liberty, they, by way of rendering thanks to the harlot, founded a temple of Harlot Aphroditê. Alexis of Samos, in the second book of his *Samian Annals*, says [e]: "The Aphroditê of

[a] Kock ii. 232. *Cf.* above 559 a, p. 21.
[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 418, Nilsson, *Griech. Feste* 34.
[c] The god of good fellowship.
[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 11, J. 2 A 193.
[e] *F.H.G.* iv. 299.

[6] Gulick: προσλαβεῖν A, προσελάβοντο (in different constr.) CE. [7] Schweighäuser: ὅρων A.

δίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἕλει, Ἀττικαί, φησίν, ἑταῖραι ἱδρύσαντο αἱ συν-
ακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Σάμον,
573 *ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας.*" *Εὐάλκης δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσιακοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ φησὶν ἱερὸν*[1] *ἱδρῦσθαι Ἑταίρᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν "Γύγης, φησίν, ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον περὶ ζῶσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην περι-βόητος*[2] *γέγονεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῃ πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτησάσης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυδοὺς πάντας ἔχωσε τὸ νῦν*[3] *ἔτι καλούμενον τῆς Ἑταίρας μνῆμα, εἰς ὕψος ἄρας, ὥστε περιοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐντὸς*
b *τοῦ Τμώλου χώραν, οὗ ἂν ἐπιστραφεὶς τύχῃ,*[4] *καθορᾶν τὸ μνῆμα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Λυδίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἄποπτον εἶναι.*" *Δημοσθένης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας λόγῳ, εἰ γνήσιος, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴρηκε, φησί· "τὰς μὲν ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν παλλακείας,*[5] *τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν.*"

[1] C: *ἱερὰ* A, retained by Schweighäuser.
[2] *τῇ σπουδῇ περιβόητος* Kaibel following Schweighäuser.
[3] *ἔχωσε τὸ νῦν* C: *ἔχωσε μὲν λυδίασ* A. Kaibel deleted *Λυδίας* as a gloss on *τῆς χώρας*, leaving *μὲν* unexplained. Probably the woman's name stood here (*Μαιναλίδος*?), Schweighäuser *Μεναλίας*; but the order of words is strange.
[4] CE: *τύχοι* A.
[5] AC: *θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος* Dem.

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[a] When the island seceded from the Athenian alliance, 440 B.C. The siege lasted nine months.
[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 406.

Samos,[a] whom some call by the title 'In the Reeds,' others, 'In the Swamp,' was dedicated by Athenian prostitutes who accompanied the army of Pericles when he was laying siege to Samos, after they had earned sufficient funds by their seductions." And Eualces in his *Ephesian Chronicles* says[b] that in Ephesus also there was a sanctuary dedicated to "Companion" Aphroditê. Again, Clearchus, in the first book of his *Love Stories* says[c]: "Gyges, the king of Lydia, became notorious for his devotion to his mistress, not only during her lifetime, giving himself and his empire entirely into her hands; but more than that, when she died he gathered all the Lydians of the country together and reared the monument which is to this day still named after the 'Companion,' raising it high so that when he made his royal progresses within the region of Mt. Tmolus, wherever he chanced to turn, he could see the monument, and it was visible to all the inhabitants of Lydia." The orator Demosthenes, in the speech *Against Neaera*, if it be genuine, says—the speech was actually delivered by Apollodorus[d]: "We keep mistresses for pleasure, concubines for daily concubinage,[e] but wives we have in order to produce children legitimately and to have a trustworthy guardian of our domestic property."

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 314.

[b] *Or.* lix; *cf.* the Hypothesis: *καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἴονται Δημοσθένους εἶναι, ὕπτιον ὄντα καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος δυνάμεως ἐνδεέστερον.* *Cf.* below, 586 e, Dionys. Hal. *Dem.* 57, Phrynichus, p. 306 Rutherford. Apollodorus was the *συνήγορος*, or advocate, called in to assist his relative Theomnestus in the prosecution.

[c] Of course a misquotation; the author said: "concubines for the personal services of daily life."

Καταλέξω δέ σοι, Κύνουλκε, Ἰωνικήν τινα ῥῆσιν, μακρὰν[1] ἐκτείνας κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλου Ἀγαμέμνονα[2]
c περὶ ἑταιρῶν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Κορίνθου, ἐπειδή μοι τὴν αὐτόθι σοφιστείαν ὠνείδισας. νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πινδάρου, ὅταν ἡ πόλις εὔχηται περὶ μεγάλων τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν τὰς ἑταίρας ὡς πλείστας, καὶ ταύτας προσεύχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρεῖναι. καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν στρατείαν ἦγεν ὁ Πέρσης,
d ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, αἱ Κορίνθιαι ἑταῖραι εὔξαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐλθοῦσαι νεών. διὸ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἀναθέντων τῶν Κορινθίων πίνακα τῇ θεῷ τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἰδίᾳ γραψάντων τὰς τότε ποιησαμένας τὴν ἱκετείαν καὶ ὕστερον παρούσας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς[3] συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

αἵδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ εὐθυμάχων πολιητᾶν[4]
ἕσταθεν εὔχεσθαι Κύπριδι δαιμονίᾳ·
e οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν[5] ἐμήσατο δῖ' Ἀφροδίτα[6]
Πέρσαις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν.

[1] μακρὰν added by Gulick.
[2] Ἀγαμέμνονα added by Meineke.
[3] ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς added by Kaibel.
[4] πολινταν A.
[5] τοξηφόροισιν A.
[6] δῖα θεάων Boeckh.

[a] Myrtilus speaks. On the profligacy of the Ionians see Athen. 523 e-526 d (vol. v. pp. 360 ff.), *cf.* 440 b (vol. iv. p. 492); hence "an Ionian speech (or discourse)" seems to mean here a pornographic treatise.
[b] Aesch. *Agam.* 916 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας, *cf.* 829.
[c] Above, 567 c, p. 65.

Now I[a] am going to recite for your benefit, Cynulcus, a kind of Ionian speech, "spinning it out far," as Aeschylus's Agamemnon would say,[b] on the subject of prostitutes; I will begin with the beautiful city of Corinth, since you have referred with insults to my residence there as a sophist.[c] It is an ancient custom in Corinth, as Chamaeleon of Heracleia records[d] in his book *On Pindar*, whenever the city prays to Aphroditê in matters of grave importance, to invite as many prostitutes as possible to join in their petitions, and these women add their supplications to the goddess and later are present at the sacrifices. When, accordingly, the Persian invaded Greece, as Theopompus records,[e] likewise Timaeus in the seventh book,[f] the Corinthian prostitutes entered the temple of Aphroditê and prayed for the salvation of the Greeks. Hence also, when the Corinthians dedicated in honour of the goddess the tablet which is preserved even to this day, recording separately the names of the prostitutes who had made supplication on that occasion and were later present at the sacrifices, Simonides composed the following epigram[g]: "These women were dedicated[h] to pray to Cypris, with Heaven's blessing, for the Greeks and their fair-fighting fellow-citizens. For the divine Aphroditê willed it not that the citadel of Greece should be betrayed into the hands of the Persian bowmen."

[a] Frag. 16 Koepke, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 376.
[b] *F.H.G.* i. 306, J. 2 B 597, G. and H. 269.
[c] *F.H.G.* i. 204.
[d] Plut. 871 A, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 32, *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 481, Diehl ii. 102, *cf.* 101, Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (L.C.L.) ii. 380.
[h] Plutarch says that bronze images of them were set up at the commemoration. His text varies greatly from that of Athenaeus.

καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται δὲ κατεύχονται τῇ θεῷ τελεσθέντων περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν δέησιν ἀπάξειν[1] αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς[2] ἑταίρας. ὑπάρχοντος οὖν τοῦ τοιούτου νομίμου περὶ τὴν θεὸν Ξενοφῶν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐξιὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάξειν[3]
f ἑταίρας εὔξατο τῇ θεῷ νικήσας. Πίνδαρός τε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔγραψεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ "τρισολυμπιονίκαν ἐπαινέων οἶκον," ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ᾀσθέν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας αἳ παραγενομένου τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ θύοντος τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ συνέθυσαν. διόπερ ἔφη·

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ' ἐς ἄλσος
φορβάδων κορᾶν ἀγέλαν[4] ἑκατόγγυι-
574 ον Ξενοφῶν[5] τελέαις[6]
ἐπήγαγ'[7] εὐχωλαῖς ἰανθείς.

ἤρξατο δ' οὕτως τοῦ μέλους[8]·

πολύξεναι[9] νεάνιδες ἀμφίπολοι
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ[10] Κορίνθῳ,

[1] ἐπάξειν Schweighäuser, *cf.* below, 574 a.
[2] τακτὰς for καὶ τὰς Schweighäuser. Wilamowitz, on the other hand, deleted τὰς, retaining καὶ.
[3] ἐπάξειν ν' (=50) Schweighäuser.
[4] Casaubon: κόραν ἀγέλαν ἑκατογγύϊον A.
[5] Musurus: ξενοφόων A.
[6] Boeckh: τελείαισ A.
[7] ἀπάγαγ' Meineke, *cf.* 573 e.
[8] Casaubon: τέλουσ A.
[9] Boeckh: πολύξειναι A.
[10] ἀφνεῷ Schroeder, p. 26. 46; *cf.* Athen. 782 d (vol. v. p. 42).

[a] Or, reading τακτὰς for καὶ τὰς, "a definite number of courtesans." See critical note 2.

Even private citizens vow to the goddess that, if those things for which they make petition are fulfilled, they will even render courtesans to her.[a] Such, then, being the custom regarding the goddess, Xenophon of Corinth also, when he went forth to Olympia to take part in the contest, vowed that he would render courtesans [b] to the goddess if he won the victory. And so Pindar at first wrote in Xenophon's honour the eulogy [c] which begins with the words, "Thrice victorious at Olympia is the house which I praise"; and later he wrote also the round which was sung at the sacrificial feast, in which, at its very beginning, he has addressed the courtesans who joined in the sacrifice when Xenophon was present and offered it to Aphroditê. That is why he has said [d]: "O Queen of Cyprus! Hither to thy sanctuary Xenophon hath brought a troupe of one hundred girls to browse,[e] gladdened as he is by his vows now fulfilled." But the beginning of the lyric is as follows: "Young girls, who welcome many strangers with your hospitality, ministrants of Persuasion in rich Corinth—who on the altar send up in

[b] Or, accepting Schweighäuser's addition of ν' after ἀπάξειν (see critical note 3), "fifty courtesans," known as ἱερόδουλοι. But see note *e* on ἑκατόγγυιον below.

[c] *Ol.* xiii. 1, celebrating Xenophon's victory, 464 B.C., in the foot-race (στάδιον) and the pentathlum.

[d] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 435, Sandys 580, Puech ii. 188. These editors class the fragment with the ἐγκώμια (so Bowra); but Fennell with the σκόλια, and Farnell (apparently) with the παρθένεια! See Suid. *s.* Πίνδαρος.

[e] Euphemistic for "to practise prostitution." Puech, denying that γυῖον can refer to the whole body, translates, "fifty girls" *i.e.* one hundred arms (or legs!). He follows Schweighäuser's suggestion to add ν' before ἑταίρας; see note *b*. Yet γυῖον seems to mean "body" in Pind. *Nem.* vii. 73.

αἵ τε τὰς χλωρᾶς[1] λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη[2]
θυμιᾶτε,[3] πολλάκι ματέρ'[4] Ἐρώτων
οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι[5]
νόημα[6] ποτὰν Ἀφροδίταν·
ὑμῖν ἄνευθεν ἐπαγορίας[7] ἔπορεν,
ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς ἐν[8] εὐναῖς
μαλθακᾶς ὥρας[9] ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι.
σὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ πᾶν καλόν.[10]

ἀρξάμενός θ' οὕτως ἑξῆς φησιν·

b ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω τί με λεξοῦντι Ἰσθμοῦ[11]
δεσπόται τοιάνδε[12] μελίφρονος ἀρχὰν εὑρόμενον σκολίου,
ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξί.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας διαλεγόμενος ἡγωνία ποῖόν τι φανήσεται τοῖς Κορινθίοις τὸ πρᾶγμα. πιστεύων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν εὐθέως·

ἐδιδάξαμεν[13] χρυσὸν καθαρᾷ[14] βασάνῳ.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίσια ἴδια ἄγουσιν αὐτόθι αἱ ἑταῖραι, Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλούσῃ φησίν·

Ἀφροδίσι' ἦγε[15] ταῖς ἑταίραις ἡ πόλις,
c ἕτερα δὲ χωρίς ἐστι ταῖς ἐλευθέραις.

[1] Tittmann: διαι τετασχειρασ A.
[2] Bergk: δάκρυά A.
[3] Tittmann (cf. Zonaras, Lex. s. λίβανον): τε ἡμῖν A.
[4] Boeckh: πολλάκισ ματέρασ A.
[5] Hermann: οὐρανιαν (sic) ἵπτάμεναι A.
[6] Hermann: νοήματι A.
[7] Meineke: ἄνωθεν ἀπαγοριασ A.
[8] ἐν added by Boeckh.
[9] Boeckh: μαλθακωρασ A.

smoke the auburn tears of fresh frankincense the many times that ye fly in thought up to the Mother of the Loves, heavenly Aphroditê; upon you, my children, free from reproach,[a] she hath bestowed the right to cull the fruit of soft beauty in your desired embraces. When Necessity requires it, all things are fair." And so, having begun in this way, Pindar continues: "And yet I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus[b] will say of me, seeing that I have devised such a prelude as this to a glee with honeyed words, linking myself with common women." It is indeed plain that in addressing himself to these prostitutes the poet was anxious as to how the affair was going to appear in the eyes of the Corinthians. But having full confidence in his own integrity, as it would seem, he straightway adds: "We have taught how to test gold by a pure touchstone." But that the prostitutes also celebrate their own festival of Aphroditê at Corinth is shown by Alexis in *The Girl in Love*[c]: "The city celebrated[d] a festival of Aphroditê for the prostitutes, but it is a different one from that held separately for freeborn women. On these days it is

[a] Or, retaining with Kaibel the MS. reading ἄνωθεν ἀπαγορίας, "above (and beyond the necessity of) defence"; but this stretches the meaning of ἄνωθεν too far. The sense is the same with either reading: their trade was condemned in the name of Aphroditê, although in the following lines the poet confesses that he has qualms about it.

[b] The Corinthian officials who presided at the Isthmian games.

[c] Kock ii. 389.

[d] Or, "celebrates"; see critical note 15.

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[10] Boeckh: παγκαλον A. [11] Casaubon: ὁμοῦ A.
[12] Schweighäuser: τοιονδε (*sic*) A.
[13] ἐδιδαξαμεν A, διδάξαμεν Hermann, ἐδείξαμεν Hecker.
[14] Casaubon: κιθάρα (*sic*) A. [15] ἄγει μὲν Kaibel.

ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις δὲ κωμάζειν ἔθος
ἐστὶν νόμος τε τὰς ἑταίρας ἐνθάδε
μεθύειν[1] μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀναθημάτων, εἰκών ἐστι τῆς διαβοήτου ἑταίρας Κοττίνας, ἣν φησιν καὶ βοῦν ἀναθεῖναι χαλκῆν, γράφων οὕτως· "καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας εἰκόνιον,
d ἧς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴκημά τι λέγεται καὶ νῦν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Κολώνης, ἵνα τὸ Διονύσιόν ἐστιν, ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀνάθημα[2] δ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου βοΐδιόν τι χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον." Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ὁ καλός, ἐφ' οὗ τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἔφη·

Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν ἁβρόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
ὃν ἡ Λακεδαίμων μοιχὸν ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν,

ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄγιδος ἀγαπώμενος γυναικός, ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἑταιρίδων θύρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἀπολιπὼν τὰς
e Λακαίνας καὶ τὰς Ἀττικάς. Μεδοντίδος γοῦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἔστερξε καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον σὺν Ἀξιόχῳ, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας ἐραστής, ὥς φησιν Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ

[1] μεθύειν added by Porson. [2] ἀναθήματα (?) Kaibel.

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[a] Preller 48.
[b] Κολώνα in Paus. iii. 13. 7; it was a hill in the eastern part of the city, near the Eurotas, Bursian, *Geog.* ii. 126.
[c] Dionysus Κολωνάτας, Paus. *loc. cit.* Frazer in his note takes οἴκημα to mean a chapel.
[d] Kock iii. 398.

customary for the prostitutes to revel, and it is quite in the mode for them to get drunk here in our company."

Now in Lacedaemon, as Polemon the geographer says in his work, *On the dedicatory offerings in Lacedaemon*, there is an image of the notorious courtesan Cottina who, he says, dedicated a bronze cow; he writes as follows[c]: "Further, there is the small image of the courtesan Cottina, who made such a sensation that even to-day a brothel is named after her, very near Colonê,[b] where the temple of Dionysus[c] is; the house is conspicuous and well-known to many inhabitants of the city. Her votive offering, beyond the statue of Athena of the Bronze House, consists of a small bronze cow and the small image of herself before mentioned." Now Alcibiades the beauty, —of whom a comic poet has said[d]: "Alcibiades, that dainty one, Oh Earth and Gods! whom Lacedaemon wants to arrest as an adulterer,"—although he was loved by the wife[e] of Agis, used to leave the married women of Sparta and Attica alone to break in at the doors of prostitutes. For example, he conceived a passion for Medontis[f] of Abydus on mere report of her charms, and sailing to the Hellespont in company with Axiochus, who was captivated by Alcibiades' beauty, as the orator Lysias

[e] Timaea. On her infatuation for Alcibiades, to whom she is said to have borne a son, see Plut. *Alc.* 23, Athen. 535 b (vol. v. p. 416).

[f] Athen. 534 f (vol. v. p. 416), *cf.* 525 b (vol. v. p. 368); see also 535 c, where the name of Timandra, who is there said to be the mother of the elder Lais (so Plut. *Alc.* 39), occurs in place of Damasandra; the latter, meaning "man-crusher," may be an epithet originating with some comic poet. According to Plut. *Alc.* 39, it was Timandra who cared for the dead Alcibiades.

κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἐκοινώνησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ δύο ἑταίρας περιήγετο[1] αἰεὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Δαμασάνδραν τὴν Λαΐδος τῆς νεωτέρας μητέρα καὶ Θεοδότην· ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη ἐν Μελίσσῃ[2] κώμῃ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐπιβου-
f λευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου. εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν Μελίσσῃ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μνῆμα ἐκ Συννάδων εἰς Μητρόπολιν ἀφικνούμενοι· ἐφ' ᾧ[3] καὶ κατ' ἔτος θύεται βοῦς, διακελευσαμένου τοῦτο τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως· ὃς καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι Παρίου λίθου εἰκόνα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.
575 Οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τινες ἠράσθησάν τινων, ὁπότε Χάρης ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ[4] τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν φησιν πολλοὺς[5] ὀνείρατι θεασαμένους τινὰς οὓς μὴ πρότερον εἶδον ἐρασθῆναι αὐτῶν· γράφει δὲ οὕτως· "Ὑστάσπη νεώτερος ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ζαριάδρης, περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅτι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀδώνιδος ἐγεννήθησαν. ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὑστάσπης Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας, ὁ δὲ
b Ζαριάδρης τῆς[6] ὑπεράνω Κασπίων πυλῶν μέχρι τοῦ Τανάιδος. τῶν δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τανάιδος

[1] Meineke: ἐπήγετο ACE. [2] CE: μελίσσησ A.
[3] ἐφ' ᾧ Kaibel: ἐν ᾧ ACE.
[4] Kaibel: τῷ δεκάτῳ A.
[5] πολλοὺς added by Gulick from C (πολλοί in different constr.), om. A.
[6] Kaibel: τῶν ACE.

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[a] Thalheim 346, Herwerden 239.
[b] Above, 570 c, p. 81, 535 e (vol. v. p. 420). See the account

asserts in the speech against him,[a] he shared her with Axiochus. And further, Alcibiades always led about with him two other prostitutes, Damasandra, mother of the younger Laïs, and Theodotê; the latter, when he died as the result of a plot by Pharnabazus,[b] gave him burial in Melissa, a village of Phrygia. We, too, saw the monument to Alcibiades in Melissa when we were on our way from Synnada to Metropolis; at this monument an ox is sacrificed every year by express command of the Emperor Hadrian, most noble in all things, who even set up at the monument an image of Alcibiades in Parian marble.[c]

We need not wonder that people have fallen in love with others on mere report, seeing that Chares of Mytilenê in the tenth book of his *Histories of Alexander* asserts that many, having seen in a dream certain persons whom they had never seen before, fell in love with them; he writes as follows[d]: "Hystaspes had a younger brother named Zariadres; concerning both of them the natives say that they were the sons of Aphroditê and Adonis. Now Hystaspes was overlord of Media and the territory below it, whereas Zariadres ruled over the region above the Caspian Gates, as far as the Tanaïs river.

of his tragic end in C. E. Robinson, *The Days of Alcibiades*, 300, F. Taeger, *Alkibiades*, 175.

[c] Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* i. 205-213. *Script. Al. M.* 119, J. 2 B 660.

[d] On this folk-tale see Rohde, *Griech. Roman*[3] 47 ff. In some features it resembles the early English (Scandinavian) romance of King Horn. Even the excerptors who wrote Codd. C and E take the trouble to copy this story in full, perhaps because they lived at the time (13th century) when such stories were popular. See G. H. M'Knight, *King Horn* (1901).

Ὁμάρτῃ[1] βασιλεῖ Μαραθῶν[2] θυγάτηρ ἦν ὄνομα Ὀδάτις[3]· περὶ ἧς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις γέγραπται ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδην ἐρασθείη, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κἀκείνῳ πάθος συμπεσεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν. διετέλουν γοῦν[4] ἀλλήλων ἐπιθυμοῦντες διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον φαντασίαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ὀδάτις[5] καλλίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γυναικῶν, καὶ ὁ Ζαριάδης δὲ ἦν καλός. πέμποντος οὖν τοῦ Ζαριάδου πρὸς τὸν Ὁμάρτην καὶ φιλοτιμουμένου
e γῆμαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ συνετίθετο ὁ Ὁμάρτης[6] διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρρένων παίδων ἔρημος[7]· ἤθελεν γὰρ αὐτὴν δοῦναι ἑνὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκείων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Ὁμάρτης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας δυνάστας καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐποιεῖτο 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,[3] νῦν ποιούμεθα τοὺς σοὺς γάμους.
d περιβλέψασα οὖν καὶ θεωρήσασα πάντας λαβοῦσα χρυσῆν φιάλην καὶ πληρώσασα δὸς ᾧ θέλεις γαμηθῆναι· τούτου γὰρ κεκλήσῃ γυνή.' κἀκείνη περιβλέψασα πάντας ἀπῄει δακρύουσα, ποθοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδην ἰδεῖν· ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ γάμοι συντελεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ Τανάιδος διαλαθὼν[8] τὴν στρατοπεδείαν

[1] ομαρτη A, ὁμάρτῃ C.
[2] μαραθων A: Μαιωτῶν or Σαρματῶν Holsten, Μαραφίων (cf. Herod. i. 125) Schöll.
[3] ὁδατισ A.
[4] οὖν Cobet, Kaibel.
[5] οδατισ A.
[6] ἀμάρτησ A.
[7] διὰ . . . ἔρημος om. C, which has ἤθελε for ἤθελεν. Kaibel, placing the colon after ὁ Ὁμάρτης and dropping it after

And Homartes, who was king of the Marathi, beyond the Tanaïs, had a daughter named Odatis; of her it is recorded in the histories that she saw Zariadres in a dream and became enamoured of him, while the same passion for her attacked him in the same way. At any rate they continued to long for each other in the imaginings of sleep. Now Odatis was the most beautiful woman in Asia, and Zariadres also was handsome. So Zariadres sent to Homartes in his eager desire to marry the woman, but Homartes would not agree to the match, because he lacked male children and wanted to give her to a male of his own household. After a brief interval Homartes gathered the princes of the kingdom together with his friends and relatives, and proceeded to celebrate the nuptials without announcing to whom he intended to give his daughter. Well, when the drinking was at its height the father summoned Odatis to the symposium, and in the hearing of the guests he said: 'My daughter Odatis, to-day we are celebrating your nuptials. Look around, therefore, and after inspecting all the men take a gold cup,[a] fill it with wine, and give it to the man to whom you wish to be married; for his wife you shall be called.' And the poor girl, after looking all around, turned away in tears, yearning as she did to see Zariadres; for she had warned him that the nuptials were to be celebrated. He, meanwhile, was encamped at the Tanaïs river, which he crossed with-

[a] The flat, saucer-like vessel called φιάλη was regularly used in pledging the bridegroom at the marriage feast, Pind. *Ol.* vii. 1, quoted by Athen. 504 a (vol. v. p. 258).

ἔρημος, suggests διὰ γὰρ τὸ . . . ἤθελεν αὐτὴν, which is logically better, but not necessarily what Chares wrote.

[8] Ὀδάτι om. CE.

[9] διαλαθὼν CE: καὶ διαλαθὼν A.

διέβη μετὰ μόνου τοῦ ἁρματηλάτου καὶ νυκτὸς
ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος διῆλθεν διὰ γῆς πολλῆς,[1]
e διώξας περὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους. πλησίον
δὲ τῆς κώμης γενόμενος ἐν ᾗ τοὺς γάμους συν-
ετέλουν[2] καὶ καταλιπὼν ἔν τινι τόπῳ αὐτῷ ἅρματι
τὸν ἁρματηλάτην προῆγεν ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν Σκυ-
θικήν. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν
Ὀδάτιν ἑστηκυῖαν πρὸ τοῦ κυλικείου[3] καὶ δακρύου-
σαν κιρνᾶσάν τε βραδέως τὴν φιάλην εἶπεν πλησίον
στὰς παρ' αὐτήν· 'ὦ Ὀδάτι, πάρειμι δή σοι
καθάπερ ἠξίωσας, ἐγὼ Ζαριάδρης.' ἡ δὲ κατα-
νοήσασα ξένον ἄνδρα καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ
κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἑωραμένῳ περιχαρὴς γενομένη
f δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν φιάλην· καὶ ὃς ἁρπάσας αὐτὴν
ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἔφυγεν ἔχων τὴν
Ὀδάτιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι συνειδυῖαι
τὸν ἔρωτα κατεσιώπησαν καὶ κελεύοντος τοῦ πατ-
ρὸς λαλεῖν[4] οὐκ ἔφασαν εἰδέναι ὅπου[5] πεπόρευται.
μνημονεύεται δὲ ὁ ἔρως οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν
οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις καὶ περισσῶς ἐστι ζηλωτός, καὶ
τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον ζωγραφοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ
τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς οἰκίαις·
καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν θυγατράσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν δυ-
ναστῶν ὄνομα τίθενται Ὀδάτιν."

576 Τὸ ὅμοιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν
τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν Πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως· "Φω-
καεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι ἔκτισαν
Μασσαλίαν. Εὔξενος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς Νάνῳ[6] τῷ
βασιλεῖ (τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα) ἦν ξένος. οὗτος

[1] γῆς πολλῆς Kaibel: τῆσ πόλεωσ ACE.
[2] ἐτέλει C. [3] CE: κυλικίου A. [4] Kaibel: καλεῖν A.
[5] ὅποι Meineke. [6] CE: νάνωι A.

out the knowledge of his army, and accompanied solely by his chariot-driver he started off at night in his chariot, traversing a large territory for a distance of about 800 stades.[a] And getting near the village in which they were celebrating the nuptials he left the chariot-driver with the chariot in a certain place and proceeded on his way disguised in Scythian clothes. Passing into the court he spied Odatis standing in front of the sideboard weeping, while she slowly mixed the cup; and taking his stand beside her he said, 'Odatis, I am here according to your desire, I, Zariadres.' And she, perceiving a stranger there who was at once handsome and like the one she had seen in her sleep, was overjoyed, and gave the cup to him; he, catching her up, carried her off to his chariot and escaped with Odatis as his bride. Meanwhile the slaves and the serving-maids, conscious that this was a love affair, lapsed into silence, and although the father commanded them to speak out they professed not to know where the young man had gone. Now this love affair is held in remembrance among the barbarians who live in Asia and it is exceedingly popular; in fact they picture this story in their temples and palaces and even in private dwellings; and most princes bestow the name Odatis on their own daughters."

Aristotle, also, records the occurrence of a similar affair in his *Constitution of Massilia*, writing as follows[b]: "The people of Phocaea, in Ionia, devoted as they were to commerce, founded Massilia.[c] Euxenus of Phocaea was a friend of the king, Nannus (for that was his name). This Nannus was celebrating

[a] One hundred miles.
[b] Frag. 549 Rose.
[c] Marseilles, about 600 B.C.

ὁ Νάννος ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρὸς κατὰ τύχην παραγενόμενον τὸν Εὔξενον παρακέκληκεν[1] ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην. ὁ δὲ γάμος ἐγίγνετο τόνδε τὸν[2] τρόπον· ἔδει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσελθοῦσαν τὴν παῖδα φιάλην κεκερασμένην ᾧ βούλοιτο δοῦναι τῶν
b παρόντων μνηστήρων· ᾧ δὲ δοίη, τοῦτον εἶναι νυμφίον.[3] ἡ δὲ παῖς εἰσελθοῦσα δίδωσιν εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν τῷ Εὐξένῳ· ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ παιδὶ Πέττα.[4] τούτου δὲ συμπεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιοῦντος ὡς κατὰ θεὸν γενομένης τῆς δόσεως ἔχειν αὐτήν, ἔλαβεν ὁ Εὔξενος γυναῖκα καὶ συνῴκει μεταθέμενος τοὔνομα Ἀριστοξένην. καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μέχρι νῦν Πρωτιάδαι[5] καλούμενον· Πρῶτις γὰρ[6] ἐγένετο υἱὸς Εὐξένου καὶ τῆς Ἀριστοξένης."

c Θεμιστοκλῆς τε,[7] ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, οὐχ ἅρμα ζευξάμενος ἑταιρῶν πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ; ἦσαν δ' αὗται Λάμια καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Σατύρα καὶ Νάννιον. οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξ ἑταίρας ἦν γεγενημένος[8] ὄνομα Ἀβροτόνου;[9] ὡς Ἀμφικράτης[10] ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐνδόξων Ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματι·

Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι
τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησίν φασι[11] Θεμιστοκλέα.

[1] παρακεκλήκει Lumb, παρεκάλεσεν Kaibel.
[2] τὸν Musurus: om. A, κατὰ τὸν ἄνω ῥηθέντα τρόπον C, perhaps rightly.
[3] B, Musurus: νῦν A.
[4] Γέπτα (?) Kaibel: πέττα A, πέττας (genitive, in a different constr.) C.
[5] οἱ πρωτιάδαι C.
[6] Πρωτίας (?) Kaibel.
[7] δὲ Schweighäuser.
[8] γεγεννημένος A.
[9] ἀβροτόνου CE, ἀβροτόννου A, Ἀβροτόνου lemma in A.
[10] ἀμφικτύων CE.
[11] φημὶ Plut. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 306.

his daughter's nuptials when, by chance, Euxenus arrived and was invited in to attend the festival banquet. Now the marriage was to be conducted in the following manner[a]: after the dinner the girl was to come in and mix a cup and give it to any one of the suitors present that she desired; and he to whom she gave it was to be bridegroom. When the girl entered she gave the cup, whether by accident or for some other reason, to Euxenus; the girl's name was Petta.[b] When this befell, the father, believing that her giving the cup had been done by divine sanction, thought it only right that Euxenus should have her, so he took her to wife and lived with her, after changing her name to Aristoxenê. And there is a clan in Massilia to this day descended from the woman and called Protiadae; for Protis was the son of Euxenus and Aristoxenê.[c]"

Further, did not Themistocles, as Idomeneus says,[d] yoke a chariot with prostitutes and drive them into the city when the market-place was crowded? They were Lamia, Scionê, Satyra, and Nannion. Was not Themistocles himself born of a prostitute named Abrotonon? So Amphicrates records[e] in his treatise *On Famous Men*: "Abrotonon was a woman Thracian-born; yet, they say, she brought forth Themistocles, that mighty hero of Greece."

[a] Or, adopting the reading of C (see critical note 2), "the marriage was to be conducted in the manner described above."

[b] Justin 43. 3 gives her name as Gyptis.

[c] These two brief romances interrupt the story of licentiousness begun with Alcibiades at 574 d, p. 103; the story is now resumed.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 491, Athen. 533 d (vol. v. p. 408).

[e] *F.H.G.* iv. 300, *cf.* Plut. *Them.* 1, Ael. *V.H.* xii. 43.

d Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἱστοριῶν Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν υἱόν. Κῦρος δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστρατεύσας οὐχὶ ἑταίραν οὖσαν τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν σοφωτάτην καὶ[1] καλλίστην λεγομένην[2] εἶχε συστρατευομένην; ἣν Ζηνοφάνης φησὶ πρότερον Μιλτὼ καλουμένην Ἀσπασίαν μετονομασθῆναι. συνηκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Μιλησία παλλακίς. ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ Θαΐδα εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν; περὶ ἧς φησι Κλείταρχος ὡς e αἰτίας γενομένης τοῦ ἐμπρησθῆναι τὰ ἐν Περσεπόλει βασίλεια. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Θαΐς μετὰ[3] τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτῷ Λεοντίσκον[4] καὶ Λάγον, θυγατέρα δὲ Εἰρήνην, ἣν ἔγημεν Εὔνοστος ὁ Σόλων τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεύς. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, Φιλάδελφος δ' ἐπίκλην, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, πλείστας ἔσχεν ἐρωμένας, Διδύμην μὲν f μίαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν μάλ' εὐπρεπεστάτην τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Βιλιστίχην, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγαθόκλειαν καὶ

[1] καὶ added by Casaubon.
[2] λεγομένην Xen.: γενομένην A. [3] μετὰ CE: καὶ μετὰ A.
[4] αὐτῷ λεοντίσκον CE: αὐτῷ τέκνον λεοντίσκον A, τέκνον Λεοντίσκον, deleting καὶ Λάγον Berve.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 3, J. 2 A 192. Plut. *loc. cit.* quotes Neanthes further to the effect that she was a Carian, from Halicarnassus.
[b] Artaxerxes II; the expedition is the theme of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.
[c] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10. 2 calls her a concubine, παλλακίδα, not ἑταίραν.
[d] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10. 3.

But Neanthes of Cyzicus, in the third and fourth books of his *History of Greece*, says [a] that Themistocles was the son of Euterpê. And as for Cyrus, who made the expedition against his brother,[b] did he not have with him on the expedition the woman of Phocaea, who was a prostitute, though she was called the most wise and most beautiful ? [c] Of her Zenophanes says that she had formerly been called Miltô, but her name was changed to Aspasia. Cyrus was also accompanied by the concubine from Miletus.[d] And did not Alexander the Great keep with him Thaïs, the Athenian prostitute ? Cleitarchus speaks [e] of her as having occasioned the burning of the palace at Persepolis. This Thaïs, after Alexander's death, was married to Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, and bore to him Leontiscus and Lagus, also a daughter, Eirenê, who was married to Eunostus, the king of Soli in Cyprus. Again, the second king of Egypt surnamed Philadelphus, according to Ptolemy Euergetes in the third book of his *Commentaries*,[f] had a very great number of mistresses : Didymê, one of the native Egyptian women, of very extraordinary beauty, and Bilistichê,[g] also Agathocleia, and Stratonicê, whose

[e] *Script. Alex. M.* 77, J. 2 B 745, 2 BD 490. See Plut. *Alex.* 38, who expands the narrative to show that the burning of the palace of Xerxes was in reprisal for what Xerxes had done to Athens. Arrian iii. 18. 10 places the conflagration in Pasargadae, and says that it was brought about in spite of Parmenion's protest ; *cf.* Diod. xvii. 72, Q. Curt. v. 7. 3-7, Berve, *Alexanderreich* ii. 175, *cf.* 304. How much truth is in the story cannot be determined. On such reprisals see Bickermann, *Rev. des études grecques*, 1934, 365-368.

[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 186, J. 2 B 984.

[g] Mentioned as his concubine by Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4. 48 Dindorf (Βιστίχην, Βίστιχιν), *cf.* Plut. 753 c ; below, 596 e, p. 217.

Στρατονίκην, ἧς τὸ μέγα μνημεῖον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Μύρτιον καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πλείστας, ἐπιρρεπέστερος ὢν πρὸς ἀφροδίσια. Πολύβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Κλεινοῦς φησι τῆς οἰνοχοούσης αὐτῷ εἰκόνας πολλὰς ἀνακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μονοχίτωνας καὶ ῥυτὸν ἐχούσας ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. αἱ δὲ κάλλισται τῶν οἰκιῶν, φησίν, οὐ Μυρτίου καὶ Μνησίδος καὶ Ποθεινῆς προσαγορεύονται; καίτοι Μνησὶς μὲν ἦν αὐλητρίς, ἦν δὲ καὶ Ποθεινὴ αὐλητρίς,[1] Μύρτιον δὲ μία τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ κοινῶν δεικτηριάδων.[2] τοῦ δὲ
577 Φιλοπάτορος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου οὐκ Ἀγαθόκλεια ἡ ἑταίρα ἐκράτει, ἡ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψασα τὴν βασιλείαν; Εὔμαχος δὲ ὁ Νεαπολίτης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν περὶ Ἀννίβαν Ἱστοριῶν Ἱερώνυμόν[3] φησι τὸν τυραννήσαντα Συρακοσίων ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα μίαν[4] τῶν ἐπ' οἰκήματος προεστηκυιῶν, Πειθὼ ὄνομα, καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλίδα.

Τιμόθεος δ' ὁ στρατηγήσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπιφανῶς ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Θράττης τὸ γένος, σεμνῆς δ' ἄλλως τοὺς τρόπους. μεταβάλλουσαι γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνυ-
b νομένων εἰσὶ βελτίους. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος καὶ σκωπτόμενός ποτε ὅτι τοιαύτης εἴη μητρὸς " καὶ χάριν γε αὐτῇ, φησίν, οἶδα, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν Κόνωνός εἰμι

[1] ἦν δὲ and αὐλητρίς added from C: καὶ Ποθεινὴ alone A, after which Kaibel marked a lacuna, supplying ὀρχηστρίς.
[2] Casaubon: δικτηριάδων A.
[3] ἱέρων (in different constr.) C. [4] μίαν added by Kaibel.

[a] Chap. 11. 2.
[b] See Athen. 425 e (vol. iv. p. 426), Navarre in *Rev. des ét.*

great monument used to stand on the seashore near Eleusis; also Myrtion and very many others, since Ptolemy had a more than ordinary leaning to affairs of love. Polybius, in the fourteenth book of his *Histories*, says[a] that many images of Cleinô,[b] the girl who was his cupbearer, are set up in Alexandria, wearing only a tunic and holding a drinking-horn in her hand. And are not the finest houses, Polybius asks, named after Myrtion and Mnesis and Potheinê? And yet Mnesis was a flute-girl, Potheinê also was a flute-girl, while Myrtion was one of the most notorious variety-actresses before the public. And did not the prostitute Agathocleia hold sway over King Ptolemy Philopator—she who overturned his throne entirely?[c] Eumachus of Neapolis, in the second book of his *Histories of Hannibal*, says[d] that Hieronymus, the tyrant of Syracuse, took to wife one of the prostitutes from a brothel, named Peithô, and made her queen.

Timotheüs, the Athenian general, was known to be the son of a prostitute of Thracian birth, otherwise respectable in her manners. For when such women change to a life of sobriety they are better than the women who pride themselves on their respectability. And when Timotheüs was once jeered at because he came from such a mother he answered, "Yes, and what is more, I am grateful to her because she made

anc. 16 (1914), 39 (on the ἄβρα, "mi-servante, mi-demoiselle," in New Comedy), below, 589 f (p. 181). On the drinking-horn (ῥυτόν) as an attribute also of Arsinoë see 497 b (vol. v. p. 218).

[c] So Trogus, *Prol.* xxx. Her influence was so complete that Strab. 795 calls her his mother, *cf.* Polyb. xv. 31 end. See Plut. *Cleom.* 33, *cf.* 753 D; on her death at the hands of the mob, Polyb. xv. 33.

[d] *F.H.G.* iii. 102, J. 2 B 906.

υἱός." Φιλέταιρον δὲ τὸν Περγάμου[1] καὶ τῆς Καινῆς ταύτης λεγομένης βασιλεύσαντα χώρας Βόας αὐλητρίδος, ἑταίρας τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας, υἱόν φησι γενέσθαι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν. Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ τὸν νόμον εἰσενεγκὼν ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι, αὐτὸς ἀπεδείχθη
e ὑπὸ Καλλιάδου[2] τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκ Χορηγίδος τῆς ἑταίρας παιδοποιησάμενος, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Καρύστιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ὑπομνημάτων. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς οὐ δαιμονίως ἤρα 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 Ἀθηναίου, κατασκευάσαι δὲ Σικυωνίοις τὴν προκειμένην στοάν. ἤρα δὲ καὶ Λεαίνης καὶ
d αὐτῆς ἑταίρας Ἀττικῆς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων.

[1] Musurus: περὶ γάμου A.
[2] Καλλίου Meineke.

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[a] *i.e.* "New," adjacent to Pergamum; not the same as Καινὸν χωρίον in Pontus, Strabo 556, nor to be confused with the territory of the Caeni, a tribe in Thrace later conquered by Attalus II, Strabo 624.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 358. On Philetaerus, a eunuch whose brothers founded the Attalid dynasty, see Strabo 543, 623 and Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. plate 1, no. 4. His rule lasted twenty years, to 263 or 260 B.C.

[c] 403-402 B.C.

me the son of Conon." Again, Philetaerus, who was king of Pergamum and that country known as Caenê,[a] is said to have been the son of a flute-girl named Boa, a prostitute of Paphlagonian birth, according to Carystius of Pergamum in his *Historical Notes*.[b] And the orator Aristophon, the same who in the archonship of Eucleides[c] proposed the law that whoever was not born of a citizen mother should be accounted illegitimate,[d] was himself shown by the comic poet Calliades[e] to have had children by the prostitute Choregis, as Carystius again records in the third book of his *Notes*.[f] And was not Demetrius Poliorcetes passionately in love with the flute-girl Lamia,[g] by whom also he had a daughter, Phila? Of Lamia Polemon says,[h] in his book *On the Painted Porch in Sicyon*, that she was the daughter of Cleanor of Athens, and that she built for the Sicyonians the Porch in question. But Demetrius was also in love with Leaena, also an Athenian prostitute, and with a good many other women besides.[i]

[a] In the sense that he could not be enrolled as a citizen on coming of age.

[c] A Calliades, poet of the New Comedy, is mentioned by Athen. 401 a (vol. iv. p. 314). Whether we accept Meineke's alteration to Καλλίου, or (with greater probability) assume with Wilhelm, *Urkund. dram. Auff.* 133, that Καλλιάδου is a by-form of Καλλίου, it is still a question how he made his accusation—in a play or in a lawsuit (Kock i. 699); if the Callias of the Old Comedy is meant here, he must have had a very long career, since he appears first in 446 B.C. See vol. iv. p. 557, note *e* and P.-W. x. 1612, 1627, where, however, the statements are contradictory.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 358.

[g] Athen. 101 e, 128 b, 253 a (vol. i. p. 436, vol. ii. p. 90, vol. iii. p. 138).

[h] Preller 45-46; see Elderkin, *Am. J. Arch.* xxxviii. 1. 31.

[i] Below, 593 a, p. 197.

Μάχων δ' ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Χρείαις φησὶν οὕτως·

ὑπερβολῇ δὲ τῆς Λεαίνης σχῆμά τι[1]
περαινομένης εὖ παρά τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ
εὐημερούσης, φασὶ[2] καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν
τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτὲ[3]
ἐπαινεθῆναί θ'.[4] ἡ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίθη[5]
"πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κράτει."

ἦν δὲ ἡ Λάμια σφόδρα εὔθικτος καὶ ἀστικὴ[6] πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καθάπερ καὶ Γνάθαινα, περὶ ἧς
e ἐροῦμεν. πάλιν δὲ περὶ τῆς Λαμίας ὁ Μάχων οὕτω γράφει·

Δημήτριός ποθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς γένη μύρων
Λαμίᾳ παρὰ πότον παντοδαπῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο.
ἡ Λάμια δ' ἦν αὐλητρίς, ἧς[7] σφόδρ' ἡδέως
σχεῖν[8] φασι κνησθῆναί τε τὸν Δημήτριον.
ἀποδοκιμαζούσης δὲ[9] πάντα καὶ πάνυ
κατεγχλιδώσης τῷ βασιλεῖ, νάρδον τινὰ
f διένευσ' ἐνεγκεῖν εὐχερῆ,[10] τῇ χειρί τε
ταὶδοῖον ἀποτρίψας, θιγὼν[11] τοῖς δακτύλοις
"τουτί γε, Λάμια, φησίν, ὀσφράνθητι καὶ
εἴσει[12] παρὰ τἄλλα διαφορὰν ὅσην ἔχει."
κείνη[13] δὲ γελάσασ' "ἀλλὰ τοῦτ', ἔφη, τάλαν,
ὄζειν[14] δοκεῖ μοι σαπρότατον πάντων πολύ."

[1] Jacobs: *σχήματι* A. [2] Schweighäuser: *φησι* A.
[3] *ποτὲ* CE (*ἐπεί ποτε ἡδέως ταύτῃ ὁμιλήσοι ὁ Δημήτριος κελητίσας εἶπε*), om. A.
[4] Meineke: *ὑπερεπαινεθῆναί τε* A.
[5] *τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίνατο* (?) Kaibel.
[6] Schweighäuser: *ἀττικὴ* ACE.
[7] Lennep: *ἡ* A. [8] Schweighäuser: *ἔχειν* A.
[9] CE: *τε* A. [10] A: *εὐτελῆ* Dobree.
[11] *θιγὼν* Jacobs: *καὶ θιγὼν* ACE, Cobet, reading *ταὶδοῖ'*.

Now Machon the comic poet, in the collection entitled *Bright Sayings*,[a] has the following: "With exquisite art Leaena, in lioness attitude,[b] offered herself readily, and found much favour with Demetrius; they say that Lamia also once bestrode the king with graceful art, and received praise therefor. And she made answer thus[c]: 'In view of that, take on Leaena too if you like!'" For Lamia was very quick and witty in repartee, like Gnathaena,[d] of whom we shall speak. But of Lamia, again, Machon writes thus: "Once upon a time at a drinking-party, King Demetrius was showing all kinds of perfumes to Lamia. Now Lamia was a flute-girl whom, they say, Demetrius was very sweet on and for whom he itched greatly. But she rejected all the perfumes and looked with very haughty disdain upon the king; so with a nod he ordered some spikenard to be brought and kept ready, while with his hand penem fricans tangensque digitis, 'Hoc quidem, inquit, olfacito, Lamia, et senties quantum praestet aliis omnibus unguentis.' And she, with a laugh, replied, 'You wretch, I think this smells by far the most putrid

[a] The Χρεῖαι was not a comedy, hence it is not included in Kock's *Fragmenta*. See Athen. 348 d (vol. iv. p. 78); a similar work was ascribed to Aristippus, Diog. Laert. ii. 85, *cf.* Plut. 218 A.

[b] Leaena means "lioness." Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 231 σχῆμα δέ ἐστιν ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἑταιρικόν.

[c] A parody of Eur. *Med.* 1358 (Medea speaking to Jason) πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κάλει. For Lamia here Meineke reads Mania, below, 578 b.

[d] Athen. 384 e (vol. iv. p. 238), and 558 b (p. 16), 567 f (p. 67).

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[12] A; εἴσῃ CE. [13] Musurus: ἐκείνῃ ACE.
[14] Lennep: νομίζειν A.

Δημήτριος δ' εἶπ'[1]· "ἀλλὰ μήν, νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ἀπὸ βαλάνου τοῦτ' ἐστί, Λάμια, βασιλικῆς."

Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν ταῖς περὶ
578 τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Ἱστορίαις βασιλέων ἐρωμένας ἀνα-
γράφων φησίν· "Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνας[2] αὐξή-
σαντος Φίλιννα τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γεννῆσαι
Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσαντα,
Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ μετὰ τὰς προ-
ειρημένας Μανίαν, Ἀντιγόνου δὲ Δημώ, ἐξ ἧς
Ἀλκυονέα γεννηθῆναι, Σελεύκου δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου
Μύσταν καὶ Νῦσαν." Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Λέμβος
ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Δημώ
b φησιν ἐρωμένην γενέσθαι τοῦ Δημητρίου· ἣ ἐπι-
μανῆναι 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 ἐνομίσθη Μανία.
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄνομα Φρυγιακὸν γυναῖκ' ἔχειν,
c καὶ ταῦθ' ἑταίραν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,

[1] εἶπεν ACE.
[2] Madvig: μακεδόνος A, μακεδὼν (in different constr.) C.

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[a] Ptolemy iv. above, 576 f (p. 113).
[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 67, J. 2 B 888.
[c] Above, 557 c (p. 15).
[d] The One-Eyed, father of Demetrius.
[e] Below, 593 e (p. 200). On Seleucus Callinicus see Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 181-203.

of all.' But Demetrius answered: 'Yes, but as the gods are my witnesses, Lamia, I would have you know that this is made from a royal gland.'"

Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, in his *Histories of Philopator*,[a] when giving a list of kings' mistresses says[b]: "The mistress of Philip, who raised Macedonia to power, was the dancing-girl Philinna, by whom he became the father of Arrhidaeus,[c] who succeeded to the throne after Alexander; of Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the women mentioned above, there was Mania; of Antigonus,[d] Demô, who bore him Alcyoneus; and of Seleucus the Younger, there were Mysta[e] and Nysa." But Heracleides Lembus in the thirty-sixth book of his *Histories* says[f] that Demô was the mistress of Demetrius; with her, he says, Demetrius's father Antigonus fell madly in love, and he put to death Oxythemis for sharing in the many crimes of Demetrius[g] and because Oxythemis had put to death on the rack the female attendants of Demô.

Now regarding the name Mania[h] just mentioned, Machon has the following: "But perhaps one of my present hearers may ask, and with good reason, too, may doubt whether a woman of Attic birth was ever named or regularly called Mania. For it is scandalous, you say, that a woman should bear a Phrygian name, especially when she comes from the very centre of Greece, even though she be a prostitute; scandalous

[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 168. [g] *Cf.* Athen. 614 f (p. 310).

[h] It means "Madness," "Frenzy" (Mănia, with short *a*), used of the Bacchic revel, *cf.* Maenad. But a Greek would also think of it as a foreign word, feminine of Mănes (Mānia, with long *a*), a common name for a slave, but not for a woman citizen. Athen. 487 c and note *b* (vol. v. p. 169), 473 d (vol. v. p. 90), Aristoph. *Ran.* 1345.

μὴ τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι κωλῦσαι[1] πόλιν,
ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντές εἰσ'[2] ἐπηνωρθωμένοι.[3]
τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχον εὐθέως ἐκ παιδίου
αὐτῇ Μέλιττ' ἦν ὄνομα. τῷ μεγέθει μὲν ἦν[4]
τῶν τότε γυναικῶν βραχύ τι καταδεεστέρα·
φωνῇ δ' ὁμιλίᾳ τε κεχορηγημένη,
πάνυ τ'[5] εὐπρόσωπος οὖσα καὶ καταπληκτική,
πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους
d ἔχουσ'—ὅπου περὶ τῆς[6] γυναικός τις λόγος
γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν
ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ προσεξειργάζετο
αὐτὴ[7] τὸ πλεῖον. ἡνίκα τις[8] σκώψειε γάρ,
ῥημάτιον εὐθὺ τοῦτο "μανίαν" ἀνεβόα,
αὐτή θ' ὅτ' ἐπαινοίη τιν' ἢ ψέγοι πάλιν,
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων προσέκειτο μανία τῶν λόγων.
διὸ τῆς μανίας τὸ ῥῆμ'[9] ἐπεκτείνας δοκεῖ
καλέσαι τις αὐτὴν τῶν ἐραστῶν Μανίαν·
e μᾶλλον τὸ πάρεργον ἐπεκράτησ'[10] ἢ τοὔνομα.

Ἐδόκει δὲ λιθιᾶν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡ Μανία·
Γνάθαινα δ'[11] εἰς τὰ στρώμαθ' ὅτι προίετο,[12]
ἐνουθετήθη[13] τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ Διφίλου.
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα πρὸς τὴν Μανίαν
ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ λέγει "τί τοῦτο, παῖ,

[1] μὴ . . . κωλῦσαι Kaibel, conjecturing γε for τι: η τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι κωλύσαι A, ἢ τ. Ἀ. μὴ κωλύσαι CE.
[2] εἰσιν, εἰσὶν ACE.
[3] CE: ἐπηνορθωμένοι A.
[4] τῷ . . . ἦν Dindorf: τῷ μὲν μεγέθει (om. ἦν) A, τῷ μεγέθει alone CE.
[5] Kaibel: δ' A.
[6] τῆς added by Schweighäuser.
[7] Schweighäuser: αὐτη A.
[8] ἡνίκα τις Gulick: ἡνίκ' ἂν A.
[9] τὸ ῥῆμ' Meineke: ἐπιρρημ' A.
[10] ἐπεκράτησεν A.

that the city of Athens, by whose authority all men are kept in order, should not prevent it somehow.[a] Now the name that had been given to her from babyhood was Melitta.[b] In height, to be sure, she fell somewhat short of the other women of her age; but with voice and conversation she was well supplied; very good-looking too, and stunning, with many lovers, both citizens and foreigners. Wherever any talk arose over this woman people would say, 'It's *madness*,[c] how beautiful Melitta is!' And then she would herself proceed to put the word to further use. For whenever one made a joke she would straightway cry out that little word 'madness!' And when she herself praised anyone, or again blamed him, to both of her sentences she added 'madness.' Hence, it seems, one of her lovers lengthened the word mănia (madness) and called her Mānia; and so this by-word came to prevail more than her own name.

"Now it seems, as is reported, that Mania suffered from the stone; but Gnathaena, because she soiled the bedclothes, was chastised somehow for this by Diphilus.[d] And once after this Gnathaena was reviling Mania and said 'How about this, sister, even

[a] The text is uncertain; the speaker is indulging in comic exaggeration: there ought to be a law, he thinks, against such use of names.

[b] An hetaera with the same name (Melissa) is mentioned by Athen. 157 a (vol. ii. p. 214).

[c] Here mănia means "maddening," "monstrous."

[d] The comic poet; see Athen. 243 e (vol. iii. p. 96).

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[11] Kaibel: τε AE, τ' C.
[12] Kaibel: προίεται ACE.
[13] Lobeck: ἐνομοθετήθη A.

εἰ καὶ[1] λίθον εἶχες;"[2] ὑπολαβοῦσ' ἡ Μανία
"ἔδωκ' ἄν, ἵν' εἶχες, φήσ',[3] ἀποψᾶσθαι, τάλαν."
Ὅτι δ' ἦν καὶ ἀστεία τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, τάδε
f περὶ αὐτῆς ὁ Μάχων ἀναγράφει·

τῆς Μανίας ἤρα Λεοντίσκος ποτὲ
ὁ παγκρατιαστὴς καὶ συνεῖχ' αὐτὴν μόνος
γαμετῆς τρόπον γυναικός. ὑπὸ δ' Ἀντήνορος
μοιχευομένην αἰσθόμενος[4] αὐτὴν ὕστερον
σφόδρ' ἠγανάκτησ'. ἡ δὲ "μηθέν, φησί, σοί,
ψυχή,[5] μελέτω· μαθεῖν γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι θ' ἅμα
Ὀλυμπιονικῶν νυκτὸς ἀθλητῶν δυεῖν
579 πληγὴν παρὰ πληγὴν[6] τί δύναταί ποτ' ἤθελον."
αἰτουμένην λέγουσι τὴν πυγήν ποτε
ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Μανίαν Δημητρίου
ἀνταξιῶσαι δωρεὰν καὐτόν τινα.
δόντος δ' ἐπιστρέψασα μετὰ μικρὸν λέγει
"Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν"[7] ἔξεστί σοι."
εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος
καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθήνησίν ποτε
τὴν Μανίαν μετεπέμψαθ', ὅσον ἤτησε δούς.
εἰς τὸν πότον δ'[8] ἦν συμπαρειληφώς τινας
b ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιγελᾶν εἰθισμένων
ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν·
βουλόμενος εἶναι γλαφυρὸς ἀστεῖός θ' ἅμα,

[1] CE: εἰ δὲ A.
[2] Kaibel: ἔχησα A, ἔχης C.
[3] C: φησί' A.
[4] CE: αἰσθανόμενοσ A.
[5] Musurus: ψυχῆι A.
[6] παρὰ πληγὴν added by Dobree.
[7] ἐκεῖνα A.
[8] πότον added by Grotius, δ' Kaibel: εἰσ τονδε A.

[a] *Cf.* below, 584 c, and Aristoph. *Plut.* 817 ἀποφώμεθα δ' οὐ λίθοις ἔτι, ἀλλὰ σκοροδίοις ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἑκάστοτε.

[b] The pancratium was a combination of boxing and wrestling. On Leontiscus see Pausan. vi. 4. 3.

if you did have a stone?' Mania retorted, 'I should have given it to you, you wretch, that you might have had something with which to cleanse yourself.'"[a]

To show that Mania was witty in her answers Machon records the following about her: "The pancratiast[b] Leontiscus was once the lover of Mania, and kept her for himself alone like a wedded wife. He later discovered that she was being seduced by Antenor,[c] and was very angry. But she said: 'Let that not bother you at all, sweetheart; for I just wanted to make sure and find out for myself what two athletes, victors at Olympia, could do, stroke for stroke, in a single night.'

"They say that Mania, cum clunes eius aliquando poposcisset rex Demetrius, demanded in return a favour from him. And when the king had conferred it she, after a little, turned about and said,[d] 'Son of Agamemnon, now you may have that which you desired.'

"A foreigner who was supposed to be a slacker and had come to live in Athens once sent for Mania, paying her all that she asked. And to his drinking-party he had invited some others from the town, men accustomed to laugh always with approval in gratitude to their patrons for all they gave. The host was eager to show himself both subtle and witty, while Mania

[a] Another pancratiast, winner at Olympia in 308 B.C. See Athen. 135 d (vol. ii. p. 120).

[d] Soph. *Electra* 2, the Paedagogus says to Orestes

νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι
παρόντι λεύσσειν ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί,

"now you may see, since you are here, those things for which you were always so eager."

τῆς Μανίας ἄριστα παιζούσης σφόδρα
ἀνισταμένης τε πολλάκις, εἰς δασύποδα[1]
αὐτὴν ἐπικροῦσαι βουλόμενος " πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
μειράκια, τί δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων ὑμῖν ποτε
c ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τάχιστα θηρίον[2] τρέχειν;"
ἡ Μανία δ' " αὐτόμολος, ὦ βέλτιστ', " ἔφη.
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς εἰσῆλθε πάλιν ἡ Μανία,
τὸν αὐτόμολον ἔσκωπτε ῥίψασπίν τ' ἔφη
αὐτὸν γεγονέναι προσβολῆς οὔσης ποτέ.
ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ὑπό τι δὴ[3] σκυθρωπάσας
ἀπεπέμψατ' αὐτήν· διαλιποῦσα δ' ἡμέραν[4]
" μηθὲν παρὰ τοῦτο, φησί, λυποῦ, φίλτατε·
οὐ γὰρ σὺ φεύγων ἀπέβαλες τὴν ἀσπίδα,
d μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ' ὁ σοὶ χρήσας τότε."
ἐν συμποσίῳ δ', ὥς φασι, παρὰ τῇ Μανίᾳ
παρεδέξατ' αὐτὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τις πάνυ.
κἄθ' ὡς[5] ἐπηρώτησε " πότερ' ἄνω θέλεις
ἐλθοῦσ' ἅμα βαλεῖν ἢ κάτω;" γελάσασ' " ἄνω,
βέλτιστε, φησίν. ὑπό τι γὰρ δέδοικά σε
μή μου προπεσούσης[6] τοὐμπλόκιον ὑπεκτράγῃς."

Καὶ ἄλλων δὲ ἑταιρῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα ὁ
e Μάχων συνήγαγεν, ὧν οὐκ ἄκαιρόν ἐστιν κατὰ τὸ
ἑξῆς μνημονεῦσαι. Γναθαίνης μὲν οὕτως·

[7]παρὰ Γναθαίνῃ Δίφιλος πίνων ποτὲ
" ψυχρόν γ', ἔφη, τἀγγεῖον, ὦ Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις."

[1] The faulty verse has not yet been satisfactorily emended. C has: ἀνισταμένην πολλάκις καὶ παίζουσαν ὡς δασύποδα.
[2] θηρίων CE.
[3] δὴ added by Casaubon.
[4] Kaibel: ἀπέπεμψε ταύτην· διαλιποῦσα δ' ἡ ἑταίρα AC.
[5] Hemsterhuys: καθὼς A.

played her very best tricks, but frequently had to retire; and he, intending to jeer at her as at some scurrying hare said, 'In the name of the gods, my lads, what wild animal in the forest do you think can run the fastest?' But Mania replied, 'The slacker, my fine fellow.' When Mania, after this, had entered the room once more, she began to jeer at the slacker and said he had been a shield-caster [a] on the occasion of some attack. The soldier, scowling not a little at this, sent her home; but after a day's interval she said, 'Don't be disturbed, dearie, at what I have said; for, as Aphroditê is my witness, it wasn't *you* who lost the shield when you fled, but it was the man who lent it to you that day.'

"And at a symposium, so they say, in Mania's house, one of the guests, a very vicious man, took his turn to embrace her. And when he asked, 'Do you wish to come together from before or from behind?' she said with a laugh, 'From before, good sir. For I am rather afraid that otherwise you will bite off my braids.'"

Machon has collected memorable sayings of other prostitutes as well, which it will not be out of place to record in order here. Of Gnathaena he has the following: "Diphilus, drinking once at Gnathaena's house, remarked, 'That vessel you have is cold,

[a] Both Archilochus and Horace humorously confess to throwing away their shields, but for ordinary men it was no slight disgrace; Aristoph. *Nub.* 353 Κλεώνυμον τὸν ῥίψασπιν. For a German translation of this passage see K. Ohlert, *Rätsel u. Rätselspiele*[2] 66.

[6] Musurus: *προσπεσούσης* A.

[7] These four vss. deleted by Dindorf; they are an abbreviated version of the following.

"τῶν σῶν γάρ, εἶπεν, ἐπιμελῶς, ὦ Δίφιλε,
εἰς αὐτό γ' αἰεὶ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν."
πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν Δίφιλος κληθείς ποτε
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοῖς Ἀφροδισίοις,
τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων
(ἥσθε δ'[1] ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτενῶς ἀγαπώμενος)
παρῆν ἔχων δύο Χῖα, Θάσια τέτταρα,
μύρον, στεφάνους, τραγήματ', ἔριφον, ταινίας,
ὄψον, μάγειρον, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' αὐλητρίδα.
f καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν Συριακοῦ τινος ξένου
πέμψαντος αὐτῇ χιόνα σαπέρδην θ' ἕνα,[2]
αἰσχυνομένη τὰ δῶρα μή τις καταμάθῃ
φυλαττομένη τε πολὺ μάλιστα Δίφιλον
μὴ δῷ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμῳδουμένη,
τὸ μὲν τάριχος εἶπε ταχέως[3] ἀποφέρειν
πρὸς τοὺς σπανίζειν ὁμολογουμένους[4] ἁλῶν,
τὴν χιόνα δ' εἰς τὸν ἄκρατον ἐνσεῖσαι λάθρᾳ
580 τῷ παιδί τ' ἐπέταξ'[5] ἐγχέανθ' ὅσον δέκα
κυάθους προσενεγκεῖν Διφίλῳ ποτήριον.
ὑπερηδέως δὲ τὴν κύλικ'[6] ἐκπιὼν ἄφνω
καὶ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Δίφιλος
"νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς, ψυχρόν γ', ἔφη,
Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως."

[1] ἥσθη δ' Peppink (ἥδει δ' Kaibel): λήθη A.
[2] θ' ἅμα Meineke.
[3] CE: ταχέωστ' A.
[4] ὁμολογουμένωσ A, ὡμολογημένους CE.
[5] ἐπέταξεν A.
[6] κύλικα A.

Gnathaena.' 'Yes,' she said, 'we make it so on purpose; for we always pour in some of your plays, Diphilus.'

"Once upon a time Diphilus was invited to Gnathaena's house, to dine, so they say, in celebration of the festival of Aphroditê; he, being the most esteemed of all her lovers (and he delighted in her passionate love for him), came with two jars of Chian, four of Thasian, perfume, wreaths, nuts and raisins, a kid, ribbons,[a] relishes, a cook, and after all that a flute-girl. And one of her lovers, a stranger from Syria, had sent her some snow[b] and one saperda[c]; she, being ashamed if any one should learn of such gifts, and most of all fearing that Diphilus might punish her by putting her in one of his comedies afterwards, ordered the dried fish to be quickly carried away to those who were indubitably in want of a dole,[d] while the snow was to be secretly shaken up in the unmixed wine; then she directed the slave to pour out about a pint[e] and offer the cup to Diphilus. Overjoyed, Diphilus quickly drank out the cup, and overcome by the surprising effect he cried, 'I swear, Athena and the gods bear me witness, Gnathaena, that your wine-cellar is

[a] Or perhaps, "ribbon-fishes," esteemed as a dainty, Athen. 325 f (vol. iii. p. 464). This was a dinner contributed (ἀπὸ συμβολῶν) by all the guests; see Athen. 365 d (vol. iv. p. 154).

[b] For snow used in cooling wine see Athen. 125 c-d (vol. ii. p. 80), where, as I now believe, the reading should be ἐθάφθη ζωή "was buried alive," *i.e.* stored in a pit until needed.

[c] On this very unsavoury fish, a kind of sea-perch preserved by salting, see Athen. 117 a (vol. ii. p. 46).

[d] Lit. "some salt."

[e] Lit. "about 10 cupfuls," the cup (κύαθος) being of the small variety with high handle (vol. v. pl. 7).

ἡ 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' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀνώμαλον
τὸ νῶτον εἶχε παντελῶς, "τάλαν, τάλαν
ἄνερ, πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ', ἔφη, τὰ τραύματα;"
κἀκεῖνος αὐτῇ συντόμως ἀπεκρίνατο
ὅτι παῖς ποτ' ὢν ἀνείλατ' εἰς πυρὰν ὅτε[1]
παίζων μετά τινων ἡλικιωτῶν ἐνέπεσεν.
"ναὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, δικαίως τοι δέρος,[2]
ἄνθρωπε, φησίν, ἐξεδάρης ἀκόλαστος ὤν."
παρὰ Δεξιθέᾳ δειπνοῦσα θῆταίρα ποτὲ
Γνάθαινα, τοὔψον ἀποτιθείσης πᾶν σχεδὸν
c τῆς Δεξιθέας τῇ μητρί, "νὴ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν,
εἰ, φησίν, ᾔδειν, ἡ Γνάθαινα, τοῦτ' ἐγώ,
τῇ μητρὶ συνεδείπνουν ἄν, οὐχὶ σοί, γύναι."
ἐπεὶ προέβη τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ
ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένη[3] σορός,
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίναι[4]
καὶ τοὔψον ἐφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν πόσου
πωλεῖθ' ἕκαστον. εἶτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην
ἱστῶντα[5] κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστεῖον πάνυ
d τῇ θ' ἡλικίᾳ σφόδρα νέον "ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,

[1] ἀνείλατ' (ἀνείλετ') . . . ὅτε Kaibel: ποτε ὢν ἐνήλατο εἰς πυρὰν (sic) ποτε A.
[2] τοι δέρος Capps: τοιγαρ A.
[3] Meineke: ὁμολογουμένως A.
[4] Musurus (*cf. Etym. M.* 467. 19): ἐξεῖναι A, ἐξῄει (in a different constr.) CE.
[5] Meineke: ἑστῶτα A.

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[a] On the alleged coldness (ψυχρότης) of Diphilus's prologues

indubitably cold.' And she replied, 'Yes, for we always take care to pour in the prologues of your plays.'[a]

"It so happened that a rogue with the scars of a flogging rising high on his back went to bed with Gnathaena. And discovering in her embrace how rough his back was everywhere she said, 'Wretched, wretched man, how did you get these bruises?' And he answered her curtly that he got them once when he was a boy playing with some of his mates and fell into a funeral-pyre.[b] 'Yes, by the dear Demeter,' said she; 'it was quite right, you rascal, that you should have your skin peeled off, lecher that you are.'

"Once Gnathaena was at dinner with the courtesan Dexithea, and when the latter set aside almost all the choicest relishes for her mother, Gnathaena said, 'By Artemis, if I had known of this I should have taken dinner with your mother, instead of with you, woman.'

"After Gnathaena had advanced in years and was by that time, as all agreed, nothing but a perfect corpse,[c] they say she went out into the market-place, and as she gazed at the dainties there she kept asking how much each cost. Finally she chanced to see a very nice butcher's boy, very young in years, at the meat-scales, and she said: 'You, there, my lad, you

see Coppola in *Atene e Roma*, 1924, pp. 189-191; *cf.* Athen. 451 b-c (vol. iv. p. 544).

[b] Or, "a fire burning on an altar." In either case the act would be sacrilegious, even though accidental.

[c] Lit. "coffin," *cf.* Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1365 *ποθεῖν ἐρᾶν τ' ἔοικας σοροῦ*, Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* iii. 1. 33 itane tibi ego videor oppido Acherunticus? Tam capularis? So *τύμβος* Eur. *Med.* 1269, *Heraclid.* 167, Luc. *Dial. Mort.* vi. 2 *ἔμψυχον τάφον*.

μειράκιον, ὁ καλός, φησί, πῶς ἵστης; φράσον."
ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας "κύβδ', ἔφη, τριωβόλου."
"τίς δ' οὐπιτρέψων ἐστί σοι, φησίν, τάλαν,
ὄντα γ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Καρικοῖς χρῆσθαι σταθμοῖς;"
Στρατοκλῆς δύ'[1] ἐρίφους προῖκ' ἐδίδου τοῖς γνωρίμοις
λοπάδας δ' ἐνάλμους[2] ἐπισυνήρτυεν, δοκῶν[3]
καὶ δίψαν[4] ὑποδιπλοῦσθ' ἂν[5] εἰς τὴν αὔριον
e τοῖς ἐπισυνάπτειν βουλομένοις τὸν ἑωθινόν,
μακρὰς δὲ πράττειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ξυμβολάς.
Γνάθαινα δ' αὐτῆς εἶπε πρὸς ἐραστήν τινα
στραγγευόμενον[6] ὁρῶσα περὶ τὰς συμβολάς,
"Στρατοκλῆς ἐπ' ἐρίφοις, φησί, χειμῶνας[7] ποιεῖ."
ἰδοῦσ' ἔφηβον ἡ Γνάθαιν' ἰσχνὸν πάνυ
καὶ μέλανα λεπτόν θ', ὡς ἔοιχ', ὑπερβολῇ
καὶ λαπαρόν,[8] ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων[9] βραχύτερον,
ἔσκωπτεν εἰς Ἅδωνιν. ἀναγώγως δέ πως
f τοῦ μειρακίσκου καὶ τυραννικώτερον
αὐτῇ συναντήσαντος ἐμβλέψασα τῇ

[1] δύ' Meineke: δ' A, δὲ CE.
[2] δ' ἐνάλμους Dobree: συνάλμουσ A, τὲ συναλμους C.
[3] ἐπισυνήρτυεν, δοκῶν (?) Kaibel: τε συναρτύεν δοκῶν A.
[4] δίψαν Musurus: διψᾶν A.
[5] ὑποδιπλοῦσθ' ἂν (?) Kaibel: ὑπολειπόμενοι A.
[6] Casaubon: στρατευόμενον A.
[7] A: χειμῶνα CE.
[8] λαπαρόν Coraes: λιπαρόν A, ῥυπαρόν Meineke. λάσιον?
[9] συνεφήβων (?) Kaibel.

pretty one, tell me in the gods' name how you weigh your meat?' And he replied with a smile, 'Stooping over, at the cost of threepence.'[a] 'But who,' she said, will 'allow you, you wretch, to use Carian measures when you are in Athens?'[b]

"Stratocles once offered to his acquaintances two kids as a free gift, but added some dishes highly seasoned with salt, expecting a redoubled thirst on the morrow on the part of those who wanted to continue their drinking into the early morning; he could then, he thought, exact the payment of large contributions.[c] And Gnathaena, seeing one of her lovers haggling over the payments said to him, 'Stratocles can raise a storm over the kids.'[d]

"Seeing a lad who was very lean, dark, and to all appearance exceedingly weak and emaciated, moreover shorter than the lads of his age, Gnathaena derisively called him Adonis. But when the lad jostled against her in a rude and truculent manner, she gave a meaning look at her daughter, who was

[a] The adverb *κύβδα* in the boy's answer is used *sens. obsc.*, supply *στήσω σε*, and *cf.* Athen. 442 a, 447 b (vol. iv. pp. 502, 526), Aristoph. *Thesm.* 488, *ἐρείδομαι κύβδ' ἐχομένη τῆς δάφνης.*

[b] A complicated jest with the same obscene intent: *σταθμοῖς* means both a scale for weighing and a stance. Hesych. *Καρικῷ σχήματι.*

[c] The text is conjectural, but the sense is fairly clear. For Stratocles, who got up the dinner by subscription or "contributions" (*ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*), see Athen. 135 b, 137 c (vol. ii. pp. 118, 126). The highly seasoned dishes, designed to produce thirst and so increase the wine bills, on which Stratocles expected to make a profit, may have been pickled oysters, Luc. *Asin.* 47.

[d] Alluding to the belief that the constellation of the Kids (Haedi) brought on storms; Theocr. vii. 53, Arat. *Phaen.* 158, Verg. *Aen.* ix. 668 pluvialibus Haedis. The ambiguous preposition *ἐπί* here means both "over" and "after."

θυγατρὶ μετ' αὐτῆς[1] συμπορευομένῃ λέγει·
" δικαιότερον ἦν, ὦ τέκνον, νὴ τὼ θεώ[2] . . . ."
λέγουσι Ποντικόν τι μειρακύλλιον
ἀναπαυόμενον μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀξιοῦν
πρῷον[3] γενόμενον, ὥστε τὴν πυγὴν ἅπαξ
αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν· τὴν δὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν " τάλαν,
ἔπειτα τὴν πυγήν με νῦν αἰτεῖς, ὅτε
581 τὰς ὗς ἐπὶ νομὴν καιρός ἐστιν ἐξάγειν;"

Καὶ Γναθαινίου δέ γε τῆς θυγατριδῆς αὐτῆς τάδε ἀναγράφει·

εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παρεπιδημήσας ξένος
σατράπης πάνυ γέρων, ὡς ἐνενήκοντ' ὢν[4] ἐτῶν,
Κρονίοις ἀπιοῦσαν εἶδε τὴν Γναθαίνιον
μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἐξ Ἀφροδισίου τινός,
τό τ' εἶδος αὐτῆς τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καταμαθὼν
ἐπυνθάνετο μίσθωμα πράσσεται[5] πόσον
b τῆς νυκτός. ἡ Γνάθαινα δ' εἰς τὴν πορφύραν
καὶ τὰ δόρατ' ἀποβλέψασα δραχμὰς χιλίας[6]
ἔταξεν. ὁ δ' ἄφνω καιρίμην[7] πληγεὶς " παπαῖ,
ζωγρεῖς, γύναι, φήσ', ἕνεκα τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ·
μνᾶς πραξαμένη δὲ πέντε τὰς σπονδὰς ποοῦ
καὶ στρῶσον ἡμῖν ἔνδον." ἡ δ' ἐπιδέξιον
βουλόμενον εἶναι τὸν σατράπην ἀπεδέξατο,
c εἶπεν δέ· " 'μοὶ μὲν[8] δὸς ὅσον ἐπιθυμεῖς, πάτερ·

[1] Schweighäuser: μετὰ ταύτης A.
[2] Musurus: τῶι θεῶι A. Lacuna noted by Dindorf. Something like μὴ Ἄδωνιν ἀλλὰ σὺν κάπριον αὐτὸν καλεῖν may be supplied.
[3] Kaibel: πρωΐ A.
[4] ὤν added by Dindorf.
[5] πράσσετε A: πράττεται CE.
[6] ACE: χιλίας δραχμάς Roeper.
[7] Musurus: κιρμην (sic) A.
[8] ἐμοὶ μὲν added by Kaibel.

walking with her, and said: 'By the two goddesses,[a] my child, it would have been more correct . . . .'[b]

"They say that a stripling from Pontus went to bed with Gnathaena, and when morning came he demanded clunes ut ei semel praeberet; whereat she said, 'You wretch! tu a me clunes postulas, when it is now high time you were driving out the pigs to pasture?'"[c]

And then again, Machon records these sayings of Gnathaenion, the granddaughter of Gnathaena: "A stranger came to live in Athens, a nabob very old—about ninety years—who at the festival of Cronus saw Gnathaenion with Gnathaena leaving the temple of Aphroditê; and after studying her figure with its symmetries he asked how much she charged as fee for the night. Gnathaena, having an eye to his purple cloak and his lances, set the price at a thousand drachmas.[d] But he, struck with this sudden body-blow, said, 'Alas, woman, you treat me like a prisoner of war[e] because of my military appearance; let's make a truce; take five minae[f] and spread a couch for us inside.' And she, since the nabob was so eager to show his powers, took him in and said: 'To me you may give anything you like,

[a] Demeter and Persephonê, as often in women's oaths.

[b] Supply perhaps "to call him not Adonis but the Boar."

[c] The use of ὗς in the sense of pudenda muliebria is not noticed in L. & S.; but *cf.* ὑσσαξ, ὑσσακος Aristoph. *Lys.* 1001, and τὰ ὕεια below, 583 d. So χοῖρος frequently, and Latin *porcus*, Varro, *De re rust.* ii. 4. 13.

[d] Nearly £50. As a richly-clad soldier he would be supposed to have a generous supply of cash.

[e] Prisoners were taken alive (hence ζωγρεῖς) for the ransom they would bring.

[f] Half the sum demanded.

οἶδα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πέποιθα τοῦθ' ὅτι
εἰς νύκτ' ἀποδώσεις τῷ θυγατρίῳ μου διπλοῦν."
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις χαλκοτύπος σφόδρ' εὐφυής,
καταλελυκυίας τῆς Γναθαινίου σχεδὸν
οὐκέτι θ' ἑταιρεῖν ὑπομενούσης διὰ τό πως
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἡδέως αὐτῆς ἔχειν
τὸν ὑποκριτήν· 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[1] καὶ βάναυσος παντελῶς
ἐν σκυτοτομείῳ[2] μετά τινων καθήμενος
κατεσχόλαζε τῆς Γναθαινίου λέγων,
ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ μὲν[3] συγγεγενῆσθαι μηδενί,
ἑξῆς καθιππάσθαι[4] δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις.
e μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀνδρόνικος τὸ γεγονὸς
ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου προσφάτως ἀφιγμένος
ὀργιζόμενος[5] πικρῶς τε λοιδορούμενος
παρὰ τὸν πότον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε τῇ Γναθαινίῳ,
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀξιοῦντα μὴ τετευχέναι
τούτου παρ' αὐτῆς μηδέποτε τοῦ σχήματος,
ἐν τῷδε δ' ἑτέρους ἐντρυφᾶν μαστιγίας.
ἔπειτεν εἰπεῖν[6] φασι τὴν Γναθαίνιον·
"περιλαμβάνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον,[7] τάλαν,
f ἄνθρωπον ἄχρι τοῦ στόματος ἠσβολωμένον·
διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινα πολὺ λαβοῦσα χρυσίον,

[1] Jacobs, following Musurus: ἀνάγωγος δ' ὢν δὴ A.
[2] Herwerden: σκυτοτομιωνι A, σκυτοτομίῳ τινὶ Musurus.
[3] μὲν Musurus: μὲν μὴ A. [4] καθιππᾶσθαι A.
[5] ὀργιζόμενος added by Kaibel.
[6] Porson: ἔπειτ' ἐνειπεῖν A.
[7] Porson: ἐδοκείμαζον A.

gaffer; for I know certainly and am quite confident that as the night draws on you will give it to my little girl doubled over.'[a]

"In Athens there was a very gifted[b] coppersmith; now Gnathaenion had about retired from her profession, and no longer wanted to be a common prostitute because she was content with Andronicus, the actor; but at that time he was away on tour—from him she had had a male child[c]; although, as I say, Gnathaenion did not wish to earn any fee, the coppersmith by entreaty and importunity finally won her, expending upon her a vast deal of gold. But being a rude person, completely vulgar, he, as he sat with some others in a cobbler's shop, passed the time in slandering Gnathaenion, saying that he had never consorted with her in any other way, sed ab illa se quinquies deinceps inequitatum esse.[d] Andronicus, hearing soon after of what had happened, for he had just returned from Corinth, was angry, and in bitter reproach he said to Gnathaenion, while they were drinking together, that although he had asked for this favour she had never granted him that posture, whereas others, rascally jail-birds, had revelled in it. Thereupon, they say, Gnathaenion replied: 'I did not think it fit, you poor fool, to clasp in my arms a man who was covered with soot up to his mouth; so I gave way, after receiving a large sum in

[a] The double meaning will not bear explanation in English; *σκώπτει εἰς τὸ ἄστυτον τοῦ γέροντος καὶ εἰς ἀναδίπλωσιν τοῦ αἰδοίου* (Palmerius).

[b] The epithet *εὐφυής* "clever" is used sarcastically of a rascal, as in Alexis, Athen. 544 e (vol. v. p. 466).

[c] The narrative is purposely disjointed, and characteristic of Machon.

[d] Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 50 agitavit equum lasciva supinum.

ἐφιλοσόφησά θ', ἵν' ἄκρον ὡς μάλιστα καὶ
ἐλάχιστον αὐτοῦ περιλάβω τοῦ σώματος."
ἔπειτα, φασί, τῆς Γναθαινίου ποτὲ
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον οὐ θελούσης παρὰ πότον
582 φιλεῖν, καθάπερ ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις ἀεί,
ὀργιζομένης δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμβάνειν,
ἔπειθ' ὁ τραγῳδός[1] "οὐχ[2] ὁρᾷς, Γνάθαιν', ἔφη,
ὑπερηφάνως μοι τὴν θυγατέρα χρωμένην;"
ἡ γραῦς δ' ἀγανακτήσασα "τάλαν, ἔφη, τέκνον·
περίλαβε, φησί, καὶ φίλησον, εἰ θέλει."[3]
ἡ δ' εἶπε "μῆτερ, πῶς, ἔφη, μέλλω φιλεῖν
τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα, τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας
τὸ κοῖλον[4] Ἄργος δωρεὰν θέλοντ' ἔχειν."
b πανηγύρεως οὔσης ποθ' ἡ Γναθαίνιον
εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατέβαινε πρὸς ξένον τινὰ
ἔμπορον ἐραστὴν εὐτελῶς[5] ἐπ' ἀστράβης,
τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ὀνάρια μεθ' ἑαυτῆς[6] τρία
καὶ τρεῖς θεραπαίνας καὶ νέαν τιτθὴν[7] μίαν.
ἔπειτεν αὐταῖς[8] ἐπί τινος στενῆς ὁδοῦ
κακὸς παλαιστὴς ἐνέτυχέν τις τῶν ἀεὶ
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιμελῶς ἡττωμένων·

[1] ἔπειθ' ὁ τραγῳδὸς Wilamowitz: ἔπειθε πῶσ A.
[2] Musurus: οὐχί A.
[3] Musurus: θέλεισ A.
[4] Meineke: κοινὸν A.
[5] εὐσταλῶς Meineke.
[6] Meineke: μετ' αὐτῆσ ACE.
[7] Meineke: τη θην (*sic*) A.
[8] Dindorf: ἔπειτ' ἐν αὐταῖσ A, ἐπεὶ δ' αὐταῖς E, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ στενῆς ὁδοῦ κακὸς αὐταῖς C.

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[a] τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα may be a reminiscence of a tragic

gold, and I cleverly contrived to touch the part of his person which projects farthest and is smallest.'

"Sometime afterwards, they say, Gnathaenion refused to kiss Andronicus when they were drinking together as she had always done in days gone by; she was angry because he gave her nothing. So then the actor said to her granny: 'Don't you see, Gnathaena, that your girl is treating me shamefully?' The old woman, indignant at her, said: 'You foolish child, embrace him and kiss him if he wants it.' But she replied, 'Mother, how can I kiss that fellow who is no good,[a] that man who wants to have as a free gift under one roof[b] all "hollow Argos"?'[c]

"On the occasion of some festival Gnathaenion started down to the Peiraeus to meet a foreign merchant who was her lover; she did the journey cheaply[d] on a litter, with three donkeys in all in her train, three maidservants and one young nurse. Thereupon, at a narrow place in the road, they were met by a poor wrestler, one of those who always contrive, on purpose,[e] to be beaten in the contests. He, unable to

verse, like κοῖλον Ἄργος following. Capps compares Aesch. *Prom.* 614 ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα.

[b] Alluding to στέγος in the sense of "brothel." A girl of her class was called στεγῖτις or τεγῖτις "inmate," Pollux vii. 201.

[c] The adjective "hollow" was applied to low-lying countries; κοῖλον Ἄργος occurs Soph. *O.C.* 378, 1387. Here, of course, there is an obscene allusion.

[d] εὐτελῶς is ironical, like ἐπιμελῶς below, and εὐφυῆς above, 581 c. The ἀστράβη was costly, as implied in Lys. xxiv. 11 (also ironical), *cf.* Dem. xxi. 133 quoted by Athen. 481 e (vol. v. p. 134).

[e] See the preceding note. The adverb, wrongfully doubted by some editors, refers to the previous "fixing" of the bouts, of course for a consideration, as, it is said, frequently happens in modern professional wrestling.

ὃς οὐ δυνάμενος τότε παρελθεῖν[1] ῥᾳδίως,
ἀλλὰ στενοχωρῶν εἶπεν " ὦ τρισάθλιε
c ὀνηλάτ', εἰ μὴ θᾶττον 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' ἐστί σοι πεπραγμένον."
Ἑξῆς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀναγράφει·
Λαΐδα λέγουσι τὴν Κορινθίαν ποτὲ
Εὐριπίδην ἰδοῦσαν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ
πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρτημένον
ἔχοντ'[2]· " ἀπόκριναι, φησίν, ὦ ποιητά μοι,
d τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ
' ἔρρ', αἰσχροποιέ','" καταπλαγεὶς δ'[3] Εὐρι-
πίδης
τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς " σὺ γάρ, ἔφη, τίς εἶ, γύναι;[4]
οὐκ[5] αἰσχροποιός;" ἡ δὲ γελάσασ' ἀπεκρίθη·
" τί δ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ;"
ἡ Γλυκέριον λαβοῦσα παρ' ἐραστοῦ τινος
Κορίνθιον παράπηχυ καινὸν λήδιον[6]
ἔδωκεν εἰς γναφεῖον· εἶτ' ἐπεὶ τέλος
ἔδοξ' ἔχειν, πέμψασα τὴν θεραπαινίδα
τὸ μισθάριον ἔχουσαν ἐκέλευ' ἀποφέρειν
e θοἰμάτιον. ὁ γναφεὺς δ' εἶπεν· " ἄν γ'[7] ἑλᾳδίου
ταρτημόριά[8] μοι, φησί, προσενέγκῃς τρία,

[1] A: διελθεῖν CE. [2] εἰπεῖν Meineke.
[3] Musurus: δ' ὁ ACE.
[4] εἶ, γύναι Elmsley: εἶναι A, εἶ CE.
[5] οὐκ added by Elmsley.
[6] λήδιον ACE. [7] ἄν γ' CE: ἀντ' A.
[8] τεταρτημόριά ACE (in A τε is written at the end of the preceding verse).

get by them at that point easily, and jostled into a narrow corner, cried out, 'You thrice-damned ass-driver, if you don't just get out of the road I'll throw to the ground these wenches here, donkeys and litters and all.' But Gnathaenion said, 'You poor fool, not you sir! For that is something you have never yet done.'"

Continuing, Machon records this also: "They say that Laïs, the Corinthian courtesan, once saw Euripides in a garden, with his writing-tablet and stilus hanging to his belt. 'O poet,' said she, 'answer, what did you mean when you wrote in a tragedy,[a] "To perdition, you perpetrator of foul deeds?"' And Euripides, amazed at her impudence, said, 'Why, what are you yourself, woman? Are you not a perpetrator of foul deeds?' But she responded with a laugh, 'What is foul, if it seems not so to those who indulge in it?'[b]

"Glycerium had received from one of her lovers a new summer dress (*lêdion*, *lādion*) with purple border, Corinthian style, and sent it to the fuller's; later, when she thought it must be finished, she sent her maidservant with the price, bidding her fetch home the garment. But the fuller said, 'If you will hand over besides three-fourths of the oil (*elādion*)[c] you

[a] Eur. *Medea* 1346, Jason speaking to Medea; αἰσχροποιός was used of a sexual pervert.

[b] In the well-known fragment of *Aeolus* (*T.G.F.*[2] 368), delightfully parodied by Aristoph. *Ran.* 1475. The tragedy was based on the incest of Macareus, son of Aeolus, with his sister Canacê. See Athen. 444 c (vol. iv. p. 512), Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 384 nobilis est Canace fratris amore sui.

[c] Used in dressing a newly-woven garment. Three-fourths of the quadrisyllabic word for oil, *elādion*, would give the trisyllable *lādion*. On purple garments from Corinth see Athen. 525 d (vol. v. p. 370).

κόμισαι. τὸ κωλῦον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτό με."
ἡ δ' ὡς[1] ἀπήγγειλ', "ὦ[2] τάλαιν', εἶπεν, κακῶν"
ἡ Γλυκέριον, "μέλλει γὰρ ὥσπερ μαινίδας
ἀποτηγανίζειν, φησί, μου τὸ λήδιον."[3]
ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοφῶν ἐρώμενος
τὴν Αἶγα Νικὼ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν ποτὲ
νέος ὢν ἔτ' αὐτὸς εἶχεν. ἐπεκαλεῖτο δ' Αἴξ,
f ὅτι τὸν μέγαν δὴ κατέφαγεν[4] ἐραστὴν ποτε
Θαλλόν· παρεγενήθη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ὠνησόμενος χελιδονείους[5] ἰσχάδας
Ὑμήττιόν τε φορτιούμενος μέλι.
λέγεται δ' ἐκείνην τὴν γυναῖκ' ἐσχηκέναι[6]
πυγὴν πάνυ καλήν, ἣν ποτ' ἠξίου λαβεῖν
ὁ Δημοφῶν. ἡ δ' εἶπε γελάσασ' "εὖ γ',[7] ἵνα
583 Σοφοκλεῖ λαβὼν δῷς, φησί, παρ' ἐμοῦ,[8] φίλτατε."
Καλλιστίου[9] δὲ τῆς Ὑὸς καλουμένης
πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς λοιδορουμένης ποτὲ
μητέρα (Κορώνη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὔνομα),
διέλυεν ἡ Γνάθαιν'. ἐρωτηθεῖσα δὲ
τί διαφέρονται "τί γάρ, ἔφησεν, ἄλλο πλὴν
ἄλλ' ἡ[10] Κορώνης,[11] ἕτερ' ἐκείνη μέμφεται."
Ἵππην λέγουσι τὴν ἑταίραν Θεόδοτον
ἔχειν ἐραστὴν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου τότε[12]

[1] τοῦτό με. ἡ δ' ὡς Dindorf: τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ὡς (σὲ) A.
[2] ἀπήγγειλ', ὦ Kaibel: ἀπήγγειλε ACE.
[3] λῆδιον ACE.
[4] δὴ κατέφαγεν Schweighäuser: κατέφαγ' alone ACE. For μέγαν Kaibel conjectured Μεγαρέα.
[5] χελιδονίουσ A.
[6] Musurus: ἐσχηκέναι τὴν γυναῖκα A.
[7] γ' added by Meineke.
[8] Erfurdt: σοφοκλεῖ δῶισ φησὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβὼν ACE (φησὶ om. CE).
[9] Meineke: καλλιστοῦσ A.

may take the dress. For that is the only thing which prevents me.'[a] When the maid reported this, Glycerium said 'Unhappy I am with all this bother; for he must be going to fry my dress like a dish of sprats.'

"Demophon, the favourite of Sophocles, once kept as his mistress, when he himself was still young, the 'she-goat' Nicô, although she was older. She was nicknamed She-goat because she had once devoured that tall lover, Greensprout Thallus[b]; for he had come to Athens to buy dried russet-figs[c] and take away a cargo of Hymettus honey. Now the woman in question is said to have had a very beautiful *derrière*, which Demophon once desired to possess. And she said with a laugh, 'Very good, dearie; take it from me and pass it on to Sophocles.'

"Callistion, who was called the Sow, was once quarrelling with her mother, whose nickname was the Crow (Coronê). Gnathaena tried to reconcile them. Being asked what they were quarrelling about, she replied, 'What else, to be sure, than that the daughter of the Crow blames her for one thing, while she blames the girl for something else.'[d]

"They say that the courtesan Hippê had as a lover Theodotus, who at that time had become Keeper of

[a] *Sc.* from giving up the dress, the price of the oil being still in arrears. The extravagantly "oiled" dress reminds her of fried fish.

[b] The name Θαλλός means "green-branch," favourite food of goats; below, 587 a, p. 165.

[c] Athen. 75 c (vol. i. p. 324), 652 d-f (pp. 524-526).

[d] Alluding to the proverb ἄλλο μὲν γλαῦξ, ἄλλο δὲ κορώνη φθέγγεται, aliud noctua, aliud cornix sonat.

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[10] Jacobs: ἄλλη A. [11] Kaibel: κορώνη θ' A.
[12] Schweighäuser: ποτὲ ACE.

γενόμενον. αὕτη δ' ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας ποτὲ
b εἰσῆλθεν ἐπὶ κώθωνα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
Πτολεμαῖον· εἰώθει δὲ συμπίνειν αἰεὶ
αὐτῷ. λέγει δ' οὖν ὑστεροῦσα παρὰ πολύ·
" Πτολεμαῖε, διψῶ, φησί, παππία,[1] σφόδρα·
ἀλλ' ἐγχεάτω[2] μοι τέτταρας[3] κοτύλας πιεῖν[4]
εἰς τὴν μεγάλην." ἔπειτεν[5] ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει·
" εἰς τὴν λεκάνην μὲν οὖν· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι πολὺν
Ἵππη, πάνυ χόρτον, φησί, καταβεβρωκέναι."
Φρύνην ἐπείρα Μοίριχος τὴν Θεσπικήν·
c κἄπειτεν[6] αἰτήσασαν αὐτὸν μνᾶν μίαν
ὁ Μοίριχος " μέγ', εἶπεν· οὐ πρώην δύο
χρυσοῦς λαβοῦσα παρεγένου ξένῳ τινί;"
" περίμενε τοίνυν καὶ σύ,[7] φησίν, ἕως ἂν οὖ[8]
βιωτιάσω, καὶ τοσοῦτον λήψομαι."
Νικὼ λέγεται τὴν Αἶγα, Πύθωνός τινος[9]
αὐτήν ποτ' ἀπολιπόντος, Εὔαρδιν δὲ τὴν
παχεῖαν ἀναλαβόντος, εἶτεν[10] ὕστερον
μεταπεμπομένου ποθ', ὡς ἔοικ', αὐτήν, λέγειν
πρὸς τὸν μετιόντα παῖδα· "Πύθων, φήσ',[11] ἐπεὶ[12]
d ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν ὑείων ἐγένετο,[13]
ἐπ' αἴγει' οἷός[14] ἐστιν ἀνακάμπτειν πάλιν;"

[1] Schweighäuser: παπια A.
[2] Kaibel: ἐγχεέτω ACE.
[3] A: μοι τίς τέσσαρας C, μοί τις τετταρας E.
[4] Kaibel: ποτοῦ Casaubon, ἔπειτα A, ἔπειτ' C.
[5] Dindorf: ἔπειθ' A. [6] Dindorf: κἄπειτα A.
[7] Musurus: καὶ σου A, καὶ σοὶ E. [8] E: οὐ A.
[9] τινος A Eustath.: om. CE.
[10] Dindorf: εἰτ' ἐν A, εἰθ' CE.
[11] Meineke: φη A, ἔφη CE.
[12] CE: ἐπειδή A.
[13] Kaibel: υἱῶν A, ὑῶν CE, ἐγένετο διάμεστος A.
[14] Kaibel: ἐπει δὴ γιαοῖοσ A, ἐπὶ τὴν αἴγ' οἷος CE.

the Provender.[a] She once, at a late hour of the day, went into the palace to have a cup[b] with King Ptolemy[c]; for she was in the habit of drinking with him constantly. Anyway, as she came in, very much behind time, she said: 'Ptolemy, old dear, I am awfully thirsty. Do let someone pour out for me four cups to drink, in the big jug.'[d] Thereupon the king said: 'You mean, rather, into the feed-pan; for it seems to me, Hippê, that you have eaten up a very large bag of Provender.'

"Moerichus was asking Phrynê, the courtesan from Thespiae, for her favours; when she then demanded a mina,[e] Moerichus said, 'Too much; didn't you, the other day, stay with a stranger after you had received only two gold pieces?'[f] 'Well then,' said she, 'you too wait until I feel like indulging myself, and I will accept that amount.'

"The story is told of Nicô, the 'she-goat,'[g] that when a man named Python had at one time abandoned her and taken up with the fat woman Euardis, only, it seems, to send for Nicô again at a later time, she said to the slave who came to get her: 'Now that Python has become chockfull of pork-tenderloin, is he fit to switch round again to goat-meat?'"

[a] faeno praefectum, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χόρτου, Eustath. *Il.* 1307. 33.

[b] Apparently ἐπὶ κώθωνα "for a cup" (or flask) was colloquial, like "a cup of tea," "a glass of beer," without reference to the quantity, which might prove to be great. *Cf.* 547 d (vol. v. p. 480).

[c] Philadelphus?

[d] Or, "on a grand scale," "in a big way"; *cf.* 471 e (vol. v. p. 80).

[e] About £4.

[f] About two guineas.

[g] Above, 582 e. See, for τῶν ὑείων, 581 a note c (p. 135).

Μέχρι μὲν τούτων μνημονεύω τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάχωνος εἰρημένων. αἱ γὰρ καλαὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθῆναι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἤνεγκαν ἑταιρῶν, περὶ ὧν ἐπεξελεύσομαι ὅσον γε δύναμαι, ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδροῦσα πόλις οὐκ[1] ἔσχεν. ἀναγέγραφε γοῦν[2] Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἑκατὸν καὶ λέ', Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ τούτων πλείους, ὁ Γοργίας δὲ[3] πλέονας, παραλειφθῆναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστο-
e φάνους μετὰ ἑταιρῶν πλειόνων καὶ τάσδε, ...[4] 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,[5] Ἄστρα, Γνάθαινα καὶ ταύτης θυγατριδῆ Γναθαίνιον, καὶ Συγὴ καὶ Συνωρὶς ἡ Λύχνος ἐπικαλουμένη, καὶ Εὔκλεια καὶ Γρυμέα[6] καὶ Θρυαλλίς, ἔτι Χίμαιρα καὶ Λαμπάς. τῆς δὲ Γναθαίνης ἤρα δεινῶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται,
f Δίφιλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιός, ὡς καὶ Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἱστορεῖ. ἐν ἀγῶνι οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀσχημονήσαντα σφόδρα ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου συνέβη καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν. κελεύοντος οὖν τοῦ Διφίλου ὑπονίψαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὴν Γνάθαιναν, ἡ δὲ "τί γάρ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἠρμένος ἥκεις;" σφόδρα δ' ἦν εὔθικτος πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἡ Γνάθαινα.

[1] οὐδεμία Schweighäuser.
[2] E: ἀναγέγραφεν οὖν C, ἀνέγραφε γ' οὖν A.
[3] δ' ἔτι Schweighäuser.
[4] Lacuna marked by Kaibel.
[5] Ληναιόκυσθος Meineck. [6] Kaibel: γρυμαία A.

[a] Myrtilus, 571 a.
[b] Nauck 278; above, 567 a (p. 63).

Up to this point I[a] have been giving the sayings of Machon. For our beautiful Athens produced such a quantity of courtesans, about whom I shall go on further to tell, so far as I can—a throng such as no populous city ever yet had. At any rate, Aristophanes of Byzantium has made a list[b] of one hundred and thirty-five; Apollodorus[c] gives more than that, and Gorgias[d] still more, both declaring that in the list of numerous courtesans Aristophanes has omitted also the following: . . . nicknamed Tipsy,[e] besides Lampyris and Euphrosynê; this last was a fuller's daughter. He has failed to record also Megistê, Agallis, Thaumarion, Theocleia (she was nicknamed Crow), Lenaetocystus, Astra, Gnathaena and her granddaughter Gnathaenion, besides Sigê, Synôris[f] nicknamed Lamp, Eucleia, Grymea, Thryallis, and Chimaera and Lampas. As for Gnathaena, she was madly loved by the comic poet Diphilus, as has been said before,[g] and as Lynceus of Samos also records in his *Reminiscences.* Once in a dramatic contest it happened that he was shamefully defeated and 'lifted'[h] out of the theatre, yet none the less he went to visit Gnathaena. As Diphilus bade her wash his feet Gnathaena asked, 'Why need I, indeed? Haven't you come to me on your head?'[i] Gnathaena was very quick in

[a] J. 2 B 1105. See P.-W. i. 2863.

[b] P.-W. i. 1619; below, 596 f (p. 217).

[c] See Athen. 445 b-e (vol. iv. p. 516) for *πάροινος* (tipsy) used as an adjective. The name of the girl is lost here.

[d] Athen. 247 a (vol. iii. p. 112).

[e] Above, 579 e (p. 129).

[f] A wrestler's term "he was caught by the middle and stood on his head," Athen. 238 b (vol. iii. p. 71 note *e*).

[g] Or, "come a-flying," so that there was no dust on his feet.

καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἑταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐφ' αὐταῖς, παιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἀπομερίζουσαι· διόπερ καὶ εὔθικτοι πρὸς τὰς
584 ἀπαντήσεις ἦσαν. κατηγοροῦντος γοῦν ποτε Στίλπωνος Γλυκέρας παρὰ πότον ὡς διαφθειρούσης τοὺς νέους, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις, ὑποτυχοῦσα ἡ Γλυκέρα "τὴν αὐτήν, ἔφη, ἔχομεν αἰτίαν, ὦ Στίλπων. σέ τε γὰρ λέγουσιν διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σοι ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἐριστικὰ[1] σοφίσματα διδάσκοντα, ἐμέ τε ὡσαύτως ἐρωτικά.[2] μηθὲν οὖν διαφέρειν ἐπιτριβομένοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἢ[3] μετὰ φιλοσόφου ζῆν ἢ ἑταίρας." κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγάθωνα·

γυνή τοι[4] σώματος[5] δι' ἀργίαν
b ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

Γναθαίνης δὲ πολλὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λυγκεύς. παρασίτου γάρ τινος ὑπὸ γραὸς τρεφομένου καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ ἔχοντος, "χαριέντως γ',[6] ἔφη, ὦ νεανίσκε, τὸ σωμάτιον διάκεισαι." "τί οὖν οἴει, εἰ μὴ ἐδευτεροκοίτουν;" "τῷ λιμῷ ἄν, ἔφη, ἀπέθανες." Παυσανίου δὲ τοῦ Λάκκου ὀρχουμένου καὶ εἰς κάδον τινὰ ἐμπεσόντος, "ὁ λάκκος, ἔφη, εἰς τὸν κάδον ἐμπέπτωκεν." ἐπιδόντος δέ τινος οἶνον ἐν ψυκτηριδίῳ μικρὸν[7] καὶ

[1] Bergler: ἐρωτικὰ A. [2] ἐρωτικά added by Jacobs.
[3] ἢ deleted by Kaibel. [4] γυνή τοι Porson: γυνὴ τὸ A.
[5] σώματος Grotius: σῶμα A. ἔχει γυνὴ τὸ σῶμ' ἂν' ἀργίαν Peppink. [6] Schweighäuser: τ' A, om. CE (χαριέντος C).
[7] ἐν ψυκτηρίῳ μικρῷ CE.

[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 164.
[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 766. The words resume what is said of the courtesan's education, 583 f end.

repartee. There were other courtesans also who thought very highly of themselves, going in for culture and apportioning their time to learned studies; hence they also were quick in making answers. For example, Stilpo was once accusing Glycera, while they were drinking together, of corrupting the young men, as Satyrus tells[a] in his *Lives*, when Glycera interrupted: "We both fall under the same charge, Stilpo. For they say that you corrupt all who meet you by teaching them good-for-nothing, eristic sophistries, while I in like manner teach them erotic. It makes no difference, therefore, to people who are ruined and injured, whether they live in the company of a philosopher or of a courtesan." In fact, as Agathon says[b]: "Truly a woman, just because she is inactive in body, need not for that reason carry an inactive mind within her."

Lynceus has recorded many of Gnathaena's retorts. To a parasite who was kept by an old woman and who was stout of body, Gnathaena said, "Your body is in very nice condition, laddie." "What, then, do you think it would be if I didn't have another bedfellow to sleep with?" "You would have died of famine."[c] When Pausanias, the "Tank,"[d] fell into a jar as he was dancing she said, "The tank has fallen into the jar." When some one poured into her cup, which was small,[e] some small

[a] *i.e.* Gnathaena had no notion of feeding him herself (Capps).

[d] So called either with reference to his drinking capacity or to his λακκοπρωκτία.

[e] Here the cup is a small specimen of the class known as "cooler," Athen. 502 d (vol. v. p. 250). The wine itself was thin and cheap (μικρός), *cf.* "small beer"; below, 585 e.

c εἰπόντος ὅτι ἑκκαιδεκαέτης, "μικρός γε, ἔφη, ὡς τοσούτων ἐτῶν." νεανίσκων δέ τινων παρὰ πότου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τυπτόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἡττώμενον "θάρρει,[1] παιδίον· οὐ γὰρ στεφανίτης ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀργυρίτης." ὡς δ' ὁ τὴν μνᾶν τῇ θυγατρὶ δοὺς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ἐφοίτα μόνον, "παιδίον, ἔφη, ὥσπερ πρὸς Ἱππόμαχον τὸν παιδοτρίβην μνᾶν δοὺς οἴει αἰεὶ φοιτήσειν;" Φρύνης δὲ πικρότερον εἰπούσης αὐτῇ "εἰ δὲ λίθον, ἔφη, εἶχες," "ἀποψήσασθαι ἄν σοι ἔδωκα." ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ἡ μὲν αἰτίαν ἔχουσα d λιθιᾶν, ἡ δὲ κοιλίαν προπετεστέραν ἔχειν. τῶν δὲ πινόντων παρ' αὐτῇ συμβαλλομένων[2] εἰς βολβοφακῆν καὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἐν τῷ καθαίρειν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐμβαλλομένης τῶν φακῶν, ἡ Γνάθαινα ἔφη "κολποφακῆν διανοεῖται ποιεῖν." Ἀνδρονίκου δὲ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ ἀπ' ἀγῶνός τινος, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους[3] εὐημερήκει, πίνειν μέλλοντος παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς κελεύοντος τὴν Γνάθαιναν προαναλῶσαι "ὀλόμενε παίδων, ἔφη, ποῖον εἴρηκας λόγον." πρὸς δὲ ἀδολέσχην τινὰ διηγούe μενον ὅτι παραγέγονεν ἀφ' Ἑλλησπόντου "πῶς

[1] A: θάρσει CE.
[2] Madvig: βαλλομένων ACE.
[3] τοῖς Ἐπιγόνοις Dobree: τοὺς Ἐ. ὑποκρινόμενος Meineke.

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[a] *Cf.* Athen. 522 d (vol. v. p. 354). But here the prize is paid for by the victor.

[b] The article shows that the mina was the regular fee for a single assignation with her.

[c] When a boy he won a victory in boxing at Olympia, Pausan. vi. 12. 6, *cf.* Aelian, *V.H.* ii. 6.

[d] See above, 578 c, where this story is told of Mania.

[e] On the floor or the table. On bulbs as food see 63 d

wine, with the remark that it was sixteen years old, she said, "It's small indeed, considering how many years old it is." When some lads in their cups had come to blows with each other in a quarrel over her, she said to the one who was beaten, "Cheer up, kid; for the prize of this contest is not laurel, but silver."[a] Since the man who had paid the pound[b] to her daughter failed to bring any more, but still kept coming to her empty-handed she said, "Kid, do you think you can keep on coming to her as you would to Hippomachus[c] the athletic trainer, when you have paid only a pound?" Once Phrynê[d] said rather sourly to her, "Suppose you had the stone?" She retorted, "I'd have given it to you to wipe yourself with." For it so happened that one of them was reputed to have the stone, while the other was said to suffer from diarrhoea. When the men who were drinking in her house crashed into a dish of bulbs and lentils, the slave girl, while cleaning it up,[e] thrust some of the lentils into her bosom, at which Gnathaena remarked, "She's planning to make a dish of bosom-lentils." Andronicus, the tragic actor,[f] after a performance of the *Epigoni*[g] in which he had won applause, proposed to have a drinking-bout in her house; when his slave bade Gnathaena to pay the expenses in advance she quoted,[h] "Cursed slave, what word hast thou spoken!" To a garrulous person who was relating that he had come all the way from the Hellespont she

note *a* (vol. i. p. 277). The pun (bolbo-, kolpo-) is only a jingle, like many in Aristophanes. [f] Above, 581 c.

[g] The seven sons of the Seven against Thebes who succeeded where their fathers had failed. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote plays entitled *Epigoni*.

[h] *T.G.F.*[2] 837, from an unknown tragedian.

οὖν, φησίν, εἰς τὴν πρώτην πόλιν οὐχ ἥκες τῶν ἐκεῖ;" τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος "εἰς ποίαν;" "εἰς Σίγειον"[1] εἶπεν. εἰσελθόντος δέ τινος ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδόντος ἐπί τινος ἀγγείου ὠὰ εἰπόντος τε "ὠμὰ ταῦτα, Γνάθαινα, ἢ ἑφθά;" "ἔγχαλκα,[2] ἔφη, παιδίον." Χαιρεφῶντος δ' ἀκλήτου ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθόντος, προπιοῦσα ποτήριον αὐτῷ ἡ Γνάθαινα "λαβέ,[3] ἔφησεν, ὑπερήφανε." καὶ ὃς "ἐγὼ ὑπερήφανος;" "τίς δὲ μᾶλλον," εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα,
f "ὃς οὐδὲ καλούμενος ἔρχῃ;" Νικὼ δὲ ἡ Αἶξ ἐπικαλουμένη, φησὶν ὁ Λυγκεύς, παρασίτου τινὸς ἀπαντήσαντος λεπτοῦ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας, "ὡς ἰσχνός" ἔφη. "τί γὰρ οἴει με ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καταβεβρωκέναι;" "ἤτοι τὴν λήκυθον, ἔφη, ἢ τὰ ὑποδήματα."[4]

Μετάνειρα δὲ ἡ ἑταίρα, Δημοκλέους τοῦ παρασίτου Λαγυνίωνος ἐπίκλην καταπεσόντος ἔν τινι κονιάματι, "καὶ γὰρ σύ, φησί, σαυτὸν ἔδωκας οὐ ψῆφοι εἰσίν." διαπηδῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον κλίνην "πρόσεχε, φησί, μὴ ἀνατραπῇς."
585 τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ Ἡγήσανδρος. Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευμάτων "Γνάθαιναν, φησί, δύο ἐμισθώσαντο, στρατιώτης καὶ μαστιγίας· ἀναγωγότερον οὖν τοῦ στρατιώτου

[1] E: σιγιον A.
[2] ἔγχαλκα C: ἔν χαλκα A, ἐγχάλκεα E.
[3] λαβέ edd.: λάβε AC.
[4] Casaubon: ὑποματα A.

[a] Punning on *sigê* "silence," quasi "Stilton."
[b] *i.e.* they will cost you copper farthings (χαλκοῖ).
[c] The parasite (vol. ii. p. 116 *et passim*).
[d] She twists the negative so as to refer it to ἔρχῃ instead of to καλούμενος. She means "You come even uninvited."
[e] Above, 582 e, *cf.* 220 f (vol. ii. p. 498).

said, "How, then, did you fail to reach the first town on that route?" He asked, "Which town?" She said, "Sigeium."[a] Once a man who entered her house saw some eggs on a platter and asked, "Are these raw, Gnathaena, or boiled?" She said, "They are bronzed,[b] laddie." When Chaerephon[c] came to dinner uninvited, Gnathaena pledged a cup to him and said, "Take it, proud man." And he, "I, *proud*?" "Who more so," said Gnathaena, "seeing that you don't even come invited?"[d] Nicô, the woman who was nicknamed She-Goat,[e] as Lynceus says, met a parasite who was thin as a result of illness and said to him, "How skinny you are!" "Why, yes; what do you think I have had to eat in the last three days?" "Either your oil bottle," she said, "or your shoes."

The courtesan Metaneira, when the parasite Democles, nicknamed Hardbottle,[f] tumbled into a heap of plaster,[g] said to him, "Really, you have consigned yourself to a place where there are plenty of pebbles." And when he leaped across to the neighbouring couch she said, "Look out that you don't get upset."[h] This is recorded by Hegesander.[i] And Aristodemus, in the second book of his *Ludicrous Memoirs*, says[j] of Gnathaena: "Two men, a soldier and a jail-bird, engaged her services; the soldier very

[f] On the λάγυνος see Athen. 499 b (vol. v. p. 228).

[g] Plaster (or stucco) contained small pebbles (ψῆφοι), often used as judges' ballots or money-changers' counters. Democles was insolvent and had been adjudged a bankrupt.

[h] Punning on the other sense of ἀνατρέπεσθαι "go broke," "become bankrupt," Demosth. xix. 198, *cf.* Andoc. xvii. 10.

[i] *F.H.G.* iv. 419.

[j] *F.H.G.* iii. 310. What follows (to 585 f) may possibly belong to Aristodemus.

λάκκον αὐτὴν εἰπόντος 'πῶς; ἔφησεν· ἢ ὅτι δύο ποταμοὶ ἐμβάλλετέ μοι,[1] Λύκος καὶ Ἐλεύθερος;' ἐπὶ δέ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Γναθαίνης πτωχῶν ἐραστῶν κωμαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κατασκάψειν τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐνηνοχέναι γὰρ δικέλλας καὶ[2] ἅμας, 'εἰ[3] ταῦτ' εἴχεθ' ὑμεῖς,' εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα, 'ἐνέχυρα θέντες τὸ μίσθωμα ἂν ἀπεστείλατε.'"
b ἐμμελὴς δ' ἦν πάνυ ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστειος ἀποφθέγξασθαι[4]· ἥτις καὶ νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν, καθ' ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εἰσιέναι, κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν τά τοιαῦτα συνταξαμένων φιλοσόφων. ἀνέγραψε δ' αὐτὸν Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν Νόμων καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τήνδε παρέθετο· "ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὅμοιος," στίχων τριακοσίων εἴκοσι τριῶν.

Καλλίστιον δέ τὴν ἐπικληθεῖσαν Πτωχελένην
c μαστιγίας ἐμισθώσατο. θέρους δὲ ὄντος ἐπεὶ γυμνὸς κατέκειτο, τοὺς τύπους τῶν πληγῶν ἰδοῦσα "πόθεν οὗτοι, τάλαν;" εἶπε. καὶ ὃς "παιδὸς ὄντος μου ζωμὸς κατεχύθη." ἡ δὲ "δηλαδὴ μόσχειος."[5] Μενάνδρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ δυσημερήσαντι καὶ εἰσελθόντι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Γλυκέρα προσενέγκασα

[1] ποταμώ ἐμβάλλετόν μοι C, ποταμοὶ ἐμβάλλετον E.
[2] καί added by Schweighäuser. [3] ἀλλ' εἰ Musurus.
[4] Meineke: φθέγξασθαι ACE.
[5] CE: μόσχιοσ A.

[a] The word λάκκος may mean any kind of reservoir, from a cistern to a lake. Here, of course, it is opprobrious.

[b] Rivers or torrents so named (especially Λύκος) were known in Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, Strabo 753, 755. Pliny, *N.H.* v. 27. 22.

[c] Apparently the same as the θυγατριδῆ of 581 a (p. 135).

rudely called her a lake,[a] at which she asked, 'Just how do you mean? Is it because you two streams empty into me,—the Wolf River and the Free River?'[b] Some indigent lovers assailed in drunken revel the daughter[c] of Gnathaena, threatening to demolish her house; for, said they, they had brought mattocks and picks. 'If you really had them,' said Gnathaena, 'you might have put them in pawn and so sent us our pay.'" For Gnathaena was very adept and humorous in making reply; she had, in fact, compiled a *Rule for Dining in Company* (which lovers who came to her and to her daughter must follow) in imitation of the philosophers who have drawn up similar rules. Callimachus has recorded[d] it in the third "tablet" of his *Rules*, citing the beginning of it as follows: "The Rule here written down is equal and fair for all"—three hundred and twenty-three lines.[e]

Callistion, she who was nicknamed Beggar-Helen, was once engaged by a jail-bird.[f] It being summer, he lay down stripped so that she saw the marks of flogging and asked, "How did you get these, you poor wretch?" He replied, "When I was a lad some hot broth was spilled on me." She said, "Obviously veal-broth."[g] The poet Menander having met with bad luck[h] entered the house of

[a] Frag. 100 d 25, A. W. Mair (L.C.L.) p. 12, *cf.* Athen. 244 a (vol. iii. p. 96), Birt, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* 11.

[c] For such stichometric notes, convenient for librarians and booksellers, see Birt, *Ant. Buchwesen*, 162 ff., 168, 337.

[f] Lit. "a man who has been flogged."

[g] Referring to whip-thongs of calf leather. *Cf.* above, 580 b (p. 131).

[h] Presumably in a dramatic contest, *cf.* εὐημερήκει above, 584 d.

γάλα παρεκάλει ῥοφῆσαι· ὁ δ' "οὐ θέλω" εἶπεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐφεστηκυῖα γραῦς αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ "ἀποφύσα, εἶπε, καὶ τῷ κάτω χρῷ." Θαΐς[1] ἐραστοῦ τινος
d αὐτῆς ἀλαζόνος παρὰ πολλῶν ποτήρια χρησαμένου καὶ λέγοντος θέλειν ταῦτα συγκόψαι, ἄλλα δὲ κατασκευάσαι, "ἀπολεῖς, ἔφη, ἑκάστου τὸ ἴδιον." Λεόντιον[2] κατακειμένη μετ' ἐραστοῦ, ἐπεισελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον Γλυκέρας καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ αὐτῆς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον προσέχοντος, κατάστυγνος ἦν. ὡς δ' ἐπιστρέψας ὁ γνώριμος αὐτὴν ἠρώτησε τί λυπεῖται, "ἡ ὑστέρα με λυπεῖ" ἔφη. πρὸς Λαΐδα τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐραστὴς ἀποσφράγισμα πέμψας ἐκέλευε παραγίνεσθαι. ἡ δ' "οὐ δύναμαι" εἶπε·
e "πηλός ἐστι." Θαΐς πρὸς γράσωνα πορευομένη ἐραστήν, ἐπεί τις αὐτὴν ἠρώτα[3] ποῦ πορεύεται, εἶπεν· "Αἰγεῖ συνοικήσουσα τῷ Παυδίονος." Φρύνη συνδειπνοῦσά ποτε γράσωνι ἄρασα[4] φορίνην "λαβέ,[5] εἶπε, καὶ ταῦτα τράγε."[6] πέμψαντος δέ τινος αὐτῇ τῶν γνωρίμων οἶνον χρηστὸν μέν, ὀλίγον δέ, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι δεκαέτης ἐστίν, "μικρὸς ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν" ἔφη. ζητουμένου δὲ ἕν τινι συμποσίῳ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οἱ στέφανοι κρήμνανται,[7]

[1] A: θαΐς δὲ E, λαΐς δὲ C.
[2] λεόντιον δὲ CE.
[3] A: ἤρετο CE.
[4] CE: ἄιρασα A. [5] λάβε AC.
[6] καὶ ταῦτα τράγε Meineke: καὶ κατάτραγε ACE.
[7] κρημνανται A: κρέμανται CE.

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[a] Dalechamps explains: ne specta faciem, reliquo corpore utere, since γραῦς (here "scum") also means old woman.

[b] Without supplying a worthy substitute.

[c] The word ὑστέρα also means uterus. On Leontion see below, 588 b (p. 171), 593 b (p. 199).

Glycera, who brought him some boiled milk and urged him to drink it down. But he said, "I don't want it." For there was scum on the top of it. She said, "Blow it off and use what's underneath." [a] To a bragging lover who had borrowed cups from many persons and who said that he wanted to smash them up and make others of them, Thaïs said, "You will only spoil the peculiar character of each." [b] Leontion was reclining at dinner with a lover when Glycera came into the symposium later; and when the lover paid more devoted attention to her, Leontion looked downcast. Her friend, turning toward her, asked what pained her. She replied, "The last comer [c] gives me a pain!" A lover once sent his seal to Laïs of Corinth with the command to attend him. But she said, "I can't; it's only clay." [d] Thaïs was once on her way to a lover who smelt like a goat, and when some one asked her where she was going she said [e]: "To stay with Aegeus the son of Pandion." Phrynê, dining once with a man who smelt like a goat, picked up a piece of skin from a pig and said, "Take that and eat it." [f] When one of her friends sent her some wine which, though good, was small in quantity, explaining that it was ten years old, she said, "Small indeed, considering how many years old it is." [g] A question being raised at a drinking-party why people

[a] *i.e.* he should have sent a gem or cash. There may also be a reference to the mire in the streets, Herodas i. 14, *cf.* Theocr. xv. 4-9.

[e] The words of Medea to Jason, Eur. *Med.* 1385. She pronounced the dative of Aegeus (*Aigei*) like that of αἴξ (goat), *aigi*.

[f] The words also mean, with a different intonation, "Take that too, you he-goat."

[g] Above, 584 e.

εἶπεν "ὅτι ψυχαγωγοῦσιν." μαστιγίου δέ τινος μειρακιευομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φαμένου πολλαῖς
f συμπεπλέχθαι, καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἐσκυθρώπασεν. ἐπερωτήσαντος[1] δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν "ὀργίζομαί σοι, εἶπεν, ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχεις." φιλάργυρος δέ τις ἐραστὴς ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὴν εἶπεν "Ἀφροδίσιον εἶ Πραξιτέλους·" ἡ δὲ "σὺ δ' Ἔρως Φειδίου."

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἶδά τινας μνημονεύοντας αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ ἀπολογουμένους, μνησθήσομαι καὶ τούτων. Δημοσθένης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος Σινώπης
586 μέμνηται καὶ Φανοστράτης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Σινώπης Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος[2] ἐν ς'[3] Κωμῳδουμένων φησὶν ὅτι Ἄβυδος ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ γραῦς εἶναι. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκάδι καὶ ἐν Κηπουρῷ, ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ, ἐν Ἁλιευομένῃ, ἐν Νεοττίδι, καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Κλεοβουλίνῃ καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐν Μοσχίωνι. περὶ δὲ τῆς Φανοστράτης Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν

[1] A: ἐρομένου CE. [2] κρατήτιος A.
[3] ἐν γ' Harpocr. s. Σινώπη; see Dindorf's note *ad loc.*

[a] Wreaths were used in the cult of the dead, they also charm the souls of the living. The question is a typical *ζήτημα* of the Stoics; Athen. 553 e-554 b (vol. v. pp. 514-518), 670 a-e, Rohde, *Roman*[3] 62.

[b] The feminine *πολλαῖς* "many" can refer either to women (*γυναιξί*) or to blows (*πληγαῖς*). Her answer implies the latter.

[c] The name Praxiteles means "exacting a price"; Pheidias, "saving one's money."

[d] This account, extending to 593 a, was once longer, as

hang up wreaths, she said "Because they lure the spirits."[a] A certain jail-bird tried to tease her by saying that he had been embraced by many,[b] whereupon she affected to be downcast. When he asked her the reason she said "I am provoked at you for having so many." A stingy lover, by way of flattery, said to her, "You are Praxiteles' little Aphroditê." She retorted, "You are Pheidias's Cupid."[c]

Inasmuch as I know, too, of some statesmen who mention courtesans either by way of accusation or of defence, I will quote the statesmen also.[d] Demosthenes, for example, in his *Speech against Androtion* mentions[e] Sinopê and Phanostratê. Concerning Sinopê Herodicus, of the school of Crates, says in the sixth book of his *Persons mentioned in Comedy* that she was called Abydus because she was an old hag.[f] She is mentioned also by Antiphanes in *The Arcadian*,[g] *The Gardener*,[h] *The Sempstress*,[i] *She goes a-fishing*,[j] and *The Chick*[k]; by Alexis in *Cleobulinê*,[l] and by Callicrates in *Moschion*.[m] Concerning Phanostratê Apollodorus in his work *On the Athenian Courtesans*

appears from those articles in Harpocration's *Lexicon* which deal with the women here mentioned; see H. Schultz in P.-W. vii. 2415.

[e] *Or.* xxii. 56, *ἀνθρώπους πόρνας*. Sinopê's depravity gave rise to the verb *σινωπίσαι*, Hesych. *s.v.*, *cf.* Suid., Phot. *s.* Σινώπη. See Athen. 339 a (vol. iv. p. 37 note *d*).

[f] Her name, Sinopê, was also that of a prosperous town on the Black Sea. In her old age the woman was jokingly called Abydus, the name of another town, at this time in a state of decay, Athen. 524 f (vol. v. p. 366), with which various unpleasant things were associated. *Cf.* (*e.g.*) Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, Athen. 641 a, of irksome harbour-dues.

[g] Kock ii. 27. Athen. 444 b (vol. iv. p. 512) gives the title as *Arcadia* (or *Woman of Arcadia*).

[h] Kock ii. 57. [i] Kock ii. 18. [j] Kock ii. 20.
[k] Kock ii. 80. [l] Kock ii. 333. [m] Kock ii. 416.

Ἑταιρίδων ὅτι Φθειροπύλη ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας[1] ἑστῶσα ἐφθειρίζετο. Ὑπερείδης[2] δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας φησί· "καὶ πάλιν τὰς Ἀφύας καλουμένας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαλέσατε."
b ἑταιρῶν ἐπωνυμίαι[3] αἱ ἀφύαι, περὶ ὧν ὁ προειρημένος Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι· "Σταγόνιον καὶ Ἄνθις ἀδελφαί· αὗται Ἀφύαι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι λευκαὶ καὶ λεπταὶ οὖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μεγάλους εἶχον." Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν Νικοστρατίδα φησὶν Ἀφύην ἐπικληθῆναι[4] διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ὑπερείδης[5] ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μαντιθέου αἰκίας περὶ Γλυκέρας τάδε λέγει· "ἄγων Γλυκέραν
c τε τὴν Θαλασσίδος, ζεῦγος ἔχων." ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ Ἁρπάλῳ συνοῦσα· περὶ ἧς φησιν Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Χίας Ἐπιστολῆς, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τῆς Πυθιονίκης θάνατον ὁ Ἅρπαλος μετεπέμψατο τὴν Γλυκέραν Ἀθήνηθεν· ἣν καὶ ἐλθοῦσαν οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην· ἀπειρῆσθαί τε πᾶσι[6] μὴ στεφανοῦν Ἅρπαλον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ Γλυκέραν στεφανῶσιν. ἐν Ῥωσσῷ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν αὐτῆς ἱστάναι τολμῆσαι[7] παρὰ τὴν[8] ἑαυτοῦ. τὰ ὅμοια δ' εἴρηκε καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν ταῖς

[1] θύρασ A Harpocr. s. Φανοστράτη: πύλης CE.
[2] ὑπερίδησ ACE.
[3] ἐπωνυμία Musurus.
[4] CE (ἐπεκλ- C): κληθῆναι A.
[5] ὑπερίδησ A.
[6] πᾶσι CE: ἐπὶ πᾶσι A.
[7] Casaubon: ἑστάναι τολμῆσαι A, στῆσαι ἐτόλμησε(ν) CE.
[8] παρὰ τὴν edd.: παρ' αὐτὴν A, παρὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν Jacoby.

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[a] J. 2 B 1105, P.-W. i. 2863. On lice in antiquity see Dr. Hans Zinsser's engaging book, *Rats, Lice and History*, Boston, 1935.

says [a] that she was nicknamed *Louse-Gate* because she picked lice from herself as she stood at her door. Hypereides says in the *Speech against Aristagora* [b]: "And again, the women who are called 'Anchovies' —you called her by the same name." "Anchovies" is a name given to courtesans, of whom Apollodorus, whom I have just quoted, says [c]: "Stagonion and Anthis were sisters; they were called Anchovies because they were of light colour, thin, and had large eyes." And Antiphanes in his work *On Courtesans* [d] says that Nicostratis was nicknamed Anchovy for the same reason. Hypereides, again, in the *Speech against Mantitheus*, in an action for assault, has this to say about Glycera [e]: "Taking with him Glycera, daughter of Thalassis,[f] in a chariot and pair." It is uncertain whether she is the Glycera who lived with Harpalus; of her Theopompus says,[g] in his treatise *On the Chian Letter*, that after the death of Pythionicê Harpalus summoned Glycera from Athens; on her arrival she took up her residence in the palace at Tarsus and had obeisance done to her by the populace, being hailed as queen; further, all persons were forbidden to honour Harpalus with a crown unless they also gave a crown to Glycera. In Rhossus they even went so far as to set up an image of her in bronze beside his own.[h] The like is recorded also by Clei-

[b] Blass[3] 98, Kenyon frag. 24, Harpocr. *s.* Ἀφύας.
[c] J. 2 B 1105. [d] Above, 567 a (p. 62).
[e] Blass[3] 116, Kenyon, frag. 121.
[f] *i.e.* the sea-woman; below, 595 d (p. 208).
[g] *F.H.G.* i. 325, J. 2 B 590, G. and H. 245. The title as given can hardly be right; Schweighäuser conjectured *In his Letters concerning Chios*. On Pythionicê see below, 594 e (p. 204).
[h] Perhaps "and Alexander's" should be added; see critical note 8.

d περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστορίαις. ὁ δὲ γράψας τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον, εἴτε Πύθων ἐστὶν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, φησίν·

καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἅρπαλον
αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας
σίτου παραπέμψαι[1] καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.
B. Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται δ' ἴσως
αὐτοῖσιν[2] ὀλέθρου κοὐχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβών.

e Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λαΐδα, εἴ γε[3] γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τούτων μνημονεύει· "Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι νέα οὖσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἱππάφεσις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἄνθεια." μήποτε δὲ δεῖ γράφειν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀνθείας Ἄντειαν.[4] οὐ γὰρ εὑρίσκομεν παρ' οὐδενὶ Ἄνθειαν ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑταίραν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀντείας[5] καὶ ὅλον δρᾶμα ἐπιγραφόμενον, ὡς προεῖπον, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἄντειά[6] ἐστιν. καὶ ὁ τὸν κατὰ Νεαίρας δὲ λόγον γράψας μνημονεύει αὐτῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Φιλωνίδου βιαίων ὁ Λυσίας, εἰ
f γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, καὶ Ναΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας μέμνηται, κἂν τῷ πρὸς Μέδοντα ψευδομαρτυριῶν Ἀντικύρας.[7] ἐπώνυμον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἑταίρας· τὸ γὰρ κύριον ἦν Οἴα,[8] ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης[9] εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑται-

[1] διαπέμψαι Athen. 596 b.
[2] 596 b: αὐτοῖσ A.
[3] γε deleted by Kaibel.
[4] Harpocr. s. Ἄνθεια: ἄντιαν A.
[5] ἀντίας A.
[6] ἀντια (sic) A.
[7] Ἀντικύρας added by Schweighäuser, cf. Harpocr. s. Ἀντίκυρα.
[8] οἷα A.
[9] A, Harpocr. codd.: Ἀντιφάνης Musurus.

[4] Scr. Alex. Mag. 83, J. 2 B 750.

tarchus in his *Histories of Alexander.*[a] The author of *Agên*, the little satyric drama, whether it be Python of Catana or King Alexander himself, says[b]: "A. And yet I hear that Harpalus has sent over to them[c] thousands of bushels of grain, as many as Agên sent, and so was made a citizen. B. This grain was Glycera's, but it will doubtless turn out to be their death-warrant, and not merely a whore's earnest money."

Lysias in the *Speech against Laïs*, if it is really genuine, mentions these courtesans[d]: "Philyra, at least, ceased whoring when still a young woman, and so did Scionê, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathê, Lagisca, and Antheia." Perhaps for Antheia we should write Anteia. For we cannot find in any author the name Antheia recorded as that of a courtesan, whereas from Anteia an entire play takes its title, as I have said above,[e] the *Anteia* of Eunicus or Philyllius. And the writer of the *Speech against Neaera* also mentions her.[f] In the *Speech against Philonides*, an action for forcible seizure, Lysias, if it be genuine, mentions[g] also the courtesan Naïs, and in that *Against Medon*, an action for perjury, Anticyra. Now this was an epithet given to the courtesan; for her real name was Oia, as Aristophanes[h] says in his work *On Courtesans*,

[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 810; below, 596 a-b, and 50 f (vol. i. p. 222). Of Agên nothing is known; Olivieri, cited below, 595 e (p. 210), thinks he may have been an importer of grain at Athens.

[c] The Athenians.

[d] Thalheim 365; below, 592 e (p. 195).

[e] 567 c (p. 65).

[f] Ps.-Demosth. *Or.* lix. 19, above, 570 e (p. 83), 573 b (p. 95).

[g] Thalheim 375.

[h] Of Byzantium. See crit. note 9 and above, 567 a (p. 63), Harpocr. *s.* Ἀντίκυρα.

ρῶν, Ἀντικύραν[1] αὐτὴν φάσκων κληθῆναι ἤτοι ὅτι συνέπινε παρακινοῦσι καὶ μεμηνόσιν ἢ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἰατρὸς Νικόστρατος ἀποθνήσκων[2] κατέλιπεν αὐτῇ πολὺν ἐλλέβορον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους[3] Εἰρηνίδος ἑταίρας μέμνηται ὡς ἑταιρούσης τῷ Λεωκράτει.
587 Ναννίου δὲ Ὑπερείδης[4] μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. αὕτη δὲ ὅτι Αἴξ ἐπεκαλεῖτο προείπομεν, διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κάπηλον ἐξαναλῶσαι. ὅτι δὲ θαλλῷ χαίρουσιν αἱ αἶγες, διόπερ οὐδ' εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἄνεισι τὸ ζῷον οὐδ' ὅλως Ἀθηνᾷ θύεται διὰ τοῦτο, ἄλλος ἔσται[5] λόγος. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ποιμέσιν ὅτι θαλλοφαγεῖ τὸ ζῷόν φησιν οὕτως·

ἑωθινὸς γάρ, πρίν τιν' αὐλιτῶν[6] ὁρᾶν,
θαλλὸν χιμαίρᾳ προσφέρων νεοσπάδα[7]
b εἶδον[8] στρατὸν στείχοντα παραλίαν ἄκραν.[9]

μνημονεύει τῆς[10] Ναννίου καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Ταραντίνοις οὕτως·

Νάννιον δὲ μαίνεται
ἐπὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ,

κωμῳδῶν αὐτὴν ὡς μέθυσον.[11] Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ψευδηρακλεῖ φησιν·

οὐκ ἐπείρα Νάννιον;

Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν "Προσκήνιον,

[1] ἀντικυραν A.
[2] CE: καὶ ἀποθνήσκων A.
[3] λεοκράτουσ A.
[4] ὑπερίδησ ACE.
[5] ἐστὶ (?) Kaibel.
[6] Bekker: αὐλητῶν A, Harpocr. s. Νάννιον.
[7] Casaubon: νέοσ παῖδα A, νεόπαιδα Harpocr.
[8] Musurus: ἴδον A.
[9] πέτραν Harpocr.
[10] Musurus: μνημονευτὴσ A.

alleging that she was called Anticyra [a] either because she joined the drinking-bouts of men who were insane with passion, or because the physician Nicostratus took her up and at his death bequeathed to her a large quantity of hellebore, but nothing else. Lycurgus, further, in his *Speech against Leocrates*, mentions [b] a courtesan named Eirenis as one who was kept by Leocrates. As for Nannion, Hypereides mentions [c] her in the *Speech against Patrocles*. That she was nicknamed Goat because she had wasted the substance of Sprout the huckster we have stated above.[d] Now that she-goats enjoy a green branch, for which reason the creature is not allowed to range on the Acropolis and consequently is never sacrificed to Athena at all, will be a matter for another discussion. Sophocles, at least, says in *The Shepherds* that the creature is a branch-eater in these words [e]: "Early in the morning, indeed, before I could see any of the farmer-folk about, I was offering a fresh-cut branch to a she-goat when I saw an army marching along the height by the sea." Nannion is mentioned also by Alexis in *The Tarentines* thus [f]: "And Nannion is mad over Dionysus," thus satirizing her as a drunken tippler. Also Menander in *Sham-Heracles* says [g]: "Did he not try to rape Nannion?" Antiphanes in his work *On Courtesans* says: "Nannion

[a] Anticyra or anticyricon also meant hellebore, said to come from three towns so named; tribus Anticyris caput insanabile, Hor. *A.P.* 300.

[b] Chap. 17.

[c] Blass[3] 119, Kenyon 141.

[d] 582 e (p. 143), J. 2 B 1105, of Nicô, not Nannion. But see Harpocr. *s.* Νάννιον.

[e] *T.G.F.*[2] 242.

[f] Kock ii. 379.

[g] Kock iii. 150.

[11] Musurus: μεθυσσαν A.

φησίν, ἐπεκαλεῖτο ἡ Νάννιον, ὅτι πρόσωπόν τε ἀστεῖον εἶχε καὶ ἐχρῆτο χρυσίοις[1] καὶ ἱματίοις πολυτελέσι, ἐκδῦσα δὲ ἦν αἰσχροτάτη. ἦν δὲ Κορώνη[2] τῆς Ναννίου[3] θυγάτηρ, τὸ τῆς Τήθης
c ἀναφέρουσα ἐκ τριπορνείας ὄνομα." καὶ Νεμεάδος δὲ τῆς αὐλητρίδος[4] Ὑπερείδης[5] μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. περὶ ἧς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν πῶς περιεῖδον Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως προσαγορευομένην τὴν πόρνην, πανηγύρεως ἐνδοξοτάτης ὀνόματι κεχρημένην· ἐκεκώλυτο[6] γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι ὀνόματα οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἑταιρούσαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δούλαις,[7] ὥς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως. καὶ Ὠκίμου δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, ὡς σὺ φής, Κύνουλκε, καὶ Ὑπερείδης[8] μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ
d Ἀρισταγόρας β' λέγων οὕτως· "ὥστε Λαῖς μὲν ἡ δοκοῦσα πασῶν[9] τῶν πώποτε διενηνοχέναι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Ὠκιμον καὶ Μετάνειρα[10] . . ." Νικόστρατος δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐν Πανδρόσῳ οὑτωσὶ λέγων·

[1] Meineke: χρυσεοισ A, χρυσοῖς CE.
[2] Schweighäuser: κορώνησ A.
[3] Musurus: ἀννίου A.
[4] CE Harpocr. s. Νεμέας: αὐλητρίασ A.
[5] ὑπερίδησ ACE.
[6] κεκώλυτο ACE.
[7] τὰς ἄλλας δούλας C.
[8] ὑπερίδησ A.
[9] πασῶν added by Kaibel.
[10] Schweighäuser: μετάνειραν A.

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[a] *Cf.* Harpocr. *s.* Νάννιον, who says that her name, Proscenium, arose διὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν εὐμορφοτέραν εἶναι, "because she was prettier on the outside."

[b] The same name for a hetaera above, 583 a, e.

was nicknamed Proscenium because, although she had a pretty face and wore gold jewelry and expensive clothes, when she stripped she was very ugly.[a] Now there was a daughter of Nannion named Coronê (Crow)[b] who acquired the name Grandmother because she was a whore throughout three generations."[c] Again, Nemeas the flute-girl is mentioned by Hypereides in the *Speech against Patrocles*.[d] Concerning her one may rightly wonder how the Athenians permitted the whore to be so called, since the name she had assumed was that of a highly-revered festival; for the adoption of such names as these had been forbidden, not only to women practising prostitution, but also to other women of the slave class, as Polemon declares[e] in his work *On the Acropolis*. And my own Ocimon, as you call her, Cynulcus,[f] is mentioned by Hypereides in the second *Speech against Aristagora*, in these words[g]: "Wherefore Laïs, who was reputed to excel in looks all women who had ever yet lived, and Ocimon, and Metaneira, . . ." Also Nicostratus, the poet of the Middle Comedy, in *Pandrosus*, speaking as follows[h]: "After that,

[a] *Cf.* τρίπορνος below, 595 b. But "triple whoredom," the literal translation of τριπορνεία, may be an intensive expression, or it may refer to the inherited practice of her trade. The MS. reading Κορώνης (for Κορώνη) gives "there was a daughter of Coronê, the daughter of Nannion, who acquired," etc. But this makes the woman a granddaughter, not a grandmother.

[d] Blass[2] fr. 168, Kenyon 13.

[e] Preller 38. The name Isthmias, derived from the Isthmian Games, occurs below, 587 e (p. 169), 593 f (p. 203). For the nymph Nemea see Athen. 534 d (vol. v. p. 414).

[f] Myrtilus, the speaker (571 a, p. 85), refers to 567 c (p. 65). He was a Thessalian (vol. i. p. 48, vol. iii. p. 384).

[g] Blass[2] 119, Kenyon 142. [h] Kock ii. 225.

ἔπειτα[1] τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ
πρὸς Ἀερόπην ἐλθοῦσα πέμψαι στρώματα
αὐτὴν κέλευε, φησί,[2] καὶ παρ' Ὠκίμου[3]
χαλκώματα.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κόλακι τάσδε καταλέγει ἑταίρας·

e Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην, Ἀντίκυραν, Ἰσχάδα,
καὶ Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας ὡραίαν[4] σφόδρα.

Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυναγίδι·

οὐχὶ Κερκώπη μὲν ἤδη γέγον'[5] ἔτη τρισχίλια,
ἡ δὲ Διοπείθους ἀηδὴς Τέλεσις[6] ἕτερα μυρία;
Θεολύτην δ' οὐδ'[7] οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον
ἐγένετο.
οὐχὶ Λαῖς μὲν τελευτῶσ' ἀπέθανεν βινουμένη,
Ἰσθμιὰς δὲ καὶ Νέαιρα κατασέσηπε καὶ Φίλα;
f Κοσσύφας[8] δὲ καὶ Γαλήνας[9] καὶ Κορώνας οὐ
λέγω·
περὶ δὲ Ναΐδος σιωπῶ· γομφίους γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει.

Θεόφιλος Φιλαύλῳ·

τοῦ μή ποτ' αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς Λαΐδα
φερόμενον ἢ Μηκωνίδ' ἢ Σισύμβριον
ἢ Βάραθρον ἢ Θάλλουσαν[10] ἢ τούτων τινά,
ὧν ἐμπλέκουσι τοῖς λίνοις[11] σ'[12] αἱ μαστροποί, . . .
ἢ Ναύσιον[13] ἢ Μαλθάκην."[14]

[1] Musurus: ἐπι τὰ A. [2] Dobree: κέλευ' ἔφη A.
[3] Cobet: ὤκιμον A. [4] ἔσχηκα γ' ὡραίας Capps.
[5] Pierson: γεγόνει A, γέγονεν CE. [6] A: τελέσιλλα CE.
[7] οὐδ' added by Meineke, οὐκ Jacobs.
[8] Φίλα; Κοσσύφας Schweighäuser: φιλακοσ· συφασ A.
[9] Musurus: γαλεινασ A. [10] Musurus: θαλλουσα A.
[11] Schweighäuser (following Dalechamps): λίθοισ A.
[12] σ' added by Kaibel.

says he, go by the same street[a] to Aeropê and bid her send spreads for the couches, and from Ocimon get bronze dishes." Menander, again, in *The Flatterer*, gives a list of courtesans as follows[b]: "Chrysis, Coronê, Anticyra, Ischas, and tiny Nannion you have possessed—the last a very great beauty."[c] Philetaerus in *The Huntress*[d]: "Has not Cercopê by this time grown to be three thousand years old, and Diopeithes' foul Telesis another ten thousand? As for Theolytê,[e] nobody even knows the time when she first came to birth. Did not Laïs die at the end from excessive commerce? and have not Isthmias[f] and Neaera and Phila rotted away? As for all the Cossyphês, Galenês, and Coronês, I say nothing; and concerning Naïs I am dumb; she has no molars left." Theophilus in *He liked to play the Flute*[g]: "To prevent him from falling pell-mell into the clutches of Laïs or Meconis or Sisymbrion or Barathron[h] or Thallusa or one of those women, in whose nets the pimps entangle you, . . . or Nausion or Malthacê."[i]

[a] Or, "while you are on that same errand"; a similar scene occurs in Aristoph. *Pac.* 1142-1158.

[b] Kock iii. 84, Allinson 394.

[c] Or, adopting Capps's reading (critical note 4): "I have possessed some very beautiful ladies." This is in keeping with the boastful swashbuckler Bias (Thraso in Ter. *Eunuchus*), Athen. 434 c (vol. iv. p. 466), *cf.* 477 f (vol. v. p. 112). [d] Kock ii. 232. [e] Above, 570 e (p. 83).

[f] Page 167, note *e*. [g] Kock ii. 476.

[h] Name also of the ravine outside Athens into which the bodies of executed criminals were thrown.

[i] See critical notes 13, 14. The last two names are appended *extra metrum*.

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[13] *ναυσιον* A: Νάννιον Musurus, Ἠλύσιον (?) Kaibel, ἢ Ναννάριον Cobet (placing it after verse 2).

[14] *μαλαθακην* A.

Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν μετά τινος τροχιλίας ὁ Μυρτίλος
588 " μή τι τοιοῦτοι[1] ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, οἱ καὶ
πρὸ τῶν Ἡδονικῶν καλουμένων αὐτοὶ τὸν τῆς
ἡδονῆς τοῖχον ὑποσκάπτοντες, ὥς που ὁ Ἐρατο-
σθένης ἔφη. κἀμοὶ μὲν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἑταιρῶν ἀπο-
φθέγματα πεπεράνθω μέχρι τούτων· ἐπ' ἄλλο δ'
εἶδος μεταβήσομαι λόγων. καὶ πρῶτόν γε[2] μνη-
σθήσομαι τοῦ φιλαληθεστάτου Ἐπικούρου· ὅστις
ἐγκυκλίου[3] παιδείας ἀμύητος ὢν ἐμακάριζε καὶ
τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν παρερχομένους,
τοιαύτας φωνὰς προιέμενος· " μακαρίζω σε, ὦ
b οὗτος, ὅτι καθαρὸς πάσης παιδείας[4] ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν
ὥρμησαι."[5] ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Τίμων φησὶν

γραμμοδιδασκαλίδην,[3] ἀναγωγότατον ζωόντων.

οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος οὐ Λεόντιον εἶχεν ἐρωμένην
τὴν ἐπὶ ἑταιρείᾳ διαβόητον γενομένην; ἡ δὲ οὐδ'[7]
ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσι
δὲ[8] τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις[9] συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις,
Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν· ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν

[1] Schweighäuser: τοιοῦτον A.
[2] πρῶτόν γε A: πρῶτον μὲν Kaibel.
[3] A: τῆς ἐγκυκλίου CE.
[4] Schweighäuser: αἰτίας ACE, αἰκίας Diels.
[5] Kaibel: ὥρμησας A, ἔρχῃ CE.
[6] γραμμοδιδασκαλίδης Diog. Laert. x. 2: γράμμα διδασκαλίδην (*sic*) A.
[7] Meineke: οὐχ A.
[8] πᾶσι δὲ Kaibel: πᾶσί τε A, πᾶσι μὲν CE (omitting οὐδ' . . . ἑταιροῦσα).
[9] CE: ἐπικουρίοις A.

[a] Begun at 571 a (p. 85).
[b] A term used to denote the hedonistic school of Aristippus. The same rather contemptuous adjective, ἡδονικός, is used of Archestratus 312 f (vol. iii. p. 404).

After this long recital,[a] spoken with some volubility, Myrtilus said: I hope you philosophers will not be like that—you who in your own lives anticipated the so-called Voluptuaries[b] in "undermining the wall of Pleasure," as Eratosthenes has expressed it somewhere.[c] As for me, let the clever retorts of courtesans be brought to a close at this point; for I am going to shift the discussion to another topic.[d] And first of all I will recall Epicurus, who is distinguished for his candour; for, being himself uninitiated in the mysteries of a general education,[e] he congratulated those who went in for philosophy as he had, giving vent to such words as these[f]: "I congratulate you, sir, on having gone in for philosophy while innocent of all education."[g] Whence Timon even calls him[h] "pettifogging school-teacher, most ill-bred of living men." Well, did not this same Epicurus keep Leontion as his mistress, the woman who had become notorious as a strumpet? Why! Even when she began to be a philosopher, she did not cease her strumpet ways, but consorted with all the Epicureans in the Gardens, and even before the very eyes of Epicurus; wherefore he, poor devil, was really

[c] Bernhardy 193; see Athen. 281 d (vol. iii. p. 262). The curious phrase, "undermining the wall of Pleasure," means that those Voluptuaries broke completely through all conventions in their self-indulgence.

[d] In fact he only interrupts it.

[e] *i.e.* preceding professional training.

[f] Usener p. 137.

[g] Or, reading *αἰκίας* for *αἰτίας* (see crit. note 4), "innocent of all injurious behaviour." But the text of Epicurus must have been already corrupted in Myrtilus's day. Diog. Laert. x. 6, reports Epicurus's advice: *παιδείαν πᾶσαν φεῦγε.* Yet *cf.* Athen. 354 b (vol. iv. p. 102).

[h] Diels, *P.P.F.* iii. 197, Wachsmuth fr. 55.

φροντίδα ποιούμενον αὐτῆς τοῦτ' ἐμφανίζειν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Ἕρμαρχον Ἐπιστολῶν.

c Λαΐδος τε τῆς ἐξ Ὑκκάρων (πόλις δ' αὕτη Σικελική, ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμάλωτος γενομένη ἧκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον· ἧς καὶ Ἀριστιππος ἤρα καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ Διογένης τε ὁ κύων· ἣ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελαινὶς καλουμένη νυκτὸς ἐπιφαινομένη ἐμήνυεν ἐραστῶν ἔφοδον πολυταλάντων) οὐχ Ὑπερείδης[1] μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας δευτέρῳ; Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἔτι[2] παρθένον οὖσαν τὴν Λαΐδα θεασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης ὑδροφοροῦσαν καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος ἤγαγέν ποτε αὐτὴν εἰς φίλων συμπόσιον.

d χλευασάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων ὅτι ἀνθ' ἑταίρας παρθένον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγοι, "μὴ θαυμάσητε, εἶπεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴν μέλλουσαν εἰς[3] ἀπόλαυσιν μετ' οὐδ' ὅλην τριετίαν καλὴν[4] δείξω." τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ Θεοδότης τῆς Ἀθηναίας, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· "ὅτι δὲ καλλίστη εἴη καὶ στέρνα κρείττω λόγου παντὸς ἔχοι λέγοντός τινος,[5] 'ἰτέον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, θεασομένοις τὴν γυναῖκα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούουσιν[6] ἔστιν κρῖναι τὸ κάλλος.'" οὕτω δ' ἦν ἡ

[1] ὑπερίδησ A. [2] CE: ὅτι A.
[3] μέλλουσαν εἰς Capps: εἰς μέλλουσαν.
[4] ACE: ἱκανὴν Meineke. [5] Kaibel: ἔλεγέν τε A.
[6] Schweighauser: ἀκούσιον A.

[a] Usener p. 138 and Index s.vv. Θεμίστα, Λεόντιον.
[b] Preller 75; below, 589 a (p. 177).
[c] Goddess of the Dark. [d] Blass[3] 96, Kenyon 13.
[e] Athen. 43 b (vol. i. p. 186). On the spring Peirenê at Corinth, see *Am. J. Arch.* 2nd Series, 1900, pp. 204-239.

worried about her, as he makes clear in his *Letters to Hermarchus*.[a]

Then there was Laïs from Hyccara (this is a Sicilian town, from which she was brought as a captive to Corinth, as recorded[b] by Polemon in the sixth book of his *Reply to Timaeus*; she became the mistress of Aristippus, of the orator Demosthenes, and of Diogenes the Cynic; to her the Aphroditê of Corinth, who is called Melaenis,[c] would appear by night and reveal the coming of wealthy lovers); does not Hypereides mention[d] her in his second *Speech against Aristagora*? The painter Apelles caught sight of her when she was still a maid carrying water from the fountain of Peirenê,[e] and, struck by her beauty, he took her with him once to a symposium of his friends. And when they jeered at him for having brought to the symposium not a professional courtesan, but a maid, he replied, "Don't be surprised; for I shall show you that she will be in less, altogether, than three years, a beautiful woman for men's delectation."[f] Socrates, also, divined the same promise in the case of Theodotê of Athens, as Xenophon says in his *Memorabilia*[g]: "When someone remarked that she was very beautiful and had a bosom beyond the power of any tongue to describe Socrates said, 'We must go to see the woman; for it is not possible to judge her beauty by hearsay.'" So beautiful was Laïs[h] that

Corinth (Excavations of the Amer. School), iii. 1 (1930), pp. 31-60, J. G. O'Neill, *Anc. Corinth*, pp. 34-42.

[f] See critical note 3 on opposite page.

[g] *Cf. Mem.* iii. 11. 1; but Xenophon's text is very different.

[h] Wilamowitz, believing that this sentence continues the paraphrase of Xenophon and refers to Theodotê, strikes out ἡ Λαΐς. But it is futile to try to restore order to this late gossip.

e Λαῖς[1] καλὴ ὡς καὶ τοὺς ζωγράφους ἐρχομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς μαστοὺς καὶ τὰ στέρνα. διαζηλοτυπουμένη δέ ποτε ἡ Λαῖς τῇ[2] Φρύνῃ πολὺν ἐραστῶν ἔσχηκεν ὅμιλον, οὐ διακρίνουσα πλούσιον ἢ πένητα οὐδ' ὑβριστικῶς αὐτοῖς χρωμένη.

Ἀρίστιππος δὲ κατ' ἔτος δύο[3] μῆνας[4] συνδιημέρευεν αὐτῇ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τοῖς Ποσειδωνίοις· καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἱκέτου[5] ὅτι "σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ προῖκα Διογένει τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεται," ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἐγὼ Λαΐδι χορηγῶ πολλά, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύω, οὐχ f ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος." τοῦ δὲ Διογένους εἰπόντος αὐτῷ· "Ἀρίστιππε, κοινῇ συνοικεῖς πόρνῃ. ἢ κύνιζε οὖν,[6] ὡς ἐγώ, ἢ πέπαυσο"—καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος· "ἆρά γε μή τί σοι ἄτοπον δοκεῖ εἶναι, Διόγενες, οἰκίαν οἰκεῖν ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ᾤκησαν ἄλλοι;" "οὐ γάρ" ἔφη. "τί δὲ' ναῦν ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ πεπλεύκασιν;" "οὐδὲ τοῦτο" ἔφη. "οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ συνεῖναι ἄτοπόν ἐστιν ᾗ πολλοὶ κέχρηνται."

Νυμφόδωρος δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν

[1] ἡ λαῖσ ACE, deleted by Wilamowitz.
[2] τῇ CE: om. A.
[3] κατ' ἔτοσ δύο A: δύο τοῦ ἔτους CE.
[4] μῆνασ ACE: δύο μνᾶς διδοὺς (?) Kaibel.
[5] Ἱκέτου Kaibel: οἰκέτου A, τοῦ οἰκέτου CE.
[6] A: γοῦν C. [7] δὲ CE Diog. Laert.: δαὶ A.

painters came to her and copied her breasts and chest.[a] In her rivalry with Phrynê at one time she had a large crowd of lovers,[b] making no distinction between rich and poor, nor treating them disdainfully.[c]

Aristippus every year spent two months with Laïs in Aegina,[d] at the time of Poseidon's festival; and being reproached by Hicetas[e] because, as he said, "you give her so much money, whereas she wallows with Diogenes the Cynic for nothing," he answered: "I give Laïs many bounties that I may enjoy her myself, not that I may prevent another from doing so." When Diogenes said to him: "Aristippus, you cohabit with a common whore. Either, then, you should be a Cynic like me, or stop it entirely;" and Aristippus said[f]: "You don't think it out of place, Diogenes, to live in a house in which other men have lived before?" "Not at all," he replied. "How about sailing in a ship in which many have sailed?" "Nor that either," he said. "That being the case, then, it isn't out of place to consort with a woman whom many have enjoyed."

Nymphodorus of Syracuse, in *The Wonders of Sicily*,

[a] *Cf.* the description of Polyxena, Eur. *Hec.* 560 *μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὡς ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα.*

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Epigr.* 15 (Diehl) *ἐραστῶν ἑσμόν*, "swarm of lovers"; so Plato, *Symp.* 178 E *στρατόπεδον ἐραστῶν*, "host of lovers."

[c] Yet Plato, *Epigr.* 15 says of her, *ἡ σοβαρὸν γελάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος*, "she that laughed proudly at Hellas."

[d] *Cf.* 544 d (vol. v. p. 466) and see critical note 3. The festival Poseidonia was held in Eleusis, below, 590 f, in Tenos, Strabo 487, and elsewhere.

[e] Diog. Laert. viii. 7. 3 says that some authorities credited him rather than Philolaus with the view that the earth moved in a circle (*κατὰ κύκλον*).

[f] Similarly Diog. Laert. ii. 8. 74.

589 Σικελίᾳ Θαυμαζομένων ἐξ Ὑκκάρου φησὶν Σικελικοῦ φρουρίου εἶναι τὴν Λαΐδα. Στράττις δ' ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἢ Παυσανίᾳ Κορινθίαν αὐτὴν εἶναί φησιν διὰ τούτων·

εἰσὶν δὲ πόθεν[1] αἱ παῖδες αὗται καὶ τίνες;
B. νυνὶ[2] μὲν ἥκουσιν Μεγαρόθεν, εἰσὶ δὲ
Κορίνθιαι· Λαῖς μὲν ἡδὶ Μεγακλέους.[3]

Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐξ Ὑκκάρων· καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἴρηκεν, ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπό τινων γυναικῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Παυσανίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ φθόνον καὶ δυσζηλίαν ξυλίναις[4] χελώναις τυπτο-
b μένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κληθῆναι Ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης.[5] δείκνυσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τάφον παρὰ τῷ Πηνειῷ σημεῖον ἔχοντα ὑδρίαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῆσδέ ποθ' ἡ μεγάλαυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς ἀλκὴν[6]
Ἑλλὰς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,
Λαΐδος· ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρως, θρέψεν δὲ Κόρινθος·
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ
c τεθάφθαι πρὸς τῷ Κρανείῳ.[7]

[1] Schweighäuser: ὅθεν A. [2] Porson: νῦν A.
[3] ἡδὶ Dindorf, Μεγακλέους Porson: λαῖσ μὲν ἥι μέγα κλεοσ ἰδί A.
[4] ξυλίναις CE Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 179: ταῖσ ξυλιναισ A.

says[a] that Laïs came from Hyccarum, a Sicilian outpost. But Strattis in *The Macedonians* or *Pausanias*, says she was a Corinthian, in these lines[b]: "A. Whence come these girls, and who are they? B. Just now they have come from Megara, but they are Corinthian; first there is Laïs here, belonging to Megacles." Timaeus, however, says[c] in the thirteenth book of his *Histories* that she was from Hyccara; this agrees with Polemon, who says[d] that she was murdered by some women in Thessaly; she had fallen in love with a Thessalian named Pausanias, and through envy and jealousy was beaten to death with wooden footstools in a temple of Aphroditê. Hence, he further says, the precinct came to be called that of Sinful[e] Aphroditê. Her tomb is shown beside the Peneïus river, bearing a stone water-jar and the following epigram[f]: "Time was when proud Hellas, invincible in might, was enslaved by the divine beauty of Laïs here, whom Eros begot and Corinthus nourished; now she lies in the glorious plains of Thessaly." Hence those who say that she is buried in Corinth beside the Cornel Grove are inventing the story.

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 375, *cf.* Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 179, *F.H.G.* i. 185 (Philistus). Steph. Byz. *s.v.* would distinguish this fortress from the city called Hyccara (Hycara Athen. 327 b, vol. iii. p. 470). On this Laïs (the elder) see Plut. *Nic.* 15, Pausan. ii. 2.

[b] Kock i. 718.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 219.

[d] Preller 75; above, 588 b-c (p. 171).

[e] For *ἀνοσίας*, Plut. *Amat.* 768 A has *ἀνδροφόνου* "murderess."

[f] Brunck *Anal.* iii. 284. On the grave of Laïs see Frazer's *Pausanias* ii. 19.

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[5] ACE, Schol. Aristoph.: *Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου* Plut. *Amat.* 768 A.

[6] *πρὸς ἀλκῆς* (?) Kaibel.

[7] *κρανίωι* A.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ Σταγιρίτης[1] οὐκ ἐξ Ἐρπυλλίδος τῆς ἑταίρας ἐπαιδοποίησε[2] Νικόμαχον καὶ συνῆν ταύτῃ μέχρι θανάτου, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους πρώτῳ, ἐπιμελείας φάσκων τῆς δεούσης τετυχηκέναι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου διαθήκαις. ὁ δὲ καλὸς ἡμῶν[3] Πλάτων οὐκ Ἀρχεάνασσαν[4] τὴν Κολοφωνίαν ἑταίραν ἠγάπα; ὡς καὶ ᾄδειν εἰς αὐτὴν τάδε·

Ἀρχεάνασσαν[5] ἔχω τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίρην,
ἧς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων[6] πικρὸς ἔπεστιν ἔρως.
d ἆ δειλοὶ νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης
πρωτοπόρου, δι' ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαιῆς.

Περικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν Ἀσπασίας—οὐ τῆς νεωτέρας ἀλλ' τῆς Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συγγενομένης—καίπερ τηλικοῦτον ἀξίωμα συνέσεως καὶ πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως κτησάμενος, οὐ συνετάραξε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα; ἦν δ' οὗτος[8] ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καταφερής· ὅστις καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυναικὶ συνῆν, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ χρόνους γενόμενος καὶ
e ἑωρακὼς αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ περὶ Θεμι-

[1] Musurus: σατυριστὴς ACE.
[2] ACE: ἐπαιδοποιήσατο Meineke.
[3] A: ἡμῶν Usener, ὑμῶν (?) Kaibel.
[4] ἀρχαιάνασσαν A, ἀρχαιάνασσαν CE.
[5] ἀρχαι- ACE.
[6] κἀπὶ ῥυτίδων CE, καὶ ἀπορρυτίδων A.
[7] Kaibel (following Schweighäuser): τῆσ νεωτέρασ ἀλλ' οὐ A, so CE, in a different constr.
[8] οὗτος ὁ Kaibel; but ἀνήρ is part of the predicate.

[4] For Σταγιρίτης the MSS. have σατυριστής "actor in a

As for Aristotle of Stageira,[a] did he not beget Nicomachus from the courtesan Herpyllis and live with her until his death? So says Hermippus[b] in the first book of his work *On Aristotle*, adding that she received fitting provision by the terms of the philosopher's will. And was not our noble Plato in love with Archeanassa, the courtesan of Colophon? So much so that he sang these lines to her[c]: "Archeanassa, the courtesan from Colophon, is mine, even upon her wrinkles there rests a passion bitter. Ah, ye wretches who encountered her youth in its first course, through what hot flame did ye pass!" Again, take the Olympian Pericles, as Clearchus says in the first book of his *Love Stories*[d]: "On account of Aspasia—not the younger, but the one who was a contemporary of Socrates—although he had acquired so eminent a reputation for political sagacity and influence,[e] did he not for her sake, throw all Greece into turmoil? He was a man in fact very prone to love affairs.[f] Why! He even consorted with his son's wife, as Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who lived at the same period as Pericles and had seen him, records[g]

satyric play." This epithet may be right if it can be extended to refer sarcastically to σατυρίασις. *Anth. App.* 321, τραυλὸς (lisping) ὁ Σταγειρίτης, λάγνος (lecherous), προγάστωρ (pot-bellied), παλλακαῖς συνημμένος (tied to his concubines).

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 46, Diog. Laert. v. 12.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 310, Diehl fr. 8, Diog. Laert. iii. 31; in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 217 ascribed to Asclepiades.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 314, above, 570 a (p. 79). For the younger Aspasia, loved by Cyrus, see above, 576 d (p. 113).

[e] So Thuc. i. 139, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος.

[f] This sentence belongs to Stesimbrotus, not Clearchus; J. 2 B 518.

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 56, J. 2 B 515. On the anti-Periclean tendencies of Stesimbrotus see H. N. Fowler, *H.S.C.P.* xii. 215.

στοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους. ⌈Ἀντι-
Antisth. fr. 16 σθένης[1] δ' ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐρασθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν
Ἀσπασίας δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα
ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ φευγούσης
ποτὲ αὐτῆς γραφὴν ἀσεβείας λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
πλείονα[2] ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς
οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευεν.[3] καὶ Κίμωνος δ' Ἐλπινίκῃ τῇ
ἀδελφῇ παρανόμως συνόντος, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐκ-
δοθείσης[4] Καλλίᾳ, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος μισθὸν ἔλαβε
f τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἐλπινίκῃ
μιχθῆναι.⌉ Πυθαίνετος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Αἰγίνης
Περίανδρόν φησιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τὴν Προκλέους
θυγατέρα Μέλισσαν ἰδόντα Πελοποννησιακῶς
ἠσθημένην (ἀναμπέχονος γὰρ καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν
καὶ ὠνοχόει τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις) ἐρασθέντα γῆμαι.
Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Ἠπειρωτῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν
τρίτος ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος,
590 ἐρωμένη ἦν Τίγρις ἡ Λευκαδία· ἣν[5] Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ
τοῦ νεανίσκου μήτηρ φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινεν."

Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ὥσπερ ἕρμαιόν τι, ἔτι λα-
λοῦντος τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἔφη, εἰ ἔχομεν ἀρρενικῶς

[1] Αἰσχίνης Jacobs.
[2] A: πλείω CE.
[3] ἐκινδύνευεν CE (-ε): ἐκινδύνευσε A.
[4] τῇ ὕστερον ἐκδοθείσῃ (?) Kaibel, partially supported by C, which has καίτοι τῷ καλλίᾳ ἐκδοθείσῃ after τὰ τ. Ἐ. μιχθῆναι.
[5] δὶς A, with CE.

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[a] Plut. *Per.* 24, on the authority of Aeschines, Athen. 220 a (vol. ii. p. 496). Plutarch says: Pericles stopped in on his way to and from the market-place to kiss Aspasia; perhaps, therefore, we should read ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς for ἀπ' αὐτῆς. Antisthenes as well as Aeschines wrote on Aspasia, Diog. Laert. vi. 16, Athen. *loc. cit.* For her trial see Plut. *Per.* 32.

in the book entitled *On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles.* Antisthenes the Socratic says [a] that when in love with Aspasia he would go in and out of her house twice a day to greet the wench, and once, when she was prosecuted on a charge of impiety he, while pleading in her behalf, wept more tears than when his life and property were endangered.[b] Again, when Cimon consorted unlawfully [c] with his sister Elpinicê and she was later given in marriage to Callias, after Cimon had been sent into exile, Pericles took as the price of Cimon's restoration the privilege of lying with Elpinicê. Pythaenetus in the third book of his work *On Aegina* says [d] that Periander saw in Epidaurus the daughter of Procles,[e] Melissa, dressed in the Peloponnesian fashion (that is, she wore no cloak, but was clad in a simple tunic while she acted as wine-pourer for the workmen in the fields) and falling in love he married her. As for Pyrrhus, the king of Epeirus, third in descent from the Pyrrhus who invaded Italy, his mistress was Tigris of Leucadia, whom Olympias, the young man's mother, murdered with poison."

Thereupon Ulpian, as though pouncing upon a lucky find, asked, while Myrtilus was still speaking, whether we have the word *tigris* (tiger) used as a

[b] Plut. *Per.* 32.

[c] She was his half-sister, according to C. Nepos, *Cim.* 1; but see [Andoc.] *Contra Alcib.* 33, Suid. *s.* Κίμων. CE give the sequence of thought better: "Cimon, for consorting with his sister, was sent into exile. Pericles took as the price, etc., . . . lying with Elpinicê, although she had been given in marriage to Callias."

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 487.

[e] Ruler of Epidaurus, Hdt. iii. 50, 52, v. 92 η. *Cf.* the case of Cleinô, 576 *f* (p. 114) and note *b*. Periander later killed Melissa in a fit of jealousy; see How and Wells's notes on Hdt. *loc. cit.*

εἰρημένον τὸν τίγριν. "Φιλήμονα γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτ' εἰρηκότα ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

ὥσπερ Σέλευκος δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν,
ἣν εἴδομεν[1] ἡμεῖς, τῷ Σελεύκῳ πάλιν ἔδει
ἡμᾶς τι[2] παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιπέμψαι θηρίον.
B. τρυγέρανον· οὐ γὰρ γίγνεται τοῦτ' αὐτόθι."

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· "ἐπείπερ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἐγένου κατάλογον γυναικῶν ποιουμένοις, οὐ κατὰ
b τοὺς Σωσικράτους[3] τοῦ Φαναγορείτου[4] Ἡοίους ἢ τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κατάλογον Νικαινέτου τοῦ Σαμίου ἢ Ἀβδηρίτου, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν[5] ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ τρέψομαι πεῦσιν, "Φοῖνιξ ἄττα γεραιέ." μάθε οὖν ὅτι ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκε τὸν τίγριν Ἄλεξις ἐν Πυραύνῳ οὕτως·

ἄνοιγ', ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν· ἐλάνθανον
πάλαι περιπατῶν ἀνδριάς,[6] ἀλετὼν[7] ὄνος,
ποτάμιος ἵππος, τοῖχος, ὁ Σελεύκου τίγρις.

ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια ἀνατίθεμαι τὰ νῦν, ἕως
c ἂν ἀπομνημονεύσω τὸν τῶν[8] καλῶν γυναικῶν κατάλογον. Κλέαρχος γὰρ περὶ Ἐπαμινώνδου φησὶν οὕτως· "Ἐπαμινώνδας δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος σεμνότερον[9]

[1] Dindorf: ἴδωμεν A.
[2] ἡμᾶς τι Schweighäuser: τι ἡμᾶσ A.
[3] Σωστράτου Schweighäuser, *cf.* Steph. Byz. *s.* Μυκάλη.
[4] Φαναγορίτου Musurus: φαναγοριστοῦ A.
[5] Coraes: ἀποσχὼν A. [6] Dalechamps: ἀνδρείασ A.
[7] ἀλέτων A; *cf.* 263 a. [8] Meineke: περὶ τῶν A.
[9] σεμνότερος Dalechamps.

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[a] It occurs in both genders.
[b] Kock ii. 490, showing the feminine.

masculine.[a] For I know that Philemon has the following in *Neaera*[b]: "A. Just as Seleucus sent hither the tigress, which we ourselves have seen, so we in turn ought to send to Seleucus some beast of ours. B. Ha, a wild trygeranus![c] For that monster isn't found there." In answer to Ulpian Myrtilus said: Since you broke in upon us when I was making a catalogue of women—though not comparable with the *Or such men as* of Sosicrates[d] of Phanagoreia or the *Catalogue of Women* by Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdera—I will pause for a bit and attend to your question, "Phoenix, my venerable father."[e] Learn, therefore, that "tiger" occurs as a masculine word in Alexis's *Fire-Lighter* thus[f]: "Open the door, open! Long have I been going about without knowing that I was a mere statue, a grindstone, a hippopotamus, a wall, Seleucus's tiger." But though I have other testimony, I postpone quoting it for the present until I have recited the list of beautiful women. For Clearchus has the following about Epameinondas[g]: "Epameinondas of Thebes was wont

[a] A capital invention, comparable with "Jabberwock"; it can be understood either as "Triple-Crane" or as "Strip-Feast" (of a parasite), Athen. 6 b (vol. i. p. 24).

[d] Or Sostratus? *Cf.* Steph. Byz. *s.* Μυκάλη. Ἕοῖαι, masculine, is formed in parody of Ἠοῖαι, *i.e.* ἢ οἷαι, "Or such women as," the epic of woman attributed to Hesiod; see Athen. 364 b, 428 b (vol. iv. pp. 148, 438), below, 597 d (p. 220).

[e] The address of Achilles to Phoenix, *Il.* ix. 607; but Phoenix also means Phoenician, alluding to Ulpian's Eastern origin.

[f] Kock ii. 372. The speaker is like Strepsiades, Aristoph. *Nub.* 180-181, now recognizing his ignorance and stupidity and eager to enter college. For the metaphors *cf.* "Ye stocks! ye stones! ye worse than senseless things!"

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 310.

μὲν τούτων, οὐκ εὐσχημόνως δὲ περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας
ἐσφάλλετο τὴν γνώμην, εἴ τις θεωροίη τὰ πρα-
χθέντα αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Λάκωνος γυναῖκα." Ὑπερεί-
δης[1] δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν
ἀποβαλὼν[2] Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην[3] τὴν πολυτελε-
στάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ἄστει
d εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὲ Ἀρισταγόραν, Φίλαν δ' ἐν
Ἐλευσῖνι, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν
ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν
ἐποιήσατο, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ
Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης[1] ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς
γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν
προειρημένην Μυρρίνην[4] εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν.
Ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν.[5] κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ
Εὐθίου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν· διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς
ὁ Εὐθίας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν
e Ἕρμιππος. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης[1] συναγορεύων τῇ
Φρύνῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤνυε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ
δικασταὶ καταψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς
τοὐμφανὲς καὶ περιρρήξας[6] τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά
τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ
τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαί

[1] ὑπερίδης ACE.
[2] ἐκβαλεῖν (in a different constr.) [Plut.] *Vit. X Or.* 849 D: ἀποβαλὼν A.; *cf.* Theocr. xi. 19.
[3] μυρίνην A, μύρανναν CE.
[4] *sic* A here.
[5] θεσπειῶν A (but θεσπιαῖσ 591 b): θεσπιέων CE.
[6] περιρήξασ A.

[a] As usual, Clearchus is vague. He may allude to the gossip in Plut. 808 D, *Apopth.* 192 E, to the effect that Epameinondas spared the life of a condemned man, for whom Pelopidas had pleaded in vain, when the man's wife approached Epameinondas with her blandishments. See below, 605 a (p. 261).

to speak more solemnly than these whom I have mentioned, yet in his actual relations with women he by indecency failed to measure up to his sentiments, if one considers what he did in the affair with the Lacedaemonian's wife." [a] And Hypereides the orator, after casting away his son Glaucippus from the ancestral home, took up with Myrrhinê,[b] the most costly of all prostitutes, and kept her in Athens, while in the Peiraeus he kept Aristagora, and in Eleusis Phila, whom he purchased for a very large sum of money and kept as a freed-woman, later making her even mistress of his household, as Idomeneus records.[c] In his speech, also, *In Defence of Phrynê*, he confesses [d] that he was in love with the woman and had not even then ceased from his passion when he brought the aforesaid Myrrhinê into his house.

Now Phrynê came from Thespiae. When she was brought to trial by Euthias on a capital charge she was acquitted; this so enraged Euthias that he never afterwards pleaded another case at law, according to Hermippus.[e] As Hypereides, while defending Phrynê,[f] was making no progress in his plea, and it became apparent that the judges meant to condemn her, he caused her to be brought where all could see her; tearing off her undervests he laid bare her bosom and broke into such piteous lamentation in his peroration at the sight of her,

[b] Above, 567 f; for Aristagora see 586 a (p. 161), 587 c (p. 167), 588 c (p. 173); for Phila, 587 e (p. 169), 593 f (p. 203).

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 492. See [Plut.] *X Orat.* 849 D (L.C.L. p. 443 note *d*), Alciphron i. 31, Sext. Emp. *Math.* ii. 4, Quintil. ii. 15. 9.

[d] Blass[3] 124.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 50, Harpocr. *s.* Εὐθίας.

[f] Blass[3] 125, Kenyon 178.

τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς[1] καὶ[2] τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ
ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἑλέῳ χαρισαμένους μὴ ἀπο-
κτεῖναι. καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψή-
φισμα μηδένα οἰκτίζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπέρ
τινος μηδὲ βλεπόμενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν
f κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ὄντως μᾶλλον
ἡ Φρύνη καλὴ ἐν τοῖς μὴ βλεπομένοις. διόπερ
οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως[3] ἦν αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν γυμνήν· ἐχέσαρκον γὰρ
χιτώνιον ἠμπείχετο καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐκ ἐχρῆτο
βαλανείοις. τῇ δὲ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων πανηγύρει καὶ
τῇ τῶν Ποσειδωνίων ἐν ὄψει τῶν Πανελλήνων
πάντων[4] ἀποθεμένη θοἰμάτιον[5] καὶ λύσασα τὰς
κόμας ἐνέβαινε τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀπελλῆς
591 τὴν Ἀναδυομένην Ἀφροδίτην ἀπεγράψατο.[6] καὶ
Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τὴν
Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσατο καὶ ἐν
τῇ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ
θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε·

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἔρωτα,
ἐξ ἰδίης ἕλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης,
Φρύνῃ μισθὸν ἐμεῖο διδοὺς ἐμέ. φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω
οὐκέτ' ὀιστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος.

b ἐκλογήν τε[7] αὐτῇ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔδωκεν, εἴτε τὸν
Ἔρωτα θέλοι λαβεῖν εἴτε τὸν ἐπὶ Τριπόδων Σά-
τυρον. ἡ δὲ ἑλομένη τὸν Ἔρωτα ἀνέθηκεν αὐτὸν

[1] CE: δικάσ A. [2] καὶ added by Sauppe.
[3] ῥᾴδιον Musurus. [4] πάντων om. CE, deleted by Cobet.
[5] CE: ἀποτιθεμένη θοἰμάτια A.
[6] Musurus: ἀνεγράψατο ACE.
[7] ACE: ἐκλογὴν δὲ Kaibel.

[a] Ποντία Κύπρι, Eur. *Hipp.* 522. See Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 10, 36.
[b] Pliny xxxvi. 5. 4.
[c] *Anth. Plan.* app. 182, 206, tr. Bevan.

that he caused the judges to feel superstitious fear of this handmaid and ministrant of Aphroditê, and indulging their feeling of compassion, they refrained from putting her to death. And after she had been acquitted a decree was passed that no person speaking in a defendant's behalf should indulge in lamentation, nor should the accused man or woman on trial be bared for all to see. As a matter of fact, Phrynê was more beautiful in the unseen parts. Hence one could not easily catch a glimpse of her naked; for she always wore a tunic which wrapped her body closely, and she did not resort to the public baths. At the great assembly of the Eleusinia and at the festival of Poseidon, in full sight of the whole Greek world, she removed only her cloak and let down her long hair before stepping into the water; she was the model for Apelles when he painted his Aphroditê Rising from the Sea.[a] So, too, the sculptor Praxiteles, being in love with her, modelled his Cnidian Aphroditê [b] from her, and on the pedestal of his Eros below the stage of the theatre he wrote an epigram [c]: "Praxiteles hath portrayed to perfection the Passion (Eros) which he bore, drawing his model from the depths of his own heart and dedicating Me to Phrynê as the price of Me. The spell of love which I cast comes no longer from my arrow, but from gazing upon Me." He also gave her a choice of his statues, to see whether she wished to take his Eros, or his Satyr, which stood in the Street of the Tripods.[d] She chose the Eros and

[d] The street which ran from the centre of the city (Athens) to the eastern entrance of the theatre. See Pausan. i. 20. 1, Athen. 543 a (vol. v. p. 458), Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, pp. 241-243.

ἐν Θεσπιαῖς. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Φρύνης οἱ περικτίονες ἀνδριάντα ποιήσαντες ἀνέθηκαν ἐν Δελφοῖς χρύσεον ἐπὶ κίονος Πεντελικοῦ· κατεσκεύασε δ' αὐτὸν Πραξιτέλης. ὃν καὶ θεασάμενος Κράτης ὁ κυνικὸς ἔφη τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας ἀνάθημα. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη μέση τῆς Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ
e Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, ἔχουσα ἐπιγραφὴν "Φρύνη Ἐπικλέους Θεσπική,"[1] ὥς φησιν Ἀλκέτας ἐν β' περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀναθημάτων. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν δύο ἀναγράφει Φρύνας γεγονέναι,[2] ὧν τὴν μὲν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Κλαυσιγέλωτα, τὴν δὲ Σαπέρδιον. Ἡρόδικος δὲ ἐν ἕκτῳ Κωμῳδουμένων τὴν μὲν[3] παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσί φησιν ὀνομαζομένην Σηστὸν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀποσήθειν καὶ ἀποδύειν τοὺς
d συνόντας αὐτῇ, τὴν δὲ Θεσπικήν.[1] ἐπλούτει δὲ σφόδρα ἡ Φρύνη καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο τειχιεῖν[4] τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν ἐπιγράψωσιν[5] Θηβαῖοι ὅτι "Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἀνέστησεν δὲ Φρύνη ἡ ἑταίρα," ὡς ἱστορεῖ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν. εἴρηκεν δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλούτου αὐτῆς Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Νεαίρᾳ (πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον) καὶ Ἄμφις ἐν Κουρίδι. παρεσίτει δὲ

[1] Θεσπιακή (?) Kaibel.
[2] γεγονέναι om. C, deleted by Kaibel.
[3] τὴν μὲν CE: τὴν A.
[4] ἀνατειχιεῖν Meineke.
[5] εἰ ἐπιγράψειαν C.

[a] Aelian, *V.H.* ix. 32, says that only the most licentious

set it up as a votive offering in Thespiae. Of Phrynê herself the neighbours made and set up a golden statue at Delphi, on a pillar of Pentelic marble [a]; Praxiteles executed the work. When the Cynic Crates [b] saw it he called it an offering dedicated to Greek incontinence. This image stands midway between that of Archidamus, king of Lacedaemon, and that of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and bears a label, "Phrynê, daughter of Epicles, of Thespiae"; so says Alcetas in the second book of his work *On the dedicatory Offerings at Delphi*.[c] Now Apollodorus in his book *On Courtesans* records [d] that there were two Phrynês, one of whom, he says, was nicknamed Teary-Smile, the other Goldfish. But Herodicus in the sixth book of his *Persons mentioned in Comedy* [e] says that in the orators the one was called Sestus because she sifted (*sethein*) and stripped all who resorted to her, whereas the other was the Thespian. Now Phrynê was very rich, and used to promise that she would build a wall about Thebes if the Thebans would write an inscription upon it, that "Whereas Alexander demolished it, Phrynê the courtesan restored it"; so records Callistratus in his book *On Courtesans*.[f] Her wealth is spoken of by the comic poet Timocles in *Neaera* (his testimony has been cited above) [g] and by Amphis in *The Tire-*

Greeks contributed money for this. Paus. ix. 27 says the statue was gilded.

[b] So Plut. 401 A; but Diog. Laert. vi. 60 ascribes the remark to Diogenes the Cynic.

[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 295.

[d] J. 2 B 1106.

[e] *Cf.* above, 586 a (p. 159).

[f] Propert. ii. 5 nec quae deletas potuit componere Thebas Phryne tam multis facta beata viris.

[g] 567 e (p. 65).

e τῇ Φρύνῃ Γρυλλίων εἷς ὢν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν,[1] ὡς καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ὑποκριτὴς Παμφίλῃ. Ἀριστογείτων δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φρύνης τὸ κύριόν φησιν αὐτῆς εἶναι ὄνομα Μνησαρέτην. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον κατ' αὐτῆς Εὐθίου λόγον Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς Ἀναξιμένους φησὶν εἶναι. Ποσείδιππος[2] δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἐφεσίᾳ τάδε φησὶν περὶ αὐτῆς·

Φρύνη ποθ'[3] ἡμῶν γέγονεν ἐπιφανεστάτη
πολὺ τῶν ἑταιρῶν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεωτέρα
τῶν τότε χρόνων εἶ,[4] τόν γ' ἀγῶν'[5] ἀκήκοας.
βλάπτειν δοκοῦσα τοὺς βίους μείζους βλάβας
f τὴν ἡλιαίαν εἶλε[6] περὶ τοῦ σώματος,
καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καθ' ἕνα δεξιουμένη
μετὰ δακρύων διέσωσε τὴν ψυχὴν μόλις.

Ἴστε δὲ ὅτι καὶ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐξ αὐλητρίδος ἑταίρας ἐπαιδοποιήσατο Δημέαν· ὃν φρυαττόμενόν ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐπεστόμισεν Ὑπερείδης[7] εἰπών· "οὐ σιωπήσῃ, μειράκιον, μεῖζον τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὸ φύσημα;" καὶ Βίων δ' ὁ Βορυσθενίτης φιλόσοφος ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Ὀλυμπίας Λακαίνης, ὥς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαιεὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς ἤδη

[1] CE: ἀρεοπαγειτῶν A.
[2] ποσίδιππος A.
[3] Wilamowitz: πρὸ A.
[4] Casaubon: εἴη A.
[5] τόν γε ἀγῶνα A.
[6] A: εἶδε Bothe.
[7] ὑπερίδησ ACE.

woman.[a] Yet Gryllion,[b] a member of the Areopagus, played the parasite at Phrynê's board, as Satyrus,[c] the actor from Olynthus, did at Pamphila's. Aristogeiton, in the speech *Against Phrynê*, says[d] that her real name was Mnesaretê. I am not unaware that the speech against her which is ascribed to Enthias is said by Diodorus the Geographer to be by Anaximenes.[e] Now the comic poet Poseidippus says of her these words, in *The Woman from Ephesus*[f]: "Phrynê was once the most illustrious of us courtesans by far. And even though you are too young to remember that time, you must at least have heard of her trial. Although she was thought to have wrought too great injury to men's lives, she nevertheless captured the court when tried for her life, and, clasping the hands of the judges, one by one, she with the help of her tears saved her life at last."

You know, too, that the orator Demades begot Demeas from a flute-playing prostitute. Demeas, once, when proudly ranting on the platform, had his mouth stopped by Hypereides, who said[g]: "Silence, lad! You've got a 'blow' louder than your mother's." And Bion also, the philosopher from the Borysthenes, was a son of the Lacedaemonian courtesan Olympia, according to Nicias of Nicaea in his *Succession of Philosophers.*[h] Even Sophocles, the tragic poet,

[a] 567 e (p. 67).
[b] Athen. 244 f (vol. iii. p. 100).
[c] Plut. 545 E, Demosth. xix. 193, 196, Aeschin. ii. 156, O'Connor, *Actors and Acting*, pp. 429, 430. The inference is that it was less shocking for a comic actor so to behave than for an Areopagite.
[d] B. and S. ii. 310.
[e] Harpocr. s. *Εὐθίας*.
[f] Kock iii. 339.
[g] Blass[3] p. 110, Kenyon frag. 91.
[h] *F.H.G.* iv. 464; for the title *cf.* Athen. 162 e (vol. ii. p. 238), 273 d (vol. iii. p. 228).

γέρων ὢν ἠράσθη Θεωρίδος τῆς ἑταίρας. ἱκετεύων οὖν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φησίν·

κλῦθί μευ[1] εὐχομένου, Κουροτρόφε· δὸς δὲ γυναῖκα
τήνδε νέων μὲν ἀναίνεσθαι φιλότητα καὶ εὐνήν,
ἡ δ' ἐπιτερπέσθω πολιοκροτάφοισι γέρουσιν,
ὧν ἰσχὺς μὲν ἀπήμβλυνται, θυμὸς[2] δὲ μενοινᾷ.

ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένων.
b τῆς δὲ Θεωρίδος μνημονεύει λέγων ἔν τινι στασίμῳ[3] οὕτως·

φίλη γὰρ ἡ Θεωρίς.

ἐπὶ δὲ δυσμαῖς ὢν τοῦ βίου, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, Ἀρχίππην ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἑταίραν καὶ τοῦ βίου κληρονόμον κατέλιπεν. ὅτι δὲ γηραιῷ ὄντι τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ συνῆν ἡ Ἀρχίππη, ὁ πρότερος αὐτῆς ἐραστὴς Σμικρίνης ἐρωτώμενος ὑπό τινος τί πράττει Ἀρχίππη χαριέντως ἔφη· "ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφων[4] κάθηται."

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τῶν ῥητόρων αἰδημονέστατος[5] Μετάνειραν εἶχεν ἐρωμένην καὶ Λαγίσκαν,[6] ὡς Λυσίας ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς.
c Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας τὴν Μετάνειραν τοῦ Λυσίου φησὶν ἐρωμένην εἶναι. ἤττητο δὲ καὶ ὁ Λυσίας Λαγίδος[7] τῆς ἑταίρας, ἧς ἔγραψεν

[1] κλῦθί μευ *Vit. Hom.* p. 15 Westerm.: κλῦέ μευ (*sic*) ACE.
[2] *Vit. Hom.*: θεῖοσ A.
[3] Casaubon: στασίμωσ A.
[4] τάφων A: τάφου CE.
[5] Schweighäuser (αἰδημονέστερος Musurus): ἀδημονέστεροσ A.
[6] καὶ Λαγίσκαν (?) Kaibel, παγκάλην Meineke, παλλακήν Dobree; καὶ καλὴν A, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ λυσίας C.
[7] A: ἤττητο δ' ὁ λυσίας καὶ λαγίδος CE, perhaps rightly.

when he was already an old man, fell in love with Theoris the courtesan. Accordingly, he supplicated Aphroditê, reciting[a]: "Hearken unto me when I pray, Nurse of children; grant that this woman may refuse to young men the couch of dalliance, but let her find joy in old men whose temples are grey, whose powers, to be sure, are blunted, but whose spirit is keen." These verses are from the collection attributed to Homer.[b] Theoris he mentions in a certain choral ode in the following words[c]: "Verily Theoris is dear." Being in his declining years, as Hegesander says,[d] Sophocles fell in love with the courtesan Archippê and made her in his will heiress to his property. And that Sophocles was old when Archippê lived with him is proved by what her former lover Smicrines wittily said when asked what Archippê was doing: "As the owls sit upon tombs, so sits she."[e]

But another instance: even Isocrates, the most modest of the orators, kept Metaneira as his mistress, as well as Lagisca; so Lysias records in his *Letters*.[f] But Demosthenes in his speech *Against Neaera* says[g] that Metaneira was the mistress of Lysias. And Lysias was also smitten with the courtesan Lagis, a

[a] *Cf. Vit. Hom.* p. 15 Westermann. The verses, as Athenaeus says, were ascribed to Homer, not to Sophocles.

[b] *Epigr.* 12 Baumeister.

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 296. Nauck refuses to take Θεωρίς as a proper noun, comparing Hesych. *s.* θεωρίδες· αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Βάκχαι. But that the Alexandrians so understood it seems to be proved from Hermesianax, below, 598 d (p. 225).

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 418.

[e] For "tomb" as an epithet of the senile see above, 580 c (p. 131).

[f] Thalheim 381, Herwerden 245.

[g] Chap. 21.

ἐγκώμιον Κέφαλος ὁ ῥήτωρ· καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας ὁ Ἐλαΐτης ὁ Γοργίου μαθητὴς ἔγραψεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκώμιον Ναΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας. τὴν δὲ Ναΐδα ταύτην Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φιλωνίδου βιαίων, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, ἐρωμένην φησὶ γενέσθαι Φιλωνίδου γράφων ὧδε· "ἔστιν οὖν γυνὴ ἑταίρα Ναῖς ὄνομα, ἧς Ἀρχίας κύριός ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Ὑμέναιος ἐπιτήδειος, ὁ Φιλωνίδης δ' ἐρᾶν φησιν." μνημονεύει αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ.
d μήποτε δὲ κἀν τῷ Πλούτῳ ἐν ᾧ λέγει·

ἐρᾷ δὲ Λαῖς οὐ διὰ σὲ Φιλωνίδου;

γραπτέον Ναῖς καὶ οὐ Λαῖς. Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἰσοκράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ἑταίραν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Στράττις ἐν τούτοις·

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν
ἰδεῖν με συκάζουσαν εὐναίαν ἔτι,
τόν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν εἶθ' ἥκειν ταχύ.[1]

e καὶ Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαΐδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, μνημονεύει αὐτῆς, καταλέγων καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας ἐν τούτοις· "Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι[2] νέα οὖσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἱππάφεσις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἄνθεια καὶ Ἀριστόκλεια."

[1] εἶθ' ἥκειν ταχύ added by Sauppe (*cf. Vit. Isocr.* p. 256 Westerm).
[2] ἔτι 586 e: καὶ ἔτι A.

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[a] B. and S. ii. 217.
[b] B. and S. ii. 155. Elaea was in Aeolis.
[c] Thalheim 375.

eulogy of whom was written by the orator Cephalus [a]; similarly Alcidamas of Elaea, the pupil of Gorgias, wrote [b] in his turn a eulogy of the courtesan Naïs. As to this Naïs, Lysias in the speech *Against Philonides*, an action for forcible rescue, if the speech be genuine, says that she became the mistress of Philonides; he writes as follows [c]: "There is, then, a woman named Naïs, a courtesan, whose guardian is Archias, whose intimate is Hymenaeus, and whom Philonides admits he loves." Aristophanes mentions her in his *Gerytades*.[d] And perhaps also in *Plutus*, in which play he says, "Is it not because of you [e] that Laïs loves Philonides?" we should write Naïs, and not Laïs. Hermippus, in his work *On Isocrates*, says [f] that Isocrates, when considerably advanced in years, took the courtesan Lagisca into his house, and from her there was born to him a daughter. She is mentioned by Strattis in these lines [g]: "Methought I saw Lagisca, Isocrates' concubine, tickling me while she was still in bed, and then the flute-borer himself came in with a rush." [h] Lysias also, in the speech *Against Laïs*, if it be genuine, mentions her in giving a list of other courtesans besides; here are his words [i]: "Philyra, at least, ceased whoring when still a young woman, and so also did Scionê, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathê, Lagisca, Antheia, and Aristocleia."

[a] Kock i. 433, Aristoph. *Plut.* 179, where the schol. have Λαΐς. Blass, *Att. Bereds.*[2] i. 355.

[b] Plutus, *i.e.* wealth.

[c] *F.H.G.* iii. 49.

[d] Kock i. 712.

[e] *Vit. Isocr.* 256 Westerm. gives a different text. The father of Isocrates was a manufacturer of flutes, whence he himself is contemptuously called a flute-borer (*sens. obsc.*). See [Plut.] *X Orat.* 836 E.

[f] Above, 586 e (p. 162), Thalheim 365.

Δημοσθένη δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ ἑταίρας ἔχει λόγος. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρυσίου[1] λόγῳ προαγήοχε[2] τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δι' ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἕξων χωρὶς τῆς μητρός, καίτοι ἔθος ἐχόντων τῶν κρινομένων τὰς
f γυναῖκας ἐπάγεσθαι· ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ τοῦτ'[3] ἐποίησεν, φεύγων τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεὶς μειρακίου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν[4] παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ περὶ ὄψα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας πολυτελής.[5] τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς ποτ' αὐτοῦ[6] εἶπε·
593 "τί δ' ἄν τις περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγειν δύναιτο; τὰ γὰρ ἐνιαυτῷ μελετηθέντα ἐκείνῳ μία γυνὴ μιᾷ νυκτὶ συνέχεεν." ἀναλαβεῖν γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγεταί τινα Κνωσίωνα μειρακίσκον, 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, ὥς φησιν Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Πτολεμαῖός τε

[1] CE: χρυσειου A.
[2] E: προαγείοχε A, -αγίοχε C.
[3] τοῦτ' ACE: τοῦτ' οὐκ (?) Kaibel.
[4] Kaibel: αὐτὸ AE Schol. Aeschin. p. 37 Turn.
[5] Musurus: πολυτελεῖσ A, corrected in margin.
[6] E: αὐτοῦσ A, αὐτοῦ in margin.

[a] B. and S. ii. 251; the speech answered the charge that he had been bribed by Harpalus; below, p. 205.
[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 492. On Aristarchus see Demosth. *Mid.* 104, Aeschin. *Tim.* 171, Deinarchus, *contra Dem.* 30.

That the orator Demosthenes had children by a courtesan is common report. He himself, at any rate, in the course of his speech *On the Bribe of Gold*,[a] brought the children out before the court to excite compassion through them, unaccompanied by their mother, although it was customary for defendants in a trial, if they had wives, to produce them; but this he did from shame, to avoid the scandal. The orator was unbridled in sexual matters, according to Idomeneus.[b] At any rate, having fallen in love with a lad named Aristarchus, because of him he attacked Nicodemus in a drunken fit and gouged out his eyes. It is a well-known tradition that he spent money lavishly on dainty foods, young boys, and women. Hence his clerk[c] once said: "What can one say of Demosthenes? For all that it has taken him a year of industry to acquire, one woman in one night has spoilt completely." He is said, at any rate, to have taken even into his house a young lad named Cnosion, although he had a wife; she, in turn, lay with Cnosion to show her resentment.[d]

Myrrhinê, the Samian courtesan, was kept by Demetrius, the one who was the last king of the succession[e]; and though he did not give her the crown, he gave her a share in his royal state, according to Nicolaüs of Damascus.[f] And Ptolemy, the one who

[c] Or "keeper of his accounts," possibly the same as *οἰκονόμος*, house-steward.

[d] This is a replica of the gossip about Euripides and Cephisophon, repeated Schol. Aeschin. ii. 149; see *B.P.W.* 1924, 307; Drerup, *Demosth.* 64. The wife had legal redress in such cases.

[e] Following Alexander. D. Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, is meant; above, 577 c-d, 578 a (pp. 117-121).

[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 414, J. 2 A 380, P.-W. i. 2456.

ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ
b Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως Εἰρήνην εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν,
ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέ-
μιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν· καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων
αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἡ Εἰρήνη ἐχομένη τῶν ῥόπτρων τῶν
θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔρραινεν[1] τοῦ αἵματος τοὺς
βωμούς,[1] ἕως καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσφαξαν. Δανάην[2] δὲ
τὴν Λεοντίου τῆς Ἐπικουρείου[3] θυγατέρα ἑταιρι-
ζομένην καὶ αὐτὴν Σώφρων εἶχεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἐφέσου· δι' ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη ἐπιβουλευόμενος
ὑπὸ Λαοδίκης, ἡ δὲ κατεκρημνίσθη, ὡς γράφει
c Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης λέγων[4] τάδε· "ἡ πάρ-
εδρος τῆς Λαοδίκης Δανάη, πιστευομένη ὑπ' αὐτῆς
τὰ πάντα, Λεοντίου δ' οὖσα τῆς μετ' Ἐπικούρου τοῦ
φυσικοῦ σχολασάσης θυγάτηρ, Σώφρονος δὲ γε-
γονυῖα πρότερον ἐρωμένη, παρακολουθοῦσα διότι
ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεται τὸν Σώφρονα ἡ Λαοδίκη
διανεύει τῷ Σώφρονι, μηνύουσα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν.
ὁ δὲ συλλαβὼν καὶ προσποιηθεὶς συγχωρεῖν περὶ
ὧν λέγει δύ' ἡμέρας παρῃτήσατο εἰς σκέψιν· καὶ
συγχωρησάσης νυκτὸς ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἔφεσον. μα-
θοῦσα δὲ ἡ Λαοδίκη τὸ ποιηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Δανάης
d κατεκρήμνισεν τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν τῶν προ-
γεγενημένων φιλανθρώπων ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλομένη.[5]
τὴν δὲ Δανάην φασίν, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸν ἐπηρτημένον

[1] Cobet: ἔρραινεν . . . τοῖς βωμοῖσ A, ἐπέρραινεν Kaibel (ἐνέρραινεν Dobree).
[2] δάναϊν A.
[3] ἐπικουρίου A.
[4] λέγων added by Meineke.
[5] Casaubon: ἐπισυμβαλομένη A.

commanded a guard at Ephesus,[a] a son of King Philadelphus, kept the courtesan Eirenê; she, when Thracians in Ephesus plotted against Ptolemy and he took refuge in the temple of Artemis, shared in the flight; and after they had killed him she, clinging to the knockers of the temple doors, splashed the altars with her blood until they had despatched her also. Again, Danaë,[b] the daughter of the Epicurean Leontion,[c] was a courtesan kept by Sophron, the commandant at Ephesus; it was through her that he himself was saved when plotted against by Laodicê, while she was thrown down a precipice, as Phylarchus writes in his twelfth book. His words are these[d]: "Laodicê's associate was Danaë, trusted by her in all matters; she was the daughter of Leontion, who studied under Epicurus, the natural philosopher, and had previously been the mistress of Sophron; when she understood that Laodicê wanted to kill Sophron, she by nods and gestures disclosed the plot. And he, catching her meaning, pretended to agree to Laodicê's proposals, but asked for two days in which to consider them; and when she agreed, he fled by night to Ephesus; when Laodicê learned what Danaë had done, she threw the poor woman over a precipice, taking no thought whatever of past acts of kindness. And they say that Danaë, on perceiving the danger

[a] Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. 174. This Ptolemy was a son of Philadelphus and a concubine; above, 576 e (p. 113).

[b] On mythological names given to historical persons see Lehrs, *Aristarch. Stud. Hom.*[3] 269, who gives other instances from Athenaeus.

[c] Above, 585 d (p. 157); for female Epicureans see Usener, *Epic.*[2] (1887) 408 *s.* Θεμίστα and 411 *s.* Λεόντιον, Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 93.

[d] *F.H.G.* i. 339, J. 2 A 168. See Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 187.

αὐτῇ κίνδυνον, ἀνακρινομένην ὑπὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως αὐτὴν ἀξιῶσαι· ἀπαγομένην τε ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θείου, ὅτε 'ἐγὼ μὲν τὸν γενόμενόν μοι ἄνδρα σώσασα τοιαύτην χάριτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαμβάνω, Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκτείνασα τηλικαύτης[1] τιμῆς ἀξιοῦται.'" ὁ δ'
e αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος καὶ περὶ Μύστας[2] ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ οὕτως· "Μύστα Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωμένη ἦν· ἥτις ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Σελεύκου νικηθέντος καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διασωθέντος αὐτὴ μεταμφιεσαμένη[3] τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥάκια λαβοῦσα[4] θεραπαινίδος τῆς τυχούσης συλληφθεῖσα ἀπήχθη[5] μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πραθεῖσα ὁμοίως ταῖς ἑαυτῆς θεραπαινίσιν ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥόδον· ἔνθα ἐκφήνασα ἑαυτὴν ἥτις ἦν περισπουδάστως ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων τῷ Σελεύκῳ διεπέμφθη."

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς Λαμπιτοῦς τῆς Σαμίας
f ἑταίρας ἐρασθεὶς ἡδέως δι' αὐτὴν[6] καὶ Λαμπιτὼ προσηγορεύετο,[7] ὥς φησι Δίυλλος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρος. Νικαρέτη δὲ ἡ ἑταίρα ἐρωμένη ἦν Στεφάνου τοῦ ῥήτορος, Λυσίου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Μετάνειρα. ἦσαν δὲ αὗται δοῦλαι Κασίου[8] τοῦ

[1] τιλικαύτησ A. [2] A: Μύστης Kaibel.
[3] μεταμφιασαμένη CE; so Polyaen. viii. 61.
[4] Kaibel: καὶ ἀναλαβοῦσα A.
[5] Meineke: ἀνήχθη ACE.
[6] δι' αὐτὴν Jacobs: δ' αὐτὴν A.
[7] Jacobs: προσηγόρευτο A.
[8] Χαρισίου c. *Neaer.* 18.

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 341, J. 2 A 169.

that impended over her, though rigorously questioned by Laodicê, did not even think her worthy of an answer; and as she was led away to the precipice she said it was no wonder that most men made light of divine power, seeing that 'I, she said, saved him who was once my man, and yet receive such a requital from the deity, whereas Laodicê, after killing her own man, is thought worthy of such great honour.'" The same Phylarchus records the following concerning Mysta in his fourteenth book[a]: "Mysta was the mistress of King Seleucus[b]; she, when Seleucus had been defeated by the people of Galatia and had barely escaped from the rout with his life, took off her royal garments, and put on the rags of an ordinary maidservant; she was captured and led off with the other prisoners, and on being sold just as were her own maidens she came to Rhodes; there, having revealed who she was, she was sent with all due care by the Rhodians across to Seleucus."

Demetrius of Phalerum, who was in love with Lampitô, the Samian courtesan, was for her sake quite content to be called Lampitô, as Diÿllus declares[c]; he was also called Pretty Eyes.[d] Nicaretê the courtesan was the mistress of the orator Stephanus, and Metaneira of the sophist Lysias.[e] These women were slaves, belonging to Casius of Elis, along with

[b] Above, 578 a (p. 121).

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 361, J. 2 A 132. This paragraph (to 594 b) is regarded by Kaibel as spurious, being taken from Diog. Laert. v. 76 (who, however, cites Didymus, not Diÿllus) and from the speech against Neaera.

[d] Lit. "with eyelids such as the Charites (Graces) had." Lampitô means "The Radiant Woman."

[e] Above, 592 b-c (p. 193). For Stephanus see *c. Neaer.* 10. Nicaretê was the lena who kept Neaera.

Ἠλείου μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἑταιρῶν, Ἀντείας, Στρατόλας, Ἀριστοκλείας, Φίλας, Ἰσθμιάδος, Νεαίρας. ἡ δὲ Νέαιρα ἦν[1] ἐρωμένη Ξενοκλείδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ καὶ Φρυνίωνος τοῦ Παιανιέως, ὃς ἦν Δήμωνος μὲν υἱός, Δημοχάρους δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς. τὴν δὲ Νέαιραν εἶχον ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, διαιτητῶν γενομένων φίλων, Φρυνίων καὶ
594 Στέφανος ὁ ῥήτωρ· ὃς καὶ τὴν τῆς Νεαίρας θυγατέρα Στρυμβήλην[2] τὴν ὕστερον Φανὼ κληθεῖσαν ὡς ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐξέδοτο Φράστορι τῷ Αἰγιλιεῖ,[3] ὥς φησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας. ὃς καὶ περὶ Σινώπης τῆς ἑταίρας τάδε λέγει· "Ἀρχίαν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα καὶ θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς θυσίας ἐκολάσατε· καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι
b Σινώπῃ τῇ ἑταίρᾳ Ἁλῴοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσῖνι προσαγούσῃ[4] ἱερεῖον θύσειεν, νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα μὴ θύειν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας."

Διαβόητος δ' ἑταίρα γέγονε καὶ ἡ Μιλησία Πλαγγών· ἧς περικαλλεστάτης οὔσης ἠράσθη τις Κολοφώνιος νεανίσκος, Βακχίδα ἔχων ἐρωμένην τὴν Σαμίαν. λόγους οὖν προσενέγκαντος τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ Πλαγγὼν ἀκούουσα τῆς

[1] στρατοκλείδου (the scribe's doublet of Ξενοκλείδου) after ἦν deleted by Kaibel.
[2] A: Στρυβήλην c. *Neaer.* 50.
[3] φάστορι τῶι αἰγιαλεῖ A.
[4] c. *Neaer.* 116: προσαγούσησ A.

[a] Above, 587 e (p. 169).
[b] On Demochares, nephew of Demosthenes, see Athen. 252 f (vol. iii. p. 138), 508 f (vol. v. p. 286).
[c] In c. *Neaer.* 46 it is said that the two were reconciled by

other courtesans, Anteia, Stratola, Aristocleia, Phila, Isthmias,[a] and Neaera. Now Neaera was the mistress of Xenocleides the poet, of Hipparchus the actor, and of Phrynion, who came from the deme Paeania and was the son of Demôn and nephew of Demochares.[b] Neaera was possessed on alternate days by Phrynion and the orator Stephanus, their friends having acted as arbitrators in the matter[c]; and Neaera's daughter Strymbêlê, later called Phanô, was given in marriage by Stephanus, as though she were his own daughter, to Phrastor of the deme Aegilia as Demosthenes declares[d] in the speech *Against Neaera*. He has this to say also about the courtesan Sinopê[e]: "You punished Archias the hierophant when he was convicted in court of impiety and of offering sacrifices in a manner contrary to ancestral ritual; among other accusations brought against him was this, that at the Haloa[f] he sacrificed a victim, brought by the courtesan Sinopê, and in her behalf, on the altar in the court at Eleusis, although it was by law forbidden to sacrifice a victim on that particular day, and the offering of the sacrifice was not his business, but that of the priestess."

A celebrated courtesan, also, was Plangôn[g] of Miletus; she was of extraordinary beauty, and loved by a Colophonian lad, who had as mistress Bacchis of Samos. When the lad made proposals to Plangôn,

arbitrators, whence Peppink proposes to insert *τῶν* before *φίλων*. Less probable is Kaibel's conjecture, *ὑπὸ διαιτητῶν γενόμενοι φίλοι*, "having become friends through the mediation of arbitrators."

[d] Ps.-Demosth. lix. 50. On the deme Aegilia see p. 526, note *b*.

[e] *Ibid.* 116.

[f] Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 328-329.

[g] Above, 558 b (p. 17), 567 e (p. 67).

Βακχίδος τὸ κάλλος καὶ ἀποτρέψαι θέλουσα τὸν νεανίσκον τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος, ὡς ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἤτησε τῆς συνουσίας μισθὸν τὸν Βακχίδος ὅρμον
c διαβόητον ὄντα. ὁ δὲ[1] σφοδρῶς ἐρῶν ἠξίωσε τὴν Βακχίδα μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπολλύμενον. καὶ ἡ Βακχὶς τὴν ὁρμὴν κατιδοῦσα τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἔδωκε. Πλαγγὼν δὲ τὸ ἄζηλον συνιδοῦσα τῆς Βακχίδος τὸν μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκείνῃ, τῷ δὲ ὡμίλησε. καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ φίλαι ἐγένοντο, κοινῶς περιέπουσαι τὸν ἐραστήν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἴωνες ἀγασθέντες, ὥς φησι Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀναθημάτων, Πασιφίλαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν Πλαγγόνα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀρχί-
d λοχος περὶ αὐτῆς ἐν τούτοις·

συκῆ πετραίη πολλὰς[2] *βόσκουσα κορώνας,*
εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλη.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἤρα Γλυκέρας κοινόν· ἐνεμεσήθη δέ. Φιλήμονος γὰρ ἑταίρας ἐρασθέντος καὶ χρηστὴν ταύτην ὀνομάσαντος διὰ τοῦ δράματος, ἀντέγραψεν Μένανδρος ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης χρηστῆς.

Ἅρπαλος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν ὁ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὰ
e χρημάτων συλήσας καὶ καταφυγὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐρασθεὶς Πυθιονίκης πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὴν κατανάλωσεν[3] ἑταίραν οὖσαν· καὶ ἀποθανούσῃ πολυτάλαντον μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν· " ἐκφέρων τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰς

[1] Kaibel: τε A. [2] CE: παλλὰς A.
[3] A: κατηνάλωσεν CE, κατανήλωσεν (?) Kaibel.

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[6] *F.H.G.* iv. 452. [5] " Dear-to-all."

she, hearing of the beauty of Bacchis and wishing to divert the lad from his passion for herself, demanded, since that proved impossible, the necklace of Bacchis as the price of an assignation, the necklace being celebrated. And he being passionately in love entreated Bacchis not to permit him to die. So Bacchis, when she saw the young man's eagerness, gave him the necklace. But Plangôn, seeing the unselfishness of Bacchis, sent the necklace back to her, and consorted with the young man. And from that time on the girls were friends, entertaining their lover in common. In admiration of these acts the Ionians, according to Menetor in his work *On Votive Offerings*,[a] called Plangôn Pasiphilê.[b] Archilochus is a witness to her[c] in these lines[d]: "Like a fig-tree among the rocks, which feeds many crows, Pasiphilê of easy virtue welcomes strangers." That the poet Menander, also, was in love with Glycera is a matter of common knowledge. But he became angry at her; for when Philemon fell in love with a courtesan and called[e] her in his play "good," Menander in answer wrote that no woman is good.[f]

Harpalus, the Macedonian who plundered large sums from Alexander's funds and then sought refuge in Athens, fell in love with Pythionicê and squandered a great deal on her, though she was a courtesan; and when she died he erected a monument to her costing many talents. "And so, when he bore her to the

[b] Rather, to the name Pasiphila ("friendly to all"), which Archilochus was the first to use. Bergk thought that Archilochus might be a mistake for Antilochus.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 388, Diehl frag. 15, Edmonds, *El. and Iambus* (L.C.L.) ii. 106; see P.-W. ii. 497. Συκῆ πετραίη is possibly reminiscent of Scylla, Σκύλλη πετραίη, *Od.* xii. 231.

[e] Kock ii. 534.

[f] Kock iii. 244.

ταφάς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος[1] ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων χορῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ παντοίοις ὀργάνοις καὶ εὐφωνίαις[2] παρέπεμπε τὸ σῶμα." Δικαίαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου[3] Καταβάσεώς
f φησι· "ταὐτὸ δὲ πάθοι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀφικνούμενος κατὰ τὴν[4] ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν καλουμένην. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καταστὰς οὗ ἂν φανῇ[5] τὸ πρῶτον ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς[6] ἀφορώμενος νεὼς καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, ὄψεται παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτὴν ᾠκοδομημένον μνῆμα οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲ σύνεγγυς οὐδέν ἐστι τῷ μεγέθει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἢ Μιλτιάδου φήσειεν[7] ἄν[8] σαφῶς ἢ Περικλέους ἢ Κίμωνος ἤ τινος ἑτέρου τῶν ἀγαθῶν
595 ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, καὶ[9] μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον, εἰ δὲ μή, δεδομένον[10] κατασκευάσασθαι. πάλιν δ' ὅταν ἐξετάσῃ Πυθιονίκης τῆς ἑταίρας ὄν, τίνα[11] χρὴ προσδοκίαν λαβεῖν αὐτόν;" Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ τὴν Ἁρπάλου διαβάλλων ἀκολασίαν φησίν· "ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ διάκουσον σαφῶς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὃν τρόπον Πυθιονίκην περιέστειλεν τελευτήσασαν. ἡ Βακχίδος μὲν ἦν δούλη τῆς αὐλητρίδος, ἐκείνη δὲ Σινώπης τῆς Θρᾴττης τῆς ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθήναζε μετενεγκαμένης τὴν πορ-

[1] ποσειδώνιοσ A.
[2] εὐφωνίαισ A: συμφωνίαις Casaubon, Kaibel.
[3] τροφωνειου A.
[4] Jacobs: καὶ ταύτην A.
[5] Valckenaer: ᾖ A.
[6] ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Meineke: εἰσ Ἀθήνασ A.
[7] CE: φήσειε A.
[8] ἂν added by Kaibel.
[9] καὶ added by Kaibel.
[10] B (corrected from δεδογμένον): δεδογμένον A
[11] ὄν, τίνα Cobet, Kaibel: ὄντινα A.

place of burial," as Poseidonius declares[a] in the twenty-second book of his *Histories*, "he escorted the corpse with a large choir of the most distinguished artists, with all kinds of instruments and sweet tones."[b] And Dicaearchus, in his books *On the Descent into the Cave of Trophonius*, says[c]: "One would feel the same when going up to the city of Athens by way of the Sacred Road, as it is called, from Eleusis. For there, stationing himself at the point from which the temple of Athena and the citadel are first seen in the distance, he will observe a monument, built right beside the road, the like of which, in its size, is not even approached by any other. One would naturally declare quite positively, at first, that this was a monument to Miltiades, or Pericles, or Cimon, or some other man of noble rank and character and, in particular, that it had been erected by the state at public expense or, failing that, that permission to erect it had been given by the state. But when, on again looking, one discovers that it is a monument to Pythionicê the courtesan, what must one be led to expect?" Again, Theopompus, when denouncing in his *Letter to Alexander* the licentiousness of Harpalus, says[d]: "Consider and learn clearly from our agents in Babylon how he ordered the funeral of Pythionicê when she died. She, to be sure, was a slave of the flute-girl Bacchis, who in turn was a slave of the Thracian woman Sinopê, who had transferred her

[a] *F.H.G.* iii. 259, J. 2 A 229.

[b] Or, reading *συμφωνίαις* "playing in concord," *i.e.* the overtones of the several instruments mingling harmoniously.

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 266; *cf.* Plut. *Phoc.* 22, Paus. i. 37, Frazer, *Paus.* ii. 495. Dicaearchus here writes as a moralist attacking the vulgarity which he describes.

[d] *F.H.G.* i. 325, J. 2 B 590, G. and H. 244.

b νείαν· ὥστε γίνεσθαι μὴ μόνον τρίδουλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίπορνον αὐτήν. ἀπὸ πλειόνων δὲ ταλάντων ἢ διακοσίων δύο μνήματα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτῆς· ὃ καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τελευτησάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας οὐδέπω νῦν οὔτε ἐκεῖνος οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιστατῶν κεκόσμηκε τὸν τάφον, Πυθιονίκης δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας φανήσεται τὸ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν,[1] τὸ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μνῆμα πολὺν ἤδη
c χρόνον ἐπιτετελεσμένον. ἦν γὰρ πάντες ἤδεσαν κοινῆς[2] δαπάνης κοινὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις γιγνομένην, ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν ὁ φίλος εἶναι σοῦ φάσκων ἱερὸν καὶ τέμενος ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονίκης Ἀφροδίτης, ἅμα τῆς τε παρὰ θεῶν τιμωρίας καταφρονῶν καὶ τὰς σὰς τιμὰς προπηλακίζειν ἐπιχειρῶν." μνημονεύει τούτων καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Βαβυλωνίῳ·

βασίλισσ' ἔσῃ[3] Βαβυλῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ·
τὴν Πυθιονίκην οἶσθα καὶ τὸν Ἅρπαλον.

d μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Λυκίσκῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πυθιονίκης τελευτὴν ὁ Ἅρπαλος Γλυκέραν μετεπέμψατο καὶ ταύτην ἑταίραν, ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ, φάσκων ἀπειρηκέναι τὸν Ἅρπαλον μὴ στεφανοῦν ἑαυτόν, εἰ μή τις στεφανώσειε καὶ τὴν πόρνην. "ἔστησέν τε εἰκόνα χαλκῆν τῆς Γλυκέρας ἐν Ῥωσσῷ[4] τῆς Συρίας, οὗπερ καὶ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν[5] ἀνατιθέναι μέλλει.[6] παρέδωκέν τε αὐτῇ

[1] ἀθήνησιν A. [2] ὁλίγης Wilamowitz.
[3] Bentley: βασιλίσσαισ ἢ A.
[4] 586 c: ἐνερασσωι A. [5] Meineke: ἀυτὸν A.
[6] Casaubon: μέλλειν A.

practice of harlotry from Aegina to Athens; hence Pythionicê was not only triply a slave, but also triply a harlot. Now, with the sum of more than two hundred talents he erected two monuments to her; the thing that surprised everyone is this, that whereas for the men who died in Cilicia defending your kingdom and the liberty of Greece neither he nor anyone else among the officials has as yet erected a proper tomb, for the courtesan Pythionicê the monument at Athens and the other in Babylon have already stood completed a long time. Here was a woman who, as everybody knew, had been shared by all who desired her at the same price for all, and yet for this woman he who says he is your friend dared set up a shrine and a sacred enclosure and has called the temple and the altar by the name of Aphroditê Pythionicê, by one and the same act showing his contempt for the vengeance of the gods and endeavouring to heap insult on the offices you bestow." These persons are also mentioned by Philemon in *The Man of Babylon* [a]: "You shall be queen of Babylon, if luck so falls; you have heard of Pythionicê and Harpalus." And Alexis also mentions her in *Lycaiscus*.[b]

And yet, after the death of Pythionicê Harpalus sent for Glycera, who was also a courtesan, to come to him, as Theopompus records,[c] adding that Harpalus forbade anyone to offer him a crown unless he crowned this harlot also. "Further, he has set up a bronze portrait of Glycera in Rhossus, Syria, where he purposes to rear a monument to you [d] and to himself.

[a] Kock ii. 482, *cf.* Diodor. xvii. 108.
[b] Or "Little Wolf"; Kock ii. 347.
[c] *F.H.G.* i. 325, J. 2 B 590, G. and H. 245, above, 586 c (p. 161, note *h*).
[d] Alexander.

κατοικεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ περιορᾷ[1] ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ προσκυνουμένην καὶ βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς
e τιμωμένην, αἷς πρέπον ἦν τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν σοὶ συνοικοῦσαν." συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς, ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ποταμοῦ,[2] εἴτε Πύθων ἦν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ[3] Βυζάντιος ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα ἤδη φυγόντος τοῦ Ἁρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀποστάντος. καὶ τῆς μὲν Πυθιονίκης ὡς τεθνηκυίας μέμνηται, τῆς δὲ Γλυκέρας ὡς οὔσης παρ'
f αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰτίας γινομένης τοῦ δωρεὰς λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἁρπάλου, λέγων ὧδε·

ἔστιν δ', ὅπου μὲν ὁ κάλαμος πέφυχ' ὅδε,[4]
ὀχύρωμ' Ἄορνον.[5] οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε
πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός,[6] ὃν δὴ Παλλίδης[7]
τεύξας κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτοῦ φυγήν.
ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς μάγοι
ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν παγκάκως[8] διακείμενον

[1] Gulick: ὁρᾶι A, καθάπερ θεὰν ὁρᾷ Kaibel.
[2] ποταμοῦ Kaibel: τοῦ ποταμοῦ A.
[3] ἢ 50 f: ἢ ὁ A.
[4] πέφυκε· ὁδ' e. A.
[5] ὀχύρωμ' Ἄορνον Gulick: φετωμα ορνον A, φάτνωμ' ἄορνον Fiorillo, ἕλωμ' ἄορνον Meineke, φίτευμ' (rather φύτευμ') Lumb.
[6] Casaubon: λαόσ A.
[7] Φαλλίδης Meineke, Olivieri.
[8] Jacobs: παγκάλωσ A.

[a] Above, 586 d (p. 163), Diodor. xvii. 108.
[b] The writer seems by this alternative to identify (wrongly) Python of Catana with the orator Python of Byzantium, for whom see Athen. 550 f (vol. v. p. 498); *cf.* Olivieri, *Accad. arch. Nap.* xii. pp. 93-107.
[c] 325 or 324 B.C.; but Olivieri *op. cit.* p. 105 places the

More, he has given her the privilege of residing in the royal palace at Tarsus, and permits her to be worshipped by the people and hailed as queen and honoured by other emoluments which were more fittingly bestowed upon your mother and your consort." All this is confirmed by the testimony of the writer who made the little satyric play *Agên*,[a] which was produced when the Dionysia were celebrated at the Hydaspes river, whether the author was Python of Catana (or Byzantium)[b] or the king himself. The play was produced after Harpalus had fled to the coast and revolted.[c] Pythionicê is mentioned as already dead, whereas Glycera is mentioned as living with Harpalus and as creating the accusation against the Athenians[d] of receiving bribes from Harpalus; he says[e]: "A. There is, in the place where this reed grows, a fortress too high for the birds[f]; on the other side, at the left here, is a harlot's famous temple,[g] which 'Pallides' built before he condemned himself to flight because of his plot. There, accordingly, some magi among the barbarians, seeing him in utterly despondent mood, persuaded

occurrence earlier, in 327. See also Coppola, *Riv. di fil.* v. 1927, pp. 459-467.

[d] The dative is ambiguous. Certain Athenian statesmen, including Demosthenes, were accused of receiving bribes from Harpalus, but the Athenians themselves took up the charges and investigated them; Athen. 341 f (vol. iv. p. 48), K. J. Bauer, *Harpal. Process* 9, G. Colin, *Le Discours d'Hypéride contre Démosthène* (1934) p. 31. Above, p. 196.

[e] *T.G.F.*[2] 810; above, 586 d (p. 163).

[f] The stronghold called Ἄορνον "birdless" on the Indus river, in a region over which Harpalus had been satrap, Diodor. xvii. 85. See critical note 5.

[g] Soph. *El.* 7

οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε
Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός.

ἔπεισαν ὡς ἄξουσι[1] τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω
596 τὴν Πυθιονίκης.

Παλλίδην δ' ἐνταῦθα ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἅρπαλον. ἐν δὲ[2] τοῖς ἑξῆς τῷ κυρίῳ καλέσας αὐτόν φησιν·

ἐκμαθεῖν δέ σου ποθῶ
μακρὰν[3] ἀποικῶν κεῖθεν, Ἀτθίδα χθόνα
τίνες τύχαι κατέχουσιν[4] ἢ πράττουσι τί.
Α. ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον,
ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον[5]
καὶ τὸν μάραθον[6] ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ' οὐ μάλα.
Β. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἅρπαλον
b αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάσσονας
σίτου διαπέμψαι[7] καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.
Α. Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται[8] δ' ἴσως
αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοὐχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβών.

Ἐνδόξους δὲ ἑταίρας καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει διαφερούσας ἤνεγκεν καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις· Δωρίχαν τε, ἣν ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος
c διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χαράξου νοσφισαμένην. Ἡρόδοτος δ' αὐτὴν Ῥοδῶπιν καλεῖ, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἑτέρα τῆς Δωρίχης ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἡ καὶ τοὺς περιβοήτους ὀβελίσκους ἀναθεῖσα ἐν

[1] Casaubon: ἀξιοῦσι A.
[2] δὲ added by Schweighäuser.
[3] Jacobs: ποθῶν ἄκραν A.
[4] Schweighäuser: καλοῦσιν A, κρατοῦσιν (?) Kaibel.
[5] Porson: χεδρωπαν ὠμόν A.
[6] Musurus: μαραθων A.
[7] παραπέμψαι 586 d.
[8] 586 d: ἐστι A.

him that they could lure the spirit of Pythionicê to the upper world." [a] In this passage the writer calls Harpalus "Pallides." [b] But in the next verses he calls him by his real name and says: B. "I long to learn from you, since I live so far away from there, what fortunes control the Attic land, and what the folk do there.[c] A. At the time when, they alleged, they had taken on a life of slavery, they had enough for dinner; but to-day they are eating only vetch and fennel, but wheat not at all. B. And yet I hear that Harpalus has sent over to them thousands of bushels of grain, as many as Agên sent, and so was made a citizen. A. This grain was Glycera's, and it will doubtless turn out to be their death-warrant, and not merely a whore's earnest money."

Famous courtesans, distinguished for beauty, were produced by Naucratis also; among them was Doricha, who became the mistress of the fair Sappho's brother Charaxus when he went to Naucratis on business, and whom Sappho denounced in her poetry [d] for having robbed him of a lot of money. But Herodotus calls her Rhodôpis,[e] being unaware that she is different from Dorichê, the woman who dedicated, at Delphi,

[a] For the ritual of the magi *cf.* Luc. *Necyom.* 8-11.

[b] Meineke may be right in seeing an allusion to the phallus (Παλλίδης = Φαλλίδης ?).

[c] Or "how the folk fare there," perhaps a reminiscence of Atossa's question, Aesch. *Pers.* 232

κεῖνο δ' ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω,
ὦ φίλοι, ποῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἱδρῦσθαι χθονός;

The mausoleum here indicated was the one built by Harpalus in Babylonia.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] frag. 138, Diehl frag. 25, 26, with the citations there given, Edmonds i. 204-206, *cf.* 148, *Oxyrh. Pap.* i. 10 ff., x. 20 ff.

[e] ii. 135. See How and Wells's note on Hdt. ii. 134.

Δελφοῖς, ὧν μέμνηται Κρατῖνος διὰ τούτων . . .[1] εἰς δὲ τὴν Δωρίχαν τόδ' ἐποίησε τοὐπίγραμμα Ποσείδιππος,[2] καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰσωπείᾳ[3] πολλάκις αὐτῆς μνημονεύσας. ἐστὶ δε[4] τόδε·

Δωρίχα, ὀστέα μέν σ' ἁπαλῆς κόσμησ' ἀπόδεσμα[5]
χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,
d ἥ[6] ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον
σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν[7] ἤψαο κισσυβίων.
Σαπφῶαι[8] δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν
ᾠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες.
οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν,[9] ὃ Ναύκρατις ὧδε[10] φυλάξει
ἔστ' ἂν ἴῃ Νείλου[11] ναῦς ἔφαλος[12] τενάγη.[13]

καὶ Ἀρχεδίκη δ' ἦν[14] ἐκ τῆς Ναυκράτεως καὶ αὐτὴ ἑταίρα καλή. φιλεῖ γάρ πως ἡ Ναύκρατις, ὡς ὁ Ἡρόδοτός φησιν, ἐπαφροδίτους ἔχειν τὰς ἑταίρας.
e Καὶ ἡ ἐξ Ἐρέσου δὲ τῆς ποιητρίας ὁμώνυμος ἑταίρα[15] Σαπφὼ τοῦ καλοῦ Φάωνος ἐρασθεῖσα περιβόητος ἦν, ὥς φησι Νυμφόδωρος[16] ἐν Περίπλῳ

[1] Lacuna marked by Basle edd. [2] *ποσίδιππος* A.
[3] Schott: *αἰθιοπίαι* A. [4] Musurus: *ἔστιν τόδε* A.
[5] Edmonds: *μέν σ' ἁπαλὰ κοιμήσατο δ' ἑσμῶν* A.
[6] Jacobs: *ἡ* A. [7] *ὀρθρινων* A.
[8] *σαπφωαι* A: Σαπφῶας Edmonds.
[9] Musurus: *μακάριστον* A. [10] *ὧιδε* A.
[11] Dindorf: *εσταν ειηνειλου* (*sic*) A. [12] *ἐφαλος* A.
[13] Edmonds: *γεγανη* A. [14] Musurus: *δ' ἦν* A.
[15] *τῆς ποιητρίας ὁμώνυμος ἑταίρα* Kaibel following Casaubon: *τῆς ἑταίρασ* A. [16] Wilamowitz: *νύμφισ* A.

[a] Or, "in his *Plutuses*," Athen. 94 e (vol. i. p. 406). Kock i. 110; the quotation is lost.

[b] Edmonds i. 148. For the contrast in the fate of the two women *cf.* Sappho's "ringing verses," Edmonds i. 232.

the famous spits which Cratinus mentions in these verses[a]: . . . Poseidippus composed the following epigram on Doriclio, although he often mentioned her also in his *Aesopeia*.[b] It is this: "True, Doriclia, thy bones are adorned with a band for thy soft tresses, and with the perfume-breathing shawl in which thou didst wrap the handsome Charaxus, flesh to flesh, until the time of the morning bowl. But the white,[c] ringing pages of Sappho's lovely song abide and will still abide. Thy name is blessed, since Naucratis will thus treasure it so long as a sea-going ship shall fare over Nile's lagoons." Archedicê also was from Naucratis, and she was another beautiful courtesan. For somehow Naucratis, as Herodotus says,[d] is apt to contain courtesans of especial charm.

Again, the courtesan from Eresus, who bore the same name as the poetess, Sappho,[e] was famous as having loved the handsome Phaon, according to Nymphodorus in his *Voyage round Asia*.[f] And

This Poseidippus flourished *ca.* 280 B.C.; Wilamowitz *Hellenist. Dichtung* i. 148.

[c] Referring to the papyrus when the book is new. Her pages remain ever fresh. The reading Σαπφᾶς is unnecessary, since the nominative is used in the figure enallagê, and in agreement with σελίδες binds together the extremes of the couplet.

[d] i. 135, φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι ἑταῖραι.

[e] See critical note 15. Suid. *s.v.* and others say that the poetess was from Mytilenê, not Eresus. Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 19 πυνθάνομαι ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ἐγένετο Σαπφώ, ἑταίρα, οὐ ποιήτρια. See D. M. Robinson, *Sappho* 14-33.

[f] *F.H.G.* iii. 16. The author of this Περίπλους is so named below, 609 e (p. 285), *cf.* 265 c, 322 a, 331 e (vol. iii. pp. 193, 446, vol. iv. p. 6). Nymphis, the reading in A, may be a hypocoristic form, but he must be distinguished from Nymphis of Heracleia, 536 a, 549 a (vol. v. pp. 422, 488).

Ἀσίας. Νικαρέτη δὲ ἡ Μεγαρὶς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἦν ἑταίρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονέων ἕνεκα[1] καὶ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπέραστος ἦν, ἠκροᾶτο δὲ Στίλπωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. Βιλιστίχη δ' ἡ Ἀργεία ἑταίρα καὶ αὐτὴ ἔνδοξος, τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν σῴζουσα,
f ὡς οἱ τὰ Ἀργολικὰ γράψαντες ἱστοροῦσιν. ἔνδοξος δ' ἐστὶν καὶ Λέαινα ἡ ἑταίρα, Ἁρμοδίου ἐρωμένη τοῦ τυραννοκτονήσαντος· ἥτις καὶ αἰκιζομένη ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἱππίαν τὸν τύραννον οὐδὲν ἐξειποῦσα ἐναπέθανεν ταῖς βασάνοις. Στρατοκλῆς δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐρωμένην εἶχε τὴν ἐπικληθεῖσαν Λήμην ἑταίραν, τὴν καλουμένην Παρόραμα καὶ Δίδραχμον[2] διὰ τὸ καὶ δύο δραχμῶν φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν βουλόμενον, ὥς φησι Γοργίας ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Μυρτίλος μέλλων σιωπᾶν "ἀλλὰ μικροῦ, ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐξελαθόμην ὑμῖν εἰ-
597 πεῖν τήν τε Ἀντιμάχου Λυδήν,[3] προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον ταύτης ἑταίραν Λυδὴν ἣν ἠγάπα Λαμύνθιος ὁ Μιλήσιος. ἑκάτερος γὰρ τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Ἐρωτικοῖς, τῆς βαρβάρου Λυδῆς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστὰς ἐποίησεν ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐλεγείοις, ὁ δ' ἐν μέλει τὸ καλούμενον ποίημα Λυδήν. παρέλιπον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μιμνέρμου αὐλητρίδα Ναννὼ καὶ τὴν Ἑρμησιάνακτος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Λεόντιον· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης ἐρωμένης αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔγραψεν ἐλεγειακὰ τρία

[1] ἕνεκα added by Coraes.
[2] καὶ Δίδραχμον added by Kaibel, following Valckenaer.
[3] Λύδην ? Phot. cod. 213.

[a] Above, 576 f (p. 113).
[b] Possibly Dercylus is meant (Kaibel), Athen. 86 f (vol. i. p. 372).

Nicaretê of Megara was a courtesan of no mean birth, but, so far as parentage and culture go, she was very desirable; she had studied with the philosopher Stilpon. Again, Bilistichê,[a] the Argive courtesan, was of high repute, deriving her ancestry from the Atreidae, as the writers on Argive history record.[b] Of high repute also is the courtesan Leaena, mistress of Harmodius the tyrannicide; she, when put to the torture by the agents of Hippias, the tyrant, died in torment without uttering a word. The orator Stratocles kept as his mistress the courtesan nicknamed Lêmê, the one who was called Parorama and Didrachmon because she visited any one who desired her for two drachmas, according to Gorgias in his work *On Courtesans*.[c]

At this Myrtilus was on the point of stopping when he said: But, my friends, I almost forgot to tell you of Antimachus's *Lydê*,[d] and also of the like-named courtesan Lydê who was loved by Lamynthius of Miletus. For each of these two poets, according to Clearchus in his *Love Stories*,[e] in their passion for the foreign girl Lydê, composed the poem called *Lydê*, the one in elegiac couplets, the other in lyrics. I also omitted Mimnermus's flute-girl, Nannô, and the Leontion of Hermesianax of Colophon; inspired by her after she became his mistress he wrote three

[a] Above, 567 a (p. 63), P.-W. vi. 1619, no. 12. The name refers to rheum in the eyes, while Parorama, strictly meaning "oversight," "mistake," glances both at the meaning of Lêmê and at her real name, Phylacium. Didrachmon means "two-drachma piece." On the licentious demagogue Stratocles see Plut. *Demetr.* 11.

[b] Possibly the lines quoted at 469 f (vol. v. p. 72) are from this work. See *F.H.G.* iii. 190 a, and *Hermes* xxxi. 199.

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 316, see Plut. 106 B. Lamynthius is mentioned again, 605 e (p. 265).

βιβλία, ὧν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ κατάλογον ποιεῖται ἐρω-
b τικῶν, οὕτωσί πως λέγων·

Οἴην μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγαγεν Οἰάγροιο[1]
Ἀγριόπην Θρῆσσαν στειλάμενος κιθάρην
Ἀιδόθεν· ἔπλευσεν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπειθέα χῶρον,
ἔνθα Χάρων κοινὴν[2] ἕλκεται εἰς ἄκατον
ψυχὰς οἰχομένων, λίμνῃ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀυτεῖ
ῥεῦμα διὲκ[3] μεγάλων ῥυομένῃ[4] δονάκων.
c ἀλλ' ἔτλη παρὰ κῦμα μονόζωστος[5] κιθαρίζων
Ὀρφεύς, παντοίους δ' ἐξανέπεισε θεούς·
Κωκυτόν τ' ἀθέμιστον ὑπ'[6] ὀφρύσι μηνίσαντα[7]
εἶδε,[8] καὶ αἰνοτάτου βλέμμ' ὑπέμεινε κυνός,
ἐν πυρὶ μὲν φωνὴν[9] τεθοωμένου, ἐν πυρὶ δ' ὄμμα
σκληρόν, τριστοίχοις δεῖμα φέρον[10] κεφαλαῖς.
ἔνθεν ἀοιδιάων[11] μεγάλους ἀνέπεισεν ἄνακτας
Ἀγριόπην μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα λαβεῖν βιότου.

οὐ μὴν οὐδ' υἱὸς Μήνης ἀγέραστον ἔθηκεν
d Μουσαῖος, Χαρίτων ἤρανος, Ἀντιόπην[12].
ἤ τε πολὺν μύστῃσιν[13] Ἐλευσῖνος παρὰ πέζαν
εὐασμὸν κρυφίων ἐξεφόρει λογίων,

[1] Musurus: οιαγροιο A.
[2] Lennep: ἀκοὴν A, ἀκμὴν Kalinka.
[3] δι' ἐκ A.
[4] ῥυομένη A.
[5] Ruhnken: μονόζωστον A.
[6] Ruhnken: ἐπ' A.
[7] Kaibel: μηδείσαντα A.
[8] Hermann: ηδὲ A.
[9] Ruhnken: φωνηι A.
[10] Ruhnken: φέραν A.
[11] Musurus: λυδιάων A.
[12] Musurus: ηραν· δσ ἀντιόπην A.

books of elegiacs, in the last of which he gives a catalogue of love affairs in the following manner[a]:

"Such was she whom the dear son of Oeagrus,[b] armed only with the lyre, brought back from Hades, even the Thracian Agriopê.[c] Ay, he sailed to that evil and inexorable bourne where Charon drags into the common[d] barque the souls of the departed; and over the lake he shouts afar, as it pours its flood from out the tall reeds. Yet Orpheus, though girded for the journey all alone, dared to sound his lyre beside the wave, and he won over gods of every shape; even the lawless Cocytus he saw, raging beneath his banks[e]; and he flinched not before the gaze of the Hound most dread, his voice baying forth angry fire, with fire his cruel eye gleaming, an eye that on triple heads bore terror. Whence, by his song, Orpheus persuaded the mighty lords that Agriopê should recover the gentle breath of life.

Nor did the son of Mênê, Musaeus, master of the Graces, cause Antiopê to go without her meed of honour. And she, beside Eleusis's strand, expounded to the initiates the loud, sacred voice of mystic

[a] Powell 98 (to whom I owe the reading and interpretation of many passages in this poem), Diehl ii. 214-220, Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry*, translated by James Loeb, 82-109. See also Cahen, *Callimaque* 647-649, Ellenberger, *Quaestiones Hermesianacteae.*

[b] Orpheus.

[c] Later accounts give her name as Eurydicê; P.-W. vi. 1323.

[d] Propertius iii. (iv.) 18. 24 publica cymba senis. But Kalinka's proposal to read *ἀκμήν*, "still," "ever" (Modern Greek *ἀκόμη*), merits attention.

[e] Lit. "brows."

[13] Blomfield: *η τε πολυμνηστησιν* A.

Ῥάριον ὀργειῶνα νόμῳ[1] διαπομπεύουσα[2]
Δημήτρᾳ[3]· γνωστὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδῃ.
φημὶ δὲ καὶ Βοιωτὸν ἀποπρολιπόντα μέλαθρον[4]
Ἡσίοδον, πάσης ἤρανον ἱστορίης,
Ἀσκραίων ἐσικέσθαι ἐρῶνθ'[5] Ἑλικωνίδα κώμην
ἔνθεν ὅ γ' Ἠοίην μνώμενος Ἀσκραϊκὴν
e πόλλ' ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο βίβλους
ὑμνῶν,[6] ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος.
αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ἀοιδός, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς αἶσα φυλάσσει
ἥδιστον πάντων δαίμονα μουσοπόλων,[7]
λεπτυνθεὶς[8] Ἰθάκην ἐνετείνατο[9] θεῖος Ὅμηρος
ᾠδῇσιν πινυτῆς εἵνεκα Πηνελόπης·
ἣν διὰ πολλὰ παθὼν ὀλίγην ἐσενάσσατο[10] νῆσον,
f πολλὸν ἀπ' εὐρείης λειπόμενος[11] πατρίδος·
ἔκλεε[12] δ' Ἰκαρίου[13] τε γένος καὶ δῆμον Ἀμύκλου
καὶ Σπάρτην, ἰδίων ἁπτόμενος παθέων.
Μίμνερμος δὲ τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὕρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλὰς
598 ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,

[1] Hermann (ὀργειῶνι): ὀργιωνανεμωι A.
[2] Powell: διαποιπνωιουσα A, διαποιπνύουσα Musurus.
[3] Hermann: δήμητρα A. [4] Musurus: μελαθραν A.
[5] Riegler: ἔχων A. [6] Wilamowitz: ὕμνων A.
[7] Musurus: μουσοπόλον A.
[8] Couat: λεπτην δ' εἰσ (sic) A.
[9] Kaibel: ἀνετείνετο A. [10] Musurus: εισενασσατο (sic) A.
[11] Musurus: λιπόμενος A. [12] Bergk: ἔκλαιε A.
[13] Hermann: ἰκάρου A.

[a] The text is much disputed. Reading ὀργειῶνι νόμῳ with διαποιπνύουσα (Pind. *Pyth.* x. 64 ἐμὰν ποιπνύων χάριν) Δήμητρα, we may render "ever serving the Rarian Demeter with ritual custom." The spirit of the ritual, with its sacred cries (*cf.* εὐασμόν, "singing εὐαί"), is well given in the parodos of Aristoph. *Ran.* 324-350.

oracles, as she duly escorted the priest through the Rarian plain to honour Demeter.[a] And she is known even in Hades.

I say, too, that Boeotian Hesiod, master of all lore, left his hall and went to the Heliconian village of the Ascraeans, because he was in love; whence, in wooing Eoeê, maid of Ascra, he suffered many pangs; and as he sang, he writ all the scrolls of his Catalogues,[b] ever proceeding from a girl's name first.

But that bard himself, whom the decree of Zeus for ever ordains to be the sweetest divinity among all poets, godlike Homer, languished to thinness, and set Ithaca in the strains of song for love of wise Penelopê; for her sake he went, with many sufferings, to that small isle, far from his own wide country; and he celebrated the kin of Icarius,[c] the folk of Amyclas, and Sparta[d] too, ever mindful of his own misfortunes.

And Mimnermus, who discovered, after much suffering, the sweet sound and spirit breathed from the languorous pentameter, burned for Nannô;

[b] His "Legend of Famous Women," the *Eoeae*. Each character was introduced with the formula ἢ οἵην, "or such as she whom," here strangely regarded as a girl's name, Eoeê. *Cf.* the beginning of this poem, and see Ellenberger, *op. cit.* 18, 36; Athen. 364 b, 428 b (vol. iv. pp. 148, 438). ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος is curious in its extreme terseness, but intelligible enough: "With a maiden as his theme at the beginning, and ever returning (to a maiden)." For ἀνέρχομαι used of continuing or resuming a subject, *cf.* Eur. *Ion* 933, *Phoen.* 1207, ἄνελθέ μοι πάλιν. *Cf.* above on Holoi, 590 b, note *d* (p. 183).

[c] In the *Odyssey*. Icarius, brother of Tyndareus, was Penelopê's father.

[d] In the *Iliad*. These cities were the home of Helen and Menelaus.

καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς· πολιῷ[1] δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῷ
κημωθεὶς[2] κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμύῃ.[3]
ἤρεθε δ'[4] Ἑρμόβιον τὸν ἀεὶ βαρὺν ἠδὲ[5] Φερε-
κλῆν[6]
ἐχθρόν, μισήσας οἷ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.[7]

Λυδῆς δ' Ἀντίμαχος Λυδηΐδος[8] ἐκ μὲν ἔρωτος
πληγεὶς Πακτωλοῦ ῥεῦμ' ἐπέβη ποταμοῦ·
b ἀδρανίῃ[9] δὲ θανοῦσαν ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν
κλαίων, αἰάζων[10] δ' ἦλθεν[11] ἀποπρολιπὼν
ἄκρην[12] ἐς Κολοφῶνα· γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο
βίβλους
ἱράς,[13] ἐκ παντὸς παυσάμενος καμάτου.

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δέ, πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,
Σαπφοῦς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,
γινώσκεις. ὁ δ' ἀοιδὸς ἀηδόνος ἠράσαθ' ὕμνων[14]
c Τήιον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ.
καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλληθ'[15] Ἀνακρείων[16]
στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσιν[17].
φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ'
αὐτὴν
οἰνηρῇ[18] δείρῃ[19] κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,

[1] πολλιωι A. [2] κημωθεὶς Hermann: κνημωθεὶσ A.
[3] Schweighäuser, Dindorf: σιχεσυνεξαμύη A.
[4] Wilamowitz: ηδ'ηχθεε (sic) A.
[5] Casaubon: οὐδὲ A. [6] Dindorf: φερεκλην A.
[7] Hermann: μισήσασ τ' οιαν ἔπεμψεν A.
[8] Hermann: λυσηΐδοσ A.
[9] Kaibel: δαρδάνῃ A.
[10] Ilgen: καλλιων αἴζαον A.
[11] Casaubon: διῆλθεν A.
[12] Hermann: ἄκρον A. [13] Musurus: ἱερὰσ A.
[14] Musurus: ὑμνῶν A. [15] Powell: ἐφωμίληθ' A.
[16] Musurus: ἀνακρέων A. [17] Musurus: λαισβιασιν A.

yet oft upon his venerable flute, bound to his lips,[a] he with Hexamyês[b] would hold revel. But he quarrelled with Hermobius, the ever cruel, and Pherecles, too, his foe, whom he loathed for the taunts which he hurled against him.[c]

Antimachus, too, smitten with love for the Lydian girl Lydê, trod the ground where the Pactôlus river flows; and when she died, in his helplessness he placed her in the hard earth, weeping the while, and in his woe he left her there and returned to lofty Colophon; then he filled his pious scrolls with plaints, and rested after all his pain.[d]

As for the Lesbian Alcaeus, thou knowest in how many revels he engaged, when he smote his lyre with yearning love for Sappho.[e] And the bard who loved that nightingale[f] caused sorrow, by the eloquence of his hymns, to the Teian poet. Yea, for the honey-voiced Anacreon contended for her,[g] whose beauty was supreme among the many women of Lesbos. And at times he would leave Samos, at times again his own city, that nestles against the vine-covered

[a] Lit. "furnished with the *κημός*," defined by Phot. *s.v.* as *φορβεία*, the straps on the player's cheeks which helped to hold the double pipes. See critical note 2.

[b] For this name (Carian or Phoenician?) *cf.* Diog. Laert. i. 1, Ἐξαμίου (Hermann Ἐξαμύου), the father of Thales.

[c] Hermobius and Pherecles seem to have been rivals for the love of Nannô; but the text is uncertain.

[d] So Plut. 106 B: *παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὐτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην* Λυδήν.

[e] Illustrated in art, *Museo Ital.* ii. 41 tav. vi.

[f] The jingle in *ἀοιδός* and *ἀηδών* is to be noted though it cannot be reproduced in English. *Cf.* Hes. *Opp.* 203, 208.

[g] The anachronism is noticed by Athenaeus below, 599 c, p. 229. Sappho lived a hundred years before Anacreon.

[18] Kaibel: *οἰνηρὴν* A. [19] Bergk: *δοῦρον* A.

Λέσβον ἐς[1] εὔοινον· τὸ δὲ Μύσιον[2] εἴσιδε Λεκτὸν[3]
πολλάκις Αἰολικοῦ κύματος ἀντιπέρας.

Ἀτθὶς δ' οἷα μέλισσα πολυπρήωνα Κολώνην[4]
λείπουσ' ἐν τραγικαῖς ἥδε χοροστασίαις[5]
d Βάκχον καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα Θεωρίδος Ἠριγόνης τε
ἃς ποτε γηραιῷ Ζεὺς[6] ἔπορεν Σοφοκλεῖ.

φημὶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνον[7] τὸν ἀεὶ[8] πεφυλαγμένον ἄνδρα
καὶ πάντων μῖσος κτώμενον ἐκ συνοχῶν
πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας ὑπὸ σκολιοῖο τυπέντα
τόξου νυκτερινὰς οὐκ ἀποθέσθ' ὀδύνας·
ἀλλὰ Μακηδονίης πάσας κατενίσατο λαύρας
αἰάζων,[9] μέθεπεν δ' Ἀρχέλεω[10] ταμίην·
e εἰσόκε δὴ[11] δαίμων Εὐριπίδῃ[12] εὕρετ' ὄλεθρον,
Ἀρριβίου[13] στυγνῶν ἀντιάσαντι[14] κυνῶν.

ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν Κυθέρηθεν, ὃν ἐθρέψαντο[15] τιθῆναι
Βάκχου καὶ λωτοῦ πιστότατον ταμίην

[1] Musurus: εἰσ A. [2] Wensch: μυριον A.
[3] Casaubon (Λέκτον): λέκτρον A.
[4] Ruhnken: αὐθισ . . . πολυπριωνα κοδώνην A.
[5] Musurus: χοροστασιασ A.
[6] Lennep (Θεωρίδος), Maass: ἔρωτ' ἀγειραιθειαρειδοσ ζεὺσ A.
[7] Bergk: κακεῖνον A.
[8] αἰεὶ (as usual) A. [9] Powell: αἰγειων A.
[10] Musurus: μέθεπε δ' ἀρχελάωι A.
[11] δὴ added by Schweighäuser.
[12] Schweighäuser: εὐριπιδη A.
[13] Headlam: ἀμφὶ βίου A. [14] Musurus: ἀντιάσαντα A.
[15] ὃν ἐθρέψαντο Hermann: ἀνεθρέψαντο A.

[a] Sophocles, as the following lines show. He was born at Colonus, *Oed. Col.* 668-719, especially 707 ἄλλον δ' αἶνον

hill, and visit Lesbos, rich in wine; and oft he gazed upon Lectum, the Mysian headland across the Aeolian wave.

How too, the Attic bee[a] left Colonê of the many hillocks, and sang with choruses marshalled in tragedy—sang of Bacchus and of his passion for Theoris and for Erigonê, whom Zeus once gave to Sophocles in his old age.

I say, too, that that man who had ever guarded himself against passion, and had won the hatred of all men by his railings[b] concerning all women, was none the less smitten by the treacherous bow, and could not lay aside his pangs by night; nay, in Macedonia he traversed all the by-ways in his woe, and became dependent on the steward of Archelaus; until at last Fate found destruction for Euripides, when he met the cruel hounds of Arribius.[c]

And that poet from Cythera, whom the nurses of Bacchus reared, and the Muses taught to be the

ἔχω ματροπόλει τᾶδε κράτιστον, δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, εἰπεῖν. Suid. s. Σοφοκλῆς. On Theoris see above, 592 a (p. 193). For "Attic bee" *cf.* Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 60 *χρησμὸς ὤρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος*, of the priestess of Apollo (Pythia) at Delphi. Aristoph. *Av.* 749-750 uses the term, in a simile, of the tragic poet Phrynichus, *ὥσπερεὶ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν ἀεὶ φέρων γλυκεῖαν ᾠδάν.* The Colonus hill is not elsewhere called Colonê; one may compare the Spartan hill Colona (Κολώνα), Athen. 574 d (p. 103).

[b] The meaning of *ἐκ συνοχῶν* is unknown. Headlam's *ἐξ ὑλακῶν*, "by his barking," seems the most likely correction. *Cf.* Satyrus in *Ox. Pap.* ix. 1176, frag. 39, col. x (p. 152) *ἀπήχθοντ' αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διὰ τὴν δυσομιλίαν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διὰ τοὺς ψόγους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν.*

[c] The name is uncertain: Arrhidaeus? Arrhabaeus? For the story see *Vit. Eur.* i. 54, ii. 35, iii. 19; *Ox. Pap.* ix. pp. 165, 181.

Μοῦσαι παίδευσάν τε[1] Φιλόξενον, οἷα τιναχθεὶς
'Ορτυγίην[2] ταύτης ἦλθε διὰ πτόλεως,
γινώσκεις, ἀίουσα[3] μέγαν πόθον ὃν Γαλατείη[4]
αὐτοῖς μηλείοις[5] θήκαθ' ὑπὸ προγόνοις.

οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν[6] Εὐρυπύλου πολῖται
f Κῷοι χάλκειον στῆσαν[7] ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ
Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον[8] λαλιήν.
οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' ὁπόσοι σκληρὸν βίον ἐστήσαντο
ἀνθρώπων, σκοτιὴν[9] μαιόμενοι σοφίην,
οὓς αὐτὴ περὶ πυκνὰ[10] λόγοις ἐσφίγξατο μῆτις
καὶ δεινὴ μύθων κῆδος ἔχουσ' ἀρετή,
οὐδ' οἶδ' αἰνὸν[11] ἔρωτος ἀπεστρέψαντο κυδοιμὸν
599 μαινόμενον,[12] δεινὸν δ' ἦλθον ὑφ' ἡνίοχον.

οἴη μὲν Σάμιον μανίη κατέδησε Θεανοῦς
Πυθαγόρην, ἑλίκων κομψὰ γεωμετρίης
εὑρόμενον,[13] καὶ κύκλον ὅσον περιβάλλεται αἰθὴρ
βαιῇ ἐνὶ σφαίρῃ[14] πάντ' ἀπομασσόμενον.[15]

[1] Kaibel: παιδευθέντα A. [2] Bergk: ὠρυγη (*sic*) A.
[3] Dalechamps, Ruhnken: γινωσκει καὶ ούσαν A.
[4] Weston: γαλατείησ A. [5] Heringa: μηλίοισ A.
[6] Casaubon: τὸν A. [7] Hecker, Meineke: θῆκαν A.
[8] Hermann: ρυόμενον A. [9] Heinrich: σκολιὴν A.
[10] Porson: πικρὰ A. [11] Weston: ουδ' οἶδεν ὃν A.
[12] Heinrich: φαινόμενον A. [13] *sic* A here.
[14] Dindorf (ἐνὶ Hemsterhuys): βίησ ἐν σφαίρηι A.
[15] Hemsterhuys: ἀποτασσόμενον A.

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[a] For Philoxenus, who wrote the story of his unhappy love for Galateia, the mistress of Dionysius, whom he called Cyclops, see Athen. 6 e-7 a (vol. i. pp. 26-28); Edmonds (L.C.L.) iii. 384.

most faithful steward of the flute, Philoxenus,[a]—thou knowest how he was racked with pain, and passed through our city to Ortygia[b]; for thou[c] hast heard of his mighty yearning, which Galateia esteemed less than the very firstlings of the flock.

Thou knowest also of that bard in whose honour the townsmen of Eurypylus,[d] the men of Cos, raised a bronze statue beneath the plane-tree; he, Philitas,[e] sang his love for the nimble Bittis, versed as he was in all the terms of love and in all its speech.

Yea, not even all the mortals who ordained for themselves a life austere,[f] seeking to find the dark things of wisdom, whom their very craft caused to choke in the shrewd contests of debate, and their dread skill, which bestowed its care upon eloquence,—not even they could turn aside the awful, maddened turmoil of Love, but they fell beneath the power of that dread charioteer.[g]

Such was the madness for Theanô[h] that bound with its spell the Samian Pythagoras; yet he had discovered the refinements of geometric spirals, and had modelled in a small globe the mighty circuit of the enveloping aether.

[b] Not the island off Syracuse, but a grove near Ephesus, where Philoxenus died, Suid. *s.* Φιλόξενος, Strabo 639. "Our city" is Colophon.

[c] Leontium, to whom Hermesianax addresses his poem, 597 a.

[d] One of the circle of Coan literati.

[e] Athen. 383 b, 401 e (vol. iv. pp. 232, 318), 552 b (vol. v. p. 506). For his mistress Bittis see Ovid, *Trist.* i. 61, *Ex Ponto* iii. 1. 17.

[f] The poet now considers the philosophers.

[g] On Love the charioteer see Anacreon above, 564 d (p. 49), Rohde, *Gr. Rom.*[3] 115 note.

[h] Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 42.

οἷῳ δ' ἐχλίηνεν ὃν[1] ἔξοχον ἔχρη Ἀπόλλων[2]
ἀνθρώπων εἶναι Σωκράτη ἐν σοφίῃ[3]
Κύπρις μηνίουσα πυρὸς μένει. ἐκ δὲ βαθείης
b ψυχῆς κουφοτέρας ἐξεπόνησ'[4] ἀνίας,
οἰκί' ἐς Ἀσπασίης πωλεύμενος· οὐδέ τι τέκμαρ
εὗρε, λόγων[5] πολλὰς εὑρόμενος[6] διόδους.

ἄνδρα δὲ[7] Κυρηναῖον ἔσω[8] πόθος ἔσπασεν Ἰσθμοῦ
δεινός,[9] ὅτ' Ἀπιδανῆς Λαΐδος ἠράσατο
ὀξὺς Ἀρίστιππος, πάσας δ' ἠνήνατο λέσχας
φεύγων, οὐδαμινόν τ' ἐξεφόρησε βίον.[10]

c Ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται συγχρονεῖν οἰόμενος Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τὸν μὲν κατὰ Κῦρον καὶ Πολυκράτην γενόμενον, τὴν δὲ κατ' Ἀλυάττην τὸν Κροίσου πατέρα. Χαμαιλέων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Σαπφοῦς καὶ λέγειν τινάς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος τάδε·

σφαίρῃ δεῦτέ με πορφυρέῃ[11]
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ[12]
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται.
ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου[13]
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
d πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

[1] Heringa: δεχλειημενον A.
[2] Porson: ἐχρῆν πολλῶν δ' A. [3] Musurus: σοφῆι A.
[4] Musurus: ἐξεπόνησαν A.
[5] Heringa, Ruhnken: λόγωι A.
[6] Dindorf: ἐυράμενοσ A. [7] δὲ added by Hermann.
[8] Hermann: εἴσω A. [9] Ruhnken: δεινὸν A.
[10] Harbarton: ουδαμενον ἐξεφόρησεβιωι A.

And with what fiery power did Cypris, in her wrath, heat Socrates, whom Apollo had declared to be supreme among men in wisdom! Yea, though his soul was deep, yet he laboured with lighter pains when he visited the house of Aspasia [a]; nor could he find any remedy,[b] though he had discovered the many cross-paths of logic.

Even the man of Cyrenê, keen Aristippus, was drawn by overpowering love beyond the Isthmus, when he fell in love with Laïs of Apidanê [c]; in his flight he renounced all discourse, and expounded a life of worthlessness."

In these lines Hermesianax makes the mistake of supposing that Sappho and Anacreon belonged to the same period, for he flourished in the time of Cyrus and Polycrates, whereas she belonged to the time of Alyattes, the father of Croesus. Yet Chamaeleon, in his book *On Sappho*, asserts [d] that some say it was to her that the following verses were addressed by Anacreon [e]: "Now golden-haired Eros tosses at me his purple ball, and challenges me to sport with the maiden of the broidered sandal. But she—for she is from fair Lesbos—finds fault with my hair, for it is white, and is all agape for another—a woman!"

[a] Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 36, *Oec.* iii. 14, P.-W. ii. 1719.

[b] An expression borrowed from *Il.* xvi. 472 of Automedon, *τοῖο μὲν . . . εὕρετο τέκμωρ.* But there may also be an allusion to Socrates' well-known reliance on "signs," *τεκμήρια*, as guides to conduct.

[c] Apia or Apidanê was the earlier name of Peloponnesus.

[d] Frag. 10 Koepke.

[e] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 258, Diehl frag. 5, Edmonds ii. 144, Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* 116.

[11] Pauw: *πορφυρεν* A. [12] Seidler: *ποικίλος λαμβανω* A. [13] Barnes: *ηδεστι γὰρ ἀπευκτικοῦ* A.

καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν·

κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες[1]
ὕμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς
Τήιος χώρας ὃν[2] ἄειδε τερπνῶς
πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.[3]

ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐστι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο τὸ ᾆσμα παντί που δῆλον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι παίζειν τὸν Ἑρμησιάνακτα περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος. καὶ γὰρ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν Σαπφοῖ δράματι Σαπφοῦς ἐραστὰς Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Ἱππώνακτα.

e Ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἑταῖροι, οὐκ ἀμερίμνως δοκῶ τὸν ἐρωτικὸν τοῦτον πεποιῆσθαι κατάλογον, οὐκ ὢν οὕτως ἐρωτομανὴς ὡς διαβάλλων μ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικὸς μὲν εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ἐρωτομανὴς δὲ οὔ.

τίς δ' ἔστ'[4] ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν ἐν πλείοσιν,
ἐξὸν σιωπᾶν κἂν σκότῳ κρύπτειν τάδε;

Αἰσχύλος ἔφη ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. οὗτος δέ ἐστιν Αἰσχύλος ὁ καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνιακὰ ἔπη συνθείς, ἀνὴρ εὐπαίδευτος.

f Ὑπολαμβάνων οὖν μέγαν[5] εἶναι δαίμονα καὶ δυνατώτατον τὸν Ἔρωτα, προσέτι τε καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν χρυσῆν, τὰ Εὐριπίδου ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνων λέγω·

[1] Barnes: κείνων ὦ χρυσόθρονε μοῦσα εἴνσπεσ A.
[2] Barnes: ὁ τήϊος χώρασ δσ A.
[3] Barnes: ἀγλαόσ A.

And Chamaeleon further says that Sappho spoke to Anacreon these lines [a]: "The hymn which thou didst utter, O Muse of the golden throne, is that which the Teian, glorious old man from the goodly land of fair women, sang to our delight." But that this song is not by Sappho is plain, I imagine, to any one. In fact I think that Hermesianax was joking as regards this love affair. For the comic poet Diphilus, in his play, *Sappho*, has even made Archilochus and Hipponax lovers of Sappho! [b]

In all this, my friends, methinks I have constructed for you, not without care, a catalogue of lovers, not being myself so love-mad, as Cynulcus has insultingly called me, though I admit that I am a lover, but not "love-mad." [c] "What need is there to make oneself unhappy in a company when one may keep silence and hide all this in darkness?" So said Aeschylus of Alexandria in his *Amphitryo*.[d] This Aeschylus is the one who composed the *Epic of Messenia*; he was a man of great learning.

Since, then, I believe that Eros is a mighty and most powerful divinity, as is also Aphroditê "the golden," [e] I will recite the lines of Euripides as I

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 98, Diehl frag. adesp. 1, Edmonds ii. 146.

[b] Kock ii. 564. See Athen. 487 a (vol. v. p. 164) for the only known fragment of this play.

[c] For other similar terms see 464 d (vol. v. p. 25 and note *h*).

[d] *T.G.F.*[2] 824. This Aeschylus is otherwise unknown. He may be the author of a work on proverbs cited by Zenobius v. 85 concerning "Sardonic laughter," Crusius, *Anal. Crit. ad Paroemiogr.* p. 148.

[e] *Il.* iii. 64.

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[a] ἔσται A.

[b] μέγιστον? μέγιστοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι θεοί lemma in A.

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅση θεός;
ἣν οὐδ'[1] ἂν εἴποις οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἂν
ὅση πέφυκε κἀφ' ὅσον διέρχεται.
αὕτη τρέφει σὲ κἀμὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς.
τεκμήριον δέ (μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθῃς,
600 ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ τῆς θεοῦ)[2]
ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν[3] ξηρὸν πέδον
ἄκαρπον αὐχμῷ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ.
ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.
ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῆτον ἐς ταὐτὸν δύο,
φύουσιν[4] ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα,
δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῇ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος δ' Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν αὐτὴν παράγει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσαν·

b ἐρᾷ μὲν ἁγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάοντος[5] οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·

[1] Musurus: θεὸς ἣν· οὐδ' ACE, ἀλλ' οὐδ' Stobaeus.
[2] ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω (δεῖξον C) θεοῦ deleted by Gomperz. I have changed the punctuation and taken δείξω as subjv.
[3] ὅταν Aristotle, Stobaeus: ὅτε AC.
[4] τίκτουσιν Stobaeus.
[5] εὐναοεντος CE: εὐνάεντοσ A, εὐναοθέντος Lobeck, εὐνατῆρος Nauck.

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 648, Stob. *Ecl.* i. 9. 1; *cf.* Eur. *Hipp.* 439-458,

remember them [a]: "Dost thou not see how great a goddess is Aphroditê? Of her thou canst not tell, thou canst not measure how great she is, or how far her power extends. She it is who nurtures you and me and all mortals. And a proof (that you may not learn it from words alone, and that I may show the goddess's power by facts): the earth is in love with the rain, whensoe'er the dry ground, fruitless in drought, hath need of moisture. And the august heaven, filled with rain, loves to cast itself upon the earth through Aphroditê's spell.[b] And when the twain mingle as one, they cause all things to grow for us, and nurture them as well,—all things by which the race of mortals lives and flourishes." Again, the most august Aeschylus, in his *Danaïds*, introduces Aphroditê herself saying [c]: "The chaste heaven loves to violate [d] the earth, and love lays hold on earth to join in wedlock. The rain from the streaming heaven [e] falls down and impregnates the earth; and she brings forth for mortals the pasturage of sheep and Demeter's sustenance; and the ripe

the nurse's plea to Phaedra. For a similar plea in favour of drinking *cf. Anacreontics* 21, ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει, etc.

[b] Quoted by Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1153 b 2 to illustrate the theory held by some (*e.g.* Heracleitus) that love is the attraction of opposites.

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 16. Mazon, *Eschyle* i. 9 note 1 compares Verg. *Georg.* ii. 325:

> Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
> coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis
> magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

[d] For this meaning of τρῶσαι *cf.* Hesych. *s.* τρώζειν (Zonaras τρωέζειν) . . . συνουσιάζειν.

[e] Or, accepting the reading εὐνάεντος (a word found only here), "the heaven which is bedded with earth."

δενδρῶτις ὥρα[1] δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου[2]
τέλειος ἐστί. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

Ἐν Ἱππολύτῳ Εὐριπιδείῳ[3] πάλιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη φησίν·

c ὅσοι τε Πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν[4]
ναίουσιν εἴσω φῶς ὁρῶντες ἡλίου,
τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τἀμὰ πρεσβεύω κράτη,
σφάλλω δ' ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα.[5]

νεανίσκῳ γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι τοῦτο μόνον πρὸ ἁμάρτημα προσόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐτίμα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, αἴτιον[6] ἐγένετο τοῦ ὀλέθρου· καὶ οὔτε ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἡ περισσῶς ἀγαπήσασα οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τις ἢ δαιμόνων ἐβοήθησεν αὐτῷ. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν ποιητήν·

d ὅστις δ'[7] Ἔρωτα μὴ μέγαν[8] κρίνει θεόν,
ἢ σκαιός ἐστιν ἢ καλῶν ἄπειρος ὤν
οὐκ οἶδε τὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις θεόν.

ὃν ὁ σοφὸς ὑμνῶν αἰεί ποτε Ἀνακρέων πᾶσίν ἐστιν διὰ στόματος. λέγει οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κράτιστος Κριτίας τάδε·

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ᾠδὰς
ἡδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν,

[1] Hermann: *δένδρων τισ ὥρα* A, *δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν* (*ὀπώρα* Hartung), deleting δ' Kaibel.
[2] A: *γάνους* Gomperz.
[3] *εὐριπιδίωι* A.
[4] *ταλαντικῶν* A.
[5] *μέτα* A.
[6] Musurus: *ἀπιὸν* A.
[7] δ' Stobaeus: om. A.
[8] Kaibel: *μόνον* A. *μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν* Stobaeus.

[a] Or, adopting Kaibel's conjecture, "the fruit of trees."
[b] Or, "watery joy." See critical note 2.

season for the trees[a] is perfected by the watery union.[b] Of all this I am the cause."

In the Euripidean *Hippolytus*, again, Aphroditê declares[c]: "And all who dwell between Pontus and the bounds of Atlas,[d] looking upon the light of the sun—those who reverence my power I honour, but I bring low all who think presumptuous thoughts against me." A young man[e] who possessed every virtue, beset only by this error, that he failed to honour Aphroditê—to him she became the cause of his destruction; and neither Artemis, who loved him exceedingly, nor any other god or spirit could aid him. And so, as the same poet puts it[f]: "Whoever judges not Eros to be a mighty god is either stupid or, having no experience of good things, knows not of the god who is the mightiest power to men." Yes, he is the god of whom wise Anacreon, the poet on every man's lips, is constantly singing. Hence the most excellent Critias says of him[g]: "Teos[h] brought to Hellas that poet who once wove the strains of song with woman as his theme, delightful Anacreon, flame[i] of drinking-

[a] *Vss.* 1-6:

πολλῇ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοὐκ ἀνώνυμος,
θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις, οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω·
ὅσοι τε, etc.

[d] *i.e.* from the Black Sea to the Atlantic.

[e] Hippolytus.

[f] *T.G.F.*[2] 438, from Eur. *Augê*; see Stob. *Flor.* 63. 11. Nauck compares Statius Caecilius *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 32. 68 [Amorem] deum qui non summum putet aut stultum aut rerum esse imperitum existumo. *Cf.* also Menander frag. 449 (Kock iii. 129, Allinson 436), Lactant. *Inst.* i. 11. 1.

[g] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 283, Diehl frag. 8, Diels, *Vorsokr.*[2] ii. 613, Edmonds ii. 128.

[h] Birthplace of Anacreon.

[i] For the meaning of *ἐρέθισμα cf.* Athen. 339 c (vol. iv. p. 38) *τοῖς νέοισιν ἠρεθισμένος*, "inflamed by youth."

συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπευμα,
e *αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον.*
οὔ ποτέ σου[1] *φιλότης γηράσεται*[2] *οὐδὲ θανεῖται,*
ἥς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνῳ συμμιγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι
παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις[3] *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νωμῶν,*[4]
πανυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
πλάστιγξ θ'[5] *ἡ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι καθίζῃ*[6]
κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς[7] *κορυφαῖς*[8] Βρομίου *ψακάδεσσιν.*

f 'Αρχύτας[9] δ' ὁ ἁρμονικός, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων, 'Αλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος ἀκόλαστον, ὄντα καταφερῆ[10] περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μοῦσαν εἰς τὰς διατριβάς. διὸ καὶ λέγειν ἔν τινι τῶν μελῶν·

Ἔρως με δαῦτε Κύπριδος ἕκατι
γλυκὺς κατείβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει.

λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς τῆς Μεγαλοστράτης οὐ μετρίως ἐρασθείς, ποιητρίας μὲν οὔσης, δυναμένης δὲ καὶ

[1] *τοῦ* Hermann. [2] AC: *γηράσκεται* E.
[3] Musurus: *πρόποσισ* AE, *πρόποσιν* C.
[4] *ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν* E (*κωμῶν* C): *ἐπιδεξιαν ὠμῶν* A.
[5] *πλάστιγξ δ'* CE: *πλάστιξ τε* A.
[6] *καθίζει* AC: *καθίζει* E.
[7] *ὑψηλῇ* Wilamowitz, *ὑψηλοῦ* Kaibel, adding *βαλλομένῃ* in the next verse.
[8] Diels proposed *τέκμαρ* or *ὀροφή*, regarding *κορυφαῖς* as a gloss to *ἄκραισι*.

parties, cheater of women, of flutes the foe,[a] lover of the lyre, full of delight, healer of pain. Never shall love of thee grow old or die, so long as a slave-boy solemnly bears round water and wine mingled for the cups, dispensing toasts from left to right,[b]—so long as feminine choirs do their ministry in holy night-long vigils, and the scale-pan, daughter of bronze, sits upon the high peak of the cottabos to receive the drops of Bromian."[c]

Archytas—the one who wrote on the theory of music[d]—says, according to Chamaeleon,[e] that Alcman led the way as a composer of erotic songs, and was the first to publish a licentious song, being prone in his habits of life to the pursuit of women and to poetry of that kind.[f] Hence he says, in one of his songs[g]: "Once again sweet Eros, to grace Cypris, overflows and melts my heart." He[h] says, too, that Alcman fell immoderately in love with Megalostratê, who was

[a] The lyre is much oftener mentioned by Anacreon than the flute; but Critias may be ascribing to him the dislike of the flute prevalent in Athens in the latter part of the fifth century. See Athen. 177 a (vol. ii. p. 302), and below, p. 323 note *a*.

[b] On clockwise motion see vol. v. p. 23 and note *f*.

[c] *i.e.* the drops of wine tossed from the players' cups; Athen. 487 d (vol. v. p. 168), 666 a. See critical note 7.

[d] Diog. Laert. viii. 82 says there were four men of the name; this Archytas was from Mytilenê.

[e] Frag. 27 Koepke.

[f] *i.e.* licentious; but the text is corrupt. According to Schweighäuser we should supply εἰσαγαγεῖν or something similar, and render "was the first to introduce that kind of poetry into the symposia."

[g] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 51, Diehl ii. 36, Edmonds i. 118.

[h] Either Archytas or Chamaeleon. See Diels in *Herm.* xxxi. 352.

[9] ἀρχύτησ A. [10] καταφερῆ Bergk: καὶ A.

601 B Thycus ... Alcaeus Stud. Et. 15 (1941) 208

διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τοὺς ἐραστὰς προσελκύσασθαι·
601 λέγει δ' οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς·

τοῦθ' ἁδειᾶν Μουσᾶν[1] ἔδειξε
δῶρον μάκαιρα παρθένων
ἁ ξανθὰ Μεγαλοστράτα.

καὶ Στησίχορος δ' οὐ μετρίως ἐρωτικὸς γενόμενος συνέστησε καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀσμάτων· ἃ δὴ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο παίδεια[2] καὶ παιδικά. οὕτω δ' ἐναγώνιος ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ πραγματεία, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡγεῖτο φορτικοὺς τοὺς ἐρωτικούς, ὥστε καὶ Αἰσχύλος μέγας ὢν ποιητὴς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἦγον εἰς τὰ θέατρα διὰ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν
b τοὺς ἔρωτας,[3] ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς Πάτροκλον, ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ Νιόβῃ τὸν τῶν παίδων· διὸ καὶ παιδεράστριάν[4] τινες καλοῦσι τὴν τραγῳδίαν· καὶ ἐδέχοντο τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄσμενοι[5] οἱ θεαταί.

Καὶ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος δὲ Ἴβυκος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν·

ἦρι μὲν αἵ τε Κυδώνιαι
μαλίδες[6] ἀρδόμεναι ῥόαι τ'[7]
ἐκ ποταμῶν ἵνα Παρθένων
κᾶπος[8] ἀκήρατος, αἵ τ' οἰνανθίδες[9]
αὐξόμεναι σκιεροῖσιν ὑφ' ἔρνεσιν
οἰναρέοις θαλέθοισιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος

[1] Stephanus: ἁδειαν μοῦσαν A.
[2] Welcker: παιδιὰ ACE.
[3] τοὺσ ἔρωτασ A, ἀρσενικοὺς ἔρωτας Schweighäuser, ἀρτικοὺς after an erasure C.
[4] Schweighäuser: παιδεραστάν A.
[5] Kaibel: ἄισματα A, om. C (ἐδέχοντο οἱ θεαταί).
[6] μηλίδες A.
[7] ῥόαι τ' Wilamowitz: ροὰν A, ῥοᾶν Musurus.

a poetess and able to attract lovers to her by her conversation. He speaks thus of her [a]: "This is the gift of the sweet Muses, which she, happy maiden, the golden-haired Megalostrata, hath shown forth." Stesichorus, also, was immoderately erotic and has composed that type of songs; these, as is well known, were of old called *paideia* and *paidika*.[b] So active was the pursuit of love-affairs, since no one regarded erotic persons as vulgar, that even a great poet like Aeschylus, and Sophocles, introduced in the theatre love themes in their tragedies—the first, that of Achilles and Patroclus,[c] the second, that of the boys in *Niobê* [d]: hence some call the tragedy *Paederastria*; and the audience gladly accepted such stories.

And Ibycus of Rhegium, also, cries out and shouts aloud [e]: "Only in spring grow the quinces and pomegranates,[f] watered by streams in the inviolate garden of the Maidens,[g] and the swelling grape-blossoms thrive beneath the shade of the vine-shoots; but for

[a] See Diehl ii. 36 for dialect and metre.

[b] Lit. "songs in honour of favourite boys." See Godolphin in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 171.

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 44, in *Myrmidons*; below, 602 e. For Plato's comment on this see *Symp.* 180 A. On the other hand, Euripides, in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1045, says to Aeschylus: *μὰ Δί', οὐ γάρ ἐπῆν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.* To which Aeschylus retorts: *μηδέ γ' ἐπείη.*

[d] *T.G.F.*[2] 229, Plut. 760 D, *τῶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Νιοβιδῶν βαλλομένων καὶ θνῃσκόντων ἀνακαλεῖταί τις οὐδένα βοηθὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲ σύμμαχον ἢ τὸν ἐραστήν.*

[e] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 235, Diehl ii. 53, Wilamowitz, *Sappho u. Simonides* 122, Edmonds ii. 84.

[f] On quinces see Athen. 81 a (vol. i. p. 349) and note *d*; on pomegranates, 650 e.

[g] *i.e.* The Nymphs, Roscher, *Lex. myth.* v. 503, 505, 515.

[8] *κῆπος* A.

[9] Musurus: *οἰνανθίδος* A.

οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος[1] ὥραν·
ἄθ'[2] ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων
c Θρηίκιος[3] Βορέας, ἀΐσ-
σων παρὰ Κύπριδος ἁζαλέαις μανί-
αισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβὴς
ἐγκρατέως[4] πάϊθεν[5] φυλάσσει
ἡμετέρας φρένας.

καὶ Πίνδαρος δ' οὐ μετρίως ὢν ἐρωτικός φησιν·

εἴη καὶ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἔρωτι
χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν·[6]
μὴ πρεσβυτέραν ἀριθμοῦ δίωκε, θυμέ, πρᾶξιν.

διόπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἔφη·

ὥρη ἐρᾶν, ὥρη δὲ γαμεῖν, ὥρη δὲ πεπαῦσθαι,

καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖνό τις φθέγξηται κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον φιλόσοφον·

d ἡνίκ' ἐχρῆν δύνειν, νῦν ἄρχεται ἡδύνεσθαι.

μνησθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Τενεδίου Θεοξένου ὁ Πίνδαρος, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενος, τί φησιν;

χρῆν μὲν' κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώ-
των δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἁλικίᾳ·
τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖ-
νάς ποτ' ὄσσων μαρμαρυζοίσας[9] δρακεὶς

[1] Musurus: κατακηγοσ A. [2] ἄθ' Hermann: τε A.
[3] Fiorillo: θρηϊκοισ A.
[4] ἀθαμβὴς ἐγκρατέως Hermann: ἀθάμβησεν κραταιῶς A.
[5] πάϊθεν Schulze, παιδόθεν B, Musurus (so, probably, Chamaeleon): παιδ' ὅθεν A.
[6] CE: καὶ κατὰ καιρόν A.

me there is no season when love lies quiet; all aflame, like Thracian Boreas 'mid the lightning-flash, he from my boyhood hath darted love upon me from Cypris, darkling, unflinching, with scorching madness, and hath kept my heart under fierce sway." Pindar, too, being immoderately erotic, says [a]: "May it be mine to love and to yield to love in due season. Pursue not, my heart, that action as something to be esteemed beyond measure." Wherefore Timon in his *Satires* has said [b]: "There is a time to love, a time to marry, and a time to stop it for good," [c] and not wait until some one utters the line of this same philosopher: "Now, when his sun ought to be *declining*, he begins to *recline* in the lap of pleasure." When Pindar calls to mind Theoxenus of Tenedos, with whom he was in love, what does he say? [d] "Meet it were, my heart, to cull the flowers of love in due season, in thy prime; but whosoever, once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, is not tossed on the waves

[a] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 440, Sandys 584, above, 561 b (p. 33). This quotation does not support the accusation against Pindar, though the one below does; *cf. Ol.* x. 97-105. Christ and Kaibel regarded the second verse as corrupt; certainly ῥυθμοῦ would be a better word than ἀριθμοῦ.

[b] Frag. 59 Wachsmuth, 17 Diels *P.P.F.* iii. 188; Athen. 281 e (vol. iii. p. 264) reverses the order of the verses.

[c] *Cf.* Herrick's

"And while ye may, go marry;
For having lost your prime,
You may forever tarry."

[d] *P.L.G.*[5] 437, Sandys 582, Puech ii. 189, above, 564 d (p. 49), verse translation by J. A. Symonds, *Greek Poets*, p. 124, "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may." "Pflücket die Rose eh' sie verblüht."

[7] Heyne: μὲ A. [8] ἡλικία A.
[9] See p. 49, note 4: προσώπου μαρμαριζοίσας AC.

ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαν-
τος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευ-
ται μέλαιναν καρδίαν

ψυχρᾷ φλογί, πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-
τας ἀτιμασθεὶς ἑλικογλεφάρου[1]
ἢ περὶ χρήμασι μοχθί-
ζει βιαίως ἢ γυναικείῳ θράσει
e ψυχὰν[2] φορεῖται[3] πᾶσαν ὁδὸν θεραπεύ-
ων. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ θεᾶς ἕκατι κηρὸς[4] ὡς δαχθεὶς ἕλᾳ

ἱρᾶν[5] μελισσᾶν[6] τάκομαι,[7] εὖτ' ἂν ἴδω
παίδων νεόγυιον ἐς ἥ-
βαν. ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ Τενέδῳ[8]
Πειθώ τ' ἔναιεν καὶ Χάρις
υἱὸν ἀνᾶγ'[9] Ἀγησίλα.[10]

ὅλως δὲ τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς θη-
λείαις προκρίνουσι πολλοί. παρὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας[11]
ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
σπουδασθῆναι τόδε τὸ ἔθος. Κρῆτες γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην,
καὶ οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκιδεῖς περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαι-
μονίως ἐπτόηνται. Ἐχεμένης γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρη-
f τικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἁρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην
ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. οἱ δὲ προειρημένοι Χαλκιδεῖς παρ'
αὐτοῖς φασιν[12] ἁρπασθῆναι τὸν Γανυμήδην ὑπὸ τοῦ
Διὸς καὶ τὸν τόπον δεικνύντες Ἁρπάγιον καλοῦσιν,[13]
ἐν ᾧ καὶ μυρρίναι διάφοροι πεφύκασιν. καὶ τὴν

[1] ἑλικοβλεφάρου A.
[2] Schneider: ψυχρὰν A.
[3] Musurus: φορεῖτε A.
[4] ἐγὼ θεᾶς ἕκατι κηρὸς Hermann, Bergk, Schneidewin: ἐγὼ δεκατιτάς κηροσ A.
[5] ἕλᾳ ἱρᾶν Bergk: ἐλεηρὰν A.
[6] Hermann: μέλισσαν A.
[7] τήκομαι A.
[8] Musurus: τονεδω A.
[9] ἀνᾶγ' added by Hermann.

of desire, hath a black heart forged, in cold flame, of adamant or of iron, and having no honour from Aphroditê of the quick glance, he either toileth brutally for wealth, or else through some woman's boldness his soul is borne along on every path while he serves her. But I, to grace the goddess,[a] like wax of the sacred bees[b] when smitten by the sun, am melted when I look at the young limbs of boys. And so, even in Tenedos, Persuasion came to dwell, and Charm reared the son of Hagesilas." Altogether, many persons prefer liaisons with males to those with females. For they maintain that this practice is zealously pursued in those cities throughout Hellas which, as compared with others, are ruled by good laws. The Cretans, for example, as I have said,[c] and the people of Chalcis in Euboea, have a marvellous passion for such liaisons. Echemenes, at any rate, says[d] in his *History of Crete* that it was not Zeus[e] who carried off Ganymede, but Minos.[f] But the Chalcidians just mentioned assert that Ganymede was carried off by Zeus in their own country, and they point out the place, calling it Harpagion[g]; in it grow excellent

[a] Aphroditê.

[b] On the mystical character of the bee see A. S. Pease's note on Cic. *De Div.* i. 72, P.-W. *s.* Biene, McCartney in *Papers of Michigan Acad.* xvi. 166.

[c] *Cf.* 561 e-f (p. 35).

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 403.

[e] As Pindar avows, *Ol.* i. 44, x. 105.

[f] So Dosiadas ap. Schol. Townl. *Il.* xx. 234.

[g] *i.e.* the place of seizure, or carrying off.

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[10] Bergk (Ἀγ-): ἀγησιλάου A.

[11] Wilamowitz: ταῖσ ἄλλαισ A. [12] φησιν A.

[13] χαλκιδεῖς δὲ ληροῦντες (!) δεικνύουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς τόπον ὃν ἁρπάγιον καλοῦσιν C.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δ' ἔχθραν διελύσατο Μίνως, καίπερ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παιδὸς συστᾶσαν, Θησέως ἐρασθεὶς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τούτῳ γυναῖκα ἔδωκε Φαίδραν, ὡς Ζῆνις ἢ Ζηνεύς φησιν ὁ Χῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος συγγράμματι.

602 Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς περισπουδάστους φησὶν γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τῶν νέων ἀκμὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑταιρικὸν συμφρονῆσαν πολλὰς τυραννίδας καθεῖλεν. παιδικῶν[1] γὰρ παρόντων ἐραστὴς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἕλοιτ' ἂν παθεῖν ἢ δειλοῦ δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς παιδικοῖς. ἔργῳ γοῦν τοῦτο ἔδειξεν ὁ συνταχθεὶς Θήβησιν ὑπὸ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἱερὸς λόχος καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν θάνατος ὑπὸ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος γενόμενος, περὶ Σικελίαν δ' ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὁ Χαρίτωνος καὶ Μελανίππου ἔρως.[2]

b Μελάνιππος δ' ἦν τὰ παιδικά, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν. οὗτοι φανέντες ἐπιβουλεύοντες Φαλάριδι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότας οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολῦσαι[3] αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐπαινέσαντα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι

[1] Schweighäuser : παίδων A.
[2] ἔρως added by Schweighäuser.
[3] CE : ἀπολαῦσαι A.

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[a] Androgeôs, of whose violent death in Attic territory different accounts were given ; P.-W. *s.v.*, 2143.
[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 530.
[c] Hiller 104 ; the quotation extends to 602 e.

myrtle-trees. Even his quarrel with the Athenians was given up by Minos, though it had arisen over the murder of his son,[a] because he loved Theseus and gave him his daughter Phaedra to be his wife, according to Zenis (or Zeneus) of Chios in the *History* of his native land.[b]

Hieronymus the Peripatetic declares[c] these love affairs with boys became widespread because it often happened that the vigour of the young men, joined to the mutual sympathy of their companionship, brought many tyrannical governments to an end. For if their favourites were present, lovers would choose to suffer anything whatever rather than incur a reputation for cowardice in the mind of their favourites.[d] This was proved, at any rate, by the Sacred Band organized at Thebes by Epameinondas,[e] and by the murderous attempt on the Peisistratidae made by Harmodius and Aristogeiton; and again in Sicily at Agrigentum, by the love of Chariton and Melanippus. The latter was Chariton's favourite, according to Heracleides of Pontus in his work *On Love Affairs*.[f] It transpired that they were plotting against Phalaris, but on being put to the torture and compelled to speak, they not only refused to name their accomplices but even moved Phalaris to pity for their tortures, so that he released them with hearty praise. Wherefore Apollo, pleased at this action, favoured Phalaris with a postponement of his death,

[a] Plat. *Symp.* 179 A makes Phaedrus say the same.

[b] Plut. *Pelopidas* 18 attributes the earliest forming of the Band to Gorgidas. *Cf.* above, 561 f (p. 35): ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐξ ἐρασταῖν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι τὸ σύστημα τοῦτο. P.-W vii. 1620, 36.

[f] Voss 52; it is uncertain whether the citations from Heracleides and Neanthes are from Hieronymus.

ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται· ἔχρησεν δὲ[1] καὶ περὶ
c τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς[2] ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις. ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς ὅδε·

εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ,
θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐφαμερίοις φιλότατος.

διαβόητα δ' ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κρατίνῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ γενόμενα· ὃς μειράκιον ὢν[3] εὔμορφον, Ἐπιμενίδου καθαιροντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνθρωπείῳ αἵματι διά τινα μύση παλαιά, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς
d ἐν β' περὶ Τελετῶν, ἑκὼν αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Κρατῖνος[4] ὑπὲρ τῆς θρεψαμένης· ᾧ καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν ὁ ἐραστὴς Ἀριστόδημος, λύσιν τ' ἔλαβε τὸ δεινόν. διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους οὖν ἔρωτας οἱ τύραννοι (πολέμιοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὗται αἱ φιλίαι) τὸ παράπαν ἐκώλυον τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας,[5] πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκκόπτοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας ὥσπερ

[1] Wilamowitz: ἔχρησέν τε A. [2] Musurus: χαλκεὺς A.
[3] ὢν added by Dindorf, ὄν Schweighäuser.
[4] ὁ Κρατῖνος deleted as a gloss by Kaibel. The long intervening clauses may justify its retention.
[5] A paraphrase in the margin of A adds δεδειότες ἀυτῶν τὸ συνεστραμμένον τοῦ φρονήματος, "because they feared their unified spirit."

[a] See Diehl i. 74 note 1, and Athen. 669 d. This arrangement may have started with the practice in social gatherings of capping a verse quoted by another, Reitzenstein, *Epigr. u. Skol.* 51.

making a declaration of this to those who inquired of the Pythian priestess how they should attack Phalaris; Apollo also gave forth an oracle concerning Chariton and his followers, putting the pentameter before the hexameter, according to the method later followed by Dionysius of Athens, nicknamed the Bronze, in his *Elegies*.[a] The oracle is as follows: "Happy were Chariton and Melanippus, guides for mortals in divine loving."[b] Notorious are also the things that happened in the case of Cratinus of Athens; for he was a handsome lad at the time when Epimenides was purifying Attica by the sacrifice of human blood, because of some ancient acts of abomination, as recorded[c] by Neanthes of Cyzicus in the second book of his work *On the Rituals of Initiation*; and Cratinus voluntarily gave himself up in behalf of the land that had nurtured him; following him his lover Aristodemus also died, and so the terrible act was atoned for. Because of these love affairs, then, tyrants, to whom such friendships are inimical, tried to abolish entirely relations between males, extirpating them everywhere. Some even went so far as to set fire to the wrestling-schools, re-

+ Pl. Symp.

[b] The rhythm of pentameter and hexameter may be illustrated thus:

Háppy the twain, Charitón and Melanippus his friend,
Fór that to creatures of clay they were pátterns of godlike lóving.

[c] *F.H.G.* iii. 8, J. 2 A 195, Preller, *Polemo*, 95. According to Diog. Laert. i. 110 (*Vit. Epimen.*) the pollution mentioned was that caused by the death of the Cylonian conspirators at the hands of the Alcmeonidae, for which see Hdt. v. 71, Thuc. 1.126, Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 1, Plut. *Solon* 12. J. H. Wright, *H.S.C.P.* iii. 39, dates the conspiracy between 636 and 628 B.C., and is inclined to reject the story of Epimenides' intervention; *op. cit.* 47 note 4, 66-70.

ἀντιτειχίσματα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀκροπόλεσιν ἐνεπίμπρασάν τε καὶ κατέσκαψαν· ὡς ἐποίησε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος.

Παρὰ δὲ Σπαρτιάταις, ὡς Ἄγνων φησὶν ὁ
e Ἀκαδημαϊκός, πρὸ τῶν γάμων ταῖς παρθένοις ὡς παιδικοῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ὁμιλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης Σόλων ἔφη·

μηρῶν ἱμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

Αἰσχύλος τε καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀναφανδὸν ἔφασαν, ὁ μὲν Μυρμιδόσιν·

σέβας δὲ μηρῶν ἁγνὸν[1] οὐκ ἐπῃδέσω,[2]
ὦ δυσχάριστε τῶν πυκνῶν φιλημάτων,

ὁ δ' ἐν Κολχίσιν περὶ Γανυμήδους τὸν[3] λόγον ποιούμενος·

μηροῖς ὑπαίθων τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὰ περὶ Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστό-
f δημον πεπλάσθαι φησὶν Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Νεάνθην Ἀντιγραφαῖς. ὑμεῖς δέ,[4] ὦ Κύνουλκε, τὰς διηγήσεις ταύτας, κἂν ψευδεῖς ὦσιν, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι πιστεύετε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ περὶ τοὺς παιδικούς ἐστιν ἔρωτας ἰδίως[5] μελετᾶτε. . . .[6] τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν παρὰ πρώτων Κρητῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρελθόντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τίμαιος. ἄλλοι δέ φασι τῶν τοιούτων ἐρώτων κατάρξασθαι Λάιον ξενωθέντα[7] παρὰ

[1] Canter: *αγιον* A. [2] *οὐ κατῃδέσω* Plut.
[3] Kaibel: *τινὰ* A. [4] Schweighäuser: *τε* A.
[5] Kaibel: *ἡδίωσ* A, *ἡδέως* Schweighäuser.
[6] Lacuna indicated by Kaibel: the next sentence, which is incomplete, would be more appropriate at 601 e.

garding them as counter-walls to their own citadels, and so demolished them; this was done by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.

Among the Spartans, as Hagnon the Academic philosopher says, it was customary for girls before their marriage to be treated like favourite boys. Why, even the lawgiver Solon said[a]: "With longing glance at thighs and sweet lips." Likewise Aeschylus and Sophocles quite frankly said—the first in *The Myrmidons*[b]: "For the pure honour of the thighs thou hadst no reverence, O thankless one for those frequent kisses!" while the other, in *The Colchian Women*, speaking of Ganymede[c]: "Setting Zeus's majesty aflame with his thighs." But I am not ignorant that Polemon the Geographer asserts[d] in his *Replies to Neanthes* that the story of Cratinus and Aristodemus is a fiction. But you, Cynulcus, believe these stories to be true even if they are false, and you practise in private all such things in the poems as have to do with the love of boys. . . . The practice of paederasty came into Greece from the Cretans first, according to Timaeus.[e] But others declare that Laïus initiated such love-practices when he was the guest of Pelops; he became enamoured

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 50, Diehl i. 29. The verse preceding this is given by Plut. 751 B: *ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ* "whilst he pursues boys in the lovely flower of their youth." On which Apuleius, *Apol.* 9, p. 10 H, remarks: num igitur etiam Solonem fuisse serium virum et philosophum negabis, cuius ille lascivissimus versus est?

[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 44, *cf.* above, 601 a (p. 239).

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 206.

[d] Preller 95, J. 2 A 191.

[e] *F.H.G.* i. 201.

[7] A: *ξενισθέντα* C.

Πέλοπι καὶ ἐρασθέντα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρυσίππου,
603 ὃν καὶ ἁρπάσαντα[1] καὶ ἀναθέμενον εἰς ἅρμα εἰς
Θήβας φυγεῖν. Πράξιλλα δ' ἡ Σικυωνία ὑπὸ
Διός[2] φησιν ἁρπασθῆναι τὸν Χρύσιππον. καὶ
Κελτοὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καίτοι καλλίστας ἔχοντες
γυναῖκας παιδικοῖς μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν· ὡς πολλάκις
ἐνίους ἐπὶ ταῖς δοραῖς μετὰ δύο ἐρωμένων ἀναπαύε-
σθαι. Πέρσας δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος
μαθεῖν τὸ παισὶν χρῆσθαι.

Φιλόπαις δ' ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
βασιλεύς. Δικαίαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν
b Ἰλίῳ Θυσίας Βαγώου τοῦ εὐνούχου οὕτως αὐτόν
φησιν ἡττᾶσθαι ὡς ἐν ὄψει θεάτρου ὅλου κατα-
φιλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνακλάσαντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπι-
φωνησάντων[3] μετὰ κρότου οὐκ ἀπειθήσας πάλιν
ἀνακλάσας ἐφίλησεν. Καρύστιος δ' ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς
Ὑπομνήμασι Χάρωνι, φησί, τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ παῖς
καλὸς ἦν καὶ εἶχεν εὖ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὡς δ' Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος παρὰ Κρατερῷ αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσεν γενομένου
πότου, ὁ Χάρων[4] ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα καταφιλῆσαι
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὅς 'μηδαμῶς, εἶπεν, οὐ
c γὰρ οὕτως ἐμὲ εὐφρανεῖ ὡς σὲ λυπήσει.' ὥσπερ
γὰρ ἦν ἐρωτικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, οὕτως καὶ πρὸς
τὸ καθῆκον ἐγκρατὴς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρεπωδέστατον.
αἰχμαλώτους γοῦν λαβὼν τὰς Δαρείου θυγατέρας
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κάλλει διαπρεπεστάτην οὖσαν οὐ
μόνον ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείνας μαθεῖν ἐποίησεν

[1] ἁρπάξαντα C. [2] ὑπ' Οἰδίποδος Valckenaer.
[3] A: ἐπιφωνούντων CE. [4] Dutheil: κρατερὸσ A.

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[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 568, Edmonds iii. 78.
[b] The reading "by Oedipus" would make a better anti-

of Pelops's son, Chrysippus, whom he seized and placed in his chariot, and then fled to Thebes. Yet Praxilla of Sicyon says [a] that Chrysippus was carried off by Zeus.[b] And among barbarians the Celts also, though they have very beautiful women, enjoy boys more; so that some of them often have two lovers to sleep with on their beds of animal skins. As for the Persians, Herodotus says [c] they learned the use of boys from the Greeks.

King Alexander also was madly devoted to boys. Dicaearchus, at any rate, in his book *On the Sacrifice at Ilium* says [d] that he was so overcome with love for the eunuch Bagôas that, in full view of the entire theatre, he, bending over, caressed Bagôas fondly, and when the audience clapped and shouted in applause, he, nothing loath, again bent over and kissed him. But Carystius in *Historical Notes* says [e]: "Charon of Chalcis had a beautiful boy who was dear to him. But when Alexander, at a drinking-party in the house of Craterus, praised the boy, Charon bade him kiss Alexander; and Alexander said, 'Not so! For that will not delight me so much as it will pain you.' For, passionate as this king was, he was in like measure self-controlled when it came to the observance of decency and the best form. When, for example, he had taken captive the daughters of Darius and his wife as well, a woman of very distinguished beauty, he not only kept his hands off them, but he even re-

thesis, and seems to be supported by Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 60, τινὲς δέ φασιν ὅτι Λάιος ἀνῃρέθη ὑπὸ Οἰδίποδος ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἤρων Χρυσίππου.

[c] i. 135; see How and Wells, *ad loc.*

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 241; Müller assigns the quotation to the Ἑλλάδος Βίος quoted 557 b (p. 13).

[e] *F.H.G.* iv. 357.

ὅτι εἰσὶν αἰχμάλωτοι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι Δαρείου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὄντος πάντα αὐταῖς χορηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. διόπερ καὶ Δαρεῖος τοῦτο μαθὼν ηὔξατο τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἢ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν
d ἢ Ἀλέξανδρον." Ῥαδαμάνθυος δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Ἴβυκος ἐραστήν φησι γενέσθαι Τάλων. Διότιμος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ Εὐρυσθέα φησὶν Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι παιδικά, διόπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ὑπομεῖναι. Ἀγαμέμνονά τε Ἀργύννου ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ νηχόμενον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτήσαντα αὐτὸν (συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἀπελούετο) θάψας εἵσατο[1] καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι Ἀφροδίτης Ἀργυννίδος. Λικύμνιος[2] δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Διθυράμβοις Ἀργύννου[3] φησὶν ἐρώμενον Ὑμέναιον[4] γενέσθαι. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ τοῦ
e βασιλέως ἐρώμενος ἦν Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ κιθαρῳδός, περὶ οὗ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος Βίῳ γράφει οὕτως· "Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεκώμαζε τῷ Ζήνωνι. καί ποτε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐλθὼν ἔκ τινος πότου καὶ ἀναπηδήσας πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν συγκωμάσαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρῳδόν, οὗ σφόδρα ἦρα ὁ βασιλεύς."

Φιλομεῖραξ δὲ ἦν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φιλογύνης. Ἴων γοῦν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφο-

[1] Leopardi, Casaubon: εἵσ αυτο A.
[2] Reinesius: ἀλκύμνιοσ A. [3] Διονύσου Wilamowitz.
[4] B, Musurus: ὑμαίνεον A.

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[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 247, Edmonds ii. 100.

frained from letting them know that they were captives, and ordered that everything be done for them just as if Darius were still king. Therefore Darius, on learning this, raised his arms and prayed to the Sun that either he or Alexander might be king." As for the righteous Rhadamanthys, Ibycus says [a] that Talôs was his lover. And Diotimus in the *Epic of Heracles* says [b] that Eurystheus was the favourite of Heracles, and for that reason Heracles patiently undertook his Labours. Again, Agamemnon loved Argynnus, so the story goes, having seen him swimming in the Cephisus river [c]; in which, in fact, he lost his life (for he constantly bathed in this river), and Agamemnon buried him and founded there a temple of Aphroditê Argynnis. Licymnius of Chios in his *Dithyrambs* says [d] that Hymenaeus was the beloved of Argynnus.[e] Aristocles the harp-singer was the beloved of King Antigonus,[f] concerning whom Antigonus of Carystus, in his *Life of Zeno*, writes as follows [g]: "King Antigonus used to have revels at the house of Zeno. On one occasion, coming away from a drinking-party at daybreak, he rushed to Zeno's and persuaded him to join in a revel at the house of Aristocles the harp-singer, whom the king loved greatly."

Sophocles was fond of young lads, as Euripides was fond of women.[h] The poet Ion, at any rate, in the

[b] *Frag. ep.* 213.
[c] The Boeotian Cephisus, not the Attic, is meant.
[d] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 599, Edmonds iii. 338. Licymnius is quoted above, 564 c (p. 49).
[e] Or, reading Διονύσου, "of Dionysus."
[f] Gonatas.
[g] Wilamowitz 117, *S.V.F.* i. 10.
[h] Above, 557 e (p. 15).

μέναις Ἐπιδημίαις γράφει οὕτως· "Σοφοκλεῖ τῷ
f ποιητῇ ἐν Χίῳ συνήντησα ὅτε ἔπλει εἰς Λέσβον
στρατηγός, ἀνδρὶ παιδιώδει παρ' οἶνον καὶ δεξιῷ.
Ἑρμησίλεω[1] δὲ ξένου οἱ ἐόντος[2] καὶ προξένου
Ἀθηναίων ἑστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ
ἑστεὼς ὁ τὸν οἶνον ἐγχέων παῖς ὡραῖος καὶ ἐρυθρὸς[3]
ἐών . . ., δῆλος ἦν πτοεόμενος[4] εἶπέ τε· 'βούλει με
ἡδέως πίνειν;' φάντος δ' αὐτοῦ 'βραδέως τοίνυν
καὶ πρόσφερέ μοι καὶ ἀπόφερε τὴν κύλικα.' ἔτι
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐρυθριάσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν συγκατακείμενον· 'ὡς καλῶς Φρύνιχος ἐποίη-
σεν εἴπας·

604 λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῇσι[5] φῶς ἔρωτος.'

καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἠμείφθη ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἢ Ἐρυθραῖος
γραμμάτων ἐὼν διδάσκαλος· 'σοφὸς μὲν δὴ σύ
γε εἶ, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἐν ποιήσει· ὅμως μέντοι γε
οὐκ εὖ εἴρηκε Φρύνιχος πορφυρέας εἰπὼν τὰς
γνάθους τοῦ καλοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ὁ ζωγράφος χρώματι
πορφυρέῳ ἐναλείψειε τοῦδε[6] τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς γνάθους,
οὐκ ἂν ἔτι καλὸς φαίνοιτο. οὐ κάρτα δεῖ[7] τὸ
καλὸν τῷ μὴ καλῷ φαινομένῳ εἰκάζειν.' ἀνα-
γελάσας[8] ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρετριεῖ Σοφοκλῆς· 'οὐδὲ τόδε
b σοι ἀρέσκει ἄρα, ὦ ξένε, τὸ Σιμωνίδειον, κάρτα
δοκέον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὖ εἰρῆσθαι·

[1] ἑρμῆσ ἴλεω A. [2] Musurus: εοντεσ A.
[3] ὡραῖος καὶ added by Gulick, ἐρυθρὸς by Valckenaer, Schweighäuser. A verb is missing after ἐών.
[4] πτοεόμενος (Ionic) added by Gulick.
[5] Porson: παρηΐσιν A, παρειαῖσι CE.
[6] τοῦδε over an erasure A: τουδὶ edd.
[7] οὐ καρτα δη A, οὐ γὰρ δεῖ E.
[8] εἰκάζειν. ἀναγελάσας Coraës: εἰκαζειν ἂν γελασασ A.

work entitled *Sojournings*, writes as follows [a] : " I met Sophocles the poet at Chios when he was sailing as general to Lesbos [b] ; he was playful at wine, and clever. A Chian friend of his, Hermesilaus, who was the proxenus [c] of Athens, entertained him, when there appeared, standing beside the fire, the wine-pourer, a handsome, blushing boy ; Sophocles was plainly stirred and said : ' Do you want me to drink with pleasure ? ' And when the boy said ' Yes ' he said, ' Then don't be too rapid in handing me the cup and taking it away.' When the boy blushed still more violently he said to the man who shared his couch : ' That was a good thing Phrynichus wrote when he said [d] : " There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love." ' To this the man from Eretria (or Erythrae), who was a schoolmaster, made answer : ' Wise you are, to be sure, Sophocles, in the art of poetry ; nevertheless Phrynichus did not express himself happily when he described the handsome boy's cheeks as crimson. For if a painter should brush a crimson colour on this boy's cheeks he would no longer look handsome. Surely one must not compare the beautiful with what is obviously not beautiful.' [e] Laughing loudly at the Eretrian Sophocles said : ' So, then, stranger, you don't like that line of Simonides, either, though the Greeks

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 46 ; the title refers to the visits of celebrated men to Ion's own island of Chios. The quotation, in Ionic Greek, extends to 604 d.

[b] 440 B.C. ; see Jebb's *Antigone*, Introd. p. xliii and note 2 ; Malten, *Herm.* liii. 165, Bruns, *Das liter. Porträt*, pp. 50–55.

[c] Corresponding to the modern consul, but a native of the city in which he served.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 561, *T.G.F.*[2] 723 ; above, 564 f (p. 51).

[e] *Cf.* Lessing, *Laocoön* ii. : " bei den Alten [ist] die Schönheit das höchste Gesetz der bildenden Künste gewesen."

πορφυρέου ἀπὸ στόματος ἱεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος, οὐδ' ὁ ποιητής, ἔφη, ὁ[1] λέγων χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλλωνα· χρυσέας γὰρ εἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κόμας καὶ μὴ μελαίνας, χεῖρον ἂν ἦν τὸ ζωγράφημα. οὐδὲ ὁ[2] φὰς ῥοδοδάκτυλον· εἰ γάρ τις εἰς ῥόδεον χρῶμα βάψειε τοὺς δακτύλους, πορφυροβάφου χεῖρας καὶ οὐ γυναικὸς καλῆς ποιήσειεν ἄν.'[3] γελασάντων δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἐρετριεὺς ἐνωπήθη τῇ ἐπιρραπίζει, ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοῦ παιδὸς τῷ
c λόγῳ εἴχετο. εἴρετο γάρ μιν ἀπὸ τῆς κύλικος κάρφος τῷ μικρῷ δακτύλῳ ἀφαιρετέοντα, εἰ καθορᾷ τὸ κάρφος. φάντος δὲ καθορᾶν 'ἄπο τοίνυν φύσησον αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ πλύνοιτο[4] ὁ δάκτυλός σευ.'[5] προσαγαγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον πρὸς τὴν κύλικα ἐγγυτέρω τὴν κύλικα τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στόματος ἦγεν, ἵνα δὴ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀσσοτέρα[6] γένηται. ὡς δ' ἦν οἷ' κάρτα πλησίον, προσλαβὼν[8] τῇ χειρὶ ἐφίλησεν. ἐπικροτησάντων δὲ πάντων σὺν γέλωτι καὶ βοῇ ὡς εὖ ὑπηγάγετο τὸν
d παῖδα, 'μελετῶ,[9] εἶπεν, στρατηγεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες· ἐπειδήπερ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μέν με ἔφη,[10] στρατηγεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. ἆρ' οὖν οὐ κατ' ὀρθόν μοι πέπτωκεν τὸ στρατήγημα;' τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δεξιῶς

[1] ὁ added by Kaibel: οὐδ' ὁ ποιήσας χρ. ἀπ. C.
[2] ὁ Ἕω Vollgraff.
[3] ἂν added by Jacobs: ποιήσει (with βάψει) C.
[4] Not πλύνηται *G.M.T.* 323.
[5] σευ Dindorf: εὖ A.
[6] ἀσσοτέρω Meineke, perhaps rightly.
[7] Musurus: ἡ A.
[8] προσλαβὼν A: περιλαβὼν Kaibel needlessly.
[9] μελέτω A, μελετέω Meineke.

think it very well expressed[a]: "From her crimson lips the maiden uttered speech"; nor again the poet who speaks of "golden-haired[b] Apollo"; for if a painter had made the god's locks golden instead of black, the picture would not be so good. And so for the poet who said "rosy-fingered"[c]; for if one should dip his fingers into a rose-dye, he would produce the hands of a purple-dyer and not those of a lovely woman.' There was a laugh at this, and while the Eretrian was squelched by the rebuke, Sophocles returned to his conversation with the boy. He asked him, as he was trying to pick off a straw from the cup with his little finger, whether he could see the straw clearly. When the boy declared he could see it Sophocles said, 'Then blow it away, for I shouldn't want you to get your finger wet.' As the boy brought his face up to the cup, Sophocles drew the cup nearer to his own lips, that the two heads might come closer together. When he was very near the lad, he drew him close with his arm and kissed him. They all applauded, amid laughter and shouting, because he had put it over the boy so neatly; and Sophocles said, 'I am practising strategy, gentlemen, since Pericles told me that whereas I could write poetry, I didn't know how to be a general. Don't you think my stratagem has turned out happily for me?' Many things of this sort he was wont to say and do cleverly

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 419, Diehl frag. 44, Edmonds ii. 324.

[b] In this Doric form χρυσοκόμας is found in Pind. *Ol.* vi. 41, but already used of Apollo by Tyrtaeus 3. 2, of Dionysus by Hesiod, *Theog.* 947.

[c] Often in Homer and Hesiod of Dawn. There are those who would translate "rosy-toed"; this passage proves that that was not the interpretation in Sophocles' time.

[10] με ἔφη Kaibel, ἔφη με Musurus, με om. A.

ἔλεγέν τε καὶ ἔπρησσεν ὅτε πίνοι ἢ πράσσοι.[1] τὰ μέντοι πολιτικὰ οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτήριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν τις εἷς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων."

Καὶ Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασίν φησιν ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῆ παῖδα ἔξω τείχους ἀπήγαγε χρησόμενος αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν
e παῖς τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον ἐπὶ τῇ πόᾳ ὑπέστρωσεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδα περιεβάλοντο. μετ' οὖν τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὁ παῖς ἁρπάσας τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδιον ᾤχετο, καταλιπὼν τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ παιδικὸν ἱμάτιον. οἷα δὲ εἰκὸς διαλαληθέντος τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Εὐριπίδης πυθόμενος καὶ ἐπιτωθάζων[2] τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἔφη τούτῳ κεχρῆσθαι τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν προσθεῖναι,[3] τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν καταφρονηθῆναι.
f καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀκούσας ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα, χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ Βορέου λόγῳ, καί τι πρὸς μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ παραινιττόμενος·

Ἥλιος ἦν, οὐ παῖς, Εὐριπίδη, ὅς με χλιαίνων
γυμνὸν ἐποίησεν· σοὶ δὲ φιλοῦνθ' ἑτέραν[4]

[1] ἢ παίζοι Toup; ἢ πράσσοι deleted by Kaibel, following Valckenaer.
[2] διατωθάζοντος (in different constr.) C.
[3] πεπονθέναι Kaibel, ὑβρισθῆναι Morel; improbable and unnecessary.
[4] Musurus: φιλοῦντι ἑταίραν AC, κόρην Headlam.

when he drank or when he did anything.[a] In civic matters, however, he was neither wise nor efficient, but like any other individual among the better class of Athenians."[b]

Hieronymus of Rhodes says[c] in his *Historical Notes* that Sophocles lured a handsome boy outside the city wall to consort with him. Now the boy spread his own cloak on the grass, while they wrapped themselves in Sophocles' cape.[d] When the meeting was over the boy seized Sophocles' cape and made off with it, leaving behind for Sophocles his boyish cloak. Naturally the incident was much talked of; when Euripides learned of the occurrence he jeered, saying that he himself had once consorted with this boy without paying any bonus, whereas Sophocles had been treated with contempt for his licentiousness. When Sophocles heard that, he addressed to him the following epigram, which refers to the fable of the Sun and the North Wind,[e] and also alludes lightly to Euripides' practice of adultery: "Helios it was, and not a boy, Euripides, who by his heat stripped me of my cape; but with you, when you were embracing another man's wife, Boreas consorted. So you are

[a] On the good luck of Sophocles see G. Murray, *Greek Lit.* p. 232. For the double meaning of πράσσοι, "do" (perhaps here *sens. obsc.*) and "fare," *cf.* Plato, *Apol.* 40 A.

[b] Or simply, "any one picked from the good Athenians"; the adjective χρηστῶν "good" may be sarcastic.

[c] Hiller 96, who discusses the passage at some length. See also Nauck's edition of Euripides i. p. xix, note 23. For the epigram here attributed to Sophocles see *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 244, Diehl i. 67.

[d] The χλανίς was of finer material than the ἱμάτιον.

[e] The well-known Aesopic fable of the dispute between the two as to which was the more powerful. Babrius 18. 1, Avienus 4, Suidas *s.* σισύρα, Lafontaine vi. 3.

Βορρᾶς ὡμίλησε. σὺ δ' οὐ σοφός, ὃς τὸν Ἔρωτα
ἀλλοτρίαν σπείρων λωποδύτην ἀπάγεις.

Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐκ
605 Δελφῶν Χρημάτων Ἀσώπιχόν φησι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐρώμενον τὸ Λευκτρικὸν τρόπαιον ἐντετυπωμένον ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ θαυμαστῶς αὐτὸν κινδυνεύειν, ἀνακεῖσθαί τε τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ συγγράμματι Θεόπομπος φιλογύναιον μέν φησι γεγονέναι Φάυλλον[1] τὸν Φωκέων τύραννον, φιλόπαιδα δὲ Ὀνόμαρχον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι τοῦτον εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενομένῳ . . .[2] τῷ Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Σικυωνίου υἱῷ ἀποκειρομένῳ[3] τὴν
b κόμην, ὄντι καλῷ συγγενόμενον τὰ Συβαριτῶν ἀναθήματα, στλεγγίδια χρυσᾶ τέσσαρα. τῇ Δεινιάδου δὲ αὐλητρίδι Βρομιάδι[4] Φάυλλος καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Φωκαέων καὶ στέφανον[5] χρυσοῦν κιττοῦ Πεπαρηθίων. "αὕτη[6] δέ, φησί, καὶ ἔμελλε τὰ Πύθια αὐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπό' τοῦ πλήθους ἐκωλύθη. τῷ δὲ Λυκόλα τοῦ[8] Τριχονείου[9] υἱῷ Φυσκίδᾳ[10] ὄντι

[1] Musurus: φύλλον A.
[2] The boy's name is lost.
[3] ἀποκερουμένῳ Kaibel.
[4] Dindorf: βρομιαδια A, Βρομίᾳ Musurus.
[5] Casaubon: καισ . . . νον A.
[6] Cobet: αὐτὴ A. [7] Musurus: ἐπὶ A.
[8] τῷ before τοῦ deleted by Kaibel.
[9] Kaibel: τριχολέου A. [10] φυσκίδα A.

[a] *i.e.* as being no better than a foot-pad; λωποδύτης is a snatch-thief, specializing in the stealing of cloaks. Euripides by his adultery had made Love a thief. The verb ἀπάγεις plays on the double meaning "lure" (above, 604 d) and "arrest" (of summary legal action).

not so clever, because when sowing in another's field, you bring Eros into court for thieving." [a]

Theopompus in his treatise *On the Funds plundered from Delphi* says [b] that Asopichus, the favourite of Epameinondas, had the trophy erected at Leuctra [c] pictured on his shield, and that he risked extraordinary dangers; this shield was dedicated as a votive offering in the colonnade at Delphi.[d] In the same treatise Theopompus says that Phaÿllus, the tyrant of Phocis, was fond of women, Onomarchus, of boys; and from the treasures of Apollo the latter gave the offerings of the Sybarites, four golden strigils, to . . ., the son of Pythodorus of Sicyon, who had come to Delphi to dedicate his shorn locks,[e] and who, being beautiful, had accorded his favours to Onomarchus. To the flute-girl Bromias, daughter of Deiniades, Phaÿllus gave a silver karchesion,[f] a votive offering of the Phocaeans, and an ivy wreath of gold, the offering of the Peparethians. "This girl," Theopompus says, "would even have played the flute-accompaniment to the Pythian Games had she not been prevented from doing so by the populace. And (he adds) to Physcidas, the son of Lycolas of Tri-

[b] *F.H.G.* i. 308, J. 2 B 588, G. and H. 240.

[c] Epameinondas's victory over the Spartans at Leuctra occurred 371 B.C.

[d] See Frazer, *Pausanias* v. 282-286. The colonnade lies east of the temple of Apollo. W. B. Dinsmoor dates it *ca.* 506 B.C.

[e] A ceremony performed by boys on attaining their majority (at the age of eighteen), by girls when they were married.

[f] See vol. v. pp. 94-98, and Plate 2; for the loot obtained by the raiders of Delphi in the Sacred War, 355 B.C., see vol. iii. pp. 40-48.

καλῷ Ὀνόμαρχος[1] ἔδωκεν, φησί, στέφανον χρυσοῦν[2] δάφνης, Ἐφεσίων ἀνάθημα. οὗτος ὁ παῖς πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κἀκεῖ προαγω-
c γευόμενος οὐδὲν λαβὼν ἀπεστάλη. τῷ Ἐπιλύκου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου υἱῷ ὄντι καλῷ Δαμίππῳ . . .[3] Πλεισθένους[4] ἀνάθημα Ὀνόμαρχος[1] ἔδωκε. Φαρσαλίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλίδι ὀρχηστρίδι δάφνης στέφανον χρυσοῦν Φιλόμηλος ἔδωκε, Λαμψακηνῶν ἀνάθημα. αὕτη ἡ Φαρσαλία ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μάντεων,[5] γενομένης φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς ἣν ἔστησαν Μεταποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστέα τοῦ Προκονησίου ἐπιδημίαν, ὅτ' ἔφησεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονέναι, ὡς τάχιστα ὤφθη
d εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβαλοῦσα, ἐμμανῶν γενομένων τῶν μάντεων διεσπάσθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν.[6] καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον ἀναζητούντων τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνῃρημένη."

Ὁρᾶτε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ παρὰ φύσιν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες εἰς τὴν θεόν, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν διαφθαρῆτε τρόπον. τότε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν καλοί, ὡς Γλυκέρα ἔφασκεν ἡ ἑταίρα, ὅσον ἐοίκασι γυναικὶ[7] χρόνον, καθάπερ

[1] ὁ νόμαρχος A.
[2] χρυσοῦν added by Meineke, following Schweighäuser.
[3] Lacuna marked by Schweighäuser.
[4] Κλεισθένους Meineke.
[5] νεανιῶν Schweighäuser, following Plutarch.
[6] ὑπ' αὐτῶν deleted by Kaibel.
[7] γυναικὶ AC; γυναιξὶ Meineke.

[a] In Aetolia. Polybius and Strabo have the form Τριχώνιον; see critical note 9, p. 260.

choneium,[a] a beautiful boy, Onomarchus gave a laurel wreath of gold, votive offering of the Ephesians. This boy was taken to Philip by his father and was there prostituted, and afterwards dismissed without reward. To Danippus, the son of Epilycus of Amphipolis, a beautiful boy, Onomarchus gave . . ., a votive offering of Pleisthenes.[b] To Pharsalia, the Thessalian dancing-girl, Philomelus[c] gave a laurel crown of gold, a votive offering of the Lampsacenes.[d] This Pharsalia lost her life in Metapontium at the hands of the soothsayers in the market-place; for a voice had issued from the bronze bay-tree which the Metapontines had set up when Aristeas of Proconesus visited them and declared that he had come from the land of the Hyperboreans; and no sooner was she spied setting foot in the market-place than the soothsayers became furious, and she was pulled to pieces by them. And when people later came to look into the cause it was found that she had been killed because of the wreath which belonged to the god."

So beware, you philosophers who indulge in passion contrary to nature, who sin against the goddess of love,—beware lest you also are destroyed in the same manner. For even boys are handsome, as the courtesan Glycera, in the account given by Clearchus, was wont to say, only so long as they look like a

[b] Not otherwise known. Possibly we should read Cleisthenes, see critical note 4.

[c] Athen. 264 c (vol. iii. p. 188).

[d] Plut. 397 F ascribes the offering to the Cnidians. He also says that lads in the market-place caused her death in their struggles to possess the gold wreath. On the journey of Aristeas to the Hyperboreans after it had been reported that he was dead see Herod. iv. 13-15, with How and Wells's note. Aristeas wrote a poem Ἀριμάσπεια describing his adventures. *Cf.* Pind. frag. 271 (*P.L.G.*[5] i. 486).

ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν
e δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Κλεώνυμος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης,
πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὁμηρείαν[1] λαβὼν παρὰ Μεταποντίνων γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους τὰς ἐνδοξοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας διακοσίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἱστοριῶν· κἀγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἐπικράτους Ἀντιλαΐδα

τἀρωτίκ' ἐκμεμάθηκα[2] ταῦτα παντελῶς
Σαπφοῦς, Μελήτου,[3] Κλεομένους, Λαμυνθίου.

ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, κἂν ἐρασθέντες ποτὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐννοίᾳ λάβητε ὡς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ τυχεῖν, μάθετε . . .[4] παύονται οἱ ἔρωτες, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος. τῇ τε γὰρ περὶ τὴν Πειρήνην
f χαλκῇ βοὶ βοῦς ἐπανέβη· καὶ γεγραμμένῃ κυνὶ καὶ περιστερᾷ καὶ χηνὶ τῇ μὲν κύων, τῇ δὲ περιστερά, τῇ δὲ χὴν προσῆλθον καὶ ἐπεπήδησαν· φανέντων δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀδυνάτων ἀπέστησαν, καθάπερ Κλείσοφος ὁ Σηλυμβριανός. οὗτος γὰρ τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ Παρίου ἀγάλματος ἐρασθεὶς κατέκλεισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ὡς πλησιάσαι δυνησόμενος[5]· καὶ ὡς ἡδυνάτει διά τε τὴν ψυχρότητα καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον τοῦ λίθου, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπέστη καὶ προβαλ-

[1] ὁμήριαν A. [2] Dobree: ἐρωτικὰ μεμάθηκα A.
[3] Dobree: μέλη τοῦ A.
[4] Lacuna marked by Schweighäuser. Kaibel conjectures ὅτι ἀδυνατοῦσι. Read ὅτι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ?
[5] A: δυνάμενος CE.

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 314.
[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 478, J. 2 A 144. Diod. xx. 104 says that Cleonymus, who had come with a large force to aid the Tarentines in their war against the Lucanians and Romans

woman.[a] It was, in my opinion, quite in accordance with nature that Cleonymus the Spartan acted when he, the first of men so to do, took as hostages from the Metapontines two hundred of their most eminent and beautiful matrons and maidens, as Duris of Samos records[b] in the third book of his *History of Agathocles and his Times*; and what is more, to put it as Epicrates does in *Anti-Laïs*[c]: "I have learned completely all the love-affairs of Sappho, Meletus, Cleomenes, and Lamynthius." But do you, my philosophers, if you ever fall in love with women and then see that it is impossible to attain your object, learn that (when love is impossible) it comes to an end, as Clearchus asserts.[d] For example, a bull once mounted the bronze cow of Peirenê; and a painted bitch, pigeon, and goose were approached, in the one case, by a dog, in the other, by a pigeon, in the last, by a gander leaping upon them; but when it became clear to all these creatures that their desires were impossible, they desisted, like Cleisophus of Selymbria. For he, becoming enamoured of the statue in Parian marble at Samos, locked himself up in the temple, thinking he should be able to have intercourse with it; and since he found that impossible on account of the frigidity and resistance of the stone, he then and there desisted from that desire and placing before him a small piece of flesh he

(303 B.C.), seized the women, *οὐχ οὕτω τῆς περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀσφαλείας χάριν ὡς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκεν λαγνείας*, *i.e.* to satisfy his own lust.

[c] Kock ii. 284. For Meletus see vol. v. p. 502; for Lamynthius see above, 597 a (p. 217). Cleomenes may be the rhapsodist mentioned below, 620 d, 638 d, or the dithyrambic poet, 402 a (vol. iv. p. 320), Schol. Aristoph, *Nub.* 332.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 314.

λόμενός τι[1] σαρκίον ἐπλησίασεν. τῆς πράξεως ταύτης μνημονεύει καὶ Ἄλεξις ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Γραφή,[2] λέγων ὧδε·

606 γεγένηται δ', ὡς λέγουσι,[3] κἀν Σάμῳ
τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον. λιθίνης ἐπεθύμησεν κόρης
ἄνθρωπος ἐγκατέκλεισέ θ' αὐτὸν[4] τῷ νεῷ.

καὶ Φιλήμων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύων φησίν·

ἀλλ' ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν τοῦ[5] λιθίνου ζῴου[6] ποτὲ
ἄνθρωπος ἠράσθη τις· εἶτ' εἰς τὸν νεὼν
κατέκλεισεν αὐτόν.

Κτησικλέους δ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὥς φησιν Ἀδαῖος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀγαλματοποιῶν. Πολέμων δὲ ἢ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ἑλ-
b λαδικὸν "ἐν Δελφοῖς, φησίν, ἐν τῷ' Σπινατῶν[8] θησαυρῷ παῖδές εἰσιν λίθινοι δύο, ὧν τοῦ ἑτέρου Δελφοί φασι τῶν θεωρῶν ἐπιθυμήσαντά τινα συγκατακλεισθῆναι καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας μισθὸν[9] καταλιπεῖν στέφανον. φωραθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένοις τοῖς Δελφοῖς συντάξαι ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μισθόν."

Καὶ ἄλογα δὲ ζῷα ἀνθρώπων ἠράσθη· Σεκούνδου μέν τινος βασιλικοῦ οἰνοχόου ἀλεκτρυών· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀλεκτρυὼν Κένταυρος, ὁ δὲ Σεκοῦνδος ἦν

[1] Meineke: *προβαλλόμενος τὸ* A.
[2] *γραφὴ* Schweighäuser: *γραφῇ* A, *γραφῇ* Kaibel. But the nominative is used when the full phrase *ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι* precedes; *cf.* Gildersleeve, *S.C.G.* § 6.
[3] *δὲ ὡς λέγουσιν* A.
[4] Casaubon: *ἐγκατέκλεισέν θ' ἑαυτὸν* A.
[5] *μεν τοῦ* A: *μέντοι* Naber.
[6] *ζώιου* A: *ξοάνου* Bentley.

consorted with that. This deed is mentioned by the poet Alexis in the play entitled *A Picture*[a]: "Another case of a like sort occurred, they say, in Samos. A man conceived a passion for a stone maiden, and locked himself up in the temple." And Philemon, mentioning the same, says[b]: "Why, once on a time, in Samos, a man fell in love with the stone image; thereupon he locked himself in the temple." Now the statue is the work of Ctesicles, as Adaeus of Mytilenê says in his work *On Sculptors*.[c] But Polemon, or whoever wrote the work entitled *Of Hellas*, says[d] that "at Delphi, in the treasury of the Spinatae,[e] are two lads carved in stone; for one of these, the Delphians say, a pilgrim[f] to the shrine once conceived a passion and locked himself up with it, leaving behind him a wreath as the price of the intercourse. When his act was detected the god ordained to the Delphians who consulted his oracle that they should release the fellow; for, the god declared, he had paid the price."

What is more, dumb animals have fallen in love with human beings: a cock fell in love with a certain Secundus, royal wine-pourer; the cock was called Centaur, and Secundus was a slave of Nicomedes,

[a] Kock ii. 312. *Cf.* the story of Pygmalion and Galateia, Ovid, *Met.* x. 243.
[b] Kock ii. 521.
[c] For Adaeus *cf.* 210 b (vol. ii. p. 448).
[d] Preller 56.
[e] Inhabitants of Spina, on the Po River; see critical note 8.
[f] The word *θεωρός* includes the notion of official delegate sent to represent his country at a festival, as well as that of ordinary worshipper.

[7] Dalechamps: *ἢ ἐν τῶι* A. [8] Meineke: *πινακων* A.
[9] *μισθὸν* added by Schweighäuser (*cf.* below).

οἰκέτης Νικομήδους τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ὡς
c ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἐν ἕκτῳ Περιπετειῶν. ἐν
Αἰγίῳ[1] δὲ παιδὸς ἠράσθη χήν, ὡς Κλέαρχος ἱστορεῖ
ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον Θεό-
φραστος ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Ἀμφίλοχον καλεῖσθαί
φησι καὶ τὸ γένος Ὠλένιον εἶναι· Ἑρμείας δ' ὁ τοῦ
Ἑρμοδώρου, Σάμιος δὲ γένος, ἐρασθῆναι Λακύδους
τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἐν δὲ Λευκαδίᾳ φησὶν Κλέαρχος
οὕτως ἐρασθῆναι ταὼν παρθένου ὡς καὶ τὸν βίον
ἐκλιπούσῃ συναποθανεῖν. δελφῖνα δ' ἐν Ἰασῷ
παιδὸς ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις ἐν τῇ
ἑνάτῃ. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ[2] Ἀλεξάνδρου
d καὶ λέγει οὕτως· "μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς
Ἰασοῦ παῖδα. περὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην Διονύσιός
τις ἦν παῖς, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ παλαίστρας
παραγινόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκολύμβα. δελφὶς
δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἀπήντα καὶ
ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
νηχόμενος καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστα εἰς τὴν γῆν."
φιλανθρωπότατον δέ ἐστι καὶ συνετώτατον ζῷον[3] ὁ
δελφὶς χάριν τε ἀποδιδόναι ἐπιστάμενον. Φύλαρχος
e γοῦν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ "Κοίρανος, φησίν, ὁ Μιλή-
σιος ἰδὼν ἁλιέας τῷ δικτύῳ λαβόντας δελφῖνα καὶ
μέλλοντας κατακόπτειν ἀργύριον δοὺς καὶ παρ-

[1] Aelian: ἐναγειω A. [2] ὁ before περὶ deleted by early edd.
[3] ζῷον C: τὸ ζῷον A.

[a] Of Chalcedon, *F.H.G.* iv. 462. The work apparently dealt with the vicissitudes of the Bithynian kings. The king here was probably Nicomedes II (149–148 B.C.); *cf.* 496 e (vol. v. p. 214). Aelian, *N.A.* xii. 37, tells the same story, citing Philo.

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 314; so Aelian, *N.A.* v. 29, on the authority of Theophrastus.

the king of Bithynia, as recorded by Nicander [a] in the sixth book of his *Catastrophes*. In Aegium a goose fell in love with a boy, as Clearchus records in the first book of his *Love Stories*.[b] Of this boy Theophrastus in his essay *On Love* says [c] that he was named Amphilochus and that his family was from Olenê [d]: and that Hermeias, the son of Hermodorus, a Samian by birth, says that a goose became enamoured of the philosopher Lacydes. In Leucadia, again, Clearchus says,[e] a peacock was so much in love with a maiden that when she departed this life it died with her. There is a story in Iasus that a dolphin fell in love with a boy, as Duris records in his ninth book.[f] He is talking about Alexander, and his account follows: "He summoned also the boy of Iasus. For near this city lived a boy named Dionysius who, in company with the other boys of the wrestling-school, went to the seashore and began to dive in. A dolphin came up to him out of the sea, and taking him on his back swam off with him a very great distance, setting him down again safely on the shore." Moreover, the dolphin is a most friendly animal to man and extremely intelligent, and knows how to repay kindness with gratitude. Phylarchus, at any rate, says in the twelfth book [g]: "Coeranus of Miletus saw that some fishermen had caught a dolphin in their net and were on the point of cutting it up; after entreating them and paying

[a] Frag. 109 Wimmer.
[b] In Elis.
[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 314.
[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 473, J. 2 A 140, Plut. 1205, Aelian, *N.A.* vi. 15, Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 8, Pliny, *Ep.* ix. 33. See A. Marx, *Gr. Märchen v. dankbaren Tieren*. pp. 5-29.
[g] *F.H.G.* i. 340, J. 2 A 168; *cf.* Plut. 985 A, Aelian, *N.A.* viii. 3.

cf. Regenbogen Theophr. P-W 1432

αιτησάμενος[1] ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα ναυαγίᾳ χρησάμενος περὶ Μύκονον καὶ
πάντων ἀπολομένων[2] μόνος ὑπὸ δελφῖνος ἐσώθη ὁ
Κοίρανος. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ γηραιοῦ ἐν τῇ
πατρίδι καὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν γιγνο-
μένης κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ἐν τῷ λιμένι
πλῆθος δελφίνων ἐφάνη ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μικρὸν
f ἀπωτέρω τῶν συνεκκομιζόντων τὸν Κοίρανον,
ὡσεὶ συνεκφερόντων καὶ συγκηδευόντων τὸν ἄν-
θρωπον." ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς
εἰκοστῆς ὅσην ἐλέφας τὸ ζῷον φιλοστοργίαν ἔσχεν
εἰς παιδίον. γράφει δ' οὕτως· "τούτῳ δὲ τῷ
ἐλέφαντι συνετρέφετο θήλεια ἐλέφας ἣν Νίκαιαν
ἐκάλουν· ᾧ τελευτῶσα ἡ τοῦ τρέφοντος[3] Ἰνδοῦ γυνὴ
παιδίον αὐτῆς τριακοσταῖον παρακατέθετο. ἀπο-
θανούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου δεινή τις φιλοστοργία
γέγονε τοῦ θηρίου πρὸς τὸ παιδίον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ χωριζόμενον τὸ βρέφος ὑπέμενεν, τὸ δὲ[4] εἰ
μὴ βλέποι τὸ παιδίον ἤσχαλλεν. ὅτ' οὖν ἡ τροφὸς
ἐμπλήσειεν αὐτὸ γάλακτος,[5] ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν
607 τοῦ θηρίου ἐτίθει αὐτὸ ἐν σκάφῃ.[6] εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο
πεποιήκοι,[7] τροφὴν οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ἐλέφας. καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς καλάμους
λαμβάνων ἐκ[8] τῶν παρατιθεμένων χορτασμάτων
καθεύδοντος τοῦ βρέφους τὰς μυίας ἀπεσόβει· ὅτε
δὲ κλαίοι, τῇ προβοσκίδι τὴν σκάφην ἐκίνει καὶ

[1] Dobree: παραστησάμενοσ A.
[2] Casaubon: ἀπολωμένων A.
[3] τρέφοντος CE, Aelian: om. A.
[4] Wilamowitz: ὁ δὲ ACE.
[5] CE: τοῦ γάλακτος A.
[6] CE Aelian, *cf.* below: σκάφει A.
[7] CE: πεποιήκει A.
[8] Kaibel: καὶ A, om. CE.

them money he let the dolphin go in the sea. Some time later he met with shipwreck off Myconos, and when all the rest were lost, Coeranus alone was saved by a dolphin.[a] When he died in old age in his native city his funeral chanced to take place in Miletus by the seashore; and a school of dolphins appeared that day in the harbour, a short distance from the company attending the remains of Coeranus, just as if they were joining in the funeral and the mourning for the man." Phylarchus, again, records in the twentieth book what great affection the animal known as the elephant[b] had for a baby. He writes as follows[c]: "With this elephant was kept a female elephant which they called Nicaea; when the wife of the Indian keeper was dying she placed her month-old baby in its care. On the woman's death a remarkable affection for the child arose in the animal; in fact neither could the babe endure being separated from her, and she was distressed whenever the baby was out of her sight. So, whenever the nurse had satisfied the child with milk, she would place it in its cradle right between the animal's feet. Whenever she failed to do this, the elephant would refuse to take food. Then, throughout the livelong day, she would take the stalks from the fodder set before her and brush away the flies from the baby while it slept; and whenever it cried, she would rock the cradle with her trunk and put it to sleep.

[a] Hence, according to Plut. *loc. cit.*, the verse of Archilochus (frag. 117 Diehl): *πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἥπιος Ποσειδῶν.*

[b] The word *ἐλέφας* in earlier Greek meant ivory; hence, perhaps, the specifying phrase *ἐλέφας τὸ ζῷον.*

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 343, J. 2 A 171; Aelian, *N.A.* xi. 14, adds interesting details.

κατεκοίμιζεν αὐτό. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἐποίει καὶ ὁ ἄρρην ἐλέφας πολλάκις."

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τῶν δελφίνων καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐστὲ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἀγριώτεροι
SVP I 451 ἔτι τε ἀνημερώτεροι, καίτοι Περσαίου τοῦ Κιτιέως
b ἐν τοῖς Συμποτικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος "περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἁρμοστὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ οἴνῳ μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ὅταν ὑποπίωμεν ἐπιρρεπεῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἡμέρως τε καὶ μετρίως αὐτοῖς χρωμένους ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ, τοὺς δὲ θηριωδῶς καὶ ἀπλήστως ψέγειν. καὶ εἰ διαλεκτικοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς πότον περὶ συλλογισμῶν διαλέγοιντο, ἀλλοτρίως ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοι τις ποιεῖν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, ὅτε[1] καὶ ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μεθυσθείη ἄν. οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι σωφρονικοὶ εἶναι σφόδρα μέχρι τινὸς
c διατηροῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἶθ' ὅταν παρεισδυῇ[2] τὸ οἰνάριον, τὴν πᾶσαν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐπιδείκνυνται· ὃ καὶ πρώην ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας θεωρῶν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον παραγενομένων. ἐκεῖνοι[3] γὰρ ἠρίστων σφόδρα σκυθρωπῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως, ὡς ᾤοντο, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμῶν τινα προσβλέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους. ὡς δὲ ὁ πότος προέβαινεν καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἄλλα τε ἀκροάματα καὶ αἱ Θετταλαὶ αὗται ὀρχηστρίδες, καθάπερ αὐταῖς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐν ταῖς διαζώστραις γυμναὶ ὠρχοῦντο, οὐκ

[1] ὅτε added by Kaibel: καὶ ὁ καλὸς γὰρ κἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ C.
[2] παρεισδυῇ Cobet: παραδυῇ ACE.
[3] ἐκεῖνοι B, Musurus: ἐκεῖνοι τε A.

[a] See *F.H.G.* ii. 623, Athen. 140 b, 162 b (vol. ii. pp. 138, 236), *S.V.F.* i. 100. The derisive words of Myrtilus, the speaker here, are directed against the hypocrisy of

And the same thing was often done by the male elephant also."

You, however, my philosophers, are more cruel and more untamed in your hearts than dolphins and elephants, although Persaeus of Citium in his *Convivial Notes* loudly proclaims [a] that "it is appropriate for a man in his cups to make mention of sexual matters; for, he said, we are naturally prone to this when we tipple. In those circumstances those who indulge in them in a gentlemanly and moderate fashion are to be praised, but those who do it in beastly and insatiate ways are to be blamed. And if men skilled in dialectic should converse on the subject of syllogisms when they have gathered for a drinking-party, one might protest that they were acting in a way alien to the occasion, when even a polite gentleman might get drunk. Moreover, people who desire very earnestly to be sober maintain that ideal up to a certain point in their drinking-parties; later, when the spirit of the wine insinuates itself,[b] then they display the entire picture of indecency; this actually happened the other day when the delegation from Arcadia visited Antigonus.[c] For they were breakfasting very solemnly and decently, according to their notions, not only not glancing at any of us, but even casting no looks at one another. But when the drinking was going on apace and there entered, among other entertaining shows, those Thessalian dancing-girls who danced, as their custom is, in loincloths without other covering, the men could no longer

the Stoics. Persaeus was a pupil of Zeno, *cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 8.

[b] Lit. "slips in the wrong way."; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 2 (i. 174. 12 Stählin), *ἀκροσφαλὴς ἡ τοῦ οἴνου παρείσδυσις.*

[c] Gonatas.

d ἔτι κατεῖχον αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν κλινῶν ἀνώρμων καὶ ἐβόων ὡς θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα θεώμενοι· καὶ μακάριον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπεκάλουν ὅτι ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ τούτων ἀπολαύειν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις παραπλήσια πάνυ πολλὰ τῶν φορτικῶν ἐποίουν. τῶν φιλοσόφων δέ τις συμπίνων ἡμῖν εἰσελθούσης αὐλητρίδος καὶ οὔσης εὐρυχωρίας παρ' αὐτῷ, βουλομένης τῆς παιδίσκης παρακαθίσαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ σκληρὸν αὐτὸν[1] εἰσῆγεν. εἶθ' ὕστερον πωλουμένης τῆς αὐλητρίδος, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς e πότοις γίνεσθαι, ἐν τῷ[2] ἀγοράζειν πάνυ νεανικὸς[3] ἦν καὶ τῷ πωλοῦντι, ἄλλῳ τινὶ θᾶττον προσθέντι,[4] ἠμφισβήτει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν πεπρακέναι· καὶ τέλος εἰς πυγμὰς ἦλθεν ὁ σκληρὸς ἐκεῖνος φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐδ' ἂν παρακαθίσαι ἐπιτρέπων τῇ αὐλητρίδι." μήποτε αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ[5] Περσαῖος ὁ περὶ τῆς αὐλητρίδος διαπυκτεύσας· φησὶν γὰρ Αντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ζήνωνος γράφων ὧδε· "Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς Περσαίου παρὰ πότον αὐλητρίδιον πριαμένου καὶ διοκνοῦντος εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν f οἰκίαν, συναισθόμενος εἰσείλκυσε[6] τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ συγκατέκλεισε τῷ Περσαίῳ." οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πολύστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, μαθητὴν δὲ Θεοφράστου, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Τυρρηνόν, ὅτι τῶν αὐλητρίδων τὰ ἱμάτια περιέδυεν.

[1] αὐτὸν A. [2] ἐν τῷ Musurus: ἐν τε τῶι A.
[3] Casaubon: νεανίσκοσ A. [4] Casaubon: προσθέντοσ A.
[5] ὁ deleted by Kaibel. [6] Kaibel: συνείλκυσε A.

[6] Lit. "staged himself (like an actor) as a hard person." For the phrase *cf.* Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 16. 10, εἰσάγαγε σεαυτόν ποιόν τινα. [5] Lit. "youthful"; see critical note 3.

restrain themselves, but started up from their couches and shouted aloud at the wonderful sight they were seeing; and they hailed the king as a happy man because he was privileged to enjoy these things, and they proceeded to commit very many other vulgarities similar to that. There was a philosopher drinking with us; and when a flute-girl entered and desired to sit beside him, although there was plenty of room for the girl at his side, he refused to permit it, and assumed an attitude of insensibility.[a] But later, when the flute-girl was put up for the highest bidder, as is the custom in drinking-bouts, he became very vehement[b] during the bargaining, and when the auctioneer too quickly assigned the girl to some one else, he expostulated with him, denying that he had completed the sale, and finally that insensible philosopher came to blows, although at the beginning he would not permit the flute-girl even to sit beside him." Possibly it was Persaeus himself who got into the fist-fight over the flute-girl; for Antigonus of Carystus mentions him in his work *On Zeno*, writing as follows[c]: "Zeno of Citium, when Persaeus bought a little[d] flute-player at a drinking-party, but hesitated to take her home because he lived in the same house with Zeno, no sooner perceived this than he pulled the lass into the house and shut her up with Persaeus." I know, too, of Polystratus of Athens, nicknamed the Etruscan,[e] and a disciple of Theophrastus, that he used to clothe himself in the garments of the flute-girls.

[c] Wilamowitz 117.

[d] The diminutive is used in contempt; *cf.* Plato, *Symp.* 215 c *φαύλη αὐλητρίς*, Theopomp. ap. Athen. 532 d (v. 402).

[e] *Cf.* the customs of the Etruscans, Athen. 517 d (vol. v. p. 328).

Ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς περὶ τὰς μουσουργούς, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Παρμενίων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ ἣν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ Δαμασκὸν ἑλεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι. καταριθμησάμενος
608 οὖν τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· "παλλακίδας εὗρον μουσουργοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως τριακοσίας εἴκοσι ἐννέα, ἄνδρας στεφανοπλόκους ἓξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὀψοποιοὺς διακοσίους ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά, χυτρεψοὺς εἴκοσι ἐννέα, γαλακτουργοὺς τρεισκαίδεκα, ποτηματοποιοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα, οἰνοηθητὰς ἑβδομήκοντα, μυροποιοὺς τεσσαράκοντα."

Καὶ ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἑταῖροι, λέγω ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν[1] οὕτως εὐφραντικὸν ὡς γυναικὸς κάλλος. ὁ γοῦν τοῦ τραγικοῦ Χαιρήμονος Οἰνεὺς περὶ παρθένων τινῶν διηγούμενος ὧν ἐθεᾶτό[2] φησιν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι·

b ἔκειτο γὰρ ἡ[3] μὲν λευκὸν εἰς σεληνόφως
φαίνουσα μαστὸν λελυμένης ἐπωμίδος,
τῆς δ' αὖ χορεία[4] λαγόνα τὴν ἀριστερὰν
ἔλυσε· γυμνὴ[5] δ' αἰθέρος θεάμασιν
ζῶσαν γραφὴν ἔφαινε· χρῶμα δ' ὄμμασι
λευκὸν μελαίνης ἔργον ἀντηύγει[6] σκιᾶς.
ἄλλη δ' ἐγύμνου καλλίχειρας ὠλένας,
ἄλλης προσαμπέχουσα θῆλυν αὐχένα·
ἡ δὲ ῥαγέντων χλανιδίων[7] ὑπὸ πτύχας[8]
c ἔφαινε μηρόν, κἀξεπεσφραγίζετο
ὥρας γελώσης χωρὶς ἐλπίδων ἔρως.

[1] ὀφθαλμοῖσ lemma in A. [2] ἐτεθέατό Meineke.
[3] γὰρ ἡ A: δ' ἡ Jacobs. [4] Casaubon: χορείασ A.
[5] Valckenaer: γυμνῆσ A.

Even princes were often excited over flute-girls and harp-girls, as is made clear by Parmenio in the *Letter to Alexander* dispatched to him after the capture of Damascus, when he came into possession of Darius's household goods.[a] Having caused an inventory to be made of the captured stuff, he writes also the following: "I discovered concubines of the king who played musical instruments, to the number of 329; men employed to weave chaplets, 46; caterers, 277; kettle-tenders, 29; pudding-makers, 13; bar-tenders, 17; wine-clarifiers, 70; perfume-makers, 14."

And to you, my companions, I say that there is nothing so likely to delight the eyes as a woman's beauty. The tragic poet Chaeremon's Oeneus, at any rate, in describing some girls whom he was gazing at, says in the play which bears his name[b]: "One lay there displaying to the moonlight her white breast, her tunic slipped from her shoulder; of another girl, again, the left side had been loosed to view by the dance; bared to the eyes of the sky, it showed a living picture; its colour, so white to my eyes, outshone the effect of the shadowy darkness. Another girl had bared her fair arms and shoulders as she clasped the delicate neck of her companion; she, meanwhile, her robes all torn, showed her thigh from beneath its folds, and desire for that smiling loveliness was stamped upon my mind, but without hope. For-

[a] On Parmenion see Plut. *Alex.* 21. 4, 33. 6.

[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 786. Hermann placed the first eleven verses after ἐξέτεινον αὐχένας below. Certainly the last six verses seem to be out of their right position.

[6] Schweighäuser: ἀυταυγεῖ A.

[7] Meineke, following Casaubon: δεκλαγεν τῶν χλανιδίων A.

[8] πτυχαῖς Nauck.

ὑπνωμέναι[1] δ' ἔπιπτον ἑλενίων ἔπι,
ἴων τε μελανόφυλλα συγκλῶσαι πτερὰ
κρόκον θ', ὃς ἡλιῶδες εἰς ὑφάσματα
πέπλων σκιᾶς[2] εἴδωλον ἐξωμόργνυτο,[3]
ἔρση[4] δὲ θαλερὸς ἐκτραφεὶς ἀμάρακος
λειμῶσι μαλακοὺς[5] ἐξέτεινεν[6] αὐχένας.

d Ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὢν ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ ἐν Ἀλφεσιβοίᾳ φησίν·

καὶ σώματος μὲν ὄψιν ἀντηυγάζετο[7]
στίλβουσα[8] λευκῷ χρωτὶ[9] καὶ διαπρεπής.[10]
αἰδὼς δ' ἐπερρύθμιζεν ἠπιώτατον
ἐρύθημα λαμπρῷ προστιθεῖσα χρώματι·
κόμαι δὲ κηροχρῶτος[11] ὡς ἀγάλματος
αὐτοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν ἐκπεπλασμένου[12]
ξουθοῖσιν ἀνέμοις ἐνετρύφων φορούμεναι.[13]

ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰοῖ ἔαρος τέκνα προσηγόρευε τὰ ἄνθη·

e ἀνθηροῦ τέκνα
ἔαρος[14] πέριξ στρώσαντες.

ἐν δὲ Κενταύρῳ, ὅπερ δρᾶμα πολύμετρόν ἐστιν, λειμῶνος τέκνα·

[1] Lobeck: ὑπτωμεναι (sic) A.
[2] Casaubon: οἰκίασ A.
[3] Meineke: εισομοργνυται A.
[4] Bergk, ἔρσαις Lobeck: περσησ (sic) A.
[5] Wilamowitz, μαλακοῖς Grotius: μαλθακοῖσιν A.
[6] Scaliger: ἐξέτεινον A.
[7] Hermann: ὄψεις κατειργάζετο A.
[8] Meineke: στίλβοντα A.
[9] Wagner: χρώματι A.
[10] καὶ διαπρεπὴς Meineke: διαπρεπῆ alone A.
[11] Wilamowitz: κηροχρώτεσ A.
[12] Meineke: ἐκπεπλασμένοι A.

done with sleep they lay where they had thrown themselves, on beds of calamint,[a] after twining together the darkling petals of violets and the crocus, which had rubbed its sunny likeness [b] into the woven texture of their robes, and there sweet marjoram,[c] lush-grown by the dew, stretched forth its tender stalks in the meadows."

Now this poet, being attracted to flowers, has this also to say in *Alphesiboea* [d]: "Radiant and magnificent, her white skin shone resplendent in the vision of her body, yet modesty tempered the gentle blush with which she covered her brightness of colour; her long tresses, curls and all, as of some statue fashioned of wax, were tossed about luxuriantly in the humming breezes." And in his *Io* he called flowers "the children of the spring-time" [e]: "The men had strewn all about the children of the flowering spring-time." But in *The Centaur*, a play written in many metres, they are "children of the meadow" [f]: "Thereupon

[a] A variety of mint or basil.

[b] The language is obscure. The epithet "sunny" refers to the colour of the robes (saffron); the phrase here rendered "likeness" is borrowed from Aesch. *Ag.* 839 *εἴδωλον σκιᾶς* lit. "image of a shadow," *cf.* Soph. *Aj.* 126 *εἴδωλα . . . ἢ κουφὴν σκιάν.*

[c] Friebel and Meineke thought this line belonged to the verses quoted below from *Alphesiboea.*

[d] *T.G.F.*[2] 781. There is nothing about flowers in this passage, but the language is flowery enough. The text of all these passages is largely conjectural, and some of the verses have apparently been displaced from their original position.

[e] *T.G.F.*[2] 784.

[f] *Ibid.* Aristot. *Poet.* 1447 b, says of this play: *Κένταυρον, μικτὴν ῥαψῳδίαν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν μέτρων.* See Bywater's note, p. 110.

[13] Hermann: *φορούμενοι* A.

[14] Casaubon (*cf.* Eustath. 1658.56): *ἀέροσ* A.

ἔνθ' αἱ μὲν[1] αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατὸν
ἀνθέων ἄλογχον[2] ἐστράτευσαν, ἡδοναῖς
θηρώμεναι[3] θάλλοντα[4] λειμώνων τέκνα.

ἐν δὲ Διονύσῳ·

χορῶν ἐραστὴς κισσός, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ παῖς.

περὶ δὲ ῥόδων ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ φησιν οὕτως·

κόμαισιν Ὡρῶν ὄμματ'[5] εὐανθῆ ῥόδα
εἶχον, τιθήνημ'[6] ἔαρος ἐκπρεπέστατον.

f καὶ ἐν Θυέστῃ·

ῥόδ' ὀξυφεγγῆ κρίνεσιν ἀργεννοῖς ὁμοῦ.

ἐν δὲ Μινύαις[7]

πολλὴν ὁπώραν Κύπριδος εἰσορᾶν παρῆν,
ἄκραισι[8] περκάζουσαν οἰνάνθαις χρόνου.[9]

Ἐπὶ κάλλει δὲ—"ἔτι γὰρ[10] γέρων ἀοιδὸς κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν" κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην—διαβόητοι γεγόνασι γυναῖκες Θαργηλία ἡ Μιλησία, ἥτις καὶ
609 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν ἐγαμήθη, οὖσα καὶ τὸ εἶδος πάνυ καλὴ καὶ σοφή, ὥς φησιν Ἱππίας ὁ σοφιστὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Συναγωγή. Δίνων δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περσικῶν τῆς πρώτης[11] συντάξεώς φησιν ὅτι ἡ Βαγαβάζου[12] γυνή, ἥτις ἦν

[1] Meineke: ἐνθεμὲν A.
[2] Hermann, Meineke: ἀλόχων A.
[3] Schweighäuser: θηρώμενον A.
[4] θάλλοντα Cobet: τὰ A.
[5] Kaibel: σώματ' A.
[6] τιθήνημα A.
[7] Μινυάσι Nauck.
[8] ἁβραῖσι Meineke.
[9] χρόα Wilamowitz, γένυν Kaibel.
[10] τοι Euripides.
[11] τρίτης Müller.
[12] Rühl (*cf.* Pomp. Trog. iii. 1. 5): βαγάζου A, Μεγαβύζου Müller.

some of the maidens charged upon the unnumbered, spearless host of flowers, hunting in their delight the lush children of the meadows." Again, in *Dionysus*[a]: "Ivy, that lover of the dancing choirs, child of the year." And of roses he speaks in his *Odysseus* as follows[b]: "In their long hair they wore the eyes of the Horae, lovely-flowered roses, splendid nurselings of the spring-time." In *Thyestes*[c]: "Roses of bright lustre, together with white lilies." And in *The Minyae*[d]: "Love's fruit was there to be seen in abundance, darkling to the ripeness of youthful bloom at time's decree."

Many women have been renowned for beauty (indeed, as Euripides says,[e] "an aged bard can still celebrate Memory"). Among them was Thargelia of Miletus, who had been married fourteen times, and who was very beautiful in looks as well as clever, according to the Sophist Hippias in his work entitled *A Collection*.[f] Dinon, in the fifth book of his *Persian History*, first part, says[g] that the wife of Bagabazus,

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 783. [b] *T.G.F.*[2] 786.

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 784.

[d] *T.G.F.*[2] 785. The title, according to K. O. Müller, denotes the Argonauts. Nauck, conjecturing Μινύαι, refers the plot to the story of the mad Minyan women in Aelian, *V.H.* iii. 42. Text and interpretation are uncertain. I have retained χρόνου, believing the quotation to be incomplete. *Cf.* Pind. *Nem.* v. 6, of the youthful Pythcas: οὔπω γένυοι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν, "or ever he showed on his cheeks the hue of summer, the soft harbinger of youthful bloom" (Sandys in L.C.L.); see Schroeder's note.

[e] *Heracles* 678.

[f] *F.H.G.* ii. 61, J. 1. 157. Diels, *Vorsokr.* 584; *cf.* Plut. *Per.* 24.

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 93. Ctesias ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 39a 14 gives the woman's name as Ἄμιντις, and says she was the sister of Artaxerxes, not of Xerxes.

ὁμοπάτριος Ξέρξου ἀδελφή, ὄνομα Ἀνοῦτις, καλλίστη ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀκολαστοτάτη. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ Τιμῶσάν φησι τὴν Ὀξυάρτου παλλακίδα πάσας
b γυναῖκας ὑπερβεβληκέναι κάλλει. ταύτην δ' ἀπεστάλκει δῶρον ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Στατίρᾳ[1] τῇ βασιλέως γυναικί. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Ξενοπείθειαν[2] τὴν Λυσανδρίδου μητέρα πασῶν τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον γυναικῶν γεγονέναι καλλίονα. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Χρύσην, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Λυσανδρίδαν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα Ἀγησίλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστασιάσας φυγαδευθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. καλλίστη δ' ἦν καὶ Παντίκα ἡ Κυπρία, περὶ ἧς φησι Φύλ-
c αρχος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὅτι παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδι οὖσαν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἥτει πρὸς γάμον Μόνιμος ὁ Πυθίωνος. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦν ἀκόλαστος ἡ γυνή, ἔφη ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· "ὦ πόνηρε, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γαμεῖς καὶ οὐ τῷ νῷ." καὶ τὴν καταγαγοῦσαν[3] δὲ Πεισίστρατον ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς Παλληνίδος εἶδος ἔχουσαν,[4] καλήν φησι γεγονέναι, ἥτις καὶ τῇ θεῷ εἴκαστο τὴν μορφήν. στεφανόπωλις δ' ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκε πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ὁ Πεισίστρατος Ἱππάρχῳ

[1] *σταπίραι* A : Στατείρᾳ Brückner.
[2] *ξονοπειθειαν* A.
[3] Kaibel : *κατάγουσαν* A.
[4] Παλληνίδος εἶδος ἔχουσαν Gulick (*cf.* Hdt. i. 62) : *πειραν εἶδοσ ἔχουσαν* A, Σωτείρας εἶδος ἔχουσαν Valckenaer, *πεῖραν* [*εἶδος*] *ἔχοντα* (which I cannot interpret) Jacoby : *ὡς Ἀθηνᾶ, δῆθεν* CE.

who was a step-sister of Xerxes by the same father, and named Anoutis, was the most beautiful of all the women in Asia, and the most licentious. Phylarchus, in his nineteenth book, says [a] that Timôsa, the concubine of Oxyartes, surpassed all other women in beauty. This girl had been sent as a present by the king [b] of Egypt to Statira, the king's wife. Again, Theopompus, in the fifty-sixth book of his *Histories*, says [c] that Xenopeitheia, the mother of Lysandridas, was more beautiful than all the other women of Peloponnesus. But the Lacedaemonians murdered her and her sister Chrysê when King Agesilaus, having defeated Lysandridas, who was his personal enemy, in party quarrels, caused him to be banished by the Lacedaemonians. Very beautiful, also, was Pantica of Cyprus, concerning whom Phylarchus says,[d] in the tenth book of his *Histories*, that when she was living at the court of Olympias, Alexander's mother, she was demanded in marriage by Monimus, the son of Pythion. But since the woman was licentious, Olympias said to him: "You poor fool, you are marrying with your eyes and not with your reason." Then again, there was the woman who restored Peisistratus to supreme power,[e] as having the likeness of Athena Pallenis, and who, Phylarchus says, was beautiful, seeing that she resembled the goddess in looks. She had been a flower-girl [f]; and Peisistratus gave her in marriage

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 343, J. 2 A 171.

[b] Or satrap. But Schweighäuser conjectured that it was Tachôs, the king mentioned below, 616 d.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 324, J. 2 B 587, G. and H. 233.

[d] *F.H.G.* i. 338, J. 2 A 166.

[e] Hdt. i. 60, with How and Wells's note.

[f] So Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 14.

τῷ υἱῷ, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης[1] ἱστορεῖ ἐν η' Νόστων
d "ἐξέδωκεν δὲ καὶ Ἱππάρχῳ τῷ υἱεῖ τὴν παραι-
βατήσασαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Φύην τὴν Σωκράτους
θυγατέρα, καὶ Χάρμου τοῦ πολεμαρχήσαντος
θυγατέρα ἔλαβεν[2] Ἱππίᾳ περικαλλεστάτην οὖσαν
τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τυραννεύσαντι. συνέβη δέ, ὥς
φησι, τὸν Χάρμον ἐραστὴν τοῦ Ἱππίου γενέσθαι
καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀκαδημίᾳ Ἔρωτα[3] ἱδρύσασθαι
πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγέγραπται·

ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως, σοὶ τόνδ' ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου."

e Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίας τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
Χαλκίδα καλλιγύναικα εἶπεν. εὐπρεπεῖς γὰρ
αὐτόθι γίγνονται γυναῖκες, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος
εἴρηκεν. καὶ Νυμφόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας
Περίπλῳ καλλίονάς φησι γίνεσθαι γυναῖκας τῶν
πανταχοῦ γυναικῶν ἐν Γενέδῳ τῇ Τρωικῇ νήσῳ.

Οἶδα δὲ καὶ περὶ κάλλους γυναικῶν ἀγῶνά ποτε
διατεθέντα· περὶ οὗ ἱστορῶν Νικίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκα-
δικοῖς διαθεῖναί φησιν αὐτὸν Κύψελον, πόλιν[4]
κτίσαντα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν· εἰς ἣν
f κατοικίσαντα[5] Παρρασίων τινὰς τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν
ἀναστῆσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινίᾳ, ἧς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ
καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσαι· καὶ

[1] Stiehle (*cf.* 409 f): κλείδημοσ A.
[2] Suspected: Kaibel suggests Ἐλάτην.
[3] Ἔρωτος βωμόν Siebel. [4] Βασιλίδα πόλιν Meineke.
[5] Schweighäuser: κατοικήσαντα A.

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 364, J. 2 B 800. Here and at 409 f (vol. iv. p. 356) the author's name is given in A as Cleidemus; *cf.*

to his son Hipparchus, as Anticleides records in the eighth book of his *Returns*[a]: "He also gave in marriage to his son Hipparchus the woman who had driven beside him,[b] Phya the daughter of Socrates, and for Hippias, who assumed the tyranny after him, he took the daughter of the former polemarch Charmus, a very beautiful girl. It happened, he says, that Charmus had been the lover of Hippias and had been the first to establish the Eros near the Academy,[c] on which is the inscription: 'Eros of many devices, for thee hath Charmus established this altar here at the shadowy limits of the Gymnasium.'" Again, Hesiod in the third book of his *Epic of Melampus* has called[d] Chaleis, in Euboea, the city of lovely women. The women there are indeed good-looking, as Theophrastus also testifies.[e] And Nymphodorus, in his *Voyage in Asia*, says[f] that women more beautiful than women anywhere else are found in Tenedos, the island near Troy.

I know also of a contest of feminine beauty that was instituted once; Nicias, recounting this in his *History of Arcadia*, says[g] that Cypselus instituted it after founding a city in the plain of the Alpheius river; in it he settled some Parrhasians and dedicated a precinct and altar to Demeter of Eleusis, in whose festival he held the beauty contest; and on

P.-W. i. 2425 with ii. 2597. The title "Returns" refers to cases of restoration to power.

[b] In his chariot, when he went back to Athens.

[c] Pausan. i. 30. 1, with Frazer's note, ii. 390-391.

[d] Rzach frag. 195.

[e] Wimmer frag. 110.

[f] *F.H.G.* ii. 378.

[g] *F.H.G.* iv. 463. The new city was Basilis, Pausan. viii. 29. 5, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 94, 336. Whether this is Nicias of Nicaea, author of the Διαδοχαὶ φιλοσόφων, is uncertain.

νικῆσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἡροδίκην. ἐπιτελεῖται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὗτος, καὶ αἱ ἀγωνιζόμεναι γυναῖκες χρυσοφόροι ὀνομάζονται. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἀγῶνα κάλλους φησὶ γίνεσθαι[1] παρὰ Ἠλείοις, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μετὰ σπουδῆς λαμβάνειν τε τοὺς νικήσαντας ἆθλα ὅπλα· ἅπερ ἀνατίθεσθαί φησιν Διονύσιος ὁ Λευκτρικὸς
610 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸν δὲ νικήσαντα ταινιούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ πομπεύοντα ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγίνεσθαι. τὸν στέφανον δ' αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι μυρρίνης ἱστορεῖ Μυρσίλος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Παραδόξοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δέ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος καὶ κρίσεις[2] γυναικῶν περὶ σωφροσύνης γίνεσθαι καὶ οἰκονομίας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ἑτέρωθι δὲ κάλλους, ὡς δέον καὶ τοῦτο τιμᾶσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Τενεδίοις καὶ Λεσβίοις· ταύτην δὲ τύχης ἢ φύσεως εἶναι, τιμὴν δέον[3] προκεῖσθαι σωφροσύνης. τὸ
b κάλλος γὰρ οὕτως καλόν, εἰ δὲ μή, κίνδυνον ἔχον[4] ἐπ' ἀκολασίαν."

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἑξῆς καταλέξαντος καὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ θαυμασάντων ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη·

"πουλυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον οὐδέν,"

Ἵππων ἔφη ὁ ἄθεος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ

[1] Cobet, Meineke: γενέσθαι A.
[2] κρίσισ, ει added in margin A.
[3] εἶναι, τιμὴν δέον Schweighäuser, Musurus: εἶναι τιμην δενεον A.
[4] Kaibel: ἐσχον A.

[a] Wearers of Gold (not Gold-diggers, on whom see Plaut. *Men.* 377). For other beauty contests see above, 565 f (p. 57).

the first occasion his own wife Herodicê won the prize. This contest is held even to the present day, and the women who enter are called "Chrysophoroe."[a] Theophrastus, too, says[b] that there is a beauty contest of men in Elis, that the trial is held with all solemnity, and that the winners receive weapons as prizes; these, says Dionysius of Leuctra, are dedicated to Athena, and the winner, beribboned by his friends, leads the procession which marches to her temple. But the crown given to the winners is of myrtle, as Myrsilus records in his *Historical Paradoxes*.[c] In some places, the same Theophrastus says,[d] there were female contests also of sobriety and housekeeping, as among the barbarians; in other places, of beauty, as though this also deserved a reward of honour, as among the people of Tenedos and of Lesbos; but, he says, this honour is a matter of chance or of nature, whereas a special reward for sobriety should be offered. For only so is beauty an honourable thing, otherwise there is danger that it will lead to licentiousness.

After this long catalogue[e] had been given in order by Myrtilus, and all the others had expressed their admiration for his powers of memory, Cynulcus said: "Learning, much learning—than which there is nothing more empty!" So said the godless Hippon.[f] But even the divine Heracleitus says[g]:

[b] Wimmer frag. 111.
[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 460.
[d] Wimmer frag. 112.
[e] His speech, briefly interrupted, began at 571 a.
[f] See *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 259; but the saying is Timon's, Wachsmuth 186, Diels, *Vorsokr.* i. 226, *P.P.F.* iii. 189. Supply οὔ μοι μέλει, "I care not for."
[g] Bywater frag. 16. Diels, *Vorsokr.* i. 68, *cf.* Diog. Laert. ix. 1. 1. "Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers."

θεῖός φησι· "πουλυμαθίη[1] νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει." καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἔφη·

ἐν δὲ πλατυσμὸς
πουλυμαθημοσύνης,[2] τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον ἄλλο.

c τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῶν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων, ὦ γραμματικέ, πάντων ἐπιτρῖψαι μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονίσαι δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας; καὶ ἐὰν μέν τίς σου πύθηται τίνες ἦσαν οἱ εἰς τὸν δούρειον[3] ἵππον ἐγκατακλεισθέντες, ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ἴσως ἐρεῖς ὄνομα· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Στησιχόρου, σχολῇ[4] γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Σακάδου τοῦ[5] Ἀργείου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος· οὗτος γὰρ παμπόλλους τινὰς κατέλεξεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρων ἔχοις ἂν

d οὕτως εὐρύθμως καταλέξαι τὰς προσηγορίας καὶ τίνες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος αὐτῶν καταβρωθέντες ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων καὶ εἴ ὄντως κατεβρώθησαν· ὅστις οὖν[6] οὐδὲ τοῦτ' οἶδας, καίτοι συνεχῶς Φυλάρχου μνήμην ποιούμενος, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Κείων[7] πόλεσιν οὔτε ἑταίρας οὔτε αὐλητρίδας ἰδεῖν ἔστι."

Καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος· "τοῦτο δὲ ποῦ εἴρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος; κατανέγνων γὰρ[8] αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἱστορίαν." εἰπόντος δ' "ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ," ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· εἶτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ δικαίως πάντας ὑμᾶς τοὺς φιλοσόφους μισῶ μισοφιλο-

e λόγους ὄντας; οὓς οὐ μόνον Λυσίμαχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεκήρυξε τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας ἀπελαύνων, ὡς ὁ

[1] Schweighäuser: πολυμαθῆ (sic) A.
[2] πολυμαθημοσύνησ A.
[3] δούριον A.
[4] Casaubon: σχολῇ A.
[5] τῆς Σακάδου (or Σακάδα) τοῦ Schweighäuser: τῆσσακατου A, τῆς Ἀγία τοῦ wrongly C. F. Hermann.
[6] οὖν bracketed by Cobet.

"Much learning teaches not how to possess wisdom." And Timon, also, said[a]: "And the boasting of much learning withal, than which there is nothing more empty." What, really, is the use of all these names, you pedant—more likely to obstruct than to instruct your hearers? Why, if one should ask you who the men were who shut themselves up in the Wooden Horse,[b] you would perhaps tell at most the name of one or two; and you couldn't get even that number from the poems of Stesichorus—hardly!—but from the *Sack of Troy* by Sacadas of Argos[c]: he, to be sure, has given a list of a great many. What is more, you couldn't recite so glibly the names of Odysseus's companions, and who among them were devoured by the Cyclops,[d] or by the Laestrygones,[e] or whether they really were devoured; well then, you don't even know this, though you continually quote Phylarchus, that in the towns of Ceos neither courtesans nor flute-girls are to be seen.[f]

Thereupon Myrtilus asked: Where has Phylarchus said this? For I have read his *History* from one end to the other. When Cynulcus replied, In the twenty-third book, Myrtilus said: Then am I not right in hating all of you philosophers, seeing that you hate literature? You are the persons whom not only King Lysimachus drove by proclamation from his

[a] Wachsmuth frag. 65, Diels, *P.P.F.* iii. 189.
[b] *Od.* viii. 492-520.
[c] See critical note and Bethe in P.-W. vii. 2205, Abert P.-W. *s.v.* Sakadas 1769. On Sacadas see Plut. 1134 c.
[d] *Od.* ix. 166-566. [e] *Od.* x. 81-132.
[f] *F.H.G.* i. 346, J. 2 A 174.

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[7] Broendsted: *κίων* A.
[8] *καίτοι ἀνέγνων γ'* Peppink. *καταναγιγνώσκω* occurs only here.

Καρύστιός φησιν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἄλεξις γοῦν ἐν Ἱππεῖ[1] φησιν·

τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἀκαδήμεια,[2] τοῦτο Ξενοκράτης;
πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Δημητρίῳ
καὶ τοῖς νομοθέταις, διότι τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων,
ὥς φασι, δυνάμεις παραδιδόντας τοῖς νέοις
ἐς κόρακας ἐρρίφασιν[3] ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δέ τις ψηφίσματι ἐξήλασε πάντας
f φιλοσόφους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καθ' οὗ λόγον ἔγραψε Φίλων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος, ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοχάρους πεποιηκότος τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνεψιοῦ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης ὡς διαφθείροντας τοὺς νέους· ἔπειτ'[4] οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως κατεδέξαντο. ἐμφανίζει δ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον Ἀνάξιππος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Κεραυνουμένῳ λέγων οὕτως·

οἴμοι, φιλοσοφεῖς. ἀλλὰ τούς γε[5] φιλοσόφους
611 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φρονοῦντας εὑρίσκω μόνον,
ἐν τοῖσι δ' ἔργοις ὄντας ἀνοήτους[6] ὁρῶ.[7]

Εἰκότως οὖν πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν ἐν τῷ

[1] Schweighäuser, Kock: ἵππωι A.
[2] ἀκαδημία A.
[3] Dobree: ἔρρειν φασιν A.
[4] ACE: ἐπεὶ Wilamowitz.
[5] Grotius: τε A, om. CE.
[6] ἀνοήτους ὄντας C.
[7] σφόδρα Herwerden.

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 358.

[b] Kock ii. 327, obviously spoken by a father angry at the evil influences exerted on his son (Kock). The title *Horse* found in A is not otherwise recorded; Ἱππίσκος, *Scarf*, might

kingdom, as Carystius declares [a] in his *Historical Notes*, but the Athenians did it as well. Alexis, at any rate, says in *The Horseman* [b]: "So this is what the Academy is, this is Xenocrates? May the gods grant many blessings to Demetrius [c] and the legislators, for they have hurled to perdition out of Attica the men who transmit to our youth the power of discourse, as they call it." A man named Sophocles [d] also drove out of Attica all philosophers by a decree; against him Philon, a disciple of Aristotle, wrote a speech, after Demochares, the cousin [e] of Demosthenes, had made a speech defending Sophocles. And the Romans, too, the most virtuous of men in all things, cast out the Sophists from Rome on the ground that they corrupted the young men; later, for some reason or other, they took them back. The comic poet Anaxippus brings out clearly your foolishness when he says, in *Thunder-struck* [f]: "Woe's me, you go in for philosophy! But I find philosophers are wise only when it is a matter of words, but when it comes to actions I see they are fools."

With good reason, therefore, many states, including especially the Lacedaemonian (so says [g] Chamaeleon

also be read. For other remarks on philosophers see 544 c, f, 547 a (vol. v. pp. 466, 468, 478).

[c] Of Phalerum.

[d] Son of Amphicleides, from the deme Sunium, Pollux ix. 42. Diog. Laert. v. 2. 38 says that exceptions might be granted by the Council and Assembly, and that Philon's indictment resulted in rescinding the law and a fine of five talents imposed upon Sophocles; see Athen. 508 f (vol. v. p. 287) and note *b*.

[e] Really nephew; *cf.* 252 f (vol. iii. p. 138) and note *e*. For the fragments of Demochares see Baiter and Sauppe 341.

[f] Kock iii. 299. The usual title of this play is Κεραυνός, *Thunderbolt*.

[g] Koepke 24.

περὶ Σιμωνίδου, οὐ προσίενται οὔτε ῥητορικὴν οὔτε φιλοσοφίαν[1] διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἀκαίρους ἐλέγχους· δι' οὓς Σωκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια διακληρουμένους διαλεγόμενος περὶ τοῦ δικαίου κλεπτιστάτους ὄντας· ἀπέθανεν δὲ
b διὰ ταῦτα καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος καὶ Διαγόρας ἐφυγαδεύθη·[2] ὅτε καὶ πλέων ναυαγίῳ[3] ἐχρήσατο· Διότιμος[4] δ' ὁ γράψας τὰ κατ' Ἐπικούρου βιβλία ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρείου[5] ἐξαιτηθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὸν Σολέα Κλέαρχον οὐ καρτερικὸν βίον ἀσκεῖτε, κυνικὸν δὲ τῷ ὄντι ζῆτε· καίτοι τοῦ ζῴου τούτου ἐν τέτταρσι τὴν φύσιν περιττὴν ἔχοντος, ὧνπερ[6] ὑμεῖς τὰ χείρω μεριτσάμενοι τηρεῖτε. αἰσθήσει τε γὰρ τῇ πρὸς ὀσ-
c φρανσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ ἀλλότριον[7] θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῷ συνανθρωπίζον οἰκουρὸν[8] εἶναι καὶ φυλακτικὸν τοῦ τῶν εὖ δρώντων βίου πάντων περιττότατον· ὧν οὐδέτερον πρόσεστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς

[1] οὔτε φιλοσοφίαν added by Musurus.
[2] ACE: Διαγόρας ἐξεκηρύχθη καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἐφυγαδεύθη Wilamowitz. [3] A: ναναγίᾳ CE. [4] Jönsen: θεότιμος ACE.
[5] CE: ἐπικουρίου A. [6] Musurus: ὥοπερ A.
[7] περὶ ὄσφρανσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων Kaibel.
[8] E: οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ συνανθρωπίζον A: τῷ συνανθρωπίζον καὶ οἰκουρὸν CE (om. θαυμαστὸν C).

[2] Since this was the fate of Protagoras rather than Diagoras, who was not merely banished, Wilamowitz reads, "Diagoras had a price set on his head, and Protagoras was sent into exile." But why try to correct mistakes in a speaker like Myrtilus?

[6] His attack took the form of fifty letters, of a licentious nature, which he forged and ascribed to Epicurus; Diog. Laert. x. 3.

in his work *On Simonides*), refuse to permit the teaching either of rhetoric or of philosophy because of the envious strife in which you indulge in your debates, and because of your untimely arguments; because of which, in fact, Socrates lost his life—he who, in the presence of the very men who were assigned by lot to jury-duty, used arguments of the most knavish sort, though his theme was justice; on this account, also, Theodorus the atheist lost his life, and Diagoras was sent into exile; on which occasion, when he was sailing away, he met with shipwreck[a]; again, Diotimus, who wrote the books attacking Epicurus,[b] was sought out by Zeno the Epicurean and put to death, as Demetrius of Magnesia tells us in *Like-named Poets*.[c] To put it concisely in the words of Clearchus of Soli,[d] you do not pursue a life of dogged endurance, but rather you live truly the life of the Cynic dogs; although this animal possesses a nature that is extraordinary for four qualities, of which you share and keep only the worst. For example, in his powers of perception, with reference to his sense of smell, and with reference to the familiar and the unfamiliar, the dog is remarkable[e]; and in his association with man as the guardian of the house, and in his capacity to watch over the lives of all who treat him well, he is most extraordinary; but neither of these two last qualities belongs to you, who imitate the

[c] See *F.H.G.* iv. 382, note. The title varies; the full form seems to have been περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων, Diog. Laert. i. 112, P.-W. iv. 2814.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 310.

[e] *Cf.* Plato, *Rep.* 375 A, 376 A, Sext. Empir. *Pyrrh. Hypot.* i. 64. The Greek is awkward, as is to be expected in Clearchus, but there is no need to alter the text.

τὸν κυνικὸν βίον μιμουμένοις. οὔτε γὰρ συναν-
θρωπίζετε οὔτε διαγινώσκετε οὐδένα τῶν ὁμι-
λούντων, αἰσθήσει τε πολλῷ[1] ὑστεροῦντες ἀργῶς
καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ζῆτε. λοιδόρου δὲ καὶ παμφάγου
τοῦ ζῴου πεφυκότος, ἔτι δὲ ταλαιπώρου καὶ
γυμνοῦ τὸν βίον, ἄμφω ταῦτα μελετᾶτε, κακολόγοι
καὶ βοροὶ πρός τε τούτοις ἄνοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι
d βιοῦντες. ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων ἀλλότριοι μὲν ἀρετῆς,
μάταιοι δὲ ἐστὲ[2] εἰς τὸ τοῦ βίου χρήσιμον. οὐδὲν
γάρ ἐστι τῶν καλουμένων φιλοσόφων ἀφιλοσο-
φώτερον.[3] τίς γὰρ ἤλπισεν[4] Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρα-
τικὸν τοιοῦτον γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τρόπους ὁποῖόν
φησι Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Συμβολαίων
λόγοις; ὃν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων ὡς αὐτοῦ διαλόγων
θαυμάζομεν ὡς ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ
ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ σοφοῦ Σωκράτους ἐστὶν συγγράμ-
e ματα, ἐχαρίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ξανθίππης τῆς
Σωκράτους γυναικὸς μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον,
ὡς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα φασίν.

Ἀλλ' ὅ γε Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ
οὕτωσὶ Πρὸς Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρατικὸν χρέως—
ἀπομνημονεύσω δ' ἐγώ, εἰ καὶ πολλά ἐστι τὰ
λεχθέντα, διὰ τὸν βρένθον ὑμῶν τὸν πολύν, ὦ
φιλόσοφοι· ἄρχεται δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ· "οὐκ ἄν
ποτ' ᾠήθην, ὦ[5] ἄνδρες δικασταί, Αἰσχίνην τολμῆσαι

[1] Casaubon: πολλῶν ACE. [2] ἐστὲ added by Kaibel.
[3] Musurus: φιλοσοφώτερον A.
[4] ἂν added by Kaibel after ἤλπισεν. If required, which is doubtful, it should stand after γάρ (so Cobet).
[5] ὦ added by Nowack.

life of Cynic dogs. For you neither associate with men, nor can you discern the character of anyone with whom you deal, and further, you lag far behind the dog in your powers of perception, and live idly and unguardedly. But the dog is also by nature snarling and voracious, and what is more, he lives an abject and naked life, and both these qualities you diligently affect, for you are given to abuse, you are voracious, and in addition to this, you live on, homeless and hearthless. As a result of all this you are aliens to virtue, and futile when it comes to a useful life. In fact, there is nothing more unphilosophic than the so-called philosophers. For who ever expected Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates, to prove himself such a character as the orator Lysias describes in his speeches *On Contracts*? [a] We admire Aeschines as a good, sober man, to judge him by the dialogues published under his name, unless, to be sure, they are really compositions of the wise Socrates presented to Aeschines as a token of esteem by Xanthippê, Socrates's wife, after his death, as Idomeneus and others of his group assert.[b]

However that may be, in the speech bearing the title *Against Aeschines the Socratic*, for debt—I will quote it, although what he says is lengthy, to match your loud swaggering, my philosophers!—the orator begins thus [c]: "I should never have expected Aeschines, gentlemen of the court, to hazard a verdict in

[a] There was only one such speech, and its genuineness has been contested. Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. 314, quotes Diog. Laert. ii. 62: "Socrates advised Aeschines, when he was hard pressed by poverty, to borrow from himself by reducing his rations."

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 490.

[c] Thalheim 343, Herwerden 238; *cf.* Diog. Laert. ii. 64.

οὕτως αἰσχρὰν δίκην δικάσασθαι, νομίζω δ' οὐκ[1]
ἂν ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἑτέραν ταύτης συκοφαντωδεστέραν
f ἐξευρεῖν. οὗτος γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὀφείλων
ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τρισὶ δραχμαῖς Σωσινόμῳ τῷ τρα-
πεζίτῃ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι, προσελθὼν πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς τόκους ἐκ τῶν
ὄντων ἐκπεσόντα. "κατασκευάζομαι δ', ἔφη,
τέχνην μυρεψικήν· ἀφορμῆς δὲ δέομαι, καταθήσω[2]
612 δέ σοι ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς μνᾶς τόκους." καλόν γε
τὸ τέλος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἡ μυρεψικὴ
τέχνη ἀκόλουθός τε τῇ Σωκράτους φιλοσοφίᾳ,
ἀνδρὸς τοῦ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην[3] χρῆσιν τῶν μύρων
ἀποδοκιμάσαντος, Σόλωνος δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου οὐδ'
ἐπιτρέποντος ἀνδρὶ τοιαύτης προΐστασθαι τέχνης·
διὸ καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἰπνῷ ἢ Παννυχίδι φησίν

κᾆτα μυροπωλεῖν[4] τί μαθόντ'[5] ἄνδρ' ἐχρῆν[6] καθήμενον
ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδείῳ,[7] κατεσκευασμένον
συνέδριον[8] τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐλλαλεῖν[9] δι' ἡμέρας;

εἶθ' ἑξῆς φησιν·

αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὔτε μαγείραιναν εἶδε πώποτε
b οὔτε[10] μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν.

[1] Sauppe: *νομίζων οὐκ* A.
[2] Scheibe (*cf.* Plato, *Legg.* 921 D): *καὶ οἴσω* A.
[3] *τοιαύτην* deleted by Kaibel; *τὴν τῶν τοιούτων χρῆσιν* (deleting *τῶν μύρων*) Peppink.
[4] Casaubon: *καταμυροπωλεῖν* A.
[5] *τιμαθοντ'* A: *τί παθόντ'* Dobree.
[6] Erfurdt: *ἀνδεχρην* A.
[7] *σκιαδίωι* A.
[8] Hermann: *συνέδριον οὐ* A.
[9] Dobree: *ἐλάλει* A.
[10] Dindorf: *οὐ* A, *ἀλλ' οὐ* Kock.

[a] It is not clear how Aeschines happens to be the plaintiff instead of the defendant; see Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* ² i, 360, 630-633.

a case so scandalous[a] as this, and I do not think he could easily find another case that smelt more of blackmail than this does. For the plaintiff here, gentlemen of the court, owed money, with interest at three drachmas a month, to the banker Sosinomus and to Aristogeiton, and he came to me with the entreaty not to permit him to be evicted from his property because of the defaulted interest. 'I am setting up' said he, 'the business of distilling perfumes; I require capital, and I will pay you nine obols[b] per mina a month interest.'" Glorious, indeed, is the philosopher's goal of happiness,[c] this business of distilling perfumes, the natural sequence, too, of the Socratic philosophy! For Socrates was a man who actually disapproved of such a use of perfumes,[d] and Solon the lawgiver would not so much as permit a male to superintend that kind of business; hence Pherecrates, too, says in *The Oven* or *The Vigil*[e]: "And besides, what is a man thinking of that he should keep a perfume-stall, loftily seated under an awning, his establishment just a gathering-place for lads to gossip in the livelong day?" Then he goes on to say[f]: "For example, no one has ever yet seen a butcheress or a fishmongeress." He means

[b] $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas, or 18 per cent a year.

[c] *i.e.* the philosopher's goal, which is happiness (Aristotle's τέλος), has sunk to the level of the perfumery business. This comment is interpolated by Myrtilus, who proceeds to other citations before resuming the speech of Lysias.

[d] Xen. *Symp.* ii. 3, quoted by Athen. 686 d. For Solon see Athen. 687 a.

[e] Kock i. 162.

[f] The argument is *e contrario*. Just as we have no female butchers or fishmongers, so we should have no male perfumers. For the feminine forms μαγείραιναν and ἰχθυοπώλαιναν, here coined for the occasion, *cf.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 666, ἀλεκτρύαιναν.

ἑκάστῳ γὰρ γένει ἁρμόζοντα δεῖν εἶναι καὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης. ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις ὁ ῥήτωρ τάδε λέγει. "πεισθεὶς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα οἰόμενος τοῦτον[1] Σωκράτους γεγονότα[2] μαθητὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς πολλοὺς καὶ σεμνοὺς λέγοντα[3] λόγους οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπιχειρῆσαι οὐδὲ τολμῆσαι ἅπερ οἱ πονηρότατοι καὶ ἀδικώτατοι ἄνθρωποι ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν."

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν καταδρομὴν αὐτοῦ ποιη-
c σάμενος ὡς ἐδανείσατο, ὡς οὔτε τόκους οὔτε τἀρχαῖον ἀπεδίδου, καὶ ὅτι ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο γνώμῃ δικαστηρίου ἐρήμην καταδικασθείς, καὶ ὡς ἠνεχυράσθη οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ στιγματίας, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα κατειπὼν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα· "ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ εἰς ἐμὲ μόνον τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς αὐτῷ κεχρημένους. οὐχ οἱ μὲν κάπηλοι οἱ ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντες, παρ' ὧν προδόσεις λαμβάνων οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι, δικάζονται αὐτῷ συγκλείσαντες τὰ καπηλεῖα, οἱ δὲ γείτονες οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δει-
d νὰ πάσχουσιν ὥστ' ἐκλιπόντες τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκίας ἑτέρας πόρρω μισθοῦνται; ὅσους δ' ἐράνους συνείλεκται, τὰς μὲν ὑπολοίπους φορὰς[4] οὐ κατατίθησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν κάπηλον ὡς περὶ στήλην διαφθείρονται. τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν

[1] Cobet: τοῦτον αἰσχίνην A.
[2] Sauppe: γεγονέναι A.
[3] ἐκδόντα Kaibel.
[4] Lacuna marked here by Sauppe, after διαφθείρονται by Meineke.

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[a] The quotations from Pherecrates interrupt the speech of Lysias.

that the various arts should be adapted appropriately to each sex. Well, following the words given above the orator continues [a]: "I was persuaded by this plea of his, believing at the same time that as he had been a disciple of Socrates and had been giving many solemn lectures on justice and virtue, he would never undertake or venture upon those acts which only the most depraved and dishonest men undertake to practise."

After this the orator again attacks him for the manner in which he had borrowed the money: he had paid neither interest nor principal; he had let the day of payment lapse, and by a court verdict had been adjudged in default; and a branded slave of his had been seized as security; finally, after many other accusations against him Lysias concludes: "But enough of this, gentlemen of the court; not towards me alone has he been that sort of man, but towards all others who have had dealings with him. Do not the retail-dealers who live near him, and from whom he gets credit without paying his bills, shut up their shops and go to law with him, while his neighbours are so ill-treated by him that they abandon their own houses and hire others far away? And as for all the club-contributions which he has collected—he does not pay out the sums left over, but they are as completely ruined by this swindling peddler as (a chariot which crashes when) rounding the turning-post.[b] And so many people go to his house at

[b] Soph. *El.* 744 *κάμπτοντος ἵππου λανθάνει στήλην ἄκραν παίσας* (Schweighäuser). The contributions might be in money or in viands; see vol. iv. p. 535 (Antiphanes) and notes. The text seems to be defective: there is difficulty in *κατατίθησιν*, "pays," instead of *ἀποδίδωσιν*, "gives back," but there is no reason, with Kaibel, to suspect *ὑπολοίπους*.

ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ[1] ἀπαιτήσοντες τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἔρχονται ὥστε οἴεσθαι τοὺς παριόντας ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν αὐτοὺς ἥκειν τούτου[2] τεθνεῶτος. οὕτω δ' οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ διάκειται ὥστε πολὺ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν πλεῖν ἢ τούτῳ συμβάλλειν.[3]
e πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἃ ἂν δανείσηται αὐτοῦ νομίζει εἶναι ἢ ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται Ἑρμαίου τοῦ μυροπώλου, τὴν γυναῖκα διαφθείρας ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονυῖαν; ἧς ἐρᾶν προσποιησάμενος οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀντὶ καπήλου μυροπώλην ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτως ἐρωτικῶς τὸ κόριον μετεχειρίζετο τῆς
f ἡλικίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαύων, ἧς ῥᾷον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀριθμῆσαι, ὅσῳ[4] ἐλάττους ἦσαν,[5] ἢ τῆς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους. καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.—ὁ μὲν οὖν βίος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοιοῦτος.'' ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυσίας, ὦ Κύνουλκε, οὕτως. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν τραγικὸν ποιητήν

τάδ' οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος,

καταπαύσω τὸν πρὸς σὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κύνας ἐνταῦθα λόγον.''

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ: ΙΓ —ΠΕΡΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ.

[1] ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ CE.
[2] τοῦ CE: τοῦ τεθνεῶτος deleted by Halbertsma, perhaps rightly.
[3] συμβαλεῖν CE.
[4] Toup: ὅσου ACE.
[5] CE: ἐλαττούσης ἂν A. ὅσου ἐλ. ἦσαν deleted by Casaubon, om. Demetr. *Eloc.* 128, 262, Suid. *s.* Ῥᾷον.

day-break to claim what is owing to them that the passers-by imagine that he is dead, and that they have come to attend his funeral.[a] Moreover, the Peiraeus merchants are in such a state of mind that it seems much safer to them to send a ship to the Adriatic[b] than to lend money to him. For in fact he regards what he borrows as far more his own than what his father bequeathed to him. Why! Has he not acquired the property of Hermaeus the perfume-seller, after seducing his wife, who was seventy years old? Pretending to be in love with her, he put her in such a state of mind that he made beggars of her husband and her sons, and promoted himself from the condition of peddler to that of perfume-seller; with such erotic passion did he treat 'the girlie' the while he enjoyed her 'youth.' Why! It was easier to count her teeth than the fingers of one's hand, so much fewer were they. Witnesses of these facts, step up on the platform.— So the life of the sophist is as I have described it." So much, then, for what Lysias has said, my Cynulcus. As for myself, I have spoken, to quote[c] the tragic poet Aristarchus, "Not as the aggressor in these things, but as the avenger," and I will now bring to a close the speech here spoken against you and the other Cynic-Dogs.

[a] The carrying out of the body (ἐκφορά) always occurred before the sun was high.

[b] This was an especially hazardous commercial venture; Lysias xxxii. 25. Tyrrhenian pirates added to the dangers of a turbulent sea: *I.G.* ii. 909. 225, Hor. *Odes* iii. 9. 23 *improbo iracundior Hadria.*

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 729; so Chaeremon, *T.G.F.*[2] 783; Menander, Kock iii. 104.

ΙΔ

613 Τὸν Διόνυσον, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, μαινόμενον οἱ πολλοὶ[1] λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς πλείονας[2] ἀκράτου σπῶντας θορυβώδεις γίνεσθαι

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδής, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὃς ἄν μιν χανδὸν ἕλῃ μηδ' αἴσιμα πίνῃ.
οἶνος καὶ κένταυρον ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα
ὤλεσ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ[3] μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο,
ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄασεν οἴνῳ,
b μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμοις ἐνὶ Πειριθόοιο.

"κατιόντος γοῦν τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα," ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, "ἐπαναπλέει κακὰ ἔπεα" καὶ μαινόμενα. Κλέαρχός τε ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν Κορινθίοις φησίν·

εἰ τοῖς μεθυσκομένοις ἑκάστης ἡμέρας
ἀλγεῖν συνέβαινε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸ τοῦ πιεῖν
τὸν ἄκρατον, ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἷς ἔπινεν ἄν.
νυνὶ δὲ πρότερον[4] τοῦ πόνου τὴν ἡδονὴν
προλαμβάνοντες ὑστεροῦμεν τἀγαθοῦ.

[1] ποιηταὶ Kaibel; but *cf.* Philo, *De Plant. Noë* 36.
[2] τοὺς πλείονας ACE: τοὺς πλείονος Musurus, perhaps rightly.
[3] ἐνμμεγαρωι A (as often).
[4] Porson: νῦν δὲ πρότερόν γε A.

BOOK XIV

THE majority of writers, friend Timocrates, call Dionysus "the mad" from the fact that most people who take a pull at unmixed wine grow uproarious [a]: "It is wine that wounds thee, honey-sweet wine, which hurts others, too, who take it too copiously and drink not in due measure. It was wine that wrought the undoing even of the Centaur, most glorious Eurytion, in the hall of high-souled Peirithoüs, when he visited the Lapithae. And when he had sore hurt his wits with wine, in his madness he wrought evil deeds in the house of Peirithoüs." "At any rate, when wine goes down into the body," as Herodotus says,[b] "evil words float on top," that is, words of madness. And so the comic poet Clearchus says in *The Corinthians* [c]: "If it so happened that people who get drunk every day had a headache *before* they drank the unmixed wine, not one of us would ever drink. But as it is, we take our pleasure too early, before the pain, and so arrive too late to

[a] *Od.* xxi. 293, Antinoüs addressing Odysseus. *Cf. Il.* vi. 132 μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο, Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxxii. 114 Βάκχου μαινομένου, Philo Alex. *Plant. Noë* 36 (148) τὸν εὑρετὴν τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐργασίας μαινόλην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρῶτοι. Genesis ix. 20.

[b] Hdt. i. 212, part of the message of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, to Cyrus.

[c] Kock ii. 409; *cf.* Athen. 429 e (Alexis, vol. iv. p. 446).

c Ξενοφῶντος δὲ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον . . . "μέθης μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δὲ ὑπερκαίρων[1] ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας." ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε[2] οὔτε τῶν πλεῖον πινόντων ὄντες οὔτε[3] τῶν ἐξοίνων γινομένων πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μουσικὰ ταῦτα ἐρχόμεθα συμπόσια. καὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλεπιτιμητὴς Οὐλπιανὸς πάλιν τινὸς ἐπείληπτο εἰπόντος "ἔξοινος οὔκ εἰμι," λέγων "ὁ δ' ἔξοινος ποῦ;" καὶ ὃς "παρ' Ἀλέξιδι ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένῳ·

ἔξοινος ἐποίει ταῦτά γε"[4]

ἔφη.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας μετὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν d καινοὺς αἰεὶ λεγομένους λόγους καὶ ἀκροάματα ἑκάστοτε διάφορα ἐπεισάγει ὁ λαμπρὸς ἡμῶν ἑστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος ἔτι τε καὶ γελωτοποιούς, φέρε λέγωμέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων. καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην ἐν συμποσίῳ γελωτοποιῶν εἰσαχθέντων ἀγέλαστον διαμείναντα, πιθήκου δ' ἐπεισαχθέντος γελάσαντα φάναι, ὡς οὗτος μὲν φύσει γελοῖός ἐστιν, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτηδεύσει.[5] καὶ Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῇ Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππῃ ἔφη·

[1] ὑπερκαιρων A, ὑπερκαίρων CE: ὑπὲρ καιρὸν Xen.
[2] Musurus: τε A.
[3] οὔτε added by Casaubon.
[4] Kaibel: ταυτατ' A.
[5] Musurus: ἐπιτηδεύει ACE.

[a] *Ages.* 5. 1 ὃς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ λαιμαργίας (gluttony), σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἁμαρτίας (crime).

[b] In *exoinos* the preposition has an intensive force, "completely wined."

[c] Kock ii. 318; Athen. vol. v. p. 251 note *e*.

[d] Lit. "laughter-producers," "fun-makers."

get the good." Xenophon says of Agesilaus [a]: "He thought that one should abstain from drunkenness as he would from madness, and from excessive foods as he would from sloth." But we, at least, belonging neither to the class of those who drink too much nor to those who get drunk (*exoinos*) in the morning, resort to these erudite symposia. Yes, when one repeated the word saying "I am not drunk (*exoinos*)," Ulpian, who is given to criticism, caught him up saying, "Where does the word *exoinos* [b] occur?" To which the other replied: "You will find it in Alexis, *The New Tenant* [c]: 'He must have been drunk (*exoinos*) when he did that!'"

Since our illustrious host Larensis, following our discussion of novel topics brought up continually every day, introduces for our entertainment various diversions on all occasions, and notably brings on the scene buffoons,[d] come, let us [e] talk a while on that subject. And yet, to be sure, I am aware that the Scythian Anacharsis, when buffoons were brought in at a symposium, remained unmoved by laughter; whereas when a monkey was brought in later he laughed, explaining that a monkey is funny by nature, but a man is funny by special effort.[f] And Euripides, also, says in *Melanippê Bound* [g]: "Many

[a] The speaker here is Ulpian, as appears below, 615 e (p. 314).

[f] Or, accepting ἐπιτηδεύει of the MSS., "practises [fun] on purpose." *Cf.* Lessing: es ist leichter, zum Mitleid zu bewegen, als lachen zu machen (letter to his brother Karl, 9 June, 1768, brought to my notice by Prof. W. G. Howard). Anacharsis takes no account of spontaneous wit nor of unconscious humour.

[g] *T.G.F.*[2] 516, *Ox. Pap.* ix. 1176. 154. The *Melanippê* was a feminist play; Schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 547. See *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 177-179.

ἀνδρῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος εἵνεκα[1]
ἀσκοῦσι χάριτας κερτόμους. ἐγὼ δέ πως
μισῶ γελοίους, οἵτινες τήτῃ[2] σοφῶν
614 ἀχάλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα· κἆς[3] ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐ
τελοῦσιν ἀριθμόν, ἐν γέλωτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς . . .

. . . . .

νέμουσι δ'[4] οἴκους καὶ τὰ ναυστολούμενα
ἔσω δόμων σῴζουσι.

Παρμενίσκος[5] δὲ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος, ὥς φησιν Σῆμος ἐν ε' Δηλιάδος, καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύων εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβὰς καὶ ἀνελθὼν οὐκ ἔτι γελᾶν ἐδύνατο. καὶ χρηστηριαζομένῳ περὶ τούτου ἡ Πυθία ἔφη·

εἴρῃ μ' ἀμφὶ γέλωτος, ἀμείλιχε, μειλιχίοιο·
b δώσει σοι μήτηρ οἴκοι· τὴν ἔξοχα τίε.

ἐλπίζων δ' ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα γελάσειν, ὡς[6] οὐδὲν ἦν πλέον, οἰόμενος ἐξηπατῆσθαι ἔρχεταί ποτε κατὰ τύχην εἰς Δῆλον· καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον θαυμάζων ἦλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Λητῷον, νομίζων τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος μητρὸς ἄγαλμά τι θεωρήσειν ἀξιόλογον· ἰδὼν δ' αὐτὸ ξύλον ὂν[7] ἄμορφον

[1] εἵνεκα Eustath. 1837. 1, ἕνεκα C: οὕνεκα A.
[2] Wilamowitz (τήτει L. Dindorf): τι εἰ τι A.
[3] καὶ εἰσ ACE.
[4] *Ox. Pap.* ix. 1176. 151: οἰκοῦσι δ' ACE. See Gulick, *Class. Studies presented to E. Capps*, p. 179. Preceding lacuna marked by Gulick.
[5] Παρμίσκος Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 267.
[6] ὥς οἱ (?) Kaibel.
[7] ξύλον ὄν Meineke: ξύλινον ACE.

[a] Eur. *Alc.* 1125 ἦ κέρτομός με θεοῦ τις ἐκπλήσσει χαρά; "is it some mocking jest (lit. 'joy') from a god that overwhelms me?"

[b] Or "who, at the expense of wise men," so Wilamowitz, *Berl. Klass.-Texte* v. ii. 125.

men there be who to make fun practise mocking jests.[a] But I somehow detest these funny men, who when wise thoughts fail them[b] keep their lips unbridled; and though they have no rating in the ranks of true men, they put on a specious front of laughter. But women, on the other hand . . .[c] and tend their households and hoard the gathered store within their halls." But Parmeniscus of Metapontum, as Semus declares[d] in the fifth book of his *History of Delos*, a man of the first rank in family and wealth, descended into the cave of Trophonius and on coming up was no longer able to laugh. And when he consulted the oracle about this the Pythian priestess said to him: "Thou, unrelenting one, askest me concerning relenting laughter; the Mother will give it to thee at home; her shalt thou honour exceedingly." So he hoped that if he returned to his own land he would laugh again; but when he met with no success, he thought that he had been deceived; but he had occasion once to go to Delos, and there he admired all the wonders of the island, and finally entered the temple of Leto, thinking that he should find the statue of Apollo's mother something remarkable to look at; but when he discovered that it was an ugly block of wood[e] he

[a] The papyrus confirms the δ' of the MSS. and makes it clear that the subject changes from sporting husbands to sober wives. It continues: *οὐδ' ἐρημίᾳ γυναικὸς οἶκος εὐπανὴς οὐδ' ὄλβιος*, "and bereft of a woman no house is tidy or prosperous."

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 493, Diels, *Vorsokr.* i. 33, Schultz, *Rätsel* 76. On the terrors of the cave of Trophonius in Lebadeia (Boeotia) *cf.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 508 Schol.

[e] Not to be regarded as a relic of tree-worship; P.-W. iii. 155.

παραδόξως ἐγέλασεν. καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμὸν συμβάλλων[1] καὶ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀπαλλαγεὶς μεγαλωστὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐτίμησεν.

c Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Γεροντομανίᾳ καὶ εὑρετὰς τῶν γελοίων φησὶ γενέσθαι Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Παλαμήδην, λέγων οὕτως·

καίτοι πολλοί γε πονοῦμεν.
τὸ δ'[2] ἀσύμβολον εὗρε γελοῖα[3] λέγειν Ῥαδάμανθυς
καὶ Παλαμήδης.

γελωτοποιῶν δὲ μέμνηται Ξενοφῶν μὲν[4] ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ Φιλίππου, περὶ οὗ καὶ οὕτωσὶ λέγει· "Φίλιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ διότι κατάγεσθαι βούλεται· συνεσκευασμένος δὲ ἔφη παρεῖναι πάντα τἀπιτήδεια ὥστε δειπνεῖν τάλ-
d λότρια. καὶ τὸν παῖδα δ' ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διά τε τὸ φέρειν μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνάριστον εἶναι." Ἱππόλοχος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λυγκέα Ἐπιστολῇ γελωτοποιῶν μέμνηται Μανδρογένους καὶ Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. πλῆθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι τῆς σοφιστείας[5] ταύτης. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Διομέων Ἡρακλείῳ συνελέγοντο ξ' ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει διωνομάζοντο[6] ὡς "οἱ ξ' τοῦτ' εἶπον" καὶ "ἀπὸ τῶν ξ' ἔρχομαι." ἐν δὲ

[1] συμβαλὼν C.
[2] τὸ δ' Herwerden: τὸν A.
[3] γέλοια A.
[4] μὲν transferred from next line (Φιλίππου μὲν) by Cobet: om. C.
[5] CE.: σοφίασ A.
[6] Kaibel: δὲ ὠνομάζοντο A, δὲ ἐλέγετο CE.

[a] A silver mixing-bowl dedicated by Parmiscus (here called Parmeniscus) is recorded on a Delian inscription, *B.C.H.* xiv. 403, xv. 127-128.

burst unexpectedly into laughter. And so he understood the meaning of the god's oracle, and having been cured of his defect he honoured the goddess greatly.[a]

Now Anaxandrides, in *Old Men's Madness*, says that Rhadamanthys and Palamedes were the inventors of jesting. He speaks as follows[b]: "And yet, many of us must suffer indeed. For Rhadamanthys and Palamedes invented the custom of letting the gentry that pay no scot[c] utter jests." Among jesters Xenophon in *The Symposium* mentions Philip, of whom he has this to say[d]: "Philip the jester knocked at the front door and told the man who answered the knock to announce who he was and to say that he desired to be put up there; he further said that he had come packed up with all the necessaries for dining —at other people's expense. He said that his slave was weighed down heavily because he had nothing to carry and had had no luncheon." Hippolochus of Macedon, again, in his *Letter to Lynceus* mentions as jesters Mandrogenes and Straton of Athens.[e] For at Athens there was an abundance of these clever gentry. At any rate, in the temple of Heracles, in the deme Diomeia, they were in the habit of assembling to the number of sixty, and in the city itself they bore a special name: "The sixty said so-and-so," or, "I've just come from the sixty." Among them were

[b] Kock ii. 139. See Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12, where we are told that Philemon was the protagonist of the play. See Cope's note, iii. 49.

[c] τὸ ἀσύμβολον is an abstract collective term denoting those who had paid no contributions to the symposium, *i.e.* the parasites, Athen. 235 f-248 e (vol. iii. pp. 62-120).

[d] Xen. *Symp.* i. ii.

[e] Athen. 130 c (vol. ii. p. 98), *cf.* 128 a-b (vol. ii. p. 90).

τούτοις ἦσαν Καλλιμέδων τε ὁ Κάραβος καὶ Δει-
e νίας,[1] ἔτι τε Μνασιγείτων καὶ Μέναιχμος,[2] ὥς φησι
Τηλεφάνης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἄστεος. τοσαύτη δ'
αὐτῶν δόξα τῆς ῥαθυμίας ἐγένετο ὥστε[3] καὶ Φίλιπ-
πον ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μακεδόνα πέμψαι αὐτοῖς τά-
λαντον, ἵν' ἐκγραφόμενοι[4] τὰ γέλοια πέμπωσιν[5]
αὐτῷ. ὅτι δὲ ἦν περὶ τὰ γέλοια ἐσπουδακὼς ὁ
βασιλεὺς οὗτος μαρτυρεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν
τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς. φιλόγελως δὲ ἦν καὶ Δημήτριος
ὁ Πολιορκητής, ὥς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ς'[6] τῶν
Ἱστοριῶν, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν Λυσιμάχου αὐλὴν κωμικῆς
f σκηνῆς οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἔλεγεν· ἐξιέναι γὰρ ἀπ'
αὐτῆς πάντας δισυλλάβους· τόν τε Βῖθυν χλευάζων
καὶ τὸν Πάριν, μεγίστους ὄντας παρὰ τῷ Λυσι-
μάχῳ, καί τινας ἑτέρους τῶν φίλων· παρὰ δ' αὐτοῦ
Πευκέστας καὶ Μενελάους, ἔτι δὲ Ὀξυθέμιδας.
ταῦτα δ' ἀκούων ὁ Λυσίμαχος "ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη,
πόρνην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς οὐχ ἑώρακα ἐξιοῦσαν,"
615 τὴν αὐλητρίδα Λάμιαν λέγων. ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ
καὶ τούτου πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔφη·
"ἀλλ' ἡ παρ' ἐμοὶ πόρνη σωφρονέστερον τῆς
παρ' ἐκείνῳ Πηνελόπης ζῇ."

[1] CE: *δινίασ* A. [2] CE: *μαίνεχμοσ* A.
[3] CE: *ὡσ* A.
[4] *ἐκγ.* superscr. E: *ἐγγραφόμενοι* ACE.
[5] A: *πέμποιεν* CE. [6] *δεκάτῃ* 261 b.
[7] CE: *ἐμοῦ* A.

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[a] On his fondness for delicacies see 100 c, 104 d (vol. i. pp. 430, 446), 242 d (vol. iii. p. 90), 338 f-340 e, 364 e vol. iv. pp. 36-44, 150).

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 507. On this "Narrenbund," or Buffoons' Band, see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 42, Cornford, *Att. Comedy* 44.

Callimedon the Crayfish [a] and Deinias, also Mnasigeiton and Menaechmus, as Telephanes declares [b] in his work *On the City of Athens*. So great was their reputation for light humour that Philip of Macedon, when he heard of them, sent them a talent to have their jests copied out and brought to him. Now that this king keenly loved jests is borne out by the orator Demosthenes in his *Philippics*.[c] Fond of jesting also was Demetrius Poliorcetes, as Phylarchus says [d] in the sixth book of his *Historics*. Demetrius used to say that the court of Lysimachus differed in no respect from a scene in comedy; for all the characters that appeared in the scene had disyllabic names,[e]—thus poking fun at Bithys and at Paris, who were in very high favour with Lysimachus, and some others among his friends; whereas from his own court came Peucesteses and Menelauses, and even Oxythemises.[f] When Lysimachus heard this he said: "Well, I for my part have never seen a whore appearing in a tragic scene," referring to the flute-girl Lamia.[g] And on this being reported to him Demetrius once more took him up and said: "But any whore at my court lives more chastely than any Penelopê at his." [h]

[c] See Demosth. *Olynth.* ii. 19 *μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ἀσμάτων . . . τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει.*

[d] *F.H.G.* i. 335, J. 2 A 165, Athen. 261 b (vol. iii. p. 174).

[e] *i.e.* they were no better than slaves, who generally bore short names, Luc. *Gall.* 29 *τὸν Σίμωνα, ὃς ἀντὶ δισυλλάβου τετρασύλλαβος* (*i.e.* *Σιμωνίδης*) *ἤδη τελευτήσας εἶναι ἀξιοῖ*, Harmon, *Lucian* (L.C.L.) ii. 201.

[f] On the names in tragedy as differing from those in comedy *cf.* Athen. 222 a–223 a (vol. iii. pp. 2–4). For Bithys the parasite see 246 e (vol. iii. p. 108); on Oxythemis, above, 578 b (p. 121).

[g] Above, 577 c (p. 117).

[h] *Cf.* Plut. *Demetr.* 25. 6.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς φιλόγελως ἦν προείρηται. Λεύκιος δὲ Ἀνίκιος, καὶ αὐτὸς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγήσας, Ἰλλυριοὺς καταπολεμήσας καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον[1] τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παντὸς γέλωτος ἄξια πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὡς Πολύβιος
b ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. "μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας καὶ σκηνὴν κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ πρώτους εἰσῆγεν αὐλητάς[2]· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Θεόδωρος ὁ Βοιώτιος, Θεόπομπος,[3] Ἕρμιππος, ὁ[4] Λυσίμαχος, οἵτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τούτους οὖν στήσας ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
c ἅμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ διαπορευομένων τὰς κρούσεις μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ ἔφη καλῶς αὐτοὺς αὐλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκέλευσεν.[5] τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπέδειξέν τις τῶν ῥαβδούχων ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγεῖν[6] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς[7] καὶ ποιεῖν ὡσανεὶ μάχην. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες ὁρμὴν[8] οἰκείαν[9] ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀσελγείαις μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγ-

[1] γένιον AC, γένιον E with τ superser., τενθίωνα A at 440 a, Gentium Livy xliv. 30, Γένθιον Plut.

[2] ἅμα πάντας after αὐλητὰς (om. CE) deleted by Meineke; *cf.* below.

[3] θεόπεμπτον (in different constr.) C.

[4] ὁ deleted by Kaibel, ὁ Λυσιμαχεὺς Schweighäuser.

[5] CE: ἐκέλευεν A.

[6] Schweighäuser: ἀπαγαγεῖν ACE.

[7] Schweighäuser: ἐπ' αὐτοῦσ A, ἑαυτοὺς alone CE.

[8] ὁρμὴν added by Kaibel: κίνησιν Schweighäuser, δεινὰν Cobet, διάθεσιν Hultsch, λαβὴν ἐνδόντες Peppink.

[9] Casaubon: οἰκίαν A.

That Sulla, too, the Roman general, was fond of jesting has been said before.[a] And Lucius Anicius, another general of the Romans, after defeating[b] the Illyrians and taking their king Genthius prisoner with his children, celebrated his triumph at Rome with contests in which he brought on acts evoking all manner of mirth, as Polybius records in the thirtieth book[c]: "Having summoned the most distinguished artists of Greece and constructed a very large stage in the Circus, he first brought on the flute-players; these were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus, Lysimachus,[d] all of them the most distinguished. Posting them, then, at the front of the stage with the chorus, he directed them to play all together. As they started to perform their music to accompany the dance-motions which corresponded to it, he sent word to them that they were not playing in the right way, and ordered them to whoop up the contest against one another. Since they were puzzled at this, one of the lictors[e] indicated that they should turn and advance upon one another and act as if they were fighting. Quickly the players caught the idea, and taking on motions in keeping with their own licentious characters they caused great confusion. For the

[a] See 261 c (vol. iii. p. 174) and Leo in *Hermes*, xlix. p. 164.

[b] Genthius or Gentius had allied himself with Perseus, Livy, xliv. 21, *cf.* 17, Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 13. Anicius, as propraetor, defeated him in 167 B.C.; P.-W. i. 2197, Athen. 440 a (vol. iv. p. 492).

[c] Chap. 14.

[d] The names have become corrupted; we expect other gentile names to match ὁ Βοιώτιος, *e.g.* Theopompus of Hermionê (Meineke), Hermippus of Lysimacheia. CE omit all mention of Lysimachus, but a Boeotian flute-player of that name is known from a Delphic inscription, Wescher-Foucart no. 5. 63, p. 4.

[e] Or "beadles."

χυσιν. συνεπιστρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἄκρους οἱ μὲν αὐληταὶ φυσῶντες ἀδιανόητα καὶ διαφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀπῆγον[1] ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐπι-
d κτυποῦντες οἱ χοροὶ καὶ συνεπισείοντες[2] τὴν σκευὴν[3] ἐπεφέροντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πάλιν ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς. ὡς δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενός τις τῶν χορευτῶν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ στραφεὶς ἦρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον αὐλητήν, τότ' ἤδη κρότος ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησταὶ δύο εἰσήγοντο μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται τέσσαρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ σαλπιγκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν.[4] ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἀγωνιζομένων ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον. περὶ δὲ
e τῶν τραγῳδῶν, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ὅ τι ἂν[5] ἐπιβάλωμαι λέγειν, δόξω τισὶν διαχλευάζειν."

Ταῦτα τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ διεξελθόντος καὶ πάντων ἀνακακχασάντων ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀνικίοις ταύταις θέαις ἐγένοντό τινες λόγοι καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων πλάνων· καὶ ἐζητεῖτο εἰ μνήμη τις καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοτέροις· περὶ γὰρ θαυματοποιῶν ἤδη προειρήκαμεν. καὶ ὁ Μάγνος ἔφη·

[1] ACE: ἐπῆγον Kaibel.
[2] Hermann: συνεπεισιόντεσ AE, συνεπεισίοντες C.
[3] Hermann: σκηνὴν ACE.
[4] CE: βυκανητῶν A (so Polyb. ii. 29. 6).
[5] ἐὰν A.

flute-players by a concerted movement turned the middle choruses against those at the ends, while they blew on their flutes unintelligible notes, and all differing, and then they drew away in turn upon each other; and at the same time the members of the choruses clashed noisily against the players as they shook their gear at them and rushed upon their antagonists, to turn again and retreat. And so in one case a member of the chorus girded himself, and stepping out of the ranks he turned and raised his fists as if to box against the flute-player who plunged against him; and then, if not before, the applause and shouts that arose from the spectators knew no bounds. Furthermore, while these were contending in a pitched battle, two dancers entered the orchestra with castanets,[a] and four boxers mounted upon the stage accompanied by trumpeters and horn-players. All these contests went on together, and the result was indescribable. But when it comes to the performers of tragedy, says Polybius, whatever I might undertake to add would seem to some to be pure mockery."

After Ulpian had narrated these details the whole company burst out in laughter at these Invincible[b] spectacles, and then certain remarks were made about the so-called *planoi*[c]; and the question was raised whether there is any mention of these men also in the more ancient writers; for on the subject of magicians we have spoken already.[d] Then Magnus spoke:

[a] Polybius elsewhere (xxvi. 10, xxxi. 4 = Athen. 439 a-d, vol. iv. p. 488) uses the same word (*symphonia*) seemingly of some percussion instrument; see vol. ii. p. 377 note *g*.

[b] The adjective Ἀνίκητοις puns on the name Anicius.

[c] Vagabond jugglers and acrobats, Athen. 224 d (vol. iii. p. 10).

[d] 20 a (vol. i. p. 86).

"Διονύσιος μὲν ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὁμώνυμοι[1] μνημονεύει Κηφισοδώρου τοῦ πλάνου διὰ τούτων·

f Κηφισόδωρόν φασιν[2] ἐπικαλούμενον
Πλάνον τιν' ἐν Ἀθήναις γενέσθαι, τὴν σχολὴν
εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ βίου καταχρώμενον.
τοῦτον ταχὺν ὄντα[3] πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἀνατρέχειν,
ἥσυχα δὲ κατιέναι 'πι'[4] τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Νικόστρατος ἐν Σύρῳ·

Κηφισόδωρον οὐ κακῶς μὰ τὸν Δία
τὸν Πλάνον φασὶ στενωπὸν εἰς μέσον[5] στῆσαί τινας
ἀγκαλίδας ἔχοντας, ὥστε μὴ παρελθεῖν μηδένα.

616 Πανταλέοντος δὲ μνημονεύει Θεόγνητος ἐν Φιλοδεσπότῳ·

ὁ Πανταλέων μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ξένους
τούς τ' ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐπλάνα, καὶ σχεδὸν
ἀπεκραιπάλα τὰ πλεῖστα, τοῦ γελάσαι χάριν
ἰδίαν τιν' αὑτῷ[6] θέμενος ἀδολεσχίαν.

καὶ Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν ε' περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς περὶ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος τάδε γράφει· "ὁ δὲ πλάνος Πανταλέων τελευτᾶν μέλλων ἑκάτερον τῶν υἱῶν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξηπάτησε,

[1] Schweighäuser: ὁμωνύμωι A. [2] CE: φησιν A.
[3] ταχὺν ὄντα Kock: ἐντυχόντα A.
[4] ἥσυχα Jacobs, δὲ κατιέναι 'πὶ Kock: ἢ συγκαθεῖναι τηπι A.
[5] Kock: στενὸν A. [6] Dindorf: αὐτῶι A.

[a] Since this Dionysius apparently lived in the fourth century, perhaps we should read τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας, "of the

Dionysius of Sinopê, the poet of comedy,[a] in the play entitled *Namesakes*, mentions the juggler (*planos*) Cephisodorus in these lines[b]: "They say there was a man at Athens named Cephisodorus, with the title Wanderer, for he devoted his spare time to that mode of life. He was an agile one in running up the steep side of the Acropolis, and gently coming down upon his pole."[c] He is mentioned also by Nicostratus in *The Syrian*[d]: "Not a bad job, they say, did Cephisodorus the Wanderer do, by Zeus, when he stationed some men with bundles in their arms in the middle of a narrow pass so that nobody could get by." And Pantaleon is mentioned by Theognetus in *He liked his Master*[e]: "Pantaleon himself could 'juggle' only the foreigners and those who didn't know him, and he squandered away in drunken sprees about all that he earned after he had invented for himself a style of talking all his own that would provoke laughter."[f] And Chrysippus the philosopher in the fifth book of his work *On Pleasure and the Good*, writes the following about Pantaleon[g]: "The wandering juggler Pantaleon, as he was about to die, deceived each of his two sons separately by

Middle Comedy." His first victory occurred 340-335 B.C. (*I.G.* ii. 977, col. iv.) at the Lenaea. At 381 c (vol. iv. p. 224) he is given the more common title *κωμῳδιοποιός*.

[b] Kock ii. 426.

[c] The text is very uncertain, but seems to describe a pole act common among acrobats. For *τὸ σιμόν*, "the steep," see Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 288, who says it was a place on (*περί*) the Acropolis.

[d] Kock ii. 226. The title denotes a slave.

[e] Kock iii. 365. For Pantaleon see 20 b (vol. i. p. 86).

[f] I can understand this passage only in the light of the practices on the stage instituted by the late Will Rogers, who convulsed audiences by his talk when performing his tricks with a lariat.

[g] *S.V.F.* iii. 199.

b φήσας μόνῳ αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅπου κατωρύχοι τὸ χρυσίον· ὥστε μάτην ὕστερον κοινῇ σκάπτοντας αἰσθέσθαι ἐξηπατημένους."

Οὐκ ἠπόρει δ' ἡμῶν[1] τὸ συμπόσιον οὐδὲ τῶν φιλοσκωπτούντων. περὶ δὲ τοιούτου τινὸς πάλιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γράφει· "φιλοσκώπτης τις[2] μέλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου σφάττεσθαι[3] ἔτι ἕν τι[4] ἔφη θέλειν ὥσπερ τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσας ἀποθανεῖν.
c ἐπιτρέψαντος δ' ἐκείνου ἔσκωψεν." ὑπὸ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων πολλάκις ὁ Μυρτίλος σκωφθέντα καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντα[5] εἶπεν καλῶς Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα πεποιηκέναι. Τελέσφορον γὰρ ἕνα τῶν ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔσκωψέ[6] ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ τὴν Ἀρσινόην (γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ Λυσιμάχου) ὡς ἐμετικὴν οὖσαν, εἰπών

κακῶν κατάρχεις[7] τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν εἰσάγων,

ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἀκούσας ἐμβληθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς γαλεάγραν καὶ δίκην θηρίου περιφερόμενον καὶ τρεφόμενον, κολαζόμενον οὕτως ἐποίησεν ἀποθανεῖν. σὺ δέ, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, εἰ τὴν γαλεάγραν

[1] Musurus: ὑμῶν A.
[2] τις CE: om. A.
[3] ὑπὸ δημητρίου ἀναιρεθῆναι CE.
[4] ἔτι ἕν τι Kaibel: εἰπεῖν A, εἴ γ' εἴη Lumb, om. CE.
[5] Kaibel: σκωφθεὶσ καὶ ἀγανακτήσασ A.
[6] A: ἔσκωπτέ CE.
[7] γὰρ ἄρχεις Plut.

[a] Here ends the speech of Magnus, who is followed in the next paragraph by Myrtilus.
[b] *S.V.F.* iii. 199.
[c] Plut. 634 F tells this story of one Timagenes, not mentioning Lysimachus. Seneca, *De Ira* iii. 17 gives his name as Telesphorus of Rhodes and adds gruesome details of

saying that he was revealing to him alone where he had buried his gold; so when later they dug together in vain they perceived that they had been deceived."[a]

Our dinner-party did not suffer for lack of joke-lovers. Concerning one person of this sort Chrysippus again writes in the same book[b]: "A certain joker was on the point of having his throat cut by the public executioner, when he said that he was willing to die after he had said one more thing in the way of a swan song. On the executioner giving him permission he made jokes." King Lysimachus, says Myrtilus, did a good thing when, as often happened, he was joked about and roused to indignation by such persons. For Telesphorus,[c] one of his lieutenants, had once made a joke at a drinking-party at the expense of Arsinoë (she was the wife of Lysimachus), who was subject to vomiting, and he said, quoting[d]: "You are starting trouble by bringing in this vomiting woman (this Muse)."[e] When Lysimachus heard it he commanded him to be thrown into a cage, in which he was carried about and kept like a wild beast until this punishment brought about his death. As for you, Ulpian, if you ask about that word for cage,[f] you his punishment as illustrating the cruel ingratitude of monarchs.

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 914. Porson, *Med.* 139 (p. 419), conjectured that the verse came from Euripides' *Antiopê*, where it read τήνδε Μοῦσαν εἰσάγειν as Plut. has it.

[b] Telesphorus pronounced τήνδε Μοῦσαν "this Muse" (note *d*) so that it sounded like τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν "this sick woman." *Cf.* the story of the actor Hegelochus, Aristoph. *Ran.* 303, who, when reciting Eur. *Or.* 279 αὖθις αὖ γαλῆν' (= γαληνὰ) ὁρῶ, "once more I see the calm," was understood by the audience to say γαλῆν ὁρῶ, "I see the weasel." It is very likely that Athenaeus repeated the Hegelochus story here in his original text.

[c] Galeagra, lit. "weasel-trap," Pollux x. 155.

ζητεῖς, ἔχεις παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ[1] τῷ ῥήτορι· ὅπου δέ,
d σὺ ζήτει. καὶ Ταχὼς[2] δ' ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς
Ἀγησίλαον σκώψας τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα,
ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ συμμαχήσων (ἦν γὰρ βραχὺς τὸ
σῶμα), ἰδιώτης ἐγένετο, ἀποστάντος ἐκείνου τῆς
συμμαχίας. τὸ δὲ σκῶμμα τοῦτ' ἦν·

ᾤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.

ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη
"φανήσομαί σοί ποτε καὶ λέων." ὕστερον γὰρ
ἀφισταμένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος
e καὶ Λυκέας ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς,
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμπράξας ἐποίησεν ἐκπεσόντα τῆς
ἀρχῆς φυγεῖν εἰς Πέρσας.

Πολλῶν οὖν πολλάκις ὄντων τῶν ἀκροαμάτων
καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ αἰεί, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν
ἐγίνοντο λόγοι, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν εἰπόντων παρα-
λιπὼν τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθήσομαι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ
αὐλῶν ὁ μέν τις ἔφη τὸν Μελανιππίδην καλῶς ἐν
τῷ Μαρσύᾳ διασύροντα τὴν αὐλητικὴν εἰρηκέναι
περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς·

ἃ μὲν Ἀθάνα
τῶργαν[3] ἔρριψέν θ'[4] ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς

[1] ὑπερίδῃ A.
[2] Ταχὼς Diod., Ael., τάχως CE: ταχαωσ A.
[3] Ἀθάνα τῶργαν' Bergk: ἀθάνατα ὄργανα A, ἀθάνα ὄργανα CE.
[4] ἔρριψεν C, ἔρριψέ τε A, ἔρριψ' E.

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[a] Blass[3] frag. 34, Kenyon frag. 239.
[b] For the visit of Agesilaus in Egypt see 384 a (vol. iv. p. 234), which cites Theopompus; *cf. F.H.G.* i. 281, J. 2 B

have it in the orator Hypereides[a]; as for *where* it is, you may hunt it up yourself. And Tachôs, the king of Egypt, because of a joke made at the expense of Agesilaus,[b] the king of Sparta (for he was short of stature), when Agesilaus arrived to be his ally, was reduced to private station because Agesilaus renounced the alliance. The joke was this: "The mountain was in travail-pains and Zeus was affrighted; but it brought forth—a mouse."[c] When Agesilaus heard that, he said in anger, "I shall one day look to you like a lion."[d] Later, in fact, when the Egyptians revolted from Tachôs, as Theopompus says,[e] also Lyceas of Naucratis in his *History of Egypt*,[f] Agesilaus, by refusing to help him, caused him to be ejected from his rule and he fled to Persia.

Well, we often had many entertainments, not always the same, and since there was much talk about them, I will omit the speakers' names and mention what was done. On the subject of flutes, for instance, one remarked that Melanippides, when ridiculing flute-music delightfully in his *Marsyas*, had said of Athena[g]: "Athena hurled the instruments[h] from her sacred hand and said 'To perdition

560, G. and H. 105. *Cf.* Nepos, *Ages.* 8, who gives the king's name as Thacus. See below, 657 b, and Plut. *Ages.* 36, Diod. xv. 92, Aelian, *V.H.* v. 1.

[c] Hor. *A.P.* 139 parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus, Phaedr. iv. 22.

[d] *Cf.* the retort of Alcibiades, Plut. *Alc.* 2, Reich, *Mimus* i. 27.

[e] *F.H.G.* i. 297, J. 2 B 560, G. and H. 105.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 441.

[g] *P.L.G.*[1] iii. 590, Diehl ii. 153, Edmonds iii. 234. For the satyr Marsyas, defeated in a musical contest by Apollo, see Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8, Michaelis, *Die Verurteilung des Marsyas.*

[h] *i.e.* the two pipes.

εἶπέ τ' "ἔρρετ' αἴσχεα, σώματι λύμα,[1]
f οὔ με τᾷ δ' ἐγὼ[2] κακότατι[3] δίδωμι."

πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων ἄλλος ἔφη· "ἀλλ' ὅ γε Σελινούντιος Τελέστης[4] τῷ Μελανιππίδῃ ἀντικορυσσόμενος ἐν Ἀργοῖ ἔφη—ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς·

ὃν σοφὸν σοφὰν[5] λαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἐπέλπομαι νόῳ δρυμοῖς ὀρείοις[6] ὄργανον[7]
δίαν Ἀθάναν[8] δυσόφθαλμον αἶσχος ἐκφοβηθεῖσαν
αὖθις ἐκ χερῶν βαλεῖν
νυμφαγενεῖ χειροκτύπῳ[9] φηρὶ Μαρσύᾳ κλέος.
617 τί γάρ νιν εὐηράτοιο κάλλεος ὀξὺς ἔρως ἔτειρεν,
ᾗ[10] παρθενίαν ἄγαμον[11] καὶ ἄπαιδ' ἀπένειμε Κλωθώ;

ὡς οὐκ ἂν εὐλαβηθείσης τὴν αἰσχρότητα τοῦ εἴδους διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν. ἑξῆς τέ φησι·

ἀλλὰ μάταν ἀχόρευτος[12]
ἅδε ματαιολόγων φάμα προσέπταθ' Ἑλλάδα μουσοπόλων
σοφᾶς ἐπίφθονον βροτοῖς τέχνας ὄνειδος.

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐγκωμιάζων τὴν αὐλητικὴν λέγει·

ἂν[13] συνεριθοτάταν[14] Βρομίῳ παρέδωκε σεμνᾶς

[1] αἴσχεα σώματι λύμα A, αἴσχεα σωματόλυμα Meineke.
[2] Bergk: ἐμὲ δ' ἐγω A, ἐμὲ δ' ἔγωγ' οὐ Wilamowitz; ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὰν οὐκ ἐγὼ Edmonds.
[3] C: κακότατι A.
[4] CE: τελεστὴς A.
[5] σοφὰν σοφὸν Wilamowitz.
[6] Musurus: ὁρίοισ A.
[7] ὀργάνων Bergk.
[8] ἀθανᾶν A.
[9] χοροκτύπῳ Meineke.
[10] Dobree: αιγὰρ A.

with you, shameful things, an outrage to my body.[a] I yield me not to such baseness.' " In answer to him another speaker said: Yes, but Telestes of Selinus, taking up the cudgels against Melanippides, has said in *Argo*—he is speaking of Athena [b]: " As to which [c] I cannot believe in my heart that divine Athena, clever goddess, found that clever instrument in the mountain thickets, and frightened at the ugliness which offends the eye, cast it again from her hands, so that it became the glory of Marsyas, the hand-clapping creature [d] whose dam was a nymph. For how could sharp yearning for lovely beauty have troubled her, to whom Clothô had assigned virginity unwedded, unchilded? " Obviously she could not have been frightened at the ugliness of her looks, because of her virginity! Going on Telestes says: " No, idle and hostile to the dance is this story, told by foolish bards, that has sped to Hellas—a jealous reproach of a clever art among men." Next he praises flute-playing in these words: " Which the uplifted breath of the august goddess, joined with the swiftness of her flashing fingers that quivered

[a] *i.e.* my good looks. Plut. *Alc.* 2 says that Alcibiades disliked the flute because the player could neither sing nor talk; it should be left to Theban boys, who have no conversation. See above, p. 237 note *a*, and P.-W. ii. 2406.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 627, Diehl ii. 155, Edmonds iii 274.

[c] The flute, *αὐλός*, antecedent of *ὅν*.

[d] The word *φήρ*, Thessalian for *θήρ*, " beast," was usually applied to a Centaur. But *cf.* *φήρεα*, of the Satyrs' horns, Hippocr. *Morb.* vi. 7.

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[11] Casaubon: *ἀγανὸν* A.

[12] Grotefend: *ἀλλαματαν αναχορευτοσ* ACE.

[13] *λέγει· ἂν* Kaibel, *λέγει τὰν* Musurus: *λεγεγαν* A.

[14] Hecker: *ουμεριθοταταν* A (*sic*).

δαίμονος ἀερθὲν[1] *πνεῦμ' αἰολοπτερύγων σὺν ἀγλαᾶν ὠκύτατι χειρῶν.*

b *κομψῶς δὲ*[2] *κἀν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὁ Τελέστης*[3] *ἐδήλωσε τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν χρείαν ἐν τούτοις·*

ἦ Φρύγα καλλιπνόων αὐλῶν ἱερῶν βασιλῆα,
Λυδὸν ὃς[4] *ἥρμοσε*[5] *πρῶτος*
Δωρίδος[6] *ἀντίπαλον Μούσης*[7] *νόμον αἰόλον, ὀμφᾷ*[8]
πνεύματος εὔπτερον αὔραν ἀμφιπλέκων καλάμοις."

Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας ἀγανακτήσας[9] *ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς αὐλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς*
c *χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χοροὺς συνᾴδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς· ὃν οὖν εἶχεν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων θυμὸν ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ Ὑπορχήματος·*

τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα;
τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν;

[1] A: *ἀερόεν* Bergk.
[2] Schweighäuser: *κομψωδε* A.
[3] *τελεστὴσ* A.
[4] Huschke: *ἀνδονοσ* A (*sic*).
[5] Grotefend: *ηροσε* A.
[6] Musurus: *δουρίδοσ* A.
[7] More correctly *Μούσας*.
[8] Dobree, Bergk, Schweighäuser: *νομοαιολονορφναι* A (*sic*).
[9] Wilamowitz: *ἀγανακτεῖν τινασ* A.

like wings, gave over to Bromius to be his most faithful handmaid." Again, in *Asclepius*, Telestes elegantly set forth the use of flutes in these lines [a]: "Or that Phrygian king [b] of the sacred, fair-breathing flutes, who first composed the quivering Lydian strain to match the Dorian Muse, with tuneful breath trilling the wingèd airs on his reeds."

But Pratinas of Phlius, when hireling flute-players and dancers usurped the dancing-places,[c] became indignant at the way in which the flute-players failed to accompany the choruses in the traditional fashion, and choruses now sang a mere accompaniment to the flute-players; the anger which Pratinas felt against those who did this is clearly shown in the following *Hyporcheme* [d]: "What uproar is this? What dances are these? What outrage hath assailed the altar of Dionysus with its loud clatter? Bromius is mine, he is mine! Mine

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 629, Diehl ii. 156, Edmonds iii. 276.

[b] Perhaps Olympus is meant, pupil of Marsyas, Plato, *Symp.* 215 c. For the differences between the Lydian and the Dorian modes in music see *Dict. Antiq.* ii. 196 ff. For Plato's strictures on the Lydian mode see *Rep.* 398 D-399 C, and Mahaffy, *Old Greek Education* 63 ff.; on the modes see Mountford, *C.Q.* 1923, 125-130.

[c] They had previously been paid by the poets, and were subordinate to them. As virtuosi now hired by the choregi they demanded more attention; Plut. 1141 C-D.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 558, Diehl ii. 124, Edmonds iii. 50. This celebrated poem belonged to a tragedy or satyric drama, according to Girard, *Mél. Weil*, pp. 131-139; against this view see Crusius P.-W. v. 1223, *cf.* below, 630 d, where hyporchematic poetry is included under lyric. On Pratinas and other matters suggested by the poem see H. W. Garrod, *Class. Rev.* xxxiii. (1920), pp. 129 ff. The hyporcheme was a song accompanied by lively dancing: Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* lxix.-lxxv. and below, 628 d.

d ἐμός, ἐμὸς ὁ Βρόμιος, ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμὲ δεῖ
παταγεῖν
ἀν' ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναιάδων[1]
οἷά τε[2] κύκνον ἄγοντα[3] ποικιλόπτερον μέλος.
τὰν ἀοιδὰν κατέστασε Πιερὶς βασίλειαν·[4] ὁ δ'[5]
αὐλὸς
ὕστερον χορευέτω·
καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρέτας·
κώμῳ[6] μόνον[7] θυραμάχοις τε πυγμαχίαισι νέων
θέλοι[8] παροίνων[9]
e ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας.
παῖε τὸν φρυνέου[10]
ποικίλου πνοὰν ἔχοντα,[11]
φλέγε τὸν ὀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον[12]
λαλοβαρύοπα παραμελορυθμοβάταν[13]
θῆτα[14] τρυπάνῳ δέμας πεπλασμένον.
f ἦν ἰδού· ἅδε σοι δεξιᾶς[15] καὶ ποδὸς[16] διαρριφά,
θριαμβοδιθύραμβε
κισσοχαῖτ' ἄναξ· ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐλῶν πρὸς λύραν κοινωνίας, ἐπεὶ

[1] Μαινάδων Valckenaer.
[2] οἷά τε ACE: ἅτε Garrod.
[3] ἀφέντα Siebourg.
[4] Bergk after Heringa: κατεστασ ἐπιερεισ βασιλεια A.
[5] CE: οὐδ' A.
[6] Bergk: κωμῶν A.
[7] μόνων CE.
[8] Wilamowitz (θέλει Dobree): θεαεὶ A, θέα E, θεά C.
[9] Bergk: πάροινον A.
[10] Wilamowitz (φρυνίου Emperius): φρυναιου A.
[11] χέοντα Jacobs.

is the right to sing, mine the right to raise a clatter as I speed over the mountains with the Naiads,[a] even as the swan with his motley-plumed melody. 'Tis the song that is queen, stablished by the Pierian Muse; but the flute must be second in the dance, for he is e'en a servant; let him be content to be leader in the revel only, in the fist-fights of tipsy youngsters raging at the front door.[b] Beat back him who has the breath of a mottled toad,[c] burn up in flames that spit-wasting, babbling raucous reed, spoiling melody and rhythm in its march, that hireling whose body is fashioned by an auger! Look at me! Here thou shalt have the proper tossing of hand and foot, thou ivy-tressed lord of the triumphant dithyramb;[d] hear now the Dorian[e] dance-song that is mine."

Now concerning the partnership of flutes with

[a] Or, reading μετὰ Μαινάδων, "with the Maenads."

[b] *Cf.* the singularly apt description of Alcibiades' intrusion at Agathon's house, Plato, *Symp.* 212 c ἐξαίφνης τὴν αὔλειον θύραν κρουομένην πολὺν ψόφον παρασχεῖν ὡς κωμαστῶν, καὶ αὐλητρίδος φωνὴν ἀκούειν.

[c] *Phrynicos*, probably hitting at the tragic poet Phrynichus, for whom Aristophanes, at least, professed great admiration, *Av.* 749-750.

[d] Fitzhugh (*Univ. Virginia Record* ii. 3. 492) reads here Θρίαμβε, Διθύραμβε, comparing *Carm. Arvale* 4 Triumpe, Triumpe.

[e] As in the poem of Telestes above, the contrast between Dorian song and Phrygian virtuosity in flute-playing is suggested.

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12 Bergk: ὁλοσιαλοκαλαμον A (*sic*) C, ὁλοσιακάλαμον E.

13 Bergk: λαλοβαρυοπαραμελορυθμοβαταν A, λαλοβαρυπαρα . . . etc. CE.

14 Hartung: θυπα A.

15 Bamberger: δεξια A.

16 edd.: πόλοσ A.

πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὴ ἡμᾶς ἡ συναυλία ἔθελγεν, Ἔφιππος ἐν Ἐμπολῇ φησιν·

618 κοινωνεῖ γάρ, ὦ μειρακίδιον,
ἡ 'ν τοῖσιν[1] αὐλοῖς μουσικὴ κἀν τῇ λύρᾳ
τοῖς ἡμετέροισι παιγνίοις. ὅταν γὰρ εὖ
συναρμόσῃ τις[2] τοῖς συνοῦσι τὸν τρόπον,
τόθ' ἡ μεγίστη τέρψις ἐξευρίσκεται.

τὴν δὲ συναυλίαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐμφανίζει Σῆμος ὁ Δήλιος ἐν ε' Δηλιάδος γράφων οὕτως· "ἀγνοουμένης δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῆς συναυλίας, λεκτέον. ἣν τις ἀγὼν συμφωνίας ἀμοιβαῖος αὐλοῦ καὶ ῥυθμοῦ, χωρὶς λόγου[3] τοῦ προσμελῳδοῦντος." ἀσ-
b τείως δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀντιφάνης φανερὰν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Αὐλητῇ λέγων·

ποίαν, φράσον γάρ, ᾗδε τὴν[4] συναυλίαν;
B. ταύτην ἐπίστανται παρ' ἀλλήλων ἔτι
μαθόντες αὐλεῖν.[5] ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοὺς σύ τε
αὕτη τε λήψετ', εἶθ' ἃ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις[6]
αὐλῶν πέραινε. δέξεται δὲ τἄλλα σοι
ᾗδ'. οὗ τι[7] κοινόν ἐστιν, οὗ[8] χωρὶς πάλιν,

[1] Dobree: ὦ μειράκιον ἡν τοῖσιν A, συμφωνεῖ, γὰρ εὖ, μειράκιον, ἡ | ἐν τοῖσιν Kock.
[2] CE: συναρμόσωσι A after erasure.
[3] λόγου deleted by Kaibel, perhaps rightly. Clearer sense would be got by reading ῥυθμοῦ χορείας, which last might easily be lost before χωρίς.
[4] ηδετὴν A, ᾗδέτην Petit.
[5] Emperius, Gulick: γὰρ ἀλλ' ἠὔλουν ἔτι μαθόντεσ A.
[6] Meineke, Dindorf: αυτητελετηψεθειθαμεν συντυγχάνεισ A.
[7] ἥδ'. οὗ τι Gulick, ἥδ'. εἴ τι Meineke, Kaibel: ἡδότι A.
[8] ου A, εἰ Kaibel.

lyre (since the concerted music of the two had of itself often beguiled[a] us) Ephippus says in *Merchandise*[b]: "Yes, my laddie, the music of the flutes and the lyre is a joint partner in our stage-plays; for when one adapts his mood skilfully to that of his associates, then, and then only, do we get the greatest delight." What "concerted music" (*synaulia*) means is explained by Semus of Delos in the fifth book of his *History of Delos*, writing as follows[c]: "Since the term 'concerted music' is unknown to many persons, I must tell its meaning. It was a kind of contest in harmony, flute-music and dance-rhythm exactly corresponding, with no singer adding words to the performance." Antiphanes wittily makes its nature clear when in *The Flute-player* he says[d]: "A. Tell me, what is the 'concert' he was dinning in our ears? B. They know how to play it still, they've learned it, one from the other. Wherefore you and this girl here shall take the flutes, while you shall go on with the piece you are playing. She will take up the rest after you. Where you are to play together, or

[a] The words ἡ συναυλία ἔθελγεν seem to come from Ephippus; αὐτή appears to mean "alone," as often, here opposed to singing, Plato, *Legg.* 765 μονῳδιῶν τε καὶ συναυλιῶν. But the succeeding quotations from Semus and Antiphanes mention only the flute, so that συναυλία here simply means music rendered on two or more flutes. So Boeckh, *Pindar* i. 258.

[b] Kock ii. 254.

[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 494. Luc. *Salt.* 16 says that all sacrifices at Delos were accompanied with dancing to flute and lyre, but he does not use the word συναυλία.

[d] Kock ii. 29. The quotation is far from clear. There is no mention of the lyre, although concerted music was common, Pind. *Ol.* iii. 8, Hor. *Epod.* ix. 5 sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra. See *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 180.

συννεύματ', οὐ προβλήμαθ', οἷς[1] *σημαίνεται*[2] *ἕκαστα.*

"Λίβυν δὲ τὸν αὐλὸν προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ποιηταί," φησὶ Δοῦρις ἐν β' τῶν περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα,
c "ἐπειδὴ Σειρίτης[3] δοκεῖ πρῶτος[4] εὑρεῖν τὴν αὐλητικήν· Λίβυς ἦν τῶν Νομάδων, ὃς καὶ κατηύλησεν τὰ μητρῷα πρῶτος." "αὐλήσεων δ' εἰσὶν ὀνομασίαι, ὥς φησι Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀνομασιῶν, αἵδε· κῶμος, βουκολισμός,[5] γίγγρας, τετράκωμος, ἐπίφαλλος, χορεῖος, καλλίνικος, πολεμικόν, ἡδύκωμος, Σικιννοτύρβη,[6] θυροκοπικόν (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ κρουσίθυρον), κνισμός, μόθων. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μετ' ὀρχήσεως ηὐλεῖτο." καὶ ᾠδῆς δὲ ὀνομασίας
d καταλέγει ὁ Τρύφων τάσδε· "ἰμαῖος ἡ ἐπιμύλιος καλουμένη,[7] ἣν παρὰ τοὺς ἀλέτους ᾖδον, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς ἱμαλίδος. ἱμαλὶς δ' ἐστὶν παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν ὁ νόστος καὶ τὰ ἐπίμετρα τῶν ἀλεύρων.[8] ἡ δὲ τῶν ἱστουργούντων[9] ᾠδὴ αἴλινος,[10] ὡς Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀταλάνταις ἱστορεῖ. ἡ δὲ τῶν[11] ταλασιουργῶν ἴουλος."

[1] Casaubon: *προβλημαθοισ* A.
[2] *σημαίνετε* Meineke.
[3] *σειριτησ ησ* A.
[4] CE: *πρῶτον* A.
[5] *sic* ACE; *cf.* below, 619 b.
[6] *σικυννοτύρβη* AE, *σιλιννοτύρβη* C.
[7] ACE: placed before *ἴσως* by Kaibel.
[8] Hesychius: *ἀλετων* A (*sic*) CE.
[9] CE: *ἱστοροὑντων* A.
[10] CE: *ἐλινοσ* A.
[11] CE: om. A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 478, J. 2 A 143. *Cf.* Eur. *Alc.* 345 *οὔτ' ἂν φρέν' ἐξαίροιμι πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν αὐλόν*, *Her.* 684, Pollux iv. 174, Plut. 1132 F, Howard in *H.S.C.P.* iv. 1-60.
[b] Frag. 109 Velsen.
[c] Athen. 174 f (vol. ii. p. 292), Diels, *P.P.F.* iii. 1. 47.
[d] Below, 630 b, 20 e (vol. i. p. 88).

where again you play separately, there'll be nods together—no riddles—to make each part clear."

"The poets," says [a] Duris in the second book of his *Agathocles and his Times*, "call the flute Libyan, because it appears that Seirites was the first to discover the art of flute-playing, he being a Libyan of the Numidian tribe, and the first to accompany the rites of the Mother of the gods with the flute." "Terms applied to flute-playing," as Tryphon says [b] in the second book *On the Use of Terms*, "are the following: comus, pastoral, gingras,[c] tetracomus, epiphallus, choir-dance, triumph-song, battle-song, gentle comus, Satyr's whirl,[d] door-knock (the same as thump-door), tickle-tune, Helot-lad."[e] All these were played on the flute to accompanying dancing. Tryphon also enumerates the following varieties of song [f]: "*Himaios*,[g] the mill-song as it is called, which they sang while grinding, perhaps from *himalis*. Now *himalis* among the Dorians means the product or measures of wheat-flour left after the grinding. The song of people working at the loom is called *ailinos*,[h] as Epicharmus records [i] in *The Atalantas*. The song of the wool-spinners is called *ioulos*." Now Semus of

[e] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 279 explains the *μόθων* as *εἶδος αἰσχρᾶς καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς ὀρχήσεως*. For the Helot children called *μόθακες* see Athen. 271 e (vol. iii. p. 220).

[f] Frag. 113 Velsen, Athen. 109 a, 416 b (vol. ii. p. 12, vol. iv. p. 385 note *c*), Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 257.

[g] Properly "rope-song," sung at the well; Call. *Hec.* 1, 4. 12 (L.C.L. 252) = Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1297 (1332). Yet Suid *s.* *ἱμαῖον ᾆσμα* and Hesych. *s.* *ἱμαῖος* vouch for both meanings: *ᾠδὴ ἐπιμύλιος, καὶ ἐπαντλαῖος, καὶ ἐπίνοστος.*

[h] Generally understood as meaning "alas for Linos," *cf.* *Il.* xviii. 570, Pind. frag. 135. 5 (L.C.L. 594). But *λίνον* also means linen thread or cloth.

[i] Kaibel 93.

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παιάνων[1] φησί· "τὰ δράγματα τῶν κριθῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ προσηγόρευον ἁμάλας[2]· συναθροισθέντα δὲ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μίαν γενόμενα δέσμην οὔλους καὶ ἰούλους· καὶ τὴν
e Δήμητρα ὁτὲ μὲν Χλόην,[3] ὁτὲ δὲ Ἰουλώ.[4] ἀπὸ τῶν οὖν τῆς Δήμητρος εὑρημάτων τούς τε καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν οὔλους καλοῦσι καὶ ἰούλους." Δημήτρουλοι καὶ καλλίουλοι. καὶ

πλεῖστον οὖλον οὖλον ἴει, ἴουλον ἴει.

ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ἐριουργῶν εἶναι τὴν ᾠδήν. αἱ δὲ τῶν τιτθευουσῶν[5] ᾠδαὶ καταβαυκαλήσεις[6] ὀνομάζονται. ἣν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐώραις τις ἐπ' Ἠριγόνῃ, ἣν καὶ ἀλῆτιν λέγουσιν, ᾠδή.[7] Ἀριστοτέλης γοῦν ἐν τῇ Κολοφωνίων Πολιτείᾳ φησίν· "ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεόδωρος ὕστερον βιαίῳ θανάτῳ.
f λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι τρυφῶν τις, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως δῆλόν ἐστιν. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν αἱ γυναῖκες
619 ἄδουσιν αὐτοῦ μέλη περὶ τὰς ἐώρας." ἡ δὲ τῶν θεριστῶν ᾠδὴ Λιτυέρσης καλεῖται. καὶ τῶν μισθωτῶν δέ τις ἦν ᾠδὴ τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτών-

[1] 622 a: *παιώνων* A.
[2] *ἁμάλας* edd.: *ἁμάλασ* AC (*ἁμάλαι*).
[3] Musurus: *χλόη* A. [4] *ἰούλω* A, Οὐλώ Didymus.
[5] *τιτθεουσων* A (*sic*): *τιτθῶν* CE.
[6] Musurus: *καταβλυκαλήσεισ* ACE.
[7] Leopardi: *ὠιδήν* A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 495.
[b] Or *amallai*, Theocr. x. 40 *ἁμαλλοδέται* "sheaf-binders."
[c] The Verdant; for her sanctuary at Athens, see Paus. i. 22. 3.
[d] Goddess of the Sheaf, especially the last sheaf of the

Delos in his work *On Paeans* says [a]: "The handfuls of barley, taken separately, they called *amalai* [b]; but when these are gathered together and many are made into a single bundle people called them *ouloi* or *iouloi*; hence also they called Demeter sometimes Chloë,[c] sometimes Ioulô.[d] Hence from Demeter's gifts [e] they call not only the fruits, but also the hymns sung in honour of the goddess, *ouloi* or *iouloi*. There are also *Demetrouloi* and *kallioulоi*; and the refrain [f]: 'Send forth a sheaf, a plenteous sheaf, a sheaf send forth.' But others assert that this is a song of wool-carders. The songs of nursing-women are called *katabaukaleses*." [g] There was also a song sung at the Swing-festival, in memory of Erigonê, which they call the wanderer's song. Aristotle, for example, says in his *Constitution of Colophon* [h]: "Later Theodorus himself also died by a violent death. He is said to have been a luxurious person, as is evident from his poetry. For he was a poet, and even to this day the women sing his lays at the Swing-festival." [i] The song of the reapers is called *Lityerses*.[j] There was also a song of the hired men who work regularly in

harvest-field. Didymus ap. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 972 has Oulô, Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 257, 282, Hiller, *Eratosthenes* 21-25.

[e] Lit. "inventions," "products." Allen, Sikes, and Halliday, *Hom. Hymns*[2] 109.

[f] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 654, Diehl ii. 200, Edmonds iii. 532. Obviously from a hymn to Demeter or to the spirit of the sheaf, though other grammarians referred ἴουλος to wool.

[g] Lullabies, from βαυκαλῶ, "lull to sleep." On the festival of the swing (ἐώρα, αἰώρα), in expiation for the hanging of Erigonê, see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 232-237, P.-W. i. 1043.

[h] Frag. 515 Rose, Pollux iv. 55.

[i] Or, "round the swings."

[j] Theocr. x. 41-55, with Cholmeley's note.

των, ὡς Τηλεκλείδης φησὶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν· καὶ βαλανέων[1] *ἄλλαι, ὡς Κράτης ἐν Τόλμαις· καὶ τῶν πτισσουσῶν ἄλλη τις, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις καὶ Νικοχάρης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ Χορηγῷ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν βοσκημάτων ὁ βου-*
b *κολιασμὸς*[2] *καλούμενος. Δίομος δ' ἦν βουκόλος*[3] *Σικελιώτης ὁ πρῶτος εὑρὼν τὸ εἶδος· μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀλκυόνι*[4] *καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ Ναυαγῷ. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θανάτοις καὶ λύπαις ᾠδὴ ὀλοφυρμὸς καλεῖται. αἱ δὲ ἴουλοι καλούμεναι ᾠδαὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ*[5] *πρέπουσι. ἡ δὲ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾠδὴ φιληλιάς,*[6] *ὡς Τελέσιλλα παρίστησιν· οὔπιγγοι δὲ αἱ εἰς Ἄρτεμιν. ᾔδοντο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ οἱ Χαρώνδου νόμοι παρ' οἶνον, ὡς Ἑρμιππός φησιν ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ Νομοθετῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀττικαῖς φησιν Λέξεσιν·*[7] *"ἰμαῖος ᾠδὴ μυλωθρῶν· ἐν δὲ γάμοις*
c *ὑμέναιος· ἐν δὲ πένθεσιν ἰάλεμος. λίνος δὲ καὶ*

[1] Dalechamps: *βαλανείων* ACE.
[2] A: *βουκολισμὸς* CE (*cf.* 618 c).
[3] Kaibel: *ὁ βουκόλος* A, *βουκόλος ὁ* CE.
[4] *ἀλκυόνι* A, *Ἀλκυονεῖ* Jahn, Kaibel, Pickard-Cambridge.
[5] *φερσεφόνη* A, *περσεφόνη* C.
[6] Musurus: *φηλικίασ* A.
[7] *φησὶν λεξεσιν* A: *λέξεσι φησὶν* C.

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[a] Kock i. 212. [b] Kock i. 141.
[c] Kock i. 481; the play is the second with this title, now lost. [d] Kock i. 771.
[e] The pastoral, or herdsman's song.
[f] Or *Halcyoneus*; Kaibel 91, Olivieri 10.
[g] Kaibel 110, Olivieri 35.

the fields, as Telecleides says in *The Amphictyons* [a]; also songs of bath-tenders besides, as Crates testifies in *Deeds of Daring* [b]; and another, of women at the winnowing, according to Aristophanes in *Thesmophoriazusae* [c] and Nicochares in *Heracles the Choregus.* [d] There was also, for those who tended their flocks, the *boukoliasmos,* [e] as it is called. There was a cowherd named Diomus, a Sicilian Greek, who first introduced this type; he is mentioned by Epicharmus in *Alcyon* [f] and in *The Shipwrecked Odysseus.* [g] The song sung at death and on occasions of grief is called *olophyrmos.* [h] The songs called *iouloi* [i] are appropriate to Demeter and Persephone. The song to Apollo is the *philhelias,* as Telesilla testifies [j]; but those to Artemis are *oupingoi.* [k] At Athens even the laws of Charondas were sung at wine-parties, as Hermippus declares [l] in the sixth book of his work *On Lawgivers.* Aristophanes [m] in his *Attic Glossary* says: "*Himaios,* a millers' song; *hymenaios* is sung at weddings; *ialemos,* on occasions of mourning. But *linos* and

[a] "Lamentation."

[b] Above, 618 d-e.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 380, Edmonds ii. 242; the word, if right, means "loving the sun-god Helios." *Cf.* the children's refrain ἔξεχ' ὦ φιλ' Ἥλιε."

[d] So Pollux i. 38. Didymus ap. Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 972 says this hymn was sung at Troezen.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 37, Bentley, *de legg. Char.* 361. Aristot. *Probl.* xix. 28, ventures the theory that sung nomes took their name from *νόμοι* (laws) before letters were understood; "they had to be sung to be remembered, as among the Agathyrsi." Some read here Κατάνησι, "at Catana" (the modern Catania) for Ἀθήνησι; but Steph. Byz. *s.* Κατάνη speaks of Charondas as ὁ διάσημος τῶν Ἀθήνησι νομοθετῶν; P.-W. iii. 2180-2182. *Cf.* Mart. Capella ix. 926, Graecarum urbium multae ad lyram leges decretaque publica recitabant.

[m] Of Byzantium; Nauck p. 184.

αἴλινος οὐ μόνον ἐν πένθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ' ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ μολπᾷ" κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην."

Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν νόμιον καλεῖσθαί τινά φησιν ᾠδὴν ἀπ' Ἠριφανίδος, γράφων οὕτως· " Ἠριφανὶς ἡ μελοποιὸς Μενάλκου κυνηγετοῦντος ἐρασθεῖσα ἐθήρευεν μεταθέουσα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. φοιτῶσα γὰρ καὶ πλανωμένη πάντας τοὺς ὀρείους[1] *ἐπεξῄει δρυμούς, ὡς μῦθον εἶναι*[2] *τοὺς λεγομένους Ἰοῦς*[3] *δρόμους· ὥστε μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀστοργίᾳ διαφέροντας,*
d *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θηρῶν*[4] *τοὺς ἀνημερωτάτους συνδακρῦσαι τῷ πάθει, λαβόντας αἴσθησιν ἐρωτικῆς ἐλπίδος.*[5] *ὅθεν ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ποιήσασα περιῄει κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὥς φασιν, ἀναβοῶσα καὶ ᾄδουσα τὸ καλούμενον νόμιον, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ' μακραὶ δρύες, ὦ Μέναλκα.' "* *Ἀριστόξενος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς " ᾖδον, φησίν, αἱ ἀρχαῖαι γυναῖκες Καλύκην τινὰ ᾠδήν. Στησιχόρου δ' ἦν ποίημα, ἐν ᾧ Καλύκη τις ὄνομα ἐρῶσα Εὐάθλου νεανίσκου σωφρόνως*[6] *εὔχεται τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ γαμηθῆναι αὐτῷ.*
e *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερεῖδεν ὁ νεανίσκος, κατεκρήμνισεν ἑαυτήν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ πάθος περὶ Λευκάδα.*

[1] CE: *ὀρίουσ* A.
[2] *ἀποφαίνειν* Peppink (below, 620 b).
[3] Casaubon: *ἰνοῦσ* ACE.
[4] CE: *θηριων* A.
[5] *ἀκίδος*, "sting," Lumb, om. C.
[6] *σωφρόνως* CE: om. A.

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[a] Eur. *Heracles* 348:

αἴ Λίνον μέν ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ
μολπᾷ Φοῖβος ἰαχεῖ
τόν κάλλει φθιτόν, κιθάραν
ἐλαύνων πλήκτρῳ χρυσέῳ.

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 315, P.-W. s. *Menalkas* xv. 703, Allen, *Hom. Hymns*[2] 133.

ailinos are sung not merely on occasions of mourning, but also 'at the happy dance,' as Euripides has it."[a]

Clearchus, in the first book of his *Love Stories*, says that there was a pastoral song named after Eriphanis; he writes as follows[b]: "Eriphanis, the lyric poetess, fell in love with Menalcas when he was hunting and hunted him herself, seeking to attain her desires.[c] For she would haunt him, wandering about and traversing all the copses of the mountains, so that, by comparison, Io's famed courses are mere myth[d]; wherefore not only human beings most conspicuous for their lack of affection, but even the most savage beasts wept in sympathy for her suffering, touched by the perception of her amorous boding.[e] Hence she composed the so-called *nomion* (pastoral) and when she finished it she went up and down the wilderness, as they say, calling aloud and singing it; in it are the words, 'Tall are the oaks, oh Menalcas.'"[f] Aristoxenus, in the fourth book of his work *On Music*, says[g]: "The women of old sang a song called *Calycê*. It was composed by Stesichorus,[h] and in it a maiden named Calycê, in love with a young man, Euathlus, modestly prays to Aphroditê that she may be married to him. But when the young man treated her with despite, she flung herself over a cliff. The tragedy occurred

[c] So Schweighäuser: sua persequens desideria. But L. & S. (1925 ed.): "by working on *his* desires."

[d] Clearchus adds to the list of his stylistic sins a weak pun on δρόμους and δρυμούς, courses and copses.

[e] The word ἐλπίδος may seem peculiar here, but is not out of line with Clearchus's unusual diction. For the poet's "pathetic fallacy" *cf.* Theocr. i. 64-83, Rohde, *Roman*[3] 61, 83.

[f] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 663, Diehl ii. 203, Edmonds iii. 498, 544.

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 287, Eustath. *Il.* 1236. 62, Rohde, *Roman*[3] 30.

[h] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 222.

σωφρονικὸν δὲ πάνυ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ τῆς παρθένου ἦθος, οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου θελούσης συγγενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ, ἀλλ' εὐχομένης εἰ δύναιτο γυνὴ τοῦ Εὐάθλου γενέσθαι κουριδία ἢ εἰ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ βίου." ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ βραχὺ Ὑπομνήμασιν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος "Ἰφικλος, φησίν, Ἁρπαλύκην ἐρασθεῖσαν ὑπερεῖδεν. ἡ δὲ ἀπέθανεν καὶ γίνεται ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρθένοις ἀγὼν ᾠδῆς, ἥτις Ἁρπαλύκη, φησί, καλεῖται."
f Νύμφις δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας περὶ Μαριανδυνῶν διηγούμενός φησιν· "ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἐνίας κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις ἃς ἐκεῖνοι κατά τινα ἐπιχωριαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴν[1] ᾄδοντες ἀνακαλοῦνταί τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων, προσαγορεύοντες Βῶρμον.[2] τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσιν υἱὸν γενέσθαι ἀνδρὸς
620 ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πλουσίου, τῷ δὲ κάλλει καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὥρᾳ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκεῖν· ὃν ἐφεστῶτα ἔργοις ἰδίοις καὶ βουλόμενον τοῖς θερίζουσιν δοῦναι πιεῖν βαδίζοντα ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἀφανισθῆναι. ζητεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετά τινος μεμελῳδημένου θρήνου καὶ ἀνακλήσεως, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι. τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις καλούμενος Μάνερως."

Οὐκ ἀπελείποντο[3] δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν συμποσίων οὐδὲ
b ῥαψῳδοί. ἔχαιρε γὰρ τοῖς Ὁμήρου ὁ Λαρήνσιος ὡς ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἷς, ὡς λῆρον ἀποφαίνειν Κάσανδρον

[1] ἑορτὴν added by Wilamowitz, συνήθειαν Schweighäuser.
[2] Casaubon (*cf.* Hesychius *s.v.*): βωρβον A, βόρβον CE.
[3] Kaibel: ἀπελίποντο A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 287, P.-W. vii. 2403.

at Leucas. The poet has represented the maiden's character as altogether chaste, for she is unwilling to consort with the young man at all costs, but prays that she may, if she can, become the lawful wife of Euathlus, or, if that be not possible, that she may be released from life." Again, in his *Brief Notes*, Aristoxenus says [a]: "Iphiclus treated with despite Harpalycê, who had fallen in love with him. So she died, and there exists a song-contest among the maidens in her honour, which, he says, is called *Harpalycê*." And Nymphis, in his first book *On Heracleia*, discoursing on the Mariandynians, says [b]: "Similarly, one may note some of the songs which they sing during a certain festival that is held in their country, in which they repeatedly invoke one of their ancient heroes, addressing him as Bormus.[c] They say that he was the son of an eminent rich man, and that in beauty and perfection of loveliness he far surpassed all others; he, when superintending work in his own fields, desiring to supply drink for the reapers, went to get water and disappeared.[d] And so the people of the countryside sought for him to the strains of a dirge with repeated invocation, which they all continue to use to this very day. A similar hero is the one called among the Egyptians Manerôs."

Rhapsodists were not missing from our drinking parties either. For Larensis enjoyed the poems of Homer as no one else ever has; so much so as to make

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 13, Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 780.

[c] Bormus was the name of the song or dirge in his honour, Hesychius *s.v.* Poll. iv. 54 gives the form Borimus, Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 780, Barynus. *Cf.* Aesch. *Pers.* 937 *κακομέλετον ἰὰν Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος πέμψω.* See P.-W. iii. 733.

[d] This is a replica of the story of Hylas, for which *cf.* Theocritus xiii.

τὸν Μακεδονίας βασιλεύσαντα, περὶ οὗ φησι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν ὅτι οὕτως ἦν φιλόμηρος ὡς διὰ στόματος ἔχειν τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ πολλά· καὶ Ἰλιὰς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Ὀδυσσεία ἰδίως γεγραμμέναι. ὅτι δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ Ὁμηρισταὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χορῶν. τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὁμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ
c Φαληρεύς. Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου καὶ μελῳδηθῆναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὁμήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ Γρίφων[1] "τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου, φησίν, Σιμωνίδης[2] ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐρραψῴδει."[3] Λυσανίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ἰαμβοποιῶν Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψῳδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι.
d τοὺς δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους Καθαρμοὺς ἐρραψῴδησεν[4] Ὀλυμπίασι Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψῳδός, ὥς φησιν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ. Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγησίαν τὸν κωμῳδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου,[5] Ἑρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὁμήρου.

Καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ ἱλαρῳδοί, οὓς νῦν τινες

[1] Casaubon: γραφῶν A (so at 275 c).
[2] C: ὁ σιμωνιδησ A. [3] CE: ἐραψώιδει A.
[4] CE: ἐραψώιδησεν A.
[5] Valckenaer: ἡροδότου ACE, Ἡρώνδου or Ἡρώνδα Crusius.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 358. [b] *F.H.G.* iv. 331.
[c] Frag. 9, p. 18 Koepke.

Cassander, who once ruled Macedonia, look ridiculous. For of him Carystius says [a] in *Historical Notes* that he was so fond of Homer that he had the greater part of the epics at his tongue's end. He had even made copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with his own hand. That the rhapsodists were also called Homerists is stated [b] by Aristocles in his work *On Choruses.* The persons who are called Homerists to-day were first introduced into the theatres by Demetrius of Phalerum. Chamaeleon, in his treatise *On Stesichorus*, says,[c] too, that not merely the poems of Homer were chanted but also those of Hesiod and Archilochus, and even those of Mimnermus and Phocylides. Clearchus, in the first of his two books *On Riddles*, says [d]: "Simonides of Zacynthus, seated on a stool, used to rhapsodize the poems of Archilochus in the theatres." Again, Lysanias, in the first book of his work *On the Iambic Poets*, says that the rhapsodist Mnasion used at public performances to act some of the iambic poems of Simonides.[e] And the rhapsodist Cleomenes recited at Olympia the *Rites of Purification* by Empedocles, as Dicaearchus says [f] in his *Olympic Festival.* Jason, too, says [g] in the third book of his work *On the Divine Honours to Alexander* that the comedian Hegesias acted the poems of Hesiod [h] in the great theatre at Alexandria, while Hermophantus acted those of Homer.

Again, there were the hilarodists, joy-singers,

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 321.

[c] Semonides of Amorgos.

[f] *F.H.G.* ii. 249, Diels, *Vorsokr.*[2] i. 155.

[g] *Scr. Alex.* 160 frag. 3. The meaning of the title is very uncertain: *cf.* above, 603 a-b (p. 251), Dicaearchus's περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας, of Alexander.

[h] Herodas? See critical note 5.

σιμῳδοὺς[1] καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς φησιν ἐν α' περὶ Χορῶν, τῷ τὸν Μάγνητα Σῖμον[2] διαπρέψαι μᾶλλον τῶν διὰ τοῦ ἱλαρῳδεῖν ποιητῶν,[3] συνεχῶς
e ἡμῖν ἐπεφαίνοντο.[4] καταλέγει δ' ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ τούσδε ἐν τῷ περὶ Μουσικῆς γράφων ὧδε· "μαγῳδός· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ λυσιῳδῷ." Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησι τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις λυσιῳδόν· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μέλη ᾄδουσιν, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα δ' ἐστὶν ὅμοια. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνικολόγος[5] τὰ Σωτάδου καὶ τῶν[6] πρὸ τούτου Ἰωνικὰ καλούμενα ποιήματα Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ Πύρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀλέξου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων ποιητῶν προφέρεται. κα-

[1] σιμωδούς A: σημῳδοὺς CE.
[2] Σῖμος Strabo: σῆμον ACE.
[3] διὰ τὸ τὸν μάγνητα σῆμον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις διαπρέψαι CE.
[4] Kaibel: ἐπιφαίνονται A.
[5] Dobree: ἰωνικὸσ λόγοσ A, -κῷ λόγῳ C.
[6] τῶν Kaibel: τὰ A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 331, *cf.* Strabo 648. Semus (Σῆμος with η) is the form best attested in the MSS., but Dieterich's conjecture that σιμός refers to the snub-nosed satyrs is attractive (Σιμος, Σιμα on vases, *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 132, Roulez, *Vases de Leide* plate v). The terms here cited (unfortunately with too little definition), semodia, hilarodia, magodia, belong to the mime in its most extravagant forms. Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxii. assails the Alexandrians of his time (first century) for their overweening devotion to this kind of entertainment. For this Aristocles, who based his facts concerning music on Aristoxenus, see P.-W. ii. 936; *cf.* Athen. 174 c (vol. ii. p. 290), below, 630 b. Something has been lost, but the meaning is clear. Eust. 1941. 54 says of Semus μελῳδίαις βιβλιακαῖς ἐνδιέπρεψεν, "he won distinction for song-themes derived from books";

whom some to-day call *simodists* because, as Aristocles declares[a] in the first book of his work *On Choruses*, the Magnesian Simus was more eminent than all the other poets who wrote joy-songs, and they continually appeared for our benefit. Aristocles includes also in his work *On Music* the following artists, defining them thus[b]: "Magodist: this singer is the same as the lysiodist."[c] But Aristoxenus says[d] that the performer who acts male and female rôles is called a magodist, whereas the actor of female rôles in male costume is called a lysiodist[e]: they sing the same tunes and all the other things they do are alike. Again, the *Ionicologos* is one who recites the poems, called Ionic,[f] of Sotades and his predecessors, Alexander of Aetolia, Pyrês[g] of Miletus, Alexas,[h] and other poets of that

see critical note 3. For a discussion of the terms cited here, 620 d-622 d, see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 29, Reich, *Mimus* i. 230-237, Maas in P.-W. 2 Ser. v. 159.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 331; the two titles περὶ Χορῶν and περὶ Μουσικῆς refer to one treatise.

[c] Athen. 211 b (vol. ii. p. 454), 252 e (vol. iii. 138); the accompanying music was played on the flute. The statement that μαγῳδία and λυσιῳδία were the same may have been true for the time of Aristocles, but hardly so in that of Aristoxenus.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 285, Eustath. *Od.* 1941. 54.

[e] Eust. is somewhat clearer, ἐν ἀνδρείοις προσώποις γυναικεῖα ὑποκρινόμενος, "acting female rôles with male masks."

[f] *i.e.* licentious. The Ionians were notorious for luxury and vice; Athen. 524 f-526 d and note f (vol. v. pp. 366-375). On Sotades see Escher, *de Sotadis Maronitae reliquiis*, 1913.

[g] Suid. *s.* Σωτάδης has Pyrrhus for Pyrês.

[h] Since this poet is otherwise not known, and since the name may be a short form of Alexander, just mentioned, it is probably to be expunged from the text here; see Crusius, *J. f. Phil.* cxliii. 387. Suidas omits it, but adds Theodoridas, Timocharidas, and Xenarchus.

f λεῖται δ' οὗτος καὶ κιναιδολόγος. ἤκμασεν δ' ἐν τῷ εἴδει τούτῳ Σωτάδης ὁ Μαρωνείτης,[1] ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ[2] συγγράμματι καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σωτάδου υἱὸς Ἀπολλώνιος. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος περὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιημάτων σύγγραμμα· ἐξ οὗ ἔστι κατιδεῖν τὴν ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν τοῦ Σωτάδου, κακῶς μὲν εἰπόντος Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Φιλάδελφον παρὰ Λυσιμάχῳ, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν βασιλέων ἐν ἄλλαις τῶν πόλεων· διόπερ
621 τῆς δεούσης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας. ἐκπλεύσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, καὶ δοκοῦντα διαπεφευγέναι τὸν κίνδυνον—εἰρήκει γὰρ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα[3] δεινά, ἀτὰρ καὶ τόδε, ὅτε[4] τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἐγεγαμήκει·

εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς—[5]

Πάτροκλος οὖν ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Καύνῳ τῇ νήσῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς μολυβῆν[6] κεραμίδα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀναγαγὼν[7] εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντωσε. τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ ποίησις·
b Θεοδώρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ Φιλῖνος[8] ἦν πατήρ, εἰς ὃν ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν·

ὁ δ' ἀποστεγάσας τὸ τρῆμα τῆς ὄπισθε λαύρης,

[1] CE: μαρωνίτης A.
[2] Σωτάδου after αὐτοῦ deleted by Cobet.
[3] μὲν καὶ ἄλλα added by Kaibel.
[4] CE: ὅτι A. [5] Plut.: ὠθεῖ C, ὤθει A.
[6] A: μολιβῆν C, μολυβδίνην Eustath.
[7] A: ἀπαγαγὼν CE. [8] CE: φιληνος A.

[a] κίναιδος means sodomite, often mentioned in Plautus and Juvenal.

sort. This reciter is called also *kinaidologos.*[a] Sotades of Maroneia excelled in this variety, as Carystius of Pergamum says[b] in the treatise on him; also Sotades' son Apollonius. The latter also wrote a treatise on his father's poems; in it one may discern the tactless frankness of Sotades, who abused first King Lysimachus while he was in Alexandria, then Ptolemy Philadelphus in the presence of Lysimachus, and in fact all the other princes in other cities; hence he met with merited vengeance. For he had taken ship to sail from Alexandria, as Hegesander says[c] in his *Commentaries*, and thought he had quite escaped from danger; for among many other outrageous things he had said against King Ptolemy was in particular the following, on the occasion when Ptolemy had married his sister Arsinoë[d]: "You are thrusting the prick into a hole[e] unholy." So Patroclus, Ptolemy's general, arrested him on the island of Caunus,[f] and thrusting him into a leaden jar he carried him out to sea and sank him in the deep. Here is a specimen of the kind of thing he wrote; Philinus, to whom he addressed these verses, was the father of Theodorus the flute-player[g]: "And he, uncovering the hole of the back-privy, sent forth

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 359.

[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 415; *cf.* Plut. 11 A.

[d] Powell 238, Diehl ii. 286.

[e] For the sense of *τρυμαλιή cf.* Hesychius *s.v.* Τρυμαλῖτις· Ἀφροδίτη, and for *τρῆμα* Aristoph. *Eccl.* 624, 906.

[f] Patroclus commanded a fleet which guarded the islands in Ptolemy's empire, Athen. 334 a (vol. iv. p. 16); he was *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων.* Since no *island* by the name of Caunus is mentioned elsewhere except perhaps in Dionys. Perieg. 533, the statement in Athenaeus is thought by Wilamowitz to rest on some misunderstanding.

[g] Powell 238, Diehl ii. 287.

διὰ δενδροφόρου φάραγγος ἐξέωσε βροντὴν
ἠλέματον, ὁκοίην ἀροτὴρ γέρων χαλᾷ βοῦς.

Σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ ἱλαρῳδὸς καλούμενος· οὐδὲ[1] γὰρ σχινίζεται,[2] χρῆται δ' ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στεφανοῦται χρυσοῦν στέφανον, καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρῆτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπῖσιν. ψάλλει δ' αὐτῷ ἢ[3] ἄρρην ἢ θήλεια, ὡς καὶ τῷ αὐλῳδῷ. δίδοται δὲ ὁ στέφανος τῷ ἱλαρῳδῷ καὶ
c τῷ αὐλῳδῷ, οὐ τῷ ψάλτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ αὐλητῇ. ὁ δὲ μαγῳδὸς καλούμενος τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύματα γυναικεῖα· σχινίζεταί τε[4] καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἔξω κόσμου, ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας[5] καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον παραγινόμενον[6] πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀριστόξενος τὴν μὲν ἱλαρῳδίαν σεμνὴν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μαγῳδίαν παρὰ
d τὴν κωμῳδίαν. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγῳδοὶ καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἔσχεν δὲ τοὔνομα ἡ

[1] AC: οὐδὲν E. [2] ACE: σχοινίζεται older edd.
[3] ἢ CE: om. A.
[4] ACE: σχινίζεται δὲ Wilamowitz.

through the wooded chasm a clap of thunder impotent, such as an old ox lets loose when ploughing."

More serious than such poets is the so-called *hilarodist*, for he does not make indecent gestures.[a] He adopts a man's white clothing and is crowned with a golden crown. In ancient times he wore shoes, but to-day boots, as Aristocles declares.[b] Either a male or a female plays the harp for him, as they do for a singer to the flute.[c] The crown is permitted for the hilarodist and the aulodist, but not for the player on the lyre or the flute. The magodist, as he is called, has tambourines and cymbals, and all his garments are feminine; he not only makes indecent gestures, he does everything that is shameless, at one time acting the part of women as adulteresses or pimps, at another, a drunken man going to meet his mistress in a revel rout. And Aristoxenus says[d] that *hilarodia*, being serious, parodies tragedy, whereas *magodia* parodies comedy. But often the magodists, though they took over their plots[e] from comedy, acted them according to their own style[f] and disposition. *Magodia* acquired its name from

[a] The exact meaning of σχοινίζεται is unknown, but it is partially explained below in 621 c, where any allusion to the phallus (σχοινίον, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1342) is excluded.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 331.

[c] *i.e.* the flute-player may be either male or female.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 285.

[e] The word ὑπόθεσις, "argumentum," corresponds to the modern scenario.

[f] *i.e.* they improvised to suit the occasion or their own mood. Aristoxenus, the source of this passage (see Bapp, *Leip. Stud.* viii. (1885) 87-157) and of Strabo 648, uses ἀγωγή in the sense of "style."

[5] CE: γυναῖκα A.

[6] Meineke: παραγενόμενον ACE.

μαγῳδία ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰονεὶ μαγικὰ προφέρεσθαι[1] καὶ φαρμάκων ἐμφανίζειν δυνάμεις.

Παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ κἀν τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμμεῖτο γάρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὀπώραν ἢ ξε- e νικὸν ἰατρὸν τοιαυτὶ λέγοντα, ὡς Ἄλεξις ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένῃ διὰ τούτων παρίστησιν·

ἐὰν ἐπιχώριος
ἰατρὸς εἴπῃ "τρύβλιον τούτῳ δότε
πτισάνης ἕωθεν," καταφρονοῦμεν εὐθέως·
ἂν[2] δὲ πτισάνας[3] καὶ τρουβλίον,[4] θαυμάζομεν.
καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν τευτλίον,[5] παρείδομεν·
ἐὰν δὲ σεῦτλον, ἀσμένως ἠκούσαμεν,
ὡς οὐ τὸ σεῦτλον[6] ταὐτὸν ὂν τῷ τευτλίῳ.

ἐκαλοῦντο δ' οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιὰν[7] παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι δεικηλισταί,[8] ὡς ἄν τις σκευο- f ποιοὺς εἴπῃ καὶ μιμητάς. τοῦ δὲ εἴδους τῶν

[1] μαγικὰ τινὰ προσφέρεσθαι CE.
[2] ἐὰν ACE.
[3] CE: πτισάναν A.
[4] Herwerden: τρύβλιον ACE.
[5] Meineke: σευτλίον ACE.
[6] Meineke: τευτλίον ACE.
[7] ταύτην τὴν τέχνην C.
[8] CE Plut.: δικηλισταὶ A.

[a] They cast a kind of spell over the audience. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 30-32, accepts this etymology; Crusius in *Philol.* liii. 543 and Prof. H. J. Rose independently derive the word from μάγαδις (below, 634 c), μαγῳδός for μαγαδῳδός. But all the other words in this category of the mime suggest the nature and content of the song, not the instrument played; αὐλῳδός and κιθαρῳδός are much older formations. The Alexandrian Erotic Fragment (Grenfell 1896, Powell 177-180) is by some thought to be a hilarodia; it has the sober diction and dochmiac metre of tragedy.

the fact that they recited, as it were, "magical"[a] verses and exhibited powers like those of enchantment.

Among the Lacedaemonians there was an ancient variety of comic pastime, as Sosibius says,[b] not taken very seriously, because in such matters also Sparta follows simplicity. In simple language one would imitate persons stealing fruit,[c] or a foreign doctor talking in the manner portrayed by Alexis in *The Woman who drank Belladonna*, as follows[d]: "If a doctor of our own country says, 'Give a bowl of barley-gruel to the patient here in the morning,' we straightway proceed to neglect his advice; but if it's pronounced bar-r-r-lay grool and a bowle, we look up to him with admiration. And again, if he prescribes a *teutlion* (beet), we disregard him; but if he calls it *seutlon*, we gladly heed, as if the *seutlon* were not the same as a *teutlion*!" Those who pursued this kind of pastime among the Laconians were called *deikelistai*, or, as one may say in other words, maskers and mummers.[e] But there are many local

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 627.

[c] *Cf.* the stealing of fruit at Christmas as noted in *J.H.S.* ii. 314; Pollux iv. 105 *μιμητικὴν (μιμηλικὴν?) δὲ δι' ἧς ἐμιμοῦντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἑώλων κρεῶν ἁλισκομένους.* Aristoph. *Pax*. 739-760 criticizes this kind of horse-play in the comedies of his day, *cf. Nub.* 553-560, *Eq.* 417-420, Fränkel in *Rh. Mus.* 1912, 105.

[d] Kock ii. 348; the foreign doctor speaks Doric, *cf.* 503 a (vol. v. p. 252), 371 a (vol. iv. p. 180).

[e] The text appears to be defective, Thiele in *N. Jahrb.* ix. 411 note 2. For masks dedicated to Artemis at Sparta which may have belonged to these shows, see *Brit. School Annual* xii. 338 and Plates x.-xii. Plut. *Ages.* 21 (=212 F) of the *deikelistai*: *οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσαν.* For ritual exhibitions in Egypt called *τὰ δείκηλα* see Herod. ii. 171.

δεικηλιστῶν[1] πολλαὶ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαι. Σικυώνιοι μὲν γὰρ φαλλοφόρους αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοκαβδάλους, οἱ δὲ φλύακας, ὡς Ἰταλοί, σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ πολλοί· Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἰδίως ὀνομάζειν εἰωθότες ἐθελοντάς. ὅτι δὲ καινουργοῦσιν κατὰ τὰς φωνὰς οἱ Θηβαῖοι Στράττις ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐν Φοινίσσαις διὰ τούτων·

ξυνίετ' οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,
622 οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'· οἱ[2] πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
ὀπιθοτίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε·
τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα δ' ὀρτάλιχα,[3] τὸν δ' ἰατρὸν αὖ[4]
σάκταν, βέφυραν[5] τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ
τὰ σῦκα, κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,
τὴν ἔνθεσιν δ' ἄκολον, τὸ γελᾶν δὲ κριδδέμεν,[6]
νεασπάτωτον δ', ἤν τι νεοκάττυτον ᾖ.[7]

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παιάνων "οἱ
b αὐτοκάβδαλοι,[8] φησί, καλούμενοι ἐστεφανωμένοι

[1] δικηλιστῶν A. [2] οἱ ACE: ἀλλ' ἢ Kaibel.
[3] Meineke: δὲ ὀρτάλιχον ACE.
[4] Lobeck, Kaibel: τὸν ἰατρὸν δὲ ACE.
[5] Meineke: βλέφυραν δὲ ACE.
[6] Valckenaer: δ' εκκριδαιωμεν A.
[7] νεοκαττυτονη A. [8] αὐτοκάβαλοι Suid.

[a] On a pole, as Aristoph. *Acharn.* 243 indicates. On these performances in general see Reich, *Mimus* i. 277, Radermacher, *Wien. Ak.* 198 (1921), 12, Mazon, *Com. d'Aristophane*, pp. 178-179, Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, Comedy*, pp. 256 ff., Cornford, *Att. Com.*, pp. 37, 41-45, Schmid-Stählin, *Litt.-Gesch.* i. 635 ff.

[b] Improvisers. The word occurs first in the *Maricas* of Eupolis (Kock i. 312); *cf.* Lucian, *Leviph.* 10 ἐγκαψικίδαλος (onion-gnawing) ἄνθρωπος τῶν αὐτοληκύθων (parasites) καὶ αὐτοκαβδάλων, Hesych. *s.* αὐτοκάβδαλα· αὐτοσχέδια (impromptu)

terms for the type known as *deikelistai*. The people of Sicyon, for example, call them phallus-bearers,[a] others, *autokabdaloi*,[b] still others, *phlyakes*[c] (so the Italians), while the majority call them sophists; but Thebans, who are in the habit of having special names of their own for most things, call them volunteers.[d] That the Thebans do make innovations in words is shown by Strattis in his *Phoenician Women* as follows[e]: "You understand nothing, all you people of Thebes, nothing else whatever; for, in the first place, you call the cuttle-fish *opitthotila*,[f] as they tell me; the cock you call an *ortalix*,[g] the physician, again, a *saktas*,[h] the bridge *bephyra*, figs *tyka*, swallows *kotilades*,[i] a morsel *akolos*, laughing is *kriddemen*,[j] and if a thing is freshly patched, you call it *neaspatôton*."[k]

Semus of Delos in his work *On Paeans* says[l]: "The *autokabdaloi*, as they were called, recited their

ποιήματα· εὐτελῆ. The word is obviously a term of contempt.

[c] Portrayed on the well-known Phlyakes Vases of Southern Italy. The word either refers to their extravagantly stuffed-out costumes (so Dieterich) or to the nonsense (*cf.* φλναρία) which they uttered.

[d] Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449 b 2 (see Bywater's note), uses the word ἐθελονταί, "volunteers," in a general sense, without mentioning the Thebans. Hence Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 849, rightly remarks that the Thebans simply retained an old word commonly surviving in small villages.

[e] Kock i. 725, Eustath. 1818, 884. 22.

[f] Squirting from behind.

[g] *Cf.* ὀρτάλιχος (which the MSS. have here against metre), Aristoph. *Ach.* 871 and Schol.

[h] Carrying a bag, or medicine-chest.

[i] Twitterers.

[j] Screeching; *cf.* Att. κεκριγότες Aristoph. *Av.* 1521.

[k] Newly drawn together.

[l] *F.H.G.* iv. 496.

κιττῷ στάδην[1] ἐπέραινον[2] ῥήσεις. ὕστερον δὲ ἴαμβοι ὠνομάσθησαν αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἰθύφαλλοι, φησί, καλούμενοι προσωπεῖον[3] μεθυόντων ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐστεφάνωνται, χειρῖδας ἀνθινὰς ἔχοντες· χιτῶσι δὲ[4] χρῶνται μεσολεύκοις καὶ περιέζωνται ταραντῖνον καλύπτον αὐτοὺς μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν. σιγῇ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος εἰσελθόντες, ὅταν κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὀρχήστραν γένωνται, ἐπιστρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λέγοντες·

C ἀνάγετ', ἀνάγετ',[5]
εὐρυχωρίαν ποιεῖτε
τῷ θεῷ· θέλει[6] γὰρ ὁ θεὸς
ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος[7]
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

οἱ δὲ φαλλοφόροι, φησίν, προσωπεῖον μὲν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, προπόλιον[8] δ' ἐξ ἐρπύλλου περιτιθέμενοι καὶ παιδέρωτος[9] ἐπάνω τούτου ἐπιτίθενται στέφανον[10] δασὺν ἴων καὶ κιττοῦ· καυνάκας[11] τε περιβεβλημένοι παρέρχονται οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρόδου, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσας τὰς θύρας, βαίνοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λέγοντες·

[1] στάδην Capps : αὐτοσχέδην Casaubon : σχέδην.
[2] CE (in a different constr.) : ἐπέρραινον A.
[3] ACE : προσωπεῖα Suid., Kaibel.
[4] χιτῶσί τε ACE. [5] ἀνάγετ' added by Meineke.
[6] Meineke : ἐθέλει ACE.
[7] Meineke, Bergk : ἐσφυρωμένος ACE.
[8] προπόλιον ACE : προκόμιον Valckenaer, προσκόπιον Kaibel.
[9] Suid. : παιδέρωτας ACE.
[10] Meineke : στέφανόν τε ACE.
[11] Scaliger : αὐνάκας A.

[a] The meaning of the MSS. reading σχέδην is uncertain;

pieces standing,[a] wearing wreaths of ivy. Later they were named *iamboi*, as were also their poems. The so-called *ithyphalloi*, he says, have a mask representing drunken men, and wear wreaths and coloured sleeves; their tunics have white stripes[b] and are belted with a fancy apron[c] which covers them down to the ankles. After entering the portal in silence, when they reach the centre of the orchestra they turn toward the audience and recite[d]: 'Give way, give way! Make room for the god! For the god wishes to march through your midst, uplifted to the point of bursting.'[e] But the *phallophoroi*,[f] he says, do not use a mask, but binding on their heads a bonnet[g] of tufted thyme and holly, they place on top of this a thick wreath of violets and ivy; wrapped in thick mantles they come in, some by the side-entrance, others by the middle doors, marching in step and

"gently" (L. & S.) or "slowly" seems inappropriate. *στάδην*, however, as used by Athenaeus *infra*, p. 354 l. 6 and p. 390 l. 4, seems plausible.

[b] Since Athen. elsewhere (215 c, 537 e) uses *μεσόλευκος* with some colour, perhaps we should read *πορφυροῖς* (purple) or *φοινικοῖς* (red) with *χιτῶσι*.

[c] Lit. "a Tarentine."

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 657, Diehl ii. 206, Edmonds iii. 514; see Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i. 1062-1063.

[e] For *ἐσφυδωμένος cf.* Athen. 246 f (vol. iii. p. 110) *οἳ δειπνοῦσι ἐσφυδωμένοι.*

[f] For the description of Antheas of Lindus and his phallus-bearers see Athen. 445 a-b (vol. iv. p. 516).

[g] See critical note 7 and *cf.* Suid. *s.* *Σῆμος· οὐ* (Toup *προσωπείου*) *χωρὶς* (?) *ἐξ ἐρπύλλου καὶ παιδέρωτος ἔσκεπον τὰς ὄψεις, κιττῷ καὶ ἴοις στεφανούμενοι.* *προπόλιον* does not occur elsewhere, but *cf.* the Byzantine *προπόλωμα*, Constant. Porph. *Cer.* 500. 13, of some kind of head-dress worn by the Emperor. Kaibel's alteration to *προσκόπιον* (*cf.* 176 b, vol. ii. p. 300) is unwarranted.

σοί, Βάκχε, τάνδε μοῦσαν ἀγλαΐζομεν,
ἁπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλῳ μέλει,
d καινάν,[1] ἀπαρθένευτον, οὔ τι ταῖς πάρος
κεχρημέναν[2] ᾠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.

εἶτα προτρέχοντες[3] ἐτώθαζον οὓς[4] προέλοιντο, στάδην δὲ ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων καταπασθεὶς[5] αἰθάλῳ."

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐσμέν, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι παραλιπεῖν τὰ περὶ Ἀμοιβέως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς κιθαρῳδοῦ,

ἀνδρὸς τεχνίτου κατὰ νόμους τοὺς μουσικούς.[6]

e οὗτός ποτε βράδιον ἥκων ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν ὡς ἔμαθεν παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδειπνήσαντας, ἐβουλεύετο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἕως παρελθὼν ὁ Σόφων αὐτῷ μάγειρος (γεγωνότερον δ' ἐφθέγγετο ὡς πάντας ἀκούειν) τὰ ἐξ Αὔγης εἶπεν Εὐβούλου·

τί, ὦ πόνηρ', ἕστηκας ἐν πύλαις ἔτι,
ἀλλ' οὐ βαδίζεις; τοῖσδε γενναίως πάλαι
διεσπάρακται θερμὰ χηνίσκων μέλη,
διερράχισται σεμνὰ δελφάκων κρέα,
κατηλόηται[7] γαστρὸς οὖν[8] μέσῳ κύκλος,
κατῃσίμωται πάντα τἀκροκώλια,

[1] Hemsterhuys: καὶ μὰν A.
[2] Porson: κεχρημεναν A.
[3] CE: προστρέχοντεσ A.
[4] Kaibel: οὗσ ἂν ACE.
[5] Kaibel: καταπληαθεὶσ A.
[6] Kaibel: μουσικῆσ A, τῆς μουσικῆς Musurus.

reciting [a]: 'To thee, Bacchus, we raise this glorifying song, pouring forth a simple measure in varied melody —a song new and virginal,[b] in no wise used in earlier lays; no, undefiled is the hymn we consecrate.' They would then run forward and jeer at any one they picked out; they did this standing still. But the man who carried the phallus-pole kept marching straight on, smeared with soot." [c]

Since we are on the subject I think it not right to omit the story of Amoebeus, a harp-singer of our time, "a man highly skilled in the rules of music." [d] He arrived rather late at our symposium, and when he learned from one of the servants that we had finished dinner, he was debating what he had better do, when Sophôn [e] the cook came up to him and recited, in a voice loud enough for all to hear, the lines from the *Augê* of Eubulus [f]: "Why, you poor fool, do you keep standing at the gate instead of going on inside? The people here in lavish style have long since pulled to pieces the hot limbs of goslings, have carved from the chine portentous pieces of sucking-pig, have punched to a pulp the round middle of a belly, have demolished

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 657, Diehl ii. 206, Edmonds iii. 514. Porson ascribed the verses to Pratinas.

[b] M. Navarre, *Rev. des ét. anc.* 13 (1911). 249, renders ἀπαρθένευτον "qui n'est fait pour des jeunes filles," I cannot believe rightly.

[c] Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 215. The Greek is incomplete and the meaning uncertain. See critical note 5.

[d] Porson noted in these words an anonymous iambic verse.

[e] This name, meaning Wise One, is here assumed, but actually occurs of a cook at 403 e (Anaxippus, vol. iv. p. 328) and at 662 c.

[f] Kock ii. 170. For the scene *cf.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 503-520.

[7] CE: κατηλόισται A, κατηλόκισται Meineke (*cf.* Hesych. s.v.). [8] οὐν Kaibel: ἐν ACE.

f νενωγάλισται[1] σεμνὸς ἀλλᾶντος τόμος,
παρεντέτρωκται τευθὶς ἐξωπτημένη,
παρεγκέκαπται[2] κρανί'[3] ἐννέ' ἢ δέκα.
ὥστ' εἴ τι[4] βούλει τῶν λελειμένων φαγεῖν,
ἔπειγ' ἔπειγε, μή ποθ' ὡς[5] λύκος χανὼν
καὶ τῶνδ' ἁμαρτὼν[6] ὕστερον σαυτὸν δάκνῃς.[7]
Πάντ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν

κατὰ τὸν ἥδιστον Ἀντιφάνην, ὃς ἐν τῷ Φιλοθηβαίῳ φησίν—

ἥ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος
τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἔγχελυς Βοιωτία
623 τμηθεῖσα[8] κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης[9]
χλιαίνετ', αἴρεθ', ἕψεται,[10] παφλάζεται,
προσκάεθ', ὥστε μηδ' ἂν εἰ χαλκοῦς[11] ἔχων
μυκτῆρας εἰσέλθοι τις, ἐξελθεῖν πάλιν
εἰκῇ· τοσαύτην ἐξακοντίζει πνοήν.
Β. λέγεις μάγειρον ζῶντα. Α. πλησίον δέ γε
ταύτης ἄσιτος ἡμέραν καὶ νύχθ' ὅλην

[1] Meineke: *ενωγαλισται* A, *ἐνωγάλισται* CE.
[2] *παρεγκέκαπται* Valckenaer: *παρεκκέκαπται* A, *παρεκλέλαπται* Kaibel.
[3] Meineke: *στεραν*ι A, *σταμνί'* Valckenaer, Kaibel.
[4] Valckenaer: *ὥστε ἐπεί* A, *ὥστ' ἐπεί* CE.
[5] CE: *ἐπει γ' επεγ' μή ποτ' ὡσ* A (*sic*).
[6] *ἁμάρτῃς* C.
[7] *σαυτὸν δάκνῃς* Kock: *συχνωδραχμῆσ* A, *δράμῃς* Musurus.
[8] ACE: *μιχθεῖσα* 169 c.
[9] *κακάβης* C.
[10] 169 d: *αιρεθεξεται* A, *χλιαίνεται ἐξαίρεται παμφλάζεται* C.
[11] Schweighäuser: *χαλκεῦσ* ACE.

[a] The verb is derived from *νώγαλα*, "sweetmeats," Athen. 29 d, 47 d (vol. i. pp. 128, 204-206).

all the trotters, have munched with relish [a] a portentous slice of sausage, have chewed away a broiled squid, have gulped down the side-meat of nine or ten heads.[b] So if you want to eat anything that's left over, hurry, hurry, lest like a wolf that gapes in vain [c] you miss that too, and later bite yourself." [d]

"We now have everything," to quote the highly delightful Antiphanes, who in his *Pro-Theban* says [e]: "A. For the creature which bears the same name as the lady [f] inside, Boeotian eel, has been sliced up in the hollow depths of the pot; it's getting hot, it's rising high, stewing and spluttering, it's beginning to burn on, so that even if one had nostrils of bronze when he came in, he could not easily walk out again; so great is the fragrant breath it shoots forth. B. You're telling me of a cook who leads a life! [g] A. Yes, and beside the eel is the mullet, which for whole days

[b] Or, adopting the reading *παραλέλαπται στάμνια*, "have guzzled nine or ten jars (of wine)." By "heads" are meant "lambs' heads," Modern Greek *κεφαλάκια*.

[c] "Gaping wolf" was a proverb *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπράκτων*, Suid. *s. λύκος χανών*.

[d] Kock's conjecture (see critical note 7) is here read with hesitation; the reading in A (CE omit) is nonsense. *Cf.* Aristoph. *Vesp.* 776 (Bdelycleon coaxing his father Philocleon)

ἢν δίκην
λέγῃ μακράν τις, οὐχὶ πεινῶν ἀναμενεῖς
δάκνων σεαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον,

"if anybody pleads his case too long you won't have to wait in hunger until he stops, biting yourself and the defendant too!"

[e] Kock ii. 105, *cf.* 169 c (vol. ii. p. 268).

[f] Enchelys "Eel."

[g] *i.e.* he lives high. *Cf.* Capps, *Menander*, Περικειρομένη 63 and note, Allinson (L.C.L.) 211.

κεστρεὺς λοπισθείς,[1] ἁλσὶ[2] πασθείς,[3] ἐκστραφείς,[4]
χρωσθείς, ὁμοῦ τι πρὸς τέλος[5] δρόμου περῶν,
b σίζει[6] κεκραγώς, παῖς δ' ἐφέστηκε ῥανῶν[7]
ὄξει, Λίβυς τέ καυλὸς ἐξηρασμένος[8]
ἀκτῖσι θείαις σιλφίου παραστατεῖ.[9]
B. εἶτ' οὐκ ἐπῳδούς φασιν ἰσχύειν τινές;[10]
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη τρεῖς ὁρῶ μασωμένους,
σοῦ ταῦτα συστρέφοντος. A. ἥ τε σύννομον[11]
τῆς κυφονώτου[12] σῶμ' ἔχουσα σηπίας,[13]
ξιφηφόροισι χερσὶν ἐξωπλισμένη
τευθίς, μεταλλάξασα λευκαυγῆ φύσιν
σαρκὸς πυρωτοῖς ἀνθράκων ῥαπίσμασιν,[14]
c ξανθαῖσιν αὔραις σῶμα πᾶν ἀγάλλεται,
δείπνου προφήτην λιμὸν ἐκκαλουμένη.
ὥστε γ' εἴσιθι,
μὴ μέλλε, χώρει. δεῖ γὰρ ἠριστηκότας
πάσχειν, ἐάν τι καὶ παθεῖν ἡμᾶς δέῃ.

καὶ ὃς πάνυ ἐμμελέστατα ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἀνεφώνησε[15] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Κλεάρχου Κιθαρῳδοῦ τάδε·

[1] λεπισθεὶς ACE. [2] ἁλσὶ added by Cobet.
[3] CE: σπασθεισ A. [4] Cobet: στραφεὶς ACE.
[5] CE: τελοσμέροσ A. [6] CE: ἥξει A.
[7] ρανων A, ῥαίνων C. [8] A: ἐξηραμμένος CE.
[9] CE: παραστρατει A.
[10] A: τινὰς CE. Dalechamps rightly took this to be a question.
[11] Herwerden: σύνομοσ ACE.
[12] Toup: κουφονώτου ACE, κουφονότου C.
[13] CE: σηπία A. [14] AC: ῥιπίσμασιν Abresch, Kaibel.
[15] A: ἀντεφώνησε Kaibel.

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[a] The entire quotation is in mockery of the tragic manner. On the "fasting" mullet see Athen. 306 d-308 d (vol. iii. pp. 376-386).

and nights eats not,[a] nicely scaled, sprinkled with salt, turned inside out, well browned, close pressing to the end of his course, sizzles and shrieks, while a slave stands by to sprinkle him with vinegar, and the crushed stalk of silphium from Libya is at hand to aid with its beams [b] divine. B. After that, can there be any who say that enchanters have no power? [c] Why! I can already see three persons beginning to chew while you twirl [d] all these things together. A. Yes, and she whose body is like that of the hunch-backed cuttle-fish, the squid, armed with dagger-bearing fingers, hath altered the white-rayed colour of her flesh because of the fiery lashing of the coals, and now rejoices with all her body in whiffs of brown fragrance,[e] evoking hunger, that harbinger of the feast. Wherefore go in, dally not, move! For we must suffer as they who have breakfasted well,[f] if so be that we must suffer at all." And Amoebeus, answering in perfect tune with him, recited in a loud voice these lines from *The Harp-Singer* of Clearchus [g]: "Clear your

[b] Silphium has folia aurei coloris, Pliny, *N.H.* xix. 3. 45. The resinous juice, much esteemed as a seasoning, was crushed from the leaves; Athen. 28 d, 63 d (vol. i. pp. 122, 276).

[c] The cook's fluent description is compared to the words of an enchanter, *cf.* Plato, *Charm.* 155 E ἄνευ τῆς ἐπῳδῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἴη τοῦ φύλλου, cited by Cobet, who read ἐπῳδάς for ἐπῳδοὺς.

[d] The cook is like the magician whirling a rhombus.

[e] For αὔραις, which Porson wished to amend to αὐγαῖς, *cf.* Verg. *Aen.* vi. 204 discolor auri aura refulsit.

[f] A comic distortion of some exhortation like δεῖ γὰρ ἠριστευκότας πάσχειν, "we must suffer as those who have won the prize of valour." *Cf.* Sydney Smith's "Fate cannot harm me,—I have dined to-day."

[g] Kock ii. 409.

γόγγρων τε λευκῶν[1] πᾶσι[2] τοῖς κολλώδεσι
βρόχθιζε. τούτοις γὰρ τρέφεται τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ
τὸ φωνάριον ἡμῶν περίσαρκον[3] γίνεται.

d κρότου δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου καὶ πάντων
ὁμοθυμαδὸν αὐτὸν καλεσάντων εἰσελθὼν καὶ πιὼν
ἀναλαβών τε τὴν κιθάραν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἦσεν[4]
ὡς πάντας θαυμάζειν τήν τε κιθάρισιν μετὰ τῆς[5]
τέχνης ταχίστην οὖσαν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν ἐμ-
μέλειαν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλάττων εἶναι νομί-
ζεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἀμοιβέως, ὅν φησιν Ἀριστέας
ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαρῳδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις κατοικοῦντα
καὶ πλησίον τοῦ θεάτρου οἰκοῦντα, εἰ ἐξέλθοι
ἀσόμενος, τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν τῆς ἡμέρας λαμ-
βάνειν.

e Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς τῶν μὲν τάδε λεγόντων, ἄλλων
δ' ἄλλα γ' ὁσημέραι, πάντων δ' ἐπαινούντων τὴν
παιδιὰν[6] ταύτην, Μασούριος ὁ πάντα ἄριστος καὶ
σοφὸς (καὶ γὰρ νόμων ἐξηγητὴς οὐδενὸς δεύτερος
καὶ περὶ μουσικὴν ἐνδιατρίβων αἰεί· ἅπτεται γὰρ
καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων) ἔφη· "ὁ μὲν κωμῳδιοποιὸς
Εὔπολις, ἄνδρες φίλοι, φησί·

ἡ[7] μουσικὴ πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ βαθὺ[8] καὶ καμπύλον,

αἰεί τε καινὸν ἐξευρίσκει τι τοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δυνα-
f μένοις. διόπερ καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Ὑακίνθῳ φησίν·

[1] Emperius: γόγγρωι τε λευκωι A.
[2] κρέασι Emperius.
[3] Schweighäuser: περίσαργον A, περίλαμπρον Casaubon, περίτρανον Kaibel.
[4] ἦσεν A.
[5] πάσης (?) Kaibel.
[6] A: παιδείαν Casaubon.
[7] ἡ CE Eustath.: καὶ A, χῇ Kaibel.
[8] Grotius: βαθύ τι ACE.

throat with all the glutinous parts of conger-eels. For by them the breath is fed, and our weak voices become full-fleshed." Loud applause followed this, and all the guests with one accord called him in; so he entered, and after drinking he took up his lyre and delighted us to such an extent that all were amazed at his playing, fluency being combined with correct technique,[a] as well as at the tunefulness of his voice. In my judgement, in fact, he is not a whit inferior to the Amoebeus of ancient times, of whom Aristeas says, in his book *On Harp-Singers*, that he settled in Athens, residing near the theatre, and that whenever he came forward to sing he received an Attic talent for a day's performance.

On the subject of music there was daily conversation, some saying things recorded here, others saying other things, but all joining in praise of this kind of amusement[b]; and Masurius, in all things excellent and wise (for he is a jurist[c] second to none, and he has always been devoted to music and has taken up the playing of musical instruments), said: The comic poet Eupolis, my friends, remarks[d]: "Music is a matter deep and intricate," and it is always supplying something new for those who can perceive. Hence Anaxilas, also, says in *Hyacinthus*[e]: "Music is like

[a] Lit. "his playing, being very swift, with art," or "with all art."

[b] Since various forms of amusement have been the topic of this book, it seems better to retain παιδιὰν rather than read παιδείαν, "this kind of education." The educational advantages of music are to be developed presently. On Aristotle's views concerning music see Newman's remarks in his *Politics* iii. 548 and his Index iv. 630.

[c] Lit. "expounder of laws."

[d] Kock i. 347.

[e] Kock ii. 272.

ἡ μουσικὴ δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
αἰεί τι καινὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θηρίον
τίκτει.[1]

μέγας γάρ, ὦ μακάριοι, κατὰ τὸν Θεοφίλου Κιθαρῳδόν,

θησαυρός ἐστιν καὶ βέβαιος μουσικὴ[2]
ἅπασι τοῖς μαθοῦσι παιδευθεῖσί τε.

καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἤθη παιδεύει καὶ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς καὶ τὰς γνώμας διαφόρους καταπραΰνει. Κλεινίας
624 γοῦν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος,[3] ὡς Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τῷ βίῳ[4] καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν διαφέρων,[5] εἴ ποτε συνέβαινεν χαλεπαίνειν αὐτὸν δι' ὀργήν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν λύραν ἐκιθάριζεν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας τὴν αἰτίαν ἔλεγεν "πραΰνομαι." καὶ ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῇ κιθάρᾳ κατεπραΰνετο, ἣν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Ἠετίωνος λαφύρων μόνην[6] Ὅμηρος χαρίζεται, καταστέλλειν τὸ πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ δυναμένην. μόνος γοῦν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ταύτῃ χρῆται τῇ μουσικῇ. ⌈ὅτι δὲ καὶ νόσους ἰᾶται μουσικὴ Θεό-

[1] θηρίον τίκτει Morell: τίκτει θηρίον ACE. Jacobi, on account of πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, punctuated with a question mark here.
[2] Meineke: ἡ μουσικὴ ACE.
[3] CE: πυθαγόριοσ A.
[4] τῇ γνώμῃ C.
[5] Casaubon: διαφορῶν ACE.
[6] μόνην A: πρώτην Aelian, ἠρημένην (?) Kaibel.

[a] Or, reading as a question (see critical note 1) "Is music, in the name of the gods, like Libya?" etc. *Cf.* Aristot. *Hist. An.* viii. 28. 11 λέγεται δέ τις παροιμία ὅτι ἀεὶ Λιβύη φέρει τι καινόν, Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 42 volgare Graeciae dictum semper aliquid novi Africam adferre (both cited by Koek). It would seem that innovations in music and dancing have always aroused protests from the conservative; *cf.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 93 χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης, Plato, *Legg.* 660 B καινὰ δὲ ἅττα ἀεὶ γιγνόμενα περί τε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν

Libya, which, I swear by the gods,[a] brings forth some new creature every year." To quote *The Harp-Singer* of Theophilus[b]: "A mighty treasure, good sirs, and a constant one, is music for all who have learned it and are educated." For indeed it trains character, and tames the hot-tempered and those whose opinions clash. The Pythagorean Cleinias, for example, as Chamaeleon of Pontus records,[c] whose conduct and character were exemplary, would always take his lyre and play on it whenever it happened that he was exasperated to the point of anger.[d] And in answer to those who inquired the reason he would say, "I am calming myself down." So, too, the Homeric Achilles calmed himself with his lyre, which was the only thing Homer grants to him out of the booty taken from Eëtion,[e] and which had the power of allaying his fiery nature.[f] He, at least, is the only one in the *Iliad* who plays this kind of music.[g] That music can also heal diseases Theophrastus has recorded in his

ἄλλην μουσικὴν σύμπασαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμων μεταβαλλόμενα ἀλλ' ὑπό τινων ἀτάκτων ἡδονῶν. On the purpose and limitations of musical education see Aristot. *Pol.* 1341 a 1-17.

[b] Kock ii. 474.

[c] Koepke 38, Diels, *Vorsokr.*[3] i. 342; see Aelian, *V.H.* xiv. 23. "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast."

[d] Lit. "was angry because of anger." A similar tautology occurs in Plato, *Apol.* 34 c *ὀργισθεὶς αὐτοῖς τούτοις θεῖτο ἂν μετ' ὀργῆς τὴν ψῆφον.*

[e] Ael. *loc. cit.* puts this more accurately: *μουσικὸς ὢν τὴν κιθάραν πρώτην* (not *μόνην*) *ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβε.* See also Schol. *Il.* ix. 188.

[f] *Il.* ix. 186-188 *τόν δ'* (Achilles)

εὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,
καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,
τήν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἠετίωνος ὀλέσσας.

See below, 633 c (p. 417).

[g] This, of course, is not true; see *Il.* iii. 54, xviii. 570.

φραστος ἱστόρησεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐνθουσιασμοῦ,
b ἰσχιακοὺς φάσκων ἀπόνους[1] διατελεῖν εἰ καταυλήσοι τις τοῦ τόπου τῇ Φρυγιστὶ ἁρμονίᾳ.[1] ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἁρμονίαν Φρύγες πρῶτοι εὗρον καὶ μετεχειρίσαντο. διὸ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐλητὰς Φρυγίους καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχειν· οἷός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι Σάμβας καὶ Ἄδων καὶ Τῆλος,[2] παρὰ δὲ Ἱππώνακτι Κίων καὶ Κώδαλος καὶ Βάβυς, ἐφ' ὧ καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον αὐλούντων "κάκιον[3] Βάβυς αὐλεῖ." ὁ δ' Ἀριστόξενος τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτῆς Ὑάγνιδι τῷ Φρυγὶ ἀνατίθησιν.

c Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς οὐδ' ἁρμονίαν φησὶ δεῖν καλεῖσθαι τὴν Φρύγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λύδιον. ἁρμονίας γὰρ εἶναι τρεῖς· τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἴωνας. οὐ μικρᾶς οὖν οὔσης διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἤθεσιν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων τὰ πάτρια διαφυλάτ-

[1] ἀπόνους Gulick: ἀνόσους ACE.
[2] Τύλος (?) Bergk.
[3] Casaubon: καὶ κίων ἢ A. ἢ deleted by Meursius, *cf.* Zenob. iv. 81.

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[a] Frag. 87 Wimmer, *cf.* Eustath. 1078. 41-43, Apollon. *Hist. Mir.* 49. It does not appear that Theophrastus himself believed in this folk-lore; says Aul. Gell. iv. 13: creditum hoc a plerisque esse et memoriae mandatum ischia cum maxime doleant tum, si modulis lenibus tibicen incinat, minui dolores, ego nuperrime in libro Theophrasti scriptum inveni. *Cf.* Plin. *N.H.* xxviii. 2. 21 and Cael. Aurelianus v. 1, Berne edition 361-362 (on the treatment of sciatica), alii cantilenas adhibendas probaverunt, ut etiam Philistionis frater idem memorat libro xxii de adiutoriis, scribens quendam fistulatorem loca dolentia (= τοῦ τόπου above) decantasse, quae cum

work *On Inspiration* [a]: he says that persons subject to sciatica would always be free from its attacks if one played the flute in the Phrygian [b] mode over the part affected. This mode was first discovered by the Phrygians and constantly used by them. For this reason, he says, flute-players among the Greeks have names which are Phrygian and appropriate to slaves; such, for example, is Sambas, mentioned by Alcman,[c] also Adôn and Têlus, and in Hipponax,[d] Cion, Codalus,[e] and Babys, who occasioned the proverb said of those whose flute-playing grows ever worse and worse, "Babys is playing worse." [f] Aristoxenus attributes [g] the invention of the mode to the Phrygian Hyagnis.[h]

Heracleides of Pontus, however, says [i] in the third book of his work *On Music* that the Phrygian should not be called a separate mode any more than the Lydian. For there are only three modes, since there are also only three kinds of Greeks—Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians. There is no small difference in the characters of these three, for while the Lacedaemonians preserve better than all other Dorians

saltum sumerent palpitando discusso dolore mitescerent. See also Theophr. *H.P.* ix. 13. 6, Galen xiii. 986 Kühn.

[b] On the various scales, modes, and keys see *Dict. Antiq.* ii. 195-198, and on the meaning of *ἁρμονία*, Macran, *Harmonics of Aristoxenus* 128, 224, Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Anc. Greek Music*, pp. 69-80.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 69, Edmonds i. 106. For other names among the Phrygians which seemed strange to the Greeks *cf.* Strabo 580.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 492.

[e] *Cf.* Κώταλος Athen. 176 d (vol. ii. p. 300).

[f] Zenobius iv. 81 *τάττουσι ταύτην* (sc. *τὴν παροιμίαν*) *ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον ἀσκούντων.*

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 287.

[h] Father of Marsyas, Plut. 1132 F, Schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 940, Suid. *s.* Ὄλυμπος (b).

[i] Voss 81.

τουσιν, Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ (οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ[1] τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες) παραπλήσιον
d αἰεὶ ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀγωγήν· Ἰώνων δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος ἠλλοίωται διὰ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δυναστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων. τὴν οὖν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελῳδίας ἣν οἱ Δωριεῖς ἐποιοῦντο Δώριον ἐκάλουν ἁρμονίαν· ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ Αἰολίδα ἁρμονίαν ἣν Αἰολεῖς ᾖδον· Ἰαστὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἔφασκον ἣν ἤκουον ᾀδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δώριος ἁρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον οὐδ' ἱλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν, οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον
e οὔτε πολύτροπον. τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἱπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦργον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον[2] καὶ τεθαρρηκός. διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἄνεσις. διόπερ ἔχουσι[3] τὸ τῆς ὑποδωρίου καλουμένης ἁρμονίας ἦθος. αὕτη γάρ ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἣν ἐκάλουν Αἰολίδα, ὡς καὶ Λᾶσος[4] ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ[5] εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνι[6] Δήμητρα Ὕμνῳ λέγων οὕτως·

Δάματρα μέλπω' Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι'[8] ἄλοχον,

[1] οἱ added by Kaibel.
[2] Dulechamps: ἐξηρημένον ACE.
[3] Cobet: διὸ περιέχουσι ACE.
[4] Dindorf: λάσοσ ACE.
[5] ἐν τῷ edd.: ἐν τοῖσ A.
[6] ἐν ερμειονι A (*sic*), ἐν ἑρμιόνηι 455 c.

the customs of their fathers, and the Thessalians (these are they who conferred upon the Aeolians the origin of their race) have always maintained practically the same mode of life, the great majority [a] of the Ionians, on the other hand, have undergone changes due to barbarian rulers who have for the time being come in contact with them. Hence the melodic style [b] which the Dorians constructed they called the Dorian mode; Aeolian they called the mode which the Aeolians sang; Ionian, they said of the third mode, which they heard Ionians sing. Now the Dorian mode exhibits the quality of manly vigour, of magnificent bearing, not relaxed or merry, but sober and intense, neither varied nor complicated. But the Aeolian character contains the elements of ostentation and turgidity, and even conceit; these qualities are in keeping with their horse-breeding and their way of meeting strangers; yet this does not mean malice, but is, rather, lofty and confident. Hence also their fondness for drinking is something appropriate to them, also their love-affairs, and the entirely relaxed nature of their daily life. Wherefore they have the character of the Hypodorian mode, as it is called. This, Heracleides says, is in fact the one which they called Aeolian, as Lasus of Hermionê does in the *Hymn to Demeter of Hermion* in the following words [c]: "I celebrate Demeter and Korê, wedded wife of

[a] The Milesians excepted, below, 625 b. By barbarians, of course, he means Asiatic peoples in general. Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* p. 28.

[b] On the phrase *τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελῳδίας* see Winnington-Ingram, p. 60.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 376, Diehl ii. 60, Edmonds ii. 228, *cf.* Athen. 455 c-d (vol. iv. p. 566 and note *b*), P.-W. iv. 2731.

[7] *δαμάτραμεάπω* A.

[8] *κλυμενοιο* A.

μελιβόαν[1] *ὕμνον ἀναγνέων*[2]
Αἰολίδ' ἀνὰ[3] *βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν.*

ταῦτα δ' ᾄδουσιν πάντες ὑποδώρια τὰ μέλη.[4] *ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ μέλος ἐστὶν ὑποδώριον,*[5] *εἰκότως Αἰολίδα φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν ὁ Λᾶσος. καὶ Πρατίνας δέ πού φησι·*

μήτε σύντονον δίωκε μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν Ἰαστὶ μοῦσαν,[6]
ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν[7] *νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.*

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς σαφέστερόν φησιν·

625 *πρέπει τοι πᾶσιν ἀοιδὰ λαβράκταισ'*[8] *Αἰολὶς ἁρμονία.*

πρότερον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην,[9] *Αἰολίδα αὐτὴν*[10] *ἐκάλουν, ὕστερον δ' ὑποδώριον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς τετάχθαι νομίσαντες αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Δώριον ἁρμονίαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ὁρῶντας αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ προσποίημα τῆς καλοκἀγαθίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἁρμονίας ἤθεσιν Δώριον μὲν αὐτὴν οὐ νομίζειν, προσεμφερῆ δέ πως ἐκείνῃ· διόπερ ὑποδώριον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς τὸ προσεμφερὲς τῷ λευκῷ ὑπόλευκον καὶ τὸ μὴ γλυκὺ μὲν ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτου*

[1] Hartung: *μελίβοιαν* A.
[2] *ἀναγνέων* Bergk (*cf.* Hesych. *ἀγνεῖν· ἄγειν. Κρῆτες*): *ἀναγνῶν* A.
[3] Wilamowitz: *ἅμα* A.
[4] *τὰ μέλη* deleted by Kaibel, perhaps rightly.
[5] *τὰ μέλη* after *ὑποδώριον* deleted by Casaubon.
[6] Toup: *ἰαστὶν οὖσαν* A, *ἰαστὶ οὖσαν* CE.
[7] CE: *μέσσαν* A.
[8] *ἀοιδολαβράκταις* (?) Bergk.
[9] Musurus: *ἔφη* A.
[10] A: *ταύτην* CE.

Pluto, raising unto them a sweet-voiced hymn in the deep-toned Aeolian mode." These lyrics are sung by all in the Hypodorian scale. Since, then, the tune is Hypodorian, it naturally follows that Lasus calls the mode Aeolian. Again, Pratinas says, I believe [a]: "Pursue neither the severe Muse [b] nor yet the relaxed Ionian, but ploughing rather the middle glebe play the Aeolian with your tune." And in what follows he says more plainly: "Verily the Aeolian mode is the song that befits all the bold." [c] Formerly, then, as I [d] have said, they called it Aeolian, but later Hypodorian, as some assert, because they thought that in the flutes it had a range below the Dorian mode. But I believe that people who observed the turgid quality and pretence of nobleness in the character of the Aeolian mode, regarded it not as Dorian at all, but something which somehow resembled the Dorian; hence they called it Hypodorian,[e] just as we say that what resembles white is rather (*hypo-*) white, or what is not sweet, yet nearly

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 560, Diehl ii. 126, Edmonds iii. 54. For the figurative language *cf.* Pratinas again, Athen. 461 e (vol. v. p. 12).

[b] *i.e.* the Dorian mode, according to Jacobs, who read *σύντονον Δωρίδα*. But Plato, *Rep.* 398 E has *συντονολυδιστί*, explained as Hyperlydian, "high-pitched" (so Bergk), Poll. iv. 78 *σύντονος λυδιστί, ἣν Ἄνθιππος ἐξεῦρεν*. This interpretation, however, while correctly placing *ἰαστί* and *λυδιστί* in the same emotional class (Plato, *loc. cit.* *ἰαστὶ καὶ λυδιστὶ αὖ τινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται*), fails to explain in what sense Aeolian occupies a middle position. The extremes are the sober Dorian and the effeminate Ionian. See Westphal, *Metrik* ii. 81, 351, and Jan in P.-W. iv. 2073-2074.

[c] *Cf.* the adjectives used above to describe the Aeolian character.

[d] The authority is still Heracleides.

[e] *i.e.* somewhat or rather like the Dorian.

λέγομεν ὑπόγλυκυ· οὕτως καὶ ὑποδώριον τὸ μὴ πάνυ Δώριον.

b Ἑξῆς ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἦθος, ὃ διαφαίνουσιν οἱ Ἴωνες, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίαις βρενθυόμενοι καὶ θυμοῦ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλλακτοι, φιλόνεικοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδ' ἱλαρὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ἀστοργίαν καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἐμφανίζοντες. διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστὶ γένος ἁρμονίας οὔτ' ἀνθηρὸν οὔτε ἱλαρόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληρόν, ἄγκον δ' ἔχον οὐκ ἀγεννῆ· διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ προσφυὴς ἡ ἁρμονία.

c τὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν Ἰώνων ἤθη τρυφερώτερα καὶ πολὺ παραλλάττον τὸ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἦθος. φασὶ δὲ Πύθερμον τὸν Τήιον ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἁρμονίας[1] τούτῳ ποιῆσαι[2] σκολιά[3] μέλη, καὶ διὰ[4] τὸ εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἰωνικὸν Ἰαστὶ κληθῆναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν. οὗτός ἐστι Πύθερμος οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀνάνιος ἢ[5] Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις· . . . καὶ[6] ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως·

χρυσὸν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τἄλλα.

λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ Πύθερμος·

οὐδὲν[7] ἦν ἄρα[8] τἄλλα πλὴν ὁ[9] χρυσός.

οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πιθανόν ἐστι τὸν

[1] CE: τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ A, αὐτῷ Bergk.
[2] A: τούτῳ ἁρμόττοντα τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν Ἰώνων ποιῆσαι C.
[3] Casaubon: σκαιὰ AC.
[4] καὶ διὰ CE: διὰ A.
[5] ἢ added by early edd.
[6] Lacuna marked, καὶ added by Kaibel, who seems to have been the first to notice ἐν ἄλλωι (*sic*) in A.
[7] οὐθὲν A.
[8] παρὰ Suid.
[9] ὁ added by Suid.

sweet, rather sweet[a]: in similar fashion they called Hypodorian that which was not quite Dorian.

Next in order let us examine the Milesians' character, which the Ionians illustrate.[b] Because of their excellent physical condition they bear themselves haughtily, they are full of irate spirit, hard to placate, fond of contention, never condescending to kindliness nor cheerfulness, displaying a lack of affection and a hardness in their character. Hence also the kind of music known as the Ionian mode is neither bright nor cheerful,[c] but austere and hard, having a seriousness which is not ignoble; and so their mode is well-adapted to tragedy. But the character of the Ionians to-day is more voluptuous, and the character of their mode is much altered. They say that Pythermus of Teos composed lyric scolia[d] in this kind of mode, and since the poet was an Ionian the mode was called Ionian. This is the Pythermus mentioned by Ananius or Hipponax in their *Iambic Verses*[e]: . . . And in another passage as follows[f]: "Pythermus speaks of gold as if other things were naught." In fact Pythermus does speak of it thus[g]: "Other things, after all, are naught compared with gold." And so, considering also this saying of his, it is to be

[a] *Cf.* the curious adjective in Plato, *Rep.* 548 E, ὑποαμουσότερος, "somewhat less cultivated."

[b] *Sc.* in their music.

[c] This doublet is used by Plut. 50 B of the flatterer, ἀεὶ παρέχειν ἵλαρὸν καὶ ἀνθηρόν.

[d] For these convivial songs see H. W. Smyth, *Melic Poets* xcv.-cvii.

[e] The quotation is lost.

[f] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 501 (Ananius), Diehl i. 286; from the same poem is Athen. 78 f (vol. i. p. 340).

[g] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 643, Diehl ii. 60, Plut. *Prov.* 1, 96, Diogenian. vi. 94, Suid. s. Οὐδὲν ἦν.

Πύθερμον ἐκεῖθεν ὄντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῶν
d μελῶν ἁρμόττουσαν τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν Ἰώνων. διόπερ
ὑπολαμβάνω οὐχ ἁρμονίαν εἶναι τὴν Ἰαστί, τρόπον
δέ τινα θαυμαστὸν σχήματος ἁρμονίας. κατα-
φρονητέον οὖν τῶν τὰς μὲν κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς οὐ
δυναμένων θεωρεῖν, ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ τῇ τῶν
φθόγγων ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τιθεμένων
ὑπερμιξολύδιον ἁρμονίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ταύτης
ἄλλην. οὐχ ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲ[1] τὴν ὑπερφρύγιον ἴδιον
ἔχουσαν ἦθος· καίτοι τινές φασιν ἄλλην ἐξευρηκέναι
e καινὴν ἁρμονίαν ὑποφρύγιον.[2] δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἁρμονίαν
εἶδος ἔχειν ἤθους ἢ πάθους, καθάπερ ἡ Λοκριστί·
ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν γενομένων κατὰ Σιμωνίδην
καὶ Πίνδαρον ἐχρήσαντό ποτε, καὶ πάλιν κατ-
εφρονήθη.

Τρεῖς οὖν αὗται, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴπομεν εἶναι
ἁρμονίας, ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. τὴν δὲ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ
τὴν Λυδιστὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οὔσας γνωσθῆναι
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων
f εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν. Λυδοὶ
μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνηκολούθησαν διὰ τὸ τὴν Σίπυλον
εἶναι τῆς Λυδίας· Φρύγες δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ὁμοτέρμονες
τοῖς Λυδοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ὁ
Τάνταλος. ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου
πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χώματα

[1] CE: οὔτε A.
[2] ἁρμονίαν ὑποφρύγιον A: ἁρμονίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπερφρύγιον Wilamowitz.

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[e] Kaibel renders the curtailed sentence: non credo Pythermi harmoniam esse eam quae Ionica videtur, sed inde derivatum miro quodam modo σχῆμα ἁρμονίας.

believed that Pythermus, being from Ionia, made the style of his lyrics fit the character of the Ionians. Hence I assume that it was not the Ionian mode in which Pythermus composed, but a curious variation of modal figure.[a] So one should look with disdain on those who cannot see specific differences, but simply attend to the highness or lowness of tones, and assume a Hypermixolydian mode and again another higher than that. Nor can I see, in fact, that the Hyperphrygian has a special character of its own. And yet some persons assert that they have discovered another new, Hypophrygian, mode![b] But a mode must have a specific character or feeling, like the Locrian[c]; this was once employed by some who flourished in the time of Simonides and Pindar, but it fell into disrepute again.

These modes, then, are three, as we said of them at the beginning,[d] being as many as there are tribes of Greeks. The Phrygian and the Lydian modes, originating with the barbarians, came to be known to the Greeks from the Phrygians and Lydians who emigrated to Peloponnesus with Pelops. The Lydians accompanied him because Sipylus[e] was a city of Lydia; the Phrygians came not only because they lived on the borders of Lydia but also because Tantalus ruled over them. You may see everywhere in Peloponnesus, but especially in Lacedaemon, large

[b] See the excellent discussion of this passage in Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Anc. Greek Music*, pp. 19-21.

[c] On this scale, or mode, see *Dict. Antiq.* ii. 197 b, and on the *ἦθος* of the modes, H. Abert, *Die Lehre v. Ethos in der griech. Musik.*

[d] Above, 624 c (p. 365).

[e] Ruled by Tantalus, the father of Pelops; Pind. *Ol.* i. 38 *φίλαν* (*i.e.* his own) *τε Σίπυλον.*

μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. μαθεῖν οὖν τὰς ἁρμονίας ταύτας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρὰ τούτων. διὸ καὶ Τελέστης[1] ὁ Σελινούντιός φησιν·

626 πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλήνων[2] ἐν αὐλοῖς
συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρείας
Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον·
τοὶ[3] δ' ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων[4] ψαλμοῖς[5] κρέκον
Λύδιον ὕμνον.

"Οὐ παραληπτέον δὲ[6] τὴν μουσικήν," φησὶν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, "ὡς Ἔφορος ἱστορεῖ, ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ γοητείᾳ παρεισῆχθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
b οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλὸν καὶ ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκῇ νομιστέον εἰσαγαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρώτους Ἀρκάδων εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν, ὥστε[7] μὴ μόνον παισὶν[8] ἀλλὰ καὶ νεανίσκοις[9] γενομένοις ἕως[10] λ' ἐτῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτήν, τἄλλα τοῖς βίοις[11] ὄντας αὐστηροτάτους. παρὰ γοῦν μόνοις Ἀρκάσιν[12] οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ᾄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμον τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι. μετὰ

[1] τελεστὴς A.
[2] Ἑλλάνων Bergk rightly.
[3] Musurus: τοῖσ A.
[4] πακτίδων Diehl.
[5] Musurus: ψαλμοί A.
[6] οὐ γὰρ ἡγητέον Polybius.
[7] ὥστε A: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε Polybius.
[8] παισὶν Polybius: ἐμπεσεῖν A.
[9] νεανίσκοις Polybius: ἐν νεανίσκοισ A.
[10] Polybius: ὡσ A.
[11] A: τῷ βίῳ CE.

mounds, which they call the tombs of the Phrygians who came with Pelops. These musical modes, then, the Greeks learned from them. Hence also Telestes of Selinus says [a]: "The first to sing the Phrygian strains in honour of the Mountain Mother, amid the flutes beside the mixing-bowls of the Greeks, were they who came in the company of Pelops; and the Greeks struck up the Lydian hymn with the high-pitched twanging of the lyre."

Polybius of Megalopolis says [b]: "One must not accept it as fact that music was introduced among men for purposes of deceit and quackery, as Ephorus asserts [c] that it was; nor should one believe that the ancient Cretans and Lacedaemonians introduced the flute and a marching rhythm into battle, instead of the trumpet, without good reason; nor was it by chance that the earliest Arcadians carried the art of music into their entire social organization, so that they made it obligatory and habitnal not only for boys but also for young men up to thirty years of age, although in all other respects they were most austere in their habits of life. It is only among the Arcadians, at any rate, that the boys, from infancy up, are by law practised in singing hymns and paeans, in which, according to ancestral custom, they celebrate their national heroes and gods. After

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 630, Diehl ii. 156, Edmonds iii. 278.

[b] iv. 20. 5-21. 9 (Paton, L.C.L. ii. 346-352). These *obiter dicta* of Polybius on music are inspired by the massacre (below, *σφαγή*) of the Cynaethians by the Aetolians, Polybius iv. 17-19.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 234, J. 2. 45. Polybius adds that Ephorus was inconsistent with himself in making this rash statement: *οὐδαμῶς ἁρμόττοντα λόγον αὐτῷ ῥάψας.*

[12] Polybius, *παρ' οἷς μόνοις* CE: *παρὰ γ' οὗν μόνοισ ἀρκάδων* A.

δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Τιμοθέου καὶ Φιλοξένου νόμους
μανθάνοντες χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διο-
c νυσιακοῖς αὐλητοῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, οἱ μὲν[1]
παῖδες τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι
τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ παρ' ὅλον δὲ τὸν βίον ἐν
ταῖς συνουσίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς οὐχ οὕτω ποιοῦνται
τὰς ἀγωγὰς[2] διὰ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀκροαμάτων ὡς
δι' αὐτῶν,[3] ἀνὰ μέρος ᾄδειν ἀλλήλοις προστάτ-
τοντες. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀρνηθῆναί
τι μὴ εἰδέναι οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν[4] ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ᾄδειν
ἀποτρίβεσθαι αἰσχρὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεται. καὶ
μὴν ἐμβατήρια μετ' αὐλοῦ καὶ τάξεως ἀσκοῦντες,
ἔτι δὲ ὀρχήσεις ἐκπονοῦντες μετὰ κοινῆς ἐπιστροφῆς
καὶ δαπάνης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπι-
d δείκνυνται. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοὺς εἴθισαν οἱ παλαιοὶ[5]
οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ περιουσίας χάριν, ἀλλὰ θεωροῦντες
τὴν ἑκάστου κατὰ τὸν βίον σκληρότητα καὶ τὴν
τῶν ἠθῶν αὐστηρίαν, ἥτις αὐτοῖς παρέπεται διὰ
τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στυγνότητα
τὴν κατὰ τό[6] πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν,
οἷς καὶ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες ἄν-
θρωποι· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐθνικὰς διαστάσεις
πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν ἤθεσι[7] καὶ μορφαῖς
e καὶ χρώμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνόδους κοινὰς

[1] μὲν Polybius: μὲν οὖν A.
[2] οὐχ . . . τὰς ἀγωγὰς added by Kaibel after Cobet, *cf.* Polyb. iv. 21.10: οὐ διὰ τῶν A.
[3] δι' αὐτῶν Polybius: διὰ τῶν A.
[4] οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν C, Polybius: οὐδὲν αὐτὸν αἰσχρόν A, οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν Kaibel.
[5] ACE: οἱ πάλαι Polybius.
[6] τὸ added from Polybius.
[7] Polybius: ἤθει ACE.

these they learn the tunes [a] of Timotheüs and Philoxenus and dance [b] them annually in the theatres with Dionysiac [c] flute-players, the boys competing in the boys' contests, the young men in the contests of adult males.[d] And throughout their whole lives, in their social gatherings they do not pursue methods and practices so much with the aid of imported entertainments as with their own talents, requiring one another to sing each in his turn. As for other branches of training, it is no disgrace to confess that one knows nothing, but it is deemed a disgrace among them to decline to sing. What is more, they practise marching-songs with flute-accompaniment in regular order, and further, they drill themselves in dances and display them annually [e] in the theatres with elaborate care and at public expense. All this, therefore, the men of old taught them, not to gratify luxury and wealth, but because they observed the hardness in every one's life and the austerity of their character, which are the natural accompaniment of the coldness of their environment and the gloominess prevailing for the most part in their abodes; for all of us human beings naturally become assimilated to the character of our abode; hence it is also differences in our national position that cause us to differ very greatly from one another in character, in build, and in complexion. In addition to the training just

[a] Lit. "the nomes," for which see Smyth, *Melic Poets* lviii.-lxviii. Timotheus and Philoxenus are mentioned together as composers of nomes, Aristot. *Poet.* 1448 a 15.

[b] Polybius adds *πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ*, "in eager rivalry."

[c] *i.e.* professional (Paton).

[d] In athletics there were usually three classes of entrants, boys, beardless (*ἀγένειοι*), and adults.

[e] Polybius adds: "to their own fellow-citizens."

καὶ θυσίας ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ κατείθισαν, ἔτι δὲ χοροὺς παρθένων ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων, σπεύδοντες τὸ τῆς φύσεως[1] ἀτέραμνον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐθισμῶν κατασκευῆς ἐξημεροῦν καὶ πραΰνειν. ὧν Κυναιθεῖς ὀλιγωρήσαντες εἰς τέλος,[2] καίτοι σκληρότατον παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὁμοῦ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἔχοντες, πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς[3] ἐν ἀλλήλοις παρατριβὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὁρμήσαντες τέλος ἀπεθηριώθησαν οὕτως ὡς[4] μέγιστα ἀσεβήματα παρὰ μόνοις αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι. καθ' οὓς δὲ καιροὺς
f τὴν μεγάλην σφαγὴν ἐποιήσαντο, εἰς ἃς ποτε πόλεις Ἀρκαδικὰς κατὰ τὴν δίοδον[5] εἰσῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα πάντες αὐτοὺς[6] ἐξεκήρυξαν, Μαντινεῖς δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν καθαρμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσαντο σφάγια περιαγαγόντες[7] κύκλῳ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης."

Ἀγίας δ' ὁ μουσικὸς ἔφη τὸν στύρακα τὸν ἐν ταῖς ὀρχήστραις θυμιώμενον τοῖς Διονυσίοις φρύγιον ποιεῖν ὀδμὴν τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις.

Τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον ἡ μουσικὴ ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτροπὴ

[1] ψυχῆς Polybius. [2] εἰσ τέλοσ AC: τέλος (om. εἰς) E.
[3] Schweighäuser: πρόσ μὲν αὐτάσ τάσ A, πρόσ αὐτὰς δὲ τάς Polybius. [4] AC: ὥστε Polybius.
[5] AC: ὁδόν Polybius. [6] CE: ἑαυτούσ A.
[7] περιάγοντες (?) Kaibel: περιήνεγκαν Polybius.

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[a] After the parenthetical comment on the influence of physical environment the original subject, οἱ παλαιοί, is resumed.

[b] Or, "their souls"; see critical note 1.

[c] In the most northerly part of Arcadia, where the mountains are highest, near the modern Kalavryta.

[d] So that they needed civilizing influences most, as Polyb. iv. 21. 5 points out, in a clause omitted by Athenaeus. The events here recorded occurred *circa* 220 B.C.

described, their ancestors [a] taught the Arcadian men and women the practice of public assembly and sacrifice, also at the same time choruses of girls and boys, eager as they were to civilize and soften the toughness of their natures [b] by customs regularly organized. But the people of Cynaetha [c] came at the end to neglect these customs, although they occupied by far the rudest part of Arcadia in point of topography as well as climate [d]; when they plunged right into friction and rivalry with one another they finally became so brutalized that among them alone occurred the gravest acts of sacrilege. At the time when they brought upon themselves the great massacre, into whatever Arcadian cities they [e] went on their way through, all the others immediately barred them out by public proclamation, but the Mantinaeans, after their withdrawal, instituted a purification of their city, carrying the blood of slain animals round about their entire territory."

Agias, the writer on music, has said [f] that storax,[g] which is burned as incense in the orchestras at the festival of Dionysus, produces a "Phrygian" [h] odour to those who smell it.

In ancient times music was an incitement to

[e] Their ambassadors, that is, who were dispatched to Sparta with invitations to the sacrifice; they had to pass through many Arcadian towns.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 293, where he is wrongly identified with the Argive historian Agias or Hagias, Athen. 86 f (vol. i. p. 372); P.-W. vii. 2205.

[g] A fragrant gum said to have the odour of vanilla.

[h] Either "Phrygian" in the sense of strong and pungent, having the same stimulating effect as the Phrygian mode in music, or more likely, "phrygian" (from *φρυγία*), referring to a fern of the maidenhair or spleenwort variety, Dioscor. i. 70, iii. 151.

627 ἦν.[1] Ἀλκαῖος γοῦν ὁ ποιητής, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μουσικώτατος γενόμενος, πρότερα τῶν κατὰ ποιητικὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν[2] τίθεται, μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος πολεμικὸς γενόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις σεμνυνόμενός φησιν·

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος χαλκῷ· πᾶσα δ' Ἄρῃ
κεκόσμηται στέγη
λαμπραῖσιν[3] κυνίαισι, κὰτ τᾶν[4] λευκοὶ καθύπερθεν
ἵππιοι λάφοι
b νεύουσιν, κεφαλαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάλματα· χάλκιαι
δὲ πασσάλοις[5]
κρύπτοισιν[6] περικείμεναι λαμπραὶ κναμίδες,[7] ἄρκος
ἰσχυρῶ βέλευς·
θόρρακές τε νέω[8] λίνω, κοίλαι[9] τε κατ' ἀσπίδες
βεβλημέναι,
πὰρ δὲ Χαλκιδικαὶ σπάθαι, πὰρ δὲ ζώματα πολλὰ
καὶ κυπάσσιδες.[10]
τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λαθέσθ',[11] ἐπειδὴ πρώτισθ' ὑπὸ ἔργον
ἔσταμεν[12] τόδε.

καίτοι μᾶλλον ἴσως ἥρμοττε τὴν οἰκίαν πλήρη εἶναι μουσικῶν ὀργάνων. ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν c ἀνδρείαν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ[13] προσνέμειν . . . οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν[14] ἀγαθὸς ὢν

[1] προτροπὴ ἦν ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν CE: ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτροπήν A.
[2] τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα C: τὰ κατ' ἀνδρείαν (?) Kaibel.
[3] λαμπρᾶισι A.
[4] κατταν A.
[5] πασάλοισ A.
[6] κρυπτοῖσιν A.
[7] κναμιδεσ A.
[8] νεωι A.
[9] κοιλαι A.
[10] κυππατιδεσ (sic) A.
[11] λαθέσθαι A.
[12] εσταμεν A.

bravery.[a] At any rate the poet Alcaeus, who certainly was very musical, if any one ever was, places deeds of bravery higher than the achievements of poetry, since he was more than ordinarily warlike.[b] Wherefore, pluming himself on these activities, he says[c]: "The great hall glistens with bronze; the whole roof is adorned by the War-god with shining helmets, and over them wave white plumes of horsehair, adornments for the heads of heroes; shining greaves of bronze, defence against the cruel missiles, hide the pegs on which they hang; corslets of new linen and hollow shields lie scattered on the ground, and beside them are Chalcidic swords, beside them, too, many sashes and tunies.[d] These we must not forget, now that before all else we have set ourselves to this task." And yet it doubtless would have been more fitting for his house to be full of musical instruments. However, the men of old assumed that bravery is the highest of civic virtues, and to this they thought it right to allot most honours . . . not to other men. Archilochus, at any rate, who was an

[a] Müller (*F.H.G.* iv. 293) attributes this remark to Agias.

[b] Alcaeus took an active part in the struggles against the tyrants of Lesbos.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 153, Diehl i. 413, Edmonds i. 332. For the proper Lesbian forms, with psilosis and barytonesis, see these editors.

[d] The word here rendered "tunie" seems to have referred to the skirt or fustanella hanging below the corslet. Hesych. *s. κύπασσις· περίζωμα. καὶ χιτάνος εἶδος.* Harpocr. *οἱ γλωσσογράφοι χιτῶνος εἴδός φασιν εἶναι . . . οἱ μὲν γυναικείου, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείου. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Ἱππῶνάξ τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος . . . καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.* The last probably had the form *κύπαττις*, which is not impossible for the Lesbian, *cf.* *ὄττις*=*ὅστις*.

[13] *πολιτικά* CE. Lacuna marked by Schweighäuser.
[14] Schweighäuser: *τοῦ* A, *οὖν* CE.

ποιητὴς πρῶτον ἐκαυχήσατο τῷ[1] δύνασθαι μετέχειν τῶν πολιτικῶν[2] ἀγώνων, δεύτερον δὲ ἐμνήσθη τῶν περὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων·

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος,
καὶ Μουσέων[3] ἐρατὸν[4] δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπι-
d γραφῆναι ἠξίωσεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ποιήσας·

ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι[5]
καὶ βαθυχαῖταί κεν[6] Μῆδοι ἐπιστάμενοι.

Διόπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετ' αὐλῶν στρατεύονται, Κρῆτες δὲ μετὰ λύρας, μετὰ δὲ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν Λυδοί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, καταπραΰνοντες τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς ψυχάς. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν
e "Γέται, φησί, κιθάρας ἔχοντες καὶ κιθαρίζοντες

[1] τῷ om. CE. [2] ACE: πολεμικῶν Piccolomini.
[3] A: μουσάων CE. [4] ἐρατᾶν, ἐρατῶν, Plut. mss.
[5] ἀνειποι A.
[6] βαθυχειται κεν A: βαθυχαιτηεὶς Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος Vit. Aesch.

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[a] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 383, Diehl i. 211, Plut. *Phoc.* 7; *cf.* Athen. 30 f (vol. i. p. 134).

excellent poet, made it his first boast that he was able to take part in these civic rivalries, and only secondarily mentioned his poetic talents, saying [a]: "I am the squire of the lord Enyalius, and I am versed, too, in the lovely gift of the Muses." Similarly Aeschylus also, for all the great repute which he enjoys because of his poetry, none the less thought it right to have his bravery recorded by preference on his tomb, having composed this inscription [b]: "Of his glorious might the grove at Marathon [c] could tell, and the long-haired Medes—for they know!"

Hence it is [d] that the brave Lacedaemonians march to battle with the music of flutes, the Cretans with the lyre, the Lydians with Pan's-pipes and flutes, as Herodotus records.[e] Many of the barbarians also conduct diplomatic negotiations to the accompaniment of flutes and cithara to soften the hearts of their opponents. Theopompus, in the forty-sixth book of his *Histories*, says [f]: "The Getae conduct negotiations holding citharas in their hands and

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 241, Diehl i. 66, Edmonds (L.C.L.) i. 240, *Vit. Aesch.* 120 Westermann: ἀποθανόντα δὲ Γελῷοι . . . ἐτίμησαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιγράψαντες οὕτω·

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας

"This monument shelters Aeschylus of Athens, son of Euphorion, who died in wheat-bearing Gela." Plut. 604 F, Voss, *Heraclid. Pont.* 75.

[c] His brother Cynegeirus lost his life in the battle, Hdt. vi. 114; Aeschylus himself was represented, it would seem, in the Painted Porch, Paus. i. 21. 2. See the newly-found lines written by him for the men who fell at Marathon, J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* ii. 480-494, v. 225-234.

[d] Reverting to the theme that music inspires virtue, above, 626 a. For the examples given *cf.* 517 b (vol. v. p. 326).

[e] i. 17, of the Lydians.

[f] *F.H.G.* i. 319, J. 2 B 581, G. and H. 209.

τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται." ὅθεν ἔοικεν καὶ Ὅμηρος διατηρῶν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατάστασιν λέγειν[1]·

φόρμιγγός θ', ἣν δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην,

ὡς καὶ τοῖς εὐωχουμένοις χρησίμης οὔσης τῆς τέχνης. ἣν δ' ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτο νενομισμένον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἕκαστος τῶν εἰς μέθην καὶ πλήρωσιν ὡρμημένων ἰατρὸν λαμβάνῃ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τὴν μουσικήν, εἶθ' ὅτι τὴν αὐθάδειαν παύει[2]· περιαιρουμένη γὰρ τὴν στυγνότητα
f ποιεῖ πρᾳότητα καὶ χαρὰν ἐλευθέριον, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰσήγαγε τοὺς θεοὺς χρωμένους ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἰλιάδος τῇ μουσικῇ. μετὰ γὰρ[3] τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμίαν διετέλουν[4] ἀκροώμενοι

φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,
Μουσάων θ',[5] αἳ ἄειδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ.

παύσασθαι γὰρ ἔδει τὰ νείκη καὶ τὴν στάσιν, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν.[6] ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐπανορθώσεως χάριν καὶ ὠφελείας· ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ
628 περιέλαβον ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους ᾄδειν ἅπαντας ἐν ταῖς ἑστιάσεσιν, ὅπως καὶ διὰ τούτων τηρῆται τὸ καλὸν καὶ σωφρονικὸν ἡμῶν. ἐναρμονίων γὰρ ὄντων τῶν ᾀσμάτων προσγενόμενος ὁ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν ἑκάστων τρόπον.

[1] Musurus: λέγει A.
[2] A: παύει CE.
[3] Kaibel: δὲ A.
[4] γὰρ after διετέλουν deleted by Kaibel.
[5] θ' added from Homer.
[6] Schweighäuser: λέγομεν A.

playing on them." Whence it is plain that Homer observes the ancient Greek system when he says[a]: "(We have satisfied our souls with the equal feast) and with the lyre, which the gods have made the companion of the feast," evidently because the art is beneficial also to those who feast. And this was the accepted custom, it is plain, first in order that every one who felt impelled to get drunk and stuff himself might have music to cure his violence and intemperance, and secondly, because music appeases surliness; for, by stripping off a man's gloominess, it produces good-temper and gladness becoming to a gentleman, wherefore Homer introduced the gods, in the first part of the *Iliad*, making use of music. For after their quarrel over Achilles[b] they spent the time continually listening "to the beautiful lyre that Apollo held, and to the Muses who sang responsively with beautiful voice."[c] For that was bound to stop their bickerings and faction, as we were saying. It is plain, therefore, that while most persons devote this art to social gatherings for the sake of correcting conduct and of general usefulness, the ancients went further and included in their customs and laws the singing of praises to the gods by all who attended feasts, in order that our dignity and sobriety might be retained through their help. For, since the songs are sung in concert,[d] if discourse on the gods has been added it dignifies the mood of every one. Philo-

[a] *Od.* viii. 99: *φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ συνήορός ἐστι θαλείῃ,* xvii. 270-271: *φόρμιγξ ἠπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην.*

[b] *Il.* i. 493-594.

[c] *Il.* i. 603-604.

[d] *i.e.* in chorus, which implies a certain degree of order and discipline; Aristot. *Probl.* xix. 15, 918 b 18 *πολλοὺς οὖν ἀγωνιστικῶς ᾄδειν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὥστε ἐναρμόνια μέλη ἐνῆδον.*

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντες[1] οὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν φησιν·

ὡς Διωνύσοι'[2] ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
b οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Φιλοκτήτῃ ἔφη·

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος ὅκχ'[3] ὕδωρ πίῃς.

ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡδονῆς χάριν ἐπιπολαίου καὶ δημοτικῆς[4] ἡ μουσικὴ προῆλθεν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τὰς ἑστιάσεις, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰ μὲν ἐμάνθανον τὴν μουσικήν, οὐδὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι δὲ κρίνειν δύνανται καλῶς τὴν τέχνην ὁμολογεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, καί φασιν τρὶς ἤδη σεσωκέναι διαφθειρομένην αὐτήν.

Καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίαν δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητα διανοίας
c συμβάλλεται ἡ μουσική· διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

[1] σπένδοντες deleted by Wilamowitz. CE more tersely οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔσπενδον Δ. μὲν ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ διθυραμβοῦντες, Ἀ. δέ . . . μέλποντες.

[2] Διωνύσοι' Bergk: διονύσοιο A.

[3] Casaubon: οὐχ A.

[4] ὠφελείας δημοτικῆς (?) Kaibel, *cf.* above, 627 f.

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 387.

[b] *i.e.* noisily and orgiastically.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 404, Diehl i. 233. *Cf.* Callim. frag. 223 (L.C.L. 328) τοῦ τε μεθυπλήγος φροίμιον Ἀρχιλόχου (so Ruhnken for Ἀντιλόχου).

[d] Kaibel 115.

[e] οἱ πολλοί mentioned above, 627 f.

chorus says[a] that the ancients, in pouring libations, do not always sing dithyrambs,[b] but when they pour libations, they celebrate Dionysus with wine and drunkenness, but Apollo, in quiet and good order. Archilochus, at any rate, says[c]: "For I know how to lead off, in the lovely song of lord Dionysus, the dithyramb, when my wits have been stricken with the thunder-bolt of wine." And Epicharmus, also, said in *Philoctetes*[d]: "There can be no dithyramb when you drink water." It is plain, therefore, in the light of what we have said, that music did not, at the beginning, make its way into feasts merely for the sake of shallow and ordinary pleasure, as some persons think.[e] As for the Lacedaemonians, if they studied[f] the art of music, they say nothing of it, but that they are able to judge the art well is admitted by them, and in fact they assert that they have saved the art three times when it was threatened with debasement.[g]

Music contributes also to the exercise and the sharpening of the mind; hence all Greeks as well as

[f] For *μανθάνω* referring to systematic and professional study see Plato, *Rep.* 488 B *μήτε ἔχοντα ἀποδεῖξαι διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ μηδὲ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἐμάνθανεν.* Knowledge of flute-playing is ascribed to the Lacedaemonians 184 d (vol. ii. p. 314) on the authority of Chamaeleon. The statement above is based apparently on Aristot. *Pol.* 1339 b 2 *ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ* (= *οἱ Λάκωνες*) *οὐ μανθάνοντες ὅμως δύνανται κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, ὥς φασι, τά χρηστά καὶ τά μὴ χρηστά τῶν μελῶν.* Spartan neglect of poetry is alleged by Paus. iii. 8, 2 *δοκοῦσι δέ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται μοι ποίησιν καί ἔπαινον τόν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι.*

[g] According to Casaubon this alludes to the three poets Terpander (below, 635 f), Timotheüs (636 e), and Phrynis (638 c). *Cf.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 308 *μέλος τε αὖ πρῶτος περιέθηκε τοῖς ποιήμασι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νόμους ἐμελοποίησε Τέρπανδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος*; above, 619 b.

ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ γινωσκόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν χρώμενοι. οὐ κακῶς δὲ λέγουσιν[1] οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ὅτι καὶ τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινουμένης πως τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐλευθέριοι καὶ καλαὶ ποιοῦσι τοιαύτας, αἱ δ' ἐναντίαι τὰς ἐναντίας. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Κλεοσθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου χαρίεν καὶ σημεῖον διανοίας πεπαιδευμένης. ἰδὼν γάρ, ὥς
d φασι, φορτικῶς ὀρχησάμενον ἕνα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστήρων (Ἱπποκλείδης δ' ἦν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος) ἀπωρχῆσθαι τὸν γάμον αὐτὸν ἔφησεν, νομίζων ὡς ἔοικεν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τἀνδρὸς εἶναι τοιαύτην. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ πορείᾳ καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ κόσμος, αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἀταξία καὶ τὸ φορτικόν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνέταττον οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς σχήμασι σημείοις μόνον τῶν ᾀδομένων, τηροῦντες αἰεὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀνδρῶδες ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὅθεν καὶ ὑπορχήματα τὰ τοιαῦτα προσηγόρευον. εἰ δέ
e τις ἀμέτρως διαθείη τὴν σχηματοποιίαν καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς ἐπιτυγχάνων μηδὲν λέγοι κατὰ τὴν ὄρχησιν, οὗτος δ' ἦν ἀδόκιμος. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ

[1] Musurus: λέγομεν A, φασὶ CE.

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[a] See Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 19, who says that Damon was a teacher of Socrates. Certainly he influenced Plato, *Lach.* 180 D, *cf. Alc. I.* 118 c, especially *Rep.* 400-402. *Cf.* Aristid. Quintil. ii. 14 ἐοίκασι γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἁρμονίαι τοῖς πλεονάζουσι διαστήμασιν ἢ τοῖς περιέχουσι φθόγγοις, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήμασί τε καὶ παθήμασιν. ὅτι γὰρ δι' ὁμοιότητος οἱ φθόγγοι συνεχῶς μελῳδίας πλάττουσί τε οὐκ ὂν ἦθος ἔν τε ποισὶ καὶ τοῖς

those barbarians with whom we are acquainted make use of it. With good reason Damon of Athens and his school say that songs and dances are the result of the soul's being in a kind of motion; those songs which are noble and beautiful produce noble and beautiful souls, whereas the contrary kind produce the contrary.[a] Whence also came that witty remark of Cleosthenes,[b] the ruler of Sicyon, which reveals his cultivated mind. For, as they say, after seeing one of his daughter's suitors (he was Hippocleides of Athens) dancing in vulgar posture he declared that Hippocleides had "danced away" his marriage, probably believing that the young man's soul was also vulgar. For, whether in dancing or in walking, decency and dignity of bearing are beautiful, whereas immodesty and vulgarity are ugly. For this reason, in fact, from the very beginning, the poets[c] arranged dances for freemen, and they used the dance-figures only to illustrate the theme of the songs, always preserving nobility and manliness in them; hence they termed such performances hyporchemes.[d] But if any one arranged his figures with undue exaggeration,[e] or when he came to his songs said anything that did not correspond to the dance, he was discredited. Hence Aristophanes—or was it Plato?—has phrased

ἤδη προβεβηκόσι καὶ ἐνδομυχοῦν ἐξάγουσιν ἐδήλουν καὶ οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα.

[b] *i.e.* Cleisthenes; Herod. vi. 129. Learned attempts to find ritualistic significance in Hippocleides' behaviour have not spoiled this story. See Luria in *Philol.* 85 (1930). 16-18.

[c] Who were also composers of the tunes and the dance-figures.

[d] Dances wherein pantomime accompanied, or was subordinate to (ὑπ-), the song; below, 630 d, 631 c.

[e] Or, in a moral sense, immodestly. The adverb ἀμέτρως includes both ideas.

Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Σκευαῖς, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησίν, εἴρηκεν οὕτως·

ὥστ' εἴ τις ὀρχοῖτ'[1] εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν· νῦν δὲ δρῶσιν οὐδέν,[2]
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἑστῶτες ὠρύονται.

ἦν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως γένος τῆς ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς εὔσχημον τότε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ὡσανεὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κινήσεις ἀπομμούμενον.[3] ὅθεν
f καὶ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν τοὺς κάλλιστα χορεύοντας ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια λέγων οὕτως·

οἳ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι
ἐν πολέμῳ.

σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐξοπλισία τις ἦν ἡ χορεία καὶ ἐπίδειξις οὐ μόνον τῆς λοιπῆς εὐταξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμελείας.

629 Ἀμφίων δ' ὁ Θεσπιεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μουσείου ἄγεσθαί φησιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παίδων ὀρχήσεις μετὰ σπουδῆς, παρατιθέμενος ἀρχαῖον Ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

ἀμφότερ', ὠρχεύμην τε καὶ ἐν Μώσαις ἐδίδασκον
ἄνδρας· ὁ δ' αὐλητὰς ἦν Ἄνακος Φιαλεύς.
εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχιάδας[4] Σικυώνιος. ἦ ῥα θεοῖσι
ταῖς[5] Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπέκειτο γέρας.

[1] Musurus: ὀρχοῖθ' A. [2] CE: οὐθὲν A.
[3] CE: ἀπομμουμένων A.
[4] Meineke: δ' βακχίδα A.
[5] Kaibel: ται A, τᾷ Schweighäuser, τοῖς Porson, Meineke.

it thus in *Goods and Chattels*,[a] according to Chamaeleon[b]: "Wherefore, if one danced nicely, it was a real show; nowadays, however, they have no action, but standing stock still as if they were paralysed, they howl."[c] For the kind of dancing practised in those days by the choruses was decent, of great dignity, and as though it represented the evolutions of men under arms. And therefore Socrates in his verses declares that those who dance best are best in military matters; he says[d]: "Whoso honour the gods best with dances are the best in war." For the art of dancing was virtually like armed manoeuvres, and a display, not merely of discipline in general, but also of care taken for the body.

Amphion of Thespiae, in the second book of his work *On the Temple of the Muses on Helicon*,[e] says that dances of boys are enthusiastically held on Mount Helicon, citing this ancient *Epigram*: "Both things I did—I danced, and I taught the dance to men at the Muses' shrine; the flute-player was Anacus of Phigaleia. I am Bacchiadas of Sicyon. Of a truth this is a beautiful guerdon dedicated to the goddesses at Sicyon."

[a] Kock i. 636 (Plato Comicus). The meaning of the title cannot be discovered from the few fragments, of which this is the only one quoted by Athen. Kock thinks it refers to tragic costumes.

[b] Frag. 28 Koepke.

[c] The paralysis and the howling allude to the sudden meeting with a ghost (*heros*), *cf.* Aristoph. *Av.* 1490-1493, Theocr. ii. 35.

[d] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 287, Diehl i. 86. On Socrates writing verses in prison see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 c-D.

[e] See Couat-Loeb, *Alex. Poetry* 12. Nicocrates also wrote a treatise on the contest on Helicon, Schol. Townl. *Il.* xiii. 21; *cf.* Paus. ix. 29-31. 3, Plut. 748 F, Strabo, 410, 471. Preger, *I. G. Metricae* 112.

οὐ κακῶς δὲ καὶ Καφισίας[1] ὁ αὐλητής, ἐπιβαλ-
b λομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐλεῖν μέγα καὶ τοῦτο
μελετῶντος, πατάξας εἶπεν οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ
εὖ κείμενον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα. ἐστὶ δὲ
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων δημιουργῶν ἀγάλματα τῆς
παλαιᾶς ὀρχήσεως λείψανα· διὸ καὶ συνέστη τὰ
κατὰ τὴν χειρονομίαν ἐπιμελεστέρως διὰ ταύτην
τὴν αἰτίαν.[2] ἐζήτουν γὰρ κἀν ταύτῃ κινήσεις καλὰς
καὶ ἐλευθερίους, ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα περιλαμβάνον-
τες· καὶ τὰ σχήματα μετέφερον ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς
χορούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χορῶν εἰς τὰς παλαίστρας. καὶ
c γὰρ ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ κἀν τῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμελείᾳ
περιεποιοῦντο τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις κινήσεις ἐγυμνάζοντο μετὰ ᾠδῆς[3]· ὅθεν
ἐκινήθησαν αἱ καλούμεναι πυρρίχαι καὶ πᾶς ὁ
τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως· πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ
ὀνομασίαι[4] αὐτῶν, ὡς παρὰ Κρησὶν ὀρσίτης καὶ
ἐπικρήδιος. τὴν δ' ἀπόκινον καλουμένην ὄρχησιν,
ἧς[5] μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει καὶ Κηφισό-
δωρος ἐν Ἀμαζόσιν Ἀριστοφάνης τ' ἐν Κεν-

[1] Dindorf: *καφησίασ* ACE.
[2] A: *οὐ μάτην δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χειρονομίαν συνέστη ἐπιμελεστέρως* C.
[3] CE: *τῆσ ὠιδῆσ* A.
[4] Kaibel: *αι πολλαι παραι ονομασίαι* A, *καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ παρονομασίαι* Casaubon. But we are dealing with many kinds of dance, not many by-names for the same kind.
[5] Casaubon: *ὡς* A.

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[a] One of Alexander's artists, Athen. 538 f (vol. v. p. 436).
[b] *μέγα* means both "loud" and "big." The same story is told by Diog. Laert. vii. 19. 21. *Cf.* Aristot. *Met. N.* 1092 b 8 on the mistake of confusing number with substance.

Not bad was the remark of the flute-player Caphisias[a]; one of his pupils started to play with a big blow,[b] and practised that constantly; but Caphisias whacked him and said, "Good playing consists not in bigness, but bigness depends upon good playing." Further, the statues made by the artists of old are relics of the ancient mode of dancing. For this reason, therefore, movements of the arms were shaped with greater care.[c] For even in this they sought movements which were beautiful and becoming to decent people, achieving bigness by excellence; and they carried over the postures from there into their choral dances, and from the dances again into the wrestling-schools. What is more, by means of music and the care of their bodies they acquired courage, and to master movements under arms they exercised to the accompaniment of songs; thus there came into practice the so-called *pyrrichês*[d] and all that kind of dancing; the names for them, in fact, are numerous, as for instance *orsitês*[e] and *epikredios*[f] in Crete. Then there is the *apokinos*, as it is called, which is mentioned by Cratinus[g] in *Nemesis*, Cephisodorus[h] in *Amazons*,

[c] The sense, here too much compressed, seems to be this: The old statues reveal the nature of the older dancing, in which much stress was laid upon graceful movement of the arms (χειρονομία below, 631 c): see vol. i. pp. 88-96, Ovid, *A.A.* i. 595 si mollia brachia, salta, and ironically *Rem. Am.* 334 fac saltet, nescit si qua movere manum. Yet see below, 630 c.

[d] War-dances, or dances with helmet, shield, and spear or sword. Plato, *Legg.* 815 A, Apul. *Met.* x. 29-31.

[e] If from ὄρνυμι, "stir up," it may be rendered "the shake-a-leg."

[f] Meaning unknown: possibly connected with κάρα or κράς, "head," and referring to the "cart-wheel"; *cf.* the dance of Hippocleides.

[g] Kock i. 51.

[h] Kock i. 800.

ταύρῳ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες, ὕστερον μακτρισμὸν
d ὠνόμασαν· ἣν καὶ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ὠρχοῦντο, ἃς καὶ μακτριστρίας[1] ὀνομαζομένας οἶδα.

Τὰ δὲ στασιμώτερα καὶ πυκνότερα[2] καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἁπλουστέραν ἔχοντα καλεῖται δάκτυλοι, ἰαμβική, Μολοσσικὴ ἐμμέλεια, κόρδαξ, σίκιννις, Περσική, Φρύγιος νιβατισμός,[3] Θράκιος κολαβρισμός,[4] τελεσιάς[5]· Μακεδονικὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ὄρχησις, ᾗ χρησάμενοι οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου ἀδελφὸν ἀνεῖλον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μαρσύας ἐν τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῶν. μανιώδεις δ' εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις κερνοφόρος καὶ μογγὰς[6] καὶ θερμ-
e αυστρίς.[7] ἣν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡ καλου-

[1] Coraes: μαρκτυπιασ A, μακτιστρίας Kaibel.
[2] Kaibel: ποικιλώτερα ACE, ἀποικιλώτερα early edd.
[3] A: νικτισμός CE.
[4] Poll. iv. 100: καλαβρισμοσ A, -μὸς CE.
[5] CE: τελεσειασ A, τελεσίας Poll., τελεσία Hesych. cod.
[6] μογγασ A: μιγγὰς CE, γίγγρας Schweighäuser.
[7] θερμαυστρὶς or θερμαϋστρὶς Poll., Eustath.: θέρμαυστρισ ACE.

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[a] Kock i. 463; *cf.* Aristoph. *Eq.* 20, where it is a slang term for moving off or escaping in a hurry, εὑρέ τιν' ἀπόκινον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου, Schol.: ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἶδος ὀρχήσεως φορτικῆς. See also Poll. iv. 101, Luc. *Salt.* 33.

[b] Or *maktistriai.* The form is uncertain and the meaning unknown; βακτριασμός, βαυκισμός seem to be equivalent terms for μακτρισμός.

[c] Schultz, *Räsel* i. 82, thinks the term has reference to the Idaean Dactyls.

[d] The punctuation above is that of ACE, but *emmeleia* is described as a tragic dance at 20 e (vol. i. p. 88), below, 630 e, without the adjective Molossian (possibly ironical here); so Luc. *Salt.* 26. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1530 uses ἐμμέλεια ironically ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμμελείᾳ κονδύλου, "I'll knock him out with a tuneful dance—of the knuckles!" Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 540 τρία εἴδη ὀρχήσεως ἐμμέλεια μὲν τραγική, σίκιννις σατυρική,

Aristophanes [a] in *The Centaur*, and several other writers, and which was later called *maktrismos*; even women danced it in many instances, and they were called *maktristriai*,[b] as I know.

The less violent kinds, performed in closer order and with simpler dance-movement, have these names: *daktyloi*,[c] *iambikê*, Molossian *emmeleia*,[d] *kordax*,[e] *Satyr's whirl*,[f] *Persian*, the Phrygian *nibatismos*, the Thracian *pig-dance*, the *telesiad* [g]; this last is a Macedonian dance, during a performance of which Ptolemy's men slew Alexander, Philip's brother, as recorded [h] by Marsyas in the third book of his *Macedonian History*. Dances as furious as those of madmen are the *kernophoros*,[i] the *mongas*,[j] and the *thermaustris*.[k] There was also among the common

κόρδαξ· κωμική, ἥτις αἰσχρῶς κινεῖ τὴν ὀσφύν. Haigh, *Trag. Drama*, p. 356 note 3.

[e] Vol. i. p. 88.

[f] *Ibid.*, and above, 618 c (p. 331).

[g] Said to be named after a certain Telesias, 630 a. All the dances mentioned after the *emmeleia* seem to have been lively, but the descriptions are vague. Hesych *s. νιβατισμός*· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως βαρβαρικῆς (Asiatic). Poll. iv, 100 κολαβρισμός Θράκιον ὄρχημα καὶ Καρικόν. κόλαβρος means a young pig.

[h] *Script. Alex.* 42, J. 2 B 739. Alexander II, son of Amyntas III, reigned over Macedonia from 370 to 368, when he was overthrown by his brother-in-law Ptolemy of Alorus; Diod. xv. 71, Plut. *Pelop.* 27.

[i] For the kernos, a vessel or tray holding many cups, see 476 e-f (vol. v. p. 108 and note *b*). Poll. iv. 103 τὸ γὰρ κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα οἷδ' ὅτι (ὠρχοῦντο) λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέροντες· κέρνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο.

[j] Found only here; perhaps a dance accompanied by wild cries, *cf.* μογγός.

[k] Described by Eustath. *Od.* 1601. 28 as a wild and strenuous dance in which the performers leapt high in the air, crossing their legs many times before coming down; Poll. iv. 102.

μένη ἄνθεμα. ταύτην δὲ ὠρχοῦντο μετὰ λέξεως τοιαύτης μιμούμενοι καὶ λέγοντες·

ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλινα;
ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα,[1] ταδὶ τὰ ἴα, ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

παρὰ δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Χιτωνέας Ἀρτέμιδος ὄρχησίς τίς ἐστιν ἴδιος καὶ αὔλησις, ἣν δέ τις καὶ Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις παροίνιος. καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δὲ πάροινον ἠκρίβουν ὄρχησιν. καλεῖται δέ τις καὶ
f ἄλλη ὄρχησις κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις,[2] ἧς μνημονεύει Μένιππος ὁ κυνικὸς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. καὶ γελοῖαι δ' εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις ἴγδις καὶ μακτρισμὸς ἀπόκινός τε καὶ σοβάς, ἔτι δὲ μορφασμὸς καὶ γλαῦξ καὶ λέων ἀλφίτων τε ἔκχυσις[3] καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴ[4] καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ πυρρίχη. μετ' αὐλῶν δ' ὠρχοῦντο τὴν τοῦ κελευστοῦ καὶ τὴν καλουμένην πινακίδα,

[1] Jena reviewer (anon.): ποῦ μοι ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα ACE.
[2] ἐμπύρωσις Hesych.
[3] Bapp: ἐκχύσεισ ACE.
[4] κρεῶν ἀποκλοπή Cobet.

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[a] In private life, not a professional or public performance; probably a child's game.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 662, Diehl ii. 203, Edmonds iii. 536.

[c] Often explained as meaning Artemis the huntress clad in the short tunic (χιτών). The forms Χιτώνη and Χιτωνία also occur. See Epicharmus, Kaibel 114. But the epithet more probably refers to the garments dedicated to her by women, CIA i. 273, ii. 646, Eur. *I.T.* 1464 πέπλων ἄγαλμά σοι θήσουσιν εὐπήνους ὑφάς, ἃς ἂν γυναῖκες ἐν τόκοις ψυχορραγεῖς λείπωσ' ἐν οἴκοις. Schol. Call. *h. Zeus* 77 τικτομένων τῶν βρεφῶν ἀνετίθεσαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

[d] *Cf.* Epicharm. frag. 127 (Kaibel) τό τᾶς Χιτωνέας αὐλησάτω τίς μοι μέλος.

[e] Possibly meaning, as often, "licentious." Poll. iv. 103

people[a] the dance called *Flowers*. This they danced with the following recital, making imitative gestures and saying[b]: "A. Where are my roses, where are my violets, where my beautiful parsley? B. Here are thy roses, here are thy violets, here thy beautiful parsley." Among the Syracusans there was a dance peculiar to the worship of Artemis Chitonea,[c] also a flute-melody.[d] There was also a drunken dance called *Ionic*.[e] Another dance which they perfected, also in their cups, was the *Messenger*.[f] Still another dance is called *World-conflagration*, mentioned by the Cynic Menippus in his *Symposium*. There were also ludicrous dances—the *mortar-pounding*,[g] *maktrismos* and *apokinos*,[h] *sobas*[i]; also *morphasmos*,[j] *owl, lion, spilling the barley, debt-cancelling*,[k] *alphabet*, and *pyrrichê*.[l] To the accompaniment of flutes they danced the *boatswain's jig*, and the so-called *platter-dance*.[m]

says it was danced chiefly by Sicilian Greeks, but Luc. *Salt.* 34 calls the "drunken dance" (τὸ παροίνιον) Phrygian.

[f] Hesych. *s.* ἄγγελος says this was a Syracusan title of Artemis; Preller, *Griech. Myth.*[4] i. 324 identifies her with Hecatê ἐνοδία, "wandering in the streets," and associated with Hermes, the messenger-god. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 187.

[g] *Cf.* ἴγδισμα *Etym. Magn.* 464. 51, Suid. *s.v.*

[h] Above, 629 c.

[i] *Cf.* Suid. *s.* σοβάδες· διώκουσαι, πόρναι!

[j] Poll. iv. 103 ὁ δὲ μορφασμὸς παντοδαπῶν ζῴων ἦν μίμησις, hence perhaps a generic term for the animal dances next mentioned.

[k] Or, following Cobet's and Bapp's conjecture, "meat theft," *cf.* Poll. iv. 105 μιμητικὴν δὲ (? μιμηλικὴν) δι' ἧς ἐμιμοῦντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἑώλων κρεῶν ἁλισκομένους. See above, p. 349, note *c*, Aristoph. *Eq.* 418-420.

[l] Hardly to be included in this list, since the pyrrichê was a war-dance, above, 629 c.

[m] Poll. iv. 103 τὰς δὲ πινακίδας ὠρχοῦντο οὐκ οἶδα εἴτ' ἐπὶ πινάκων εἴτε πίνακας φέροντες. He then compares it with the kernophoros, 629 d.

σχήματα δέ ἐστιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθίσκος,[1] καλλαβίδες,[2] σκώψ, σκώπευμα. ἦν δὲ ὁ σκὼψ τῶν ἀποσκοποῦντων τι σχῆμα ἄκραν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων. μνημονεύει Αἰσχύλος ἐν Θεωροῖς·

καὶ μὴν παλαιῶν τῶνδέ σοι σκωπευμάτων.

630 καλλαβίδων δ' Εὔπολις ἐν Κόλαξιν·

καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει.

θερμαυστρίς,[3] ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεὶρ καταπρηνής, χεὶρ σιμή,[4] διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις,[5] ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος, στρόβιλος. καὶ τελεσιὰς δ' ἐστὶν ὄρχησις καλουμένη· στρατιωτικὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ἀπό τινος ἀνδρὸς Τελεσίου λαβοῦσα τοὔνομα, μεθ' ὅπλων τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἐκείνου ὀρχησαμένου, ὥς φησιν Ἱππαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων[6] Πολιτείας.

[1] Meursius: καλαθισμόσ ACE.

[2] A: κολλαβίδες C, καλλαβίς Hesych.

[3] Casaubon: θαυμαστρεισ A.

[4] Meursius: χερσὶ μη A.

[5] πρόληψις ?

[6] Μακεδόνων (?) Müller (*cf.* 629 d).

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[a] Athen. 467 f (vol. v. p. 62), below, 630 a.

[b] A kind of hootchy-kootchy, like the kordax (p. 395 note *e*); Hesychius *s.* καλλαβίς· τὸ περισπᾶν τὰ ἰσχία ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχίων κυρτουμένων.

[c] Athen. 391 a (vol. iv. p. 266 and note *b*), *cf.* 518 f (vol. v. p. 334 note *d*), Suid. *s.* αἴθ' ὄφελες θανέειν, Callim. (L.C.L.) 254.

[d] The account in Poll. iv. 103 differs materially: σκώψ (owl), εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἔχον τινὰ τοῦ τραχήλου περιφορὰν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος μίμησιν, ὃς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως πρὸς τὴν ὄρχησιν ἁλίσκεται, that is, the dancers twist and wriggle their necks

Other dance-figures are the *sword-dance*, *basket-dance*,[a] *hip-dance*,[b] *horned owl* or *owling*.[c] Now the *horned-owl* (*skôps*) was a figure of dancers who gazed (*skopô*) into the distance with their hands curved high above their foreheads.[d] Aeschylus mentions it in *The Envoys*[e]: "And look you, all these antique owlings!" *Kallabides* are mentioned by Eupolis in *Flatterers*[f]: "His walk is a hip-dance, his excrement is sesame-cake."[g] Then there are the *thermaustris*,[h] *hekaterides*,[i] *look-out*,[j] *flat-hand-down*, *hand-slanting*, *two-step*, *grabbing-the-front-seat*,[k] *cushion-dance*, *basket-dance*, *spinning-top*. There is also the *telesiad*, so-called[l]; this is a war-dance which got its name from one Telesias, who danced it for the first time under arms, according to Hippagoras in the first book of his work *On the Constitution of Carthage*.[m]

like owls, which dance when caught. This agrees with Athen. 391 a (vol. iv. pp. 266–268), which in turn agrees with Ael. *N.A.* xv. 28. Hesych. *s.* ὑπόσκοπον χέρα gives the name σκοπός to the dance described above. Obviously the ancient etymologists had several explanations of the word σκώψ, whether it meant owl or dance. See also Hesych. *s.* σκωπευμάτων, Phot. *Lex.* 527. 7.

[e] *T.G.F.*[2] 26.

[f] Kock i. 304, below, 646 f, Hesych. *s.* καλλαβίς, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 185.

[g] σησαμίδες were a mixture of honey and sesame-seeds.

[h] Page 395 note *k*.

[i] "Now one hand, now the other," slapping the rump. *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.*, who, however, says the feet, not the hands, were used.

[j] Probably the dance just described as σκώψ, but derived in name from σκοπός.

[k] Quite unknown; for ξύλον in this sense (to be sure with πρῶτον) *cf.* Aristoph. *Ach.* 25, *Vesp.* 90. An alternative rendering would be "Handing-on-the-stick."

[l] Above, p. 395, where it is said to be Macedonian.

[m] *F.H.G.* iv. 430.

b Καλεῖται δ' ἡ μὲν σατυρικὴ ὄρχησις, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ[1] περὶ Χορῶν, σίκιννις καὶ οἱ σάτυροι σικιννισταί. τινὲς δέ φασιν Σίκιννόν τινα βάρβαρον εὑρετὴν αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι δὲ Κρῆτα λέγουσι τὸ γένος εἶναι τὸν Σίκιννον. ὀρχησταὶ δ' οἱ Κρῆτες, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος. Σκάμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Εὑρημάτων σίκιννιν αὐτὴν εἰρῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σείεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον c ὀρχήσασθαι τὴν σίκιννιν Θέρσιππον. προτέρα[2] δ' εὕρηται ἡ περὶ τοὺς πόδας κίνησις τῆς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν. οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τοὺς πόδας μᾶλλον ἐγυμνάζοντο ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις. οἱ δὲ Κρῆτες κυνηγετικοί, διὸ καὶ ποδώκεις. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἵ φασι τὴν σίκιννιν ποιητικῶς ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν καὶ οἱ σάτυροι ὀρχοῦνται ταχυτάτην οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πάθος[3] αὕτη ἡ ὄρχησις, διὸ οὐδὲ βραδύνει. συνέστηκεν δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ[4] πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγῳδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον. τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶ τῆς σκηνικῆς ποιήσεως ὀρχήσεις, d τραγική, κωμική, σατυρική. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς λυρικῆς ποιήσεως τρεῖς, πυρρίχη, γυμνοπαιδική, ὑπορχηματική. καὶ ἐστὶν ὁμοία ἡ μὲν πυρρίχη τῇ σατυρικῇ· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ διὰ τάχους. πολεμικὴ δὲ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ πυρρίχη· ἔνοπλοι γὰρ αὐτὴν παῖδες ὀρχοῦνται. τάχους δὲ δεῖ τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς

[1] Schweighäuser: ἑνὶ | τω τω A, ἐν ὀγδόῳ Müller.
[2] Meineke: πρώτη ACE.
[3] ACE: ἦθος Meineke, Kaibel.
[4] A: ἡ σατυρικὴ CE.

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[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 331; see p. 343 note *a*.
[b] Satyr-whirl, above, 618 c, 629 d, and vol. i. p. 88.

Now the satyr dance, as Aristocles says [a] in the first book of his treatise *On Choruses*, is called *sikinnis* [b] and the satyrs, *sikinnistai*. Some say that a barbarian named Sicinnus was its inventor, others assert that Sicinnus was a Cretan by birth. The Cretans are given to dancing, as Aristoxenus says.[c] But Scamon, in the first book of his work *On Inventions*, says [d] that the dance is called *sikinnis* from the verb *seiô* (shake), and that the first to dance the *sikinnis* was Thersippus. Movements of the feet were invented before those of the hands. For the men of old used to exercise their feet more in the public games and in hunting. Now the Cretans are given to hunting, hence they are swift of foot. Yet again there are some who say that *sikinnis* is a name made imitatively from *kinesis* (movement),[e] for the satyrs' dance is a movement very swift. For this dance has no depth of feeling,[f] for which reason it never slows up. All satyric poetry in ancient times consisted in choruses, like the tragedy of those days; hence it had no actors either. There are three kinds of dancing in poetry for the stage—tragic, comic, and satyric. Similarly there are three in lyric poetry, the war-dance, naked-boy-dance, and hyporchematic.[g] To be sure, the war-dance (*pyrrichê*) bears a similarity to the satyric, since both are characterized by speed. Yet the *pyrrichê*, it is agreed, is warlike; it is danced by boys in armour. War needs speed for the pursuit, and also, in the case

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 284.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 489.

[c] *i.e.* sikinnis is an anagram for kinesis.

[d] Or "pain," as in Aristot. *Poet.* 1453 b 18. The conjecture ἦθος "character" gives no clearer meaning than the MSS. πάθος.

[e] Below, 631 c, and 628 d (p. 389 note *d*).

τὸ διώκειν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἡττωμένους "φεύγειν μηδὲ
e μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι[1] κακοὺς εἶναι." ἡ δὲ γυμνοπαιδικὴ παρεμφερής ἐστι τῇ τραγικῇ ὀρχήσει ἥτις ἐμμέλεια καλεῖται· ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ ὁρᾶται τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν. ἡ δ' ὑπορχηματικὴ τῇ κωμικῇ οἰκειοῦται ἥτις καλεῖται κόρδαξ· παιγνιώδεις δ' εἰσὶν ἀμφότεραι.

Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησι τὴν πυρρίχην ἀπὸ Πυρρίχου Λάκωνος τὸ γένος τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν· Λακωνικὸν δ' εἶναι μέχρι καὶ νῦν ὄνομα τὸν Πύρριχον. ἐμφανίζει δ' ἡ ὄρχησις πολεμικὴ οὖσα
f ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων[2] τὸ εὕρημα. πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ[3] τὰ ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔνρυθμον[4] κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν[5] δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ᾄδειν καθ' ἕνα τι[6] Τυρταίου· κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ
631 ἆθλον διδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας. ἡ δὲ πυρρίχη παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἔτι παραμένει, καὶ ἐκλιπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς συμβέβηκε τοὺς πολέμους

[1] CE: μὴ δὲ δεῖσθαι A.
[2] CE: λακεδαιμονίου A.
[3] οἱ υἱοὶ CE: υἱοὶ A.
[4] ἔνρυθμον A: εὔρυθμον CE, ἔρρυθμον Meineke, Kaibel.
[5] ἐπὰν Coraes, δειπνοποιουμένοις καὶ παιωνίζουσι CE (παιαν- C).
[6] τι added by Gulick (τὰ Kaibel).

[a] Adapted from the oracle given to Croesus, Hdt. i. 55, humorously quoted by Plato, *Rep.* 566 c.

of the vanquished, "that they may fly, and stay not, nor feel shame at being cowards."[a] The naked-boy-dance resembles the tragic dance called *emmeleia*[b]; in both may be seen the grave and solemn quality. But the hyporchematic is closely related to the comic dance called *kordax*; both of them are full of fun.

Aristoxenus says[c] that the *pyrrichê* received its name from Pyrrichus, a Spartan by birth; in fact Pyrrichus is a Spartan name even to-day.[d] The dance by its warlike character reveals its Spartan origin. For the Spartans are given to war, and their sons adopt the marching songs which are called *enoplia*.[e] The Spartans themselves in their wars recite from memory the poems of Tyrtaeus as they march forward in time to the music. Philochorus says[f] that after the Spartans had overcome the Messenians through Tyrtaeus's leadership,[g] they instituted the custom in their military campaigns, when they have finished their dinner and sung the hymn of thanksgiving, of having each one in turn sing something by Tyrtaeus; their commander-in-chief acts as judge and awards a prize of meat to the victor. The pyrrichê, however, no longer[h] survives among other Greeks, and coincidently with its decline the

[a] Above, 629 d (p. 394 and note *d*).

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 284.

[d] Strabo 467 and Poll. iv. 99 make Pyrrichus and Telesias (630 a) Cretans. See Paus. iii. 25. Theocr. iv. 20, in an idyl the scene of which is laid in Southern Italy, and of which the language is Dorian, uses πυρρίχος "red" of a bull.

[e] *i.e.* "under arms," with a well-known rhythm – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓.

[f] *F.H.G.* i. 393.

[g] *Cf.* Tyrtaeus frag. 1. 15 Diehl i. 5 and note, Grote, *Hist. Greece*, Part ii. chap. vii.

[h] *i.e.* in the time of Aristocles (above, 630 b), about 110 B.C.

καταλυθῆναι. παρὰ μόνοις δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμένει προγύμνασμα οὖσα τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκμανθάνουσί τε πάντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν πυρριχίζειν. ἡ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πυρρίχη Διονυσιακή τις εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐπιεικεστέρα οὖσα τῆς ἀρχαίας. ἔχουσι γὰρ οἱ ὀρχούμενοι θύρσους ἀντὶ δοράτων, προίενται δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ νάρθηκας, καὶ λαμ-
b πάδας φέρουσιν ὀρχοῦνταί τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς[1] ἔτι τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Πενθέα. τακτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πυρρίχης τὰ κάλλιστα μέλη καὶ τοὺς ὀρθίους[2] ῥυθμούς.

Ἔοικεν δὲ ἡ γυμνοπαιδικὴ τῇ καλουμένῃ ἀναπάλῃ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὀρχοῦνται οἱ παῖδες πάντες, ἐνρύθμους[3] φοράς τινας ἀποτελοῦντες[4] καὶ σχήματά τινα τῶν χειρῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄπαλόν,[5] ὥστ' ἐμφαίνειν θεωρήματά τινα[6] τῆς παλαίστρας[7] καὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου, κινοῦντες ἐνρύθμως[8] τοὺς πόδας. τρόποι δ' αὐτῆς οἵ τε ὠσχοφορικοὶ[9] καὶ οἱ βακχικοί, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν
c ταύτην εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ἀναφέρεσθαι. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ γυμναζόμενοι πρῶτον

[1] Kaibel: καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺσ ἰνδούσ A, καὶ ἰνδοὺς καὶ πενθέα CE.
[2] Musurus: ὀρθρίουσ A. [3] A: εὐρύθμους CE.
[4] ἀποτελοῦντες CE (after erasure): ἀποτέμνοντεσ A and (originally) CE.
[5] ACE: ἀνάπαλον Kaibel, ἄπαλον (?) Schweighäuser.
[6] τινα om. CE. [7] A: πάλης CE, perhaps rightly.
[8] Dindorf (ἐρρ-): εὐρύθμωσ ACE.
[9] Schweighäuser: ωσκοφορικοὶ A, ὠσχοφόροι CE.

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[a] Eur, *Bacch.* 146 πυρσώδη φλόγα πεύκας ἐκ νάρθηκος αἴσσει δρόμῳ καὶ χοροῖσιν πλανάτας ἐρεθίζων ἰαχαῖς τ' ἀναπάλλων.

wars stopped. But among the Spartans alone it still persists as a preparatory drill for war; further, all males in Sparta, from five years of age on, learn thoroughly how to dance the pyrrichê. The pyrrichê of our times is rather Dionysiac in character and is more respectable than the ancient kind. For the dancers carry Bacchic wands in place of spears, they hurl also at one another stalks of fennel,[a] they carry torches, and dance the story of Dionysus and India, or again the story of Pentheus. The loveliest melodies, in high-pitched strains, are to be assigned to the pyrrichê.

The naked-boy-dance is like what is called the *anapalê* among the ancients. For all the boys who dance it are naked, performing certain rhythmical movements and describing certain positions with the arms gently,[b] so as to represent certain scenes in the wrestling-school during a wrestling-and-boxing match, but moving the feet in time to the music. Variations of it are the *Oschophoric*[c] and the *Bacchic*, so that this dance also is traceable to the worship of Dionysus. Aristoxenus says[d] that the ancients, practising first

[b] For *κατὰ τὸ ἀπαλόν*, which is perfectly intelligible, referring to the fact that this is pantomime and not an actual pancratium, Kaibel invents *κατὰ τὸ ἀνάπαλον* which he explains as a word used by the author to account for the term *anapalê*. He gives no translation, however, nor does L. & S., who accept his reading. Of course *anapalê* means simply an imitation wrestling-match in which no falls occur. The word is not defined in L. & S., but from the vague description it would appear that the pairs of pantomimic "wrestlers" changed in the evolutions of the dance, *ἀνα-* in the compound word being distributive.

[c] The *oschos* was a vine-branch laden with grapes, Proclus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 322 a 13-30, Athen. 495 f (vol. v. p. 210 and p. 209 note *g*).

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 284.

ἐν τῇ γυμνοπαιδικῇ εἰς τὴν πυρρίχην ἐχώρουν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θέατρον. καλεῖται δ' ἡ πυρρίχη καὶ χειρονομία. ἡ δ' ὑπορχηματική ἐστιν ἐν ᾗ ᾄδων ὁ χορὸς ὀρχεῖται. φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Βακχυλίδης·

οὐχ ἕδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς.

καὶ Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·

Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα.

ὀρχοῦνται δὲ ταύτην παρὰ τῷ Πινδάρῳ οἱ Λάκωνες, καὶ ἐστὶν ὑπορχηματικὴ ὄρχησις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. βέλτιστοι δέ εἰσι τῶν τρόπων οἵτινες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε· προσοδιακοί,[1] ἀποστολικοὶ (οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παρθένιοι καλοῦνται) καὶ οἱ τούτοις ὅμοιοι. τῶν γὰρ ὕμνων[2] οἱ μὲν ὠρχοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὠρχοῦντο. . . .[3] ἢ τοὺς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν παιᾶνα δὲ ὁτὲ μὲν ὁτὲ δὲ οὔ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σπουδαῖαι καὶ φαῦλαι ὀρχήσεις. ὁ μὲν κόρδαξ παρ' Ἕλλησι φορτικός, ἡ δὲ ἐμμέλεια σπουδαία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Ἀρκάσι κίδαρις, παρὰ Σικυωνίοις τε ὁ ἀλητήρ. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ καλεῖται ἀλητήρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστόξενος

[1] Dindorf: *προσωιδιακοί* ACE.
[2] Villebrun: *τὸν γὰρ ὕμνον* A.
[3] Lacuna marked by Kaibel.

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[a] Apparently in a kind of setting-up exercise.
[b] Above, 629 b-c (p. 393).
[c] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 577, Jebb 53; expressly stated to belong to a hyporcheme in *Anal. Gram.* Keil vii. 21.

the naked-boy-dance,[a] proceeded into the pyrrichê before entering the theatre. Another name for the pyrrichê is *arm-waving*.[b] The hyporchematic, on the other hand, is one in which the chorus sings as it dances. Bacchylides, for example, says[c]: "A task not for sitting still, nor for delay." Pindar, too, says[d]: "A band of Laconian maidens." In Pindar this is danced by Laconian men, and in fact the hyporchematic is a dance for men as well as women.[e] The best varieties of lyric poetry are those which are danced. They are these: prosodiac,[f] apostolic[g] (also called parthenioi), and the like. Of the hymns some were danced, others were not . . . or those to Aphroditê and Dionysus, and the paean, too, they sometimes danced, sometimes did not. Among the barbarians, also, there are serious dances and vulgar dances, exactly as among the Greeks. The Greek kordax, for example, is vulgar, whereas the emmeleia is serious, like the *kidaris*[h] among the Arcadians and the *alêter*[i] among the Sicyonians. The term *alêter* is used in the same way in Ithaca, as Aristoxenus

[a] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 431, Bowra frag. 101.

[b] Kaibel marked a lacuna here, but there are gaps everywhere in this description, as well as curtailment of the quotations. A comparison with Proclus *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320 a 5-9, 322 a 32-35 shows that the list as given above is badly muddled.

[f] Processional hymns with the rhythm – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓.

[g] Sung, apparently, on the dispatch of diplomatic missions, Phot. *loc. cit.* They were quite different from the maidens' hymns, parthenia.

[h] Apparently in honour of Demeter Κιδαρία at Phenea, Paus. viii. 15. 3, Hesych. *s.v.*, *Brit. School Ann.* xii. 340, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 343-344; the dance was a spell to produce fertility.

[i] "Wanderer's dance."

e ἐν πρώτῳ Συγκρίσεων. καὶ περὶ μὲν ὀρχήσεως τοσαῦτά μοι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λέλεκται.

Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐτηρεῖτο περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τὸ καλὸν καὶ πάντ' εἶχε κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτοῖς κόσμον. διόπερ ἦσαν ἴδιοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἁρμονίαν αὐλοὶ καὶ ἑκάστοις αὐλητῶν ὑπῆρχον αὐλοὶ· ἑκάστῃ ἁρμονίᾳ πρόσφοροι ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι· Πρόνομος δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος πρῶτος ηὔλησεν ἀπὸ[1] τῶν αὐτῶν αὐλῶν[2] πάσας[3] τὰς ἁρμονίας. νῦν δὲ εἰκῇ καὶ f ἀλόγως ἅπτονται τῆς μουσικῆς. καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμεῖν σημεῖον ἦν κακοτεχνίας· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Φλιάσιος κροταλιζομένου ποτέ τινος τῶν αὐλητῶν διατρίβων αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὑποσκηνίῳ[4] "τί τοῦτ'; εἶπεν, δῆλον ὅτι μέγα κακὸν γέγονεν," ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμήσαντος. (οἶδα δέ τινας τοῦθ' ἱστορήσαντας ὡς Ἀντιγενείδου[5] εἰπόντος.) καίτοι οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς γε[6] τέλος ποιοῦνται τῆς τέχνης τὴν
632 παρὰ τοῖς θεάτροις εὐημερίαν. διόπερ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς "ὅμοιον,

[1] ὑπὸ C.
[2] τῶν αὐτῶν αὐλῶν Casaubon: τῶν αὐλῶν ACE.
[3] πάσας added by Meineke, following Schweighäuser.
[4] παρασκηνίῳ Meineke wrongly.
[5] ἀντιγενίδου A.
[6] Kaibel: καὶ οἱ καθημᾶς δὲ A, καίτοι οἱ πλείους CE.

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 284.
[b] Beginning at 628 c (p. 387). Masurius (*cf.* 623 e) now returns to music in general.
[c] For Pronomus, Alcibiades' music-master, see Athen. 184 d (vol. ii. p. 314) and Paus. ix. 12. 5, where unfortunately

records [a] in the first book of his *Comparisons*. So much, then, I have had to say for the present on the subject of dancing.[b]

In olden times the feeling for nobility was always maintained in the art of music, and all its elements skilfully retained the orderly beauty appropriate to them. Hence there were flutes peculiarly adapted to every mode, and every player had flutes suited to every mode used in the public contests. But Pronomus of Thebes began the practice of playing all the modes on the same flutes.[c] To-day, however, people take up music in a haphazard and irrational manner. In early times popularity with the masses was a sign of bad art; hence, when a certain flute-player once received loud applause, Asopodorus of Phlius, who was himself still waiting in the wings,[d] said "What's this? Something awful must have happened!" The player evidently could not have won approval with the crowd otherwise. (I am aware that some persons have narrated this story with Antigeneidas [e] as the speaker.) And yet the musicians of our day set as the goal of their art success with their audiences. Hence Aristoxenus in his *Drinking-Miscellany* says [f]: "We act like the people

the text is as troubled as it is here (*αὐτοῖς τοῖς αὐλοῖς* for *αὐλοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς*).

[d] Lit. "in the hyposcenium," which at this time (end of third century B.C.?) and in the Hellenistic theatre had come to mean the lowest tier of the *σκηνή* or scene-building; Flickinger, *Greek Theater* 344, *cf.* 111. Asopodorus is mentioned as a writer 445 b (vol. iv. p. 516) and below, 639 a, but here it would seem that he was a musician (singer?) waiting for his cue to go on the stage.

[e] Famous flute-player, 131 b (vol. ii. p. 102), Pliny, *H.N.* xvi. 170.

[f] *F.H.G.* ii. 291. *Cf.* Plat. *Legg.* 701 A.

φησί, ποιοῦμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις[1] τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ[2] κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἕλλησιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις[3] γεγονόσι, καὶ τήν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τά τε λοιπὰ[4] τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἄγειν δὲ[5] μίαν τινὰ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμιμνήσκονται τῶν
b ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων[6] καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται. οὕτω δὴ οὖν, φησί,[7] καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν[8] προελήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική, καθ' αὑτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα[9] οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος.

Καμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο φαίνεται φιλοσοφητέον εἶναι περὶ μουσικῆς. καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καταφανής ἐστιν ἐκ πολλῶν οὐ παρέργως ἁψάμενος μουσικῆς·
c ὅς γε καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν διὰ μουσικῆς ἀποφαίνει συγκειμένην. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔοικεν ἡ παλαιὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφία τῇ μουσικῇ μάλιστ' εἶναι

[1] CE: ποσιδωνιάταισ A. [2] A: τυρρηνικῷ CE.
[3] ἢ Ῥωμαίοις deleted by Wilamowitz.
[4] A: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ CE.
[5] ἄγειν δὲ Kaibel: ἄγειν τε A, ἄγουσι CE.
[6] A: νόμων CE.
[7] B, Musurus: φασὶ A.
[8] Casaubon: διαφορὰν A.
[9] Musurus: ἀναμιμνησκώμεθα A.

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[a] Paestum, in Lucania south of Naples. Wilamowitz deleted "or Romans," but these words seem no more inaccurate than calling the Lucanians Tuscans.

[b] Aristoxenus is speaking vaguely of the Tyrrhenian Sea;

of Poseidonia,[a] who dwell on the Tyrrhenian Gulf.[b] It so happened that although they were originally Greeks, they were completely barbarized, becoming Tuscans or Romans; they changed their speech and their other practices, but they still celebrate one festival that is Greek to this day, wherein they gather together and recall those ancient words and institutions, and after bewailing them and weeping over them in one another's presence they depart home. In like manner we also, says Aristoxenus, now that our theatres have become utterly barbarized and this prostituted[c] music has moved on into a state of grave corruption, will get together by ourselves, few though we be, and recall what the art of music used to be." So much for what Aristoxenus says.

In view of this it is plain to me also that music should be the subject of philosophic reflection. Pythagoras of Samos, with all his great fame as a philosopher, is one of many conspicuous for having taken up music as no mere hobby; on the contrary, he explains the very being of the universe as bound together by musical principles.[d] Taking it all together, it is plain that the ancient "wisdom"[e] of the Greeks was given over especially to music. For

had he known Italian geography better he would have said ἕν τινι κόλπῳ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης. *Cf.* Strabo 251 εἰς τὸν Ποσειδωνιάτην κόλπον.

[c] The adjective πάνδημος alludes to the "vulgar" Eros or Aphroditê of Plato, *Symp.* 180 E, 181 A.

[d] See Plato, *Rep.* 617 B and Shorey's notes (L.C.L.) ii. 503.

[e] So Pindar constantly calls his poetic art σοφία, *e.g. Ol.* i. 116. Socrates seems to have been the first to distinguish poetic inspiration from wisdom or knowledge, Plato, *Apol.* 22 B: ἔγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν ἃ ποιοῖεν ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, the theme of Plato's *Ion.* σοφία means skill, of any kind.

δεδομένη.[1] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα, τῶν δὲ ἡμιθέων Ὀρφέα μουσικώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον[2] ἔκρινον· καὶ πάντας τοὺς χρωμένους τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ σοφιστὰς ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐποίησεν·

εἶτ'[3] οὖν σοφιστὴς σκαιὰ[4] παραπαίων[5] χέλυν.

ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν οἰκειότατα[6] διέκειντο οἱ
d ἀρχαῖοι δῆλον καὶ ἐξ Ὁμήρου· ὃς διὰ τὸ μεμελοποιηκέναι πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἀφροντιστὶ πολλοὺς[7] ἀκεφάλους ποιεῖ στίχους καὶ λαγαρούς, ἔτι δὲ μειούρους. Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θέογνις καὶ Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ ποιήματα μελῳδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι τοὺς στίχους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων καὶ σκοποῦσιν ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεὶς μήτε[8] ἀκέφαλος ἔσται
e μήτε λαγαρὸς μήτε μείουρος. ἀκέφαλοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν χωλότητα ἔχοντες·

ἐπειδὴ νῆάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἵκοντο.[9]
ἐπίτονος τετάνυστο βοὸς ἶφι κταμένοιο.

λαγαροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ, οἷον·

[1] A, δεδόσθαι CE : ἐνδεδεμένη Schweighäuser.
[2] A : σοφώτατοι ὅτι μουσικώτατοι CE (in a different constr.).
[3] εἶτ' Heath : εἶτ'. [4] Ellis : καλὰ ACE.
[5] παρπαίων Wecklein. [6] B, Musurus : οἰκειότητα A.
[7] πολλοὺς Meineke : τοὺς πολλοὺς A.

this reason they regarded Apollo, among the gods, and Orpheus, among the demigods, as most musical and most wise[a]; and they called all who followed this art sophists,[b] as Aeschylus has done[c]: "Then the sophist wildly struck his tortoise-shell lyre with notes discordant." And that the men of old were disposed to treat music with the greatest familiarity[d] is clear also from Homer; why, in setting all his poetry to music he often, without thought, composes verses which are "acephalous," or "slack," or even "taper off at the end."[e] But Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides, also the Corinthian elegiac poet Periander and other poets who do not add melodies to their poetry, finish off their verses in respect of the counting and the arrangement of the metrical feet, and see to it that not one of them is either acephalous or slack or tapering. Acephalous verses are those which have the quality of lameness at the beginning[f]: "When they had come to the ships and to the Hellespont." "A strap lay stretched upon it, made of a slaughtered ox's hide."[g] Slack verses are lame in the middle, as for example:

[a] *i.e.* as most wise because most musical, the reading in CE.

[b] *i.e.* men of skill.

[c] *T.G.F.*[2] 97; the text is corrupt and the verse is not a good support of his contention.

[d] They knew it so well that they could break the rules of verse on occasion.

[e] The three terms describe verses which have a short syllable where a long syllable is required; see Christ's *Metrik.*[2] 194-195.

[f] *Il.* xxiii. 2, beginning with a short vowel (ἐ) instead of the normal long (⏑ – for – – or – ⏑ ⏑); other examples in van Leeuwen, *Enchirid. dict. ep.* 96-97.

[g] A conflation of *Od.* xii. 423 and *Il.* iii. 375.

[8] μήτε added by Meineke.

[9] ἱκοντοσ A.

αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνείαν φίλον υἱόν[1] Ἀγχίσαο.
τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε.

μείουροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς, οἷον·

f Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἴολον ὄφιν.
καλὴ Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας ἐοικυῖα.
τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἥια.

Διετήρησαν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν μουσικήν, πλείστῃ αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, καὶ συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μελῶν ποιηταί. τηροῦσιν δὲ[2] καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς
633 πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. ὅθεν καὶ Πρατίνας φησί·

Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὔτυκος εἰς χορόν.

διὸ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ διετέλουν προσαγορεύοντες οὕτως τὰς ᾠδὰς "γλυκυτάτων πρύτανιν ὕμνων"[3] καὶ "μέλεα μελιπτέρωτα Μουσᾶν."[4] ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βίου σωφροσύνης καὶ αὐστηρίας μετέβαινον ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν μουσικήν, ἐχούσης τὸ κηλητικὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐγίνετο[5] χαίρειν τοὺς ἀκροωμένους.

Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ χορηγούς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος

[1] Meineke: *υἱόν φίλον* A.
[2] *τηροῦσιν δὲ* Dindorf: *τηροῦσίν γε* A.
[3] Casaubon: *ὑμῶν* A.
[4] Casaubon: *μοῦσαν* A, *Μώσᾶν* Bergk.
[5] *ἐγένετο* (?) Kaibel.

[a] A verse of unknown origin, showing in Meineke's correction, needed to illustrate the point, a cretic (*υἱόν* Ἀγχ-, – ⏑ –) where a dactyl or spondee is required. At *Od.* v. 28, Ἦ ῥα, καὶ Ἑρμείαν, *υἱόν φίλον*, ἀντίον ηὔδα, a variant *φίλον υἱόν* occurs.

"Then quickly Aeneas, dear son of Anchises."[a] "Their leaders, again, were the two sons of Asclepius."[b] Tapering verses limp at the close: "The Trojans shivered when they saw the wriggling snake."[c] "Fair Cassiepeia, like unto the gods in form."[d] "With this wine I filled a mighty goatskin and carried it, with provisions as well."[e]

Of all the Greeks the Spartans have most faithfully preserved the art of music, employing it most extensively, and many composers of lyrics have arisen among them. Even to this day they carefully retain the ancient songs, and are very well taught in them and strict in holding to them. Hence Pratinas says[f]: "The Spartan, that cicada ready for a chorus." Wherefore, also, their poets continually addressed songs in terms like these[g]: "Leader of sweetest hymns," and "Mellifluous melodies of the Muses." For people were glad to turn from the soberness and austerity of life to the solace of music, because the art has the power to charm. With good reason, therefore, the listeners enjoyed it.

Demetrius of Byzantium, in the fourth book of his

[b] *Il.* ii. 731; whether Ἀσκληπιοῦ or Ἀσκληπιόο is read, the metre halts on a cretic.

[c] *Il.* xii. 208; ὄφιν at the close gives two short syllables (a pyrrhic); see Leaf's note.

[d] *Cf. Il.* viii. 305 καλὴ Κασσιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῇσι and Leaf's note.

[e] *Od.* ix. 212, a verse ending in a dactyl (ἧμα) instead of a trochee or spondee. It may be corrected to ἧα.

[f] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 559, Diehl ii. 126; on the cicada see Athen. 456 e (vol. iv. pp. 570-572), 680 d (vol. vii. p. 142).

[g] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 710, Diehl ii. 30, 23 (ascribed to Alcman). Wilamowitz deemed these quotations inappropriate here, but the writer is emphasizing the importance of melody (ᾠδαί, μέλη) in Sparta.

b Δημήτριος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ Ποιημάτων,[1] οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν τοὺς μισθουμένους τοὺς χορούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθηγουμένους τοῦ χοροῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸ τοὔνομα σημαίνει.

Καὶ τὸ χρηστομουσεῖν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τῆς μουσικῆς νόμους.

Συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φιλομουσεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης ἀταξίας καταγηρασάντων[2] σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἀρχαίων νομίμων ἥ τε προαίρεσις αὕτη κατελύθη καὶ c τρόποι μουσικῆς φαῦλοι κατεδείχθησαν, οἷς ἕκαστος τῶν χρωμένων ἀντὶ μὲν πρᾳότητος περιεποιεῖτο μαλακίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ σωφροσύνης ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν. ἔτι[3] δ' ἴσως τοῦτο μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον προαχθήσεται ἐὰν μή τις ἀγάγῃ πάλιν εἰς τὸ συμφανὲς[4] τὴν πάτριον μουσικήν. τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰς πράξεις καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ὕμνους[5] δι' ᾠδῆς ἐποιοῦντο.[6] Ὅμηρος γοῦν φησιν ἐπ' Ἀχιλλέως· "ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν," ἤτοι[7] ἡρώων. καὶ τὸν Φήμιον δέ φησιν ὅτι

πολλὰ βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδεν,
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί.

d τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐσῴζετο, ὥς φησι Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς. τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδοντο οἱ

[1] ποιημάτων 452 d, 548 d: ποιήματοσ A.
[2] B: και γηρασάντων (sic) A, ὕστερον δὲ γηρασάντων CE.
[3] ἔτι Coraes: ἐσται ACE.
[4] ACE: εἰς τοὐμφανὲς Valckenaer.
[5] μύθους (?) Kaibel.
[6] ἐποίουν Wilamowitz.
[7] ἤτοι added by Gulick.

work *On Poetry*, says that they used to employ the term *choregi*, not, as to-day, of the men who hired the choruses, but of those who led the chorus, as the etymology of the word denotes.[a]

Also it was customary to practise good music and not violate the ancient rules of the art.[b]

It happened that in ancient times the Greeks were music-lovers; but later, with the breakdown of order, when practically all the ancient customs fell into decay, this devotion to principle ceased, and debased fashions in music came to light, wherein every one who practised them substituted effeminacy for gentleness, and licence and looseness for moderation. What is more, this fashion will doubtless be carried further if some one does not bring the music of our forebears once more to open practice. For in ancient times it was the acts of heroes and the praise of gods that the poets put to song-music. Homer, for example, says of Achilles[c]: "And he was singing the glorious deeds of men," that is, of heroes. And of Phemius he says[d]: "He knoweth many charms for mortals, deeds of men and of gods, which minstrels celebrate." This custom was kept up also among the barbarians, as Dinon declares in his *Persian History*.[e] It was the singers, for example, that foresaw the courage of the first Cyrus and the war he was to wage against

[a] So the girl who leads Alcman's *Partheneion*, Edmonds (L.C.L.) i. 54, is ἁ κλεννὰ χοραγός, and bears the name Hagesichora. On Demetrius of Byzantium see P.-W. iv. 2841.

[b] An isolated excerpt, which possibly belonged to the next sentence.

[c] *Il.* ix. 189. [d] *Od.* i. 337.

[e] *F.H.G.* ii. 90; Hdt. i. 120-122 knows nothing of this, and says that the Magians failed to see what was coming.

ᾠδοί. "ὅτε γὰρ (φησίν) ᾐτήσατο[1] τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀποδημίαν ὁ Κῦρος (ἐγεγόνει δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλοφόρων) καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εὐωχουμένου οὖν τοῦ Ἀστυάγους μετὰ τῶν φίλων τότε Ἀγγάρης τις[2] ὄνομα (οὗτος δ' ἦν τῶν ᾠδῶν ὁ ἐνδοξότατος) ᾖδεν εἰσκληθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα τῶν εἰθισμένων καὶ τὸ
e ἔσχατον εἶπεν ὡς ἀφεῖται εἰς τὸ ἕλος[3] θηρίον μέγα, θρασύτερον ὑὸς ἀγρίου· ὃ ἂν κυριεύσῃ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸ[4] τόπων, πολλοῖς μετ' ὀλίγον ῥᾳδίως μαχεῖται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους 'ποῖον θηρίον;' ἔφη 'Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην.' νομίσας οὖν ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑπωπτευκέναι καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος[5] . . . οὐδὲν ὤνησεν."

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν περὶ μουσικῆς αὐλῶν ἀκούων βόμβου καταπαύσω τὸ πολυλογεῖν, τὰ ἐκ Φιλαύλου Φιλεταίρου ἐπειπών·

ὦ Ζεῦ, καλόν γ' ἔστ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐλούμενον.
f τούτοις ἐν Ἅιδου γὰρ μόνοις ἐξουσία
ἀφροδισιάζειν ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τρόπους
ῥυπαροὺς ἔχοντες μουσικῆς ἀπειρίᾳ
εἰς τὸν πίθον φέρουσι τὸν τετρημένον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ σαμ-

[1] Kaibel: ἠγήσατο A. [2] τις added by Kaibel.
[3] Schweighäuser: τὸ ἔλεσο A, τοὺς ἕλληνας CE.
[4] Meineke: αὐτὸν ACE.
[5] Lacuna marked by Kaibel.

[a] His father Cambyses' country.
[b] A kind of constable or usher in the palace.
[c] Implying that he was at first relieved at Cyrus's departure.

Astyages. "It was at the time (says Dinon) when Cyrus requested permission to visit Persia [a] (he had previously been in charge of Astyages' rod-bearers,[b] and later of his men-at-arms) and had departed; Astyages, therefore, celebrated a feast [c] in company with his friends, and on that occasion a man named Angarês (he was the most distinguished of the singers) was invited, and not only began to sing other customary songs but also, at the last, he told how that a mighty beast had been let loose in the swamp, bolder than a wild boar; which beast, if it got the mastery of the regions round it, would soon contend against a multitude without difficulty. And when Astyages asked, 'What beast?' he replied, 'Cyrus the Persian.' Believing, therefore, that his suspicion about him [d] had been correct, he kept summoning him to return . . . it did no good."

Though I might say many things more on the subject of music, I hear the loud trill of flutes, and will therefore bring my long-winded discourse to a close, after repeating the lines from *The Flute-Lover* of Philetaerus [e]: "Zeus, it's indeed a fine thing to die to the music of flutes. For only to such is it permitted in Hades to revel in love affairs, whereas those whose manners are sordid, having no knowledge of music, must carry water to the leaky jar." [f]

After this questions arose about the sambuca, and

[a] Namely, that Cyrus would be king in his stead, Hdt. i. 108.
[e] Kock ii. 235.
[f] The punishment of the Danaids, Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 25,

> audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
> virginum poenas et inane lymphae
> dolium fundo pereuntis imo;

cf. Plato, *Rep.* 363 D κοσκίνῳ (sieve) ὕδωρ ἀναγκάσουσι φέρειν.

βύκης ἔφη ὁ Μασούριος ὀξύφθογγον εἶναι μουσικὸν ὄργανον τὴν σαμβύκην διειλέχθαι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐφορίωνα τὸν ἐποποιὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων,[1] χρῆσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ Πάρθους καὶ
634 Τρωγλοδύτας τετραχόρδῳ ὄντι· ἱστορεῖν δὲ τοῦτο Πυθαγόραν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης. καλεῖται δέ τι καὶ τῶν πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων σαμβύκη, οὗ τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀποδείκνυσι Βίτων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄτταλον περὶ Ὀργάνων. καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ Πανορμίτης ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Σικελικῶν τῶν κατὰ πόλιν, ὡς ἀπὸ δύο νεῶν[2] προσάγοιτο τοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων τείχεσι· καλεῖσθαί τε σαμβύκην, ἐπειδὴ ὅταν ἐξ-
b ηρθῇ γίνεται σχῆμα νεὼς καὶ κλίμακος ἐνοποιούμενον,[3] ὅμοιον δέ τί ἐστιν καὶ τὸ τῆς σαμβύκης. Μόσχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Μηχανικῶν Ῥωμαϊκὸν εἶναι λέγει τὸ μηχάνημα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ταραντῖνον εὑρεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν "Μάρκελλος,[4] φησί, δυσχρηστούμενος ἐν τῇ Συρακουσῶν πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρχιμήδους κατασκευασμάτων ἔλεγεν ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν αὐτοῦ κυαθίζειν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀρχιμήδην, τὰς δὲ σαμβύκας ῥαπιζομένας ὥσπερ ἐκ πότου[5] μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκπεπτωκέναι."

[1] Musurus (*cf.* 182 e, 635 a): περι ἰσμων A.
[2] Lipsius: ὀνων A.
[3] ἐνοποιούμενον A (ἐνοποιηθὲν Polyb.): ἐνοποιουμένων CE.
[4] A: Μάρκος Polyb.
[5] ἐκποτου A: ἐκσπόνδους Polyb.

[a] Always cited thus by Athen. (vol. ii. pp. 306, 312, vol. iii. p. 184, vol. iv. p. 478), although, as the title here shows, he was also a philologist; Meineke, *Anal. Alex.* frag. 33, p. 68.

Masurius explained that it is a musical instrument with a high pitch, and that the epic poet [a] Euphorion discoursed on it in his work *On the Isthmian Games*, saying that it was used by the Parthians and the Troglodytes, and that it had four strings; Pythagoras, he says, records this in his work *On the Red Sea*.[b] There is also a siege-engine called sambuca, the form and construction of which are described by Biton [c] in his work *On Engines*, addressed to Attalus. And Andreas of Panormus, in the thirty-third book of his *Sicilian History*, treated city by city, says [d] that it was brought to bear against the enemy's walls from two ships; further, that it was called a sambuca because, when raised aloft, its appearance as a united whole becomes that of a ship and a ladder, and the appearance of the musical sambuca is somewhat similar. Moschus in the first book of his *Mechanics* says that the contrivance was Roman, and that Heracleides of Tarentum invented the idea of it. Polybius says in the eighth book of his *Histories* [e]: "Marcellus, baffled by the structures invented by Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, was wont to say that Archimedes ladled water out of the sea with Marcellus's ships, while as for the sambucas,[f] they had been beaten and thrown out with ignominy, like harps from a drinking party."

[b] This Pythagoras is mentioned at 183 f (vol. ii. p. 310), Ael. *N.A.* xvii. 8.

[c] Polyb. viii. 6, Plut. *Marcell.* 15 (brought to the siege of Syracuse by the Romans without success), Wescher, *Poliorcétique*, pp. 57-58, *Dict. Antiq.* ii. 595.

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 302.

[e] Chap. 8. 5-6.

[f] Brought by Marcellus to be used as storming-bridges. He puns on the other sense.

Εἰπόντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Αἰμιλιανοῦ· "ἀλλὰ μήν,
c ὦ ἑταῖρε Μασούριε, πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐννοίᾳ γίνομαι, μουσικῆς ὢν ἐραστής, περὶ τῆς μαγάδιδος καλουμένης, πότερον αὐλῶν εἶδος ἢ κιθάρας ἐστίν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἥδιστος Ἀνακρέων λέγει που·

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι χορδαῖσι[1] μάγαδιν[2] ἔχων,
ὦ Λεύκασπι, σὺ δ' ἡβᾷς.

Ἴων δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ ὡς περὶ αὐλῶν λέγει διὰ τούτων·

Λυδός τε μάγαδις αὐλὸς ἡγείσθω βοῆς.

ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος ἰαμβεῖον Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμματικός, ὃν μάντιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος
d φιλόσοφος διὰ τὸ ῥᾳδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τῆς τῶν ποιημάτων διανοίας, γένος αὐλοῦ φησιν εἶναι τὸν μάγαδιν, οὔτ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αὐλητῶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αὐλῶν καὶ[3] Ὀργάνων, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀρχεστράτου· πεποίηται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ δύο βυβλία περὶ Αὐλητῶν. οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ Πύρρανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Αὐλητῶν, οὐδὲ Φίλλις ὁ Δήλιος. ξυνέγραψε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος περὶ Αὐλητῶν καὶ Εὐφράνωρ. Τρύφων δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν λέγει οὕτως· "ὁ
e δὲ μάγαδις καλούμενος αὐλός." καὶ πάλιν· "ὁ[4]

[1] εἰκοσίχορδον μάγαδιν χείρεσσι Wilamowitz.
[2] μαγάδην Dindorf, μαγάδιν Diehl.
[3] Αὐλῶν καὶ perhaps to be deleted (Kaibel).
[4] ὁ added by Kaibel (*cf.* 182 d). αὐλός, ὁ καὶ παλαιομάγαδις Schoenemann (*cf.* vol. ii. p. 305 note 5).

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 260, Diehl i. 465, Edmonds ii. 148, below, 635 c. On the μάγαδις *cf.* Athen. 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306), Pollux iv. 61.

Upon this Aemilianus said: Look you, Masurius, old friend, I myself, being a lover of music, have often pondered the question about what is called the magadis, whether it is a variety of flute or harp. For the delectable Anacreon says, I believe[a]: "With magadis in hand I sing to its twenty strings whilst thou, O Leucaspis, exultest in thy youth." Yet Ion of Chios, in *Omphalē*, speaks in the following lines as if he meant flutes[b]: "Let the Lydian magadis-flute[c] lead the cry." In expounding this iambic verse the grammarian Aristarchus, whom Panaetius, the philosopher of Rhodes, used to call the diviner because he so easily divined the meaning of poetic lines, says that the magadis is a kind of flute, although Aristoxenus[d] says not a word of this either in his chapters *On Flute-Players* or in those *On Flutes and Musical Instruments*,[e] nor does Archestratus either; for the latter has composed two books *On Flute-Players*. Again, Pyrrander says nothing of this in his work *On Flute-Players*, nor Phillis of Delos; for he, too, compiled a work *On Flute-Players*, as well as Euphranor. Tryphon, in his second book *On the Use of Terms*, has this to say[f]: "The flute called magadis." And again: "That

[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 736, *cf.* Hesych. *s.* μαγάδεις.

[c] A. A. Howard in *H.S.C.P.* iv. 40 identifies this αὐλός with the αὐλοὶ κιθαριστήριοι of Hesych. *s.* μαγάδεις, Pollux iv. 81, Athen. 182 c-d (vol. ii. p. 304), which were tuned to accord with the lyre (μάγαδις).

[d] A similar remark on his silence is made by Athen. 174 c (vol. ii. p. 290).

[e] Although Müller (*F.H.G.* ii. 286) allows this title, it is found nowhere else except as a general description of the subject matter of Tryphon's περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν, Athen. 174 e (vol. ii. p. 292). Ammonius has simply περὶ Ὀργάνων. Euphranor's περὶ Αὐλῶν is mentioned at 182 c (vol. ii. p. 304).

[f] Velsen 77.

μάγαδις ἐν ταὐτῷ ὀξὺν καὶ βαρὺν φθόγγον ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡς Ἀναξανδρίδης[1] ἐν Ὁπλομάχῳ φησίν·

μαγάδι[2] λαλήσω μικρὸν ἅμα σοι καὶ μέγα.[3]"

τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν μοι ταύτην οὐδεὶς ἄλλος δυνήσεται ἀπολύσασθαι, καλὲ Μασούριε, ἢ σύ."

Καὶ ὃς ἔφη· "Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς εἰς Ἴωνα[4] Ἀντεξηγήσεσιν, ἑταῖρε Αἰμιλιανέ, μάγαδιν αὐλὸν ἀκούει τὸν κιθαριστήριον· οὗ μνημονεύειν Ἀριστόξενον ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Αὐλῶν Τρήσεως
f λέγοντα πέντε γένη εἶναι αὐλῶν, παρθενίους, παιδικούς, κιθαριστηρίους, τελείους, ὑπερτελείους. ἢ ἐλλείπειν οὖν δεῖ παρὰ τῷ Ἴωνι τόν τε σύνδεσμον, ἵν' ᾖ μάγαδις αὐλός θ'[5] ὁ προσαυλούμενος τῇ μαγάδιδι.[6] ἡ γὰρ μάγαδις ὄργανόν ἐστι ψαλτικόν, ὡς Ἀνακρέων φησί, Λυδῶν[7] τε εὕρημα. διὸ καὶ τὰς Λυδὰς[8] ψαλτρίας φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Ἴων ἐν τῇ Ὀμφάλῃ διὰ τούτων·

ἀλλ' εἶα, Λυδαὶ ψάλτριαι, παλαιθέτων
ὕμνων ἀοιδοί, τὸν ξένον κοιμήσατε.[9]

[1] 182 d: ἀλεξανδρίδησ A.
[2] Kaibel: μάγαδιν A.
[3] Schweighäuser: μέγαν A.
[4] εἰς Ἴωνα Wilamowitz: πρὸσ ἴωνα A, πρὸς Ἐπιγένη (*cf.* 468 e) εἰς Ἴωνα Bapp.
[5] θ' added by Kaibel.
[6] μαγάδιδι Kaibel: μαγάδι A (*cf.* Xen. *Ἀη.* vii. 3. 32).
[7] Musurus: ἀυδῶν A. [8] Musurus: ἀυδάσ A.
[9] Meineke: κοσμήσατε A.

named magadis can produce at the same moment a high and a low tone, as Anaxandrides says in *The Drill-Sergeant* [a]: 'With my magadis I will babble to you something at once soft and loud.'" This question, therefore, no one else will be able to solve for me, my good Masurius, but you.

Masurius replied: Didymus the grammarian, in his *Controversial Notes on Ion*, friend Aemilianus, understands [b] by magadis the flute which is attuned to the harp (*kitharisterion*); this, Didymus says, is mentioned by Aristoxenus [c] in the first book of his treatise *On Flute-Boring*, stating that there are five kinds of flute—the virginal, child-pipes, harp-pipes, complete, and super-complete.[d] Or else, then, the conjunction "and" must have fallen out in the line from Ion,[e] so that it will read "The Lydian magadis *and* the flute" which is played to accompany the magadis. For the magadis is certainly an instrument played like a harp, as Anacreon makes clear,[f] and it is an invention of the Lydians. Wherefore Ion, in *Omphalê*, says that the Lydian girls are harp-players in these lines [g]: "Up then, ye Lydian harp-players, singers of ancient hymns, lull our guest

[a] Kock ii. 149, Athen. 182 d (vol. ii. p. 304).

[b] Schmidt 302, who reads πρὸς Ἰόβαν, "against Juba," for πρὸς Ἴωνα (see critical note 4); the latter is not impossible, since Didymus ἐν τῷ ἐξηγητικῷ seems to have contradicted Ion at several points, Athen. 468 d–f (vol. v. p. 66).

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 286, Athen. 176 f (vol. ii. p. 302), Howard, *loc. cit.* 38-40, Marquard *Aristox.* 28, 256, Laloy, *Aristoxène* 16.

[d] The last two are also called ἀνδρεῖοι, 176 f (vol. ii. p. 302), used to accompany men's voices, and of lower pitch. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* vii. 1. 7 says the παρθένοι had a higher pitch than the παιδικοί.

[e] Above, 634 c.

[f] 634 c (p. 423).

[g] *T.G.F.*² 736.

635 Θεόφιλος δ' ὁ κωμικὸς[1] ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ[2] καὶ τὸ τῇ μαγάδιδι ψάλλειν[3] μαγαδίζειν λέγει ἐν τούτοις·

πονηρὸν υἱὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐστὶν μαγαδίζειν ἐπὶ τροχοῦ καθημένους·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ταὐτὸν ᾄσεται μέλος.

Εὐφορίων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων παλαιὸν μέν φησι τὸ ὄργανον εἶναι τὴν μάγαδιν, μετασκευασθῆναι δ' ὀψέ ποτε καὶ σαμβύκην μετονομασθῆναι. πλεῖστον δ' εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ὄργανον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ, ὡς καὶ μίαν
b τῶν Μουσῶν ἔχουσαν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος ποιηθῆναι ἀρχαίου ἀγαλματοποιοῦ. Μέναιχμος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τεχνιτῶν τὴν πηκτίδα, ἣν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ μαγάδιδι,[4] Σαπφώ φησιν εὑρεῖν. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ τὴν μάγαδιν καὶ τὴν πηκτίδα χωρὶς πλήκτρου διὰ ψαλμοῦ παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρείαν, ὅπερ[5] καὶ Πίνδαρον εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα σκολίῳ, τὴν μάγαδιν ὀνομάσαντα "ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον," διὰ τὸ διὰ[6] δύο γενῶν ἅμα καὶ διὰ πασῶν
c ἔχειν τὴν συνῳδίαν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ παίδων.[7] καὶ Φρύνιχος δ' ἐν Φοινίσσαις εἴρηκε·

ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀείδοντες μέλη.

[1] Kaibel: κωμωδικὸσ A.
[2] Musurus: νεοπτολεμου A.
[3] Kaibel: μαγαδι διαψάλλειν ACE.
[4] Kaibel: μαγιδι A, μαγάδι CE.
[5] Kaibel (?) Schroeder: διόπερ A.
[6] διὰ deleted by Musurus.
[7] παίδων A: γυναικῶν CE.

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[a] Kock ii. 475; the reply to some threat of torture.
[b] Frag. 32 Meineke, p. 67.
[c] Athen. 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306).

to sleep." And the comic poet Theophilus in *Neoptolemus* uses the verb *magadizo* of singing and playing to the magadis, in these lines [a]: "For a son and a father and a mother to be placed on the rack and made to play the magadis (*magadizein*) is a poor scheme; not one of us will sing the same tune." Now Euphorion, in his work *On the Isthmian Games*, says [b] that the instrument known as the magadis was very old, but in more recent times its construction was altered and its name changed to sambuca. This instrument, he says, was most commonly used in Mytilenê, so much so, indeed, that one of the Muses was portrayed by Lesbothemis, an ancient sculptor, holding it in her hands.[c] Again, Menaechmus in his work *On Artists* asserts [d] that the pectis, which, he says, is the same as the magadis, was invented by Sappho. Aristoxenus says [e] that the magadis and the pectis may be played without a plectrum, by simply plucking with the fingers. This, he says, is in fact intimated [f] by Pindar, in the *Scolion to Hieron*, when he called the magadis "the plucking that sounds in answering strains," because with the two kinds of instrument [g] played together and at the interval of an octave there is perfect unison of men's and boys' voices. Again, Phrynichus says in *The Phoenician Women* [h]: "With plucking of the strings they sing their lays in answering strains." And

[a] *Sar. Al. M.* 146, frag. 5, J. 2 B 674.

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 286.

[f] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 440, Sandys 584–586, Athen. 512 d (vol. v. p. 302), below, 635 d-e.

[g] The magadis and the barbitos, as appears from 635 d-e. The barbitos had a lower register (at least by an octave) than the pectis and the magadis.

[h] *T.G.F.*[2] 723.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς·

πολὺς δὲ Φρὺξ τρίγωνος, ἀντίσπαστά τε[1]
Λυδῆς[2] ἐφυμνεῖ[3] πηκτίδος συγχορδία.[4]

Διαποροῦσι δ' ἔνιοι ὅπως τῆς μαγάδιδος οὔσης κατὰ Ἀνακρέοντα (ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε τὰ πολύχορδα ὀφθῆναι) μνημονεύων αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀνακρέων λέγει·

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν ἔχων,
ὦ Λεύκασπι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν Ποσειδώνιός[5] φησιν τριῶν μελῳδιῶν
d αὐτὸν μνημονεύειν, Φρυγίου τε καὶ Δωρίου[6] καὶ Λυδίου· ταύταις γὰρ μόναις τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα κεχρῆσθαι· ὧν ζ' χορδαῖς ἑκάστης περαινομένης εἰκότως φάναι ψάλλειν αὐτὸν κ' χορδαῖς, τῷ ἀρτίῳ χρησάμενον ἀριθμῷ τὴν μίαν ἀφελόντα. ἀγνοεῖ δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ὅτι ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ὄργανον ἡ μάγαδις, σαφῶς Πινδάρου λέγοντος τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἀντίφθογγον εὑρεῖν τῇ παρὰ Λυδοῖς πηκτίδι τὸν βάρβιτον·

τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρε
πρῶτος ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν[7]
e ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον[8] ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πηκτίδος.

πηκτὶς δὲ καὶ μάγαδις ταὐτόν, καθά φησιν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος καὶ Μέναιχμος ὁ Σικυώνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ

[1] τε added from 183 e.
[2] 183 e: ἀυδησ A.
[3] 183 e: ἐφυμνει (sic) A.
[4] συγχορδίαι A.
[5] ποσιδώνιοσ A.
[6] καὶ Δωρίου added by Musurus.
[7] Schneider: λύδιον A.
[8] ἀντιφθογγοσ A.

Sophocles in the *Mysians*[a]: "Oft resounds the Phrygian triangle,[b] and with answering strains the harmony of the Lydian pectis sings."

Some writers are puzzled over the question how it is that, the magadis being what it was in Anacreon's time[c] (for it was at some later date that the instruments with many strings made their appearance), Anacreon when mentioning it says[d]: "With magadis in hand I sing to its twenty strings, O Leucaspis." Poseidonius, further, says[e] that Anacreon mentions three melodic scales, Phrygian, Dorian, and Lydian[f]; these, in fact, were alone used by Anacreon; and since each of these requires seven strings for their rendering, naturally he says that he sings to twenty strings, simply using a round number and subtracting the one. But Poseidonius is unaware that the magadis is an ancient instrument, although Pindar says distinctly that Terpander invented the barbitos "in answering strain" to the pectis used in Lydia[g]: "The barbitos which Terpander of Lesbos first invented one time when, at the feasts of the Lydians, he heard the plucking of high notes on the pectis sounding in answering strains." But the pectis and the magadis are the same instrument, as Aristoxenus declares,[h] and Menaechmus of Sicyon also in his work

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 221, Athen. 183 e (vol. ii. p. 310).

[b] A harp of triangular shape.

[c] *i.e.* an instrument with only four strings, *cf.* above, 633 f (pp. 419-421). The text is mutilated and can be paraphrased only. Peppink supplies with *οὔσης οὔπω πολυχόρδου*, "being not yet of many strings."

[d] Above, 634 c, p. 422 and note *a*.

[e] *F.H.G.* iii. 277, J. 2 A 285.

[f] For these three see Plut. 1133 B and critical note 6.

[g] *P.L.G.*[5] i. 440, Sandys 584-586, above, 635 b.

[h] *Cf.* above, 635 b (p. 427).

Τεχνιτῶν. καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ δέ φησιν οὗτος, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀνακρέοντος πρεσβυτέρα, πρώτην χρήσασθαι τῇ πηκτίδι. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἔν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις κἂν τοῖς καταλογάδην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ
f τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σωσίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαρῳδῶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πέμπτον τῶν[1] περὶ Ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἠλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι.[2] Εὐφορίων τε ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων τὰ πολύχορδά φησι τῶν ὀργάνων ὀνόμασι μόνον παρηλλάχθαι, παμπάλαιον δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν.

636 Διογένης δ' ὁ τραγικὸς διαφέρειν οἴεται[3] πηκτίδα μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῇ Σεμέλῃ·

καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους
Κυβέλας γυναῖκας, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν,
τυπάνοισι[4] καὶ ῥόμβοισι[5] καὶ χαλκοκτύπων
βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι[6] κυμβάλων . . .[7]

[1] τῶν added by Kaibel.
[2] τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων διαθεῖναι (?) Kaibel.
[3] οἴεται CE: om. A. [4] Casaubon: τυμπάνοισι A.
[5] Pierson: βομβοῖσι A.
[6] Casaubon: ἀντὶ χερσὶ A, ἀντηχέσι Methner, ἀντήρεσι (?) Kaibel.
[7] Lacuna marked by Wilamowitz.

[a] *Cf.* the discussion of their ages at 599 c (p. 229).
[b] A Dorian festival in honour of Apollo, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 120, 125, P.-W. x. 1986.

On Artists. The latter further says that Sappho, who lived before Anacreon,[a] was the first to use the pectis. And that Terpander also came earlier than Anacreon is plain from the following facts: Terpander was the first to win a victory at the Carneian festival,[b] as Hellanicus records[c] in his *Carneian Victors*, written in verse as well as in prose. Now the establishment of the Carneia took place in the twenty-sixth Olympiad,[d] as Sosibius declares[e] in his work *On Chronology*. Moreover, Hieronymus in his treatise on *Harp-Singers*, which is the fifth book of his work *On the Poets*, says[f] that Terpander lived in the time of Lycurgus the lawgiver, who is recorded by all, without dissent, as having arranged the first numbered establishment of the Olympic Games[g] in conjunction with Iphitus of Elis.[h] Further, Euphorion in his work *On the Isthmian Games* says[i] that the instruments with many strings varied only in their names, but the use of them was very ancient.

Diogenes the tragic poet, however, thinks that the pectis differed from the magadis, speaking as follows in his *Semelê*[j]: "And yet I hear that the turban-wearing women of Asian Cybelê, the daughters of the rich Phrygians, with drums and bull-roarers and booming of bronze cymbals in their two hands make

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 61, J. 1. 129, P.-W. viii, 143.

[b] 676-672 B.C.

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 625.

[d] Hiller 95, frag. 5.

[e] An awkward way of saying "arranged the establishment of what is numbered as the first occurrence of the Olympic Games." At this point further proof of Anacreon's later date may have been lost (Kaibel).

[f] Paus. v. 20.1, E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 43.

[g] Meineke 67.

[h] *T.G.F.*[2] 776-777. On the rhombus, "bull-roarer," see vol. v. p. 370 note 2.

σοφὴν[1] θεῶν ὑμνῳδὸν ἰατρόν θ' ἅμα.
κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας[2] τε παρθένους
ποταμῷ παροίκους Ἄλυι[3] Τμωλίαν θεὸν
δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος Ἄρτεμιν σέβειν
b ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων τ'[4] ἀντιζύγοις
ὁλκοῖς κρεκούσας[5] μάγαδιν, ἔνθα[6] Περσικῷ
νόμῳ ξενωθεὶς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς.

καὶ Φίλλις δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς διαφέρειν φησὶ πηκτίδα μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως· "φοίνικες, πηκτίδες, μαγάδιδες, σαμβῦκαι, ἰαμβῦκαι;[7] τρίγωνα, κλεψίαμβοι, σκινδαψοί, ἐννεάχορδα. ἐν οἷς γάρ, φησί, τοὺς ἰάμβους ᾖδον ἰαμβύκας ἐκάλουν· ἐν οἷς δὲ παρελογίζοντο τὰ ἐν
c τοῖς μέτροις κλεψιάμβους. μαγάδιδας δὲ ἐν οἷς[8] τὰ διὰ πασῶν καὶ πρὸς ἴσα τὰ μέρη τῶν ᾀδόντων ἡρμοσμένα. καὶ ἄλλα δ' ἦν παρὰ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ βάρβιτος ἢ βάρμος[9] καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα τὰ μὲν ἔγχορδα,[10] τὰ δὲ ἔνηχα κατεσκεύαζον."

Ἦν γὰρ δή τινα καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμφυσωμένων

[1] σέβειν (?) Bergk. [2] Βασσάρας (?) Kaibel.
[3] Canter: παροικοῦσαλυΐ, A.
[4] τ' added by Casaubon.
[5] Casaubon: κρεκουσαισ A, κρεκούσῃ CE.
[6] ἐν δὲ Meineke.
[7] Casaubon: ἴαμβοι καὶ A, ἴαμβοι CE.
[8] ἐν οἷς added by Kaibel.
[9] βαρμοσ A: βάρωμος 182 f. [10] CE: ἔνχορδα A.

[a] Quoted from Aristoxenus 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306), *F.H.G.* ii. 286.

[b] Quasi "thieving iambi," but the real intent is not clear. The French translators render: ceux qui accompagnaient ces mêmes chants (viz. the iambic verses), mais sans en suivre précisément la mesure.

loud din . . . celebrating her who is the wise minstrel of the gods and healer as well. And I hear that the Lydian and Bactrian maidens dwelling beside the Halys river worship the goddess of Tmolus, Artemis, in her laurel-shaded grove the while they, 'mid plucking of triangles and peetides, thrum the magadis in responsive twanging, where also the flute, in Persian fashion, joins its welcome concord to the chorus." And Phillis of Delos also, in the second book of his work *On Music*, maintains that the pectis is different from the magadis; his words are these [a]: "Phoenix, pectis, magadis, sambuca, iambuca, triangle, clepsiamb, scindapsus, nine-stringed. Those, he says, with which they chanted iambic verses they call iambucas; those with which they recited in distorted fashion metrical verses, they called clepsiambi.[b] The magadides are those with which they sang notes an octave apart, the parts assigned to the singers being adjusted at equal intervals.[c] And there were other instruments besides these; for example the barbitos or barmos,[d] and many others, some of which were stringed, others percussion instruments."[e]

For of course there were some other instruments, besides those which are blown into[f] and those which

[c] *i.e.* they sang in unison, an octave apart.

[d] Or baromos, 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306).

[e] L. & S. take ἔνηχα to be wind-instruments, but as Schweighäuser rightly points out, three types are enumerated, ἔγχορδα, ἔνηχα, ἐμφυσώμενα, as indicated here and in the next paragraph. Further, ἦχος in ἐν-ηχα means sound, noise, not tone. Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* (1305) 1340 ἀπορίᾳ λύρας ὄστρακά τινες λαβόντες ἦχον μὲν ἀπετέλουν, πάνυ δὲ ἄσημον. *Cf.* Didymus, below.

[f] *Cf.* Pollux iv. 58.

καὶ χορδαῖς διειλημμένων ἕτερα ψόφου μόνον παρασκευαστικά, καθάπερ τὰ κρέμβαλα. περὶ ὧν φησι Δικαίαρχος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου, ἐπιχωριάσαι φάσκων ποτὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς τὸ προσορχεῖσθαί τε καὶ προσᾴδειν ταῖς γυναιξὶν
d ὄργανά τινα ποιά, ὧν ὅτε τις ἅπτοιτο τοῖς δακτύλοις ποιεῖν λιγυρὸν ψόφον· δηλοῦσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ᾄσματι, οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Ἄρτεμι, σοί μέ τι φρὴν ἐφίμερον
ὕμνον ὑφαινέμεναι[1] θεόθεν[2]
†αδετις· ἀλλὰ χρυσοφάεννα[3]
κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάραα χερσίν.[4]

Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν Θεοῖς τὸ τούτοις κρούειν κρεμβαλιάζειν[5] εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

λεπάδας[6] δὲ πετρῶν ἀποκόπτοντες
κρεμβαλιάζουσι.[7]

e Δίδυμος δέ φησιν εἰωθέναι τινὰς ἀντὶ τῆς λύρας κογχύλια καὶ ὄστρακα συγκρούοντας ἔρρυθμον ἦχόν τινα ἀποτελεῖν τοῖς ὀρχουμένοις, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην ἐν Βατράχοις φάναι.

Ἀρτέμων δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Διονυσιακοῦ Συστήματος[8] Τιμόθεόν φησι τὸν Μιλήσιον παρὰ[9]

[1] Bergk: ὕεναι A. [2] Hiller, Crusius: τε ὄθεν A.
[3] Bergk: χρυσοφανια A. [4] χαλκοπάρα ἀχερσίν A.
[5] Dindorf: κρεμβαλίζειν ACE.
[6] Musurus: λεπαιδασ A.
[7] Dindorf (*cf.* Hesych. *s.v.*): κρεμβαλίζουσι A.
[8] Coraes: ἐπιστήματοσ A.
[9] παρὰ A: πρῶτον (?) Kaibel.

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 239.
[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 655-656, Diehl ii. 28 (assigned to Alcman), Edmonds iii. 508.

have strings at regular intervals, instruments which merely produce a loud noise, like castanets. Of these Dicaearchus speaks in his *History of Greece*, saying [a] that they were a certain kind of instrument which were once extraordinarily popular for women to dance and sing to, and whenever one rattled them with the fingers they produced a ringing sound; this is shown, he says, in the song to Artemis which begins [b]: "O Artemis, for thee my heart impels me to weave a delectable hymn inspired of the gods. . . On, then, with bronze-cheeked castanets (crembala) shining like gold, in your hands." [c] So Hermippus, in *Gods*, calls playing with them *crembaliazein*, in these words [d]: "They knock the very limpets off the rocks when they rattle their crembala (*crembaliazousi*)." Didymus, further, says [e] that some people, in place of a harp, rattle conchs and shells together to produce a sound in time with the dancers, as Aristophanes says in *The Frogs*.[f]

Artemon, in the first book of his work *On the Dionysiac Guild*, says [g] that Timotheüs of Miletus is

[a] The quotation, as Edmonds saw, is not to be divided as in Bergk and Diehl. But I cannot follow the violent guesses wherewith Edmonds seeks to supplement sense and metre.

[d] Kock i. 232.

[e] Schmidt 250, Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* (1305) 1340 (p. 433 note *e*).

[f] *Ran.* 1304-1307, Aeschylus contemptuously says:

καίτοι τί δεῖ
λύρας ἐπὶ τούτων; ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις
αὕτη κροτοῦσα; δεῦρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου,
πρὸς ἥνπερ ἐπιτήδεια ταῦτ' ᾄδειν μέλη.

[g] *F.H.G.* iv. 342. The title seems to refer to all professional artists, in music and drama. This Artemon (of Cassandreia) is quoted at 515 e (vol. v. p. 318).

τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαι πολυχορδοτέρῳ συστήματι χρήσασθαι τῇ μαγάδι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν εὐθυνόμενον ὡς παραφθείροι τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικήν, καὶ μέλλοντός τινος ἐκτέμνειν αὐτοῦ τὰς περιττὰς
f τῶν χορδῶν, δεῖξαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντα Ἀπολλωνίσκον πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνταξιν ἰσόχορδον λύραν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀφεθῆναι.

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Τραγῳδίας ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ τὴν μάγαδιν ἀπὸ Μάγδιος[1] Θρᾳκὸς γένος. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀριστοκλέους Ἐπιστολὴν Ἀντιγραφῇ "ὃ νῦν, φησίν, ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ψαλτήριον, τοῦτ' εἶναι μάγαδιν, ὁ δὲ κλεψίαμβος κληθείς, ἔτι[2] δ' ὁ τρίγωνος καὶ ὁ ἔλυμος καὶ τὸ ἐννεάχορδον ἀμαυρότερα τῇ χρείᾳ
637 καθέστηκεν." καὶ Ἀλκμὰν δέ φησιν· "μάγαδιν δ' ἀποθέσθαι." Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ·

πηκταὶ δὲ λύραι καὶ μαγάδιδες
τά τ' ἐν Ἕλλησι ξόαν' ἡδυμελῆ.

Τελέστης δ' ἐν Ὑμεναίῳ[3] διθυράμβῳ πεντάχορδόν φησιν[4] αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ τούτων·

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλαν κλαγγὰν ἱεὶς
κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν,

[1] A: μάγδου C.
[2] CE: ἐστι A.
[3] ὑμαναιωι A.
[4] ἐμφαίνει C.

held by most authorities to have adopted an arrangement of strings with too great a number, namely the magadis; wherefore he was even about to be disciplined by the Lacedaemonians for trying to corrupt their ancient music,[a] and some one was on the point of cutting away his superfluous strings when he pointed to a small image of Apollo among them holding a lyre with the same number and arrangement of strings as his own, and so was acquitted.

Duris, in his work *On Tragedy*, says[b] that the magadis has its name from Magdis, a Thracian by birth. Apollodorus[c] in his *Answer to Aristocles' Letter* says: "What we to-day call a psalterium is the magadis, but the clepsiambus, as it was called, the triangle, the elymus,[d] and the nine-stringed have become rather obsolete in use." And so Alcman says[e]: "To lay aside the magadis." Sophocles in *Thamyras*[f]: "Well-built lyres and magadides and all the instruments of polished wood wherewith the Greeks make sweet melody." Telestes in *Hymenaeus*, a dithyramb, indicates that the magadis has five strings, in these words[g]: "Each man, ringing out a different tone from the other, roused the horn-sounded[h] magadis with its five strings fitted together like five

[a] On the conservatism of the Lacedaemonians, characteristic of all provincial peoples in matters of art, *cf.* 628 b (p. 387), 632 f (p. 415).

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 486, J. 2 A 146.

[c] Of Athens, J. 2 B 1107, P.-W. ii. 936.

[d] A kind of flute, 176 f (vol. ii. p. 302).

[e] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 64, Diehl ii. 36, Edmonds i. 126.

[f] *T.G.F.*[2] 181.

[g] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 630, Diehl ii. 156, Edmonds iii. 278.

[h] Struck by the plectrum, which was sometimes made of horn, ἐν κεραίνοις πλήκτροις, Plato, *Legg.* 795 A.

ἐν πενταρράβδῳ[1] χορδᾶν[2] ἀρθμῷ[3]
χεῖρα[4] καμψιδίαυλον ἀναστρωφῶν[5] τάχος.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὄργανον ᾧ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις χρῶνται, ὥς φησιν Νικομήδης ἐν
b τῷ περὶ Ὀρφέως. φοίνικα δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Ἔφορος καὶ Σκάμων[6] ἐν τοῖς περὶ Εὑρημάτων ὑπὸ Φοινίκων εὑρεθέντα[7] ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δήλιος ἐν πρώτῳ Δηλιάδος διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ φοίνικος τοὺς ἀγκῶνας αὐτοῦ ἐξειργάσθαι.[8] τῇ σαμβύκῃ πρώτην φησὶ χρήσασθαι Σίβυλλαν, ἧς . . . Σκάμων ὁ προειρημένος ὀνομασθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σάμβυκος τινός.

Καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος δὲ καλουμένου (ὄργανον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μουσικόν) ὁ προειρημένος Ἀρτέμων γράφει οὕτως· "ὅθεν πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων οὐδ'
c εἰ γέγονέ ποτε γινώσκεται· καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου τρίπους. ὀλιγοχρόνιον γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν σχών, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐργώδης εἶναι κατὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν, ᾗ δι' ἣν δή ποτ' οὖν αἰτίαν, συντόμως καταλυθεὶς διαλέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἦν δὲ παραπλήσιος μὲν Δελφικῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοὔνομ' ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχεν, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν τριπλῆς κιθάρας παρείχετο. τῶν γὰρ ποδῶν ἑστώτων

[1] πενταράβδωι A, πενταράδῳ (sic) C, πενταρόδω E.
[2] CE: χορδὰν A. [3] Bergk: ἀριθμῶι ACE.
[4] χέρα Wilamowitz.
[5] CE: κάμψει δίαυλον ἀναστροφῶν A.
[6] 630 b, and below: σκάμμων A.
[7] εὑρεθὲν Kaibel. But though one may imagine dittography with ταύτης following, εὑρεθέντα is to be construed with φοίνικα.
[8] Schweighäuser: ἐξεργάσασθαι A.

[a] The high-flown language of the dithyramb can only be paraphrased; πενταρράβδῳ χορδᾶν ἀρθμῷ literally means

rods, while the player weaves his hands in and out with the speed of a runner rounding the course." [a] But I know also of another instrument used by the Thracian princes at their banquets, as Nicomedes says [b] in his work *On Orpheus*. This is the phoenix, the instrument which Ephorus,[c] and Scamon in his treatise *On Inventions*,[d] say was invented by the Phoenicians and so got its name. But Semus of Delos, in the first book of his *History of Delos*, says [e] that it was so named because its ribs were made of the palm-tree (phoenix) on Delos. The sambuca, he says, was first used by the Sibyl, of whom the before-mentioned Scamon . . . But he says it was named from one Sambux, its inventor.

And then with reference to the so-called tripod (for this also was a musical instrument) the before-mentioned Artemon writes as follows [f]: "Hence in the case of many instruments it is not certainly known whether they even existed [g]; such, for instance, is the tripod of Pythagoras of Zacynthos. For the vogue which it acquired was of short duration, and because it was thought to be difficult to handle, or for any reason whatever, it soon became obsolete and is totally forgotten by most people. It was like the Delphic tripod,[h]—hence its name,—but could be used as a triple harp. The three legs rested on a base

"with the five-staved joining of strings"—the strings well-stretched resembling rods (*ῥάβδοι*); *τάχος* is accus. of effect (Goodwin-Gulick Grammar § 1053 a); *καμψιδίαυλον*, "rounding the double-course" in the stadium.

[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 465, *cf.* Athen. 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306).

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 276, J. 2 A 44.

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 490.

[e] *F.H.G.* iv. 492.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 342.

[g] *i.e.* they are so little known that their very existence is questioned.

[h] Athen. 456 c-d (vol. iv. p. 570).

ἐπί τινος βάσεως εὐστρόφου, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν
d περιάκτων δίφρων κατασκευάζονται θέσεις, τὰς
μέσας τρεῖς χώρας τὰς ἀπὸ ποδὸς ἐπὶ πόδα δι-
εστώσας ἐνέτεινε χορδαῖς, ὑπερθεὶς ἑκάστῃ πῆχυν
καὶ κάτω προσαρμόσας χορδοτόνια, καὶ τὸν ἐπάνω
κόσμον κοινὸν τοῦ λέβητος καὶ τῶν παρηρτημένων
ἠχείων[1] ἀποδούς· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν εἶχεν
ἀστείαν καὶ τὸν ἦχον προσέβαλλεν[2] ἀδρότερον.
διένειμε δ' ἑκάστῃ χώρᾳ τὰς τρεῖς ἁρμονίας, τήν
τε[3] Δωριστὶ καὶ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ Λυδιστί. καὶ καθ-
εζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπί τινος δίφρου περὶ ταυτὸν[4]
συμμέτρως ἔχοντος[5] τῇ συστάσει, διείρας[6] δὲ τὴν
e εὐώνυμον χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ
χρησόμενος τῷ πλήκτρῳ, καθ' ὁποίαν δὴ[7] πρώτην
ἤρεῖτο τῶν ἁρμονιῶν μετέστρεφε τῷ ποδὶ τὴν
βάσιν εὔτροχον[8] οὖσαν, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν πλευρὰν
πάλιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐχρῆτο καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν. οὕτω
δ' ὀξέως ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα προσῆγεν αὐτῷ τὰ συστή-
ματα ἡ τῆς βάσεως εὐκινησία τῷ ποδὶ ψαυομένη
καὶ τὴν χειροθεσίαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰθίσθη[9] κατοξύ-
νειν ὥστ', εἴ τις μὴ συνορῴη τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ
διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς μόνον κρίνοι, νομίζειν γ' κιθαρῶν[10]
f ἀκούειν διαφόρως ἡρμοσμένων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
ὄργανον[11] θαυμασθὲν ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου βίον
ἐξέλιπεν[12] εὐθέως."

[1] ἠχείων (?) Kaibel: ἐνίων A.
[2] εἷς A, προσβάλλον (in different constr.) C.
[3] E: ἑκάστῃ χώρᾳ διένειμε τὰς τρεῖς ἁρμονίαις C, διένειμεν δ' ἑκάστῃσ χώρασ ταῖσ τρισὶν ἁρμονίαισ· τήν τε A.
[4] πρὸς αὐτὸν Wilamowitz.
[5] Schweighäuser: ἔχοντα A.
[6] διάρας Schweighäuser.
[7] Kaibel: ἂν A.

which turned easily, like the bases constructed for revolving stools; the three spaces between, from leg to leg, were tightly girded by the strings; at the top of each space was fixed a cross-arm, to which were fitted the pegs[a] below, while the upper adornment joined together the cauldron[b] with the sound-boxes; this gave an appearance of elegance and also added a more sonorous tone. Pythagoras further assigned to each space separately the three modes, the Dorian, the Phrygian, and the Lydian. He himself would sit on a stool which was of about the same proportions in construction,[c] he would insert his left hand to grasp the instrument, and as, with the other hand, he was about to strike with the plectrum, he would revolve with his foot the base, which swung about easily, and would continue his playing, striking now on one side, and again on another. The easy motion of the base, responding to the touch of his foot, brought so quickly to his hand the several parts of the instrument, and he had practised the swift manipulation of it to such a degree, that if one did not see with his own eyes what was going on, but judged it solely from hearing, he would think he was listening to three harps scaled differently. And although this instrument was admired exceedingly, after the lifetime of Pythagoras it soon went out of fashion."

[a] Lit. "string-tighteners."
[b] The basin or kettle which formed the upper part of the ordinary tripod.
[c] As the tripod.

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[8] Musurus: εὔτροχον δ' A.
[9] ἠθίσθη A, εἴθιστο CE.
[10] Meineke: καθαριστῶν ACE.
[11] τόργανον A.
[12] CE: ἐξέλειπεν A.

Τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτόν φησιν Μέναιχμος εἰσαγαγεῖν Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον, κατοικήσαντα ἐν Κορκύρᾳ. Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν γ' Ἀτθίδος "Λύσανδρος, φησίν, ὁ Σικυώνιος κιθαριστὴς πρῶτος μετέστησε τὴν ψιλοκιθαριστικήν, μακροὺς τοὺς τόνους ἐντείνας καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εὔογκον ποιήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔναυλον κιθάρισιν ᾗ πρῶτοι οἱ περὶ Ἐπίγονον
638 ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ περιελὼν τὴν συντομίαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς κιθαρισταῖς χρώματά τε εὔχροα πρῶτος ἐκιθάρισε καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ μάγαδιν, τόν καλούμενον συριγμόν· καὶ ὄργανον μετέλαβεν[1] μόνος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐξήσας χορὸν περιεστήσατο πρῶτος. Δίωνα[2] δὲ τὸν Χῖον τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου σπονδεῖον πρῶτον κιθαρίσαι Μέναιχμος. Τιμόμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς Στήσανδρον λέγει τὸν Σάμιον[3] ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐξῆσαι τὴν τέχνην καὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρῳδῆσαι τὰς

[1] ἰαμβύκην καὶ μάγαδιν τὸν καλούμενον συριγμὸν κιθαρίζων μετέλαβεν (?) Kaibel.
[2] Ἴωνα (?) Jan.
[3] Musurus: ὡσδασαμίτωνα A.

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[a] Lit. "bare harp-playing," *i.e.* instrumental performances without the voice of a singer, Plato, *Legg.* 669 E.
[b] *Scr. Al.* 146, frag. 6, J. 2 B 674.
[c] *F.H.G.* i. 395.
[d] He evidently increased the size of the sound-box. But L. & S. (*cf.* P.-W. vi. 69) explain ἔναυλον κιθάρισιν as harp-playing accompanied by the flute. The context, however, points only to string instruments. For Epigonus of Ambracia (sixth century B.C.), whose harp resembled that of to-day, see 183 d (vol. ii. pp. 308-310).
[e] The word συντομία, "meagreness," "thinness," seems to refer to the unadorned music of earlier times. In literary

As for solo harp-playing,[a] Menaechmus says[b] that it was introduced by Aristonicus of Argos, who belonged to the same period as Archilochus, and had settled in Corcyra. But Philochorus in the third book of his *History of Attica* declares[c]: "Lysander of Sicyon was the first harp-player to institute the new art of solo playing, tuning his strings high and making the tone full and rich, in fact giving that flute-like tone to strings[d] which Epigonus and his school were the first to adopt. He abolished the meagre simplicity[e] prevailing among the solo harpists, and introduced in his harp-playing highly-coloured variations,[f] also iambi,[g] the magadis, and the syrigmus,[h] as it is called; in fact he was the only musician who, up to his time,[i] could substitute one instrument for another, and having advanced his art to a high point he became the first to station a band of players about him. Dion of Chios, according to Menaechmus,[j] was the first to play on the harp the libation-music to Dionysus.[k] Timomachus in his *History of Cyprus* says[l] that Stesander of Samos greatly advanced the art and was the first to sing at Delphi, to harp-accom-

style *συντομία* is conciseness, opposed to *ὄγκος* Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 6. 1.

[f] From the ordinary scales.

[g] Or "iambucae," above, 636 b (p. 433).

[h] A kind of whistle? Poll. iv. 83 has *σύριγμα*. Kaibel proposed to remove the comma after *μάγαδιν* and take *συριγμόν* in apposition with it, thus assuming another wind-instrument called magadis, as at 634 c (p. 423).

[i] Lit. "the only one of those preceding him."

[j] *Scr. Al.* 146, frag. 7, J. 2 B 674.

[k] Poll. iv. 79 *τὸ δὲ σπονδεῖον μέλος εἴποις ἂν ἐπιβώμιον* (played at the altar); iv. 84 he says it was played on the flute as a part of the Pythian nome. This Dion is wholly unknown; see critical note 2.

[l] *F.H.G.* iv. 521.

καθ' Ὅμηρον μάχας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀδυσ-
b σείας. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτόν φασιν παρ' Ἐλευθερναίοις κιθαρίσαι τὰς ἐρωτικὰς ᾠδὰς Ἀμήτορα[1] τὸν Ἐλευθερναῖον, οὗ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἀμητορίδας καλεῖσθαι. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησιν· "ὥσπερ τῶν ἐξαμέτρων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ γελοῖον παρῳδὰς εὗρον, οὕτως καὶ τῆς κιθαῳδίας πρῶτος Οἰνώνας,[2] ὃν ἐζήλωσαν Πολύευκτός τε ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Κυναιθεύς." καὶ μοχθηρῶν δὲ ἀσμάτων γεγόνασι ποιηταί, περὶ ὧν φησι Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος[3] ἐν τοῖς
c πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστὰς γράφων οὕτως· "Τελένικος ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀργᾶς ποιηταὶ μοχθηρῶν ὄντες νόμων πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα τῆς ποιήσεως εὐπόρουν, τῶν δὲ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Φρύνιδος νόμων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠδύναντο ἐπιψαῦσαι." τοῦ Ἀργᾶ μνημονεύει Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἀποβάτῃ οὕτως·

Χορόνικος ὁ[4] ποιητὴς ὁδί.
Β. τίνων ποιητὴς ᾀσμάτων; Α. σεμνῶν πάνυ.
Β. τί πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν οὗτος; Α. ἡμέρας δρόμῳ κρείττων.

καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ·

d ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυής τις εἶναι φαίνεται·
ὡς δ' εὐρύθμως[5] λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον
εἶτ' ἐσχεδίασε δριμέως εν . . .[6] παπαῖ,
μεστὸς γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν βούλομαι
κωδωνίσας πέμψαι σ' ἀγωνιούμενον,
ἵνα καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστάς, ὦ φίλε.

[1] Hemsterhuys: *αμίτορασ* A.
[2] Jahn, Hiller: *ὀνωπασ* A, *οἰνώτας* C.
[3] *αιρέσιοσ* A.
[4] *ὁ* early edd.: om. A.
[5] Schweighäuser: *εὔρυθμοσ* A.
[6] *δριμέως. παπαῖ παπαῖ* Casaubon: *εὖ μάλα παπαῖ* Meineke.

paniment, Homer's stories of battle, beginning with the *Odyssey*. Others say that Amêtor of Eleutherna was the first to play on the harp erotic songs among the Eleuthernaeans; his descendants are called Ametoridae. Aristoxenus says[a]: "Just as certain persons have made up parodies of hexameters[b] to provoke laughter, so also Oenônas[c] introduced parodies of songs sung to the harp, and he was imitated by Polyeuctus of Achaia and Diocles of Cynaetha." There have also been composers of indecent songs; concerning these Phaenias of Eresus in his work *Against the Sophists* writes as follows[d]: "Telenicus of Byzantium, and Argas as well, who were composers of indecent nomes, were successful in their own kind of poetry, but they could not in the least degree approach the nomes of Terpander or Phrynis." This Argas is mentioned by Alexis in *The Bareback Rider* thus[e]: "A. Here comes the composer Choronicus. B. What songs does he compose? A. Very elegant ones indeed! B. How does he compare with Argas? A. He can beat him by a good day's run." And Anaxandrides in *Heracles*[f]: "It's true, he does seem to be a gifted lad; and how gracefully he took up his instrument and smartly improvised . . . But I've had my fill; I want to make a test and send you to compete against Argas, that you too, my friend, may beat the experts."

[a] *F.H.G.* ii. 285.
[b] *i.e.* epic poetry and oracles.
[c] Athen. 19 f-20 a (vol. i. p. 86); see critical note 2.
[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 299.
[e] Kock ii. 304; the title refers to a rider in the public games who leapt from one horse to another, like the Roman desultor; Plut. *Phoc.* 20.
[f] Kock ii. 141.

Ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην[1] ἀναφερομένους ποιήσας Πτωχοὺς Γνησίππου τινὸς μνημονεύει παιγνιαγράφου[2] τῆς ἱλαρᾶς μούσης, λέγων οὕτως·

ταῦτ' οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδε[3] Κλεομένης
e ἐν ἐννέ' ἂν χορδαῖς[4] κατεγλυκάνατο.

καὶ ὁ τοὺς Εἵλωτας[5] δὲ πεποιηκώς φησιν·

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
ἀρχαῖον[6] ἀείδειν. ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν,
ὃς νυκτερίν'[7] εὗρε μοιχοῖς ἀείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

τίς ἄρ' ἐρῶντά[8] μ' οἶδεν ὦ Γνήσιππέ πω; πολλὴ χολή.[9]
οἴομαι 'γὼ[10] μηδὲν οὕτως μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ κενόν.

σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ἐν Βουκόλοις·

f ὃς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει[11] χορόν,
τῷ Κλεομάχου[12] δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἠξίουν ἐγὼ
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια.[12]

[1] Musurus (*cf.* 137 e): χιωνίδη A.
[2] παιγνιογράφος Maas.
[3] Meineke: οὐδ' ὁ A.
[4] Porson: ἐννέα χορδαῖσιν A.
[5] Casaubon: ἱλεώτασ A.
[6] τε ἀρχαῖον Musurus: τἀρχαῖον A. ᾄδειν ἀρχαῖον Wilamowitz.
[7] Hermann: ἔστιν ἀκούειν κεῖνοσ νυκτερινὰ A.
[8] Dalechamps: ἔρωτα A.
[9] Dobree: γνήσιππε· ἐγὼ πολλῇ χολῃ A.
[10] 'γὼ added by Gulick, γὰρ Grotius.
[11] Meineke: σοφοκλεῖ A.

Whoever wrote *Beggars*, generally attributed to Chionides, mentions a certain Gnesippus, playful writer of the lascivious muse, as follows [a]: "Things like these, Zeus is my witness, not Gnesippus and not Cleomenes could have sweetened with their nine strings." And the author of *The Helots* says [b]: "To sing the songs of Stesichorus, of Alcman, and Simonides is out of date. Rather, Gnesippus is the one to hear, for he has invented serenades for adulterers, with iambuca and triangle in hand, to sing and lure their ladies with." Cratinus, too, in *Mollycoddles* [c]: "Who, then, Gnesippus, ever heard of me being in love? It makes me sick! [d] I think that nothing can be so stupid and vain." Cratinus in *The Herdsmen* also makes fun of Gnesippus for his poetry [e]: "Why, he would not grant a chorus to Sophocles when he asked it, but gave one to the son of Cleomachus, whom I wouldn't think good enough to produce for me [f] a choral ode even for the Adonis

[a] Kock i. 5; the same doubt as to authorship expressed at 137 e (vol. ii. p. 128). Cleomenes may be the rhapsodist mentioned above, 620 d (p. 341).

[b] Kock i. 294 (Eupolis); for the thought *cf.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 1353-1372, Pers. *Sat.* v. 164-166:

an rem patriam rumore sinistro
limen ad obscenum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas
ebrius ante fores exstincta cum face canto?

[c] Kock i. 43.

[d] *Cf.* Aristoph. *Ran.* 4 πάνυ γάρ ἐστ' ἤδη χολή. But the text above is conjectural.

[e] Kock i. 16.

[f] The speaker imagines himself as a choregus for a lyric performance. For the implied licentiousness of women at the Adonia *cf.* Aristoph. *Lys.* 389-398 (Kock).

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[12] Dobree: κλεομάχων A. [13] Musurus: ἀδωνεια A.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὥραις·

ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας
ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
μετ' αὐτόν, ὁ[1] παρατιλτριῶν
ἔχων χορὸν λυδιστὶ τιλλουσῶν μέλη πονηρά.

639 Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Στερροῖς καὶ περὶ μοιχείας ἀναστρέφεσθαί φησιν αὐτόν.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐρωτικῶν τὰ ἐρωτικά[2] φησιν ᾄσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφοῦς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν.[3] ἔτι δὲ τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου Ἐπικιχλίδων τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμμέτρου ποιήσεως τούτων ἔχεταί τινος τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἀσωποδώρου περὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιστολῶν γένος ἐρωτικῆς τινος διὰ λόγου[4] ποιήσεώς ἐστιν."

b Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου διεξελθόντος περιηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ αἱ δεύτεραι καλούμεναι τράπεζαι, πολλάκις ἡμῖν διδόμεναι οὐ μόνον ταῖς[5] τῶν Κρονίων ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς Ῥωμαίων παισὶν ἔθος ἐστὶν[6] ἑστιᾶν τοὺς οἰκέτας, αὐτοὺς τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀναδεχομένους λειτουργίας. Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος· ἐν Κρήτῃ γοῦν τῇ τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἑορτῇ τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται, ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν. εὐωχουμένων γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ

[1] μετ' αὐτόν, ὁ Kaibel: μετὰ τῶν A.
[2] Ἰώνικά Wilamowitz.
[3] B, Musurus: διαφθείρειν A.
[4] Casaubon: διαλόγου A.
[5] ταῖσ A: ἐν ταῖς CE.
[6] ἔθος ἐστὶν added by Musurus: ἔθος CE, om. A.

[a] Kock i. 90. The text is conjectural, but the last line contains excellent puns. It may also be rendered "culling dirty songs in the Lydian mode."

Festival." Again, in *The Seasons*[a]: "Let also the son of Cleomachus, producer of tragedies, follow him and be off, taking with him his chorus of hair-plucking slaves, pulling the hairs from their dirty limbs in Lydian fashion." Further, Telecleides in *Hard-Boiled* indicates[b] that Gnesippus was often involved in acts of adultery.

Clearchus, in the second book of his *Love Stories*, declares[c] that the "erotic" or "Locrian" poems, as they are called, were no different from the poems of Sappho or Anacreon. What is more, those of Archilochus as well as most of Homer's *Epikichlides*,[d] composed in verse, deal with these passions, and of course the writings of Asopodorus[e] regarding Eros, and the entire class of erotic epistles, in prose, belong to the erotic genre of composition.

After Masurius had concluded this long recital,[f] the second tables, as they are called, were brought in and set before us; they had often been served to us, and not merely during the holidays of the Saturnalia, when it is customary for the Roman children to entertain the slaves at dinner, while the children take upon themselves the duties of the slaves. But this custom is also Greek; the like, for example, occurs in Crete at the festival of the Hermaea, as Carystius declares in *Historical Notes*.[g] For while the slaves are feasting,

[b] Kock i. 217.

[c] *F.H.G.* ii. 316. His language, as usual, is involved. He means simply that erotic works are found in both verse and prose.

[d] Lit. "for the thrushes," Athen. 65 a-b (vol. i. p. 282).

[e] He is said to have written in a rhythmical prose, 445 b (vol. iv. p. 516).

[f] From 634 e (p. 425); *cf.* 623 e-633 f.

[g] *F.H.G.* iv. 358-359. *Cf.* Plato, *Lysis* 206 D.

c δεσπόται ὑπηρετοῦσιν πρὸς τὰς διακονίας. καὶ ἐν Τροιζῆνι δὲ μηνὶ Γεραιστίῳ· πανήγυρις δὲ τότε γίνεται πολυήμερος, ἧς ἐν μιᾷ οἱ δοῦλοι μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν κοινῇ τε ἀστραγαλίζουσιν καὶ οἱ κύριοι τοὺς δούλους ἑστιῶσιν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν Καρύστιος. Βήρωσος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ[1] Βαβυλωνιακῶν τῷ Λώῳ φησὶ μηνὶ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ ἄγεσθαι ἑορτὴν Σάκαια[2] προσαγορευομένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐν αἷς ἔθος εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς δεσπότας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀφηγεῖσθαί τε τῆς οἰκίας ἕνα αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βασιλικῇ· ὃν καὶ καλεῖσθαι ζωγάνην.[3] μνημονεύει τῆς ἑορτῆς
d καὶ Κτησίας ἐν δευτέρῳ Περσικῶν. Κῷοι δὲ τοὐναντίον δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ Κωακῶν· ὅταν γὰρ τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν, δοῦλοι οὐ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. διὸ καὶ Φύλαρχον[4] εἰρηκέναι·

Οὐρανίῃ[5] μοῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοί,
ἀνδράσι παρ' κείνοισιν[6] ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ[7] ἔχοντες[8]
δούλων δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.

Βάτων δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσ-

[1] τρίτῳ (?) Müller.
[2] Casaubon: σακέαν AE, σακέα C (in a different constr.).
[3] A, ζογάνην E. ζογάνης (in a different constr.) C.
[4] Εὐφορίωνα Meineke, Φυλίταν Kaibel.
[5] Kuchenmüller: σουριῃ A.
[6] Kuchenmüller (after Meineke): προσκεινοισι A.
[7] Musurus: ἐλευρον ἅμαρ A.
[8] ἄγουσιν Meineke.

[a] Thuc. iv. 119 calls it Gerastius (Γεράστιος), and says it was a Spartan month; P.-W. vii. 1245. On festivals which resembled the Saturnalia see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 35-40.

their masters assist in menial duties. Again, in Troezen, during the month of Geraestius [a]; at that time a festival is held lasting many days, on one of which the slaves play at knucklebones in company with the citizens, and the masters entertain the slaves at a feast, according to Carystius again. Berosus, in the first book of his *Babylonian History*, says [b] that in the month of Loös, on the sixteenth day, there was held in Babylon a festival called Sacaea, extending over five days, wherein it was customary for the masters to be ruled by their slaves, and one of them, as leader of the household, was clothed in a robe similar to the king's; he was called the *zoganês*. The festival is mentioned [c] also by Ctesias in the second book of his *Persian History*. But the people of Cos do the contrary, as recorded [d] by Macareus in the third book of his *Coan History*; for when they sacrifice to Hera, slaves may not come to the feast. Hence Phylarchus says [e]: "In honour of the Queen of Heaven only free men perform the holy rites, among that folk only they that possess the day of freedom. But no slave may enter in at all, no, not even for a moment."

The orator Baton of Sinopê, in his book *On Thessaly*

[b] *F.H.G.* ii. 498. Müller proposed to read τρίτῳ, "in the third book," instead of πρώτῳ, "first." Λῷος or Λῶος was a Macedonian month. Hesych. *s.* σάκαια· ἡ Σκυθικὴ ἑορτή.

[c] Gilmore 64.

[d] *F.H.G.* iv. 442, Athen. 262 c (vol. iii. p. 178).

[e] J. 2 A 188, Powell 95, Kuchenmüller, *Philetae Reliq.* 87. No poet by the name of Phylarchus is known, but the historian may have quoted the verses. "In honour of Our Lady of Nisyros" (Hera) is Müller's suggestion. The second verse may have read "among the men of Cos." See P.-W. *s.v. Hera* 380, 382, Stat. *Theb.* x. 913 caelestis regia.

e σαλίας καὶ Αἰμονίας σαφῶς ἐμφανίζει τὴν τῶν Σατουρναλίων ἑορτὴν Ἑλληνικωτάτην, φάσκων αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς Πελώρια καλεῖσθαι, γράφων οὕτως· "θυσίας κοινῆς τοῖς Πελασγοῖς γινομένης ἀναγγεῖλαί[1] τινα τῷ Πελασγῷ ἄνδρα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Πέλωρος, διότι ἐν τῇ Αἰμονίᾳ σεισμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων[2] ῥαγείη τὰ Τέμπη ὄρη ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ διότι διὰ τοῦ διαστήματος ὁρμῆσαν τὸ τῆς[3] λίμνης ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι[4] εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ ῥεῖθρον, καὶ τὴν πρότερον λιμνάζουσαν χώραν f ἅπασαν γεγυμνῶσθαι καὶ ἀναξηραινομένων τῶν ὑδάτων πεδία θαυμαστὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει ἀναφαίνεσθαι. ἀκούσαντα οὖν τὸν Πελασγὸν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀφθόνως αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην τῷ Πελώρῳ παραθεῖναι. καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ φιλοφρονουμένους ἕκαστον φέρειν ὅ τι ἔχοι παρ' αὐτῷ βέλτιστον καὶ παρατιθέναι ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῷ ἀπαγγείλαντι, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πελασγὸν προθύμως διακονεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντας ὑπηρετεῖν, καθότι ἑκάστῳ ὁ καιρὸς παρέπιπτεν. διόπερ φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον, ἀπο-
640 μίμημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἑορτῆς . . .[5] καὶ θύοντας Διὶ Πελωρίῳ[6] τραπέζας τε λαμπρῶς κοσμοῦντας προτιθέναι καὶ οὕτως φιλάνθρωπον[8] τὴν πανήγυριν συντελεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην παραλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας λύειν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας κατακλίναντας μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἑστιᾶν, διακονούντων αὐτοῖς[9]

[1] A (ἀνήγγειλέ τις C): ἀπαγγεῖλαί Meineke, *cf.* below.
[2] CE: γινομένων A.
[3] Musurus, C: ὁρμήσαντος τῆς A, ὁρμῆσαι τὸ τῆς E.
[4] ἐμβάλοι Charitonides.

and Haemonia, makes it clear that the festival of the Saturnalia is a very Greek affair; he says that among the Thessalians it is called the Pelôria, and writes as follows [a]: "At a public sacrifice which was being held by the Pelasgians a man named Pelôrus brought the news to Pelasgus that in Haemonia, during great earthquakes, the mountains called Tempê had broken apart, and through the aperture the water of the lake rushed and was pouring into the stream of the Peneius, so that the land which had been marshy before was now entirely bared to view, and as the waters dried up plains were appearing of wondrous extent and beauty. Well, when Pelasgus heard the story he set before Pelôrus a table lavishly provided by himself. The other people, also, in friendly gratitude brought whatever each one possessed of his best, and set it upon the table for the messenger, while Pelasgus in person waited on him devotedly, and all the other men of high rank assisted, according to the opportunity that fell to each. Hence, they say, after they had got possession of the territory, they instituted a festival in imitation of the one that had been held on that earlier occasion, and sacrificing to Zeus Pelôrius they set up gaily furnished tables and carry out the festivities so generously that all foreigners, even, are welcomed to the feast, prisoners are set free, and slaves, reclining on couches with the utmost liberty, are entertained while their masters wait on

[a] *F.H.G.* iv. 349.

[5] Lacuna indicated by Kaibel, supplying *ποιουμένους*. But Schweighäuser, following C, deleted *καὶ* (so Meineke).

[6] CE: *πέλωρι* A.

[7] AE, *προτίθενται* C (in different constr.): *παρατιθέναι* Meineke.

[8] Musurus, C: *φιλάνθρωπόν τε* A.

[9] *κατακλίνοντας* (?) Kaibel.

τῶν δεσποτῶν· καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἔτι καὶ νῦν Θεσσαλοὺς μεγίστην ἑορτὴν ἄγοντας προσαγορεύειν Πελώρια[1].''

Πολλάκις οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν τοιούτων ἡμῖν παρατιθεμένων ἐπιδορπισμάτων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων·

b αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.—

τί γὰρ ποθεῖ τράπεζα; τῷ δ'[2] οὐ βρίθεται;
πλήρης μὲν ὄψων ποντίων, πάρεισι δὲ
μόσχων τέρειναι[3] σάρκες ἀρνεία[4] τε δαὶς
καὶ πεπτὰ καὶ κροτητὰ τῆς ξουθοπτέρου
πελάνῳ μελίσσης ἀφθόνως δεδευμένα,

φησὶν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κρήσσαις. καὶ ὡς ὁ Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Ὀλβίᾳ ἔφη·

ἐν τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ πωλήσεται[5]
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις· σῦκα, B. κλητῆρες, A. βότρυς,
c γογγυλίδες, ἄπιοι, μῆλα, B. μάρτυρες, A. ῥόδα,
μέσπιλα, χόρια, σχάδονες, ἐρέβινθοι, B. δίκαι,
Δ. πυός, πυριάτη, μύρτα, B. κληρωτήρια,
A. ὑάκινθος, ἄρνες, B. κλεψύδραι, νόμοι,
γραφαί.

μέλλοντος οὖν τοῦ Ποντιανοῦ λέγειν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν παρακειμένων, ''οὐ πρότερόν γε, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ἀκουσόμεθα περὶ τούτων ἕως ἂν περὶ τῶν ἐπιδορπισμάτων εἴπῃς[7].'' καὶ ὁ Ποντιανός·

[1] Meineke: πελωρίαν ACE.
[2] C E τὸ δ' A.
[3] CE: τέριναι A.
[4] Meineke: χηνία A, χηνεία CE
[5] πωλεῖτ' ἀεὶ Kock unnecessarily.

them ; in short, even to this day the Thessalians hold this as their chief festival, calling it Pelôria."

Well, as I was saying, we often had such things served to us as dessert, and one of our company quoted[a] : "Second thoughts are somehow wiser."—Euripides says in *The Women of Crete*[b] : "What is missing on the table ? With what is it not loaded ? It is filled with dainties from the sea, on it are tender cuts from the flesh of calves, a feast of lamb,[c] baked cakes and beaten biscuits[d] liberally soaked in a thick sauce from the humming-winged bee." Again, as Eubulus has said in *The Happy Woman*[e] : "A. In one and the same place you will find all kinds of things for sale together at Athens ; figs— B. policemen ! A. grapes, turnips, pears, apples— B. witnesses ! A. roses, medlars, haggis, honeycomb, chick-peas— B. lawsuits ! A. beestings, curds, myrtle-berries— B. ballot-boxes ! A. iris, roast lamb— B. waterclocks, laws, indictments ! " As Pontianus, therefore, was on the point of talking about the dishes served to us, Ulpian said : No, we will not hear about these until you have said a word about the *epidorpismata*. So

[a] Eur. *Hipp.* 436 ; Phaedra's nurse speaks. "Second thoughts" allude to the "second tables" on which dessert (*ἐπιδορπίσματα, τραγήματα*) was served, above, 639 b. But the viands here mentioned are hardly dessert in our sense.

[b] *T.G.F.*[2] 503, *cf.* Plut. 1097 D.

[c] The MSS. have *χηνεία*, "of goose," which is against metre.

[d] Lit. "things rattled together" ; but what they were is unknown, and Naber's *κάκροφητά*, "things gulped down," scarcely helps matters. Plut. *loc. cit.* agrees with Athen.

[e] Kock ii. 190. The assignment to two speakers is due to Toeppel. There is a similar medley in Aristoph. *Plut.* 190-192.

[6] Pierson : *οὐ κακλητηρεσ* A. [7] Schweighäuser : *εἴπηι* A.

"τραγήματα Κράτης φησὶ Φιλιππίδην λέγειν ἐν Φιλαργύρῳ οὕτως·

d πλακοῦντες, ἐπιδορπίσματ', ᾠά, σήσαμα·
ὅλην λέγοντ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπιλείποι μ' ἡμέραν.[1]

καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Τελεσίᾳ·

τράγημα, μυρτίδες, πλακοῦς, ἀμύγδαλα.[2]
B. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦθ' ἥδιστά γ' ἐπιδορπίζομαι.

Σώφιλος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ·

ἡδύ γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων αἰεὶ
συνάγειν· τὸ πρᾶγμα χάριεν. "οὐχὶ δώδεκα[3]
κυάθους," ἀνεβόησέν τις, "ὑποχεῖς;[4] κωμάσαι
πρὸς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν δεῖ γάρ, ἵν' ἐκεῖ κατα-
κλιθεὶς[5]
ἐπιδορπίσηται τὰς ὀνείας ματτύας."

e Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ μεταδόρπια αὐτὰ καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις· "πάντα τε εὐώδη ἔφερε τότε[6] τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸν ἥμερον δὲ καρπὸν πλεῖστον ἔφερεν καὶ ἀκροδρύων πλῆθος καὶ ὅσα παραμύθια ἡδονῆς[7] μεταδόρπια."

Τρύφων δέ φησι τὸ παλαιὸν πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς δαιτυμόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι τὴν ἑκάστου μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλά τε καὶ ποικίλα ἐπεισ-

[1] Koek: ὅλην λέγοντά με ἐπιλείποι τὴν ἡμέραν A.
[2] 52 f: ἀμυγδαλαῖ A.
[3] Cobet: οὐχὶ β̄ A.
[4] Cobet: ὑποχει A.
[5] Musurus: κατακλεισθεὶσ A.
[6] Peppink: ἐφέρετο A.
[7] ἡδονῆσ A: πλησμονῆς Plato.

[a] Wachsmuth 65.
[b] Lit. "things to chew," dessert, usually nuts and dried fruits.

Pontianus began: Crates declares [a] that Philippides means tragêmata [b] when in *The Miser* he says [c]: "Flat-cakes, dessert (epidorpismata), eggs, sesame-seeds; the list would not fail me if I recited it the livelong day." [d] And Diphilus in *Telesias* [e]: "A. A sweet, some myrtle-berries, a cheese-cake, almonds. B. But I, at least, can have a very nice dessert with these." Sophilus in *The Deposit* [f]: "Nice it is always to foregather with gentlemen from Greece; the occasion is full of grace. Someone calls out, 'Aren't you going to pour in a pint? We've got to have a racket at the house of the sweetie from Tanagra [g]; there one shall lie on a couch and have a dessert of—minced donkey.'" Plato in his account of Atlantis calls dessert metadorpia in these words [h]: "The land bore for the inhabitants in those days all kinds of sweet-smelling things, and it bore also cultivated crops in greatest abundance, and a quantity of fruits and all the enticements to pleasure in desserts." [i]

Tryphon says [j] that in old times each man's portion was laid upon the tables before the guests entered the dining-room, but later many varied dishes were

[a] Kock iii. 307.

[b] Kock's rather violent emendation (see critical note 1) is the only one which makes sense and metre.

[c] Kock ii. 567, Athen. 52 f (vol. i. p. 230).

[d] Kock ii. 445, a bit of satire on Greek food.

[e] *Cf.* Cic. *Dom.* 43. 111 Tanagraea meretrix.

[f] *Critias* 115 A *ὅσα εὐώδη τρέφει που γῆ τὰ νῦν . . . , ἔφερέν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἔτρεφεν εὖ, κτλ.*; *μεταδόρπια* are "things eaten after supper."

[g] Plato says *ὅσα παραμύθια πλησμονῆς μεταδόρπια*, "all desserts which are stimulants of a sated appetite."

[h] Velsen 101. Kaibel deleted this paragraph; *cf.* what follows.

φέρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι. Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ φησὶν περὶ τῶν δευτέρων τραπεζῶν λέγων·

f ἀμυγδάλια,[1] καρύδι',[2] ἐπιφορήματα.

καὶ Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν α'· καὶ ἐπιδορπίσασθαι δ' ἔλεγον τὸ ἐντραγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδειπνῆσαι.

Ἅπερ Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ Γαμοῦντι ἐπιφορήματα καλεῖ διὰ τούτων·

ἰτρίοις[3] ἐπιφορήμασί τ'
ἄλλοις γέμουσα.

641 καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ· "σιτίοις δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖς." τὸ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν λεγόμενον "Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα" τέλος τί ἐστιν καὶ[4] ἐλλιμένιον,[5] ὡς Ἀριστείδης[6] φησὶν ἐν γ' περὶ Παροιμιῶν. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος· "τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς δαιτυμόνας ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι τὴν ἑκάστου μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ[7] ποικίλα ἐπιφέρεσθαι[8]· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι." Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων ὧδε·

[1] Meineke: ἀμύγδαλα A. [2] 641 b: κάρυα A.
[3] τράπεζα δ' ἰτρίοισι Meineke, Kock.
[4] καὶ deleted by Kaibel.
[5] Leopardi: εναιμενιον A. [6] ἀριστίδης A.
[7] καὶ added from 640 e. [8] ἐπεισφέρεσθαι ? cf. 640 e.

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[6] Kock i. 787. [5] Kock i. 680.
[c] Chap. 133, of the Persians: σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέ-

brought in additionally (epeispheresthai); hence they were called epiphoremata (additional courses). Philyllius in *The Well-Digger* speaks of the second tables, saying [a]: "Little almonds and nuts, as a second course" (epiphoremata). So Archippus in *Heracles* [b] and Herodotus in the first book [c]; and they also used to speak of 'taking a bite' [d] and 'having an after-meal' under the term epidorpisasthai.

All of which [e] Archippus in *Heracles takes a Wife* calls epiphoremata in these lines [b]: "A table loaded with meal-cakes and other desserts." And Herodotus in the first book [c]: "Breadstuffs they use but little, but they have many desserts." But the phrase used in the proverb "an epiphorema of Abydus" refers to a sort of tax and harbour-toll, as Aristeides says in the third book of his work *On Proverbs*.[f] Dionysius, the disciple of Tryphon: "In old times each man's portion was laid upon the table before the guests entered the dining-room, but later many varied dishes were brought in additionally (epiphereshai); hence they were called epiphoremata." Philyllius in *The Well-Digger*, speaking of the viands brought after the banquet has the following [a]:

ωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι, i.e. not as a single course, but at intervals during the meal (How and Wells); quoted by Athen. 143 f (vol. ii. p. 156).

[d] For *ἐντραγεῖν σικύδιον*, "chew a pickle," see 74 a (vol. i. p. 318).

[e] The *μεταδόρπια* mentioned by Plato above, 640 E; a more correct quotation from Tryphon's lexicon now follows.

[f] See Zenob. *s.* 'Αβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, who gives an amusing account of its origin, and adds: *εἴρηται δὲ ἡ παροιμία καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν* (*sc.* *τῶν* 'Αβυδηνῶν) *συκοφαντεῖσθαι τοὺς ξένους.* Suid. *s.v.* *ὅταν ἀκαίρως ἐπιφανέντος τινὸς ἀηδία τις ᾖ, εἰώθαμεν λέγειν* 'Αβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα. The Abydenes had an evil reputation, Athen. 524 f (vol. v. p. 366); *F.H.G.* iv. 326.

b ἀμυγδάλια,[1] καρύδι', ἐπιφορήματα.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Μενέλεῳ ἐπιτραπεζώματα αὐτὰ καλεῖ οἷον τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα ταῖς τραπέζαις βρώματα, λέγων οὕτως·

εἰπέ μοι,
ὡς[2] ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων;
B. ὁ γὰρ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς αὐτὰ κατέφαγεν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης τὰ τραγήματά φησι λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τρωγάλια· ὡσεὶ[3] γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμὸν εἶναι. Πίνδαρος δέ ἐστιν ὁ εἰπών·

c δείπνου δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον,
καίπερ πεδ' ἄφθονον[4] βοράν.

ὄντως γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀποβλέψαντα ἔστιν εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα εἰπεῖν·

ὁρᾷς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδὺς βίος.

Ὅτι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αἱ δεύτεραι τράπεζαι πολυτελῶς μεμεριμνημέναι, παρίστησιν Πίνδαρος ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις περὶ τῆς Πέλοπος κρεουργίας διηγούμενος·

τραπέζαισι δ'[5] ἀμφὶ δεύτερα,[6] κρεῶν
σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον.
d ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν'[7] εἰπεῖν.

[1] Meineke: ἀμύγδαλα A. [2] πῶς (?) Kock.
[3] Schweighäuser: τρωγαλιλωσει A, τρωγάλια CE.
[4] καίπερ Boeckh, πεδ' ἄφθονον Schneider: καὶ περι παιδαφθονον A. [5] δὲ A: τ' Pind. codd.

"Little almonds and nuts, as a second course." Plato, however, calls desserts epitrapezomata in *Menelaus*, that is, foods laid upon the tables, in these words [a]: "A. Tell me, how is it that so little is left over of the things upon the table? B. Why, that god-detested fellow ate them up." Aristotle in his treatise *On Drunkenness* says [b] that dessert was called trogalia by the ancients; for it is, as it were, a subsequent meal. Pindar is one writer who uses the word trogalion in the singular [c]: "As the banquet draws to its close sweet is dessert, though it follows bounteous food." As a matter of fact, looking at the viands there set before us, one may say in the words of Euripides [d]: "You can see how happy is the life where the table is well-supplied."

That, indeed, the "second tables" had sumptuous care bestowed on them is attested by Pindar in his *Odes for Olympian Victories*, when he narrates the story of the butchering of Pelops [e]: "And at the tables, during the second course, they [f] divided bits of thy flesh and ate of it. But as for me, it is impossible to call any of the blessed gods a cannibal."

[a] Kock i. 622, Athen. 170 e (vol. ii. p. 276).

[b] Frag. 104 Rose; a fuller citation, though leaving much to be desired in point of clearness, is given below, 641 d-e.

[c] *P.L.G.*[4] i. 439, Sandys 588, Puech ii. 191.

[d] *T.G.F.*[2] 693 (frag. 1052, vs. 3). For the context see Stobaeus, *Flor.* ii. 14.

[e] *Ol.* i. 50-52, *P.L.G.*[5] i. 84-85 (where see Schroeder's note), Sandys 8, Puech i. 295.

[f] The gods, who were guests at the table of Tantalus.

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[6] ἀμφὶ δεύτατα or δεύτερα Schweighäuser: ἀμφι δευρα A, ἀμφὶ δεύτατα Pindar, τραπέζαισι τ' ἀμφὶ δευτάταις (?) Schroeder.

[7] Pind.: ἄπορον ἀγαστρίμαργον μακαρων A.

οἱ δὲ παλαιότεροι ἁπλῶς τραπέζας ἔλεγον, ὡς Ἀχαιὸς ἐν Ἡφαίστῳ σατυρικῷ·

θοίνῃ σε[1] πρῶτον τέρψομεν· πάρεστι δέ.
Β. τὸ δεύτερον δὲ[2] τῷ με κηλήσεις τρόπῳ;
Α. μύρῳ σε[3] χρίσω πάμπαν εὐόσμῳ δέμας.
Β. ὕδωρ δὲ νῦψαι χεῖρας οὐ πρόσθεν δίδως;
Α. ἡνίκα[4] τράπεζά γ' ἐκποδὼν ἀπαίρεται.

Ἀριστοφάνης Σφηξίν·

ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης παραπλησίως
e ἡμῖν δευτέρας τραπέζας προσαγορεύει[5] διὰ τούτων· "τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅλον διαφέρειν τράγημα βρώματος νομιστέον ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρωγαλίου.[6] τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοὔνομα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ βρώματα[7] παρατίθενται. διόπερ οὐ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν προσαγορεύσας τράπεζαν· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός τις ὁ τραγη-
f ματισμός ἐστι[8] καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται τὰ[8] τραγήματα." Δικαίαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου Καταβάσεώς φησιν οὕτως· "ἥ γε τὴν πολλὴν δαπάνην ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις παρέχουσα δευτέρα τράπεζα προσεγένετο, καὶ στέφανοι καὶ μύρα καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πάντα." ἐδίδοτο δὲ καὶ ᾠὸν[10] ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τραπέζῃ, ὥσπερ

[1] Casaubon: *θοίνην δὲ* A.
[2] *δὲ* added by Casaubon.
[3] B, Musurus: *μυροσε* A.
[4] *ἡνίκα* Kaibel, *ἐπεὶ* Schweighäuser: *ναὶ* A, *ναὶ καὶ* Casaubon.
[5] Kaibel: *ἀπαγορεύει* A.
[6] A: *ἐδέματος τρωγάλιον* Schweighäuser.
[7] *τὰ βρώματα* deleted by Kaibel.
[8] E (*ὁ τραγισμός*): *ὄντωσ γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμὸσ τραγηματισμόσ τίσ ἐστιν* A, *ὁ τραγηματισμὸς ἐπιδορπισμὸς τίς ἐστι* C.

The men of ancient times used the word "tables" in a general sense, as Achaeus in *Hephaestus*, a satyric drama [a]: "A. We will first delight thee with a banquet; it is ready. B. How shall you bewitch me secondly? A. I will anoint your whole body with fragrant perfume. B. Aren't you first giving water to wash my hands? A. Aye, when the table is removed." Aristophanes in *The Wasps* [b]: "Water over the hand, tables brought in." Aristotle in his treatise *On Drunkenness* uses the term "second tables" much as we do in this passage, thus [c]: "In general, dessert (tragêma) must be distinguished from the meal in that the one consists of eating, the other of munching (trogalion). This last is the traditional word among the Greeks, since they serve the things to be eaten in the form of things to chew (tragêmatà). Hence the first man to term this a 'second table' was probably right; for as a matter of fact the eating of tragêmata makes a kind of subsequent meal, and the tragêmata are served as a second dinner." Dicaearchus in the first book of his *Descent into the Cave of Trophonius* says [d]: "The second table that was added supplied a lavish outlay at dinner-parties, and there were wreaths, perfumes, incense, and all the things which go with them." An egg was always offered at the second table, as also hares and thrushes

[a] *T.G.F.*[2] 750. Welcker believed the first speaker to be Dionysus, the second, Hephaestus. The topic of dessert is dropped for a moment to explain τράπεζα, "table," as a general term for food, Pollux vi. 84, Athen. 49 b (vol. i. pp. 212-214), 151 b (vol. ii. p. 188).

[b] Vs. 1216, *cf.* Athen. 408 e (vol. iv. pp. 348-350).

[c] Frag. 104 Rose, above, 641 b.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 262.

[9] τὰ added by Kaibel. [10] ᾠὰ CE.

καὶ λαγῷα καὶ κίχλαι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν μελιπήκτων προσεφέρετο,[1] ὡς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεπτινίσκῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

οἶνον Θάσιον πίνοις ἄν; Β. εἴ τις ἐγχέοι.[2]
Α. πρὸς ἀμυγδάλας δὲ πῶς[3] ἔχεις; Β. εἰρηνικῶς . . .
Α. . . . . .
Β. μαλακάς· δι' ἃς μέλιτι πρέπει παίειν[4] βία.
Α. μελίπηκτα δ' εἴ σοι προσφέροι; Β. τρώγοιμί τἂν.[5]
642 Α. ᾠὸν δέ; Β. καταπίνοιμ' ἄν. Α. ἄλλου δεῖ[6] τινος;

ἐν δὲ Ὁμοίοις·

εἶτ' ἐπεισῆγεν χορείαν ἢ τράπεζαν δευτέραν,
καὶ παρέθηκε γέμουσαν πέμμασι παντοδαποῖς.

Ἄμφις δὲ ἐν Γυναικομανίᾳ·

ἤδη ποτ' ἤκουσας βίον
ἀληλεμένον;[7] Β. ναί.[8] Α. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἔστιν σαφῶς·
ἄμητες, οἶνος ἡδύς, ᾠά, σησαμαῖ,[9]
μύρον, στέφανος, αὐλητρίς. Β. ὦ Διοσκόρω,
b ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν διελήλυθας.

[1] CE: εἰσεφέρετο A, προσφέροντο Eustath.
[2] Rutherford: ἐγχέαι ACE.
[3] δὲ πῶς CE: δέπωσ A.
[4] Gulick: εἰρηνικῶσ μαλακάσ σφοδρα διασ μέλιτι προσπαίζειν βίαι A, εἰρηνικῶς μᾶλλον. δι' ἃς μέλιτι προσπαίζειν δείαν CE (δέει E, δέδοται Eustath.). Lacuna marked by Dindorf.
[5] τρώγοιμί τἂν (?) Kaibel: τρώγοιμι καὶ A, τρώγοιμ' ἄν CE Eustath.
[6] Dobree: δη (*sic*) A.
[7] ἀληλεμενον A.

set before them, together with the honey-cakes; so Antiphanes says in *Little Leptines*[a]: "A. Would you drink some Thasian wine? B. If one poured it out for me. A. How do you feel about some almonds? B. Quite peaceable. A. . . .[b] B. Let them be nice and tender; for which you should whip them up well in honey. A. And if one offered you honey-cakes? B. Sure, I'd eat them. A. And an egg? B. I'd gulp it down. A. Do you want anything else?" Again Antiphanes says in *Just Alike*[c]: "After that he would bring in a dance or a second table, and set it before us laden with all kinds of pastry." Amphis in *Woman-Madness*[d]: "A. Have you ever heard of a life of white-bread-ease?[e] B. Yes. A. Well, that's what we have right here, you may be sure: cakes of fine meal, good wine, eggs, sesame-seeds, perfume, a wreath, a flute-girl. B. Castor and Pollux! You've recited names of the twelve gods." Anaxandrides in

[a] Kock ii. 68, Eustath. 1401. 52 ἀστείως Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει ταῦτα. The text is badly garbled, and no emendations can be certain.

[b] The first speaker may here have asked about the hares and thrushes. To which the second gives direction for their preparation in honey, comparable to the jelly served with birds to-day. σφόδρα in A (omitted in CE) seems to be a gloss on βίᾳ. For πρέπει used in cooking-recipes *cf.* Aristoph. *Av.* 1590 καὶ μὴν τά γ' ὀρνίθεια λιπαρ' εἶναι πρέπει; see Todd's *Index Aristophaneus s.v.* For παίειν as a term in cookery see vol. iv. p. 453 note *c*.

[c] Kock ii. 82; joined by Meineke with lines from the same play Athen. 471 c (vol. v. p. 78).

[d] Kock ii. 238.

[e] Lit. "ground-grain life," in which the eater enjoys bread made with fine white flour. *Cf.* ἀλευρῖται ἄρτοι 115 d (vol. ii. p. 40) and for the proverb ἀληλεσμένος βίος Suid. *s.v.*

[8] Schweighäuser: ἀι A, om. CE.

[9] Early edd.: ωσασησαμαι A, ὠὰ σήσαμα CE.

Ἀναξανδρίδης Ἀγροίκοις·

ὡς δ' ἐστεφανώθην, ἡ τράπεζ' εἰσήγετο
τοσαῦτ' ἔχουσα βρώμαθ'[1] ὅσα, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
καὶ τὰς θεάς, οὐδ' ἔνδον[2] ὄντ'[3] ἤδειν ἐγώ·
οὕτως παρέζων †χρηστῶς †οὐκ ἔζων τότε.[4]

Κλέαρχος Πανδρόσῳ·

e λάβ' ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός. Β. μηδαμῶς· καλῶς ἔχει.
Α. λάβ', ὦγάθ', οὐδὲν χεῖρον. ἡ παῖς,[5] ἐπιτίθει ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κάρυα καὶ τραγήματα.

Εὔβουλος Καμπυλίωνι·

τραγημάτων δ' ἔσθ' ἡ τράπεζά σοι πλέα.
Β. οὐ[6] φιλοτραγήμων εἰμί πως ἑκάστοτε.

Ἄλεξις Πολυκλείᾳ—ἑταίρας δ' ὄνομα Πολύκλεια·

ὁ πρῶτος εὑρὼν κομψὸς ἦν τραγήματα.
τοῦ συμποσίου γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐξεῦρε καὶ
ἀργοὺς' ἔχειν μηδέποτε[8] τὰς σιαγόνας.

d καὶ ἐν Ὁμοίᾳ—τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δρᾶμα καὶ ὡς Ἀντιδότου φέρεται·

οὐδὲ φιλόδειπνός εἰμι, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,
τραγήμασιν χαίρω δέ[9] μᾶλλον. Β. εὖ πάνυ.
Α. τραγήματ' αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ ὅτι νομίζεται[10]
τοῖς νυμφίοις μετιοῦσι—Β. τὴν νύμφην λέγεις;[11]

[1] Meineke, ἐσῄρετο Koek; τοσαῦτ' ἔχουσα early edd.: ἐπήγετο σαυτεχουσα βρώματα A.
[2] οὔτ' εἶδον Casaubon. [3] οὔτ' Musurus.
[4] ἤδη ποτέ· οὕτως παρέζων χρήστ' (rather χρήσθ') ὅσ' οὐκ ἔγνων ἐγώ (?) Kaibel. χρῆστε, κοὐκ Meineke.

The Farmers [a]: "No sooner was a wreath put on my head than the table was brought in with viands in such quantity—I swear by the gods and goddesses—as I didn't know even existed indoors; so was my life not spent, but mis-spent, on that day." [b] Clearchus in *Pandrosus* [c]: "A. Have some water over your hands. B. Not so, thanks very much. A. Have it, good sir, it won't hurt you. Girl! Put some nuts and tragêmata [d] on the table." Eubulus in *The Hunchback* [e]: "A. The table is now filled with tragêmata for you. B. But I'm not fond of eating dessert every time." Alexis in *Polycleia*, name of a courtesan [f]: "The man who first discovered tragêmata was smart. For he found a way to prolong the party and never have our jaw-bones idle." And in *She was Like That*—the same play goes also under the authorship of Antidotus [g]; "A. I'm not fond of a big dinner, either, so help me Asclepius, but I enjoy dessert more. B. Very nice of you! A. Yes, for I see it's the regular custom for bridegrooms when they are after the— B. the bride, you mean— A. to

[a] Kock ii. 136: no satisfactory emendations have been proposed. Produced in 349; *cf. I.G.* xiv. 1098, ed. Dittmer.

[b] Alluding to a kind of motto quoted by Plut. 13 B *ζῆν, οὐ παραζῆν προσήκει*, *cf.* Plato, *Crito* 48 B *οὐ τὸ ζῆν . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ εὖ ζῆν*.

[c] Kock ii. 409.

[d] Here, probably, raisins and dried figs.

[e] Kock ii. 180. [f] Kock ii. 366. [g] Kock ii. 357.

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[5] *ἡ παῖς* Dobree: *παισ* A. [6] CE: *οὐχὶ* A.

[7] Wilamowitz: *ἐξεῦρε· κἀργοὺσ* A, *ὥστε ἀργοὺς* (om. *ἐξεῦρε*) in paraphrase CE Eustath.

[8] CE: *μηδέ πωποτε* A.

[9] Erfurdt: *δὲ χαίρω* A. [10] B, Musurus: *νομίζετε* A.

[11] Schweighäuser, assuming an interruption; but *λέγεις* may be a corruption, *δόσεις* Lumb.

A. παρέχειν, ἄμητας καὶ λαγῷα καὶ κίχλας.
τούτοισι χαίρω, τοῖς δὲ κεκαρυκευμένοις
ὄψοισι καὶ ζωμοῖσι—μηδάμ' ὦ θεοί.[1]

e Ἀπίων δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος, ἐπαίκλειά φησι[2] καλεῖσθαι τὰ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τραγήματα.

Ἔφιππος Ἐφήβοις·

χόνδρος μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσῆλθε,[3] μύρον Αἰγύπτιον,
φοινικίνου[4] βῖκός τις ὑπανεῴγνυτο,
ἴτρια, τραγήμαθ' ἧκε,[5] πυραμοῦς, ἄμης,
ὠῶν ἑκατόμβη· πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχναύομεν,
ἐμασώμεθ' οὕτως ἀνδρικῶς ὅσ' εἴχομεν·
καὶ γὰρ παραμασύντας[6] τινὰς παραβόσκομεν.[7]

καὶ ἐν Κύδωνι·

καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον κόκκος . . . .[8]
ἐρέβινθος . . . . . κύαμος,
χόνδρος, τυρός, μέλι, σησαμίδες,
f βάτραχος, βότρυες, ῥοῦς,[9] πυραμίδες,
μῆλον, κάρυον, γάλα, κανναβίδες,
κόγχαι, χυλός, Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος.

Ἄλεξις Φιλίσκῳ·

ἀρτέον
τράπεζαν, ἀπονίψαι[10] δοτέον, προσοιστέος
στέφανος, μύρον, σπονδή, λιβανωτός, ἐσχαρίς,
τράγημα[11] δοτέον ἔτι, πλακοῦντος ἁπτέον.

[1] Kock (οὐδάμ' Jacobs): ζωμοῖσιν ηδ' ομω θεοι A.
[2] ἐπαίκλειά φησι CE (om. Διόδωρος), ἐπαίκλεια φησιν A.
[3] Jacobs: μετατ' εισῆλθεν A.
[4] 29 d: φοινικου A.
[5] Porson: εἶτ' ἴτρια τραγήματα θῆκε,
[6] Casaubon: παράμασυλτασ A.

give dessert—milk-cakes, hares, thrushes. Those I enjoy, but as for highly-seasoned entrées and broths—never, oh ye gods!"

Apion and Diodorus, however, on the testimony of Pamphilus, say that the dessert following the dinner was called epaikleia.[a]

Ephippus in *The Recruits*[b]: "A thick gruel was next brought in and some Egyptian perfume, a cask of date wine was being tapped, sesame cakes, sweetmeats arrived, honey-cake, milk-cake, and a hecatomb of eggs; all these we nibbled at, and right manfully did we chew all we had; in fact we fed some fellow-chewers besides."[c] Also in *Cydon*[d]: "And after dinner there came a berry . . . chickpea . . . bean, some gruel and cheese, honey, sesame-seeds, fishing-frog, grapes, spice, cheese-cakes, quince, walnut, milk, hempseed, whelks, barley-water, Zeus-morsel."[e] Alexis in *Philiscus*[f]: "The table must be cleared away, water brought to wash the hands, a wreath, perfume, wine for libation, frankincense and a brazier must be supplied; then there is still dessert to be brought and a flat-cake to be laid hold of."

[a] ἐπάικλα 140 d, 141 c (vol. ii. pp. 140, 144), ἐπάικλον 664 f.
[b] Kock ii. 255, Athen. 29 d, 58 a (vol. i. pp. 128, 252).
[c] *i.e.* self-invited parasites.
[d] Kock ii. 256, *cf.* Athen. 322 d-e (vol. iii. pp. 448-450).
[e] See 514 e (vol. v. p. 314).
[f] Kock ii. 389.

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[7] παρε- (?) Schweighäuser.
[8] Dindorf: μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον A.
[9] Kock: βράχοσ· βρυγμόσ· μυοῦσ A.
[10] Porson: ἄρτεον τράπεζαν ἀπονίψασθαι A, ἀρτέα τράπεζ' ἀπονίψασθαι Meineke.
[11] Porson: τραγήματα A, τραγήματ' οἰστέ' εἶτα Peppink.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος ἐν τῷ Δείπνῳ
643 δευτέρων τραπεζῶν μνημονεύων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμῖν παρακειμένων ὠνόμασεν, φέρε καὶ τούτων ἀπομνημονεύσωμεν·

τὰς δὲ δὴ πρόσθεν μολούσας λιπαραυγεῖς
πορθμίδας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πάλιν εἴσφερον[1]
γεμούσας,
τὰς ἐφήμεροι[2] καλέοντι νῦν τραπέζας δευτέρας,[3]
ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρας. ταῖσι δ' ἐν
μέσαις[4]
ἐγκαθιδρύθη μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς, λευκὸς μυελὸς
γλυκερός,[5] λεπτοῖς ἀράχνας ἐναλιγκίοισι πέ-
πλοις
συγκαλύπτων[6] ὄψιν αἰσχύνας ὕπο, μὴ κατίδῃ τις[7]
b μηλογενὲς[8] πῶυ λιπόντ'[9] ἀνάγκαις
ξηρὸν ἐν ξηραῖς[10] Ἀρισταίου παλιρρύτοισι[11] πα-
γαῖς[12].
τῷ δ'[13] ὄνομ' ἧς ἄμυλος. χερσὶν δ' ἐπέθεντο[14]
στόμιον μαλεραῖς
. . . ταν δεξαμένην ὅ τι καὶ[15] διδῷ τις, ἃ Ζανὸς
καλέοντι
τρώγματ'. ἐπεί γ'[16] ἐπένειμεν ἐγκατακνακομιγὲς[17]
πεφρυγμένον

[1] Meineke: εἰσέφερον ACE.
[2] Meineke: ἐφημεριοι A, ἐφημέριοι C.
[3] δευτέρας added by Bergk.
[4] ACE (σταισι A): ταῖσιν δὲ μέσσαις Kaibel.
[5] A, om. C: γλαγερός (?) Kaibel.
[6] Casaubon: συγκαλυπτὸν (*sic*) A.
[7] κατίδῃ τις B: κατιδησ A.
[8] *sic* A.
[9] Bergk: λιπὼν ταῖσ A.
[10] Meineke: ξηροῖσ A.
[11] παλιρρύτοισι A: μελιρρύτοισι Meineke.

Inasmuch as Philoxenus of Cythera in *The Banquet* mentioned "second tables," and named many viands that were served to us, let us recite them from memory [a]: "The vessels [b] which had been taken away earlier they brought in again, glistening in brightness and laden with many good things; the creatures of a day now call them 'second tables,' but the immortals call them 'Amaltheia's horn.' [c] And in the midst of them was set great joy for mortal men, white marrow sweet,[d] hiding its visage in robes as fine as a spider's web, through shame lest one see it has perforce left the sheep-born flock dry amid the dry, backward-flowing fountains of Aristaeus [e]; its name was amylos.[f] And with eager hands and mouths the feasters attacked . . . whatsoever one offered,[g] which men call the dessert of Zeus. For the slave [h] served, smothered deep in saffron sauce, a roasted

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 606, Diehl i. 319 (Philoxenus Leucadius), Edmonds iii. 356. On the authorship *cf.* 146 f (vol. ii, p. 168).

[b] Lit. "ferry-boats," referring to the tables used for the first course (δεῖπνον).

[c] Horn of Plenty, Athen. 783 c, 542 a (vol. v. pp. 48, 452).

[d] Or reading γλαγερός, "milky."

[e] The outer skin of a beestings-pudding "is made by depriving the young of the first milk after yeaning; the 'fountains of Aristaeus,' patron-god of farmers, are the goat's udders" (Edmonds).

[f] ἄμυλος (ἄμυλον below, 647 f) is a cake of very fine meal. It seems scarcely appropriate here.

[g] Bergk rightly marked a large gap in the text here. It is futile to try to fill it.

[h] For the omission of the subject *cf.* Xenophanes at 462 d (vol. v. p. 16) ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους.

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[12] πάγαιο A. [13] Meineke: το | δ' A.
[14] Musurus: ἐπιθεντο A. [15] καὶ A: κα Dindorf.
[16] ἐπεί γ' Edmonds: ἐπειτ' A.
[17] ενκατακνακομογεσ A.

πυροβρομολευκερεβινθοακανθιδομικριτριαδυ-[1]
βρωματοπαντανάμικτον
ἄμπυκι καριδίᾳ· στιχὰς[2] παρεγίνετο τούτοις
σταιτινοκογχομαγὴς[3] χὠ ψαιστελαιοξανθεπιπαγ-
καπύρωτος[4] χοιρίνας.[5]
c ἁδέα δὲ . . . κυκλώθ'[6] ὁμόφωκτ'[7] ἀνάριθμα
καὶ μελίπακτα τετυγμέν' ἄφθονα σασαμόφωκτα.[8]
τυρακίνας τε γάλακτι καὶ μέλι συγκατάφυρτος ἧς
ἄμυλος πλαθανίτας.[9]
σασαμοτυροπαγῆ[10] δὲ καὶ ζεσελαιοπαγῆ πλατύ-
νετο[11] σασαμόπαστα
πέμματα κᾆτ' ἐρέβινθοι κνακοσυμμιγεῖς[12] ἁπαλαῖς
θάλλοντες ὥραις,
ᾠά τ' ἀμυγδαλίδες τε[13] τᾶν μαλακοφλοΐδων[14]
ἐτάττετο[15] τρωκτά τε παισὶν
ἁδυεδῆ κάρυ', ἄλλα θ' ὅσσα πρέπει παρὰ θοίναν
ὀλβιόπλουτον ἔμεν[16]· πόσις δ' ἐπεραίνετο κότ-
ταβοί τε λόγοι τ' ἐπὶ κοινᾶς,
d ἔνθα τι καινὸν[17] ἐλέχθη κομψὸν ἀθυρμάτιον καὶ
θαύμασαν αὔτ' ἐπί τ' ᾔνησαν . . .[18]

ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος· ὃν ἐπαινῶν
Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Τριταγωνιστῇ φησι·

[1] Edmonds: -ακανθουμικτριτυαδυ A.
[2] Edmonds: κηροιδηστιχασι A.
[3] Meineke: ταιτιν ὁ κογχομανὴσ A.
[4] Bergk, Meineke: τοξαισελαιοξανθεπιπαν καπυροσ A.
[5] χοιρίνας Meineke: χοιρινισ A.
[6] Bergk: αδεαδεκυκλωτα A.
[7] Meineke: ὁμοφλωκτα A (*sic*).
[8] Meineke: σασαμοφλωκτα A.
[9] Meineke: πλατανισ A.
[10] M. Schmidt: σασαμοριτοπαγη A.
[11] Meineke: πλατυντο A.

all-together of wheaten-oaten-samphire-chickpea-thistletop - little - milk - cake - sweetmeat, with its honeyed rim ; on came in the line with these also the dough - kneaded - lentil - pod - oil - boiled - yellow - parched-on-every-side cake. And sweet . . ., rounded and toasted together in countless number, and honeyed sesame-biscuits prepared without stint, and a cheese-pie milk-and-honey-mixed was there,—a soft pie baked in a mould ; then there were, in wide profusion, sesame - cheese - and - oil - boiled cakes sprinkled with sesame-seeds, and next came chick-peas, saffron-mingled, luxuriant in their tender bloom, eggs too, and almonds with skins still soft[a] were posted there, and the sweet walnuts munched by children, and all the other viands which befit a banquet of happy wealth ; and so the drinking came to its close, and the cottabos, and the social talk, wherein some novel and clever conceit was uttered, and they marvelled at it and praised it extravagantly."[b] All this is from Philoxenus of Cythera, in praise of whom Antiphanes says in *The Third-rate Actor*[c] : " Far

[a] Eaten, like a peach or an apricot, with the skins on.

[b] Bergk, to supply the missing syllables, conjectured περισσῶς, from Pind. frag. 216 σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἴνησαν περισσῶς "wise men even praise the motto, 'nothing in excess,' extravagantly."

[c] Kock ii. 102. There is some irony in the praise. In " ivy-twisted " there may be an allusion to Bacchic frenzy. With " flower-flitting " *cf.* above, 633 a (p. 415) μέλεα μελιπτέρωτα.

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[12] Meineke : καὶ τερεβινθοκνακοσυμμιγεισ A.
[13] τε added by Meineke.
[14] Bergk : μαλακόφλοιαων A (*sic*).
[15] Edmonds : τετο A. [16] ἔμεν added by Bergk.
[17] Dalechamps : κηνον A.
[18] Meineke : ἐθαύμασαν ἀυτὸ ἔπειτ' ἤινησαν A.

πολύ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν διάφορος
ὁ Φιλόξενος. πρώτιστα[1] μὲν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν
ἰδίοισι καὶ καινοῖσι[2] χρῆται πανταχοῦ.
ἔπειτα τὰ[3] μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν
ὡς εὖ κέκραται. θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἦν
e ἐκεῖνος, εἰδὼς τὴν[4] ἀληθῶς μουσικήν.
οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα[5] καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ
ἀνθεσιπότατα μέλεα[6] μελέοις ὀνόμασι
ποιοῦσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη.

Πλακούντων δὲ ὀνόματα πολλῶν καταλεξάντων, ὅσων μέμνημαι τούτων σοι καὶ μεταδώσω. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχον ἐν τῷ τῶν παντοδαπῶν συγγραμμάτων Πίνακι ἀναγράψαντα πλακουντοποιικὰ
f συγγράμματα Αἰγιμίου[7] καὶ Ἡγησίππου καὶ Μητροβίου, ἔτι δὲ Φαίστου.[8] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἃ μετεγράψαμεν ὀνόματα πλακούντων τούτων[9] σοι καὶ μεταδώσομεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ὑπ'[10] Ἀλκιβιάδου πεμφθέντος Σωκράτει· ὃν Ξανθίππης καταπατησάσης, γελάσας[11] ὁ Σωκράτης "οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οὐδὲ σὺ
644 μεθέξεις τούτου." τοῦτο δὲ ἱστόρησεν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ὀργῆς. "ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοπλάκουντος ὢν οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδον" τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον ἐξυβριζόμενον πλακοῦντα. μνημονεύων οὖν ὁ κωμικὸς Πλάτων εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Ποιητῇ οὕτως·

[1] Dobree: πρῶτα A.
[2] Grotius: ἰδίοισ καὶ καινοῖσι ACE (κωνοῖς C).
[3] τὰ added by Casaubon.
[4] Grotius: εἰδώσ' A.
[5] Meineke: κισόπληκτα ACE (κισσόπληκτα C).
[6] CE: τε μέλεα A.
[7] ἀιγημίου A.
[8] Meineke: φαιτου A.
[9] Coraes: ὧν A.
[10] ὑπ' added by Casaubon.

superior to all other poets is Philoxenus. For, first and foremost, he uses novel and special words everywhere. And then how nicely his lyrics are tempered with variety and colour! He was a god among men, he knew true poetry. But your moderns compose ivy-twisted flower-flitting fountain songs—wretched [a] things with wretched words which they weave into nonsensical lays."

Since many of the guests enumerated names of different cakes, I will share with you all I can remember of them. I know, too, that Callimachus in his *Tablet* of miscellaneous literature has recorded [b] books on the making of cakes, by Aegimius, Hegesippus, Metrobius, and Phaestus. We, in like manner, will share with you the names of cakes which I have transcribed, not acting as Xanthippê did when one was sent to Socrates by Alcibiades; after she had trampled it under foot, Socrates said, with a laugh, "Well, you can't have a share of it either." This story is told by Antipater [c] in the first book of his treatise *On Anger*. "As for me, being fond of flat-cake, I wouldn't have permitted" [d] that heavenly cake to be treated with such utter ignominy. Mentioning them, then, in *The Poet*, the comedian Plato has the following [e]: "I

[a] The adjective *μέλεα* ("wretched") puns on the noun *μέλη* (metrical or musical phrasing).

[b] Schneider ii. 316, frag. 100 d 7, Mair (L.C.L.) p. 12; *cf.* above, 585 b (p. 155).

[c] Possibly the Stoic of Tarsus; but see H. Cohn, *Antipater v. Tarsos* 15 note 1.

[d] Quoted from some comic poet, Demiańczuk 115.

[e] Kock i. 631, Eustath. 1345. 30; the speaker is some god who has been forgotten at the sacrifice.

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11 *καταπατησάσης, γελάσας* Gulick: *καταγελασάσης* A. *Cf.* Ael. *V.H.* xi. 12.

μόνος δ' ἄγευστος,
ἄσπλαγχνος ἐνιαυτίζομαι, ἀπλάκουντος,[1] ἀλιβάνωτος.

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς κώμης ἀμνήμων εἰμὶ ἣν Πλακοῦντά φησι καλεῖσθαι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν δωδεκάτῳ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου, τῶν Ὑποπλακίων Θηβῶν φάσκων αὐτὴν ἀπέχειν σταδίους
b ἕξ. περισπαστέον δὲ λέγοντας πλακοῦς τὴν ὀνομαστικήν· συνῆρηται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλακόεις, ὡς τυρόεις τυροῦς, σησαμόεις σησαμοῦς. εἴρηται δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἄρτος. ὅτι δὲ καλοῦς πλακοῦντας ἐν Παρίῳ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φαγεῖν ἔστιν οἱ ἐπιδημήσαντες μαρτυρήσουσιν. Ἄλεξις γὰρ πεπλάνηται λέγων τοὺς ἐκ Πάρου· λέγει δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρχιλόχῳ·

ὦ τὴν εὐτυχῆ[2] ναίων Πάρον, ὄλβιε πρέσβυ,
ἣ[3] κάλλιστα φέρει χώρα δύο τῶν συναπασῶν,
c κόσμον μὲν μακάρεσσι λίθον, θνητοῖς δὲ πλακοῦντας.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι διαφέροντές εἰσι πλακοῦντες Σώπατρος ὁ φλυακογράφος φησὶν ἐν Βακχίδος Μνηστῆρσιν·

πλακουντοποιὸν ὠνομασμένην Σάμον.

ΕΓΧΥΤΩΝ δὲ πλακούντων μνημονεύει Μένανδρος μὲν ἐν Ψευδηρακλεῖ·

οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποιεῖν οὐδ' οἷα[4] σὺ
εἴωθας εἰς ταὐτὸν καρυκεύειν, μέλι,

[1] Casaubon: ἐνιαυγιζομαιαβλακοῦντοσ A (*sic*), ἀπλάκουντος CE.
[2] εὐτείχη (εὐτειχῆ ?) Dindorf, εὐαυγῆ Kock.

alone spend the year untasting—no entrails, no flat-cake, no frankincense for me." What is more, I have not forgotten, either, the village which Demetrius of Scepsis asserts,[a] in the twelfth book of his *Trojan Battle-Order*, was called Flat Cake[b]; he says it lay six stadia distant from Thebes-under-Plakos. The word plakoûs, when used in the nominative, should be accented with the circumflex on the last syllable, since it is a contract form from plakoeis (flattish), like tyroûs from tyroeis (cheesy), sesamoûs from sesamoeis (full of sesame). It is used as a substantive with the word artos (loaf) understood. That one may eat fine flat-cakes in Parium, on the Hellespont, all who have travelled there will testify. Alexis, indeed, is in error when he speaks of the flat-cakes from Paros; these are his words in the play entitled *Archilochus*[c]: "Oh you fortunate old man, dwelling in happy Paros, which country out of all in the world produces two things most fair, marble to grace the Blessed, and flat-cakes for mortals." And that the Samian flat-cakes are of superior quality is asserted by Sopater, the writer of farces, in *The Suitors of Bacchis*[d]: "Samos, whose name is flat-cake-maker."

Enchytoi, moulded cakes, are mentioned by Menander in *Sham Heracles*[e]: "You haven't any rich titbits to make, nor the kind of sauces which you usually mix

[a] Frag. 7 Gaede.

[b] Plakoûs or Plakos, *Il.* vi. 396-397.

[c] Kock ii. 305; Archilochus, who was a native of Paros, may be the person addressed.

[d] Kaibel 192.

[e] Kock iii. 148, Allinson (L.C.L.) 458, *cf.* Athen. 172 b (vol. ii. pp. 280, 281 note *d*). For ἔγχυτοι, lit. "poured in a mould," *cf.* Hipponax 370 b (vol. iv. p. 176).

[a] Musurus: ὀλβιαεπρεσβυη A.

[b] 172 b: ὅσα A.

d σεμίδαλιν, ὠά[1]· πάντα γὰρ τἀναντία
νῦν ἐστιν· ὁ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποιεῖ,
πλακοῦντας ὀπτᾷ,[2] χόνδρον ἕψει καὶ φέρει
μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἶτα θρῖον καὶ βότρυς·
ἡ δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη
κρεᾷδι' ὀπτᾷ καὶ κίχλας.

Εὐάγγελος δὲ Ἀνακαλυπτομένῃ[3]·

τέτταρας ποιεῖν[4] τραπέζας τῶν γυναικῶν εἶπά σοι,[5]
ἓξ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὸ δεῖπνον δ'[6] ἐντελὲς καὶ μηδὲ ἓν[7]
e ἐλλιπές.[8] λαμπροὺς γενέσθαι[9] βουλόμεσθα τοὺς γάμους.
οὐ παρ' ἑτέρου δεῖ πυθέσθαι· πάντα δ' αὐτόπτης ἐρῶ.
τῶν μὲν ἰχθύων σὺ λήψει[10] πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν βούλῃ[11] γένῃ,
εἰς δὲ τὰ κρέα μόσχον ἔλαβες, δέλφακας,[12] χοίρους, λαγώς[13].
Β. ὡς ἀλαζὼν ὁ κατάρατος. Α. θρῖα, τυρόν, ἐγχύτους.
Γ. παῖ, Δρόμων. Α. κάνδυλον ᾠά τ', ἀμύλιον . . .[14]
τὸ πέρας, ὕψος τῆς τραπέζης πήχεων ἔσται[15] τριῶν,

[1] 172 b: σεμιδαλινω· ᾱ A. [2] 172 b: ὀπτοῦσα AC.
[3] Schweighäuser, Kaibel: δὲ ἐν ακαλυπτομενηι A.
[4] ποιεῖν added by Meineke.
[5] Schweighäuser: ἔιπασ οἱ A.
[6] Dindorf: τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον A. [7] Kaibel: μηδὲν A.
[8] Musurus: ἐλλειπὲσ A. [9] Dindorf: γίνεσθαι A.
[10] Gulick: τῶν μὲν ἐλαῶν ἀφελε A.

in it, consisting of honey, sifted flour, and eggs; no, for nowadays things are completely turned round. It is the *cook* who makes cakes in moulds, bakes flat-cakes, boils groats and serves them after the salt-fish. and then a dish in fig-leaves and some grapes. Meanwhile the artisan, a woman, posted to rival him, roasts bits of meat and thrushes." Euangelus in *The Unveiling of the Bride* [a]: "(*Father*) I told you to set four tables for the women and six for the men; the dinner is to be complete, and not a thing must be lacking. We want the wedding to be a brilliant one. You don't need to ask questions of any one else; I'll tell you everything, keeping my eye on you the while. As to the fish, you shall buy [b] all the kinds you like; for the meat courses you have got veal, young sows, sucking-pigs, hares. (*Cook's boy, aside*) What a braggart this damned fellow is! (*Father*) Platters of fig-leaves, cheese, moulded cakes. (*Cook*) Boy there, Dromon! (*Father*) A Lydian sauce, some eggs, a nice meal-cake. . . . And to make it perfect, the height of the

[a] Kock iii. 376; a conversation between the bride's father (a parvenu) and the cook hired for the wedding-feast.

[b] The reading in A, *τῶν μὲν ἐλαῶν ἄφελε*, "take away the olives," is suspected on metrical grounds (White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, §§ 248-252), but even if the metre can be condoned, the verse still lacks a trochee. Since there is no obvious antithesis between olives and meat I have changed the reading so as to make a complete verse; *ἐλαῶν γένη* occurred in Alexis, 60 a (vol. i. p. 260), where, however, the verse is again faulty. For *λήψει*, "buy," see Alexis 170 a (vol. ii. p. 272).

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[11] Dindorf: *ὅσα βούλει* A.
[12] B: *δέλφακα* A.
[13] Schweighäuser: *λαγωοῦσα* A.
[14] A. *παῖ, παῖ, Δρόμων* Meineke.
[15] Bothe: *ἐστι* A.

f ὥστε τὸν δειπνοῦντ' ἐπαίρειν, ἄν τι βούληται λαβεῖν.

ΑΜΗΣ πλακοῦντος γένος. Ἀντιφάνης·

ἄμητες, ἄμυλοι.

Μένανδρος ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ·

τὸν ἄμητα, Χαίριππ', οὐκ ἐς Ἅιδου πέμπετε;
B. τίν' ἄμητ' ἐν Ἅιδου προσδοκᾷς;[1]

Ἴωνες δέ, ὥς φησι Σιληνὸς ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, ἄμην αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ἀμητίσκους Τηλεκλείδης·

αὐτόμαται[a] δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων εἰς τὸν φάρυγ'[3] εἰσεπέτοντο.

ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΟΝ. Φερεκράτης·

645 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπληστίας
διακόνιον ἐπῆσθεν,[4] ἀμφιφῶντ' ἔχων.

ΑΜΦΙΦΩΝ πλακοῦς Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνακείμενος, ἔχει δ' ἐν κύκλῳ καόμενα δᾴδια. Φιλήμων ἐν Πτωχῇ ἢ Ῥοδίᾳ[5]·

Ἄρτεμι, φίλη δέσποινα, τοῦτόν σοι φέρω,
ὦ πότνι', ἀμφιφῶντα καὶ σπονδήσιμα.[6]

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἑκάτῃ. Φιλό-

[1] ἄμητ' . . . προσδοκᾷς added, with second speaker, from Phot. 92. 3 Reitz. : τὸν αμηταχαιρίππουκεαι | ἐσ πεττιν τινά A.
[2] A here: ὀπταὶ 64 f, 268 c.
[3] φάρυγγ' A (ACE at 64 f, 268 c).
[4] ACE: ἐπήσθι' Meineke.
[5] Casaubon: πτωχῶι ηροδιαι A.
[6] A: σπονδὰς ἅμα Coraes, σπονδὴν ἅμα Meineke.

[a] Kock ii. 130.

table shall be three ells, so that the diner must raise himself if he wants to reach anything."

Amês. A kind of milk-cake. Antiphanes [a]: "Milk-cakes, fine meal-cakes." Menander in *Suppositious* [b]: "A. Aren't your people, Chaerippus, sending that milk-cake to Hades? B. What milk-cake can you expect in Hades?" The Ionians, according to Silenus in his *Glossary*, call it an *amê*,[c] and Telecleides has *ametiskoi* for the small cakes [d]: "And of their own accord thrushes served up with little milk-cakes were flying into the gullet."

Diakonion. Pherecrates [e]: "In his greed, and on top of all, he began to eat the *diakonion*, though he already had an *amphiphôn*."

Amphiphôn. A flat-cake dedicated to Artemis, having lighted candles all about it. Philemon in *The Beggar-Woman*, or *The Woman from Rhodes* [f]: "Artemis, my dear mistress, for thee, O Lady, I bring this *amphiphôn* and offerings for a libation." It is mentioned by Diphilus also, in *Hecatê*.[g] Philo-

[b] Kock iii. 141, as emended by Porson; Demiańczuk 58, om. Allinson (L.C.L.). See critical note 1.

[c] First or *a* declension, accus. *ἄμην* instead of the form *ἄμητα* used by Menander.

[d] Kock i. 209, Athen. 64 f (vol. i. p. 280), 268 c (vol. iii. p. 206).

[e] Kock i. 194; the subject is possibly the gluttonous Heracles. If *διακόνιον* is connected with *διάκονος*, the word may mean a cake made for the servants. But since Hesych. *s.v.*, among other definitions, adds *ἡ κρηπὶς τοῦ πλακοῦντος* it would seem that *διακόνιον* was the under-crust of the cake, and not ordinarily eaten.

[f] Kock ii. 495. The name of the cake means "shining all round"; Pollux vi. 75 *ἀμφιφῶντες, οὓς ἔφερον εἰς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος, δᾷδας ἡμμένας περιπήξαντες.* *Etym. Magn.* 95. 1 offers an alternative etymology, *ἢ διὰ τὸ πανσελήνου οὔσης πέμπεσθαι τῇ Ἑκάτῃ.*

[g] Kock ii. 548.

χορος δ' ἀμφιφῶντα αὐτὸν κληθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὰ φέρεσθαι ἔτι τε καὶ εἰς τὰς τριόδους, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπικαταλαμ-
b βάνεται ἡ σελήνη ἐπὶ ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀμφίφως[1] γίνεται.

ΒΑΣΥΝΙΑΣ. Σῆμος ἐν β' Δηλιάδος "ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἑκάτης, φησίν, νήσῳ τῇ Ἴριδι θύουσι Δήλιοι τοὺς βασυνίας καλουμένους. ἐστὶν δὲ ἑφθὸν πύρινον σταῖς σὺν μέλιτι καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κόκκωρα ἰσχὰς καὶ κάρυα τρία."

ΣΤΡΕΠΤΟΙ καὶ ΝΕΗΛΑΤΑ. τούτων μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου.

ΕΠΙΧΥΤΟΝ.[2] Νικοφῶν[3] ἐν Χειρογάστορσιν·

c ἐγὼ[4] μὲν ἄρτους, μᾶζαν, ἀθάρην, ἄλφιτα,
κόλλικας, ὀβελίαν, μελιτοῦτταν, ἐπιχύτους,
πτισάνην,[5] πλακοῦντας, δενδαλίδας, ταγηνίας.

Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸν ΑΤΤΑΝΙΤΗΝ καλούμενον ἐπίχυτόν φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἀττανίτου Ἱππῶναξ ἐν τούτοις μνημονεύει·

οὐκ ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ λαγὼς καταβρύκων,

[1] ἀμφίφως CE: ἀμφιφῶς A. [2] ἐπιχυτον A.
[3] *Etym. Magn.* 367. 32, cf. Athen. 389 a: νικοχάρησ A.
[4] ἔχω Porson. [5] πτισσάνην A.

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[a] *F.H.G.* i. 412, Schwabe, *Ael. Dionys.* 64–65.

[b] The sixteenth of the month Munichiôn (April), Suid. *s.v.* ἀνάσατατοι.

[c] *F.H.G.* iv. 493. For Hecatê Island, near Delos, see Harpocr. *s.* Ἑκάτης νῆσος.

chorus attests [a] the name *amphiphôn* and says it was carried to the temples of Artemis and also to the crossroads, because on that day [b] the moon, just as it sets, is overtaken by the rising sun, so that the sky is lighted doubly (*amphiphôs*).

Basynias. Semus in the second book of his *History of Delos* says [c]: "On the island of Hecatê the people of Delos offer to Iris the *basyniai*, as they are called. They consist of dough from wheat-flour boiled with honey, to which are added the so-called *coccôra*, a dried fig and three walnuts."

Streptoi and *Neêlata.* These are mentioned by the orator Demosthenes in his speech, in behalf of Ctesiphon, *On the Crown.*[d]

Epichyton. Mentioned by Nicophon in *Hand-to-mouth Toilers* [e]: "As for me, I have for sale wheat-loaves, barley-bread, porridge, barley-meal, rolls, a toasted bun, a honey-cake, moulded cakes (*epichytoi*),[f] barley-gruel, flat-cakes, toasted barley-cakes,[g] pan-cakes." Now Pamphilus says that the so-called *attanitês* was also called *epichytos.* The *attanitês* is mentioned by Hipponax in these lines [h]: "Not chewing up francolins and hares, not spicing pan-

[a] *De Cor.* 260; see Goodwin's note. στρεπτοί are twists or crullers. Harpocr. *s.v.* νεήλατα says that these are made of freshly ground barley-meal, soaked in honey and covered with raisins and chick-peas. They were drawn out (νε-ήλατα, from ἐλαύνω) in the shape of a long bun.

[c] Kock i. 778; *cf.* Aristoph. *Ach.* 874-880.

[f] These seem to be not different from the enchytoi 644 c-e.

[g] δενδαλίδες or δανδαλίδες are variously defined, Eratosth. p. 23 Bernhardy, Poll. vi. 76.

[h] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 474, Diehl i. 277, Athen. 388 b (vol. iv. p. 254). Hesych. *s.v.* ἄτταναι· τήγανα; hence it appears that ἀτταναῖται and ταγηνίαι were nearly the same, the former fried in forms or moulds, the latter spread out over the pan.

οὐ τηγανίτας σησάμοισι φαρμάσσων,
οὐδ' ἀττανίτας κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτων.

d KPHION[1] *πλακοῦς, ἄρτος, ὃν Ἀργεῖοι παρὰ τῆς νύμφης πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον φέρουσιν. "ὀπτᾶται δ' ἐν ἄνθραξιν, καὶ καλοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι, παρατίθεται δὲ μετὰ μέλιτος," ὥς φησιν Φιλίτας ἐν Ἀτάκτοις.*

ΓΛΥΚΙΝΑΣ *ὁ διὰ γλυκέος*[2] *καὶ ἐλαίου πλακοῦς παρὰ Κρησίν, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσσαις.*

ΕΜΠΕΠΤΑΣ,[3] *ὁ αὐτός φησι, πύρινος ἄρτος κοῖλος καὶ σύμμετρος, ὅμοιος ταῖς λεγομέναις κρηπῖσιν, εἰς ἃς ἐντίθενται τὰ διὰ τυροῦ*[4] *σκευαζόμενα πλακούντια.*

e ΕΓΚΡΙΔΕΣ *πεμμάτιον ἑψόμενον ἐν ἐλαίῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μελιτούμενον. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν Στησίχορος διὰ τούτων·*

χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας
ἄλλα τε πέμματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐγχειρογάστορσι Νικοφῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Δαναΐσιν καὶ πωλητήν[5] *φησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν τούτοις·*

μήτ' ἄρα μ' εἶναι[6] *ἐγκριδοπώλην.*

[1] *κρηῖον* A: *κηρίον* Kaibel.
[2] Hesych. *s. γλυκίνας* (*sic*)· *διὰ γλυκέος οἴνου*; *οἴνου* om. AC.
[3] *ἐμπέπται* Hesych: *ἐμπεμπτασ* A(*sic*)CE, *ἐμπε· πτὰς* in lemma C.
[4] Casaubon (*cf.* Hesych. *s.v.*): *διὰ τοῦ τυροῦ* A, *διὰ κηροῦ* (om. *τοῦ*) CE.
[5] Schweighäuser: *ποιητην* A.
[6] Jacobs: *μητ' αρμα εἶναι* A.

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[a] Bach frag. 47, Kuchenmüller frag. 37. The form *κρεῖον* occurs in *Etym. Magn.* 537. 3 *τὸν ἐκ στέατος πλακοῦντα.*

cakes with sesame, and not soaking fried cakes (*attanitai*) in honey."

Krêion. A cake or loaf, which among the Argives is carried from the bride to the groom. "It is baked on charcoal and the friends are invited to partake of it, served with honey;" so declares Philitas in *Irregular Words.*[a]

Glykinas. The cake made with grape syrup[b] and olive oil in Crete, according to Seleucus in his *Glossary.*

Empeptas.[c] Seleucus, again, defines this as a hollow wheaten loaf of even shape, similar to the "foundations," as they are called, in which they place the little cakes made with cheese.

Enkrides. A small cake boiled in olive oil and then soaked in honey. They are mentioned by Stesichorus in these verses[d]: "Groats, oil-and-honey-cakes (*enkrides*), other sweet cakes, and yellow honey." They are mentioned also by Epicharmus,[e] and in *The Hand-to-mouth Toilers* of Nicophon.[f] Aristophanes in *The Daughters of Danaus* also speaks of a vender of them in these words[g]: "And that I should not be an oil-and-honey-cake-seller." Pherecrates has

But Hesych. has *κηρίον*, lit. "honey-comb," which Kaibel adopted.

[b] *Cf.* Alexis 59 and 172 (vol. ii. p. 83, vol. v. p. 325) where the translation should be corrected as above.

[c] "Baked inside," and referring to a casing of pastry in which the smaller cakes were laid.

[d] Athen. 172 d–e (vol. ii. p. 282), *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 206, Diehl ii. 40, Edmonds ii. 32; Hesych. *s.v.* *ἐγκρίδες· πέμμα ἐλαίῳ ἑψόμενον καὶ μελιτούμενον.*

[e] Kaibel 95.

[f] Kock i. 779, Athen. 126 f (vol. ii. p. 86, *ἐγκριδοπώλαις*).

[g] Kock i. 457. This and the preceding quotation belong together; the next has got out of its proper order.

Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Κραπατάλλοις[1]·

ταῦτ' ἔχων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἁρπαζέτω τὰς ἐγκρίδας.

ΕΠΙΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ πλακοῦς τις παρὰ Συρακοσίοις οὕτως
f καλούμενος. καὶ μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Γᾷ καὶ Θαλάσσᾳ.[2]

ΓΟΥΡΟΣ[3] ὅτι πλακοῦντος εἶδος ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις φησίν·

πίνουσι καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ μὲν ἴτρια,
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμιγμένους
γούρους φακοῖσι. κεῖθι δ' οὔτε πεμμάτων
ἄπεστιν οὐδὲν ἄσσα τ'[4] ἀνθρώποισι γῆ
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα δ' ἀφθόνως πάρα.[5]

646 ΚΡΙΒΑΝΑΣ[6] πλακοῦντάς τινας ὀνομαστικῶς Ἀπολλόδωρος παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι. ὁμοίως καὶ Σωσίβιος ἐν γ' περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς εἶναι φάσκων αὐτούς, χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς Λάκωνας πρὸς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἑστιάσεις, περιφέρειν τ' αὐτοὺς ὅταν μέλλωσιν ᾄδειν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον ἐγκώμιον τῆς παρθένου αἱ ἐν τῷ χορῷ ἀκόλουθοι.

ΚΡΙΜΝΙΤΗΣ πλακοῦς ποιὸς διὰ κρίμνων γινόμενος, ὡς Ἰατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλακούντων ἀναγράφει.

b ΣΤΑΙΤΙΤΑΣ πλακοῦς ποιὸς ἐκ σταιτὸς καὶ

[1] *sic* A. [2] Dindorf: *θαλάσσῃι* A.
[3] *γουροσ* A, *γοῦρος* C, *γώρος* E.
[4] Ahrens: *οὐδ' ἔνασσεν* A (*sic*).
[5] *παρὰ* A. [6] 114 f: *κυριβανασ* A.

[a] Kock i. 168.
[b] Kaibel 95. The name refers to its circular shape.
[c] *P.L.G.*[4] ii. 58, Diehl i. 38. The meaning of *γοῦρος* is unknown.

enkrides in *Good-for-Nothings*[a]: "Having all this, let him snatch the oil-and-honey-cakes in the streets."

Epikyklios. A cake so called among the Syracusans. Epicharmus mentions it in *Earth and Sea.*[b]

Gouros. That this is a kind of cake is attested by Solon in his *Iambic Verses*[c]: "They drink and they eat, some sesame-cakes, others their wheat-loaf, others still *gouroi* mixed with lentils. In that country not only is no kind of cake absent, but also nothing that the black earth yields for man; everything is there in abundance."

Kribanai. These are certain cakes expressly named as such, Apollodorus says, in Alcman.[d] To the same effect Sosibius, in the third book of his work *On Alcman*, says that in shape they resemble breasts, and the Lacedaemonians use them at dinners given for women, carrying them round whenever the girls who follow in the choir are ready to sing the hymn of praise prepared for the girl-bride.[e]

Krimnitês. A kind of cake made with coarse barley-meal (*krimna*), as Iatrocles records in his work *On Cakes.*

Staititai. A kind of cake made with spelt-dough

[a] J. 2 B 1112; *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 22, *cf.* Athen. 114 f (vol. ii. p. 38), Diehl ii. 29, Edmonds i. 70. Apparently they were different from the κριβανίτης ἄρτος of 110 b-c (vol. ii. p. 18).

[c] Kaibel prints Παρθένου (=Artemis). But Alcman is chiefly noted for his παρθένεια, songs sung by girls or in honour of a girl about to be married, and the phrase τὸ παρεσκευασμένον ἐγκώμιον is more appropriately used with reference to human beings, since each girl thus honoured would have a song especially prepared for her. On the παρθένεια see Smyth, *Melic Poets* cxxviii., and for the ἐγκώμιον, 76, xxvi. and note 2. In Athens, on the Pnyx, Mr. H. A. Thompson has recently found baked clay breasts in the place which he identifies as the Thesmophoreion, *Hesperia*, ii. 196.

μέλιτος. μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἥβας Γάμῳ. σταῖς δ' ἐστὶν ὑγρὸν εἰς τήγανον ἐπιχεόμενον,[1] μέλιτος ἐπιβαλλομένου καὶ σησάμης καὶ τυροῦ, ὡς Ἰατροκλῆς[2] φησιν.

ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΣ. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν·

ἐγὼ δὲ νῷν[3]
πέψω[4] πλακοῦντ' ἐς ἑσπέραν[5] χαρίσιον.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Ἀγκυλίωνι ὡς περὶ ἄρτου αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὕτωσὶ λέγει·

ἐξεπήδησ'[6] ἀρτίως πέττουσα τὸν χαρίσιον.

c ΕΠΙΔΑΙΤΡΟΝ πλακουντῶδες μάζιον[7] ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ ἐσθιόμενον, ὥς φησι Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀττικῶν Ὀνομάτων.

ΝΑΝΟΣ ἄρτος πλακουντώδης διὰ τυροῦ καὶ ἐλαίου σκευαζόμενος.

ΨΩΘΙΑ τὰ ψαθύρια. Φερεκράτης Κραπατάλλοις·

λήψει δ' ἐν Ἅιδου κραπάταλον[8] καὶ ψωθία.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Θεόδωρος δ' ἐν

[1] A: ὑποχεόμενον Kaibel.
[2] Pearson: ἱεροκλῆς A.
[3] ἐγω δε νων A; δ' ἰὼν Dindorf, Kock, δ' ἑλὼν Kaibel.
[4] πέψω Fritzsche: πεμψω A, Kaibel.
[5] Bentley: πλακοῦντεσπεραν A.
[6] 668 d: ἐξεπίλησασ A.
[7] Schweighäuser: πλακούντων δεσμαζιον A.
[8] Meineke: κραπάταλλον τριωβόλου A.

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[a] Kaibel 100, Athen. 110 b (vol. ii. p. 18).

[b] Kock i. 442. Suid. *s.v.* ἀνάστατον . . . χαρίσιον· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειπομένων σύμμιγνομένων ἐγένοντο, "these were made from left-overs hashed together." *Cf.* Athen.

and honey. Epicharmus mentions it in *The Marriage of Hebê*.[a] The soft dough is poured upon a frying-pan, and on it are spread honey, sesame, and cheese, Iatrocles says.

Charisios. This is mentioned by Aristophanes in *Men of Dinnerville*[b]: "For us two I will bake a grace-cake to eat when the evening comes." But Eubulus in *Ancylion* speaks of it as if it were bread, thus[c]: "I jumped just now when I was baking the grace-cake."

Epidaitron. A small, cake-like barley loaf, eaten after dinner, as Philemon explains in his work *On Attic Words*.

Nanos.[d] A cake-like loaf made with cheese and olive oil.

Psothia. The same as *psathyria*, crumbs. Pherecrates in *Good-for-Nothings*[e]: "But in Hades you will receive a good-for-nothing and crumbs." Apollodorus of Athens,[f] and Theodorus in his *Attic Glossary*,

668 c, which shows that it was a kind of sacramental cake eaten at a night-vigil.

[c] Kock ii. 165. The same doubt whether the *χαρίσιος* (thankful bread) was bread or cake is shown by Pollux vi. 72, 73.

[d] A has *νᾶνος*, Poll. vi. 73 *ἄνανος δὲ ἄρτος ἐγγυτέρω πλακοῦντος*.

[e] Kock i. 168. Pollux ix. 83 explains that in Pherecrates' description of Hades the coinage consisted of a "good-for-nothing," equal to one drachma and containing two "crumbs" (*ψωθίᾱ*, feminine), worth a three-obol bit and containing eight *kikkaboi*! Since the gloss *τριωβόλου* in A stands in the genitive explaining *ψωθία*, perhaps we should read with Kock *κραπατάλου καὶ ψωθίας*, "In Hades you can buy (what you want) *for* a good-for-nothing and a crumb."

[f] J. 2 B 1115, P.-W. i. 2871, Hesych. *s.v. ψώθια· τὰ τοῦ ἄρτου ἀποθραύσματα*; *s.v. ἀττάραγος· τὸ ἐλάχιστον* (Callim. *Ep.* xlvii.)· *οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων φλυκταίνας* (swellings on the crust).

Ἀττικαῖς Γλώσσαις τοῦ ἄρτου τὰ ἀποθραυόμενα[1] d ψωθία καλεῖσθαι, ἃ τινὰς ὀνομάζειν ἀτταράγους.

ΙΤΡΙΟΝ πεμμάτιον λεπτὸν διὰ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος γινόμενον. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ἀνακρέων οὕτως·

ἠρίστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν[2] ἀποκλάς,
οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον[3] κάδον.

Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀχαρνεῦσιν·

πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια.

Σοφοκλῆς Ἔριδι·

ἐγὼ δὲ πεινῶσ' αὖ[4] πρὸς ἴτρια βλέπω.

ΑΜΟΡΑΙ. τὰ μελιτώματα Φιλίτας ἐν Ἀτάκτοις ἀμόρας φησὶν καλεῖσθαι. μελιτώματα δ' ἐστὶν πεπεμμένα.

e ΤΑΓΗΝΙΤΗΣ πλακοῦς ἐν[5] ἐλαίῳ τετηγανισμένος, ὁ καὶ ταγηνίας[6]· μνημονεύει Μάγνης ἢ[7] ὁ ποιήσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας κωμῳδίας ἐν Διονύσῳ δευτέρῳ·

ταγηνίας ἤδη τεθέασαι χλιαροὺς
σίζοντας ὅταν αὐτοῖσιν[8] ἐπιχέῃς μέλι;

καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Νόμοις·

καὶ δρόσον βάλλων ἕωθεν χλιαρὸς ταγηνίας.

ΕΛΑΦΟΣ πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασσόμενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.

[1] Kaibel: ἀποφαυόμενα ACE.
[2] 472 e: om. A.
[3] 472 e: ἐπέπιον A.
[4] Musurus: πεινωσαγαυ A.
[5] ἐν A: om. CE.
[6] ὁ καὶ ταγηνίας added from C.
[7] ἢ added by Musurus.
[8] Pollux: ἀυτοῖσ A.

say that the pieces broken off from the loaf are called *psothia* or, as some give it, *attaragoi*.

Itrion. A thin biscuit made with sesame and honey. It is mentioned by Anacreon thus [a]: "I have lunched on a small bit of thin cake which I had broken off, but I drank up a whole jar of wine." Aristophanes in *The Acharnians* [b]: "Flat-cakes, sesame-cakes, sweet biscuits." Sophocles in *Eris* [c]: "And I, hungry once more, gaze at the sweet biscuits."

Amorai. Philitas in *Irregular Words* says [d] that *melitomata* are called *amorai*. Now *melitomata* are puddings baked with honey sauce.

Tagênitês is a flat cake fried in oil, also called *tagênias*. It is mentioned by Magnes, or whoever wrote the comedies attributed to him, in the second edition of his *Dionysus* [e]: "Have you ever watched to see the hot pancakes steaming when you pour honey upon them?" And Cratinus in *The Laws* [f]: "And the hot pancake in the morning throwing out vapour." [g]

Elaphos. The cake moulded in the shape of a deer at the festival of the Elaphebolia, made of spelt-dough, honey, and sesame.[h]

[a] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 260, Diehl i. 465, Edmonds ii. 146, Athen. 472 e (vol. v. p. 86).

[b] *Ach.* 1092.

[c] The goddess of strife, *T.G.F.*[2] 174. Nothing is known of the play; a woman speaks here.

[d] Kuchenmüller 96; possibly a Sicilian word, *cf.* ἀμορβίτης below.

[e] Kock i. 7, Pollux vi. 79. This and the following quotation illustrate *tagênias*, but not *tagênitês*, for which see Hipponax, 645 c (p. 483).

[f] Kock i. 52.

[g] When the oil and honey are poured into the hot pan.

[h] Bekker, *Anecd.* i. 249. 7, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 224.

ΝΑΣΤΟΣ πλακοῦντος εἶδος, ἔχων ἔνδον καρυκκείας.[1]

ΧΟΡΙΑ βρώματα διὰ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος γινόμενα.

f ΑΜΟΡΒΙΤΗΣ πλακοῦντος εἶδος παρὰ Σικελοῖς. οἱ δὲ . . .[2]

ΠΑΙΣΑ πλακούντια παρὰ Κῴοις, ὥς φησιν Ἰατροκλῆς.

ΣΗΣΑΜΙΔΕΣ ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμων πεφρυγμένων καὶ ἐλαίου σφαιροειδῆ πέμματα. Εὔπολις Κόλαξιν·

ὃς χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει,[3]
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει,
μῆλα δὲ χρέμπτεται.

Ἀντιφάνης Δευκαλίωνι·

σησαμίδας ἢ μελίπηκτα ἢ τοιοῦτό τι.[4]

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἔφιππος ἐν Κύδωνι· πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον.

647 ΜΥΛΛΟΙ. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσμῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶ τοῖς Παντελείοις τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐφήβαια γυναικεῖα, ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μυλλοὺς καὶ περιφέρεσθαι ταῖς θεαῖς.

ΕΧΙΝΟΣ. Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δια-

[1] CE: καρυκκιασ A. [2] Lacuna marked by Meineke.
[3] Porson: με νομίζει A.
[4] B. ναί, τοιοῦτό τι Meineke.

[a] Kaibel, *Com.* 213.
[b] Kock i. 304, above, 630 a (p. 399). Kock thinks the

Nastos. A kind of cake having rich sauces inside.

Choria. Meats prepared with honey and milk.

Amorbites. A kind of cake eaten in Sicily.[a] Others define it as . . .

Paisa. Small cakes eaten in Cos, according to Iatrocles.

Sesamides. Cakes of spherical shape made with honey, roasted sesame seeds, and olive oil. Eupolis in *The Flatterers*[b]: "He reeks with charms, his walk is a hip-dance, his excrement is sesame-cake, his sputum is apples." Antiphanes in *Deucalion*[c]: "Sesame-cakes or honey-cakes or something like that." Sesame-cakes are mentioned by Ephippus in *Cydon*; the testimony has been given before.[d]

Mylloi. Heracleides of Syracuse in his work *On Institutions*[e] says that in Syracuse, on the Day of Consummation at the Thesmophoria,[f] cakes of sesame and honey were moulded in the shape of the female pudenda, and called throughout the whole of Sicily *mylloi* and carried about in honour of the goddesses.[g]

Echinos. Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras,*

satire directed against Callias, who figured prominently in this play; *cf.* Athen. 286 b (vol. iii. p. 284).

[a] Kock ii. 43; see critical note 4.

[b] 642 e (p. 469). At this point Kaibel conjectured that the cake called γελώνιος (om. L. & S.) was mentioned, Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* iii. 168 ἵνα τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Δειπνοσοφιστῶν παραρτύσαιμι . . . τὸν σισαμοῦντα εὑρήσεις ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν γελώνιον πλακοῦντα.

[c] There is no warrant for changing the title to περὶ Ἐδεσμάτων, "Eatables"; see P.-W. viii. 496-497; on the Παντέλεια U. Wilcken, *Arch.-pap. Forsch.* x. (1931) 82, Krüger in Zereteli, *Pap. grec.* ii. 190, 192. There were two Syracusan writers named Heracleides, 516 c (vol. v. p. 322).

[f] Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 315, Plato, *Ep.* vii. 349 c-D, Kaibel, *Com.* 201.

[g] Demeter and Persephonê.

γόραν Ἐπιστολῇ ἐκ παραλλήλου τιθεὶς τὰ κατὰ
b τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐξαιρέτως γινόμενα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ γράφει οὕτως· "τῇ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἄμητα δόξῃ τὸν καινὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας εἰσάγουσα[1] τραπέζης ἐχῖνον. ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου· παραγενομένου[2] δὲ σοῦ καὶ συντεθέντος κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ῥόδῳ νόμους ἅμα μασησαμένου[3] πειράσομαι πλείω περιθεῖναι[4] λόγον."

ΚΟΤΤΑΙΣΚΟΙ. Ἡρακλέων ὁ Ἐφέσιος πλακοῦντάς τινάς φησιν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τρίτου μέρους τῆς χοίνικος γινομένους.

ΧΟΙΡΙΝΑΙ.[5] τούτων μνημονεύει Ἰατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ
c περὶ Πλακούντων καὶ τοῦ ΠΥΡΑΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ καλουμένου, οὐ[6] διαφέρειν λέγων τῆς πυραμίδος καλουμένης· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ταύτην ἐκ πυρῶν πεφωσμένων καὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένων. αὗται δὲ ἆθλα τίθενται ταῖς παννυχίσι τῷ διαγρυπνήσαντι.

Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ Τυανεὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρτοκοπικῷ εἴδη πλακούντων καὶ γένη τάδε ἀναγράφει[7]· "Τερεντῖνον, Κρασσιανόν, Τουτιανόν,

[1] A: εἰσάγουσι Meineke, Kaibel.
[2] Kaibel: παραγινομένου AE.
[3] Schweighäuser: ἀναμασησάμενος A.
[4] παραθεῖναι (?) Kaibel.
[5] χοιριναι A, χοιρῖναι C, χορίναι E.
[6] οὐ added by Kaibel.
[7] μυρία εἴδη πλακούντων ἐν τῷ ἀρτοκοπικῷ καταλέγει· βάρβαρα τὰ πλείω C.

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[a] The island personified.

[b] The word means sea-urchin, doubtless referring here to the globular or dumpling shape in which they were moulded. For sea-urchins, commonest of foods in Athens, see 91 a-e (vol. i, pp. 390-392).

[c] "Cup-cakes."

comparing the choice products of Attica with those of Rhodes, writes as follows: "As the newest rival to the glory of the milk-cake she [a] is now introducing at the second tables the *echinos*.[b] For the present I speak of it only by way of summing up; but when you have come, and have tasted with me this confection made according to Rhodian rules, I will try to offer a more detailed explanation."

Kotyliskoi.[c] Heracleon of Ephesus says that these are a kind of cake so called because they are made from the third part of the choenix.[d]

Choirinai.[e] Iatrocles mentions these in his work *On Cakes* along with the *pyramous*, as it is called, which, he says, is not [f] different from the so-called *pyramis*; for this last is made of wheat roasted and soaked in honey. They are offered as prizes to the one who in the vigils has stayed awake all night.

Chrysippus of Tyana in the work entitled *Bread-Making* [g] records countless varieties of cakes, including the following classes [h]: "Terentine,[i] Crassian,

[a] A dry measure, about a quart, or 1½ pints, 272 b-c (vol. iii. p. 223 and note 1).

[b] *Cf.* Philoxenus above, 643 b (p. 473).

[f] See critical note 6. Hesych. *s.* πυραμοῦς· εἶδος πλακοῦντος ἐκ πυρῶν πεφρυγμένων καὶ μέλιτι ἀναδεδευμένων, a description applied to the πυραμίς in our text; also *s.* πυραμοῦντα· τὴν πυραμίδα. The πυραμίς occurred in Ephippus, 642 f (p. 469). πυραμοῦς also in Ephippus, but in a different metre, 642 e. It is identified conjecturally with the σησαμίτης, 114 b (vol. ii. p. 34).

[g] Athen. 113 a-d (vol. ii. p. 30). The title there given is Ἀρτοποιικόν.

[h] Γένη, though often synonymous with εἴδη, may here refer to the places or persons who lent their names to these wares. See critical note 7.

[i] *Cf.* minutal Terentinum Apic. iv. 172, nuces Terentinae Pliny, *N.H.* xv. 35.

Σαβελλικὸν κλοῦστρον, Ἰουλιανόν, Ἀπικιανόν, Κανωπικά, περλούκιδον, Καππαδοκικόν, ἡδύβια, μαρυπτόν, πλίκιον, γουττᾶτον, Μοντιανόν[1]· τοῦτον, φησί, μάξεις ἐξ οἴνου σκληρόν· εἰ δέ σοι τυρίον παρέσται, ἥμισυ μάξεις ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ἥμισυ ἐκ
d τυροῦ· ἡδονικώτερον γὰρ γίνεται. κλοῦστρον Κυριανόν, κλοῦστρον γουττᾶτον,[2] κλοῦστρον Φαβωνιανόν.[3] μουστάκια ἐξ οἰνομέλιτος, μουστάκια σησαμᾶτα, κλοῦστρον πούριον, γωσλωανιον, Παυλινιανόν. ἐκ τυροῦ δέ, φησί, γίνεται πλακουντηρὰ τάδε· ἔγχυτος, σκριβλίτης,[4] σουβίτυλλος. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἅλικος σουβίτυλλος. σπῖρα· καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τυροῦ γίνεται. λούκουντλοι, ἀργυροτρύφημα, λίβος, κίρκλος λιξόλας,[5] κλουστροπλακοῦς. γίνεται δέ, φησί, καὶ ὀρυζίτης πλακοῦς. ὁ δὲ φθοῖς οὕτω γίγνεται· τυρὸν ἑκπιέσας τρῖβε καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς
e κόσκινον χάλκεον διήθει, εἶτ' ἐπίβαλε μέλι καὶ σελίγνεως[6] ἡμίναν καὶ συμμάλαξον εἰς ἕν. κάτιλλος δὲ ὀρνᾶτος ὁ λεγόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὕτως γίγνεται· θρίδακας πλύνας ξέσον καὶ ἐμβαλὼν οἶνον

[1] Ματιανὸν Buecheler. [2] Casaubon: τουττατον A (*sic*).
[3] Buecheler: ταβωνιανον A (*sic*).
[4] Casaubon: σκιρβαιτησ A (*sic*).
[5] Buecheler: κιρκοσ αιξαφασ A. [6] A: σιλίγνεως CE.

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[a] Κλοῦστρον = crustulum; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4. 47 sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit, Juv. ix. 5 lambenti crustula servo.

[b] See Introd. vol. i. p. viii.

[c] Deemed corrupt by Kaibel, but possibly = marrubium horehound, Pliny, *N.H.* xx. 241 quod Graeci prasion vocant, alii linostrophon; the latter recalls the verb μηρύομαι, of winding yarn.

[d] From plico, "fold," referring to its shape? or for πραικόκκιον, "apricot"?

Tutian, Sabine pastry,[a] Julian, Apician,[b] Canopic, pellucid, Cappadocian, life-sweeteners, marypton,[c] plicion,[d] guttatum, Montian.[e] This last, he says, you will press hard into a mould with wine; if you have a little cheese, press it with one part wine and one part cheese; for that makes it more tasty. Then there are the Quirian pastry, the guttatum pastry, the Favonian[f] pastry. Again, mustacea[g] made with a syrup of wine and honey, mustacea filled with sesame seeds, pourion-pastry,[h] gosloanion,[i] Paulinian. With cheese, Chrysippus says, are made the following cake-like foods: enchytos, scriblita,[j] subitullus. This last is made with the coarse grains of rice-wheat. Spira: this too, is made with cheese. Lucunculi, blanc-mange, libum,[k] lixulae-ring,[l] pasty-pie. There is also, he says, a cake made of rice. Now the phthois[m] is made in the following manner: Squeeze off a piece of cheese, mash it, put it in a bronze sieve and strain it through, then pour on honey and a cup of finest wheat flour[n] and work it into a soft lump. The catillus ornatus, as the Romans call it, is made in the following manner: Wash and scrape some lettuce,

[a] Or Matian, *cf.* Sueton. *Dom.* 21.

[b] Pliny, *N.H.* xv. 54, Columella v. 10, 19.

[c] Juv. vi. 202 nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas.

[d] Unknown; but *cf.* αὐτόπυρος 110 e (vol. ii. p. 20), panem autopyrum Petron. 66.

[e] Obviously corrupt; gustulum? gulosum γελώνιον?

[f] Cato, *De Re Rust.* 78, Petron. 35, 66.

[g] Athen. 126 a (vol. ii. p. 82), where it is a kind of pudding.

[h] Varro, *L.L.* v. 106-107, circuli, quod mixta farina et caseo et aqua circuitum aequabiliter fundabant (fingebant Groth). Hos . . . vocabant lixulas et semilixulas vocabulo savino.

[i] *Cf.* 489 d, 502 b (vol. v. pp. 176, 246).

[j] σέλιγνις (CE σίλιγνις) is Lat. siligo, fine flour made from winter wheat.

εἰς θυίαν[1] τρῖβε τὰς θριδακας, εἶτα τὸν χυλὸν ἐκπιέσας σελίγνιον συμφύρασον αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεσεῖν ἐάσας μετ' ὀλίγον τρῖψον εὐτόνως,[2] προσβαλὼν ὀλίγον στέατος χοιρείου καὶ πέπερι, καὶ πάλιν τρίψας ἕλκυσον λάγανον καὶ λειάνας[3] ἐκτεμὼν κατάτεμνε καὶ ἕψε εἰς ἔλαιον θερμότατον εἰς ἠθμὸν
f βαλὼν τὰ κατακεκομμένα. ἄλλα πλακούντων γένη· ὀστρακίτης, ἀττανῖται, ἄμυλον, τυροκόσκινον. τυρὸν ἐκπιέσας[4] καλῶς θὲς εἰς ἄγγος, εἶτ' ἄνω κόσκινον χαλκοῦν ἐπιθεὶς δίαγε τὸν τυρόν. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃς προσφέρειν, βάλε μέλιτος αὔταρκες ἐπάνω. ὑποτυρίδες δὲ οὕτως γίνονται· εἰς γάλα βαλὼν μέλι ἐκπίεσον καὶ βάλε εἰς σκεῦος καὶ ἔα παγῆναι. ἐὰν δέ σοι παρῇ κοσκίνια μικρά, ἐπίβαλε εἰς αὐτὰ τὸ σκεῦος, καὶ ἔα ἐκρεῖν τὸν ὀρόν. καὶ ὅταν σοὶ δόξῃ πεπηγέναι, ἄρας τὸ σκεῦος μετάβαλε εἰς ἀργύρωμα, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ὄψις ἄνωθεν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ κοσκίνια, φλαβιλλίοις καινοῖς χρῶ, ἐν οἷς τὸ πῦρ ῥιπίζεται· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιεῖ χρείαν. κοπτοπλακοῦς. ἐν Κρήτῃ δέ, φησίν, πλακουντάριον[5] ποιοῦσιν ὅπερ ὀνομάζουσι γάστριν. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως· κάρυα Θάσια καὶ Ποντικὰ καὶ ἀμύγδαλα, ἔτι δὲ μήκων, ἃ φρύξας[6] θεράπευσον καλῶς καὶ εἰς θυίαν[7] καθαρὰν

[1] θυείαν A. [2] Schweighäuser: ἑαυτὸν ὡσ A.
[3] Musurus: λιάνασ A.
[4] Musurus: ἐκπιάσασ A, *cf.* above in d.
[5] Wilamowitz: πλακουντηρον A.
[6] Kaibel: μήκωνα· ὃν φρύξας A. [7] θυείαν A.

[a] *Cf.* the Lat. tracta, Pliny, *N.H.* xviii. 106, Cato, *De Re Rust.* 76. 1, 4.

[b] Made with pine-nuts ὀστρακίδες, 57 b (vol. i. p. 249 note *d*), 126 a (vol. ii. p. 82), below, 649 d (p. 509).

[c] Above, 645 c note *h* (p. 483).

pour wine into a mortar and mash the strips of lettuce, and after squeezing off the juice knead fine wheat flour into it; let it settle for a while, then mash it vigorously, adding a little pork fat and some pepper, and mashing it again draw it out into a thin slab [a]; smooth, trim, and cut it into pieces; then place the pieces in a strainer and boil them in very hot olive oil. There are other kinds of cake: pignola-cake,[b] attanitai,[c] amylon, cheese-sieve. Squeeze off a good-sized piece of cheese, put it in a bowl, and turning it over a bronze sieve [d] work the cheese through. When you are ready to use it, pour a sufficient quantity of honey over it. Curds are made in the following manner: Pour honey into some milk, squeeze it out and placing it in a bowl allow it to stiffen. If you have small sieves handy turn the bowl over into them and allow the whey to run out. When you think it has become stiff enough, lift the bowl and shift the curds on to a silver platter. Thus the moulded pattern will be seen on top. If, however, you have no sieves, use new fans,[e] such as are used for fanning the fire; they are just as useful for that. Then there was the koptoplakous, a cake made with crushed sesame-seeds. In Crete, Chrysippus says, they make a small cake called gastris.[f] It consists of the following: walnuts, filberts, almonds, poppy-seed; roast them, tending them well, then mash them carefully [g] in a clean

[a] A "parum disertus Graecus scriptor," as Schweighäuser says, might conceivably use ἄνω as a preposition with the accusative, but Villebrun's ἐπάνω κοσκίνου χαλκοῦ is certainly better.

[b] Lat. flabella, for whipping the milk.

[f] Hesych. *s.v.* γάστριον πέμμα σησαμῶδες παρὰ Κρησί. For the use of poppy-seed *cf.* 110 f (vol. ii. p. 20).

[g] *Cf.* the recipe Apic. iv. 162 compones in patina diligenter.

648 τρῖψον ἐπιμελῶς· συμμίξας τε τὴν ὀπώραν μάλαξον[1] μέλιτι ἡψημένῳ, προσβαλὼν πέπερι πλέον καὶ[2] μάλαξον· γίνεται δὲ μέλαν διὰ τὴν μήκωνα. διαπλατύνας ποίησον τετράγωνον. εἶτα σήσαμον λευκὸν τρίψας μάλαξον μέλιτι ἡψημένῳ καὶ ἕλκυσον λαγάνια δύο καὶ ἓν θὲς[3] ὑποκάτω καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἐπάνω, ἵνα τὸ μέλαν εἰς μέσον γένηται, εὖ ῥύθμισόν τε[4] αὐτό.'' ταῦτα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς πεμματολόγος Χρύσιππος.

b Ἀρποκρατίων δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλακούντων τὴν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καλουμένην ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΙΑΝ[5] . . . καλεῖ. ἴτρια δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα συντεθρυμμένα μετὰ μέλιτος ἑψόμενα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἕψησιν σφαιρηδὸν συντεθέντα περιδεῖται βύβλῳ λεπτῇ ἕνεκα τοῦ συμμένειν. ΠΟΛΤΟΥ δὲ μνημονεύει Ἀλκμὰν οὕτως·

ἤδη παρέξει πυάνιόν τε πολτὸν[6]
χίδρον τε λευκὸν κηρίναν τ' ὀπώραν.

ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πυάνιον, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, πανσπερμία ἐν γλυκεῖ[7] ἡψημένη· χίδρον δὲ οἱ ἑφθοὶ πυροί. κηρίναν δὲ ὀπώραν λέγει τὸ μέλι. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ οὕτως λέγει ἐν Γῇ καὶ Θαλάσσῃ·

c πολτὸν ἕψειν ὄρθριον.

καὶ τῶν καλουμένων δὲ ΜΕΛΙΚΗΡΙΔΩΝ μνημονεύει Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις οὕτως·

[1] Kaibel: *μαξον* A. [2] *πέπερι καὶ πλέον* (?) Kaibel.
[3] Casaubon: *ἓν θεσ* A.
[4] Lobeck: *εὐρύθμησόντε* A.
[5] Musurus: *πανκαπραν* A (*sic*).
[6] *πολτὸν* A: the accent omitted in *πολτου* above and *πολτον* in the quotation from Epicharmus.
[7] *γλυκι* A.

mortar; having mixed the fruit with it soften with boiled honey, adding considerable pepper, and soften; it becomes dark with the poppy-seed. Flattening it all out make it into a square. Then mash some white sesame, soften it with boiled honey, and draw it out into two thin slabs, placing one below, the other on top of it in such a manner that the dark part comes in the middle, and shape it nicely." All this is from the wise cake-doctor, Chrysippus.

Harpocration of Mendes in his work *On Cakes* calls that known in Alexandria as pankarpia[a] by the name of . . . Now this consists of seed-cakes crumbled and cooked in honey; after the cooking they are formed into balls and wrapped in thin papyrus to hold them together. Porridge is mentioned by Alcman thus[b]: "Right soon he will offer a porridge of mixed pulse (pyanion), some white wheat-groats (chidron) and waxen fruit.[c] Now the word pyanion, as Sosibius says, means a mixture of seeds cooked in grape-syrup; chidron means boiled wheat. By waxen fruit he means honey. Epicharmus, also, has this in *Earth and Sea*[d]: "To cook porridge early in the morning." Again, the melikerides, as they are called (honey-combs), are mentioned by Pherecrates in *The De-*

[a] Lit. "tutti-frutti"; at 473 c (vol. v. p. 88) it is a certain mixture used in ritual; 126 a (vol. ii. p. 82) it is called λίβον, Lat. libum, which Kaibel would supply here. See Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 203.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 61, Diehl ii. 25 (who compares 110 f-111 a (vol. ii. p. 20), Edmonds i. 124. On πυάνιον, here an adjective, *cf.* vol. iv. p. 341 note *a*.

[c] Athenaeus understands this as honey; but the adjective is equally applicable to grapes, Hesych. *s.v.* ὀπώρα· κυρίως δὲ ἡ σταφυλή.

[d] Kaibel 94, Varro, *L.L.* v. 105.

ὥσπερ τῶν αἰγιδίων ὄζειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μελικήρας."

Λεχθέντων καὶ τούτων ὁ σοφὸς Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· "πόθεν ὑμῖν, ὦ πολυμαθέστατοι γραμματικοί, καὶ ἐκ ποίας βιβλιοθήκης ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ σεμνότατοι οὗτοι συγγραφεῖς Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἁρποκρατίων, διαβάλλοντες καλῶν ὀνόματα φιλοσόφων τῇ ὁμω-
d νυμίᾳ; τίς δὲ καὶ ἡμίναν Ἑλλήνων ὠνόμασεν ἢ τίς ἀμύλου μνημονεύει;" ἀπαντήσαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Λαρηνσίου καὶ εἰπόντος· "τὴν μὲν ἡμίναν οἱ τὰ εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφερόμενα ποιήματα πεποιηκότες οἴδασι, κἀν τῷ Χείρωνι ἐπιγραφομένῳ οὕτως λέγεται·

καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ διπλάσιον χλιαρόν, ἡμίνας δύο.

τὰ δὲ ψευδεπιχάρμεια[1] ταῦτα ὅτι[2] πεποιήκασιν ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι . . . Χρυσόγονός τε ὁ αὐλητής, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Πολιτικῶν Νόμων, τὴν Πολιτείαν ἐπιγραφομένην . . .[2] Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μαντικῆς Ἀξιόπιστον τὸν εἴτε Λοκρὸν γένος ἢ Σικυώνιον τὸν Κανόνα καὶ τὰς Γνώμας
e πεποιηκέναι φησίν. ὁμοίως δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. τοῦ δὲ ἀμύλου μνημονεύει Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Στερροῖς οὕτωσὶ λέγων·

[1] Schweighäuser: ψευδεπιχάρμια A.
[2] ὅτι deleted by Schweighäuser: ὀψὲ Lumb; lacuna marked by Meineke.

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[a] Kock i. 152.
[b] Chrysippus of Soli (Cilicia), the great Stoic, and Harpocration, Platonist of the second century, are referred to.

serters[a]: "Smelling as sweet as the honey-comb breath of kids."

This description ended, the wise Ulpian said: Whence, most learned grammarians, and from what collection of books, have popped up these very solemn writers Chrysippus and Harpocration, who bring calumny on the names of noble philosophers[b] by the similarity of their own names? And who among Greeks, I ask, ever used the word hemina (cup),[c] or who mentions amylon? In answer to him Larensis said: The authors who wrote the poems ascribed to Epicharmus know the word hemina, and in the play entitled *Cheiron* it is used thus[d]: "And to drink twice as much warm water, two heminai." Now that these poems, falsely ascribed to Epicharmus, have been composed by famous men is well known; and Chrysogonus the flute-player, as Aristoxenus says[e] in the eighth book of his *Civil Law*, wrote that which bore the title *The Republic*. Philochorus, in his work *On Divination*, says[f] that Axiopistus, whether the one who was a Locrian by birth or a Sicyonian, wrote the *Rule* and the *Thoughts*.[g] The same is recorded by Apollodorus.[h] As for the amylon, Telecleides mentions it in *Hard-Boiled*, speaking as follows[i]: "I like

[c] This Dorian word (in Sicily = κοτύλη) was discussed at 479 a-b (vol. v. p. 120).

[d] Kaibel 144.

[e] *F.H.G.* ii. 289.

[f] *F.H.G.* i. 416.

[g] Powell 219-223, Hibeh Papyrus i. 1. 6:

ἐν δὲ καὶ γνῶμαι σοφαὶ τεῖδ' αἶσιν, αἱ πίθοιτό τις,
δεξιώτερός τέ κ' εἴη βελτίων τ' ἐς πάντ' ἀνήρ.

[h] J. 2 B 1108, P.-W. i. 2863.

[i] Kock i. 217. But the amylon (cake of the finest meal) has been mentioned before, *e.g.* 269 a (vol. iii. p. 208, Pherecrates).

φιλῶ πλακοῦντα θερμόν, ἀχράδας οὐ φιλῶ,
χαίρω λαγῴοις ἐπ' ἀμύλῳ καθημένοις."

Τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· "ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ κοπτήν τινα[1] καλεῖτε, ὁρῶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ κειμένην ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, λέγετε ἡμῖν, ὦ λίχνοι, τίς τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου τῶν ἐνδόξων μνημονεύει." καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· "τὸ μὲν θαλάσσιον πράσον[2] κόπτην φησὶ[3] καλεῖσθαι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Γεωργικῶν. τοῦ δὲ ἡμῖν παρακειμένου
f μελιπήκτου μέμνηται Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Γρίφων[4] οὕτωσὶ λέγων· 'σκεύη κελεύοντι[5] λέγειν ὁποῖα[6] εἰπεῖν·

τρίπους, χύτρα, λυχνεῖον, ἀκταία, βάθρον,
σπόγγος, λέβης, σκάφεῖον, ὅλμος, λήκυθος,
σπυρίς, μάχαιρα, τρυβλίον, κρατήρ, ῥαφίς.

ἢ πάλιν ὄψων οὕτως·

ἔτνος, φακῆ, τάριχος, ἰχθύς, γογγυλίς,
649 σκόροδον, κρέας, θύννειον,[7] ἅλμη,[8] κρόμμυον,
σκόλυμος, ἐλαία, κάππαρις, βολβός, μύκης.

ἐπί τε τῶν τραγημάτων ὁμοίως·

[1] κοπτήντινα A. [2] πράσσον A.
[3] κοίτην φησὶ (*cf.* Hesych. MS. κόπτη, edd. κοπτή).
[4] Casaubon: γραφων A.
[5] Kaibel: κελεύοντα A, κελεύοντος Schweighäuser.
[6] Lumb: ὅμοια A, σκευῶν κελεύοντι λέγειν ὀνόματα εἰπεῖν Kaibel.
[7] Schweighäuser: θυννίον A.
[8] Musurus: αλλη A.

a hot pancake, I don't like pears,[a] I enjoy roast hare perched on a cake of fine meal." [b]

On hearing this Ulpian said: But since you mention a cake under the name of kopté, and I see one lying on each man's table, tell us, you gluttons, what eminent writer mentions that word? To this Democritus answered: The sea-leek, to be sure, is called a kópte,[c] says Dionysius of Utica in the seventh book of his *Farming*; but the honey-cake here set before us is mentioned by Clearchus of Soli in his work *On Riddles*, speaking thus [d]: "When one demanded a recital of what utensils there are the reply was [e]: 'Tripod, pot, lampstand, marble mortar, bench,[f] sponge, cauldron, spade, wooden mortar, oil-jug, market-basket, knife, bowl, mixing-bowl, needle.' Or, again, among things on the bill of fare, thus: 'Pease-porridge, lentil-soup, salt fish, fresh fish, turnip, garlic, meat, tunny-steak, salt, onion, cardoon, olive, capers, iris-bulb, mushroom.' And similarly in the case

[a] They were supposed to be "binding." Aristoph. *Eccl.* 355 and Schol.: *ἐπέχει δὲ τὴν γαστέρα ἡ ἀχράς.*

[b] *Cf.* quail on toast, and Aristoph. *Pax*, 1195 *ἔπειτ' ἐπιφόρει τοὺς ἀμύλους καὶ τὰς κίχλας. ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων*, Athen. 441 f (vol. iv. p. 500).

[c] Possibly the leek was accented *κόπτη* (see crit. note 3), the cake, *κοπτή*, and it is so given (following the MS.) in the text above. For this Dionysius *cf.* Varro, *R.R.* i. 1. 9.

[d] *F.H.G.* ii. 322, *cf.* above, 620 c (p. 341). The passage alludes to the game described by Clearchus at 457 c-f (vol. iv. pp. 574–576), in which a list of things belonging to a given class was called for among the banqueters, who must reply in verse. Lumb's conjecture, *ὁποῖα* for *ὅμοια*, has been adopted, since there is little similarity among some of the articles mentioned.

[e] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 669, Diehl ii. 196.

[f] Or step-ladder.

ἄμης, πλακοῦς, ἔντιλτος, ἴτριον, ῥόα,
ᾠόν,[1] ἐρέβινθος, σησάμη, κοπτή, βότρυς,
ἰσχάς, ἄπιος, πέρσεια,[2] μῆλ',[3] ἀμύγδαλα.'

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος. ὁ δὲ φλυακογράφος Σώπατρος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πύλαι δράματί φησιν·

τίς δ' ἀναρίθμου μήκωνος εὗρε κοπτὰς
ἢ κνηκοπύρους ἡδονὰς τραγημάτων ἔμιξεν;

'Απέχεις, ὦ καλέ μου λογιστὰ Οὐλπιανέ, τὴν
b κοπτήν· ἧς συμβουλεύω σοι ἀπεσθίειν.'' καὶ ὃς οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἀνελόμενος ἤσθιεν. γελασάντων δὲ πάντων ἔφη ὁ Δημόκριτος· "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσθίειν σοι προσέταξα, καλὲ ὀνοματοθήρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐσθίειν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπεσθίειν οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν Φινεῖ ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς Θεόπομπος·

παῦσαι κυβεύων, μειράκιον, καὶ τοῖς βλίτοις
διαχρῶ τὸ λοιπόν. κοιλίαν σκληρὰν ἔχεις·
τὰ πετραῖα τῶν ἰχθυδίων ἀπέσθιε·
ἡ τρὺξ ἄριστόν ἐστιν εἰς εὐβουλίαν.
ταῦτ' ἢν ποῇς,[4] ῥᾴων ἔσει τὴν οὐσίαν.

c χρῶνται δὲ τῷ ἀπεσθίειν καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπό τινος ἐσθίειν, ὡς Ἕρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·

οἴμοι τάλας, δάκνει, δάκνει,
ἀπεσθίει μου τὴν ἀκοήν.''

[1] ῥόα, ᾠόν Salmasius: ροδῶιον A.
[2] Salmasius: περσια A. [3] Schneider: μηλέα A.
[4] Scaliger: ταύτην ποησ A.

[a] If the form is correct, a cake or biscuit seasoned or overlaid with a strip of salt- or smoked-fish, as in modern hors-d'œuvre; τιλτόν (sc. τάριχος) occurs at 118 e (vol. ii. p. 52, Nicostratus).

of desserts: 'Milk-cake, flat-cake, entiltos,[a] honey-cake, pomegranate, egg, chick-pea, sesame, kopté,[b] grapes, dried fig, pear, persea, apples, almonds.'" This from Clearchus. Again, Sopater, the writer of farces, says in the play entitled *The Gates*[c]: "Who was the man who invented cakes (koptaí) made with unnumbered poppy-seeds, or mixed joyous sweetmeats in yellow wheat?"

There you have in full, my noble bursar[d] Ulpian, my account of the kopté; I advise you to bite it off.[e] So he without delay picked it up and began to eat it. They all burst out laughing at this, and Democritus said: But I did not tell you to eat it, noble word-chaser, I told you rather *not* to eat it; for *apesthiein* is used in that sense by the comic poet Theopompus in *Phineus*[f]: "Stop gambling, lad, and in future use a lot of blite. Your belly is all hard. Abstain from eating (*apesthie*) rock-fish; raw wine is the best thing for a good conscience.[g] If you do that, you will feel easier in regard to your eh—state." But writers use *apesthiein* also of eating or biting off something, like Hermippus in *Soldiers*[h]: "Ouch! Unhappy me, he's biting, he's biting, he's eating a piece of my ear!"

[a] Pounded or crushed, *cf.* *τυρὸς κοπτός* 402 e (vol. iv. p. 322).

[b] Kaibel 195.

[c] See Introd. vol. i. pp. xii-xiii, *cf.* vol. iv. p. 316 note *a*.

[d] The verb *ἀπεσθίω* means usually "bite off," but it also means "keep off biting."

[e] Kock i. 749; a mock physician gives a mock prescription for constipation.

[f] Lit. "for good counsel," by surprise for "a good digestion" (*εὐκοιλίαν*); so, in the last line, the comedian substitutes *οὐσίαν* (property saved by eating frugally) for *ὑγίειαν*. On rock-fish *cf.* 293 d (vol. iii. p. 316, Sotades).

[g] Kock i. 239.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὁ Σύρος καὶ δηχθεὶς σφόδρα "ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, παράκειται ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ψιττάκια· ἅπερ ἦν εἴπῃς παρὰ τίνι κεῖται, 'δώσω σοι' οὐ 'χρυσέους δέκα στατῆρας' κατὰ τὸν Ποντικὸν λεσχηνευτήν, ἀλλὰ τουτὶ τὸ ἔκπωμα." σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου "ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπορεῖς, ἔφη, ἐγώ σε διδάξω. Νίκανδρος μὲν ὁ Κο-
d λοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Θηριακοῖς μνημονεύων αὐτῶν φησιν·

ψιττάκι' ἀκρεμόνεσσιν ἀμυγδαλέοισιν ὅμοια.

γράφεται δὲ καί "βιστάκια . . . ἀμυγδαλόεντα[1] πέφανται." καὶ Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως· "φέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ πέρσειον[2] ἡ Ἀραβία καὶ ἡ Συρία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βιστάκιον· ὃ δὴ βοτρυώδη τὸν καρπὸν ἀφίησι λευκόφαιον[3] ὄντα καὶ μακρόν, παρεμφερῆ τοῖς δακρύοις[4] ἃ δὴ ῥαγῶν τρόπον ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβάλλει, τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἔγχλωρον[5] καὶ τοῦ κωνίου τῶν στροβίλων ἧττον μὲν εὔχυμον, εὐώδη δὲ μᾶλλον."
e οἱ δὲ τὰ Γεωργικὰ συγγράψαντες ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῷ γ' γράφουσιν οὕτως· "καὶ τὴν μελίαν καὶ τὴν τέρμινθον, ἃ δὴ νῦν πιστάκια οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσιν." καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τοῦ π πιστάκια ταῦτα ὠνόμασαν, ὁ δὲ Νίκανδρος δασέως φιττάκια,[6] Ποσειδώνιος δὲ βιστάκια."

[1] ἀμύγδαλα ὄντα A. [2] περσιον A, πέρσιον C, περσείον E.
[3] Schweighäuser: λευκοφαιον A, λευκοφαῆ CE.
[4] δακτύλοις Hofmann. [5] ἐνχλωρον A, χλωρὸν C.
[6] *sic* A here and in lemma, against c and d above: πιττάκια Nic. MSS.

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[a] Ulpian.
[b] Heracleides Ponticus the Younger, who wrote Λέσχαι

Upon this the Syrian,[a] confuted and bitten very hard himself, replied: Well, anyway, we have served on our tables pistachio-nuts also; if you tell me in what author the word is found "I will give you" not "ten golden sovereigns," as that chatterbox of Pontus[b] has it, but this cup here. Since Democritus was silent, Ulpian went on: Seeing that you are stuck, I'll instruct you. Nicander of Colophon mentions them, and says in *Theriaca*[c]: "Pistachios (psittakia), on branches, like those of the almond-tree." But there is another reading, "Pistachios (bistakia) . . . have appeared like almonds." And Poseidonius also, he of the Porch, writes as follows in the third book of his *Histories*[d]: "Arabia and Syria produce the persea-fruit and the so-called bistakion; this last sends out its fruit in a long, grape-like cluster, ash-coloured, somewhat like the drops of gum[e] which fall over one another like grapes; the flesh inside is greenish, and though less juicy than the round seeds of the pine-cone,[f] it is more fragrant." But the brothers[g] who compiled the work *On Farming* write as follows in the third book: "The manna-ash and the turpentine tree, which to-day the Syrians call pistakia." They, to be sure, called these nuts pistakia, with *p*, but Nicander with an aspirate, phittakia, while Poseidonius has bistakia.

(whence λεσχηνευτήν in the text), a collection of chatty gossip and scandal, in Sapphic metre.

[c] Vs. 891. [d] *F.H.G.* iii. 253, J. 2 A 225.

[e] Hofmann and Coraes conjectured δακτύλοις (= dates Aristot. *Meteor.* 342 a 10) for δακρύοις; but the neuter relative ἃ agrees better with δακρύοις.

[f] Pignolas, vol. i. p. 249 note *d*, above, 647 f note *b*.

[g] The Quintilii, Condianus and Maximus, from the Troad, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 11; consuls in 151 A.D.

Περιβλέψας οὖν ἐν[1] τούτοις τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τυχὼν ἐπαίνου ἔφη· "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν παρακειμένων λελέξεταί μοι, ἵνα με τῆς πολυμαθίας ἀγασθῆτε· ἐρῶ δὲ πρότερον περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν καλουμένων κοννάρων
f καὶ παλιούρων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν γ' τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος λέγων οὕτως· "κεραυνοῦ δὲ σκήψαντος εἰς τὸν τάφον ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τοῦ σήματος δενδρίον, ὃ ἐκεῖνοι κόνναρον ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δενδρίον μεγέθει μὲν πτελέης καὶ πεύκης οὐθέν τι μεῖον, ἀκρεμόνας δὲ ἔχει θαμέας[2] καὶ δολιχοὺς καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀκανθώδεας, τὸ δὲ φύλλον τέρεν καὶ χλωρόν, τῇ φυῇ περιφερές. καρποφορεῖ[3] δὲ δὶς τοῦ ἔτεος,
650 ἦρός τε καὶ φθινοπώρου. γλυκὺς δὲ πάνυ ὁ καρπός, μέγεθος κατὰ φαυλίην ἐλάην[4] καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ ὀστέον ταύτῃ προσείκελον, διαλλάσσον δὲ τῇ τοῦ χυμοῦ ἡδονῇ. καὶ τρώγεται ἔτι χλωρὸς ὁ καρπός· καὶ ἐπὴν αὐανθῇ, ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄλευρα, καὶ πατέονται[5] ταῦτα οὐ μάξαντες οὐδ' ὕδατι δεύοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλως ὁκοῖά περ πέφυκεν." καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κύκλωπί φησι· "παλιούρου κλάδῳ."[6] Θεό-
b πομπός τε ἐν εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ Φιλιππικῶν μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Δίφιλος ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρὸς ἐν τῷ

[1] ἐν A: ἐπὶ Kaibel. [2] θαμεάσ A.
[3] καρποφορέει Meineke.
[4] ελάην A corrected from ελάιην.
[5] Wesseling: πατεον A, προσφέρονται CE.
[6] κλάδωι A, Eur. mss.: κλάδων Scaliger.

[a] Names for a prickly evergreen, Christ's thorn, belonging

Casting a glance round meanwhile at all who were present and receiving their applause, he continued: What is more, I propose to discuss thoroughly all the other viands set before us to make you envy my erudition; I will speak first about the trees which the Alexandrians call konnaros and paliuros.[a] They are mentioned by Agathocles of Cyzicus in the third book of the work which deals with his own country,[b] speaking as follows: "When a bolt of lightning struck the tomb there sprang up from the mound a tree to which they give the name konnaros. In height this tree is no wise less than an elm or a pine, its branches are close-set, long, and somewhat thorny, the leaf is soft and green, in shape round. It bears fruit twice a year, in spring and in autumn. The fruit is very sweet, about as large as a 'coarse' olive,[c] and with flesh and stone resembling the olive, but differing from it in the flavour of its juice. The fruit can be eaten when still green; and when it has been dried they grind it into meal and this they eat without kneading or soaking in water, but simply in its natural condition." Euripides in *The Cyclops* has[d] "with a branch of paliuros." Theopompus mentions[e] them in the twenty-first book of his *History of Philip*, and Diphilus, the physician of Siphnos, in his

to a different family from the pistacia, but apparently brought in here because of the gums or resins (δάκρυα) which they both yield.

[b] *i.e.* Περὶ Κυζίκου, 515 a (vol. v. p. 316); *F.H.G.* iv. 289.

[c] *Cf.* 56 c (vol. i. p. 244), Hesych. *s.v.* φαυλία· εἶδος ἐλαίας. It was produced by "topping" a wild olive tree, Theophr. *H.P.* ii. 2. 12, Plin. *N.H.* xvi. 244.

[d] *Cycl.* 393–394 ὀβελούς τ' . . . παλιούρου κλάδων "spits of paliurus branches." See critical note 6.

[e] *F.H.G.* i. 303, J. 2 B 567, G. and H. 129.

περὶ τῶν Προσφερομένων τοῖς Ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ τοῖς Νοσοῦσιν. τούτων δὲ πρῶτον ἐμνήσθην, ἄνδρες φίλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμῖν παράκειται νῦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἐν τῇ καλῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν δευτέρων τραπεζῶν παρακείμενα ἔλαβον καὶ ζητηθέντος ἐκεῖ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνθάδε τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐντυχὼν ἀνελεξάμην.

Ἑξῆς οὖν λέξω περὶ τῶν παρακειμένων ΑΠΙΩΝ· ἐπεὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος Ἀπία ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐπιδαψιλεύειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φυτόν, φησὶν
c Ἴστρος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς. ὅτι δὲ τὰς ἀπίους ἐν ὕδατι εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Ἄλεξις ἐν Βρεττίᾳ[1] παρίστησι διὰ τούτων·

εἶδές ποτε
πίνουσιν[2] ἀνθρώποις ἀπίους παρακειμένας
ἐν ὕδατι; Β. πολλοῖς πολλάκις[3] δήπου. τί οὖν;
Α. οὐκοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκλεγόμενος λαμβάνει
τῶν ἐπινεουσῶν τὴν πεπαιτάτην ἀεί;
Β. δηλονότι.[4]

αἱ δ' ἁμαμηλίδες[5] οὔκ εἰσιν ἄπιοι, ὥς τινες οἴονται,
d ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι καὶ ἥδιον καὶ ἀπύρηνον. Ἀριστομένης ἐν Διονύσῳ φησίν·

ὁ Χῖος[6] οὐκ οἶσθ' ὡς ἁμαμηλίδας ποιεῖ;

ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν ἕτερον τῆς ἀπίου καὶ ἥδιον Αἰσχυλίδης

[1] Dalechamps: βρευτίαι A.
[2] Dobree: πέινουσιν A (*sic*).
[3] Kock: πολλῶν πολλάκισ A.
[4] B: δη | ὄντι A. [5] ἁμαμηλίδεσ A.
[6] Κεῖος Schweighäuser.

work *On Foods for the Well and the Sick*. I have mentioned these fruits first, my friends, not because they are served to us to-day, but because in fair Alexandria I have often had them served at the second tables, and since their names were asked for there, I found them here in the book by Agathocles which I happened upon.

Next, then, I will speak of the pears (*apioi*) served to us; for Peloponnesus was once called Apia (Pear-land) because the tree is very abundant there, as Istrus says [a] in his *History of Argolis*. That the Greeks served pears in water at their symposia is attested by Alexis in *The Woman from Bruttium* in these lines [b]: "A. Have you ever seen pears served in water to men while they were drinking? B. Of course, often, to many men. So what? A. Well then, does not every man always pick out the ripest swimming on top and grab it? B. Of course." Medlars (*hamamelides*), on the other hand, are not the same as pears, as some think, but something different, which is pleasanter and stoneless.[c] Aristomenes says in *Dionysus* [d]: "Don't you know that the man of Chios produces medlars?" And that this is different from the pear and pleasanter to the taste is attested by Aeschylides in the third book of his

[a] *F.H.G.* i. 424. The same etymology is offered by Plut. 303 B, *Qu. Gr.* 51. Aesch. *Suppl.* 260-270 derives Apia from an eponymous healer Apis, *cf.* Paus. ii. 5. 7, Curtius, *Peloponnesos* ii. 484, and Ἀπιδανή 599 b (p. 229).

[b] Kock ii. 309-310. Produced in 394: *I.G.* xiv. 1097 ed. Dittmer.

[c] *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* ἁμαμηλίς· ἀπίου γένος, ἢ μήλου, ἢ μεσπίλου. Lat. *apyrinus* (*apyrenus*) suggests the meaning "with soft kernels." But if there is anything distinctive in the medlar, it is its four large stones. Capps conjectures ἥδιον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀπύρηνον "pleasanter and anything but stoneless."

[d] Kock i. 692.

παρίστησιν ἐν τρίτῳ Γεωργικῶν. περὶ Κέω γοῦν τῆς νήσου λέγων γράφει οὕτως· "ἀπίους ἡ νῆσος φέρει κρατίστας κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καλουμένας ἁμαμηλίδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀπύρηνοί τε καὶ ἡδεῖαι καὶ γλυκεῖαι." Ἀέθλιος δ' ἐν ε' Ὥρων Σαμίων, εἰ γνήσια τὰ συγγράμματα, ὁμομηλίδας αὐτὰς καλεῖ.
e Πάμφιλος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γλωσσῶν[1] καὶ Ὀνομάτων "ἐπιμηλίς, φησίν, ἀπίου γένος." Ἀνδροτίων[2] δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Γεωργικῶν φωκίδας φησὶν εἶδος ἀπίων εἶναι.

ΡΟΩΝ . . . δὲ σκληροκόκκων. τῶν γὰρ ἀπυρήνων[3] Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς μνημονεύει. καὶ ἐν Ἀναγύρῳ·

πλὴν ἀλεύρου καὶ ῥόας.

καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ. Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν Κέρκωψί φησιν·

ἤδη τεθέασαι κόκκον ἐν χιόνι ῥόας;

ῥοΐδιον μέντοι ὡς βοΐδιον τὸ ὑποκοριστικόν. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Βοιωτίδι.[4]

ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι τῶν ῥοιῶν
τῶν σκληροκόκκων.

Ἐπίλυκος Κωραλίσκῳ·

μῆλα καὶ ῥόας λέγεις.

[1] Schweighäuser: γλώσσησ A.
[2] Kaibel, Diels: ἀντιφῶν A.
[3] CE: ἀπυρίνων A.
[4] Kock: βοιωτιαι A, as at 474 e; Βοιωτιωι 84 a, 367 f.

Farming. Speaking, at any rate, of the island of Ceos he writes as follows: "The island produces pears of the best, like the fruit called in Ionia *hamamelides*; they have soft kernels,[a] and are pleasant and sweet." But Aëthlius in the fifth book of his *Chronicles of Samos*,[b] if this compilation be genuine, calls them *homomelides*. Again, Pamphilus in his books *On Glosses and Words* has: "Epimelis, a kind of pear." Androtion in his work *On Farming* says that *phokides*[c] are a kind of pear.

Pomegranates[d] . . . Others are hard-seeded. The stoneless kind is mentioned by Aristophanes in *The Farmers*.[e] And in *Anagyrus*[f]: "Excepting wheat meal and a pomegranate." It occurs also in *Gerytades*.[g] Hermippus says in *The Cercopes*[h]: "Have you ever before seen a pomegranate (*rhoa*)-seed in snow?" The form *rhoïdion* (little pomegranate), however, is a diminutive,[i] like *boïdion* (little ox). Antiphanes in *The Boeotian Woman*[j]: "Bring me from the farm some of those hard-seeded pomegranates." Epilycus in *Coraliscus*[k]: "You mean apples

[a] See p. 513, note *c*.
[b] *F.H.G.* iv. 287.
[c] Theophrastus, *H.P.* ii. 15. 2.
[d] The text is defective. Some general remarks on the pomegranate must have stood in the gap. C has λέγονται δὲ τινὲς ῥόαι ἀπύρηνοι καὶ ἕτεραι σκληρόκοκκοι.
[e] Kock i. 421.
[f] *Ibid.* 404.
[g] *Ibid.* 433.
[h] *Ibid.* 234.
[i] *i.e.* colloquial; *cf.* Aristoph. *Ach.* 1036 οἶμοι κακοδαίμων τοῦν γεωργοῦν βοιδίοιν.
[j] Kock ii. 36.
[k] Kock i. 808. The title is Dorian for μειράκιον, "laddie."

[5] Schweighäuser: φωραλίσκωι A.

Ἄλεξις Μνηστῆρσιν·

ῥόαν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν . . .

f σίδας δ' ὅτι τὰς ῥοιὰς καλοῦσι Βοιωτοὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν οὕτως γράφει· "ἀμφισβητούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς περὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν καλοῦσι Σίδας, Ἐπαμινώνδας δικαιολογούμενος ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς μεταλαβὼν κεκρυμμένην ῥόαν καὶ δείξας ἤρετο τί καλοῦσι τοῦτο. τῶν δ' εἰπόντων 'ῥόαν,'
651 'ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, εἶπε, σίδαν'· ὁ δὲ τόπος τοῦτ' ἔχει τὸ φυτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πλεῖστον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴληφε προσηγορίαν· καὶ ἐνίκησεν." Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Αὐτὸν Τιμωρουμένῳ ῥοίδια αὐτὰς ὠνόμασεν διὰ τούτων·

μετ' ἄριστον γὰρ ὡς ἀμυγδάλας ἐγὼ[1]
παρέθηκα καὶ τῶν ῥοιδίων ἐτρώγομεν.

λέγεται δέ τι καὶ φυτὸν σίδη ὅμοιον ῥοιᾷ, γινόμενον ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν λίμνῃ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι, οὗ τὰ μὲν φύλλα τὰ πρόβατα ἐσθίει, τὸν δὲ βλαστὸν αἱ ὗες, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ
b Φυτῶν, γίνεσθαι λέγων κἀν τῷ Νείλῳ ὁμώνυμόν τι αὐτῇ ἄνευ ῥιζῶν.

ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ. Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἐν β' Ἀναβάσεώς φησιν· "ἐνῆν[2] δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων

[1] ἐγὼ deleted by Bentley.
[2] ἐνῆν Xen.: ἐν A.

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[a] Kock ii. 321; the full title was "Helen's Suitors," Bekk. *Anec.* 96. 10, 99. 20. Kock reconstructs the quotation thus from Apostol. xiii. 16 b:

οὐδὲ ῥόαν γλυκεῖαν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς
δέξαιτ' ἂν αὐτῶν,

"one wouldn't accept a sweet pomegranate from their right

and pomegranates." Alexis in *The Suitors* [a]: "A pomegranate, to be sure, from their hands." That the Boeotians call pomegranates *sidai* Agatharchides shows in the nineteenth book of his *European History*, writing as follows [b]: "When the Athenians were disputing with the Boeotians the territory which they call Sidai, Epameinondas in the course of his argument suddenly produced from his left hand a pomegranate which had lain hidden, and pointing to it asked what they called it. The Athenians said '*rhoa*'; but we Boeotians, said he, call it a '*sida*.' Now this region, Sidai,[c] has this plant within its borders in greatest abundance, whence it got its name originally; and so the Boeotians won." Menander in *The Self-Tormentor* called them *rhoidia* in these lines [d]: "For when after luncheon I served almonds and we began to eat the pomegranates." There is said to be a plant called *sidê*, similar to a pomegranate, which grows right in the water of the marsh near Orchomenus; its leaves are eaten by the sheep, its fruit by the sows, as Theophrastus records [e] in the fourth book of his work *On Plants*; he says there is one by the same name which grows also in the Nile without any roots.

Dates. Xenophon in the second book of his *Anabasis* says [f]: "In that region were abundant

hand," equivalent to "wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole," *ἤγουν παρὰ πονηρῶν οὐδὲ χρηστὰ λαμβάνειν* (Apostol.).

[b] *F.H.G.* iii. 192-193.

[c] Its exact location is not known, but it was obviously at the border of Attica and Boeotia.

[d] Kock iii. 43.

[e] *H.P.* iv. 4. 10. It is identified with the *νυμφαία*, water-lily. *Cf.* Hesych. *s.v.* *σίδη· Θεόφραστος φυτὸν ἕτερον τῆς ῥοιᾶς φησιν εἶναι τὴν σίδην, φύεσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ.*

[f] *Anab.* ii. 3. 14-15, describing the plain distant a day's march from Cunaxa.

καὶ ὄξος ἑψητὸν[1] ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων[2] οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλληνιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιοι[3] τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος,[4] ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἠλέκτρου οὐδὲν διέφερεν· τὰς δέ τινας ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα παρετίθεντο.[5] καὶ ἦν παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μέν, κεφαλ-
c αλγὲς δέ." Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῇ α'[6] περὶ Βαβυλῶνος λέγων φησίν· "εἰσὶ δ' αὐτόθι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιέονται· τοὺς συκέων[7] τρόπον θεραπεύουσιν. τῶν γὰρ φοινίκων οὓς ἔρσενας καλέουσι,[8] τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα τε πεπαίνῃ[9] σφιν ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον ἐνδύνων[10] καὶ μὴ ἀπορρείῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος. ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσιν ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες καθάπερ οἱ ὄλονθοι." τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς περὶ
d τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ καλουμένου λωτοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης Πολύβιος ἐν τῇ ιβ' τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· "ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δένδρον ὁ λωτὸς[11] οὐ μέγα, τραχὺ δὲ καὶ ἀκανθῶδες, ἔχει δὲ φύλλον χλωρὸν παραπλήσιον

[1] Xen.: καὶ ἑψητὸν A.
[2] φοινικίων A. [3] θαυμάσιαι Xen.
[4] A, codd. dett. Xen.: τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους Xen.
[5] ἀπετίθεσαν "stored," Xen.
[6] Basle ed.: ἐν τῇι β̄ A, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ CE.
[7] συκεῶν A. [8] Ἕλληνες καλέουσι Hdt.
[9] πεπενῃ A. [10] ἐσδύνων Hdt.
[11] ὁ λωτὸς om. Polybius.

[a] Lit. "acorns." The dates growing in the latitude of

grain, date-wine, and boiled vinegar made from the same. Now the fruit[a] of the palms itself, the kind that may be seen in Greece, was stored for the use of the slaves; but the choicest were kept in store for the masters, marvellous in beauty and size, for their appearance differed in no wise from that of amber[b]; some of these they would dry and serve for dessert. It was pleasant to eat them during the drinking, but they gave one a headache." And Herodotus, speaking of Babylon in the first book, says[c]: "Palm-trees are there growing all over the plain, most of them fruit-bearing, from which they make victuals and wine and honey; they treat them in cultivation as they do figs. The fruit of the palms called male they bind fast to the female date-bearing palms, in order that the gall-insect may enter the date and ripen it and that the fruit of the palm may not fall off. For of course the male-palms produce gall-insects in its fruit just as the inflorescence of the caprifig does."[d] Facts relating to the so-called lotus of Libya similar to what we have cited from Herodotus are recorded by Polybius of Megalopolis, who observed them himself, in the twelfth book of his *Histories*, as follows[e]: "This tree, the lotus, is not tall, but it is rough and thorny, having a yellow leaf somewhat like that of the

Athens are eaten only by the very poor; *cf.* Theophr. *H.P.* iii. 3. 5.

[b] Or, according to some, "electrum," the well-known alloy of gold and silver, *cf.* χρυσοβάλανος, golden date.

[c] i. 193, describing Southern Mesopotamia.

[d] See L. & S. *s.v.* ὄλονθος and vol. i. p. 331 and note *b*.

[e] Polyb. xii. 2, of the jujube, Zizyphus Lotus, a small tree of Southern Europe and Africa. *Cf. Od.* ix. 94:

> τῶν δ' ὅς τις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν
> οὐκέτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

τῇ ῥάμνῳ, μικρὸν βαθύτερον καὶ πλατύτερον. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὅμοιός ἐστιν καὶ τῇ χρόᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ταῖς λευκαῖς μυρτίσι ταῖς τετελειωμέναις, αὐξανόμενος[1] δὲ τῷ μὲν χρώματι γίνεται φοινικοῦς, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει ταῖς γογγύλαις ἐλαίαις παραπλήσιος, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει τελέως μικρόν.
e ἐπὰν δὲ πεπανθῇ, συνάγουσι καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις μετὰ χόνδρου κόψαντες σάττουσιν εἰς ἀγγεῖα, τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐξελόντες τὸν πυρῆνα συντιθέασιν ὡσαύτως καὶ σιτεύονται[2] τοῦτον. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ βρῶμα[3] παραπλήσιον σύκῳ καὶ φοινικοβαλάνῳ, τῇ δὲ εὐωδίᾳ βέλτιον. γίνεται δὲ καὶ οἶνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βρεχομένου καὶ τριβομένου δι' ὕδατος, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γεῦσιν ἡδὺς καὶ ἀπολαυστικός, οἰνομέλιτι χρηστῷ παραπλήσιος, ᾧ χρῶνται χωρὶς ὕδατος· οὐ δύναται δὲ πλέον δέκα μένειν ἡμερῶν, διὸ καὶ ποιοῦσι κατὰ βραχὺ πρὸς τὴν
f χρείαν. ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ὄξος ἐξ αὐτοῦ."[4]

Μελανιππίδης δ' ὁ Μήλιος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν φοίνικας τὸν καρπὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζει τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Δαναΐδων[5]·

οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φόρευν μορφᾶεν εἶδος,[6]
οὐδὲ τὰν αὐδὰν γυναικείαν[7] ἔχον·
ἀλλ' ἐν ἁρμάτεσσι διφρούχοις ἐγυμνάζοντ' ἀν' εὐήλι' ἄλσεα[8] πολλάκι[9] θήραις[10] φρένα τερπόμεναι,

[1] A: αὐξόμενος CE.
[2] B, Musurus: σιτέονται A.
[3] χρώμα C.
[4] Dindorf: αὐτῶν A.
[5] Dobree: αὐτῶν· τῶν γὰρ ἀΐδων A (*sic*).
[6] Dobree: μορφὰν εν εἶδος A.
[7] Casaubon: ἀυτὰν γυναικίαν A.
[8] Meineke: ἀνευ | ηλιασδεα A.

stone-buckthorn, but a little thicker and broader. The fruit at the beginning is similar in colour and size to ripe white myrtle-berries, but as it grows its colour changes to red, and in size it resembles round olives,[a] and it has a stone that is very small. When the fruit has ripened, they gather it, and that which is intended for the slaves they chop up with groats and pack into jars, but that for the freemen they put down in the same way, but after removing the stones, and use it for food. As a food it is somewhat like a fig or a date, but is superior in fragrance. A wine is made of it by soaking and mashing it in water; in taste it is pleasant and enjoyable, very like good honey-wine, and they can use it undiluted with water; but it cannot stand longer than ten days, hence they make a little at a time for immediate use. They also make a vinegar out of it."

Melanippides of Melos in *The Daughters of Danaus* calls the fruit of the palm *phoinikes* in describing as follows the Danaïds themselves[b]: "Indeed, they bore not the form and look of men,[c] and they had not the voice of women, but in boxed chariots they exercised throughout the sunny glades of the woodland, oft-times delighting their hearts in the chase, oft-times,

[a] The small black kind common in Greece, distinguished from those of oval form.

[b] *P.L.G.*[4] iii. 589, Diehl ii. 153, Edmonds iii. 234. The text is uncertain, but one gathers that the Danaïds are compared to Amazons.

[c] It is very unusual to find ἀνθρώπων = ἀνδρῶν, males; Edmonds reads ἀνέρων, perhaps rightly. For a tautology similar to μορφᾶεν εἶδος cf. Eur. *I.T.* 291-292 παρῆν δ' ὁρᾶν οὐ ταῦτα μορφῆς σχήματα.

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[9] πολ κις Crusius. [10] Porson, Jacobs: θῆρεσ A.

πολλάκι δ'[1] ἱερόδακρυν[2] λίβανον εὐώδεις τε
φοίνικας κασίαν τε ματεῦσαι,[3]
τέρενα Συρίας σπέρματα.[4]

652 καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ Φυτῶν οὕτως· "φοινίκων ἀνόρχων,[5] οὓς τινες εὐνούχους καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀπυρήνους." φοίνικα δὲ τὸν καρπὸν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος κέκληκεν ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἄμμωνος Ἀναβάσει, εἰ γνήσιον τὸ σύγγραμμα, καὶ Φόρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀταλάνταις. περὶ δὲ τῶν Νικολάων καλουμένων φοινίκων τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἔχω τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καταγομένων, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας ἠξιώθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σφόδρα χαίροντος τῷ βρώματι, Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ
b ἑταίρου ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ πέμποντος φοίνικας συνεχῶς. τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου δ' ὢν[6] ὁ Νικόλαος καὶ ἱστορίαν συνέγραψεν πολλήν.

ΙΣΧΑΔΕΣ. σφόδρα τῶν ἰσχάδων ἐθαυμάζοντο αἱ Ἀττικαί. Δίνων γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς φησιν· "παρετίθεντο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς βασιλέως ὅσα ἡ γῆ βρώματα φέρει ἧς ἄρχει βασιλεύς, ἀφ' ἑκάστου ὅσον ἀπαρχήν. ξενικῷ δὲ οὐδενὶ οὔτε βρώματι οὔτε ποτῷ ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ Ξέρξης[7] τοὺς βασιλεῖς χρῆσθαι· ὅθεν καὶ νόμος τις ὕστερον
c ἐγένετο. εἰσενέγκαντος γάρ ποτε τῶν εὐνούχων

[1] πολλάκι δ' added by Hiller.
[2] Emperius: ἱερόδακρυ A.
[3] Emperius: πατεῦσαι A.
[4] Diehl following Fiorillo: συρίασ τέρματα A.
[5] Casaubon: ἐνόρχων ACE.
[6] δ' ἦν CE.
[7] Ruhnken: ὁ ἐξαρχῆσ A.

[a] *Cf.* τοῖς δακρύοις of gum, above, 649 d (p. 509).

again, seeking out the frankincense with its sacred tears,[a] or fragrant dates (*phoinikes*), or cassia, delicate seed-growths from Syria." And Aristotle in his work *On Plants* has the following[b]: "Of stoneless dates, which some call eunuchs, others seedless." Again, the phoenix-fruit (date) is so mentioned[c] by Hellanicus in his *Journey to the Temple of Ammon*, if the work be genuine, and by the comedian Phormus in *Atalanta Girls*.[d] Concerning the Nicolaüs-dates, as they are called, I can tell you thus much of the products brought into our ports from Syria, that they were thought worthy of this name by no less a person than Augustus the emperor, because he enjoyed this delicacy very much, and Nicolaüs of Damascus, who was his intimate friend,[e] sent the dates to him constantly. Now Nicolaüs was a Peripatetic, and he compiled an extensive historical work.[f]

Dried Figs. The Attic figs were very much esteemed. Dinon, for example, says in his *Persian History*[g]: "On the king's table they used to set before him all the delicacies produced by the country over which the king ruled, the choice first-fruits of each. For Xerxes did not think that the princes should use any foreign food or drink; whence a custom forbidding such use arose later. Once, indeed, one

[b] Frag. 267 Rose, *cf.* Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* ii. 6. 6; *Philol.* 85 (1930) 138-140.

[c] *F.H.G.* i. 67, J. 1. 122, P.-W. viii. 129.

[d] Included among the Pseud.-Epicharmeia, Kaibel 94.

[e] See *F.H.G.* iii. 343, J. 2 A 326. Plut. 723 D says that Nicolaüs had a sweet temper, a slender frame, and a reddish complexion, hence the emperor called the largest and finest dates after him.

[f] In 144 books, Athen. 249 a (vol. iii. p. 122), where the translation should be corrected.

[g] *F.H.G.* ii. 91.

τινὸς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τραγήμασιν ἰσχάδας Ἀττικάς, ἐρωτῆσαι ποταπαὶ[1] εἶεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθετο ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, τοὺς ἀγοραστὰς ἐκώλυεν[2] ὠνεῖσθαι, ἕως[3] ἂν ἐξουσία γένηται αὐτῷ[4] λαμβάνειν ὅταν ἐθέλῃ καὶ μὴ ἀγοράζειν. λέγεται δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπίτηδες τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατείας." Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Κυβερνήτῃ φησίν·

εἰσέβαινον ἰσχάδες,
τὸ παράσημον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,[5] καὶ θύμου δέσμαι τινές.

Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸν Ποσείδιππον[6]
d Ἐπιστολῇ "ἐν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, φησίν, πάθεσιν Εὐριπίδην νομίζω Σοφοκλέους[7] οὐδὲν διαφέρειν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰσχάσι τὰς Ἀττικὰς τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ προέχειν."[a] κἀν τῇ πρὸς Διαγόραν δὲ Ἐπιστολῇ γράφει οὕτως· "ἡ δὲ γῆ ταῖς μὲν χελιδονείοις[9] ἰσχάσιν ἀντιπαρατιθεῖσα τὰς Βριγινδαρίδας[10] καλουμένας, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι βαρβαριζούσας, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκείνων ἀττικιζούσας." Φοινικίδης δ' ἐν Μισουμένῃ φησίν·

[1] A: ποδαπαὶ Charitonides.
[2] Gulick, Peppink: τοῖσ ἀγορασταῖσ ἐκέλευεν ACE.
[3] Musurus: ὡσ AC.
[4] Musurus: αὑτῶν AC.
[5] A: ἀττικῶν CE.
[6] ποσίδιππον A.
[7] Σωσιφάνους Wilamowitz.
[8] CE: προσέχειν A.
[9] χελιδονίοισ A, χελιδονίαις E, χελιδονίας C.
[10] βριγανδαρίδασ ACE: Βρυγινδαρίδας Kaibel.

[a] *Cf.* Plut. 173 c Ἀττικὰς δὲ ἰσχάδας οὐκ ἂν ἔφη (Ξέρξης) φαγεῖν ὠνίους κομισθείσας (if they were procured by purchase), ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν φέρουσαν κτήσηται χώραν. See critical note 2.

of the eunuchs brought in among the other desserts some Attic figs, and he asked where they came from. When he learned that they were from Athens, he restrained[a] his purveyors from buying them until the time came when he could seize them whenever he wanted without purchasing them. And it is said that the eunuch had done this on purpose to remind him of the expedition against Athens."[b] Alexis says in *The Pilot*[c]: "There walked in dried figs, the emblem of Athens, and some bundles of thyme." And Lynceus, in his *Letter to Poseidippus*, the comic poet, says: "In the field of tragic emotion I think that Euripides is in no wise superior to Sophocles[d]; but when it comes to figs, the Attic stand out far ahead of all others." Also in the *Letter to Diagoras* Lynceus writes as follows: "This country[e] can place in competition with the swallow-figs its *Brigindarides*, as they are called, barbarous in their name,[f] but in their flavour just as good Attic as they." Phoenicides in *Hated Woman*[g]: "A. They recite the

[b] An imitation of the story of Darius, Hdt. v. 105 Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

[c] Kock ii. 339. For the personification *cf.* vol. iii. p. 347 and note *b*.

[d] Contrast Aristot. *Poet.* 1453 a 29 Εὐριπίδης εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται. There is no warrant for altering Sophocles in the text to Sosiphanes, who was a Syracusan, not a Rhodian.

[e] See Athen. 75 e (vol. i. p. 326) for the Rhodian figs, and for the "swallow-figs" *cf.* 582 f (p. 143).

[f] Perhaps Carian. Athen. wrote Βριγινδαρίδας, Lynceus, possibly, Βρυγινδαρίδας, Poll. vi. 81 Βαγινδάριοι; P.-W. iii. 921.

[g] Kock iii. 333. Since the grouse (or francolins) of Ionia were much admired (Hor. *Epod.* 2. 54, Pliny, *N.H.* x. 133), Meineke thinks an Ionian is the speaker (A), interrupted by B.

μύρτων λέγουσιν καὶ μέλιτος ἐγκώμια
e καὶ τῶν Προπυλαίων[1] καὶ τέταρτον ἰσχάδων.
τούτων ἐγευσάμην καταπλεύσας εὐθέως—
B. καὶ τῶν προπυλαίων;[1] A. κοὐδὲν ἦν τούτων ὅλως
πρὸς ἀτταγῆνα συμβαλεῖν[2] τῶν βρωμάτων.

ἐν τούτοις τηρητέον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀτταγῆνος μνήμην. Φιλήμων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν Ὀνομάτων Αἰγιλίδας φησὶν εἶναι τὰς καλλίστας ἰσχάδας· Αἴγιλα δ' εἶναι δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγίλου
f τινὸς ἥρωος ὠνομασμένον· χελιδονίας δὲ[3] καλεῖσθαι τὰς ἐρυθρομελαίνας ἰσχάδας. Θεόπομπος δ' Εἰρήνῃ τὰς Τειθρασίας[4] ἐπαινῶν ἰσχάδας φησὶν οὕτως·

μᾶζαι, πλακοῦντες, ἰσχάδες Τειθράσιαι.[4]

οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες—" ὄντως γὰρ " κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην

οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄντως[5] γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων—

ὡς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι
653 αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· " ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἕλλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι." ὅτι δὲ καὶ πεφωσμένας ἰσχάδας ἥσθιον Φερεκράτης δείκνυσιν ἐν Κοριαννοῖ λέγων οὕτως·

[1] Musurus: προσπυλαίων A.
[2] Musurus: συμβάλλειν A. [3] CE: τε A.
[4] τειθράσιαι Kock: τιθράσιαι A.
[5] Musurus: γὰρ οὕτωσ A, deleted by Kaibel, Peppink.

[a] Discussed at 387 f-388 b (vol. iv. pp. 252-254).
[b] More exactly Aegilia (Αἰγιλία), belonging to the tribe

praises of their myrtle-berries and honey, their Propylaea, and as a fourth item, their figs. As soon as I landed from the ship I tasted all these—B. What, the Propylaea too? A. And not one of these delicacies could be at all compared with our francolin." In these lines note the mention of the francolin.[a] Philemon in his work *On Attic Words* says that the best figs are the Aegilid; Aegila[b] is a deme of Attica, named from a hero Aegilus; Philemon also says that the reddish-brown kind are called swallow-figs. Theopompus in *The Peace* praises the Teithrasian[c] figs in these words[d]: "Barley-cakes, flat-cakes, Teithrasian figs." So eagerly were figs sought after by all men —"for in fact," as Aristophanes says,[e] "nothing is sweeter than figs"—that even Amitrochates, the king of India, wrote to Antiochus begging him, as Hegesander says,[f] to purchase and send him grape-syrup, figs, and a sophist. And Antiochus wrote back: "Figs, to be sure, and grape-syrup we will dispatch to you, but it is against the law in Greece to sell a sophist." That they also ate toasted figs is shown by Pherecrates in *Coriannô*, speaking as

Antiochis; above, p. 203. *Cf.* Theocr. i. 147 ἀπ' Αἰγίλω ἰσχάδα τρώγοις and Schol.

[c] From the deme Teithras, later Tithras, Aegeid tribe. The inhabitants had a bad reputation, Aristoph. *Ran.* 477 γόργονες Τειθράσιαι; see Schol.

[d] Kock i. 736.

[e] Kock i. 541.

[f] *F.H.G.* iv. 421. Bindusâra Amitraghâta (the last name is inferred from the Greek Ἀμιτροχάτης or Ἀμιτροχάδας) was the son of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus, vol. i. p. 80), about 290 B.C.; see Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. 297-298. Droysen, *Hellenismus*[2] iii. 351 renders ἀγοράσαντα by "redegewandten," "practised speaker," referring to the sophist. But this, besides being a doubtful meaning for ἀγοράζω, does not explain the answer of Antiochus.

ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας μοι πρόελε τῶν πεφωσμένων.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα δέ·

οὐκ ἰσχάδας οἴσεις τῶν μελαινῶν; μανθάνεις,
ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ἐκείνοις βαρβάροις
χύτρας καλοῦσι τὰς μελαίνας ἰσχάδας.

b οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πάμφιλον εἰρηκότα πρόκνιδας[1] γένος ἰσχάδων.

[1] Hesych.: προσκνιδασ A.

follows [a]: "Please pick me out some of those toasted figs;" and a little farther on: "Won't you fetch some of those black figs? You understand, among those Mariandynian barbarians over there they call black figs 'pots.'" I know, too, that Pamphilus mentions a kind of fig called proknides.[b]

[a] Kock i. 163.
[b] So Hesych. *s.v.* *πρόκνις*; Poll. vi. 81 has *πρόκριδες*.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Descriptions contained in the preceding volumes are not here repeated.
Numbers refer to pages in this volume.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

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