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ATHENAEUS

VII

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ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS 13.594b-14

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
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HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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PREFACE

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

Thanks are again due to my undergraduate students Joseph McDonald, William Blessing, Cameron Ferguson, and Debbie Sugarbaker for their many hours of reference checking, proofreading, formatting assistance, and the like. Much of the work for this volume and the one to follow was completed at the National Humanities Center, where I held a fellowship during the 2008–2009 academic year. Volume VII is dedicated to my friends in the North Carolina rock-climbing community, and in particular to Mark Daughtridge, whose constant admonitions “Abs tight!” (translated “Rely on your core strength!”) and “Elbow into the wall on slopers!” (translated “Use what you have!”) I have tried to apply in other areas of my life as well.



ABBREVIATIONS

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

THE CHARACTERS

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

TIMOCRATES, Athenaeus' interlocutor

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

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

AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d–e)

ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a)

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

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

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

DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d)

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

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

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

MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c)

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

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

PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a)

CHARACTERS

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher
(1.1d)*

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

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

RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)*

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

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

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

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

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

ΙΓ

594b 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 Βακχίδος τὸ κάλλος καὶ ἀποτρέψαι θέλουσα τὸν νεανίσκον τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν
 c ἔρωτος, ὡς ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἤτησε τῆς συνοουσίας | μισθὸν τὸν Βακχίδος ὄρμον διαβόητον ὄντα. ὁ δὲ σφοδρῶς ἐρῶν ἠξίωσε τὴν Βακχίδα μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπολλύμενον· καὶ ἡ Βακχὶς τὴν ὄρμην κατιδοῦσα τοῦ νεανίσκου ἔδωκε. Πλαγγὼν δὲ τὸ ἄζηλον συνιδούσα τῆς Βακχίδος τὸν μὲν ἀπέπεμψε ἐκείνη, τῷ δὲ ὠμίλησε· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ φίλαι ἐγένοντο, κοινῶς περιέπουσαι τὸν ἐραστήν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἰωνες ἀγασθέντες, ὡς φησι Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀναθημάτων, Πασιφίλαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν Πλαγγόνα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀρχί-
 d λοχος | περὶ αὐτῆς ἐν τούτοις·

BOOK XIII (continued)

Plangon of Miletus was also a notorious courtesan. She was extremely beautiful, and a young man from Colophon fell in love with her, even though he already had a lover from Samos named Bacchis. When the young man sent her a message, Plangon—who knew how beautiful Bacchis was supposed to be—wanted to divert his interest in herself. After this proved impossible, she asked for a well-known necklace that belonged to Bacchis as her price for sleeping with him. He was so besotted that he begged Bacchis not to let him die before her eyes, and when she saw how desperate he was, she gave it to him. Plangon recognized Bacchis' lack of jealousy and sent the necklace back to her, but still slept with the young man; after that the women were friends and treated him as the lover of them both. The Ionians were astounded by these events, according to Menetor in his *On Dedications* (*FHG* iv.452),¹ and referred to Plangon as Pasiphile ("Friendly to Everyone"). Archilochus (fr. spur. 331 West² = *FGE* 540-1) also offers information about her in the following passage:

¹ Presumably the necklace that plays a central role in the story above was one of the dedications discussed by Menetor, from whom the entire anecdote must be drawn.

συκῆ πετραίη πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας
 εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλη.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ ποιητῆς ἦρα Γλυκέρας κοινόν.
 ἐνεμεσήθη δέ· Φιλήμονος γὰρ ἑταίρας ἔρασθέντος καὶ
 χρηστὴν ταύτην ὀνομάσαντος διὰ τοῦ δράματος,
 ἀντέγραψεν Μένανδρος ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης χρηστῆς.

Ἄρπαλος δ' ὁ Μακεδῶν ὁ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὰ
 e χρημάτων συλήσας | καὶ καταφυγὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας
 ἔρασθεὶς Πυθιονίκης πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὴν κατανάλωσεν
 ἑταίραν οὔσαν, καὶ ἀποθανούση πολυτάλαντον μνη-
 μεῖον κατεσκεύασεν· ἐκφέρων τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ταφάς,
 ὡς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν
 Ἱστοριῶν, τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων χορῶ μεγάλῳ
 καὶ παντοίοις ὀργάνοις καὶ συμφωνίαις¹ παρέπεμπε
 τὸ σῶμα. Δικαίαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς Εἰς Τρο-
 φωνίου Καταβάσεως φησι ταῦτ' ὅτι πάθοι τις ἂν ἐπὶ
 f τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀφικνούμενος | κατὰ τὴν ἀπ'
 Ἐλευσίνας τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν καλουμένην. καὶ γὰρ ἐν-
 ταῦθα καταστὰς οὐκ ἂν φανῆ τὸ πρῶτον ὁ τῆς Ἀθηναίων
 ἀφορώμενος νεὼς καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, ὅψεται παρὰ τὴν
 ὁδὸν αὐτὴν ὑποδομημένον μνημα οἶον οὐχ ἕτερον
 οὐδὲ σύνεγγυς οὐδὲν ἔστι τῷ μεγέθει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἢ Μιλτιάδου φήσειεν <ἂν>² σα-

¹ συμφωνίαις Casaubon: εὐφωνίαις A

² add. Kaibel

BOOK XIII

like a fig-tree among the rocks that feeds many
ravens,
good-hearted Pasiphile who receives strangers.

That the poet Menander (test. 17) was in love with Glycera is commonplace.² But he became angry with her; for when the poet Philemon (fr. dub. 198) fell in love with a courtesan and called her a good woman in a play, Menander responded by writing that there are no good women.

Harpalus of Macedon, who stole a large amount of Alexander's money and ran off to Athens,³ was in love with Pythionice, who was a courtesan, and he spent a great deal of the money on her. After she died, he built her a tomb that cost many talents, and when he organized her funeral procession, according to Posidonius in Book XXII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 14 = fr. 66 Edelstein-Kidd), he arranged for her body to be escorted by an enormous chorus made up of the most distinguished actors, and by instruments and musical groups of all sorts. Dicaearchus says in his *On the Descent into the Shrine of Trophonius* (fr. 21 Wehrli = fr. 81 Mirhady): The same would happen to anyone who came to Athens along the so-called Sacred Road from Eleusis. For if a person stands in the spot where the Temple of Athena and the Acropolis first become visible, he will see a tomb that has been erected directly alongside the road which is unlike any of the others and is much larger than them. Initially, as one might expect, he would be likely to say that this must certainly belong to Miltiades,

² Glycera is PAA 277495. For her relationship with Menander, cf. 13.585c.

³ Cf. 6.245f-6a with n.; 8.341e-2a; 13.586c with n., 595e-6b. Harpalus is Berve i #143; PAA 204010. Pythionice is Berve i #676; PAA 793690.

- 595 φῶς ἢ Περικλέους ἢ Κίμωνος ἢ ἢ τινος ἐτέρου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, <καὶ>³ μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον, εἰ δὲ μή, δεδομένον κατασκευάσασθαι. πάλιν δ' ὅταν ἐξετάσῃ Πυθιονίκης τῆς ἐταίρας ὄν, τίνα χρῆ προσδοκίαν λαβεῖν αὐτόν; Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ τὴν Ἀρπάλου διαβάλλων ἀκολασίαν φησὶν ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ διάκουσον σαφῶς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὄν τρόπον Πυθιονίκην περιέστειλεν τελευτήσασαν, ἢ Βακχίδος μὲν ἦν δούλη τῆς αὐλητρίδος,
- b ἐκείνη δὲ Σινώπης τῆς Θράττης | τῆς ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθήναζε μετενεγκαμένης τὴν πορνείαν 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 ἐταίρας φανήσεται τὸ μὲν Ἀθήνησι, τὸ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μνήμα πολὺν
- c ἤδη χρόνον ἐπιτετελεσμένον. | ἦν γὰρ πάντες ἤδεσαν ὀλίγης δαπάνης κοινὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις γιγνομένην, ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν ὁ φίλος εἶναι σοῦ φάσκων ἱερὸν καὶ τέμενος ἰδρῦσασθαι καὶ προσαγορευῆσαι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονίκης Ἀφροδίτης, ἅμα τῆς τε παρὰ

³ add. Kaibel

BOOK XIII

or Pericles, or Cimon,⁴ or to some other distinguished individual, and that it was doubtless erected by the city at public expense, or failing that, that public permission must have been granted for its construction. But then, when he looks and sees that it belongs to the courtesan Pythionice, what is he supposed to think? Theopompus in his *Letter to Alexander* (*FGrH* 115 F 253) denounces Harpalus' depravity and says: Look into and carefully inquire from the people who come from Babylon about how he buried Pythionice after she died—a woman who was a slave of the pipe-girl Bacchis,⁵ who herself belonged to Sinope of Thrace,⁶ who transferred her whoring from Aegina to Athens, meaning that Pythionice was not just a slave three generations back but a whore three generations back as well. He spent over 200 talents building two tombs for her; this shocked everyone, given that neither he nor any other official has yet set up a marker at the burial spot of the men who died in Cilicia⁷ to secure your kingdom and the freedom of the Greeks, whereas people will see that the tombs of the courtesan Pythionice, one in Athens, the other in Babylon, have long been completed. For even though everyone knew that she was available to anyone who wanted her at a minimal price, a man who claims to be your friend had the audacity to construct a temple and a sanctuary in her honor, and to refer to the temple building and the altar as belonging to Pythionice Aphrodite, both ignoring the

⁴ Three of Athens' greatest 5th-century political leaders (*PAA* 653815, 772645, and 569795, respectively).

⁵ *PAA* 261090.

⁶ *PAA* 823250.

⁷ A reference to the battle of Issus in 333 BCE.

θεῶν τιμωρίας καταφρονῶν καὶ τὰς σὰς τιμὰς προπη-
λακίζειν ἐπιχειρῶν. μνημονεύει τούτων καὶ Φιλῆμων
ἐν Βαβυλωνίῳ·

Βασίλισσ' ἔση Βαβυλῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη·
τὴν Πυθιονίκην οἶσθα καὶ τὸν Ἄρπαλον. |

- d μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Λυκίσκῳ. μετὰ δὲ
τὴν Πυθιονίκης τελευτῆν ὁ Ἄρπαλος Γλυκέραν με-
πέμψατο καὶ ταύτην ἑταίραν, ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστο-
ρεῖ, φάσκων ἀπειρηκέναι τὸν Ἄρπαλον μὴ στεφανοῦν
ἑαυτόν, εἰ μὴ τις στεφανώσσειε καὶ τὴν πόρνην. ἔστη-
σέν τε εἰκόνα χαλκῆν τῆς Γλυκέρας ἐν Ῥωσσω τῆς
Συρίας, οὐπὲρ καὶ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνατιθέναι μέλλει.
παρέδωκέν τε αὐτῇ κατοικεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς
ἐν Ταρσῶ καὶ ὄρᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ προσκυνουμένην καὶ
e βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις |
δωρεαῖς τιμωμένην, αἷς πρόπον ἦν τὴν σὴν μητέρα
καὶ τὴν σοὶ συνοικοῦσαν. συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις
καὶ ὁ τὸν Ἄγηνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς,
ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδάσπου τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, εἴτε Πύθων ἦν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ Βυζάντιος ἢ
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δράμα ἤδη
φυγόντος τοῦ Ἄρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀποστάντος.
καὶ τῆς μὲν Πυθιονίκης ὡς τεθνηκυίας μέμνηται, τῆς

⁸ What follows is once again drawn direct from the *Letter to Alexander*. The same passage of Theopompus is cited also at 13.586c. The Glycera in question is Berve i #231; PAA 277490.

BOOK XIII

revenge the gods might take on him and doing his best to trample in the mud the honors due to you. Philemon in *The Babylonian* (fr. 15) also refers to this situation:

You'll be queen of Babylon, if everything works out;
you know about Pythionice and Harpalus.

Alexis in *Lyciscus* (fr. 143) also refers to her. After Pythionice died, Harpalus sent for Glycera, who was also a courtesan, according to Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 254b), who claims that Harpalus refused to allow anyone to put a garland on his own head unless they also garlanded his whore.⁸ In addition, he set up a bronze statue of Glycera in Syrian Rhossus, where he intends to set up statues of you and himself as well. He also gave her permission to live in the royal palace in Tarsus, and he watches as she is bowed down to by the local people, addressed as "Queen," and granted the other honors that properly belong to your mother and the woman who lives with you. Additional evidence in regard to these matters is supplied by the author of the miniature satyr play *Agen* (whether this was Python of Catana or Byzantium, or the king⁹ himself), who staged it during the festival of Dionysus celebrated on the banks of the Hydaspes River. The play was put on after Harpalus had already run away to the coast and revolted. The author refers to Pythionice as dead, and to Glycera as being

⁹ Alexander. Very similar language is used in regard to the authorship of the play at 13.586d (cf. 2.50f), but with no reference to the possibility that Python might be from Byzantium, an idea that probably represents confusion with a different individual (cf. 12.550e-f).

δὲ Γλυκέρας ὡς οὔσης παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
 f αἰτίας γινομένης | τοῦ δωρεὰς λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἄρ-
 πάλου, λέγων ὧδε·

(A.) ἔστιν δ' ὅπου μὲν ὁ κάλαμος πέφυχ' ὅδε
 † φέτωμ' † ἄορνον, οὐξ ἀριστεράς δ' ὅδε
 πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός, ὃν δὴ Παλλίδης
 τεύξας κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτοῦ φυγῆν.
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς μάγοι
 ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν παγκάκως διακείμενον
 ἔπεισαν ὡς ἄξουσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω ||

596 τὴν Πυθιονίκης.

Παλλίδην δ' ἐνταῦθα ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἄρπαλον. ἐν <δὲ>⁴
 τοῖς ἐξῆς τῷ κυρίῳ καλέσας αὐτὸν φησιν·

(A.) ἐκμαθεῖν δέ σου ποθῶ
 μακρὰν ἀποικῶν κείθεν, Ἀτθίδα χθόνα
 τίνες τύχαι † καλοῦσιν † ἢ πράττουσι τί.

(B.) ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον,
 ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον
 καὶ τὸν μάραθον ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ' οὐ μάλα.

(A.) καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἄρπαλον |
 b αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας
 σίτου διαπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.

(B.) Γλυκέρας ὁ σίτος οὗτος ἦν, ἔσται δ' ἴσως
 αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κούχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβῶν.

⁴ add. Schweighäuser

BOOK XIII

with Harpalus and as responsible for the Athenians receiving gifts from him, putting it as follows (Python *TrGF* 91 F 1.1–8):

(A.) Where this reed grows there's a
birdless [corrupt]. This structure on the left, on the
other hand,
is the famous temple of the whore, which Pallides
built—and then condemned himself to exile for what
he'd done.

When some of the barbarian magi here
saw the terrible state he was in,
they convinced him they could summon up the soul
of Pythionice.

He called Harpalus "Pallides" in this passage. But in what follows immediately after this, he refers to him by his proper name and says (Python *TrGF* 91 F 1.8–18):¹⁰

(A.) Since I'm living a long way from there,
I'm eager to learn from you what the situation
† they call † Attica, and how they're doing.

(B.) When they claimed they'd been reduced to
slavery,
they had enough for dinner. But now all they eat
is beans and fennel, and no wheat at all.

(A.) Indeed, I hear that Harpalus sent
them 10s of 1000s of measures of grain—at least
as much as Agen did—and became a citizen.

(B.) This grain belonged to Glycera; maybe it'll be
earnest money for their deaths, not the courtesan's!

¹⁰ The final five verses are quoted also at 13.586d.

ἐνδόξους δὲ ἑταίρας καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει διαφερούσας ἤνεγκεν καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις· Δωρίχαν τε, ἣν ἡ καλὴ Σαπφῶ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χαράξου νοσφισαμένην. Ἡρόδοτος | δ' αὐτὴν Ῥοδῶπιον καλεῖ, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἐτέρα τῆς Δωρίχας ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἡ καὶ τοὺς περιβοήτους ὀβελίσκους ἀναθείσα ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὧν μέμνηται Κρατῖνος διὰ τούτων < . . . > εἰς δὲ τὴν Δωρίχαν τόδ' ἐποίησε τοῦπίγραμμα Ποσειδίππος, καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπία πολλάκις αὐτῆς μνημονεύσας. ἐστὶ <δὲ>⁵ τόδε·

Δωρίχα, ὅστέα μὲν σὰ πάλαι κόνις ἦν ὃ τε
 δεσμὸς
 χαίτης ἣ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη, |
 ἣ ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον
 σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἤψαο κισσυβίων·
 Σαπφῶναι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν
 ὦδῆς αἰ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες
 οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν, ὃ Ναύκρατις ᾧδε
 φυλάξει
 ἔστ' ἂν ἴη Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ' ἀλὸς πελάγη.

καὶ Ἀρχεδίκη δ' ἦν ἐκ τῆς Ναυκράτεως καὶ αὐτὴ
 ἑταίρα καλή· φιλεῖ γάρ πως ἡ Ναύκρατις, | ὡς ὁ Ἡρόδοτος φησιν, ἐπαφροδίτους ἔχειν τὰς ἑταίρας. καὶ ἡ ἐξ

⁵ add. Musurus

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Naucratis also produced famous and exceptionally beautiful courtesans, including Doriche, who was a lover of Sappho's brother Charaxus, who sailed to Naucratis on a trading journey; the lovely Sappho (fr. 254c; cf. fr. 15) abuses her in her poems for extracting a substantial amount of money from Charaxus. Herodotus (2.135.1) refers to her as Rhodopis, being unaware that this is a different person from Doriche; his Rhodopis also dedicated the well-known spits in Delphi (cf. Hdt. 2.135.4), which Cratinus (fr. 369) mentions in the following passage:¹¹ . . . Posidippus wrote the following epigram about Doriche and also mentioned her repeatedly in his *Ethiopia* (146 Austin-Bastianini). The epigram (*HE* 3142-9 = 122 Austin-Bastianini) runs as follows:

Doricha, your bones have long been dust, along with
the band
you wore in your hair, and the perfume-breathing
shawl
in which you once enfolded the graceful Charaxus,
flesh to flesh, and took hold of early-morning cups
of wine.
But the white columns of Sappho's lovely ode
still endure and will endure, proclaiming
your blessed name, which Naucratis will preserve
so long as ships sail forth from the Nile into the
sea.

Archedice, another beautiful courtesan, was also from Naucratis; for Naucratis somehow has a tendency, as Herodotus (2.135.5) says, to offer charming courtesans. So too

¹¹ The quotation has fallen out of the text.

Ἐρέσου δὲ τῆς <ποιητρίας ὁμώνυμος>⁶ ἑταίρας Σαπφῶ τοῦ καλοῦ Φάωνος ἐρασθεῖσα περιβόητος ἦν, ὡς φησι Νυμφόδωρος⁷ ἐν Περίπλω Ἀσίας. Νικαρέτη δὲ ἡ Μεγαρίς οὐκ ἀγενηὴς ἦν ἑταίρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονέων <ἔνεκα>⁸ καὶ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπέραστος ἦν, ἠκροᾶτο δὲ Στίλπωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. Βιλιστίχη δ' ἡ Ἀργεῖα ἑταίρα καὶ αὐτὴ ἔνδοξος, τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν σῶζουσα, ὡς οἱ τὰ Ἀργολικὰ γράψαντες ἱστοροῦσιν. f ἔνδοξος δ' ἐστὶν καὶ Λέαινα | ἡ ἑταίρα, Ἀρμοδίου ἐρωμένη τοῦ τυραννοκτονήσαντος· ἥτις καὶ αἰκίζομένη ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἰππῖαν τὸν τύραννον οὐδὲν ἐξεπούσα ἐναπέθανεν ταῖς βασάνοις. Στρατοκλῆς δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐρωμένην εἶχε τὴν ἐπικληθεῖσαν Δήμην ἑταίραν, τὴν καλουμένην Παρόραμα < . . . > διὰ τὸ καὶ δύο δραχμῶν φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν βουλόμενον, ὡς φησι Γοργίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Μυρτίλος μέλλων σιωπᾶν, ἀλλὰ μικροῦ, ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐξελαθόμην ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν 597 τὴν τε Ἀντιμάχου Λυδῆν, ἢ προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον ταύτης ἑταίραν Λυδῆν ἣν ἠγάπα Λαμύνθιος ὁ Μιλήσιος. ἑκάτερος γὰρ τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς φησι

⁶ add. Kaibel

⁷ Νυμφόδωρος Wilamowitz: Νύμφις A

⁸ add. Coraes

¹² For Sappho and Phaon, see the material collected as Sapph. fr. 211a-b. For the "other Sappho," cf. Ael. VH 12.19.

¹³ Cf. 13.576e-f, where she is associated with Ptolemy Philadelphus. ¹⁴ PAA 602683. For the assassination of the Athe-

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the courtesan Sappho of Eresus, who shared a name with the poetess, was notorious for being in love with the handsome Phaon, according to Nymphodorus in the *Voyage along the Coast of Asia* (FGrH 572 F 6).¹² Nicarete of Megara was a quite refined courtesan and was particularly attractive because of her ancestry and her education, since she had been a student of the philosopher Stilpo (fr. 156 Döring = SSR II O 17). The Argive courtesan Bilistiche¹³ was also a notable person, who traced her ancestry back to the Atreidae, according to the authors of the *History of Argos* (FGrH 311 F 1). The courtesan Leaena,¹⁴ the lover of the tyrannicide Harmodius, is also a notable person; when she was being manhandled by the henchmen of the tyrant Hippias, she told them nothing and died under torture. The orator Stratocles¹⁵ had the courtesan named Lêmê as his lover; she was referred to as Parorama . . . because she would visit anyone who wanted her for two drachmas,¹⁶ according to Gorgias in his *On Courtesans* (FGrH 351 F 1).

Although Myrtilus was about to stop speaking at this point, he said: But I nearly forgot, my friends, to mention Antimachus' Lyde to you, as well as the courtesan Lyde who shared her name (cf. Hermesian. fr. 7.41–6, p. 99 Powell, below), and whom Lamynthius of Miletus was sweet on. For both poets, according to Clearchus in his

nian tyrant Hipparchus in 514 BCE by Harmodius and Aristogiton, see 15.695a–b with n. Hippias was Hipparchus' brother. ¹⁵ See 13.580d n. Lêmê is PAA 607353.

¹⁶ *lêmê* is the crust that forms in one's eyes, while *parorama* normally means "oversight, error." But the wit is not obvious, and a second nickname has perhaps fallen out of the text.

Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρωτικοῖς, τῆς βαρβάρου Λυδῆς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστάς ἐποίησεν ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐλεγείοις, ὁ δ' ἐν μέλει τὸ καλούμενον ποίημα Λυδῆν. παρέλιπον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μιμνέρμου αὐλητρίδα Ναννῶ καὶ τὴν Ἑρμησιάνακτος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Λεόντιον· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης ἐρωμένης αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔγραψεν ἐλεγειακὰ
 b τρία βιβλία, ἃ ὦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ κατάλογον ποιεῖται ἐρωτικῶν, οὕτωςί πως λέγων·

οἶην μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγαγεν Οἰάγροιο
 Ἄργιόπην Θρηῆσαν στειλάμενος κιθάρην
 Ἄιδόθεν· ἔπλευσεν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπειθέα χῶρον,
 ἔνθα Χάρων κοινὴν ἔλκεται εἰς ἄκατον
 ψυχὰς οἰχομένων, λίμνη δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτεῖ
 ῥεῦμα διέκ μεγάλων ῥυομένη δονάκων. ἰ
 c ἀλλ' ἔτλη παρὰ κῦμα μονόζωστος κιθαρίζων
 Ὀρφεύς, παντοίους δ' ἐξάνεπεισε θεούς,
 Κωκυτόν τ' ἀθέμιστον ὑπ' ὄφρῦσι μειδήσαντα·
 ἠδὲ καὶ αἰνοτάτου βλέμμ' ὑπέμεινε κυνός,
 ἐν πυρὶ μὲν φωνὴν τεθωμένου, ἐν πυρὶ δ' ὄμμα
 σκληρόν, τριστοίχοις δεῖμα φέρον κεφαλαῖς.

¹⁷ No fragments of Lamynthius (4th century BCE or earlier) are preserved, but cf. Epicr. fr. 4 (quoted at 13.605e).

¹⁸ Stephanis #1770.

¹⁹ Orpheus (named below), who descended to Hades to reclaim his wife (normally called Eurydice).

²⁰ One of the rivers of the Underworld, here personified. The "horrid dog" is Cerberus.

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Erotica (fr. 34 Wehrli = Antim. test. 10 Matthews), became infatuated with the barbarian Lyde and wrote poems entitled *Lyde*, the former in elegiacs, the latter in lyric meters (*PMG* 839).¹⁷ I also left out Mimnermus' pipe-girl Nanno¹⁸ (cf. Hermesian. fr. 7.35–7, p. 99 Powell, below) and Hermesianax of Colophon's Leontion; for he wrote three books of elegiacs inspired by her when she was his lover, in the third of which he offers a catalogue of love-affairs, saying something along the following lines (fr. 7, pp. 98–100 Powell):

(A woman) such as Argiope of Thrace, whom the
 beloved son
 of Oeagrus,¹⁹ wielding a lyre, brought up
 from Hades. He sailed to an unhappy spot in which
 persuasion has no power,
 where Charon hauls the souls of those who have
 passed
 into a skiff we all share, and cries out far and wide
 over the marshy water
 whose stream flows through the dense reeds.
 But Orpheus had the courage to travel alone and to
 play his lyre
 beside its waves, and he persuaded gods of every
 sort,
 including lawless Cocytus,²⁰ who squinted at him and
 smiled.
 He stood up as well to the gaze of the horrid dog,
 whose voice was keen with fire, and whose eyes were
 harsh
 with fire, and which produced terror with its
 three-fold heads.

- ἔνθεν ἀοιδιάων μεγάλους ἀνέπεισεν ἀνακτας
 Ἄργιόπην μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα λαβεῖν βιότου.
 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' υἱὸς Μήνης ἀγέραστον ἔθηκε |
 d Μουσαῖος Χαρίτων ἤρανος Ἀντιόπην,
 ἧ τε πολὺν μύστησιν Ἐλευσίνος παρὰ πέζαν
 εὐασμὸν κρυφίῳν ἐξεφόρει λογίων,
 ῥάριον ὀργειῶνα νόμῳ διαπομπέουσα
 Δημήτρα· γνωστὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδην.
 φημὶ δὲ καὶ Βοιωτὸν ἀποπρολιπόντα μέλαθρον
 Ἡσίοδον πάσης ἤρανον ἱστορίας
 Ἀσκραίων ἐσικέσθαι ἐρώνθ' Ἐλικωνίδα κώμην·
 ἔνθεν ὃ γ' Ἡοίην μνώμενος Ἀσκραϊκὴν |
 e πόλλ' ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο
 βίβλους
 ὑμῶν, ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος.
 αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ἀοιδός, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς αἴσα φυλάσσει
 ἧδιστον πάντων δαίμονα μουσοπόλων,
 λεπτήν ἧς Ἰθάκην ἐνετείνατο θεῖος Ὅμηρος
 ὠδῆσιν πιτυτῆς εἵνεκα Πηνελόπης, |
 f ἦν διὰ πολλὰ παθῶν ὀλίγην ἐσενάσσατο νῆσον,
 πολλὸν ἀπ' εὐρείης λειπόμενος πατρίδος·
 ἔκλεε δ' Ἰκαρίου τε γένος καὶ δῆμον Ἀμύκλου
 καὶ Σπάρτην, ἰδίων ἀπτόμενος παθέων.

21 Hesiod himself has nothing good to say about the place (*Op.* 640).

22 An inventive allusion to the fact that the individual items in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* all begin with the words *ἢ* *hoiē* ("or a woman such as"; cf. 13.590b n.).

23 Icarus was Penelope's father (*Od.* 11.446), and Paus. 3.1.3–4 identifies him as a descendant of Amyclas of Sparta.

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With his songs he convinced the great lords that
 Argiope
 should be granted the breath of soft life and
 escape from there.
Nor indeed did Mene's son Musaeus, guardian of the
 Graces,
 deprive Antiope of her fair share of honor,
she who upon Eleusis' plain expounded to initiates
 the long Bacchic cry of secret oracles,
duly escorting the Rarian priest
 for Demeter. She is known in Hades as well.
I also claim that Boeotian Hesiod, the guardian of
 tales
 of all sorts, abandoned his home
and came to the lovely Heliconian village of Ascra.²¹
 From there he courted Ascraean Eoie and
suffered much; and he wrote out all his books of
 poetic
 verses, setting off from his girl's name first.²²
This very poet whom a decree from Zeus preserves
 as the most pleasant deity among all the Muses'
 servants,
the godlike Homer, described her meager Ithaca
 in his songs for thoughtful Penelope.
On her account he suffered much, and he settled on
 her tiny island,
 leaving far behind his broad fatherland,
and spread the fame of Icarus' family²³ and of the
 people of Amyclas
 and of Sparta, pursuing the theme of their private
 troubles.

Μίμνερμος δέ, τὸν ἦδὺν ὃς εὔρετο πολλὸν
ἀνατλάς ἢ

598

ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα τὸ πενταμέτρον,
καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς, πολιῶ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶ
κημωθεὶς κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμύη,
ἦχθεε δ' Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰὲ βαρὺν ἠδὲ Φερεκλήν
ἐχθρόν, μισήσας οἷ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.

Λυδῆς δ' Ἀντίμαχος Λυδηίδος ἐκ μὲν ἔρωτος
πληγείς Πακτωλοῦ ῥεῦμ' ἐπέβη ποταμοῦ· |

b † δαρδανη † δὲ θανοῦσαν ὑπὸ ξηρῆν θέτο γαίαν
κλαίων, † αἰζαον † δ' ἦλθεν ἀποπρολιπῶν
ἄκρην ἐς Κολοφῶνα, γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο
βίβλους

ἱράς, ἐκ παντὸς πανσάμενος καμάτου.

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους

Σαπφούς φορμίζων ἡμερόεντα πόθον,

γιγνώσκεις· ὁ δ' αἰοιδὸς ἀηδόνος ἠράσαθ',

ὑμνων |

c

Τήϊον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίη.

καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλλητ' Ἀνακρέων

στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσιν·

²⁴ This passage = Antim. test. 11 Matthews; cf. 13.597a.

²⁵ Anacreon (cf. 13.599c-d, 600d-e), treated here as Alcaeus' rival for Sappho's (i.e. "the nightingale's") love.

²⁶ For the chronological problem, see 13.599c-d.

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But Mimnermus, who after enduring much
discovered the sweet
sound and breath of the sensuous pentameter,
burned for Nanno, and often with an ancient lotus-
pipe strapped
to his lips he wandered the streets drunk, along
with Examue,
and quarreled with the eternally unpleasant
Hermobius and with his enemy
Pherecles, resenting the sort of remarks he
produced.

Whereas Antimachus,²⁴ stung by love for Lydian
Lyde, walked along the stream of the Pactolus
River,
and [corrupt] placed her, after she was dead, beneath
the dry earth,
wailing all the while. And leaving behind
[corrupt], he went
to steep Colophon, and he filled his sacred books
with cries of lament, and gave up all his grief.
You know how many drunken wanderings Lesbian
Alcaeus
undertook, celebrating with his lyre his lovely
desire
for Sappho. The bard loved the nightingale, and he
caused grief
for the man from Teos²⁵ by the eloquence of his
hymns.
For Anacreon, sweet as honey, also competed for
her²⁶
who was beautifully attired among Lesbos' many
women.

φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ'
αὐτὴν

οἰνηρῇ δειρῇ κεκλιμένην πατρίδα

Λέσβον ἐς εὖοιον· τὸ δὲ Μύσιον εἶσιδε Λεκτὸν
πολλάκις Αἰολικοῦ κύματος ἀντιπέρας.

Ἄθθις δ' οἶα μέλισσα πολυπρήωνα Κολωνὸν
λείπουσ' ἐν τραγικαῖς ἤδε χοροστασίαις |

d Βάκχον καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα Θεωρίδος < . . . >

< . . . > Ζεὺς ἔπορεν Σοφοκλεῖ.

φημὶ δὲ κάκεινον τὸν αἰεὶ πεφυλαγμένον ἄνδρα
καὶ πάντων μῖσος κτώμενον ἐκ † συνοχῶν †
πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ σκολιοῖο τυπέντα
τόξου νυκτερινὰς οὐκ ἀποθέσθ' ὀδύνας·

ἀλλὰ Μακεδονίης πάσας κατενίστατο λαύρας
† αἰγειων †, μέθεπεν δ' Ἀρχέλεω ταμίην, |

e εἰσόκε <δὴ> δαίμων Εὐριπίδῃ εὔρετ' ὄλεθρον
Ἄρριβίου στυγνῶν ἀντιάσαντι κυνῶν.

ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν Κυθήρηθεν, ὃν ἐθρέψαντο τιθῆναι
Βάκχου καὶ λωτοῦ πιστότατον ταμίην

Μοῦσαι παιδευθέντα Φιλόξενον, οἶα τιναχθεὶς
Ὀρτυγίῃ ταύτης ἦλθε διὰ πτόλεως

²⁷ Sophocles; this passage = S. test. 78. For his supposed lover Theoris, see 13.592a–b with n.

²⁸ Euripides, who at the end of his life moved to the court of Archelaus of Macedon, and who was supposedly torn apart by hunting dogs normally said to have belonged to his host rather than to the otherwise unknown Arrhibius (E. test. 122–5c). This passage = E. test. 106a.

²⁹ Sc. that belonging to Eros.

³⁰ The nymphs.

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Sometimes he left Samos, at other times his own
fatherland
 nestled against a grapevine-covered ridge, and
 went
to wine-filled Lesbos; and often he gazed upon
 Mysian
 Lectus on the other side of the Aeolian wave.
(You also know) how the Attic bee²⁷ left Colonus with
 its many
 little hills, and sang of Bacchus and of his love
for Theoris in choral performances of tragedy . . .
 . . . Zeus furnished to Sophocles.
I refer as well to that man²⁸ who remained eternally
 on guard
 and had secured universal dislike as a result of
 [corrupt]
regarding all women, but who, once wounded by a
 crooked
 bow,²⁹ did not set aside his nocturnal pangs.
Instead, he traveled through all the alleyways of
 Macedon
 [corrupt] and tagged behind Archelaus' steward,
until in fact a deity contrived destruction for
 Euripides,
 when he encountered Arrhibius' horrid dogs.
As for the man from Cythera, whom Bacchus'
 nurses³⁰
 and the Muses raised—that is, Philoxenus, who
 was trained to be
the most trustworthy steward of the lotus-pipe—you
 know
 how shaken up he was when he passed through
 this city

γιγνώσκεις, αἴουσα μέγαν πόθον ὄν Γαλατείη
 αὐτοῖς μηλείοις θήκαθ' ὑπὸ προγόνοις.
 οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰοιδόν, ὄν Εὐρυπύλου
 πολιῆται !

f Κῶοι χάλκειον στήσαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ
 Βιτιτίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
 ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλιήν.
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' ὁπόσοι σκληρὸν βίον ἐστήσαντο
 ἀνθρώπων, σκοτίνην μαιόμενοι σοφίην,
 οὓς αὐτῇ περὶ πυκνὰ λόγοις ἐσφίγξατο μῆτις,
 καὶ δεινῇ μύθων κῆδος ἔχουσ' ἀρετήν,
 οὐδ' οἶδ' αἰνὸν ἔρωτος ἀπεστρέψαντο κυδοιμὸν ||
 599 μαινομένου, δεινὸν δ' ἦλθον ὑφ' ἠνίοχον.
 οἷη μὲν Σάμιον μανίη κατέδησε Θεανοῦς
 Πυθαγόρην, ἐλίκων κομψὰ γεωμετρίας
 εὐρόμενον, καὶ κύκλον ὅσον περιβάλλεται αἰθῆρ
 βαιῆ ἐνὶ σφαίρῃ πάντ' ἀποπλασσάμενον.
 οἷω δ' ἐχλίηνεν, ὄν ἔξοχον ἔχρη Ἀπόλλων
 ἀνθρώπων εἶναι Σωκράτη ἐν σοφίῃ, !

³¹ "This city" is presumably Colophon (Hermesianax's native town). But it is unclear whether "Ortygia" is supposed to refer to the island in the Great Harbor at Syracuse (and thus to Dionysius' court there; thus Powell) or to Ephesus (where Hermesianax is said to have died; thus Bergk).

³² Cf. 1.6e-7a with n.; 13.564e. Normally Galateia is a sea-nymph, and the lambs would be expected to belong to her hapless lover the Cyclops (cf. Antiph. fr. 131, quoted at 9.402e).

³³ This passage = Philitt. test. 2 Spanoudakis.

³⁴ I.e. the philosophers.

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for Ortygia,³¹ for you have heard of his enormous
longing, which Galateia³²
treated as less important than her most recently
born lambs.

You are also familiar with the singer whom
Eurypylus' fellow-citizens on

Cos set up in bronze beneath a plane tree,
singing of swift Bittis—that is, Philitas,³³ who wore
himself out

on words of all kinds and on every sort of chatter.
Nor did any of those people who made their own
lives

difficult by pursuing obscure wisdom,³⁴
whose very intelligence bound them tight in
arguments,

as did the fearsome skill that occupied itself with
words—

not even they evaded the awful roil of insane
love, but they were instead mastered by a dire
charioteer.

A mad longing of this sort for Theano³⁵ overcame
Pythagoras, who discovered the subtleties of
geometric

cycles, and who created in a tiny sphere a model
of everything about which the upper air is
wrapped.

Whereas with what fiery heat did angry Cypris³⁶
warm

Socrates—the man Apollo in an oracle declared

³⁵ Described by D.L. 8.42–3 as Pythagoras' wife.

³⁶ Aphrodite.

- b Κύπρις μηνίουσα πυρὸς μένει· ἐκ δὲ βαθείης
 ψυχῆς κουφοτέρας ἔξεπόνησ' ἀνίας,
 οἰκί' ἐς Ἀσπασίης πωλεύμενος· οὐδέ τι τέκμαρ
 εὔρε, λόγων πολλὰς εὐρόμενος διόδους.
 ἄνδρα <δὲ> Κυρηναῖον ἔσω πόθος ἔσπασεν
 Ἴσθμοῦ
 δεινός, ὅτ' Ἀπιδανῆς Λαΐδος ἠράσατο
 ὄξυς Ἀρίστιππος, πάσας δ' ἠνήματο λέσχας
 φεύγων, † ουδαμενον ἐξεφορησεβιωι †. †

- c ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται συγχρονεῖν οἰ-
 ὄμενος Σαπφῶ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τὸν μὲν κατὰ Κύρον
 καὶ Πολυκράτην γενόμενον, τὴν δὲ κατ' Ἀλνάττην τὸν
 Κροίσου πατέρα. Χαμαιλέων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σαπφουῦς
 καὶ λέγειν τινὰς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιηῆσθαι ὑπὸ
 Ἀνακρέοντος τάδε·

σφαίρη δηῦτέ με πορφυρῆ
 βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρωσ
 νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
 συμπαίξειν προκαλεῖται·
 ἢ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
 Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,

³⁷ Cf. Pl. *Ap.* 21a, citing Delphic Oracle H3 Fontenrose (discussed also at 5.218e–f). For Socrates and Aspasia, cf. 5.219b–e with n. ³⁸ Cf. Herodicus *SH* 495 (preserved at 5.219c–e).

³⁹ Aristippus of Cyrene, founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy (12.510a n.). This passage = fr. 63 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 94.

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beyond all other humans in his wisdom!³⁷ His
 profound soul
 only yielded him less stable sorrows
when he visited Aspasia's house.³⁸ Nor did he
 discover any cure
 for them, although he invented numerous
 pathways of argument.
And a fearful longing drew a man of Cyrene below
 the
 Isthmus, when insightful Aristippus³⁹ fell in love
with Laïs of Apidna; in his effort to escape, he
 refused
 all conversation, [corrupt].

Hermesianax is in error in this passage,⁴⁰ since he believes that Sappho (fr. 250) and Anacreon are contemporaries, whereas in fact Anacreon lived in the time of Cyrus and Polycrates, but Sappho lived in the time of Croesus' father Alyattes.⁴¹ Chamaeleon in his *On Sappho* (fr. 26 Wehrli) says that some authorities claim that Anacreon (*PMG* 358) refers to her in the following passage:

When golden-haired Eros
strikes me with a purple ball,
he's challenging me to have fun with
that girl who's wearing the fancy sandals.
But since she's from Lesbos full of
lovely cities, she's unhappy

⁴⁰ I.e. in verses 51–2, quoted at 13.598c.

⁴¹ Alyattes of Lydia ruled c.610–560 BCE, while Cyrus of Persia built his empire beginning about 550, and Polycrates of Samos seized power c.535.

λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται, |
 d πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

καὶ τὴν Σαπφῶν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν·

κείνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες
 ὕμνον, ἐκ τῆς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς
 Τήϊος χώρας ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς
 πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.

ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι Σαπφούς τοῦτο τὸ ἄσμα παντί που
 δήλον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἠγοῦμαι παίζειν τὸν Ἑρμησιάνακτα
 περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος. καὶ γὰρ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδι-
 οποιὸς πεποιήκεν ἐν Σαπφῶϊ δράματι Σαπφούς ἐρα-
 στάς Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Ἴππώνακτα.

e Ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, | ὦ ἐταῖροι, οὐκ ἀμερίμνως δοκῶ τὸν
 ἐρωτικὸν τοῦτον πεποιήσθαι κατάλογον, οὐκ ὢν οὕτως
 ἐρωτομανῆς ὡς διαβάλλων μ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύνουλος,
 ἀλλ' ἐρωτικὸς μὲν εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ἐρωτομανῆς δὲ οὔ.

τίς δ' ἔστ' ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν ἐν πλείοσιν,
 ἐξὸν σιωπᾶν κἂν σκότῳ κρύπτειν τάδε;,

Αἰσχύλος ἔφη ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. οὗτος
 δὲ ἔστιν Αἰσχύλος ὁ καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνιακὰ ἔπη συνθεῖς,

⁴² Cf. 13.598c n.

⁴³ Archilochus probably belongs about a generation earlier than Sappho, and Hipponax a generation or two after her. But Diphilus was presumably not much concerned with chronological niceties of this sort in any case.

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with my hair, because it's gray,
and her attention's fixed on a different girl.

Sappho for her part, he says, offered the following response to Anacreon (adesp. *PMG* 953):

Muse seated on a gold throne—that hymn
you recited was the one the noble old man
from the fine land of Teos,⁴² rich in beautiful women,
used to sing so nicely.

That this song is not by Sappho is obvious to everyone, I suppose, and in my judgment Hermesianax is joking when he refers to their love-affair. The comic poet Diphilus in his play *Sappho* (fr. 71), moreover, represents Archilochus and Hipponax as Sappho's lovers.⁴³

I consider this a quite meticulous catalogue of love-affairs that I have produced for you, my friends, and although I am not as crazy about love (*erôtomanês*)⁴⁴ as Cynulcus claimed in his attack on me,⁴⁵ I confess that I am intrigued by it, if not crazy about it (*erôtomanês*).

But why should you confess your bad luck in public,
when you can keep these matters quiet and conceal
them in shadow?

as Aeschylus of Alexandria said in *Amphitryon* (*TrGF* 179 F 1). This is the same Aeschylus who composed the epic poem *The History of Messenia* (*SH* 13); he was a well-

⁴⁴ For a catalogue of similar formations (to which the emphatic use of the adjective here suggests it is connected somehow), see 11.464d–e (citing Chrysippus).

⁴⁵ At 13.566e–7c, 568d–e.

f ἀνὴρ εὐπαίδευτος. ὑπολαμβάνων οὖν | μέγαν εἶναι
δαίμονα καὶ δυνατώτατον τὸν Ἑρωτα, προσέτι τε καὶ
τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν χρυσοῦν, τὰ Εὐριπίδου ἐπὶ νοῦν
λαμβάνων λέγω

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅση θεός;
ἦν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἂν
ὅση πέφυκε κάφ' ὅσον διέρχεται.
αὕτη τρέφει σὲ καμὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς.
τεκμήριον δέ, μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθης· ||
600 ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ τῆς θεοῦ.⁹
ἐρᾶ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον
ἄκαρπον αὐχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχη,
ἐρᾶ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὑπο-
ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθήτον ἐς ταῦτόν δύο,
φύουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα
δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος δ' Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν αὐτὴν
παράγει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσαν· |

b ἐρᾶ μὲν ἄγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρωσ δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν

⁹ This verse appears to be an early (non-Euripidean) addition to the text.

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educated individual (*FGrH* 488 T 1). Since I believe, therefore, that Eros is an important and extremely powerful divinity, and that golden Aphrodite⁴⁶ is as well, I call to mind the passage from Euripides (fr. 898)⁴⁷ and say:

Do you not see how powerful a goddess Aphrodite is?
It would be impossible to describe or measure
how great she is, or how wide her power extends.
She is the one who sustains you, and me, and all
mortals.

There is proof of this, and no need to rely on
argument alone;

I will show you in practical terms how strong the
goddess is.

The earth loves the rain, whenever the dry fields
are parched, and fruitless, and in need of moisture;
so too the sacred sky, when full of rain,
loves to fall on the earth, under Aphrodite's direction.
And when the two mix together into one,
they produce and nourish for us everything
that keeps the mortal race alive and flourishing.

The august Aeschylus in his *Danaids* (fr. 44) even brings Aphrodite herself onstage saying:

The holy sky loves to penetrate the land,
and a desire for marriage overwhelms the earth.
The rain that falls from heaven kisses the earth,

⁴⁶ An echo of a common Homeric phrase (e.g. *Il.* 3.64; *Od.* 4.14).

⁴⁷ What follows appears to be from the same collection of material as 13.561a-c.

ἔκνυσε γαίαν· ἥ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
 μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον
 δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν· ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
 τελεῖθ' ὅσ' ἔστι· τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

ἐν Ἴππολύτῳ Εὐριπιδείῳ πάλιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη φησίν· |

- c ὅσοι τε Πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν
 ναίουσιν εἴσω, φῶς ὀρώντες ἡλίου,
 τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τὰμὰ πρεσβεύω κράτη,
 σφάλλω δ' ὅσοι φρονούσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα.

νεανίσκῳ γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι τοῦτο μόνον
 τὸ ἀμάρτημα προσόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐτίμα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην,
 αἴτιον ἐγένετο τοῦ ὀλέθρου καὶ οὔτε ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἢ
 περισσῶς ἀγαπήσασα οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τις ἢ
 δαιμόνων ἐβοήθησεν αὐτῷ. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν ποι-
 ητὴν· |

- d ὅστις <δ'> Ἔρωτα μὴ μόνον κρίνει θεόν,¹⁰
 ἢ σκαιός ἐστιν ἢ καλῶν ἀπειρος ὦν
 οὐκ οἶδε τὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις θεόν.

ὃν ὁ σοφὸς ὑμνῶν αἰεὶ ποτε Ἀνακρέων πᾶσιν ἐστιν

¹⁰ Stobaeus has Ἔρωτα δ' ὅστις μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν
 (probably correct) and adds a second verse, καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων
 δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατον.

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with which heaven shares a bed, and the earth
produces pasturage
for mortals' flocks, as well as the sustenance Demeter
provides,
and fruit on the trees. From a moistening marriage
comes
everything that is; and I am the joint cause of it all.

Again, in the Euripidean *Hippolytus* (3-6) Aphrodite says:

And all those who dwell between the Black Sea and
Atlas' boundaries, and who see the light of the sun—
I give preference to those who respect my power,
but bring down any who confront me with a proud
attitude.

For although this was an otherwise outstanding young
man,⁴⁸ who made only this one mistake, the fact that he
failed to honor Aphrodite was the cause of his destruction;
neither Artemis, who cared deeply for him, nor any other
god or divinity helped him. To quote the same poet (E. fr.
269), therefore:⁴⁹

Anyone who does not consider Eros the most
important god
is either stupid, or he lacks experience of what is
good
and fails to realize who the most significant god for
mortals is.

The wise Anacreon constantly sings of Eros and is thus on

⁴⁸ Referring to Hippolytus, who dies at the end of Euripides' play. ⁴⁹ Identified by Stobaeus as coming from *Auge*.

διὰ στόματος. λέγει οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κράτιστος Κριτίας τάδε·

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ᾠδὰς
 ἤδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνήγει,
 συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπευμα, |
 e αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἠδύν, ἄλυπον.
 οὐ ποτέ σου φιλότης γηράσεται οὐδὲ θανείται,
 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι
 παῖς διαπομπεύη προπόσεις ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νωμῶν
 παννυχίδας θ' ἱεράς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,
 πλάστιγξ θ' ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι
 καθίζη
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου
 ψακάδεσσι. |

f Ἀρχύτας δ' ὁ ἁρμονικός, ὡς φησι Χαμαιλέων,
 Ἄλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
 ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος ἀκόλαστον, ὄντα καὶ περὶ τὰς
 γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μούσαν εἰς τὰς διατριβάς.
 διὸ καὶ λέγειν ἔν τινι τῶν μελῶν

Ἔρωσ με δηῦτε Κύπριδος Φέκατι
 γλυκὺς κατεῖβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει.

λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς τῆς Μεγαλοστράτης οὐ μετρίως ἐρα-

⁵⁰ Cf. 13.598c with n.

⁵¹ A reference to the symposium game cottabus, for which cf. 15.665d-8f.

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everyone's lips. The excellent Critias (88 B 1 D-K) accordingly says the following in regard to him:

Teos brought to Greece delightful Anacreon,⁵⁰
who once wove together songs whose lyrics
concerned women;
he stirred up drinking parties, cheated on ladies,
opposed the pipes, loved the lyre, was pleasant, and
inflicted no pain.
Affection for you will never age or die,
for as long as a slave brings around water mixed with
wine
for the cups, distributing the toasts from left to right,
and female choruses participate in sacred all-night
festivals,
and the disk, the daughter of bronze, sits upon the
highest
upper point of the cottabus-stand, awaiting Bromius'
drops.⁵¹

According to Chamaeleon (fr. 25 Wehrli), the music-theorist Archytas⁵² (claims that) Alcman invented erotic lyrics and was the first person to publish a depraved song, since he liked to spend his time around women and that kind of music. This is why he says in one of his songs (*PMG* 59(a)):

When sweet Eros, at Cypris⁵³
bidding, floods my heart and warms it.

Chamaeleon also claims that Alcman was madly in love

⁵² Probably not the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum but the largely obscure Archytas of Mytilene (D.L. 8.82).

⁵³ Aphrodite's.

601 σθείς, ποιητρίας μὲν οὔσης, δυναμένης δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν
ὀμιλίαν τοὺς ἔραστὰς προσελκύσασθαι. ἢ λέγει δ'
οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς·

τοῦτο Φαδειᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν
δῶρον μάκαιρα παρσένων
ἃ ξανθὰ Μεγαλοστράτα.

καὶ Στησίχορος δ' οὐ μετρίως ἐρωτικὸς γενόμενος
συνέστησε καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἄσμάτων· ἃ δὲ
καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο παιδεία καὶ παιδικά. οὕτω δ'
ἐναγώνιος ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ πραγματεία, καὶ
οὐδεὶς ἠγείτο φορτικούς τοὺς ἐρωτικούς, ὥστε καὶ
Αἰσχύλος μέγας ὦν ποιητῆς καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἦγον εἰς
b τὰ θέατρα διὰ τῶν τραγωδιῶν τοὺς ἔρωτας, ὁ μὲν ἰτὸν
Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς Πάτροκλον, ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ Νιόβῃ τὸν τῶν
παιδῶν, διὸ καὶ Παιδεράστριάν τινες καλοῦσι τὴν
τραγωδίαν· καὶ ἐδέχοντο τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄσματα οἱ θεα-
ταί. καὶ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος δὲ Ἰβυκος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν·

ἦρι μὲν αἶ τε Κυδώνια
μηλίδες ἀρδόμεναι ῥοᾶν
ἐκ ποταμῶν, ἵνα Παρθένων
κῆπος ἀκήρατος, αἶ τ' οἰνανθίδες
αὐξόμεναι σκιεροῖσιν ὑφ' ἔρνεσιν
οἰναρέοις θαλέθοισιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος

⁵⁴ The subject abruptly shifts here to pederastic (rather than heterosexual) love. ⁵⁵ Cf. A. fr. 135 (from *Myrmidons*; quoted at 13.602e); 136; Pl. *Smp.* 180a (= A. fr. 134a).

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with Megalistrate, who was a poetess and whose conversation allowed her to attract lovers. He says the following about her (Alcm. *PMG* 59(b)):

This is the gift of the sweet Muses that
a happy young woman, blonde
Megalistrate, showed me.

Stesichorus as well was profoundly erotic and composed songs of this sort, which were in fact referred to in ancient times as *paideia* and *paidika*.⁵⁴ Because people were so involved in love-affairs and because no one considered lovers despicable, Aeschylus—who was an important poet—and Sophocles introduced love-affairs to their audiences in their tragedies, the former by referring to Achilles' love for Patroclus,⁵⁵ the latter by discussing the love of boys in his *Niobe*,⁵⁶ as a consequence of which some people refer to the play as the *Paiderastria*.⁵⁷ Audiences in fact welcomed songs of this sort. Ibycus of Rhegium (*PMG* 286) as well shouts and cries aloud:

In spring appear the Cydonian
apples,⁵⁸ watered by the rivers'
floods, in the untouched
garden of the Virgins,⁵⁹ while the grape-blossoms
swell and flourish beneath the shadows
grape-vines cast. But there is no season when

⁵⁶ Cf. S. fr. 448, in which (according to Plutarch) one of Niobe's dying sons called out for his lover.

⁵⁷ A feminine form of the normal masculine "pederast."

⁵⁸ I.e. quinces.

⁵⁹ I.e. the nymphs.

οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὦραν.
 † τε † ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων

Θρηϊκίος βορέας

- c αἰσσων | παρὰ Κύπριδος ἀζαλέ-
 αῖς μαΐαισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβῆς
 ἐγκρατέως παιδόθεν¹¹ † φυλάσσει †
 ἡμετέρας φρένας.

καὶ Πίνδαρος δ' οὐ μετρίως ὦν ἐρωτικός φησιν·

εἶη καὶ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἔρωτι
 χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν·
 μὴ πρεσβυτέρα ἀριθμοῦ
 δῶκε, θυμέ, πρᾶξιν.

διόπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἔφη·

ὦρη ἐρᾶν, ὦρη δὲ γαμῆν, ὦρη δὲ πεπαῦσθαι,
 καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖνό τις φθέγξῃται κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον φιλόσοφον· |

- d ἡνίκ' ἐχρῆν δύνειν, νῦν ἄρχεται ἡδύνεσθαι.

μνησθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Τενεδίου Θεοξένου ὁ Πίνδαρος, ὃς
 ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενος, τί φησιν;

¹¹ Better πεδόθεν (Naeke); but the verse is corrupt in any case.

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my passion lays calm in bed.

† and † like the Thracian north wind,
burning from the lightning blast,
rushing from Cypris⁶⁰ with scorch-
ing madness, dark and fearless
powerfully ever since I was a boy † it guards †
my mind.

So too Pindar (fr. 127),⁶¹ who was exceptionally erotic,
says:

May I have the chance to love and to yield
to love at the appropriate moment!
Do not, my heart, pursue behavior
that is older than your years!

This is why Timo said in his *Silloi* (*SH* 791.2):⁶²

There's a time for love, a time for marriage—and a
time for cutting it out,

and not to wait until someone quotes the well-known line
from the same philosopher (*SH* 791.1):

When he should have been heading down, now he
starts living high.

And what does Pindar (fr. 123)⁶³ say when he refers to
Theoxenus of Tenedos, who was his boyfriend?

⁶⁰ Aphrodite.

⁶¹ The first two verses are quoted also at 13.561b.

⁶² Quoted also (along with verse 1, which follows here) at
7.281e, where see n.

⁶³ Verses 2–6 are quoted also at 13.564d–e.

χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώ-
 των δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἀλικία·
 τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὄσσω
 μαρμαριζοίσας δρακεῖς
 ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
 ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν
 ψυχρᾶ φλογί, πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-
 τας ἀτιμασθεῖς ἐλικογλεφάρου
 ἢ περὶ χρήμασι μοχθίζει βιαίως
 ἢ γυναικείῳ θράσει

e ψυχρὰν † φορεῖται πᾶσαν | ὁδὸν θεραπεύων.
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὰς ἑκατι κηρὸς ὡς δαχθεῖς ἔλα
 ἱρᾶν μελισσᾶν τάκομαι, εὐτ' ἂν ἴδω
 παίδων νεόγυιον ἐς ἧβαν·
 ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ Τενέδῳ
 Πειθῷ τ' ἔναιεν καὶ Χάρις
 υἱὸν Ἀγησίλα.

ὅλως δὲ τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς θηλείαις
 προκρίνουσι πολλοί· παρὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας ταῖς εὐνο-
 μουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σπουδασθῆναι
 τόδε τὸ ἔθος. Κρηῆτες γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
 Χαλκιδεῖς περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαιμονίως ἐπτόνηται. Ἐχε-
 μένης γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν
 f ἀρπάσαι | τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. οἱ δὲ προ-
 ειρημένοι Χαλκιδεῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς φασιν ἀρπασθῆναι

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You should have picked love's flowers
at the right time, my heart, when you were young.
But as for the sparkling rays from Theoxenus'
eyes, whoever looks on them
and is not roiled with longing has a black heart
forged with cold fire out of steel
or iron; and disregarded by
Aphrodite of the glancing eyes,
he either toils furiously to earn money
or is no braver than a woman and
is carried along on every † cold road, like a servant.
But I on her⁶⁴ account, like wax produced by the
sacred
bees when it is stung by the sun's rays, am melted
whenever I gaze
upon the youthful beauty of boys with their fresh
limbs.
It seems, then, that Persuasion
and Grace dwell on Tenedos,
in Hagesilas' son.

Many people wholeheartedly prefer love-affairs with boys to those with women; for the Greek cities that are best-governed in comparison with the others engage vigorously in this practice. The Cretans, for example, as I said (cf. 13.561e-f), and the inhabitants of Euboean Chalcis become extraordinarily excited about sex with boys. Eche-
menes in his *History of Crete* (FGrH 459 F 1), at any rate, claims that it was not Zeus who kidnapped Ganymede, but Minos. But the Chalcidians mentioned above claim that

⁶⁴ Aphrodite's.

τὸν Γανυμήδην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸν τόπον δεικνύντες Ἄρπάγιον καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μυρρίναι διάφοροι πεφύκασιν. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δ' ἔχθραν διελύσατο Μίνως, καίπερ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παιδὸς συστάσαν, Θησεὺς ἐρασθεὶς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τούτῳ γυναῖκα ἔδωκε Φαίδραν, ὡς Ζήνις ἢ Ζηνεὺς φησιν ὁ Χίλιος ἐν τῷ
 602 περὶ τῆς πατρίδος συγγράμματι. || Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς περισπουδάστους φησὶν γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας, ὅτι πολλάκις ἢ τῶν νέων ἀκμὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐταιρικὸν συμφρονῆσαν πολλὰς τυραννίδας καθείλεν· παιδικῶν γὰρ παρόντων ἐραστῆς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἔλοιτ' ἂν παθεῖν ἢ δειλοῦ δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς παιδικοῖς. ἔργῳ γοῦν τοῦτο ἔδειξεν ὁ συνταχθεὶς Θήβησιν ὑπὸ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἱερός λόχος καὶ ὁ κατὰ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν θάνατος ὑπὸ Ἄρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος γενόμενος, περὶ
 b Σικελίαν δ' ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὁ Χαρίτωνος | καὶ Μελάνιππου <ἔρωτος>.¹² Μελάνιππος δ' ἦν τὰ παιδικά, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑρωτικῶν. οὗτοι φανέντες ἐπιβουλευόντες Φαλάριδι καὶ βασι-

¹² add. Schweighäuser

⁶⁵ Cognate with *harpaζō* ("snatch, kidnap"). ⁶⁶ Minos' son Androgeos was killed in Athens, and Minos responded by requiring the city to furnish him with a tribute of young men and women (to be given to the Minotaur), one of whom was eventually Theseus. The normal story is not that Theseus was given Ariadne, but that the two of them ran off together.

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Ganymede was kidnapped in their territory by Zeus, and they point out the spot, which they refer to as Harpagion,⁶⁵ where exceptionally fine laurel trees grow. So too Minos abandoned his hostility toward the Athenians, even though it was caused by his son's death,⁶⁶ when he fell in love with Theseus, and he gave him his daughter Ariadne as his wife, according to Zenis (or Zeneus) of Chios in his treatise on his native land (*FGrH* 393 F 1).⁶⁷ Hieronymus the Peripatetic (fr. 34 Wehrli) claims that love-affairs with boys were treated with particular enthusiasm because the vigor of the young men and the friendly sympathy the pair felt for one another brought down a substantial number of tyrannies; for when his boyfriend is present, a lover would prefer to suffer absolutely anything rather than get a reputation for cowardice in the boy's eyes. The Sacred Band established in Thebes by Epaminondas,⁶⁸ for example, demonstrated this in practice, as did the assassination carried out by Harmodius and Aristogiton when Pisistratus' sons were in power,⁶⁹ as well as the love-affair of Chariton and Melanippus in Acragas in Sicily. According to Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Love-Affairs* (fr. 65 Wehrli = fr. 37 Schütrumpf), Melanippus was the boyfriend. They were caught plotting against Phalaris,⁷⁰ and when they were

⁶⁷ Additional fragments of very similar material are preserved at 13.602f–3a.

⁶⁸ The Sacred Band consisted of 150 pairs of male lovers. It was formed when Thebes was liberated in 379 BCE and thus, in fact, predates the period of Epaminondas' ascendancy.

⁶⁹ Cf. 13.596f n.

⁷⁰ Phalaris was tyrant of Acragas in Sicily c.570–c.549 BCE.

νιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότας οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐπαινέσαντα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἠσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται· ἔχρησεν | δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ χρῆσμός ὅδε·

εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφν,
θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐφαμερίοις φιλότατος.

διαβόητα δ' ἔστιν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κρατίνῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ γενόμενα· ὃς μειράκιον <ῶν>¹³ εὖμορφον, Ἐπιμενίδου καθαίροντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνθρωπιῶ αἵματι διὰ τινα μύση παλαιά, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς | ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Τελετῶν, ἐκὼν αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκεν¹⁴ ὑπὲρ τῆς θρεψαμένης· ᾧ καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν ὁ ἐραστὴς Ἀριστόδημος, λύσιν τ' ἔλαβε τὸ δεινόν. διὰ τοὺς τοιού-

¹³ add. Dindorf

¹⁴ ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Κρατίνος A: ὁ Κρατίνος del. Kaibel

⁷¹ PAA 336985.

⁷² PAA 584305 (not the 5th-century comic poet); his lover Aristodemus is PAA [168580].

⁷³ According to [Arist.] *Ath.* 1.3 (cf. D.L. 1.110), Epimenides

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tortured in an effort to force them to identify their fellow-conspirators, not only did they not give up the names but they made Phalaris himself feel pity for the pain they were suffering, to the extent that he praised them heartily and set them free. This is why Apollo, who was pleased at these events, rewarded Phalaris by delaying his death and explained this to people who asked the Pythia how to attack him. He also offered an oracle that concerned Chariton and his associates, putting the pentameter before the hexameter, just as Dionysius of Athens (nicknamed Chalcous)⁷¹ did later on in his *Elegies*. The oracle runs as follows (Delphic Oracle Q85 Fontenrose):

Chariton and Melanippus were happy men;
they introduced mortals to an affection like that felt
by gods.

The story of what happened to Cratinus of Athens⁷² is also well-known. He was a good-looking boy, and when Epimenides⁷³ was purifying Attica with human blood on account of some ancient defilement, according to Neanthes of Cyzicus in Book II of *On Rites* (*FGrH* 84 F 16), he voluntarily gave himself up for the land that had raised him. His lover Aristodemus died after him, and the problem was resolved. On account of love-affairs of this type,⁷⁴

of Crete (*FGrH* 457; D-K 3; PAA 396032) purified Attica after the murder of the would-be tyrant Cylon in the 630s BCE or so. The story is almost certainly legendary, as was suspected already in antiquity (cf. 13.602e-f).

⁷⁴ Returning to the topic momentarily abandoned above. Several documents have been roughly spliced together here; the discussion of Cratinus and Aristodemus resumes again briefly below.

τους οὖν ἔρωτας οἱ τύραννοι (πολέμοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐται αἱ φιλίαι) τὸ παράπαν ἐκώλουν τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας, πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκκόπτοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας ὥσπερ ἀντιτειχίσματα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀκροπόλεσιν ἐνεπίμπρασάν τε καὶ κατέσκαψαν, ὡς ἐποίησε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος. παρὰ δὲ e Σπαρτιάταις, ὡς Ἄγων φησὶν ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκός, | πρὸ τῶν γάμων ταῖς παρθένους ὡς παιδικοῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ὀμιλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης Σόλων ἔφη·

μηρῶν ἰμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

Αἰσχύλος τε καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀναφανδὸν ἔφασαν, ὁ μὲν Μυρμιδόσιν·

σέβας δὲ μηρῶν ἀγνὸν οὐκ ἐπηδέσω,
ὦ δυσχάριστε τῶν πυκνῶν φιλημάτων,

ὁ δ' ἐν Κολχίσιον περὶ Γανυμήδους τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

μηροῖς ὑπαίθων τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὰ περὶ Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστόδημον f πεπλάσθαι | φησὶν Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν ταῖς Πρὸς τὸν Νεάνθην Ἀντιγραφαῖς. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Κύνουλκε, τὰς διηγῆσεις ταύτας, κἂν ψευδεῖς ὦσιν, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι πιστεύετε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ποιημάτων ἂ

⁷⁵ Polycrates reigned c.535–522 BCE.

⁷⁶ I.e. anally.

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therefore, tyrants—for these close personal relationships are contrary to their interests—by and large attempted to prevent pederastic love-affairs, working to eliminate them in any way possible. Some actually burned down or demolished the wrestling schools, as if they were counter-walls directed against their own citadels, as Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos,⁷⁵ did. In Sparta, according to Hagnon of the Academy, it is customary to have sex with girls before they marry in the same way one does with boys.⁷⁶ For the law-giver Solon (fr. 25.2 West²) in fact said:⁷⁷

desiring thighs and a sweet mouth.

Both Aeschylus and Sophocles expressed this openly, the former in *Myrmidons* (A. fr. 135):⁷⁸

You showed no sacred respect for my thighs;
how ungrateful you were for my frequent kisses!

the latter in *Colchians* (S. fr. 345), where he is referring to Ganymede:

setting Zeus' tyranny on fire with his thighs.

I am well aware, however, that the travel-writer Polemon in his *Treatise Responding to Neanthes* (fr. 53 Preller) claims that the story about Cratinus and Aristodemus is a fiction. Whereas your people,⁷⁹ Cynulcus, are confident that these narratives are true, even if they are false; and you enjoy occupying yourselves with poetry of this sort,

⁷⁷ This material appears to belong with the discussion at 13.601a–b rather than here, where it is patently out of place.

⁷⁸ Cf. 13.601a.

⁷⁹ The Cynics.

- περὶ τοὺς παιδικούς ἐστιν ἔρωτας ἡδέως μελετᾶτε
 < . . . > τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν παρὰ πρώτων Κρητῶν εἰς
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας παρελθόντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τίμαιος. ἄλλοι
 δέ φασι τῶν τοιούτων ἐρώτων κατάρξασθαι Δάιον
 603 ξενωθέντα παρὰ Πέλοπι καὶ ἐρασθέντα τοῦ ἢ υἱοῦ
 αὐτοῦ Χρυσίππου, ὃν καὶ ἀρπάσαντα καὶ ἀναθήμενον
 εἰς ἄρμα εἰς Θήβας φυγεῖν. Πράξιλλα δ' ἡ Συκωνία ὑπὸ
 Διός φησιν ἀρπασθῆναι τὸν Χρυσίππου. καὶ Κελτοὶ
 δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καίτοι καλλίστας ἔχοντες γυναῖκας
 παιδικοῖς μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ὡς πολλάκις ἐνίοις ἐπὶ
 ταῖς δοραῖς μετὰ δύο ἐρωμένων ἀναπαύεσθαι. Πέρσας
 δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος μαθεῖν τὸ παισὶν
 χρῆσθαι. φιλόπαις δ' ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
 βασιλεὺς· Δικαίαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἐν Ἰλίῳ
 b Θυσίας Βαγῶου | τοῦ εὐνούχου οὕτως αὐτὸν φησιν
 ἠττάσθαι ὡς ἐν ὄψει θεάτρου ὅλου καταφιλεῖν αὐτὸν
 ἀνακλάσαντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνησάντων 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' Ἀλέξανδρος παρὰ Κρατερῷ αὐτὸν ἐπήνε-
 σεν γενομένου πότου, ὁ Χάρων ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα
 καταφιλήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὅς, “μηδαμῶς,”
 c εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐμὲ εὐφρανεῖ | ὡς σὲ λυπήσει.”
 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν ἐρωτικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, οὕτως καὶ

⁸⁰ Cf. 13.601e-f.

⁸¹ The story provided the subject matter for Euripides' *Chrysippus*; cf. Ael. VH 13.5.

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which concerns pederastic love-affairs . . . since pederasty began with the Cretans and made its way to Greece from there, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 144).⁸⁰ But other authorities claim that this type of love began with Laius, when he visited Pelops' house and fell in love with Pelops' son Chrysippus; he kidnapped the boy, put him in his chariot, and ran away to Thebes.⁸¹ Praxilla of Sicyon (*PMG* 751), on the other hand, claims that Chrysippus was kidnapped by Zeus. So too the Celts, even though they have the most beautiful women of all the barbarians, prefer sex with boys; as a result, some of them routinely sleep on their animal-skins with two boyfriends. Herodotus (1.135) claims that the Persians learned about sex with boys from the Greeks. King Alexander was crazy about boys. Dicaearchus in his *On the Sacrifice at Ilium* (fr. 23 Wehrli = fr. 83 Mirhady), for example, says that he was so infatuated with the eunuch Bagoas⁸² that he leaned back and kissed him in the sight of a theater full of people, and that when the spectators responded by clapping and cheering, he did what they wanted, and leaned back and kissed him again. Carystius says in his *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 5, *FHG* iv.357): Charon of Chalcis⁸³ had a good-looking slave-boy he was very fond of. When Alexander was at Craterus' house at a drinking party, he expressed admiration for the boy, and Charon ordered him to kiss Alexander. But Alexander said: "Absolutely not; the amount of pleasure he gives me will be less than the amount of pain he causes you." For even though this king was interested in

⁸² Berve i #195; he originally belonged to Darius.

⁸³ Berve i #827. Craterus (below) is Berve i #446; he was one of Alexander's closest companions.

πρὸς τὸ καθήκον ἐγκρατῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρεπωδέ-
 στατον· αἰχμαλώτους γοῦν λαβὼν τὰς Δαρείου θυγα-
 τέρας καὶ τὴν γυναικα κάλλει διαπρεπεστάτην οὔσαν
 οὐ μόνον ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείνας μαθεῖν ἐποίη-
 σεν ὅτι εἰσὶν αἰχμάλωτοι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι Δαρείου ἐν τῇ
 βασιλείᾳ ὄντος πάντα αὐταῖς χορηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν.
 διόπερ καὶ Δαρείος τοῦτο μαθὼν ἠῤῥατο τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὰς
 χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἢ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἢ Ἀλέξανδρον.
 d Ῥαδαμάνθυνος | δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Ἴβυκος ἐραστήν φησι
 γενέσθαι Τάλων. Διότιμος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ Εὐρυ-
 σθέα φησὶν Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι παιδικά, διόπερ καὶ
 τοὺς ἄθλους ὑπομῆναι. Ἀγαμέμνονά τε Ἀργύννου
 ἐραστῆναι λόγος, ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ νηχόμενον
 ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτήσαντα αὐτὸν (συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἀπελούετο) θάψας εἶσατο καὶ ἱερὸν
 αὐτόθι Ἀφροδίτης Ἀργυννίδος. Λικύμνιος δ' ὁ Χίος ἐν
 Διθυράμβοις Ἀργύννου φησὶν ἐρώμενον Ὑμέναιον
 e γενέσθαι. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρώμενος | ἦν
 Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ κιθαρῳδός, περὶ οὗ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύ-
 στιος ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος Βίῳ γράφει οὕτως· Ἀντίγονος ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἐπεκώμαζε τῷ Ζήνωνι. καί ποτε καὶ μεθ'

⁸⁴ I.e. to Ahura Mazda, the Persians' supreme god.

⁸⁵ The story is attested nowhere else, and it is unclear whether the Talus in question is the bronze guardian of Crete (A.R. 4.1638-88) or the nephew of Daedalus ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.15.8).

⁸⁶ I.e. so as not to be embarrassed in front of the boy he loved; cf. 13.602a. The normal story is that King Eurystheus was Heracles' temporary master until he completed his labors.

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love, he was equally in control of his feelings when it came to what was appropriate and made the best appearance. When he took Darius' daughters prisoner, for example, along with his wife, who was extremely beautiful, he not only kept his hands off of them but did not allow them to learn that they were captives, and he instead ordered that they be provided with everything they needed, as if Darius was still on the throne. As a consequence, when Darius learned about this, he stretched his hands up and prayed to the Sun,⁸⁴ asking that either he be king or that Alexander be. Ibycus (*PMG* 309) claims that Talus was the lover of Rhadamanthys the Just.⁸⁵ And Diotimus in his *Epic of Heracles* (*SH* 393) says that Eurystheus was Heracles' boyfriend, which is why Heracles endured his labors.⁸⁶ There is a story that Agamemnon fell in love with Argynnus when he saw him swimming in the Cephisus; after the boy died in this river—because he was constantly taking baths in it—Agamemnon buried him and founded a temple of Aphrodite Argynnis there.⁸⁷ Licymnius of Chios in the *Dithyrambs* (*PMG* 768), on the other hand, claims that Hymenaeus was Argynnus' boyfriend. The citharode Aristocles⁸⁸ was the boyfriend of King Antigonus, and Antigonus of Carystus writes as follows about him in his *Life of Zeno* (p. 117 Wilamowitz = fr. 35A Dorandi = Zeno fr. 23, *SVF* i.10):⁸⁹ King Antigonus used to lead drunken processions to Zeno's house. On one occasion he left a party and

⁸⁷ For the story, cf. Phanocles fr. 5, p. 108 Powell; Propertius 3.7.21–4; St. Byz. A 402 Billerbeck.

⁸⁸ Stephanis #340. The Antigonus in question is Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277–239 BCE).

⁸⁹ Cf. D.L. 7.13.

ἡμέραν ἔλθων ἕκ τινος πότου καὶ ἀναπηδήσας πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν συγκωμάσαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρωδόν, οὗ σφόδρα ἦρα ὁ βασιλεύς. φιλομείραξ δὲ ἦν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φιλογύνης. Ἴων γοῦν ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἐπιδημίαις γράφει οὕτως· Σοφοκλεῖ τῷ ποιητῇ
 f ἐν Χίῳ συνήντησα, | ὅτε ἔπλει εἰς Λέσβον στρατηγός, ἀνδρὶ παιδιώδει παρ' οἶνον καὶ δεξιῶ. Ἐρμησίλεω δὲ ξένου οἱ ἑόντος καὶ προξένου Ἀθηναίων ἐστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ ἐστεῶς ὁ τὸν οἶνον ἐγχείων παῖς < . . . > ἔων δηλὸς ἦν εἰπέ τε· “βούλει με ἠδέως πίνειν;” φάντος δ' αὐτοῦ, “βραδέως τοίνυν καὶ πρόσφερέ μοι καὶ ἀπόφερε τὴν κύλικα.” ἔτι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐρυθρίασαντος τοῦ παιδὸς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν συγκατακείμενον· “ὡς καλῶς Φρύνιχος ἐποίησεν εἶπας· ||

604 λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρηῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος.”

καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἠμείφθη ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἢ Ἐρυθραῖος γραμμάτων ἔων διδάσκαλος· “σοφὸς μὲν δὴ σύ γε εἶ, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἐν ποιήσει· ὅμως μέντοι γε οὐκ εὖ εἶρηκε Φρύνιχος πορφυρέας εἰπὼν τὰς γνάθους τοῦ καλοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ὁ ζωγράφος χρώματι πορφυρέῳ ἐναλείψειε τουδὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς γνάθους, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι καλὸς φαίνοιτο. οὐ κάρτα δεῖ τὸ καλὸν τῷ μὴ καλῷ φαινομένῳ εἰκάζειν

⁹⁰ Cf. 13.557e.

⁹¹ Quoted also at 13.564f.

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got there after the sun was up; bounded in to see Zeno; and convinced him to join him on a drunken visit to the citharode Aristocles, with whom the king was deeply in love. Sophocles (test. 75) was partial to boys, in the same way that Euripides was partial to women.⁹⁰ The poet Ion (*TrGF* 19 T 4b), for example, writes as follows in his work entitled *Visits Abroad* (*FGrH* 392 F 6): I met the poet Sophocles on Chios, when he was sailing to Lesbos as a general; he was playful and witty when he was drinking. Hermesilaus, who was an old friend of his as well as the local representative of Athens' interests, gave a feast in his honor. When the slave-boy who was pouring the wine was standing by the fire, (Sophocles) was obviously . . . , and he said: "Do you want me to enjoy my drink?" When the boy said that he did, (Sophocles said:) "Then hand me the cup nice and slow, and take it back nice and slow too." When the boy blushed even more, Sophocles said to the man who was sharing his couch: "Phrynichus got it exactly right when he said in his poetry (*TrGF* 3 F 13):⁹¹

The light of love glows on his rosy cheeks."

The fellow from Eretria (or Erythrae),⁹² who taught reading and writing, responded: "You're clever when it comes to poetry, Sophocles. But Phrynichus was still wrong to refer to a good-looking boy's cheeks as purple. Because if an artist covered this boy's jaws with purple paint, he wouldn't be handsome any longer—and you certainly shouldn't compare something that's beautiful with something that

⁹² I.e. the man sharing Sophocles' couch, who was apparently well-educated enough by local standards that Hermesilaus had invited him to dinner with the visiting poetic luminary.

ἄν.” γελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρετριεῖ Σοφοκλῆς· “οὐδὲ τόδε
 b σοι ἀρέσκει | ἄρα, ὦ ξένε, τὸ Σιμωνίδειον, κάρτα
 δοκέον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὖ εἰρῆσθαι·

πορφυρέου ἀπὸ στόματος
 ἰεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος,

οὐδ' ὁ ποιητής, ἔφη, <ὁ>¹⁵ λέγων χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλ-
 λωνα· χρυσέας γὰρ εἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος τὰς τοῦ
 θεοῦ κόμας καὶ μὴ μελαίνας, χεῖρον ἂν ἦν τὸ ζω-
 γράφημα. οὐδὲ ὁ φᾶς “ρόδοδάκτυλον·” εἰ γάρ τις εἰς
 ῥόδεον χρῶμα βάψειε τοὺς δακτύλους, πορφυροβάφου
 χεῖρας καὶ οὐ γυναικὸς καλῆς ποιήσειεν <ἄν>.”¹⁶ γε-
 λασάντων δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἐρετριεὺς ἐνωπήθη τῇ ἐπιραπίξει,
 c ὁ δὲ πάλιν | τοῦ παιδὸς τῷ λόγῳ εἶχετο. εἶρετο γάρ μιν
 ἀπὸ τῆς κύλικος κάρφος τῷ μικρῷ δακτύλῳ ἀφαι-
 ρετέοντα, εἰ καθορᾶ τὸ κάρφος. φάντος δὲ καθορᾶν,
 “ἄπο τοίνυν φύσησον αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ πλύνοιτο ὁ δάκτυ-
 λός σευ.” προσαγαγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον πρὸς
 τὴν κύλικα ἐγγυτέρω τὴν κύλικα τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στόματος
 ἦγεν, ἵνα δὴ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἄσσοτέρα γένηται.
 ὡς δ' ἦν οἱ κάρτα πλησίον, περιλαβὼν τῇ χειρὶ
 ἐφίλησεν. ἐπικροτησάντων δὲ πάντων σὺν γέλῳτι καὶ
 d βοῇ ὡς εὖ ὑπηγάγετο | τὸν παῖδα, “μελετώ,” εἶπεν,
 “στρατηγεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες· ἐπειδήπερ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν

¹⁵ add. Kaibel

¹⁶ add. Iacobs

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doesn't seem to be!" Sophocles laughed at the Eretrian (and said): "Well then, stranger—you must disapprove of the following passage from Simonides (*PMG* 585) as well, although the Greeks generally consider it extremely well-expressed:

a girl sending forth words
from her rosy⁹³ mouth,

And you must also disapprove of the poet," he added, "who refers (*Pi. O.* 6.41) to Apollo as having golden hair; because if an artist made the god's hair golden rather than black, the painting would not be as good. So too with the poet who uses the word *rhododaktulos* ("rosy-fingered");⁹⁴ because if someone dipped (the goddess') fingers in rose-colored pigment, he would produce the hands of a purple-dyer, not of a beautiful woman." We laughed, and the Eretrian looked embarrassed by the scolding; but Sophocles began talking to the boy again. The boy was trying to get a bit of straw out of the cup with his little finger, and Sophocles asked if he saw the straw. When he said that he did, (Sophocles said): "Alright, then—blow it off, so your finger doesn't get wet!" But when the boy moved his face toward the cup, Sophocles brought the cup closer to his own mouth, so that his head would be closer to the boy's head. And when the boy was very close to him, Sophocles grabbed him and kissed him. Everyone applauded, and laughed and shouted that he had done a nice job of luring the boy toward himself, and he said: "I'm practicing my strategy, gentlemen; because Pericles claimed that I can

⁹³ Literally "purple."

⁹⁴ A common Homeric epithet of Dawn (e.g. *Od.* 2.1).

μέν <με>¹⁷ ἔφη, στρατηγεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι. ἀρ' οὖν οὐ κατ' ὀρθόν μοι πέπτωκεν τὸ στρατήγημα;" τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δεξιῶς ἔλεγέν τε καὶ ἔπρησεν ὅτε πίνοι.¹⁸ τὰ μέντοι πολιτικὰ οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτῆριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τις εἰς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ Ἰερώνυμος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν φησιν ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῆ παῖδα ἔξω τέ-
 e χους ἀπήγαγε χρησόμενος αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν | παῖς τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον ἐπὶ τῇ πόᾳ ὑπέστρωσεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδα περιεβάλοντο. μετ' οὖν τὴν ὀμιλίαν ὁ παῖς ἀρπάσας τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδιον ὄχετο, καταλιπὼν τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ παιδικὸν ἱμάτιον. οἷα δὲ εἰκὸς διαλαληθέντος τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Εὐριπίδης πυθόμενος καὶ ἐπιτωθάζων τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἔφη τούτῳ κεχρηῆσθαι τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν προσθεῖναι, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν καταφρονηθῆναι. καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀκούσας ἐποί-
 f ησεν εἰς | αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα, χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ Βορέου λόγῳ, καὶ τι πρὸς μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ παραινιττόμενος:

¹⁷ add. Kaibel: ἔφη <με> Musurus

¹⁸ πίνοι ἢ πράσσοι A: ἢ πράσσοι del. Kaibel

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write poetry, but I don't know how to be a general. So then—didn't my stratagem work out the way I wanted it to?" He spoke and behaved in many other similarly clever ways when he was drinking. As for politics, on the other hand, he was neither particularly wise nor particularly active, but behaved like a typical member of the Athenian upper class. So too Hieronymus of Rhodes in his *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 35 Wehrli) claims that Sophocles took a good-looking boy outside the city-walls to have sex with him. The boy accordingly put his own robe down on the grass beneath them, and they wrapped Sophocles' cloak around them. So after they were finished, the boy grabbed Sophocles' cloak and left, leaving Sophocles his own robe, which was the size a child would wear. As one might expect, what had happened was widely discussed; when Euripides heard about it, he made a nasty joke about the situation, saying that he had had sex with this boy himself once, but had not given him anything more than his usual fee, whereas Sophocles' lack of self-control had led to him being treated with contempt. When Sophocles heard this, he wrote an epigram along the following lines addressed to Euripides, using the story about the Sun and the North Wind,⁹⁵ but also alluding to Euripides' interest in seducing women ("Sophocles" *FGE* 1040-3):

⁹⁵ An allusion to Aes. *Fab.* 46 Perry: When the Sun and the North Wind argued about who was stronger, they agreed to see who could strip the clothes off a traveler. The North Wind tried to blow the man's clothes off but only succeeded in making him wrap them about himself more tightly, whereas the Sun, simply by shining on him, eventually made him strip himself and take a bath in a nearby river.

Ἥλιος ἦν, οὐ παῖς, Εὐριπίδῃ, ὅς με χλιαίνων
 γυμνὸν ἐποίησεν· σοὶ δὲ φιλοῦντι † ἑταίραν †
 Βορράς ὠμίλησε. σὺ δ' οὐ σοφός, ὅς τὸν Ἔρωτα,
 ἀλλοτρίαν σπείρων, λωποδύτην ἀπάγεις.

Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Συληθέντων Ἐκ ||
 605 Δελφῶν Χρημάτων Ἀσώπιχόν φησι τὸν Ἐπαμινών-
 δου ἐρώμενον τὸ Λευκτρικὸν τρόπαιον ἐντετυπωμένον
 ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ θαυμαστῶς αὐτὸν κινδυ-
 νεύειν, ἀνακείσθαι τε τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην ἐν Δελφοῖς
 ἐν τῇ στοᾷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ συγγράμματι Θεόπομπος
 φιλογύναιον μὲν φησι γεγονέναι Φάυλλον τὸν Φω-
 κέων τύραννον, φιλόπαιδα δὲ Ὀνόμαρχον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι τούτου εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγε-
 νομένῳ < . . . > τῷ Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Σικωνίου νιῶ
 b ἀποκερουμένῳ τὴν κόμην, ἵ ὄντι καλῶ συγγενόμενον
 τὰ Συβαριτῶν ἀναθήματα, στλεγγίδια χρυσᾶ τέσσα-
 ρα. τῇ Δεινιάδου δὲ αὐλητρίδι Βρομιάδι Φάυλλος
 καρχήσιον ἀργυροῦν Φωκαέων καὶ στέφανον χρυ-
 σοῦν κιττοῦ Πεπαρηθίων. αὕτη δέ, φησί, καὶ ἔμελλε
 τὰ Πύθια αὐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐκωλύθη. τῷ
 δὲ Λυκόλα τοῦ¹⁹ Τριχονεῖου νιῶ Φυσκίδα ὄντι καλῶ

¹⁹ τῷ του A: τῷ del. Kaibel

⁹⁶ Where the Thebans, with Epaminondas as general, defeated the Spartans in 371 BCE.

⁹⁷ The brothers Phayllus and Onomarchus, along with the chief commander Philemelus (below), were Phocian generals

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It was the Sun, Euripides, and not a boy, that got me
 hot
 and stripped me naked. But the North Wind was
 with you
 when you were kissing † a courtesan †. You're not so
 clever, if you arrest
 Eros for stealing clothes while you're sowing
 another man's field.

Theopompus in his *On the Goods Plundered from Delphi* (*FGrH* 115 F 247) claims that Epaminondas' boyfriend Asopichus had the victory-monument at Leuctra⁹⁶ engraved on his shield and took extraordinary risks and dedicated this shield in the stoa in Delphi. In this same treatise, Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 248) says that the Phocian tyrant Phayllus⁹⁷ liked women, whereas Onomarchus liked boys, and that from the god's property Onomarchus gave . . . the son of Pythodorus of Sicyon, a good-looking boy who was visiting Delphi in order to cut his hair,⁹⁸ the objects the Sybarites had dedicated, specifically four gold strigils, after he had sex with him. But Phayllus gave the pipe-girl Bromias,⁹⁹ who belonged to Deiniades, a silver *karchêsiôn* dedicated by the Phocaeans and an ivy-garland made of gold dedicated by the Peparethians. She was also intending to play the pipe-music at the Pythian games, he says, except that the crowd prevented this. And Onomarchus, he claims, gave Physcidas the son of Lycolas of Trichonium, who was a good-looking boy, a laurel-garland

when the Phocians looted Delphi in 356 BCE; cf. 6.231c–d n., 231d–e, 232e n. ⁹⁸ I.e. to mark that he had reached adulthood. ⁹⁹ Stephanis #535.

Ὀνόμαρχος ἔδωκεν, φησί, στέφανον <χρυσοῦν>²⁰
 δάφνης, Ἐφεσίων ἀνάθημα. οὗτος ὁ παῖς πρὸς Φίλιπ-
 πον ἀχθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κακεῖ προαγωγευόμενος
 οὐδὲν λαβὼν | ἀπεστάλη. τῷ Ἐπιλύκου τοῦ Ἀμφιπο-
 λίτου νιῶ ὄντι καλῶ Δαμίππῳ < . . . > Πλεισθένους
 ἀνάθημα Ὀνόμαρχος ἔδωκε. Φαρσαλία τῇ Θεσσαλίδι
 ὀρχηστρίδι δάφνης στέφανον χρυσοῦν Φιλόμηλος
 ἔδωκε, Λαμψακηνῶν ἀνάθημα. αὕτη ἡ Φαρσαλία ἐν
 Μεταποντίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, γενομένης
 φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης τῆς χαλκῆς, ἣν ἔστησαν Μετα-
 ποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστέα τοῦ Προκουησίου ἐπιδη-
 μίαν, ὅτ' ἔφησεν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονέναι, ὡς
 τάχιστα ὤφθη εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβαλοῦσα, | ἐμμανῶν
 γενομένων τῶν μάντεων διεσπᾶσθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον ἀναζητούντων τὴν αἰτίαν εὐ-
 ρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνηρημένη. 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 ἑταῖρα, ὅσον εἰκόασι
 γυναιξὶ χρόνον, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος. ἐμοὶ μὲν
 γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Κλεώνυμος ὁ
 Σπαρτιάτης, πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων | εἰς ὀμηρείαν λαβὼν
 παρὰ Μεταποντίνων γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους τὰς ἐν-

²⁰ add. Meineke

¹⁰⁰ Stephanis #2462.

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made of gold that had been dedicated by the Ephesians. This boy's father took him to Philip's court, where he was treated like a whore and then sent home with no reward. Onomarchus gave Damippus the son of Epilycus of Amphipolis, who was a good-looking boy, . . . that had been dedicated by Pleisthenes. Philomelus gave the Thessalian dancing-girl Pharsalia¹⁰⁰ a laurel-crown made of gold that had been dedicated by the Lampsacenes. As for this Pharsalia, there were seers in the marketplace in Metapontium, and when a voice came out of the bronze laurel tree the inhabitants of the city set up when Aristneas of Proconnesus (fr. 18 Bolton) visited, when he claimed to be on his way home from the land of the Hyperboreans—as soon as she was spotted entering the marketplace, the seers went crazy and tore her to pieces.¹⁰¹ When people later on tried to discover the reason for this, they found that she had been killed because of her garland, which belonged to the god. You too should be careful, therefore, philosophers, if you engage in unnatural sex-acts and fail to show the goddess the respect she is due, or you may be destroyed in the same way. For as the courtesan Glycera¹⁰² said, according to Clearchus (fr. 23 Wehrli), boys are attractive only as long as they resemble women. Cleonymus of Sparta¹⁰³ thus appears to me to have behaved normally when he became the first person to seize hostages, taking 200 of their most important and attractive women and girls from the inhabi-

¹⁰¹ Plu. *Mor.* 397f–8a offers a different version of the story, in which Pharsalia (Stephanis #2462) was torn apart by young men who were fighting with one another to seize her garland.

¹⁰² PAA 277490. ¹⁰³ Pp. 246–7 Bradford (*c.*340–272 BCE). For the story, cf. D.S. 20.104.3 (303 BCE).

δοξοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας διακοσίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦ-
ρις ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἱστο-
ριῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἐπικράτους Ἀντιλαΐδα

τὰρωτίκ' ἐκμεμάθηκα ταῦτα παντελῶς
Σαπφούς, Μελήτου, Κλεομένου, Λαμνυθίου.

ὕμεις δέ, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, κὰν ἐρασθέντες ποτέ γυναικῶν
ἐν ἐννοίᾳ λάβητε ὡς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ τυχεῖν, μάθετε
< . . . > παύονται οἱ ἔρωτες, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος. τῇ τε
f γὰρ περὶ τὴν Πειρήνην χαλκῇ βοῖ βοῦς | ἐπανέβη
καὶ γεγραμμένη κυνὶ καὶ περιστερᾷ καὶ χηνὶ τῇ μὲν
κύων, τῇ δὲ περιστερᾷ, τῇ δὲ χηνὶ προσήλθον καὶ
ἐπεπήδησαν· φανέντων δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀδυνάτων
ἀπέστησαν, καθάπερ Κλείσοφος ὁ Σηλυμβριανός.
οὗτος γὰρ τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ Παρίου ἀγάλματος ἐραστῆς
κατέκλεισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῶ, ὡς πλησιάζσαι δυνη-
σόμενος· καὶ ὡς ἠδυνάτει διὰ τε τὴν ψυχρότητα καὶ τὸ
ἀντίτυπον τοῦ λίθου, τηρικαῦτα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπέστη
καὶ προβαλλόμενος τι²¹ σαρκίον ἐπλησίασεν. τῆς
πράξεως ταύτης μνημονεύει καὶ Ἄλεξις ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν
τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Γραφῆ λέγων ὧδε ἥ

606 γεγένηται δ', ὡς λέγουσιν, κὰν Σάμῳ
τοιούθ' ἕτερον. λιθίνης ἐπεθύμησεν κόρης
ἄνθρωπος ἐγκατέκλεισέ θ' αὐτὸν τῷ νεῶ.

καὶ Φιλήμων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύων φησὶν·

²¹ τι Meineke: τὸ Α

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tants of Metapontium, according to Duris of Samos in Book III of his *History involving Agathocles* (FGrH 76 F 18). I too, to quote Epicrates' *Antilaiis* (fr. 4),

have systematically memorized this erotic poetry
produced
by Sappho, Meletus, Cleomenes, and Lamynthius.¹⁰⁴

But if you, my philosophers, ever fall in love with women and realize that it is impossible to get what you want, understand . . . love fades, as Clearchus (fr. 26 Wehrli) says. For a bull mounted the bronze cow in Pirene; and a male dog, pigeon, and goose approached and mounted pictures of, respectively, a female dog, pigeon, and goose. But when it became apparent to them that it was impossible, they all abandoned their efforts, just as Cleisophus of Selymbria did. He fell in love with the statue made of Parian marble on Samos, and he locked himself up in the temple in order to have sex with it. But when he was unable to do so, because the stone was too cold and resistant, he immediately abandoned his desire, put a small piece of meat in front of himself, and had sex with that instead. The poet Alexis in his play entitled *The Picture* (fr. 41) refers to the same set of events, saying the following:

People claim that something similar happened
on Samos. A guy became infatuated with a girl
made of stone and locked himself up in the temple.

Philemon (fr. 127) mentions the same person, saying:

¹⁰⁴ Meletus is presumably the tragic poet (*TrGF* 47; *PAA* 639320 = 639322; cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1302). For Cleomenes, cf. Chionid. fr. 4 (quoted at 14.638d-e). For Lamynthius, cf. 13.597a with n.

ἀλλ' ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν τοῦ λιθίνου ζώου ποτὲ
 ἄνθρωπος ἠράσθη τις· εἴτ' εἰς τὸν νεὼν
 κατέκλεισεν αὐτόν.

Κτησικλέους δ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὡς φησὶν
 Ἀδαῖος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀγαλματοποιῶν.
 Πολέμων δὲ ἢ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ἑλλα-
 b δικόν, ἐν Δελφοῖς, φησὶν, | ἐν τῷ Σπινατῶν θησαυρῷ
 παῖδες εἰσὶν λίθινοι δύο, ὧν τοῦ ἐτέρου Δελφοὶ φασὶ
 τῶν θεωρῶν ἐπιθυμήσαντά τινα συγκατακλεισθῆναι
 καὶ τῆς ὀμιλίας < . . . > καταλιπεῖν στέφανον. φωρα-
 θέντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένοις τοῖς Δελφοῖς
 συντάξαι ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν
 μισθόν.

Καὶ ἄλογα δὲ ζῶα ἀνθρώπων ἠράσθη. Σεκούνδου
 μὲν τινος βασιλικῆς οἰνοχόου ἀλεκτρῶν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ
 ὁ μὲν ἀλεκτρῶν Κένταυρος, ὁ δὲ Σεκούνδος ἦν οἰ-
 κέτης Νικομήδους τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
 c Νίκανδρος | ἐν ἔκτῳ Περιπετειῶν. ἐν Αἰγίῳ δὲ παιδὸς
 ἠράσθη χήν, ὡς Κλέαρχος ἱστορεῖ ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρω-
 τικῶν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Ἑρωτι-
 κῷ Ἀμφίλοχον καλεῖσθαι φησὶ καὶ τὸ γένος Ὠλένιον
 εἶναι, Ἑρμείας δ' ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, Σάμιος δὲ γένος,

¹⁰⁵ This must be the individual to whom Polemon replied in his *Response to Adaeus and Antigonus* (quoted at e.g. 5.210a; 11.462a; 15.690e). The sculptor Ctesicles is otherwise unknown.

¹⁰⁶ Presumably the garland was made of gold, and the man had not intended to leave it behind.

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But on Samos, once upon a time, a guy fell in love with a creature made of stone; then he locked himself up in the temple.

The statue was made by Ctesicles, according to Adaeus of Mitylene in his *On Sculptors*.¹⁰⁵ Polemon (fr. 28 Preller)—or whoever the author of the work entitled *The Account of Greece* is—says: There are two stone boys in the Treasury of the Spinatae in Delphi, and the Delphians claim that someone who came to see the place became infatuated with one of them and locked himself up with it, and of having sex with it . . . left a garland behind. When he was caught, the Delphians consulted the god, but he ordered them to let the man go; because he had paid for his actions.¹⁰⁶

Irrational animals have also fallen in love with human beings. A rooster, for example, (fell in love with) a royal wine-steward named Secundus. The rooster was named Centaurus, and Secundus was a household-slave of Nicomedes, the king of Bithynia,¹⁰⁷ according to Nicander in Book VI of the *Reversals of Fortune* (FGrH 700 F 2). In Aegeum a goose fell in love with a boy, according to Clearchus in Book I of the *Erotica* (fr. 27 Wehrli); Theophrastus in his *Erotic Essay* (fr. 567A Fortenbaugh) says that this boy was named Amphilocheus and that his family was from Olene.¹⁰⁸ Hermeias the son of Hermodorus, whose family was from Samos, on the other hand, (claims that the goose)

¹⁰⁷ Probably Nicomedes II (reigned 149–128/7 BCE). Cf. Ael. NA 12.37.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ael. NA 5.29 (also citing Theophrastus); Plu. *Mor.* 972f (who calls this a famous story).

ἐρασθῆναι Λακύνδους τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἐν δὲ Λευκαδία
 φησὶν Κλέαρχος οὕτως ἐρασθῆναι ταῶν παρθένου ὡς
 καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκλιπούση συναποθανεῖν. δελφίνα δ' ἐν
 Ἴασῳ παιδὸς ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δουῦρις ἐν
 d τῇ ἐνάτῃ. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ Ἰαλεξάνδρου
 καὶ λέγει οὕτως· μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἴασοῦ
 παῖδα· περὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην Διονύσιός τις ἦν
 παῖς, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ παλαιστρας παραγινώ-
 μενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκολύμβα. δελφὶς δὲ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἀπήντα καὶ ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ
 τὰ νῶτα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ πλείστον νηχόμενος καὶ πάλιν
 ἀποκαθίστα εἰς τὴν γῆν. φιλανθρωπότατον δὲ ἐστὶ
 καὶ συνετώτατον τὸ ζῶον ὁ δελφὶς χάριν τε ἀπο-
 δίδοναι ἐπιστάμενον. Φύλαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ,
 e Κοίρανος, φησὶν, ἢ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἰδὼν ἀλιέας τῷ δικτύῳ
 λαβόντας δελφίνα καὶ μέλλοντας κατακόπτειν ἀργύ-
 ριον δοῦς καὶ παραιτησάμενος ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ναυαγία χρησάμενος περὶ Μύκονον
 καὶ πάντων ἀπολομένων μόνος ὑπὸ δελφίνου ἐσώθη ὁ
 Κοίρανος. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ γηραιοῦ ἐν τῇ πα-
 τριδίδι καὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν γιγνομένης
 κατὰ τύχην,²² ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλῆθος δελφίνων ἐφάνη ἐν
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω τῶν ἐκκομιζόντων

²² κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ A: ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ om. CE, del. Meineke

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fell in love with the philosopher Lacydes.¹⁰⁹ And in Leucadia, according to Clearchus (fr. 28 Wehrli), a peacock fell so deeply in love with a girl that when she passed away, it died at the same time. There is a story that a dolphin fell in love with a boy in Iasus, according to Duris in Book IX (*FGrH* 76 F 7).¹¹⁰ His account involves Alexander, and goes as follows: (Alexander) also summoned the boy from Iasus. For there was a boy named Dionysius, who lived near this city, and who left the wrestling-school along with the other boys and was down by the sea swimming. A dolphin came up to him out of the sea; took him up on its back; swam around carrying him for a long time; and deposited him again on the shore. Dolphins are extremely friendly and intelligent creatures, and know how to return a favor. Phylarchus in Book XII (*FGrH* 81 F 26), for example, says:¹¹¹ When Coiranus of Miletus saw that some fishermen had caught a dolphin in their net and intended to butcher it, he gave them some money and, after they turned it over to him, released it back into the sea. Afterward, he was shipwrecked near Myconos, and although everyone else died, Coiranus alone was rescued by a dolphin. He died as an old man in his native country, and his funeral procession happened to proceed along the seashore; a school of dolphins appeared in the harbor that day, very close to the people accompanying Coiranus to his grave,

¹⁰⁹ Ael. *NA* 7.41 offers a more circumstantial version of the story.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 984e-f; Ael. *NA* 6.15 (a much more extensive and unhappy version of the same story); Plin. *Nat.* 9.25, 27; *Ep.* 9.33.

¹¹¹ Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 984f-5b (citing Archil. fr. 192 West²); Ael. *NA* 8.3 (both slightly more circumstantial versions of the story).

- f τὸν Κοίρανον, | ὡσεὶ συνεκφερόντων καὶ συγκληδευόντων τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὄσσην ἐλέφας²³ φιλοστοργίαν ἔσχεν εἰς παιδίον. γράφει δ' οὕτως· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐλέφαντι συνετρέφετο θήλεια ἐλέφας, ἣν Νίκαιαν ἐκάλουν· ᾧ τελευτῶσα ἢ τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἰνδοῦ γυνὴ παιδίον αὐτῆς τριακοσταῖον παρακατέθετο. ἀποθανούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου δεινὴ τις φιλοστοργία γέγονε τοῦ θηρίου πρὸς τὸ παιδίον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χωριζόμενον τὸ βρέφος ὑπέμενεν, τὸ δὲ εἰ μὴ βλέποι τὸ παιδίον ἤσχαλλεν. ὅτ' οὖν ἢ τροφὸς ἐμπλήσειεν αὐτὸ τοῦ γάλακτος, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ θηρίου ἐτίθει
- 607 αὐτὸ ἐν σκάφῃ· || εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο πεποιήκοι, τροφήν οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν ἢ ἐλέφας. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς καλάμους λαμβάνων ἐκ τῶν παρατιθεμένων χορτασμάτων καθεύδοντας τοῦ βρέφους τὰς μυίας ἀπесόβει· ὅτε δὲ κλαίοι, τῇ προβοσκίδι τὴν σκάφην ἐκίνει καὶ κατεκοίμιζεν αὐτό. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἐποίει καὶ ὁ ἄρρην ἐλέφας πολλάκις. ὑμεῖς δέ, ᾧ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τῶν δελφίνων καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἔστε κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἀγριώτεροι ἔτι τε ἀνημερώτεροι, καίτοι Περσαίου τοῦ Κιτιέως ἐν τοῖς Συμποτικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν |
- b βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀρμοστὸν 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.

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as if the dolphins as well were part of the procession and were participating in his burial. In Book XX the same Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 36) describes how devoted an elephant was to a baby. He writes as follows:¹¹² A she-elephant known as Nicaea was kept along with this elephant, and when the wife of the Indian to whom the elephants belonged was dying, she entrusted her month-old baby to it. After the woman died, the beast became deeply devoted to the baby; it refused to be separated from the child, and if it could not see the baby, it became upset. So once the nurse had filled the child with milk, she would set it in a trough between the beast's feet; if she failed to do so, the elephant refused to eat. After that, all day long the elephant would take stalks from the fodder it was given and would shoo the flies away from the child as it slept. And whenever the child cried, the elephant rocked the trough with its trunk and tried to put it to sleep; and the male elephant often behaved the same way. But your minds, my philosophers, are more savage and untamed than those of dolphins or elephants, even though Persaeus of Citium in his *Drinking Party Commentaries*¹¹³ (*FGrH* 584 F 4 = Persaeus fr. 451, *SVF* i.100) shouts and proclaims that it is appropriate to discuss sex while drinking wine; because when we have a bit to drink, we incline in that direction. This is also a fitting context in which to praise people who enjoy sex in a mild and moderate way, and to criticize those who behave like wild animals and cannot get enough of it. Whereas if

¹¹² Ael. *NA* 11.14 offers a slightly different version of the story.

¹¹³ Cf. 4.162b-c.

²³ ἐλέφας τὸ ζῶον A: τὸ ζῶον del. Olson

καὶ εἰ διαλεκτικοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς πότον περὶ συλλογισμῶν διαλέγοντο, ἄλλοτρίως ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοι τις ποιεῖν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, <ὅτε>²⁴ καὶ ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μεθυσθείη ἄν. οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι σωφρονικοὶ εἶναι σφόδρα μέχρι τινὸς διατηροῦσιν | ἐν τοῖς πότοις τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἶθ' ὅταν παρεισδνῆ τὸ οἰνάριον, τὴν πᾶσαν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐπιδείκνυνται· ὁ καὶ πρῶην ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἄρκαδίας θεωρῶν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον παραγενομένων. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρίστων σφόδρα σκυθρωπῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως, ὡς ᾤοντο, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμῶν τινα προσβλέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους. ὡς δὲ ὁ πότος προέβαιεν καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἄλλα τε ἀκροάματα καὶ αἱ Θετταλαὶ αὐταὶ ὀρχηστρίδες, καθάπερ αὐταῖς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐν ταῖς διαζώστραις γυμναὶ ὠρχοῦντο, οὐκ ἔτι κατεῖχον αὐτοὺς | οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν κλινῶν ἀνώρμων καὶ ἐβόων ὡς θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα θεώμενοι καὶ μακάριον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι ἕξεστιν αὐτῷ τούτων ἀπολαύειν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις παραπλήσια πάνυ πολλὰ τῶν φορτικῶν ἐποίουν. τῶν φιλοσόφων δὲ τις συμπίνων ἡμῖν εἰσελθούσης αὐλητρίδος καὶ οὔσης εὐρυχωρίας παρ' αὐτῷ, βουλομένης τῆς παιδίσκης παρακαθίσει οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ σκληρὸν αὐτὸν εἰσῆγεν. εἶθ' ὕστερον πωλουμένης τῆς αὐλητρίδος, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστίν ἐν τοῖς πότοις γίνεσθαι, ἐν τε τῷ | ἀγοράζειν πάνυ νεανικὸς ἦν καὶ τῷ πωλοῦντι ἄλλῳ τινὶ θάπτου προσθέντι ἡμφισβῆται καὶ οὐκ ἔφη

²⁴ add. Kaibel

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individuals trained in dialectic gather for a drinking party and spend their time discussing syllogisms, one might feel that they are not behaving as they should in the situation, given that an individual with good manners would get drunk. People interested in behaving in a profoundly sober fashion manage to keep this up for a while at a drinking party; but then, once a little wine is inside them, they put on an extremely ugly show. This happened just the other day, when the sacred delegates from Arcadia visited Antigonus.¹¹⁴ They were eating lunch with big scowls on their faces, and were making a great show of their manners—or so they thought—and avoiding eye-contact with any of us, or even with one another. But as the party went on, and entertainers of various sorts came in, and the famous Thesalian dancing-girls were prancing around half-naked in their underwear, as they always do, these men could no longer control themselves, but started jumping up off of their couches and shouting that they were watching an amazing show; and they said that the king was very lucky, since he could enjoy himself like this, and they behaved in many other, similarly low-class ways. When a pipe-girl came in and wanted to sit beside one of the philosophers who was drinking with us, he refused to let her, even though there was plenty of room next to him, and acted like a tough guy. Then later on, when the pipe-girl was being auctioned off, as commonly happens at drinking parties, he acted like a wild young man as the bidding was going on, and when the auctioneer awarded her prematurely to someone else, he argued with him and claimed that the

¹¹⁴ Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277–239 BCE).

αὐτὸν πεπρακέναι καὶ τέλος εἰς πυγμὰς ἦλθεν ὁ σκληρὸς ἐκείνος φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐδ' ἂν παρακαθίσαι ἐπιτρέπων τῇ ἀλχητρίδι. μήποτε αὐτός ἐστιν Περσαῖος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀλχητρίδος διαπυκτεύσας. φησὶν γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος γράφων ὧδε· Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς Περσαίου παρὰ πότον ἀλχητρίδιον πριαμένου καὶ διοκνοῦντος εἰσ-
 f αγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν | διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν, συναισθόμενος εἰσείλκυσε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ συγκατέκλεισε τῷ Περσαίῳ. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πολύστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, μαθητὴν δὲ Θεοφράστου, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Τυρρηγόν, ὅτι τῶν ἀλχητρίδων τὰ ἱμάτια περιέδυνεν. ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς περὶ τὰς μουσουργούς, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Παρμενίων ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ Δαμασκὸν ἐλεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι. καταριθμησάμενος οὖν τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· παλλακίδας εὗρον μουσουργοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως || τριακοσίας εἴκοσι ἑννέα, ἄνδρας στεφανοπλόκους ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὄψοποιούς διακοσίους ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ, χυτρεψοὺς εἴκοσι ἑννέα, γαλακτουργοὺς τρισκαίδεκα, ποτηματοποιούς ἑπτακαίδεκα, οἰνηθητὰς ἑβδομήκοντα, μυροποιούς τεσσαράκοντα.

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Καὶ ὑμῖν δέ, ᾧ ἑταῖροι, λέγω ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτως εὐφραντικὸν ὡς γυναικὸς κάλλος. ὁ γοῦν τοῦ τραγικοῦ Χαιρήμονος Οἶνεὺς περὶ παρθένων

sale was invalid. In the end our tough-guy philosopher found himself involved in a fistfight—even though he initially refused even to let the pipe-girl sit down next to him! Perhaps the man who traded punches over the pipe-girl was Persaeus himself. For Antigonus of Carystus says in his *On Zeno* (p. 117 Wilamowitz = fr. 34A Dorandi), writing as follows:¹¹⁵ When Persaeus was the high bidder for a pipe-girl at a drinking party, but was reluctant to take her home because he lived in the same house as Zeno of Citium, Zeno realized what was going on, dragged the girl inside, and locked her up with Persaeus. I am also aware that Polystratus of Athens¹¹⁶—he was a student of Theophrastus and was nicknamed the Etruscan—used to put on the pipe-girls' clothing. Even kings were intrigued by women who played musical instruments, as Parmenion makes clear in his *Letter to Alexander*, which he sent to Alexander after capturing Damascus¹¹⁷ and seizing control of Darius' household property. After listing the captured goods, he writes as follows: I found 329 royal concubines trained to play musical instruments; 46 men who weave garlands; 277 who produce fancy dishes; 29 who make soup; 13 who process milk; 17 who mix drinks; 70 who strain wine; and 40 who produce perfume.

I tell you, my friends: nothing makes a man's eyes happier than a beautiful woman! The tragic author Chaere-mon's Oineus (*TrGF* 71 F 14), for example, describes some

¹¹⁵ Cf. D.L. 7.13.

¹¹⁶ PAA 780975. His nickname presumably reflects his devotion to extreme luxury; cf. 12.517d–18c.

¹¹⁷ After the Battle of Issus in 330 BCE. Parmenion is Berve i #606.

τινῶν διηγούμενος ὧν ἐθεᾶτό φησιν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ
δράματι· |

- b ἔκειτο δ' ἡ μὲν λευκὸν εἰς σεληνόφως
φαίνουσα μαστὸν λελυμένης ἐπωμίδος,
τῆς δ' αὖ χορεία λαγόνα τὴν ἀριστερὰν
ἔλυσε· γυμνὴ δ' αἰθέρος θεάμασιν
ζῶσαν γραφὴν ἔφαινε, χρῶμα δ' ὄμμασιν
λευκὸν μελαίνης ἔργον ἀντηγύει σκιᾶς.
ἄλλη δ' ἐγύμνου καλλίχειρας ὠλένας,
ἄλλης προσαμπέχουσα θῆλυν αὐχένα.
ἡ δὲ ῥαγέντων χλανιδίων ὑπὸ πτυχαῖς |
- c ἔφαινε μηρόν, κᾶξεπεσφραγίζετο
ῶρας γελώσης χωρὶς ἐλπίδων ἔρωσ.
ὑπνωμένοι δ' ἔπιπτον ἐλενίων ἔπι,
ἴων τε μελανόφυλλα συγκλῶσαι πτερὰ
κρόκον θ', ὃς ἠλιῶδες εἰς ὑφάσματα
πέπλων σκιᾶς εἶδωλον ἐξωμόργνυτο,
ἔρση δὲ θαλερὸς ἐκτραφεὶς ἀμάρακος
λειμῶσι μαλακοὺς ἐξέτεινεν αὐχένα. |
- d ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὧν ὁ ποιητῆς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ
ἐν Ἀλφεισιβοῖα φησίν·

καὶ σώματος μὲν † ὄψεις κατειργάζεται
στίλβοντα λευκῷ † χρώματι διαπρεπῆ.
αἰδῶς δ' ἐπερρύθμιζεν ἠπιώτατον

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young women¹¹⁸ he saw and says, in the play that bears his name:

One of them was lying there, putting her pale breast
on display in the moonlight, since her dress had
slipped down,

while the dancing had exposed the left hip
of another. Exposed to open view,
it made a living image visible, and its white tint
balanced the effect of the shadowy darkness on my
eyes.

A third exposed her forearms and lovely hands,
wrapping them around the female neck of another
girl.

This one allowed a glimpse of her thigh beneath the
folds

of her shredded robes, and hopeless longing
for her radiant beauty impressed itself upon me.

They sprawled out asleep on calamint,
and had woven black-flowered violet-petals together
with crocus, which wiped a shade
that resembled sunlight onto their woven robes.

And dew-swollen marjoram that had grown
in the marshes extended its tender stalks.

Because this poet was fascinated by flowers, he says in
Alphesiboea (TrGF 71 F 1):

and of her body † sights it was being produced
glistening with white † magnificently colored.
But a sense of decency altered it, adding

¹¹⁸ Most likely maenads.

ἐρύθημα λαμπρῶ προστιθείσα χρώματι
κόμαι δὲ κηρόχρωτος ὡς ἀγάλματος
αὐτοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν ἐκπεπλασμένου
ξουθοῖσιν ἀνέμοις ἐνετρύφων φορούμεναι.

ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰοῖ ἕαρος τέκνα προσηγόρευε τὰ ἄνθη· |

e ἀνθηροῦ τέκνα
ἕαρος περίξ στρώσαντες.

ἐν δὲ Κενταύρω, ὅπερ δράμα πολύμετρόν ἐστιν, λει-
μῶνος τέκνα·

ἐνθ' αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατὸν
ἀνθέων ἄλογχον ἐστράτευσαν, ἠδοναῖς
θηρώμενκαι . . . οντα λειμώνων τέκνα.

ἐν δὲ Διονύσῳ·

χορῶν ἐραστῆς κισσός, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ παῖς.

περὶ δὲ ρόδων ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ φησιν οὕτως·

κόμαισιν ὠρῶν σώματ' εὐανθῆ ρόδα
εἶχον, τιθήνημ' ἕαρος ἐκπρεπέστατον. |

f καὶ ἐν Θυέστη·

ρόδ' ὀξυφεγγῆ κρίνεσιν ἀργεννοῖς ὁμοῦ.

ἐν δὲ Μινύαις·

πολλὴν ὀπώραν Κύπριδος εἰσορᾶν παρῆν
ἄκραισι περκάζουσαν οἰνάνθαις χρόνου.

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a slight blush to the tint with which she shone.
Her hair, like that of a wax-colored statue
on which even the tresses are sculpted,
spilled about, blown by the trilling breezes.

And in his *Io* (TrGF 71 F 9) he refers to the flowers as "children of the spring":

strewing the children
of the flowery spring everywhere about.

Whereas in *The Centaur* (TrGF 71 F 10), which is a polymetrical play, (he calls them) "children of the meadow":

There some of them attacked the boundless,
unarmed army of flowers, joyfully
hunting . . . -ing children of the meadows.

And in *Dionysus* (TrGF 71 F 5):

Ivy, the lover of choruses and child of the year.

He says the following about roses in *Odysseus* (TrGF 71 F 13):

In their hair they wore roses, the fair-flowering
embodiment
of the seasons, a gorgeous nursling of spring.

And in *Thyestes* (TrGF 71 F 8):

a brightly shining rose, along with white lilies.

And in *Minyans* (TrGF 71 F 12):

You could see a great deal of Cypris¹¹⁹ fruit
turning dark on the tendril-tips of time.

¹¹⁹ Aphrodite's.

ἐπὶ κάλλει δὲ -

ἔτι γὰρ²⁵ γέρων ἀοιδὸς
κελαδεῖ²⁶ Μναμοσύναν,

- κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην - διαβόητοι γεγόνασι γυναῖκες
Θαργηλία ἢ Μιλησία, ἣτις καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ||
609 ἀνδράσιν ἐγαμήθη, οὔσα καὶ τὸ εἶδος πάννυ καλὴ καὶ
σοφὴ, ὡς φησὶν Ἴππίας ὁ σοφιστὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα-
φομένῳ Συναγωγῇ. Δίνων δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περ-
σικῶν τῆς πρώτης συντάξεώς φησὶν ὅτι ἡ Βαγαβάζου
γυνή, ἣτις ἦν ὁμοπάτριος Ξέρξου ἀδελφῆ, ὄνομα
Ἄνουτις, καλλίστη ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν καὶ
ἀκολαστοτάτη. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ
Τιμῶσάν φησι τὴν Ὀξυάρτου παλλακίδα πάσας γυ-
ναῖκας ὑπερβεβληκέναι κάλλει ταύτην δ' ἀπεστάλκει
b δῶρον | ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Στατίρα τῇ βασι-
λέως γυναικί. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ πεντη-
κοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Ξενοπέθειαν τὴν Λυσανδρίδου
μητέρα πασῶν τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον γυναικῶν
γεγονέναι καλλίονα· ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὴν Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Χρύσην, ὅτε καὶ τὸν
Λυσανδρίδαν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα Ἀγησίλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς
καταστασιάσας φυγαδευθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ Λακε-
d δαιμονίων. καλλίστη δ' ἦν καὶ Παντίκα ἢ Κυπρία,
c περὶ ἧς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν

²⁵ L (the only manuscript that preserves the complete text of the HF) has τοι. ²⁶ κελαδῶ Diggle

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Women notorious for their beauty—

for an aged singer can still
celebrate Mnemosyne (“Memory”),

to quote Euripides (*HF* 678–9)—include Thargelia of Miletus, who was married to 14 different men and was extremely beautiful and wise, according to the sophist Hippias in his work entitled *The Collection* (*FGrH* 6 F 3). Dinon in the opening section of Book V of his *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 690 F 1) says that Bagabyzus’ wife, who had the same father as Xerxes and was named Anoutis, was the most beautiful woman in Asia, as well as the most sexually ravenous. Phylarchus in Book XIX (*FGrH* 81 F 34) says that Oxyartis’ concubine Timosa was more beautiful than any woman in the world; the king of Egypt sent her as a gift to the Persian king’s wife, Statira.¹²⁰ Theopompus in Book LVI of his *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 240) (claims that) Xenopetheia¹²¹ the mother of Lysandridas was the most beautiful woman in the Peloponnese; the Spartans executed her and her sister Chryse when King Agesilaus outmaneuvered Lysandridas, who was his enemy, and convinced the Spartans to send him into exile. Pantica of Cyprus was also extremely beautiful; Phylarchus in Book X of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 21) claims that when she was

¹²⁰ The location of this anecdote in Phylarchus Book XIX would seem to place these events sometime in the mid-230s BCE.

¹²¹ Poralla #570. Lysandridas is Poralla #503, and Chryse is Poralla #769. The Agesilaus referred to below is Agesilaus II (Poralla #9; reigned 400–360/59 BCE).

ὅτι παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδι οὔσαν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἦται πρὸς γάμον Μόνιμος ὁ Πυθίωνος. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦν ἀκόλαστος ἢ γυνή, ἔφη ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· “ὦ πόνηρε, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γαμείς καὶ οὐ τῷ νῶ.” καὶ τὴν καταγαγούσαν δὲ Πεισιίστρατον ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς † πειραν † εἶδος ἔχουσαν, καλήν φησι γεγονέναι, ἣτις καὶ τῇ θεῷ εἴκαστο τὴν μορφήν. στεφανόπωλις δ' ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκε πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ὁ Πεισιίστρατος Ἰππάρχῳ τῷ υἱῷ, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης²⁷ ἱστορεῖ ἐν ὀγδόῳ Νόστων· ἐξέδωκεν | δὲ καὶ Ἰππάρχῳ τῷ υἱεῖ τὴν παραιβατήσασαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Φύνην τὴν Σωκράτους θυγατέρα, καὶ Χάρμου τοῦ πολεμαρχήσαντος θυγατέρα ἔλαβεν Ἰππία περικαλλεστάτην οὔσαν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τυραννεύσαντι. συνέβη δέ, ὡς φησι, τὸν Χάρμον ἐραστὴν τοῦ Ἰππίου γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀκαδημία Ἔρωτα ιδρύσασθαι πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγέγραπται·

ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρωσ, σοὶ τόνδ' ιδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου. |

e Ἡσιόδος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίας τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκίδα καλλιγύναικα εἶπεν· εὐπρεπεῖς γὰρ αὐτόθι γίνονται γυναῖκες, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος εἶρηκεν. καὶ Νυμφόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας Περίπλῳ καλλιούνας

²⁷ Ἀντικλείδης Stiehle: Κλειδήμος A

¹²² Monimus was the ruler of Pella; cf. D.S. 19.50.3.

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visiting Alexander's mother Olympias, Monimus the son of Pythion asked to marry her.¹²² Because Pantica had an uncontrollable sexual appetite, Olympias said: "You poor bastard—you're marrying with your eyes, not your brain!" He also says that the woman who restored Pisistratus to the tyranny was beautiful,¹²³ since her [corrupt] looked like Athena's; she was also built like the goddess. She was a garland-seller, and Pisistratus gave her to his son Hipparchus to marry, according to Anticleides¹²⁴ in Book VIII of the *Returns* (FGrH 140 F 6): He gave his son Hipparchus Phye the daughter of Socrates, who had been by his side, as his wife; and he got the daughter of the polemarch Charmus,¹²⁵ who was extremely beautiful, for Hippias, who succeeded him as tyrant. Charmus, he claims, happened to have been Hippias' lover and was responsible for the erection of the (statue of) Eros that stands in the Academy and bears the inscription (anon. FGE 1482-3).¹²⁶

Eros of many wiles—Charmus had this altar
constructed
for you at the shady edge of the park.

Hesiod in Book III of the *Melampodia* (fr. 277) referred to Euboean Chalcis as "having beautiful women"; for the women are good-looking there, according to Theophrastus (fr. 562 Fortenbaugh). So too Nymphodorus in his *Voyage along the Coast of Asia* (FGrH 572 F 7) claims that the

¹²³ For the story (set in the mid-550s BCE), see Hdt. 1.60.3-5. Phye is PAA 966190.

¹²⁴ For the error in the author's name (see the Greek apparatus), cf. 9.409f-10a. ¹²⁵ PAA 988430.

¹²⁶ For the story, cf. Paus. 1.30.1.

φησι γίνεσθαι γυναίκας τῶν πανταχοῦ γυναικῶν ἐν Τενέδῳ τῇ Τρωικῇ νήσῳ. οἶδα δὲ καὶ περὶ κάλλους γυναικῶν ἀγῶνά ποτε διατεθέντα· περὶ οὗ ἱστορῶν Νικίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς διαθεῖναι φησιν αὐτὸν Κύμελον, πόλιν κτίσαντα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἄλ-
 f φειόν· | εἰς ἣν κατοικίσαντα Παρρασίῳν τινὰς τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν ἀναστήσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινία, ἧς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσαι· καὶ νικῆσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναίκα Ἡροδίκην. ἐπιτελεῖται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὗτος, καὶ αἱ ἀγωνιζόμεναι γυναῖκες χρυσοφόροι ὀνομάζονται. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἀγῶνα κάλλους φησὶ γίνεσθαι παρὰ Ἡλείοις, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελείσθαι μετὰ σπουδῆς λαμβάνειν τε τοὺς νικῆσαντας ἄθλα ὄπλα· ἅπερ ἀνατίθεσθαι
 610 φησιν Διονύσιος ὁ Λευκτρικὸς τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, || τὸν δὲ νικῆσαντα ταινιούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ πομπεύοντα ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγίνεσθαι. τὸν στέφανον δ' αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι μυρρίνης ἱστορεῖ Μυρσίλος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Παραδόξοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος καὶ κρίσεις γυναικῶν περὶ σωφροσύνης γίνεσθαι καὶ οἰκονομίας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ἐτέρωθι δὲ κάλλους, ὡς δέον καὶ τοῦτο τιμᾶσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Τενεδίοις καὶ Λεσβίοις. ταύτην δὲ τύχης ἢ φύσεως εἶναι τιμῆν, δέον προκεῖσθαι σωφρο-

¹²⁷ The late 7th-century BCE Corinthian tyrant. According to Paus. 8.29.5, the city he founded was called Basilis.

¹²⁸ Not much of a surprise; but this is cult aetiology, not history. For beauty-contests, see also 13.565f-6a.

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most beautiful women anywhere are found on the island of Tenedos near Troy. I am also aware that a beauty contest for women was established at one point; Nicias discusses it in his *History of Arcadia* (FGrH 318 F 1), claiming that Cypselus¹²⁷ himself organized it after he founded a city in the plain near the Alpheus River. He settled some Parrhians in the city and established a sacred precinct and an altar dedicated to Eleusinian Demeter, at whose festival he held the beauty contest; the first winner was his own wife Herodice.¹²⁸ This contest is still held today, and the women who compete are referred to as *chrusophoroi* ("gold-bearers, wearers of gold"). Theophrastus (fr. 563 Fortenbaugh) claims that there is a beauty contest in Elis, and that the verdict is treated as a serious matter and the winners¹²⁹ receive military gear as a prize; Dionysius of Leuctra says that this gear is dedicated to Athena, and that the winner's friends tie a ribbon around his head and act as his escort for the duration of the festival. Myrsilus in the *Historical Oddities* (fr. 16, FHG iv.460) records that the garland they are given is made of laurel. The same Theophrastus (fr. 564 Fortenbaugh) reports that in some places contests were held for women in modesty and domestic skills, as happens among the barbarians; beauty contests are held elsewhere, for example on Tenedos¹³⁰ and Lesbos, since this quality too deserves recognition. But because this honor comes as a result of luck or genetics, modesty should be treated as more important; for this way¹³¹ beauty will actually be

¹²⁹ The participle is masculine.

¹³⁰ See above (citing Nymphodorus).

¹³¹ Sc. if a woman is modest as well as beautiful.

- b σύνης· τὸ κάλλος γὰρ οὕτως | καλόν, εἰ δὲ μή, κίνδυνον ἔχον ἐπ' ἀκολασίαν.

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἐξῆς καταλέξαντος καὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ θαυμασάντων ὁ Κύνουλος ἔφη·

πουλυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον οὐδέν,

Ἴππων ἔφη ὁ ἄθεος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ θεῖος φησι· πουλυμαθίῃ νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει. καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἔφη·

ἐν δὲ πλατυσμὸς

πουλυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον ἄλλο. |

- c τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῶν τοσοῦτων ὀνομάτων, ᾧ γραμματικέ, πάντων ἐπιτρῦψαι μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονίσαι δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας; καὶ ἂν μὲν τίς σου πύθηται τίνες ἦσαν οἱ εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον ἐγκατακλεισθέντες, ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ἴσως ἐρεῖς ὄνομα· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Στησιχόρου, σχολῇ γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀγίας τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος· οὗτος γὰρ παμπόλλους τινὰς κατέλεξεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐταίρων ἔχοις ἂν οὕτως εὐρύθμως καταλέξαι τὰς
- d προσηγορίας | καὶ τίνες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος αὐτῶν καταβρωθέντες ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων καὶ εἰ ὄντως κατεβρώθησαν· ὅστις οὖν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' οἶδας, καίτοι συνεχῶς Φυλάρχου μνήμην ποιούμενος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Κείων πόλεσιν οὔτε ἐταίρας οὔτε αὐλητρίδας ἰδεῖν ἔστι.

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beautiful, whereas otherwise there is a risk of it leading to uncontrolled behavior.

After Myrtilus recited this enormous catalogue from one end to the other and everyone expressed astonishment at his memory, Cynulcus said:

enormous learning, than which nothing is more
vapid,

as Hippon the Atheist (38 B 3 D–K) put it.¹³² But the divine Heraclitus (22 B 40 D–K) also says: Enormous learning doesn't teach good sense. Timo (*SH* 794) as well said:

In it was the blathering of
enormous learning, than which nothing else is more
vapid.

Because what use are all these names, my grammarian, which have more power to annoy their audience than to improve it? If someone asks you who was shut up inside the Wooden Horse, you will be able to offer the names of one or perhaps two people—and they will not be drawn from Stesichorus' poems (*PMG* 199)—scarcely so!—but from the *Sack of Troy* by Agias of Argos (test. 3 Bernabé); for he recorded an enormous number of them. Nor would you be able to list so glibly the names of Odysseus' companions, and which of them were eaten by the Cyclops or the Laestrygonians, or whether they really *were* eaten. So you do not even know this—despite the fact that you constantly cite Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 42) to the effect that courtesans and pipe-girls cannot be seen in the cities on Ceos!

¹³² Cf. Timo *SH* 794.2 below.

Καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος· τοῦτο δὲ ποῦ εἴρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος, κατανέγων γὰρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἱστορίαν. εἰπόντος δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ, ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· εἰτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ δικαίως πάντας ὑμᾶς τοὺς φιλοσόφους μισῶ
 e μισοφιλολόγους ὄντας; οὓς οὐ μόνον Ἰ Λυσίμαχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεκήρυξε τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας ἀπελαύνων, ὡς ὁ Καρύστιός φησιν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἄλεξις γοῦν ἐν Ἰππει²⁸ φησίν·

τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἀκαδήμεια, τοῦτο Ξενοκράτης;
 πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοίεν οἱ θεοὶ Δημητρίῳ
 καὶ τοῖς νομοθέταις, διότι τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων,
 ὡς φασι, δυνάμεις παραδιδόντας τοῖς νέοις
 ἐς κόρακας ἔρρειν φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δέ τις ψηφίσματι ἐξήλασε πάντας ἰ
 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' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως κατεδέξαντο. ἐμφανίζει δ'

²⁸ Ἰππει Schweighäuser: Ἰππω A

¹³³ PAA 732995; head of the Academy 339–314 BCE. The Demetrius referred to in the next line is Demetrius Poliorcetes.

¹³⁴ PAA 829235. The decree (for which, cf. D.L. 5.38; Poll. 9.42) dates to 307 BCE and was repealed in 306 as a result of the suit brought by Philo, referred to below.

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Myrtilus (responded): Where does Phylarchus say this? For I read his entire *History*. When (Cynulcus) replied: In Book XXIII, Myrtilus said: Am I not right to despise all you philosophers who are hostile to philology? It was not just King Lysimachus who issued a proclamation banishing you from the territory he controlled, as Carystius asserts in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 9, *FHG* iv.358), but the Athenians as well. Alexis in *The Knight* (fr. 99), at any rate, says:

Is this the Academy? Is this Xenocrates?¹³³

May the gods confer many blessings on Demetrius and our legislators, since they're telling these people who are able to bestow verbal power on our young men—

or so they say—to get the hell out of Attica!

A certain Sophocles¹³⁴ also proposed a decree that expelled all philosophers from Attica; Aristotle's student Philo¹³⁵ wrote a speech attacking him (cf. Baiter-Sauppe ii.343), while Demosthenes' cousin Demochares composed a defense speech supporting Sophocles (I, Baiter-Sauppe ii.341–2).¹³⁶ So too the Romans, who do everything right, expelled the sophists from their city on the ground that they were corrupting the young men¹³⁷—but then later, for reasons I fail to understand, they let them back in. The comic poet Anaxippus in *The Man Who Was*

¹³³ PAA 953760.

¹³⁶ Cf. 5.187d; 11.508f. Demochares (PAA 321970) was actually Demosthenes' nephew.

¹³⁷ Cf. 12.547a (perhaps another fragment of the same source-document being quoted here).

ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον Ἀνάξιππος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Κεραυνουμένῳ λέγων οὕτως·

611 οἱμοι, φιλοσοφεῖς. ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε φιλοσόφους ἢ
ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φρονοῦντας εὐρίσκω μόνον,
ἐν τοῖσι δ' ἔργοις ὄντας ἀνοήτους ὄρω.

εἰκότως οὖν πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σιμωνίδου, οὐ προσίενται οὔτε <φιλοσοφίαν οὔτε>²⁹ ῥητορικὴν διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἀκαίρους ἐλέγχους. δι' οὓς Σωκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἀποκληρουμένους διαλεγόμενος περὶ τοῦ δικαίου κλεπτιστάτους ὄντας· ἀπέθανεν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ
b ἄθεος ἢ καὶ Διαγόρας³⁰ ἐφυγαδεύθη.³¹ Διότιμος δ' ὁ γράψας τὰ κατ' Ἐπικούρου βιβλία ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρείου ἐξαιτηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις. 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, ὧν περ ὑμεῖς τὰ χεῖρω μερισάμενοι τηρεῖτε. αἰσθήσει τε γὰρ τῇ πρὸς ὄσφρανσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ ἀλλότριον θαν-
c μαστὸν ἢ καὶ τῷ συνανθρωπίζον οἰκουρὸν εἶναι καὶ

²⁹ add. Musurus
ταγόρας> Wilamowitz

³⁰ Διαγόρας <ἐξεκηρύχθη καὶ Πρω-
³¹ ἐφυγαδεύθη· ὅτε καὶ πλέων
ναναγίῳ ἐχρήσατο ACE: ὅτε καὶ κτλ. del. Olson

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Struck by Lightning (fr. 4) brings out your folly when he says the following:

Oh no—you're a philosopher! As far as I can tell,
the philosophers only make sense when they talk,
whereas their behavior looks crazy to me.

It is therefore understandable that many cities, and Sparta in particular, according to Chamaeleon in his *On Simonides* (fr. 35 Wehrli), refuse to allow philosophy or rhetoric to be taught, on account of how you wrangle and quarrel in your discussions, and because of the untimely nature of your arguments. You are the reason Socrates died—he discussed justice with the men who had been chosen by lot to serve as jurors, and who were the biggest thieves imaginable! This is also why Theodorus the Atheist (SSR IV H 11) died,¹³⁸ and why Diagoras was driven into exile.¹³⁹ And Diotimus, who wrote the books that attack Epicurus,¹⁴⁰ was tracked down and murdered by the Epicurean Zeno, according to Demetrius of Magnesia in his *Men Who Share a Name* (fr. 7 Mejer). To sum up, you do not live a hard (*karterikos*) life, to quote Clearchus of Soli (fr. 16 Wehrli), but a veritable hound's (*kunikos*) life. That creature, in fact, has four pronounced natural characteristics, which you have split up, retaining the worst ones. For a dog is remarkable for its sense of smell and its ability to tell what belongs to it from what does not; and it has an exceptional ability to live with people as a domestic animal and

¹³⁸ Cf. D.L. 2.101 (citing Amphicrates' *On Famous Men*).

¹³⁹ Apparently a garbled reference to the decree against Diagoras of Melos (cf. Ar. Av. 1073 with Dunbar ad loc.).

¹⁴⁰ For Diotimus' attack on Epicurus, cf. D.L. 10.3.

φυλακτικὸν τοῦ τῶν εὖ δρώντων βίου πάντων περι-
 τότατον ὧν οὐδέτερον πρόσσεστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς τὸν κυνι-
 κὸν βίον μιμουμένοις. οὔτε γὰρ συνανθρωπίζετε οὔτε
 διαγινώσκετε οὐδένα τῶν ὀμιλούντων, αἰσθήσει τε
 πολλῶ ὑστεροῦντες ἀργῶς “καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ζήτε. λοι-
 δόρου δὲ καὶ παμφάγου τοῦ ζώου πεφυκότος, ἔτι δὲ
 ταλαιπώρου καὶ γυμνοῦ τὸν βίον, ἄμφω ταῦτα μελε-
 τᾶτε, κακολόγοι καὶ βοροὶ πρὸς τε τούτοις ἄνοικοι καὶ
 d ἀνέστιοι βιοῦντες. ἐξ ὧν | ἀπάντων ἀλλότριοι μὲν
 ἀρετῆς, μάταιοι δὲ ἐστέ³² εἰς τὸ τοῦ βίου χρήσιμον
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν καλουμένων φιλοσόφων ἀφιλο-
 σοφώτερον. τίς γὰρ ἤλπισεν <ἄν>³³ Αἰσχίνην τὸν
 Σωκρατικὸν τοιοῦτον γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τρόπους ὁποῖόν
 φησι Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν συμβολαίων λό-
 γοις; ὃν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων ὡς αὐτοῦ διαλόγων θαυ-
 μάζομεν ὡς ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ὡς
 ἀληθῶς τοῦ σοφοῦ Σωκράτους ἐστὶν συγγράμματα,
 e ἐχαρίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ξανθίππης τῆς Σωκράτους
 γυναικὸς μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου | θάνατον, ὡς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Ἰδομενέα φασίν. ἀλλ’ ὃ γε Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα-
 φομένῳ λόγῳ οὕτως, πρὸς Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρατικὸν
 Χρέως – ἀπομνημονεύσω δ’ ἐγώ, εἰ καὶ πολλά ἐστὶ τὰ
 λεχθέντα, διὰ τὸν βρένθον ὑμῶν τὸν πολύν, ὃ φιλό-
 σοφοι – ἄρχεται δ’ οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ· οὐκ ἄν ποτ’ ᾤήθην,
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, Αἰσχίνην τολμῆσαι οὕτως αἰσχροῦ

³² add. Kaibel

³³ add. Kaibel

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to protect the property of the rich. But although you try to imitate the way dogs live, you lack either quality; for you are bad company and fail to understand the people you associate with, and because your powers of perception are vastly inferior, you live idly and carelessly. But the creature also has an abusive mouth and is willing to eat anything, and in addition it leads an impoverished existence, stripped of all possessions—and you devote yourselves to both qualities, since you are foul-mouthed gluttons, and on top of that you live without a hearth or a home!¹⁴¹ As a consequence of all this, you are divorced from any sort of virtuous behavior and are worthless when it comes to discovering how to lead a useful existence; for nothing is less philosophical than the so-called philosophers! Who would have expected Aeschines Socraticus¹⁴² to behave the way the orator Lysias describes in his speeches about the contracts (fr. 1 Carey, quoted below)? On the basis of the dialogues attributed to him, I respect him as a decent, moderate individual—unless the texts were actually composed by the wise Socrates and given to Aeschines by Socrates' wife Xanthippe¹⁴³ after his death, as Idomeneus¹⁴⁴ (*FGrH* 338 F 17c) claims. But the orator Lysias in his speech with the following title: *A Response to Aeschines Socraticus in the Matter of a Debt* (fr. 1 Carey)—I intend to quote it, even if his remarks are quite extended, because of your excessive swaggering, my philosophers—begins as follows: I would never have expected, gentlemen of the jury, that Aeschines would have dared to become involved in such an

¹⁴¹ An echo of *Il.* 9.63.

¹⁴² PAA 115140.

¹⁴³ PAA 730275.

¹⁴⁴ Literally “those around Idomeneus, Idomeneus' followers.”

- δίκην δικάσασθαι, νομίζω δ' οὐκ ἂν ραδίως αὐτὸν
 ἑτέραν ταύτης συκοφαντωδεστέραν ἔξευρεῖν. οὗτος
 f γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὀφείλων ἀργύριον | ἐπὶ τρισὶ
 δραγμαῖς Σωσινόμῳ τῷ τραπεζίτῃ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι
 προσελθὼν πρὸς ἐμέ ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν διὰ
 τοὺς τόκους ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἐκπεσόντα. "κατασκευάζο-
 μαι δ'," ἔφη, "τέχνην μυρειακὴν ἀφορμῆς δὲ δέομαι,
 καὶ οἶσω δέ σοι ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς μνάς τόκους."
 612 καλόν γε τὸ τέλος || τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἢ
 μυρειακῇ τέχνῃ ἀκόλουθός τε τῇ Σωκράτους φιλο-
 σοφία, ἀνδρὸς τοῦ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην χρήσιν τῶν
 μύρων ἀποδοκιμάσαντος, Σόλωνος δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου
 οὐδ' ἐπιτρέποντος ἀνδρὶ τοιαύτης προΐστασθαι
 τέχνης· διὸ καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἰπνῷ ἢ Παννυχίδι
 φησίν·

κᾶτα μυροπωλεῖν τί μαθόντ' ἄνδρ' ἐχρήν
 καθήμενον
 ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδείῳ, κατεσκευασμένον
 συνέδριον τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐλλαλεῖν δι' ἡμέρας;

εἶθ' ἐξῆς φησιν·

- b αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὔτε μαγείραιναν | εἶδε πώποτε
 οὔτε μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν.

¹⁴⁵ Sosinomos is PAA 862820. Aristogiton is PAA 168110.

¹⁴⁶ I.e. per 100, making the annual rate 36%—which explains why Aeschines was allegedly so eager to make other arrangements.

¹⁴⁷ Nine obols = 1½ drachmas; a mina = 100 drachmas; and

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embarrassing case, and I believe it would be difficult for him to find another that so blatantly abuses our legal system. For this man, gentlemen of the jury, owed Sosinomos the banker and Aristogiton¹⁴⁵ money, on which he was paying three drachmas¹⁴⁶ per month; and he came to me and asked me not to stand by and watch him lose all his property because of the interest. "I'm setting up a business to make perfume," he said; "I need start-up money, and I can offer you nine obols per *mina*¹⁴⁷ as interest."¹⁴⁸ What perfect happiness for the philosopher a business producing perfume is! And how exactly in line with the philosophy of Socrates—who disapproved of using perfume this way (X. *Smp.* 2.3–4)!¹⁴⁹ Nor did the law-giver Solon (fr. 73b Ruschenbusch)¹⁵⁰ allow a man to run a business of this sort, which is why Pherecrates says in *The Kitchen* or *The All-Night Festival* (fr. 70, encompassing both quotations):

And then—what could a man be thinking, to sit
haughtily
under a sun-shade, selling perfume, providing
a spot for the young men to hang around and talk
nonsense all day?

Then immediately after this he says:

For example, no one's ever seen a female cook,
and certainly not a female fishseller.¹⁵¹

the interest is to be paid monthly, making the rate about 18 percent per year (normal for commercial loans in classical Athens and only half of what Aeschines was paying previously).

¹⁴⁸ The quotation from Lysias breaks off abruptly here and resumes at 13.612b.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted at 15.686d–f. ¹⁵⁰ Cf. 15.687a.

¹⁵¹ Sc. because those are allegedly properly male occupations.

ἐκάστω γὰρ γένει ἀρμόζοντα δεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ὁ ῥήτωρ τάδε λέγει· πεισθεῖς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα οἰόμενος τοῦτον³⁴ Σωκράτους γεγονότα μαθητὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς πολλοὺς καὶ σεμνοὺς λέγοντα λόγους οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιχειρήσαι οὐδὲ τολμήσαι ἄπερ οἱ πονηρότατοι καὶ ἀδικώτατοι ἄνθρωποι ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν καταδρομὴν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος, ὡς δανεισάμενος οὔτε | τόκους οὔτε τὰρχαῖον ἀπεδίδου καὶ ὅτι ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο γνώμη δικαστηρίου ἐρήμην καταδικασθεῖς καὶ ὡς ἠγεχυράσθη οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ στιγματίας, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα κατειπὼν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὧ 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 καπηλεία, οἱ δὲ γείτονες οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ |
d δεινὰ πάσχουσιν ὥστ' ἐκλιπόντες τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκίας ἐτέρας πόρρω μισθοῦνται; ὅσους δ' ἐράνους συνείλεκται, τὰς μὲν ὑπολοίπους φορὰς οὐ κατατίθησιν, < . . . > ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν κάπηλον ὡς περὶ στήλην διαφθείρονται. τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπαιτήσοντες τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἔρχονται ὥστε οἶεσθαι τοὺς παριόντας ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν αὐτοὺς ἦκειν τούτου τεθνεώτος. οὕτω δ' οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ διάκεινται

³⁴ τοῦτον Αἰσχίνην A: Αἰσχίνην del. Kaibel

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For the character of any business ought to fit one sex or the other. And immediately after this the orator says the following (Lys. fr. 1 Carey, continued): I was convinced by him, because he made remarks along these lines, and also because I thought that, since he was one of Socrates' students and made many elevated speeches about justice and virtue, he would never attempt or dare to behave as the most miserable, utterly dishonest people try to do. After this he attacks him again, alleging that after (Aeschines) borrowed the money, he paid back neither the interest nor the principal; that he missed his due-date and lost the ensuing court-case by default; and that a tattooed domestic slave who belonged to him was made surety for the loan. And after denouncing him for many additional misbehaviors, he concludes as follows (Lys. fr. 1 Carey, continued): But the fact is, gentlemen of the jury, it is not just me he treats this way, but everyone who comes in contact with him. Don't the shopkeepers in his neighborhood, from whom he gets goods on credit and then fails to pay for them, lock up their stores and bring him into court?¹⁵² And doesn't he make the people who live near him so miserable that they abandon their own houses and rent others far away?¹⁵³ Whenever he gathers contributions for a group dinner, he doesn't return the money that's left over . . . but when they come in contact with this huckster, it's like hitting a turning post,¹⁵² and they're ruined. So many people come to his house at dawn to ask for the money they're owed, that passers-by think he's dead and they've come for his funeral! And the people in the Piraeus¹⁵³ have adopted

¹⁵² Sc. in a chariot race.

¹⁵³ I.e. the bankers, much of whose money was used for bottomry loans.

ὥστε πολὺ ἀσφαλέςτερον εἶναι δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν
 e πλεῖν ἢ ἢ τούτῳ συμβάλλειν· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂ ἂ
 δανείσθαι αὐτοῦ νομίζει εἶναι ἢ ἂ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ
 κατέλιπεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται Ἑρμαίου
 τοῦ μυροπόλου, τὴν γυναῖκα διαφθείρας ἐβδομήκον-
 τα ἔτη γεγονυῖαν; ἧς ἐρᾶν προσποιησάμενος οὕτω
 διέθηκεν ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς
 πτωχοὺς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀντὶ καπήλου μυροπόλην
 ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτως ἐρωτικῶς τὸ κόριον μετεχειρίζετο
 τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαύων, ἧς ῥᾶον τοὺς ὀδόντας
 f ἀριθμῆσαι³⁵ ἢ τῆς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους. καὶ μοι
 ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες. ὁ μὲν οὖν βίος τοῦ σοφι-
 στοῦ τοιοῦτος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυσίας, ὦ Κύνουлке, οὕτως·
 ἐγὼ δέ, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν τραγικὸν ποιητὴν,

τάδ' οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος,

καταπαύσω τὸν πρὸς σέ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κύνας ἐν-
 ταῦθα λόγον.

³⁵ ἀριθμῆσαι ὅσον ἐλάττους ἦσαν ACE: ὅσον ἐλάττους ἦσαν del. Casaubon

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the attitude that it looks much safer to sail to the Adriatic than to get involved with him; because he regards any money he's been loaned as much more his own than what his father left him. And hasn't he got hold of the property of Hermaeus the perfume-maker¹⁵⁴ by seducing his wife—even though she's 70 years old? He pretended to be in love with her, and arranged matters in such a way that he's reduced her husband and sons to poverty, and has turned himself into a perfume-vendor rather than a simple shop-keeper. That's the sort of erotic handling he subjected this "young woman" to, taking advantage of her age—although it would be easier to count her teeth than the fingers on your hand. Let the witnesses to these matters come up onto the speaker's stand, please! That, then, is how the sophist lives! Thus Lysias, Cynulcus. I, on the other hand, to quote the tragic poet Aristarchus (*TrGF* 14 F 4),

not initiating these deeds, but exacting vengeance for them,

will conclude my speech addressed to you and the other dogs¹⁵⁵ at this point.

¹⁵⁴ PAA 401965.

¹⁵⁵ I.e. the other Cynic philosophers.

ΙΑ

613 Τὸν Διόνυσον, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, μαινόμενον οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς πλείονας ἀκράτου σπῶντας θορυβώδεις γίνεσθαι·

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδής, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὃς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλη μηδ' αἴσιμα
πίνη.

οἶνος καὶ κένταυρον, ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα,
ᾧλεσ¹ ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόιο
ἔς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄασεν
οἶνω, |

b μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμοις ἐνὶ² Πειριθόιο.

κατιόντος γοῦν τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα, ὡς φησιν
Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπαναπλέει κακὰ ἔπεα καὶ μαινόμενα.
Κλέαρχός τε ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Κορινθίοις φησίν·

εἰ τοῖς μεθυσκομένοις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
ἀλγείν συνέβαινε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸ τοῦ πιεῖν
τὸν ἄκρατον, ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἷς ἔπινεν ἄν.

¹ The traditional text of Homer has ἄασ'.

² The traditional text of Homer has δόμον κατὰ.

BOOK XIV

Many authorities, my friend Timocrates, refer to Dionysus as insane as a consequence of the fact that most people grow boisterous when they gulp down strong wine (*Od.* 21.293–8):

The honey-sweet wine is injuring you; it hurts anyone who consumes it greedily and drinks more than he should.

Wine ruined the centaur, the famous Eurytion, for example, in the house of great-hearted Perithous, when he visited the Lapiths. When the wine unbalanced his mind, he went crazy and behaved badly in Perithous' house.

The fact is, according to Herodotus (1.212.2), that when wine descends into our body, foul, insane words emerge in its wake. The comic poet Clearchus says in *Corinthians* (fr. 3):

If people who get loaded every day suffered their hangovers before they drank their strong wine, none of us would indulge!

νῦν δὲ πρότερόν γε τοῦ πόνου τὴν ἡδονὴν
προλαμβάνοντες ὑστεροῦμεν τάγαθού. |

- c Ξενοφώντος δὲ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον μέθης μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι
ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δὲ ὑπερκαίρων³
ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε οὔτε τῶν πλείον
πινόντων ὄντες <οὔτε>⁴ τῶν ἐξοίωνων γινομένων πλη-
θούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μουσικὰ ταῦτα ἐρχόμεθα συμ-
πόσια. καὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλεπιτιμητῆς Οὐλπιανὸς πάλιν
τινὸς ἐπέιληπτο εἰπόντος, ἕξοινοσ οὐκ εἶμι, λέγων, ὁ δ'
ἕξοινοσ ποῦ; καὶ ὅσ, παρ' Ἀλέξιδι ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένῳ·

ἕξοινοσ ἐποίει ταῦτά γε,

ἔφη.

- Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας μετὰ τοὺσ παρ' ἡμῶν
d καινοὺσ αἰεὶ λεγομένουσ | λόγουσ καὶ ἀκροάματα
ἐκάστοτε διάφορα ἐπεισάγει ὁ λαμπρὸσ ἡμῶν ἐστι-
ᾶτωρ Δαρῆνσιος ἔτι τε καὶ γελωτοποιούσ, φέρε λέγω-
μέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖσ περὶ τούτων. καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ
Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην ἐν συμποσίῳ γελωτοποιῶν
εἰσαχθέντων ἀγέλαστον διαμείναντα, πιθήκον δ' ἐπει-
σαχθέντοσ γελάσαντα φάναι, ὡσ οὔτοσ μὲν φύσει
γελοῖόσ ἐστιν, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωποσ ἐπιτηδεύσει. καὶ Εὐρι-
πίδησ δὲ ἐν τῇ Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππῃ ἔφη·

³ The manuscripts of Xenophon have ὑπὲρ καιρόν.

⁴ add. Casaubon

BOOK XIV

But as it is, we enjoy the pleasure before
the pain, so we miss out on what's good.

(Contrast) Xenophon's Agesilaus (*Ages.* 5.1); he thought it important to avoid not just getting drunk and acting crazy, but also eating more food than is appropriate and laziness. But we, who are not among those who drink more than they should or who become intoxicated (*exoinos*) when the marketplace is crowded,¹ attend these intellectual gatherings. When someone said, I am not *exoinos*, Ulpian—who liked criticizing others—went on the attack again and asked: Where is the word *exoinos* attested? The other man replied: In Alexis' *The Man Who Was Moving In* (fr. 64):

This is what he was doing when he was *exoinos*.

Since our distinguished host Larensius brought in musical entertainment of various sorts, as well as comedians, every day at the end of the ever-new conversations in which we engaged, let me say something about them.² I am certainly aware that when Anacharsis the Scythian (A11A Kindstrand) was at a party and some comedians were introduced, he failed to laugh, whereas when a monkey was brought in, he laughed and said: "This creature is naturally funny—but a human being has to work at it!" So too Euripides said in his *Melanippe the Prisoner* (fr. 492):

¹ I.e. "during normal working hours, in the middle of the day."

² In this opening section of Book 14, the words of the external narrator Athenaeus and of Ulpian blend imperceptibly into one another; cf. 14.615e, where the speech that follows here is expressly assigned to Ulpian.

ἀνδρῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος οὐνεκα
 ἀσκούσι χάριτας κερτόμους· ἐγὼ δὲ πως
 μισῶ γελοίους, οἷτινες τήτη σοφῶν ||
 614 ἀχάλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα, κὰς ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐ
 τελοῦσιν ἀριθμόν, ἐν γέλωτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς.⁵
 οἰκοῦσιν⁶ οἴκους καὶ τὰ ναυστολούμενα
 ἔσω δόμων σῶζουσι.

Παρμενίσκος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντίνος, ὡς φησιν Σῆμος ἐν
 πέμπτῃ Δηλιάδος, καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύων εἰς
 Τροφωνίου καταβάς καὶ ἀνελθὼν οὐκ ἔτι γελᾶν ἐδύ-
 νατο. καὶ χρηστηριαζομένῳ περὶ τούτου ἡ Πυθία ἔφη·

εἶρη μ' ἀμφὶ γέλωτος, ἀμείλιχε, μειλίχιοιο. |
 b δώσει σοι μήτηρ οἴκου τὴν ἔξοχα τίε.

ἐλπίζων δ' ἂν ἐπανέλθῃ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα γελάσειν, ὡς
 οὐδὲν ἦν πλέον, οἰόμενος ἐξηπατήσθαι ἔρχεταιί ποτε
 κατὰ τύχην εἰς Δῆλον· καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον
 θαυμάζων ἦλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Δητῶον, νομίζων τῆς
 Ἀπόλλωνος μητρὸς ἄγαλμα τι θεωρήσειν ἀξιόλογον.
 ἰδὼν δ' αὐτὸ ξύλον ὃν ἄμορφον παραδόξως ἐγέλασεν
 καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμὸν συμβάλλων καὶ τῆς ἀρρω-

⁵ The verse and a half that follows is preserved in a papyrus
 (probably from *Melanippe the Captive*), but is not connected
 there to the first five verses Athenaeus quotes. Whether
 Athenaeus (or his source) has scrambled the text, or whether a
 lacuna ought to be marked instead, is unclear.

⁶ The papyrus has νέμουσι δ'.

BOOK XIV

Many men generate witty insults
to make others laugh. But I, for some reason,
hate jokers who have nothing clever to say and
so let their mouths run wild; they do not count
as men, although they look good when it comes to
getting laughs.

They are in charge of houses and keep whatever
goods we trade for inside our residences (E. fr.
494.9–10).³

According to Semus in Book V of the *History of Delos* (FGrH 396 F 10), Parmeniscus of Metapontum, who was both from a distinguished family and very rich, descended into Trophonius' shrine, and after he emerged from it, he was no longer able to laugh. When he consulted the oracle about his situation, the Pythia said (Delphic Oracle Q185 Fontenrose):

You ask me, harsh one, about mild laughter.
Mother will give it to you at home; show her
tremendous honor.

Parmeniscus expected that once he was back in his own country, he would be able to laugh. But when nothing changed, he decided that he had been tricked; and then he happened to go to Delos at some point. In the course of admiring everything on the island, he visited the sanctuary of Leto, expecting to view an impressive statue of Apollo's mother. But when he saw that it was made of wood and ugly, he laughed spontaneously; after he recognized the

³ Also from *Melanippe the Prisoner*; but the subject of the verbs is now women (i.e. wives) rather than men.

στίας ἀπαλλαγείς μεγαλωσὶ τὴν θεὸν ἐτίμησεν.
 c Ἀναξανδρίδης | δ' ἐν Γεροντομανίᾳ καὶ εὐρετὰς τῶν
 γελοίων φησὶ γενέσθαι Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Παλαμῆδην,
 λέγων οὕτως·

καίτοι πολλοὶ γε πονοῦμεν.
 τὸν ἀσύμβολον εὔρε γέλοια λέγειν Ῥαδάμανθυσ
 καὶ Παλαμῆδης.

γελωτοποιῶν δὲ μέμνηται Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ
 Φιλίππου μὲν, περὶ οὗ καὶ οὕτωςι λέγει· Φίλιππος δ' ὁ
 γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι
 εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ διότι κατάγεσθαι βού-
 λεται· συνεσκευασμένος δὲ ἔφη παρῆναι πάντα τὰπι-
 d τήδεια ὥστε | δειπνεῖν τὰλλότρια. καὶ τὸν παῖδα δ'
 ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διὰ τε τὸ φέρειν μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ
 ἀνάριστον εἶναι. Ἰππόλοχος δ' ὁ Μακεδῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς
 Λυγκέα Ἐπιστολῇ γελωτοποιῶν μέμνηται Μανδρογέ-
 νους καὶ Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. πλήθος δ' ἦν Ἀθή-
 νησι τῆς σοφίας ταύτης· ἐν γοῦν τῷ Διομέων Ἡρα-
 κλείῳ συνελέγοντο ἐξήκοντα ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐν
 τῇ πόλει διωνομάζοντο ὡς “οἱ ἐξήκοντα τοῦτ' εἶπον”
 καὶ “ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξήκοντα ἔρχομαι.” ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν
 e Καλλιμέδων τε ὁ Κάραβος καὶ | Δεινίας, ἔτι τε Μνα-

⁴ Apollo was referring not to Parmeniscus' mother but to his own.

⁵ Rhadamanthys (a son of Zeus and Europa) was known for his wisdom, while Palamedes was a proverbially clever member of the expedition against Troy (cf. 1.11d, 17e).

⁶ I.e. a parasite; cf. 6.234c–48c, esp. 235e–40c.

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meaning of Apollo's oracle⁴ and was cured of his malady, he showed the goddess enormous honor. Anaxandrides in *The Madness of Old Men* (fr. 10) claims that Rhadamanthys and Palamedes⁵ invented the idea of jokes, putting it as follows:

Many of us certainly work hard.
Rhadamanthys and Palamedes came up with the idea
of the person who doesn't contribute to the
dinner-expenses⁶ telling jokes.

Xenophon in his *Symposium* (1.11) mentions comedians, including Philip,⁷ about whom he says the following: The comedian Philip knocked on the door and told the person who answered it to announce who he was and that he wanted to be admitted to the party; he claimed to have arrived with everything he needed in order to eat someone else's food. He added that his slave was in some distress, because he wasn't carrying anything and hadn't had lunch.⁸ Hippolochus of Macedon in his *Letter to Lynceus*⁹ mentions the comedians Mandrogenes and Straton of Athens. A large number of people in Athens had this talent. 60 of them used to gather, at any rate, in Heracles' sanctuary in Diomeia, and this is how people referred to them in the city, for example "The 60 said this" or "I'm on my way from the 60." Callimedon the Crayfish and Deinias¹⁰ belonged

⁷ Stephanis #2498; PAA 929295. The same passage of Xenophon is cited at 1.20b. ⁸ Cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1-3, 25-30.

⁹ The passage in question is quoted at 4.130c. Mandrogenes is Stephanis #1600; PAA 632020. Straton is Stephanis #2314; PAA 839370.

¹⁰ Callimedon (cf. 3.100c n.) is Stephanis #1343; PAA 558185. Deinias is Stephanis #587; PAA 302175.

σιγείτων καὶ Μέναιχμος, ὡς φησι Τηλεφάνης ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ τοῦ Ἄστεος. τοσαύτη δ' αὐτῶν δόξα τῆς ῥαθυ-
 μίας ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ Φίλιππον ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μακε-
 δόνα πέμψαι αὐτοῖς τάλαντον, ἔν' ἐκγραφόμενοι τὰ
 γελοῖα πέμπωσιν αὐτῷ. ὅτι δὲ ἦν περὶ τὰ γελοῖα
 ἐσπουδακῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος μαρτυρεῖ Δημοσθένης
 ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς. φιλόγελως δὲ ἦν καὶ
 Δημήτριος ὁ Πολιορκητής, ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ
 ἕκτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν Λυσιμάχου αὐλὴν |
 f κωμικῆς σκηνῆς οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἔλεγεν· ἐξιέναι γὰρ
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντας δυσυλλάβους, τὸν τε Βίθυν χλευ-
 άζων καὶ τὸν Πάριν, μεγίστους ὄντας παρὰ τῷ Λυσι-
 μάχῳ, καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους τῶν φίλων· παρὰ δ' αὐτοῦ
 Πευκέστας καὶ Μενελάους, ἔτι δὲ Ὁξυθέμιδας. ταῦτα
 δ' ἀκούων ὁ Λυσιμάχος, “ἐγὼ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “πόρνην ἐκ
 τραγικῆς σκηνῆς οὐχ ἐώρακα ἐξιούσαν,” τὴν αὐλη-
 615 τρίδα Λάμιαν λέγων. || ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου
 πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔφη “ἀλλ' ἢ παρ' ἐμοὶ
 πόρνη σωφρονέστερον τῆς παρ' ἐκείνῳ Πηνελόπης
 ζῆ.” ὅτι δὲ καὶ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς φιλό-
 γελως ἦν προείρηται. Δεύκιος δὲ Ἀνίκιος, καὶ αὐτὸς
 Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῆσας, Ἰλλυριοὺς καταπολεμήσας
 καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν
 βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐπι-

¹¹ Mnasigiton is Stephanis #1714; PAA 654660. Menaechmus is Stephanis #1640; PAA 640910.

¹² Cf. 6.261b (citing Phylarchus Book X).

¹³ Peucestas is Berve i #634; Billows #90. Menelaus is perhaps

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to this group, as did Mnasigiton and Menaechmus,¹¹ according to Telephanes in his *On the City* (FHG iv.507). They had such a reputation for being amusing, that when Philip of Macedon heard about them, he sent them a talent of silver to get them to write down their jokes and send them to him. The orator Demosthenes in his *Philippics* (2.19) attests to the fact that this king was very interested in jokes. According to Phylarchus in Book VI of his *History* (FGrH 81 F 12), Demetrius Poliorcetes also liked to laugh.¹² Demetrius used to say that Lysimachus' court was no different from a comic stage, since everyone who played a part there was only two syllables long (which was his way of making fun of Lysimachus' favorites Bithys and Paris, and of some of his other friends), whereas he had people with names like Peucestas and Menelaus, and even Oxythemis.¹³ When Lysimachus heard this, he said: "I've certainly never seen a whore come out on the tragic stage," referring to the pipe-girl Lamia.¹⁴ This remark made its way back to Demetrius, and he responded by saying: "Well, my whore leads a more respectable life than Penelope would with him."¹⁵ That the Roman general Sulla liked to laugh was noted earlier (6.261c). When Lucius Anicius, another Roman general, defeated the Illyrians and brought the Illyrian king Genthius back as a prisoner,¹⁶ along with his children, he held victory games in

Berve i #505, who was primarily associated with Ptolemy but was Demetrius' captive at one point. Oxythemis is Billows #86.

¹⁴ Stephanis #1527; PAA 601325. For her close association with Demetrius, e.g. 3.101e; 4.128a-b; 6.253a-b; 13.577c.

¹⁵ The same anecdote is preserved at Plu. *Demetr.* 25.6.

¹⁶ In 168 BCE.

- νικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παντὸς γέλωτος ἄξια πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὡς Πολύβιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. |
- b μεταπεμφάμενος γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας καὶ σκηνὴν κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ πρώτους εἰσήγευεν αὐλητὰς ἅμα πάντας. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Θεόδωρος ὁ Βοιώτιος, Θεόπομπος, Ἑρμιππος, Λυσίμαχος,⁷ οἵτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τούτους οὖν στήσας ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ διαπορευομένων τὰς κρούσεις μετὰ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ ἔφη καλῶς αὐτοὺς αὐλεῖν,
- c ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι | μᾶλλον ἐκέλευσεν. τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπέδειξέν τις τῶν ῥαβδούχων, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖν ὡσανεὶ μάχην. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες < . . . > οἰκείαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀσελγείαις μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγχυσιν. συνεπιστρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἄκρους οἱ μὲν αὐληταὶ φυσῶντες ἀδιανόγητα καὶ διαφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐπῆγον ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐπικτυποῦντες οἱ χοροὶ καὶ
- d συνεπισείοντες τὴν σκευὴν | ἐπεφέροντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πάλιν ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς. ὡς δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενός τις τῶν χορευτῶν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ στρα-

⁷ Ἑρμιππος ὁ Λυσίμαχος A (Ἑρμιππος tantum CE): ὁ del. Kaibel: Ἑρμιππος ὁ Λυσιμαχεύς Schweighäuser

¹⁷ Stephanis #1159, 1180, 898, and 1582, respectively.

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Rome and arranged matters to provoke a great deal of laughter, according to Polybius in Book XXX (22). Because he sent for the most distinguished Greek musicians; erected an enormous stage in the Circus; and began by bringing all the pipe-players on together. The individuals in question were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus, and Lysimachus,¹⁷ who were extremely distinguished. He put them up on the stage, then, and ordered them all to play their pipes in accompaniment to their choruses simultaneously. They started to perform their music, along with the movement that went with it;¹⁸ but he sent them a message, telling them that they were playing poorly, and ordered them to compete with one another more aggressively. When they expressed puzzlement, one of the officials made gestures indicating that they were to wheel around and advance on one another, producing something resembling a battle. The pipe-players quickly caught his meaning and taking their own . . . produced immense confusion with their own lewd behavior. The pipe-players pivoted the central sections of their choruses around to face the wings, and attacked their competitors, one after another, producing incomprehensible sounds and playing their pipes discordantly.¹⁹ Meanwhile the choruses, stamping their feet and shaking their costumes in time with the pipe-players, advanced on their opponents, and then turned around and withdrew again. And when one of the dancers wrapped his robes tight around himself, spun around at exactly the right moment, and

¹⁸ I.e. "while the dancers moved in time to it."

¹⁹ Individual pipers played two pipes simultaneously; here they make no effort to coordinate the tones.

φείς ἦρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφε-
 ρόμενον αὐλητήν, τότε ἤδη κρότος ἐξαισίος ἐγένετο
 καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρα-
 τάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησται δύο εἰσήγοντο μετὰ
 συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται τέσσαρες
 ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ σαλπικτῶν καὶ βυ-
 κανιστῶν. ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἀγωνιζομένων
 e ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον. | περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγωδῶν,
 φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι λέγειν, δόξω
 τισὶν διαχλευάζειν.

Ταῦτα τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ διεξελλθόντος καὶ πάντων
 ἀνακαγχασάντων ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀνικίκοις⁸ ταύταις θέαις
 ἐγένοντό τινες λόγοι καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων πλά-
 νων, καὶ ἐζητέιτο εἰ μνήμη τις καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγένετο
 παρὰ τοῖς παλαιότεροις· περὶ γὰρ θαυματοποιῶν ἤδη
 προειρήκαμεν. καὶ ὁ Μάγνος ἔφη· Διονύσιος μὲν ὁ
 Σινωπεὺς ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας⁹ ποιητῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφο-
 μένῳ Ὀμώνυμοι μνημονεύει Κηφισοδώρου τοῦ πλά-
 νου διὰ τούτων·

f Κηφισόδωρόν φασιν ἐπικαλούμενον
 πλάνου τιν' ἐν Ἀθήναις | γενέσθαι, τὴν σχολὴν
 εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ βίου καταχρώμενον.
 † τοῦτον ἐντυχόντα † πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἀνατρέχειν,
 † ἢ συγκαθεῖναι τηπι † τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

⁸ Ἀνικίκοις Olson: Ἀνικίκοις A

⁹ τῆς <μέσης> κωμωδίας Gulick

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raised his fists as if intending to punch the pipe-player who was moving toward him, at that point the audience applauded and cheered wildly. While this group was still competing in a battle line, two dancers, accompanied by a group of musicians, invaded the dancing area, and four boxers got up onstage, along with trumpeters and horn-players. The situation as all these groups wrestled with one another was beyond description; and as for what I could add about the tragic actors, says Polybius, some people will think that I am joking.

After Ulpian completed these remarks and everyone burst out laughing at this show Anicius put on,²⁰ there was discussion of the individuals known as *planoi*,²¹ and the question came up as to whether the older authorities ever referred to them; for I have discussed magicians earlier (1.19e, 20a). Magnes said: The comic poet Dionysius of Sinope in his play entitled *Men Who Shared a Name* (fr. 4) refers to the *planos* Cephisodorus²² in the following passage:

People say there's a *planos* named
Cephisodorus in Athens, who dedicates
his free time to this aspect of life.
† this man coming upon † to race up to the top,
† or to let down together [corrupt] † with his stick.

²⁰ But also, punningly, "this incomparable show."

²¹ Literally "wanderers," i.e. show-men of various sorts who made their way from one town to the next; cf. 1.19d, 20a.

²² Stephanis #1395; PAA 568055; also mentioned (along with Pantaleon) at 1.20a.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Νικόστρατος ἐν Σύρῳ·

Κηφισόδωρον οὐ κακῶς μὰ τὸν Δία
τὸν πλάνον φασὶ στενωπὸν εἰς μέσον στηθαί-
τινας
ἀγκαλίδας ἔχοντας, ὥστε μὴ παρελθεῖν
μηδένα. ||

616 Πανταλέοντος δὲ μνημονεύει Θεόγνητος ἐν Φιλο-
δεσπότῳ·

ὁ Πανταλέων μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ξένους
τούς τ' ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐπλάνα, καὶ σχεδὸν
ἀπεκραιπάλα τὰ πλείστα τοῦ γελάσαι χάριν,
ἰδίαν τι' αὐτῷ θέμενος ἀδολεσχίαν.

καὶ Χρῦσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ τοῦ
Καλοῦ Καὶ τῆς Ἥδονῆς περὶ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος τάδε
b γράφει· ὁ δὲ πλάνος Πανταλέων τελευτᾶν ἰ μέλλων
ἐκάτερον τῶν υἱῶν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐξηπάτησε, φήσας μόνῳ
αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅπου κατωρύχοι τὸ χρυσίον· ὥστε μάτην
ὑστερον κοινῇ σκάπτοντας αἰσθῆσθαι ἐξηπατημέ-
νους.

Οὐκ ἠπόρει δ' ἡμῶν τὸ συμπόσιον οὐδὲ τῶν φιλο-
σκωποῦντων. περὶ δὲ τοιούτου τινὸς πάλιν ὁ Χρῦσιπ-
πος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γράφει· φιλοσκώπτῃς τις μέλλων ὑπὸ
τοῦ δημίου σφάττεσθαι ἔτι ἔν τι ἔφη θέλειν ὥσπερ τὸ
κύκνειον ἄσας ἀποθανεῖν. ἐπιτρέψαντος δ' ἐκείνου

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Nicostratus in *The Syrian* (fr. 25) also mentions him:

They say the *planos* Cephisodorus, by Zeus,
is quite right to put people holding bundles of stuff
in the middle of an alley, so no one can get through.

Theognetus in *The Man Who Loved His Master* (fr. 2) mentions Pantaleon:²³

Pantaleon himself used to fool (*eplana*) the foreigners
in particular, as well as anyone who didn't know him;
and he turned
almost everything into a wild party to get a laugh,
having a private conversation with himself.

So too the philosopher Chrysippus in Book V of *On the Good and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 7, SVF iii.199) writes the following about Pantaleon: When the *planos* Pantaleon was about to die, he tricked both his sons individually, by claiming to be telling each of them, but not his brother, where his money was buried. The result was that later on they both tried to dig it up and found nothing, and they came to the joint conclusion that they had been taken in.

Nor did our party lack people who like to make fun of others. Chrysippus writes again in the same work (xxviii fr. 8, SVF iii.199) about someone of this sort: When a man who loved to mock others was about to be put to death by the public executioner, he said that he wanted to offer his final swan-song,²⁴ as it were, and then die. When the executioner granted him permission, he made fun of him.

²³ Stephanis #1996; PAA 764430.

²⁴ For the tradition of the swan-song, cf. 9.393d.

ἔσκωψεν. ὑπὸ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων πολλάκις ὁ Μυρτίλος |
 c σκωφθέντα καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντα εἶπεν καλῶς Λυσί-
 μαχον τὸν βασιλέα πεποικηκέναί. Τελέσφορον γὰρ ἔνα
 τῶν ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔσκωψέ ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ
 τὴν Ἀρσινόην (γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ Λυσιμάχου) ὡς ἐμετι-
 κὴν οὔσαν, εἰπών·

“κακῶν κατάρχεις τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν¹⁰ 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 ζητεῖς, ἔχεις
 d παρ' ἡμετέρας Ἰππείδης τῷ ῥήτορι. ὅπου δέ, σὺ ζήτει. καὶ
 Ταχῶς δ' ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαου σκώψας
 τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ συμ-
 μαχήσων (ἦν γὰρ βραχὺς τὸ σῶμα), ιδιώτης ἐγένετο,
 ἀποστάντος ἐκείνου τῆς συμμαχίας. τὸ δὲ σκῶμμα
 τοῦτ' ἦν·

ᾧδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβείτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.

¹⁰ Euripides wrote τήνδε μοῦσαν.

²⁵ One of Alexander's successors (d. 281 BCE). Arsinoe II (below) was his second wife, whom he married in 300/299.

²⁶ Sc. in order that, with her stomach now empty, she could continue to eat and drink.

²⁷ A witty adaptation of E. fr. 183.1, with *tênd' emousan* (“this vomiting woman”) replacing the original *tênde Mousan* (“this Muse”).

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Myrtilus remarked that King Lysimachus²⁵ had behaved appropriately when he was repeatedly mocked by people like this and became annoyed. For at one point when Telesphorus, who was one of his chief officials, made fun of Arsinoe—this was Lysimachus' wife—at a party, for forcing herself to throw up,²⁶ by saying:

“You are causing trouble by bringing in this vomiting woman,”²⁷

Lysimachus heard the remark, and he ordered the man to be thrown in a cage (*galeagra*) and carried around and fed like a wild animal; after punishing him this way, he had him put to death.²⁸ As for you, Ulpian, if you have a question about the word *galeagra*, you can find it in the orator Hyperides (fr. 34 Jensen); as for precisely where—you can look for it yourself!²⁹ So too when the Egyptian king Tachos mocked Agesilaus, the king of Sparta,³⁰ when Agesilaus visited him in the hope of forming an alliance, because Agesilaus was not very tall, he was reduced to a private citizen when Agesilaus abandoned the alliance. The mocking remark was as follows:

A mountain cried in pain, and Zeus was terrified; but what it bore was a mouse.

²⁸ Two fragments of a very similar story are preserved at Plu. *Mor.* 606b, 634e; cf. Sen. *de Ira* 3.17.3–4 (a far more detailed and much uglier account).

²⁹ Ulpian never responds to the implied challenge.

³⁰ Agesilaus II (Poralla #9). For his visit to Egypt in 361 BCE, cf. 9.384a (also citing Theopompus); Plu. *Ages.* 36–8, esp. 36.5 (quoting a prose version of this verse, for which cf. also Hor. *AP* 139 *parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*).

ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη, “φανήσομαί σοί ποτε καὶ λέων.” ὕστερον γὰρ ἀφισταμένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ Λυκίας ὁ e Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τοῖς Ἰ 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 παραλιπὼν τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθήσομαι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐλῶν ὁ μὲν τις ἔφη τὸν Μελανιππίδην καλῶς ἐν τῷ Μαρσύᾳ διασύροντα τὴν αὐλητικὴν εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς·

ἅ μὲν Ἀθάνα

τῶργαν ἔρρυφέν θ' ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς
εἰπέ τ'· “ἔρρετ' αἴσχεια, σώματι λύμα·
† ἐμέ δ' ἐγὼ † κακότατι δίδωμι.”

f πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων ἄλλος ἔφη· ἀλλ' ὅ γε Σελινούντιος Τελέστης τῷ Μελανιππίδῃ ἀντικορυσσόμενος ἐν Ἀργοῖ ἔφη· ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς·

† ὃν † σοφὸν σοφὰν λαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἐπέλομαι
νόφ
δρυμοῖς ὀρείοις ὄργανον

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When Agesilaus heard this, he became angry and said: "Someday I'll look like a lion to you!"; for later on, when the Egyptians revolted, according to Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 108) and Lyceas of Naucratis in his *History of Egypt* (*FGrH* 613 F 2), he refused to cooperate with Tachos, and deposed him and drove him into exile in Persia.

There was frequently musical entertainment of various sorts, and always something different; since we discussed these matters on numerous occasions, I will omit the names of the speakers and will simply offer an account of the topics we took up. On the subject of pipes, one man said that Melanippides in his *Marsyas* (*PMG* 758) was quite right to disparage the music played on them, when he said about Athena:

Athena

cast the instrument from her sacred hand
and said: "To hell with you, ugly device that damages
my body;³¹
† but me I † give to baseness."

Someone else responded to him and said: But Telestes of Selinus took up arms against Melanippides in *The Argo* (*PMG* 805a) and said—the story involves Athena—:

† whom † I do not expect in my mind that after the
wise, bright Athena
in the mountain thickets picked up

³¹ Sc. because they distorted her features when she blew into them; cf. *Plu. Mor.* 456b; [*Apollod.*] *Bib.* 1.4.2. The satyr Marsyas picked up the pipes Athena discarded (below).

δίαν Ἀθάναν δυσόφθαλμον αἰσχος ἐκφοβη-
 θείσαν αὐθις χερῶν ἐκβαλεῖν
 617 νυμφαγενεῖ χειροκτύπῳ φηρὶ Μαρσύα κλέος· ἢ
 τί γάρ νιν εὐηράτοιο κάλλεος ὀξὺς ἔρωσ ἔτειρεν,
 ἧ παρθενίαν ἄγαμον καὶ ἄπαιδ' ἀπένειμε
 Κλωθῶ;,

ὥς οὐκ ἂν εὐλαβηθείσης τὴν αἰσχροτήτα τοῦ εἶδους
 διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν. ἐξῆς τέ φησι·

ἀλλὰ μάταν ἀχόρευτος ἄδε ματαιολόγων
 φάμα προσέπταθ' Ἑλλάδα μουσοπόλων
 σοφᾶς ἐπίφθονον βροτοῖς τέχνας ὄνειδος.

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐγκωμιάζων τὴν αὐλητικὴν λέγει·

ἂν συνεριθοτάταν Βρομίῳ παρέδωκε σεμνᾶς
 δαίμονος ἀερόεν πνεῦμ' αἰολοπτέρυγον
 b σὺν ἀγλαῖαν ὠκύτατι | χερῶν.

κομφῶς δὲ κὰν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὁ Τελέστης ἐδήλωσε τὴν
 τῶν αὐλῶν χρείαν ἐν τούτοις·

ἦ Φρύγα καλλιπνόων αὐλῶν ἱερῶν βασιλῆα,
 Λυδὸν ὃς ἄρμοσε πρῶτος
 Δωρίδος ἀντίπαλον Μούσας † νομοαἰόλον
 ὀρφναι †
 πνεύματος εὐπτερον αὔραν ἀμφιπλέκων
 καλάμοις.

³² One of the Fates.

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the wise instrument, she was terrified of ugliness that
displeases
the eye and cast it from her hand again
to be a source of glory for the wild, hand-clapping
beast Marysas, born of a nymph.
For what piercing desire for lovely beauty distressed
her,
to whom Clotho³² allotted unmarried, childless
virginity?

as if Athena would not have been concerned about looking
ugly, because of her commitment to virginity! And immediately
after this he says (PMG 805b):

But this story, hostile to the dance, spread pointlessly
through Greece, perpetuated by nonsense-spouting
poets,
a grudging complaint in mortal ears about a wise art.

After this he praises the art of pipe-playing and says (PMG
805c):

which the quick-flitting, airy breath of the august
deity, joined to the speed of her splendid hands,
handed over to Bromius to be his chief assistant.

Telestes in his *Asclepius* (PMG 806) offered an elegant
description of how the pipes are played, in the following
passage:

or the Phrygian king of the fair-blowing, sacred pipes,
who was the first to join a Lydian
[corrupt] to match a Doric muse,
twinning the swift-flying breeze of his breath about its
reeds.

Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος ἀλλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν
μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας ἀγανακτείν
τινας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀλλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς,
καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χοροὺς συνάδειν τοῖς
c ἀλληταῖς. | ὃν οὖν εἶχεν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων
θυμὸν ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπορ-
χήματος·

τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὄδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα;
τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα
θυμέλαν;
d ἐμὸς ἐμὸς ὁ Βρόμιος, ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, | ἐμὲ δεῖ
παταγεῖν
ἀν' ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναϊάδων
οἷά τε κύκνον ἄγοντα ποικιλόπτερον μέλος.
τὰν ἀοιδὰν κατέστασε Πιερὶς βασιλείαν· ὁ δ'
αὐλὸς
ὑστερον χορευέτω· καὶ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρέτας.
e κώμῳ μόνον θυραμάχοις τε πυγμαχίαισι | νέων
θέλοι παροίνων
ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας.
παῖε τὸν φρυνεοῦ ποικίλαν πνοὰν ἔχοντα,
φλέγε τὸν ὀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον
λαλοβαρύσπα παραμελορυθμοβάταν
ὑπαὶ τρυπάνῳ δέμας πεπλασμένον.

33 Sc. in theaters. 34 Pieria is the region just north of Mt. Olympus, where the Muses were born (Hes. *Th.* 53–4 with West ad loc.), and Pieris presumably refers to one of them, or to

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Pratinas of Phlius (claims) that when hired pipe-players and dancers took over the dancing-areas,³³ some people became annoyed at the fact that the pipe-players did not play music to accompany the choruses, as was traditional, but the choruses instead sang to accompany the pipes. Pratinas (*PMG* 708) brings out the anger he felt against those who behaved this way in the following hyporcheme:

What uproar is this? What dances are these?

What outrageous behavior has come to Dionysus'
tumultuous altar?

Bromius is mine, mine! It is I who must shout, I who
must create a clatter

as I rush over the mountains with the naiads,
producing a song that flits this way and that, like a
swan.

Pieris³⁴ gave the throne to song; let the pipe
take second position when it dances, since it is a
servant!

Let it aspire to serve as general only for drunken
wanderings and for the fist-fights in which
intoxicated

young men engage in front of others' doors.

Punch the man with the spotted breath of a toad!³⁵

Set fire to the chatteringly-deep-voiced,
out-of-time-with-the-music-marching, spit-wasting-
made-of-reed (pipe),

whose form was moulded by an auger!

their mother Mnemosyne ("Memory"), or to the art they represent.
³⁵ I.e. whose cheeks bulge out like a toad's when he
plays the pipes?

- f ἦν ἰδού· ἄδε | σοι δεξιᾶς καὶ ποδὸς διαρριφά·
Θρίαμβε Διθύραμβε κισσόχαιτ' ἀναξ,
<ἄκου> ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν.

περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐλῶν πρὸς λύραν κοινωνίας, ἐπεὶ πολ-
λάκις καὶ αὐτῇ ἡμᾶς ἡ συναυλία ἔθελγεν, Ἐφίππος ἐ-
Ἐμπολῇ φησιν· ||

- 618 κοινωνεῖ γὰρ, ᾧ μεράκιον, ἡ
ἐν τοῖσιν αὐλοῖς μουσικὴ κὰν τῇ λύρα
τοῖς ἡμετέροισι παιγνίοις· ὅταν γὰρ εἶ
συναρμόση τις τοῖς συνοῦσι τὸν τρόπον,
τόθ' ἡ μεγίστη τέρψις ἐξενρίσκεται.

τὴν δὲ συναυλίαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐμφανίζει Σῆμος ὁ
Δήλιος ἐν πέμπτῃ Δηλιάδος γράφων οὕτως· ἀγνο-
ουμένης δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῆς συναυλίας, λεκτέον. ἦν
τις ἀγὼν συμφωνίας ἀμοιβαῖος αὐλοῦ καὶ ῥυθμοῦ,
b χωρὶς τοῦ¹¹ προσμελωδοῦντος. | ἀστείως δὲ αὐτὴν
Ἀντιφάνης φανεράν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Αὐλητῇ λέγων·

ποίαν, φράσον γάρ, † ἠδε † τὴν συναυλίαν
ταύτην ἐπίσταται γάρ † ἀλλ' ἠῦλον ἔτι
μαθόντες < . . . > ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοὺς σύ τε
αὕτη τε λήψεσθ', εἶθ' ἄ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις
αὐλῶν πέραινε. δέξεται δὲ τᾶλλά σοι

¹¹ χωρὶς λόγου τοῦ A: λόγου del. Kaibel

³⁶ Two cult-titles of Dionysus.

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Look at this! Here is a tossing of my right hand and
my foot for you!

Thriambos, *Dithyrambos*,³⁶ ivy-crowned lord—
listen, listen to my Doric dance-song!

As for the coordination of pipes with the lyre—for this
combination of instruments frequently charmed us—
Ephippus says in *Merchandise* (fr. 7):

For music produced
on the pipes and the lyre, my boy, is an integral part
of the entertainment we provide. Since whenever
someone
carefully matches his behavior to the people he's
with,
that's when we find the most pleasure.

Semus of Delos in Book V of the *History of Delos* (FGrH
396 F 11) brings out what a *sunaulia* is when he writes as
follows: Since many people do not know what a *sunaulia*
is, the matter requires discussion. This was a musical com-
petition that alternated between pipe-music (*aulos*) and
dancing, with no one singing along. Antiphanes in his *The*
Pipe-Player (fr. 49) offers a witty description of it, saying:³⁷

Because tell me—what sort of [corrupt] *sunaulia* is
this he/she knows about for † but they were still
playing pipes
after they learned . . . so that you and her will take
the pipes, and then what you happen
to be playing—finish it! She'll take the rest for you

³⁷ The fragment is seriously corrupt but appears to describe a
joint performance by two pipers.

† ἡδύ τι κοινόν ἐστίν † οὐ χωρὶς πάλιν
 συννεύματ' οὐ προβλήμαθ' οἷς σημαίνεται
 ἕκαστα.

Λίβυν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ποιηταί,
 c φησὶ Δοῦρις ἐν δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα, | ἐπειδὴ
 Σειρίτης δοκεῖ πρῶτος εὐρεῖν τὴν αὐλητικὴν, Λίβυς
 ὦν τῶν Νομάδων, ὃς καὶ κατηύλησεν τὰ μητρῶα
 πρῶτος. αὐλήσεων δ' εἰσὶν ὀνομασίαι, ὡς φησι Τρύ-
 φων ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀνομασιῶν, αἶδε· κῶμος, βουκο-
 λισμός, γίγγρας, τετράκωμος, ἐπίφαλλος, χορεῖος,
 καλλίνικος, πολεμικόν, ἡδύκωμος, σικινοτύρβη,
 θυροκοπικόν (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ κρουσίθυρον), κνισμός,
 μόθων. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἠγλείτο. καὶ
 ᾧδῆς δὲ ὀνομασίας καταλέγει ὁ Τρύφων τάσδε· ἱμαῖος
 d ἢ ἐπιμύλιος | καλουμένη, ἣν παρὰ τοὺς ἀλέτους ἦδον,
 ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς ἱμαλίδος. ἱμαλὶς δ' ἐστὶν παρὰ Δωρι-
 εῦσιν ὁ νόστος καὶ τὰ ἐπίμετρα τῶν ἀλεύρων. ἢ δὲ τῶν

³⁸ I.e. the Mother of the Gods, often referred to as Cybele.

³⁹ "a drunken revel, wandering the streets drunk (sc. with a pipe-player)."

⁴⁰ I.e. *boukoliasmos*, "singing pastoral poetry"; cf. 14.619a-b.

⁴¹ Eastern pipes of some sort; cf. 4.174f-5b (also citing Tryphon).

⁴² "quadruple-kômos" (cf. above).

⁴³ "associated with phallic dances."

⁴⁴ "associated with a chorus, with dancing."

⁴⁵ "gloriously victorious"; cf. Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 1227.

⁴⁶ "war-[song]." ⁴⁷ "pleasant-kômos" (see above).

⁴⁸ < *sikinnis* (a dance associated with satyr play; cf. 1.20e; 14.629d) + *turbê* ("revelry, wild dance").

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† something pleasant is in common † where separate
again
nods rather than questions used to signal
everything.

The poets refer to pipes as Libyan, according to Duris in Book II of his *On Agathocles* (*FGrH* 76 F 16), because Sirites, a Libyan nomad, appears to have invented the art of pipe-playing; he was the first person to accompany the rites of the Mother³⁸ with pipe-music. The following terms are connected with playing the pipes, according to Tryphon in Book II of *Terminology* (fr. 109 Velsen): *kômos*,³⁹ *boukolismos*,⁴⁰ *gingras*,⁴¹ *tetrakômos*,⁴² *epiphallios*,⁴³ *choreios*,⁴⁴ *kallinikos*,⁴⁵ *polemikon*,⁴⁶ *hêdukômos*,⁴⁷ *sikinnoturbê*,⁴⁸ *thurokopikon*⁴⁹ (*krousithuron* has the same sense), *knismos*,⁵⁰ *mothôn*.⁵¹ These were all played on the pipes to accompany dancing. Tryphon (fr. 113 Velsen)⁵² also lists the following terms for songs: the *himaïos*, also known as an *epimulios* ("mill-stone-[song]"), which they sang while milling grain; perhaps derived from *himalis*. *Himalis* is a Doric word that means "homecoming" and "extra measures of flour."⁵³ The song sung by women work-

⁴⁹ "door-pounding-[song]," i.e. what is sung or played when the *kômos* (above) reaches its destination.

⁵⁰ Literally "itching, tickling," although the word sometimes has erotic connotations.

⁵¹ A lewd dance of some sort; cf. *Ar. Eq.* 697.

⁵² Presumably another excerpt from *On Terminology* (cf. 4.174e; 14.618b-c, 634d-e).

⁵³ Cf. 4.109a; 10.416c (*Himalis* as a Sicilian epithet of Demeter, the goddess of grain).

ἰστουργῶν ᾠδὴ αἴλιμος, ὡς Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀταλάν-
 ταις ἰστορεῖ, ἣ δὲ τῶν ταλασιουργῶν ἴουλος. Σῆμος δ'
 ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Παιάνων φησί· τὰ δράγματα τῶν
 κριθῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ προσηγόρευον ἀμάλας· συν-
 αθροισθέντα δὲ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μίαν γενόμενα δέσμη
 οὔλους καὶ ἰούλους· καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὅτε μὲν Χλόην,
 e ὅτε δὲ Ἰουλῶ. ἀπὸ | τῶν οὖν τῆς Δήμητρος εὐρημάτων
 τοὺς τε καρπούς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν
 οὔλους καλοῦσι καὶ ἰούλους. Δημήτρουλοι καὶ καλ-
 λίουλοι. καὶ

πλείστον οὔλον ἴει, ἴουλον ἴει.

ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ἐριουργῶν εἶναι τὴν ᾠδὴν. αἱ δὲ τῶν
 τιτθενουσῶν ᾠδαὶ καταβαυκαλήσεις ὀνομάζονται. ἦν
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἑώραις τις ἐπ' Ἐριγόνῃ, ἦν καὶ ἀλήτιν
 λέγουσιν, ᾠδὴ. Ἀριστοτέλης γοῦν ἐν τῇ Κολοφωνίῳ
 Πολιτείᾳ φησὶν· ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεόδωρος
 f ὕστερον βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι | τρυφῶν
 619 τις, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως δῆλόν ἐστιν· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν
 αἱ γυναῖκες ἄδουσιν αὐτοῦ μέλη || περὶ τὰς Ἑώρας. ἣ
 δὲ τῶν θεριστῶν ᾠδὴ Λιτυέρσης καλεῖται. καὶ τῶν
 μισθωτῶν δὲ τις ἦν ᾠδὴ τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοι-

⁵⁴ The *aílinos* is generally assumed to be a song of lamentation (cf. 14.619c; Bond on E. HF 348 [quoted at 14.619c]) and understood to mean “Woe for Linus!” (cf. Hes. fr. 305); but cf. *linon* (“thread”), with which the word would seem to be connected here.

⁵⁵ Literally “Demeter-ouloi and beauty-ouloi.” See below (presumably from a different source).

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ing at a loom is an *ailinos*,⁵⁴ according to Epicharmus in *Atalantas* (fr. 14), while the one sung by women spinning wool is an *ioulos*. Semus of Delos says in his *On Paeans* (FGrH 396 F 23): They referred to the individual handfuls of cut barley as *amalai*; but when these were gathered together and a number of them were made into a single bundle, (they called them) *ouloi* or *iouloi*; they also referred to Demeter sometimes as Chloê ("Green"), at other times as Ioulô. As a consequence of Demeter's innovations, therefore, they refer to both the crops and the hymns directed to the goddess as *ouloi* or *iouloi*. (There are) *Dêmêtrouloi* and *kalliouloi*.⁵⁵ Also (carm. pop. PMG 849):

Produce a full *oulos*! Produce an *ioulos*!

But other authorities claim that the song is sung by wool-workers. The songs sung by wet-nurses are known as *katabaukalêseis* ("lullabies"). There was also a song sung at the Eôrai festival in honor of Erigone, which they call an *alêtis*.⁵⁶ Aristotle, for example, says in his *Constitution of the Colophonians* (fr. 520.1): Theodorus (SH 753) himself died a violent death later on. He is said to have been addicted to luxury, as his poetry makes apparent; because even today the women sing his songs at the Eôrai festival.⁵⁷ The song sung by harvesters is called the *Lityersês*.⁵⁸ There was also a song sung by hired laborers as they made

⁵⁶ Erigone hanged herself after the death of her father, Icarius, who introduced wine into Attica. The festival is more often referred to as the Aiôra (literally "Swing/Noose-[Festival]").

⁵⁷ Cf. 3.122b = SH 754; Poll. 4.55.

⁵⁸ Cf. Gow on Theoc. 10.41.

- τώντων, ὡς Τηλεκλείδης φησὶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν· καὶ βαλανέων ἄλλαι, ὡς Κράτης ἐν Τόλμαις, καὶ τῶν πισσοουσῶν ἄλλη τις, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις καὶ Νικοχάρης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ Χορηγῶ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν βοσκημάτων ὁ βουκολιασμὸς καλούμενος. Δίομος δ' ἦν βουκόλος Σικελιώτης ὁ πρῶτος εὐρῶν τὸ εἶδος· μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ |
- b Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀλκύνῳ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ Ναυαγῶ. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θανάτοις καὶ λύπαις ᾠδὴ ὀλοφυρμὸς καλεῖται. αἱ δὲ ἴουλοι καλούμεναι ᾠδαὶ Δήμητρι καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ πρέπουσι. ἡ δὲ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾠδὴ φιληλιάς, ὡς Τελέσιλλα παρίστησιν· οὔπιγγοι δὲ αἱ εἰς Ἄρτεμιν. ἤδοντο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ οἱ Χαρώνδου νόμοι παρ' οἴνου, ὡς Ἐρμιππὸς φησὶν ἐν ἔκτῳ Περὶ Νομοθετῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀττικαῖς φησὶν Λέξεσιν· ἱμαῖος ᾠδὴ μυλωθρῶν· ἐν δὲ γάμοις ὑμέναιος· ἐν δὲ πένθεσιν
- c ἰάλεμος. λίνος | δὲ καὶ αἴλιμος οὐ μόνον ἐν πένθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ

μολπᾶ

κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν νόμιον καλεῖσθαί τινά φησιν ᾠδὴν ἀπ' Ἡριφανίδος, γράφων οὕτως· Ἡριφανὶς ἢ μελοποιὸς Μενάλκου

⁵⁹ I.e. the lost play by that title, not the preserved one of 411 BCE. ⁶⁰ Cf. 14.618c n.

⁶¹ I.e. Persephone, Demeter's daughter. For these songs, see 14.618d–e (presumably from a different source).

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their way into the fields, according to Teleclides in *Amphictyonies* (fr. 8); there were others sung by bathmen, according to Crates in *Daring Deeds* (fr. 42), and one sung by women winnowing grain, according to Aristophanes in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria*⁵⁹ (fr. 352) and Nicochares in *Heracles the Choregos* (fr. 9). People driving herds out to pasture also had the so-called *boukoliasmos*.⁶⁰ The Sicilian cowherd Diomus invented the genre; Epicharmus mentions him in *The Halcyon* (fr. 4) and in *Odysseus Shipwrecked* (fr. 104). The song sung in response to death or grief is referred to as an *olophurmos*. The songs known as *iouloi* are appropriate for Demeter and Persephonê.⁶¹ The song that honors Apollo is a *philêlias*, as Telesilla (PMG 718) establishes, while those that honor Artemis are *oupingoi*. Charondas' laws⁶² were sung at drinking parties in Athens, according to Hermippus in Book VI of *On Law-Givers* (fr. 88 Wehrli). Aristophanes says in *Attic Vocabulary* (Ar. Byz. fr. 340 Slater): A *himaios* is a song sung by millers; a *humenaios* is sung at wedding celebrations; and an *ialemos* is sung as a dirge. The *linos* and the *ailinos* are sung not only as dirges, but also

at the happy
dance,

to quote Euripides (*HF* 348–9). Clearchus in Book I of the *Erotica* (fr. 32 Wehrli) reports that a certain pastoral song got its name from Eriphanis. He writes as follows: The lyric poetess Eriphanis fell in love with Menalces when he

⁶² Or "melodies." Charondas was the lawgiver of Catana in Sicily; presumably his laws were set in verse and had a general moralizing character.

κυνηγετοῦντος ἐρασθεῖσα ἐθήρευεν μεταθέουσα ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις· φοιτῶσα γὰρ καὶ πλανωμένη πάντας τοὺς ὀρείους ἐπεξήει δρυμούς, ὡς μῦθον εἶναι τοὺς λεγομένους Ἴους δρόμους· ὥστε μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀστοργία διαφέροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θηρῶν τοὺς ἀνημερωτάτους | συνδακρῦσαι τῷ πάθει, λαβόντας αἰσθησιν ἐρωτικῆς ἐλπίδος. ὅθεν ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ποιήσασα περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς φασιν, ἀναβοῶσα καὶ ἄδουσα τὸ καλούμενον νόμιον, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν

μακραὶ δρύες, ᾧ Μέναλκα.

Ἄριστόξενος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Μουσικῆς, ἥδον, φησὶν, αἱ ἀρχαῖαι γυναῖκες Καλύκην τινὰ ᾠδὴν. Στησιχόρου δ' ἦν ποίημα, ἐν ᾧ Καλύκη τις ὄνομα ἐρώσα Εὐάθλου νεανίσκου εὔχεται τῇ Ἄφροδίτῃ γαμηθῆναι αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερεΐδεν ὁ νεανίσκος, κατεκρήμνισεν ἑαυτήν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ πάθος περὶ Λευκάδα. σωφρο-
 e
 νικὸν | δὲ πάνυ κατεσκευάσεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ τῆς παρθένου ἥθος, οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου θελούσης συγγενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ, ἀλλ' εὐχομένης εἰ δύναίτο γυνὴ τοῦ Εὐάθλου γενέσθαι κουριδία ἢ εἰ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ βίου. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κατὰ Βραχὺ Ἰπομνήμασιν ὁ Ἄριστόξενος, Ἴφικλος, φησὶν, Ἄρπαλύκην ἐρασθεῖσαν ὑπερεΐδεν. ἢ δὲ ἀπέθανεν καὶ

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was out hunting, and she began to hunt herself, as a way of pursuing her desires; for she visited all the mountain thickets in her travels and her wanderings, making Io's so-called courses⁶³ an empty story by comparison. As a consequence, not only did people known for their cold temperament weep at her suffering, but even the most savage beasts did, when they recognized her erotic longing. This is what inspired her poetry, and after she composed it, they say, she wandered through the wilderness, shouting and singing her so-called pastoral song, which includes the words (carm. pop. *PMG* 850):

The oaks are tall, Menalcas!

Aristoxenus says in Book IV of *On Music* (fr. 89 Wehrli): Ancient women sang a song called the *Calycê*. This was a poem by Stesichorus (*PMG* 277), in which a girl named Calycê, who is in love with a young man named Euathlus, prays to Aphrodite, asking to marry him; when the young man showed no interest in her, she hung herself. This unfortunate incident took place in Leucas. The poet characterized the girl as extremely chaste, in that she does not want to sleep with the young man on any terms, but asks in her prayer that she be allowed to become Euathlus' bride or, if that proves impossible, that she be allowed to die. In his *Abbreviated Commentaries*, Aristoxenus (fr. 129 Wehrli) says: Iphiclus showed no interest in Harpalycê after she fell in love with him. She died, and a singing-

⁶³ Sc. as she wandered from Argos to Egypt, after having been raped by Zeus and transformed into a cow by Hera; cf. [A.] *PV* 561-886, esp. 707-35, 788-815. Gulick suggests that "courses" (*dromous*) is a painfully weak pun on "thickets" (*drumous*).

γίνεται ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρθένοις ἀγῶν ᾠδῆς, ἣτις Ἄρπα-
 λύκη, φησί, καλεῖται. Νύμφις δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἡρα-
 κλείας περὶ Μαριανδυνῶν διηγούμενός φησιν ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἐνίας κατανοήσειεν ἂν τις, ἃς ἐκείνοι
 f κατά τινα ἐπιχωριαζομένην | παρ' αὐτοῖς < . . . >
 ἄδοντες ἀνακαλοῦνται τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων, προσαγο-
 ρεύοντες Βῶρμον. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσιν υἱὸν γενέσθαι
 620 ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πλουσίου, τῷ δὲ κάλλει καὶ || τῇ
 κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὄρα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκεῖν ὄν
 ἐφεστῶτα ἔργοις ἰδίῳις καὶ βουλόμενον τοῖς θερί-
 ζουσιν δοῦναι πιεῖν βαδίζοντα ἐφ' ὕδωρ ἀφανισθῆναι.
 ζητεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας μετὰ τινας
 μεμελωδημένου θρήνου καὶ ἀνακλήσεως,¹² ᾧ καὶ νῦν
 ἔτι πάντες χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι. τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ
 παρ' Αἰγυπτίους καλούμενος Μάνερωσ.

Οὐκ ἀπελείποντο δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν συμποσίων οὐδὲ
 b ραψωδοί· | ἔχαιρε γὰρ τοῖς Ὀμήρου ὁ Λαρήνσιος ὡς
 ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἷς, ὡς λήρον ἀποφαίνειν Κάσανδρον τὸν
 Μακεδονίας βασιλεύσαντα, περὶ οὗ φησι Καρύστιος
 ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν ὅτι οὕτως ἦν φιλόμηρος
 ὡς διὰ στόματος ἔχειν τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ πολλὰ· καὶ Ἰλιάς
 ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐα ἰδίως γεγραμμένα. ὅτι δ'
 ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ραψωδοὶ καὶ Ὀμηρισταὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς
 εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χορῶν. τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὀμηριστὰς
 ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε

¹² καὶ ἀνακλήσεως del. Kaibel

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contest for girls is held in her honor; he reports that it is known as the Harpalcê. Nymphis says in Book I of *On Heracleia* (FGrH 432 F 5b), in the course of his discussion of the Mariandynoi: One might similarly note some of the songs they sing at one of their local . . . invoking a boy from the distant past, whom they address as Bormus. They claim that he was the son of an important, wealthy man, and was much better looking than any of his contemporaries, and was at the height of his youthful beauty. He was overseeing the work in some fields that belonged to him, and he wanted to give the harvesters a drink, so he went to fetch water—and disappeared.⁶⁴ The local people accordingly began to look for him, singing a dirge that had been set to music and calling out his name, and even today they all continue to do this. What the Egyptians call the Manerôs is similar.⁶⁵

Our parties also featured rhapsodes. For Larensius was more fond of Homer's poetry than anyone you can imagine—fond enough to render insignificant Cassander, the king of Macedon,⁶⁶ who Carystius in his *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 8, FHG iv.358) claims liked Homer so much that he routinely recited long passages from the poems. Cassander also owned an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey* that had been privately copied for him. Aristocles in his *On Choruses* (fr. 10, FHG iv.331) reports that rhapsodes were also referred to as *Homeristai*. The first person to introduce the individuals known today as *Homeristai* into the theaters

⁶⁴ Hsch. β 1394 says specifically that Bormus was abducted by nymphs. ⁶⁵ Cf. Poll. 4.55 (= Arist. fr. 520.2).

⁶⁶ Cassander (Berve i #414) formally claimed the title of king of Macedon c.305 BCE; he died in 297.

- c Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. Χαμαιλέων | δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Στησιχόρου καὶ μελωδηθῆναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ
 Ὀμήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ
 Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φωκυλίδου. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῷ προ-
 τέρῳ Περὶ Γρίφων, τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου, φησὶν, Σιμωνίδης¹³
 ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος
 ἐραψώδει. Λυσανίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἰαμβοποιῶν
 Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψωδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν
 Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι. τοὺς δ' Ἐμ-
 d πεδοκλέους Καθαρμοὺς ἐραψώδησεν | Ὀλυμπίασι
 Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψωδός, ὡς φησιν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ
 Ὀλυμπικῷ. Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 Ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ
 ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἠγησίαν τὸν κωμωδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου,
 Ἐρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου.

- Καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ ἰλαρωδοί, οὓς νῦν τινες
 σιμωδοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ
 Περὶ Χορῶν, τῷ τὸν Μάγνητα Σίμον διαπρέψαι μάλ-
 λον τῶν διὰ τοῦ ἰλαρωδεῖν ποιητῶν, συνεχῶς ἡμῖν
 e ἐπεφαίνοντο. καταλέγει | δ' ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ τοῦσδε
 ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μουσικῆς γράφων ὧδε· μαγωδός· οὗτος δ'

¹³ Σιμωνίδης CE: ὁ Σιμωνίδης A

⁶⁷ Demetrius (PAA 312150) controlled Athens from 317–307 BCE and was a great patron of the literary arts.

⁶⁸ Stephanis #2281.

⁶⁹ Stephanis #1721.

⁷⁰ Confused here (as routinely elsewhere) with Semonides of Amorgos.

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was Demetrius of Phaleron (fr. 33 Wehrli = fr. 55A Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf).⁶⁷ According to Chamaeleon in his *On Stesichorus* (fr. 28 Wehrli), it was not just Homer's poems that were recited, but also those of Hesiod and Archilochus, and of Mimnermus and Phocylides as well. Clearchus says in Book I of *On Riddles* (fr. 92 Wehrli): Simonides of Zacynthus⁶⁸ used to recite Archilochus' poems in the theaters while seated on a stool. Lysanias in Book I of *On Iambic Poets* reports that the rhapsode Mnasion⁶⁹ gave public performances in which he acted out some of Simonides'⁷⁰ iambs. The rhapsode Cleomenes⁷¹ recited Empedocles' *Purifications* (31 A 12 D-K) at Olympia, according to Dicaearchus in his *History of Olympia* (fr. 87 Wehrli = fr. 85 Mirhady). Iason in Book III of *On Alexander's Offerings*⁷² (FGrH 632 F 1) claims that the comic actor Hegesias⁷³ performed Hesiod's poems in the large theater in Alexandria, and that Hermophantus⁷⁴ performed Homer's.

The so-called hilarodes—some people today refer to them as *simôidoi*, according to Aristocles in Book I of *On Choruses* (fr. 7, FHG iv.331, including the excerpt from *On Music* below), because Simus of Magnesia⁷⁵ was the best-known hilarodic poet—likewise appeared constantly at our parties. Aristocles also includes them in the catalogue in his *On Music*, writing as follows: *Magôidos*: this

⁶⁷ Stephanis #1445. Cf. D.L. 8.63 (citing Favorinus).

⁶⁸ Or perhaps *On the Offerings Made in Alexander's Honor*.

⁶⁹ O'Connor #209; Stephanis #1055.

⁷⁰ Stephanis #908 (floruit 240s BCE).

⁷¹ Discussed also at Strabo 14.648, but otherwise unknown.

ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ λυσιφῶ. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ φησι τὸν
 μὲν ἀνδρεία καὶ γυναικεία πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον
 μαγῶδον καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεία ἀνδρείους λυσι-
 φῶδον· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μέλη ἄδουσιν, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα δ'
 ἐστὶν ὁμοία. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνικολόγος τὰ Σωτάδου καὶ τῶν
 πρὸ τούτου Ἰωνικὰ καλούμενα ποιήματα Ἀλεξάνδρου
 τε τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ Πύρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ
 f Ἀλέξου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων | ποιητῶν προφέρεται
 καλεῖται δ' οὗτος καὶ κιναιδολόγος. ἤκμασεν δ' ἐν τῷ
 εἶδει τούτῳ Σωτάδης ὁ Μαρωνεῖτης, ὡς φησι Καρύ-
 στιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ¹⁴ συγγράμματι
 καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σωτάδου υἱὸς Ἀπολλώνιος. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ
 οὗτος περὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιημάτων σύγγραμμα, ἐξ
 οὗ ἐστι κατιδεῖν τὴν ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν τοῦ Σω-
 τάδου, κακῶς μὲν εἰπόντος Λυσιμάχου τὸν βασιλέα ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Φιλάδελφον παρὰ
 Λυσιμάχῳ, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν βασιλέων ἐν ἄλλαις τῶν
 πόλεων. διόπερ τῆς δεούσης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας· ἐκ-
 621 πλεύσαντα γὰρ || αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὡς φησιν
 Ἠγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, καὶ δοκοῦντα
 διαπεφενγέναι τὸν κίνδυνον (εἰρήκει γὰρ εἰς τὸν βασι-
 λέα Πτολεμαῖον πολλὰ δεινά, ἀτὰρ καὶ τόδε, ὅτε τὴν
 ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἐγεγαμήκει·

¹⁴ αὐτοῦ Σωτάδου A: del. Σωτάδου Wilamowitz

⁷⁶ At 5.211b-c, however, the *lusioidos* is a woman who wears male clothing.

⁷⁷ Suda σ 871 offers a slightly different version of the list: "Al-

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individual is the same as a *lusiôidos*. But Aristoxenus (fr. 111 Wehrli) claims that a man who plays male and female parts is referred to as a *magôidos*, whereas a man who plays female parts dressed in male clothing is a *lusiôidos*;⁷⁶ but they perform the same songs, and everything else about them is identical. An *Ionikologos* performs the so-called Ionian poems of Sotades and his predecessors, meaning Alexander Aetolus (fr. 21, p. 129 Powell = fr. 18 Magnelli), Pyretus of Miletus (*SH* 714), Alexas (*SH* 41), and other poets of the same sort;⁷⁷ this type of performer is also known as a *kinaidologos*.⁷⁸ Sotades of Maroneia excelled in this genre, according to Carystius of Pergamum in his treatise on him (fr. 19, *FHG* iv.359), and according to Sotades' son Apollonius as well. The latter also wrote a treatise on his father's poems, which allows one to catch a glimpse of Sotades' tendency to open his mouth at the wrong moment, as when he criticized King Lysimachus in Alexandria, Ptolemy Philadelphus in Lysimachus' court,⁷⁹ and other kings in other cities. He accordingly got the punishment he deserved; after he sailed out of Alexandria, according to Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 12, *FHG* iv.415–16), and seemed to have escaped the danger—for he had made numerous nasty remarks regarding King Ptolemy, including the following, after Ptolemy had married his sister Arsinoe (fr. 1, p. 238 Powell):

exander of Aetolus, Pyrhus of Miletus (*SH* 714), Theodorus (*SH* 756), Timocharidas, and Xenarchus.”

⁷⁸ “obscenity-speaker” *vel sim.* For Ionian depravity, cf. 12.524f–6e.

⁷⁹ Ptolemy Philadelphus is Ptolemy II (reigned 285/3–246 BCE); he married Arsinoe II in around 270. Lysimachus (another of Alexander's successors, and Arsinoe's first husband) died in 281.

εἰς οὐχ ὀσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθείς),

Πάτροκλος οὖν ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Καύ-
 b νῳ τῇ νήσῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν | καὶ εἰς μολυβῆν κεραμίδα
 ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντωσε.
 τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ ποίησις· Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀλη-
 τοῦ Φιλίνος ἦν πατήρ, εἰς ὃν ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν·

ὁ δ' ἀποστεγάσας τὸ τρῆμα τῆς ὀπισθε λαύρης
 διὰ δένδροφόρου φάραγγος ἐξέωσε βροντὴν
 ἠλέματον, ὀκοίην ἀροτῆρ γέρων χαλᾶ βούς.

σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ ἰλαρωδὸς |
 c καλούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ σχινίζεται, χρῆται δ' ἐσθῆτι
 λευκῇ ἀνδρεία καὶ στεφανοῦται χρυσοῦν στέφανον,
 καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρῆτο, ὡς φησὶν ὁ
 Ἄριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσιν, ψάλλει δ' αὐτῷ ἄρρην ἢ
 θήλεια, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀλῳδῷ. δίδοται δὲ ὁ στέφανος τῷ
 ἰλαρωδῷ καὶ τῷ ἀλῳδῷ, οὐ τῷ ψάλτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ ἀ-
 λητῇ. ὁ δὲ μαγῳδὸς καλούμενος τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ
 κύμβαλα καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύματα γυναι-
 κεία, σχινίζεται δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἔξω κόσμον,
 ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας μοιχοῦς¹⁵ καὶ
 μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον
 παραγινόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην. φησὶ δὲ ὁ

¹⁵ γυναῖκας καὶ μοιχοῦς CE: γυναῖκα καὶ μοιχοῦς A: καὶ
 del. Kaibel

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You're thrusting your poker into an unholy slot—

Ptolemy's general Patroclus captured him on the island of Caunus, stuck his feet in a jar full of lead, took him out to sea, and drowned him. This is the type of poetry he produced: Philinus was the father of the pipe-player Theodorus,⁸⁰ and Sotades wrote the following about him (fr. 2, p. 238 Powell):

He opened up the hole of his back alley
and expelled an idle blast through his bushy
crack, the type an old plow-ox lets loose.

The so-called *hilarôidoi* are more respectable than poets of this sort; for they do not *schinizomai*,⁸¹ and they wear white, male clothing and have a gold garland on their head, and in the old days they wore sandals, according to Aristotle (fr. 8, *FHG* iv.331), although nowadays they wear high boots; a man or a woman plays the harp to accompany them, as also in the case of *aulôidoi*.⁸² *Hilarôidoi* and *aulôidoi* are allowed to wear garlands, whereas harp-players and pipe-players are not. The so-called *magôidoi* have drums and cymbals, and wear only female clothing; they *schinizomai* and behave in all the ways no one should, sometimes pretending to be women who are having affairs or arranging liaisons for others, at other times playing a man who is drunk or who appears at his girlfriend's house with a group of troublemakers. Aristoxenus (fr. 110

⁸⁰ Stephanis #1173. ⁸¹ Obscure, but used again below to describe the behavior of the cross-dressing *magôidoi*.

⁸² I.e. individuals who sing to flute music and for whom the flute player may once again be either a man or a woman.

d Ἀριστόξενος | τὴν μὲν ἰλαρωδίαν σεμνὴν οὔσαν παρὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μαγωδίαν παρὰ τὴν κωμωδίαν. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγωδοὶ καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἔσχεν δὲ τοῦνομα ἢ μαγωδία ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰονεὶ μαγικὰ προφέρεσθαι καὶ φαρμάκων ἐμφανίζεν δυνάμεις.

Παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις τρόπος παλαιός, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμιμείτο γάρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὁπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἰατρὸν τοιαντὶ
e λέγοντα, ὡς | Ἄλεξις ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένη δια τούτων παρίστησιν·

ἐὰν ἐπιχώριος

ἰατρὸς εἶπη, “τρύβλιον τούτῳ δότε
πτισάνης ἔωθεν,” καταφρονούμεν εὐθέως·
ἂν δὲ “πτισάνας” καὶ “τρούβλιον,” θαυμάζομεν.
καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν “τευτλίον,” παρείδομεν·
ἐὰν δὲ “σεὔτλον,” ἀσμένως ἠκούσαμεν,
ὡς οὐ τὸ σεὔτλον ταῦτόν ὄν τῷ τευτλίῳ.

ἐκαλοῦντο δ’ οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιὰν παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι δικηλισταί,¹⁶ ὡς ἂν τις σκευοποιοὺς εἶπη

¹⁶ δεικηλισταί CE

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Wehrli) claims that because *hilarôidia* is respectable, it is connected with tragedy, whereas *magôidia* is connected with comedy. *Magôidoi* frequently took over comic plots and acted them out in their own fashion and style. *Magôidia* got its name from the fact that they pronounced *magika* ("magic spells"), as it were, and displayed unnatural powers.⁸³

The Spartans had an old style of comic entertainment, according to Sosibius (*FGrH* 595 F *7 = com. dor. test. 2), which was not particularly elevated, since Sparta pursued simplicity even in matters of this sort. For someone would use unrefined language to imitate people stealing fruit, or a foreign doctor making remarks like those Alexis presents in the following passage from *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 146):

If a local
 doctor says "Give him a bowl (*trublion*)
 of wheat-gruel (*ptisanê*) first thing in the morning,"
 we immediately ignore him;
 but if he says "*ptisana*" and "*troublion*,"⁸⁴ we're
 impressed.
 So too if he says "*teutlion*" ("beet"), we pay no
 attention;
 but if it's "*seutlon*," we're happy to listen—
 as if a *seutlon* weren't the same thing as a *teutlion*!

They used to call the people who practiced this form of entertainment in Sparta *dikêlistai*, which is to say "trick-

⁸³ The actual etymology of the first element in the word is obscure. ⁸⁴ Doric forms of the same word, as again below with *seutlon* for *teutlion*.

f καὶ μιμητάς. τοῦ δὲ εἴδους τῶν δικηλιστῶν | πολλὰ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαι. Σικυνῶνιοι μὲν γὰρ φαλλοφόρους αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοκαβδάλους, οἱ δὲ φλύακας, ὡς Ἴταλοί, σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ πολλοί. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἰδίως ὀνομάζην εἰωθότες ἐθελοντάς. ὅτι δὲ καινουργοῦσιν κατὰ τὰς φωνὰς οἱ Θηβαῖοι Στράτις ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐν Φοινίσσαις διὰ τούτων·

622 ξυνίετ' οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις· ||
οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'. οἱ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
ὀπιπθοτίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε,
τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα δ' † ὀρτάλιχον, τὸν ἰατρὸν δὲ †
σάκταν, βέφυραν τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ
τὰ σῦκα, κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,
τὴν ἔνθεσιν δ' ἄκολον, τὸ γελᾶν δὲ κριδδέμεν,
νεασπάτωτον δ', ἣν τι νεοκάττυτον ἦ.

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Παιάνων, οἱ αὐτο-
b κάβδαλοι, | φησί, καλούμενοι ἐστεφανωμένοι κιττῷ
σχέδην ἐπέβαινον ῥήσεις· ὕστερον δὲ ἴαμβοι ὠνο-
μάσθησαν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ

⁸⁵ Or "fabricators."

⁸⁶ Literally "backward-diarrhea-squirter," referring to the creature's ink.

⁸⁷ The word as it is preserved in the manuscript normally means "young bird, chick" and is put in a Boeotian's mouth also at *Ar. Ach.* 871.

⁸⁸ *beta* for common *gamma* is a not-uncommon variant in Aeolic dialects such as Boeotian.

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sters"⁸⁵ or "mimes." There are many terms for this type of *dikêlistai* in different places: the Sicyonians call them *phallophoroi* ("phallus-bearers"); others call them *autokabdaloi* ("improvisers"); some call them *phluakes*, as the Italians do; and many refer to them as "sophists." But the Thebans, who are generally accustomed to using their own names for things, call them "volunteers." That the Thebans tend to invent new words is pointed out by Strattis in *Phoenician Women* (fr. 49), in the following passage:

City of Thebes, none of you understand anything
whatsoever—

and that's the end of it! People claim, first of all, that
you call a cuttlefish (*sêpia*) an *opitthotila*;⁸⁶

a rooster (*alektruôn*) an † *ortalichos*;⁸⁷ a doctor
(*iatros*) †

a *sakta*; a bridge (*gephura*) a *bephura*;⁸⁸ figs (*suka*)
tuka; swallows (*chelidones*) *kôtilades*;⁸⁹

a mouthful of food (*enthesis*) an *akolos*; and laughing
(*gelan*) *kriddemen*.

And if a shoe's been re-soled (*neokattutos*), it's
neaspatôtos.⁹⁰

Semus of Delos says in his *On Paeans* (FGrH 396 F 24):
The so-called *autokabdaloi* wore ivy-wreaths and recited
their speeches slowly; later on they and their poems were
referred to as *iamboi*. The so-called *ithyphalloi*,⁹¹ he re-

⁸⁹ Cognate with the verb *kôtillain* ("to speak sweetly"; cf. Anacr. PMG 453).

⁹⁰ Hsch. σ 1437 glosses *spatos* (the second element in the compound) as meaning "hide, piece of leather."

⁹¹ Literally "men with erect phalluses."

ἰθύφαλλοι, φησί, καλούμενοι προσωπεῖα μεθυόντων ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐστεφάνωνται, χειρῖδας ἀνθινὰς ἔχοντες· χιτῶσι δὲ χρώνται μεσολεύκοις καὶ περιέζωνται Ταυραντῖνον καλυπτὸν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν. σιγῇ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος εἰσελθόντες, ὅταν κατὰ μέσῃν τῆν ὀρχήστραν γένωνται, ἐπιστρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λέγοντες· |

- c ἀνάγει', εὐρυχωρίαν
τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε
θέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

οἱ δὲ φαλλοφόροι, φησὶν, προσωπεῖον μὲν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, προπόλιον δ' ἐξ ἐρπύλλου περιτιθέμενοι καὶ παιδέρωτος ἐπάνω τούτου ἐπιτίθενται στέφανον¹⁷ δασὺν Ἴων καὶ κιττοῦ. καννάκας τε περιβεβλημένοι παρέρχονται οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρόδου, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσας τὰς θύρας, βαίνοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λέγοντες·

- σοί, Βάκχε, τάνδε Μοῦσαν ἀγλαΐζομεν,
ἀπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλω μέλει, |
d καινὰν ἀπαρθένευτον, οὗ τι ταῖς πάρος
κεκρημέναν ὠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.

εἶτα προστρέχοντες ἐτώθαζον οὗς¹⁸ προέλουτο, στά-

¹⁷ στέφανόν τε ACE: τε del. Meineke

¹⁸ οὗς ἂν ACE: ἂν del. Kaibel

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ports, have masks that look like drunks, put garlands on their heads, and wear long, embroidered sleeves; they dress in off-white tunics and wrap a Tarentine robe that extends down to their ankles around themselves. They enter through the gateway in silence, and once they are in the middle of the dancing-area, they turn to the audience and say (carm. pop. *PMG* 851a):

Get back! Clear
the way for the god!
For the god wants to pass through your midst
erect and swollen!

Whereas the *phallophoroi*,⁹² he says, do not wear masks, and instead put a *prospolion* made of tufted thyme and *paidêrôs* around their heads, and place a thick garland of violets and ivy on top of that. And they wrap themselves in heavy blankets and come in, some of them via a side-entrance, others through the central doors, marching in step and saying (carm. pop. *PMG* 851b):

Bacchus—we offer this composition in your honor,
pouring forth an elaborate song set to a simple
rhythm.
Our composition is new and virginal, and was never
used
in odes performed in the past; the hymn
we offer is undefiled.

Then they ran up to the people they selected and made fun

⁹² Literally "phallus-bearers"; cf. 10.445b; 14.621f.

δην δὲ ἔπραττον· ὁ δὲ φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων κατα-
 πασθεὶς αἰθάλω.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐσμέν, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦ-
 μαι παραλιπεῖν τὰ περὶ Ἀμοιβέως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 κιθαρῳδοῦ,

ἄνδρὸς τεχνίτου κατὰ νόμους τοὺς μουσικούς.

οὗτός ποτε βράδιον ἤκων ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν ὡς
 e ἔμαθεν παρά τινος | τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδειπνήσαντας,
 ἐβουλεύετο τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἕως παρελθῶν ὁ Σόφων
 αὐτῷ μάγειρος (γεγωνότερον δ' ἐφθέγγετο ὡς πάντας
 ἀκούειν) τὰ ἐξ Αὔγης εἶπεν Εὐβούλου·

τί, ὦ πόνηρ', ἔστηκας ἐν πύλαις ἔτι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ βαδίζεις; τοῖσδε γενναίως πάλαι
 διεσπάρακται θερμὰ χηνίσκων μέλη,
 διερράχισται σεμνὰ δελφάκων κρέα,
 κατηλόγηται γαστρὸς ἐν μέσῳ κύκλος,
 κατησίμωται πάντα τὰκροκώλια, |
 f νενωγάλισται σεμνὸς ἀλλᾶντος τόμος,
 παρεντέτρωκται τευθὶς ἐξωπτημένη,
 παρεγκέκαπται † στερανι † ἐννέ' ἢ δέκα.
 ὥστ' εἴ τι βούλει τῶν λειμμένων φαγεῖν,
 ἔπειγ' ἔπειγε, μή ποθ' ὡς λύκος χανῶν

⁹³ Stephanis #160.

⁹⁴ An adespota iambic trimeter line, accepted neither by Radt among the tragic adespota nor by Kassel–Austin among the comic adespota.

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of them; they did this while standing in one spot. But the man who carried the phallus kept moving forward, sprinkled with soot.

Since I have reached this point in my account, I consider it inappropriate to omit the anecdotes I have to offer about the contemporary citharode Amoebeus,⁹³

a man skilled in music's rules.⁹⁴

He came a bit late to our party once, and one of the servants informed him that we were done with dinner. He was trying to decide what to do, until the cook Sophon⁹⁵ came over and quoted the lines from Eubulus' *Auge* (fr. 14) to him—he spoke loud enough for all of us to hear:

Why are you still standing here in the doorway, you
 poor bastard,
 instead of going in? They've long ago neatly
 ripped apart the warm limbs of little geese,
 carved up the sacred flesh of pigs,
 finished off the central circle of a stomach-sausage,
 consumed all the pigs' trotters,
 nibbled on a sacred slice of sausage,
 eaten a roasted squid as well,
 and gulped down nine or ten [corrupt] on top of that.
 So if you want to eat some of the leftovers,
 hurry, hurry! Otherwise you'll be like a wolf with
 empty jaws,⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Comic cooks by the same name (cognate with the adjective *sophos*, "wise") are mentioned at Anaxipp. fr. 1.1 (preserved at 9.403e) and Bato fr. 4.4 (preserved at 14.662c).

⁹⁶ Proverbial; cf. 9.380b with n.

καὶ τῶνδ' ἁμαρτῶν ὕστερον † συχνοῦ δραχμῆς †.

(A.) πάντ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν,

κατὰ τὸν ἡδιστὸν Ἀντιφάνην, ὃς ἐν τῷ Φιλοθηβαίῳ
φησὶν·

ἢ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος

623 τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἔγχελευς Βοιωτία ||
 τμηθείσα¹⁹ κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης
 χλιαίνειτ', αἶρεθ', ἔψεται, παφλάζεται,
 προσκάεθ'· ὥστε μηδ' ἂν εἰ χαλκοῦς ἔχων
 μυκτῆρας εἰσέλθοι τις, ἐξελεθῆναι πάλιν
 εἰκῆ· τοσαύτην ἐξακοντίζει πνοήν.

(B.) λέγεις μάγειρον ζῶντα. (A.) πλησίον δέ γε
 ταύτης ἄσιτος ἡμέραν καὶ νύχθ' ὄλην
 κεστρεύς, λοπισθεῖς < . . . > πασθεῖς, στραφεῖς,
 χρωσθεῖς, ὁμοῦ τι πρὸς τέλος δρόμου περῶν, |
 b σίζει κεκραγώς, παῖς δ' ἐφέστηκε ρανῶν
 ὄξει, Δίβυς τε καυλὸς ἐξηρασμένος
 ἀκτῖσι θείαις σιλφίον παραστατεῖ.

(B.) εἶτ' οὐκ ἐπωδούς φασιν ἰσχύειν τινές·
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη τρεῖς ὀρώ μασωμένους,
 σοῦ ταῦτα συστρέφοντος. (A.) ἢ τε σύννομον

¹⁹ μιχθείσα 4.169c

⁹⁷ A more complete version of the first four verses (with a variant in verse 3) is preserved at 4.169c-d.

⁹⁸ It is unclear whether the woman's name is supposed to be

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and you'll miss this too and later [corrupt].

(A.) We've got everything!,

to quote the delightful Antiphanes, who says in his *The Man Who Loved Thebes* (fr. 216):⁹⁷

For the Boeotian eel,
whose name's the same as the woman's inside,⁹⁸
has been cut up and is within the hollow depths of a
casserole-dish,
where it's growing hot, swelling up, stewing,
spluttering,
even burning; so that even if a man had bronze
nostrils, once he got inside, he wouldn't get out again,
I suspect. That's the sort of smell it's generating.

(B.) You're talking about a real, live cook! (A.) And
next to

the eel is a gray mullet that never eats at any point,
day

or night;⁹⁹ it's been scaled . . . sprinkled, flipped,
and browned, is nearing the end of the race,
sizzling and shrieking. A slave stands beside it,
sprinkling

it with vinegar, while a dried Libyan stalk
is at hand with divine beams of silphium.

(B.) And some people claim sorcerers don't have any
power!

Because I already see three people chewing—

Boeotia (thus Meineke) or Eel (thus Kock), but she must in any case be a courtesan.

⁹⁹ For "fasting mullets," cf. 7.307c-8b.

- τῆς κυφονώτου σῶμ' ἔχουσα σηπίας,
 ξιφηφόροισι χερσὶν ἐξωπλισμένη
 τευθίς, μεταλλάξασα λευκαυγῆ φύσιν
 σαρκὸς πυρωτοῖς ἀνθράκων ρίπισμασιν, |
 c ξανθαῖσιν αὔραις σῶμα πᾶν ἀγάλλεται,
 δείπνου προφήτην λιμὸν ἐκκαλουμένη.
 < . . . > ὥστε γ' εἴσιθι
 μὴ μέλλε, χώρει. δεῖ γὰρ ἡριστηκότας
 πάσχειν, ἐάν τι καὶ παθεῖν ἡμᾶς δέη.

καὶ ὃς πάνυ ἐμμελέστατα ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἀντεφώ-
 ησε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Κλεάρχου Κιθαρῶδου τάδε:

γόγγρων τε λευκῶν πᾶσι τοῖς κολλώδεσι
 βρόχθιζε. τούτοις γὰρ τρέφεται τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ
 τὸ φωνάριον ἡμῶν † περίσαργον † γίνεται. |

- d κρότου δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου καὶ πάντων ὁμοθυ-
 μαδὸν αὐτὸν καλεσάντων εἰσελθὼν καὶ πῶν ἀναλα-
 βῶν τε τὴν κιθάραν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἦσεν ὡς
 πάντας θαυμάζειν τὴν τε κιθάρισιν μετὰ τῆς τέχνης
 ταχίστην οὔσαν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν ἐμμέλειαν· ἐμοὶ
 μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλάττων εἶναι νομίζεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ
 Ἀμοιβέως, ὃν φησιν Ἀριστέας ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κιθαρῶδων
 ἐν Ἀθήναις κατοικοῦντα καὶ πλησίον τοῦ θεάτρου
 οἰκοῦντα, εἰ ἐξέλθοι ἀσόμενος, τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν τῆς
 ἡμέρας λαμβάνειν.

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while you're still spinning these remarks! (A.) And
she whose

body is akin to that of the hunch-backed cuttlefish
and is equipped with sword-bearing hands,
the squid, altering the shining character
of her flesh under the fiery blasts of the coals,
exults in the browning scent throughout her body,
summoning hunger, the harbinger of dinner.

. . . So go inside!

Don't wait! Move! If something bad's going to happen
to us, let's make sure it happens after lunch!

Amoebus responded in harmony with this, and quoted
back to him the following lines from Clearchus' *Citharode*
(fr. 2):

Treat your throat with all the gummy parts of white
eels; because they help us breathe and
our voice becomes [corrupt].

These remarks were met with applause, and we unani-
mously invited him in. After he entered the room and had
a drink, he picked up his lyre and delighted us so much
that we were all astonished at his playing, which was rapid
and technically accomplished, and at how well-trained his
voice was; for in my opinion he was as good as the an-
cient Amoebus,¹⁰⁰ who according to Aristeas in his *On*
Citharodes was a resident of Athens and lived near the
Theater; whenever he went onstage to sing, he was paid an
Attic talent¹⁰¹ per day.

¹⁰⁰ Stephanis #159; PAA 124327. He belongs to the middle of
the 3rd century BCE.

¹⁰¹ = 6,000 drachmas, a preposterous sum.

- e Περὶ δὲ ἰ μουσικῆς τῶν μὲν τάδε λεγόντων, ἄλλων
 δ' ἄλλα γ' ὀσημέραι, πάντων δ' ἐπαινούντων τὴν
 παιδείαν ταύτην, Μασούριος ὁ πάντα ἄριστος καὶ
 σοφὸς (καὶ γὰρ νόμων ἐξηγητῆς οὐδενὸς δεύτερος καὶ
 περὶ μουσικὴν ἐνδιατρίβων αἰεί· ἄπτεται γὰρ καὶ τῶν
 ὀργάνων) ἔφη· ὁ μὲν κωμωδιοποιὸς Εὐπόλις, ἄνδρες
 φίλοι, φησί·

καὶ μουσικὴ πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ βαθύ τι † καὶ
 καμπύλον,

αἰεί τε καινὸν ἐξευρίσκει τι τοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δυναμένοις.
 διόπερ καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Ἐτακίνθῳ φησίν· ἰ

- f ἡ μουσικὴ δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
 αἰεί τι καινὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θηρίου
 τίκτει.

μέγας

γάρ, ὦ μακάριοι, κατὰ τὸν Θεοφίλου Κιθαρῳδόν,

θησαυρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ βέβαιος μουσικὴ
 ἅπασι τοῖς μαθοῦσι παιδευθείσιν τε.

- καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἤθη παιδεύει καὶ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς καὶ τὰς
 γνώμας διαφόρους καταπραΰνει. Κλεινίας γοῦν ὁ
 624 Πυθαγόρειος, ὡς Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, ἢ καὶ
 τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν διαφέρων, εἴ ποτε συνέβαινεν

¹⁰² Cf. the even more extravagant praise of Masurius at 1.1c
 (composed by the Epitomator, but presumably drawing on Athe-
 naeus himself in the full version of Book 1).

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Music was discussed every day, with some guests offering the comments quoted above, while others made remarks of different sorts, although everyone spoke highly of this type of training. The universally excellent and wise Masurius—he is in fact second to no one as a legal exegete, and has always devoted himself to music; for he plays various instruments¹⁰²—said: The comic poet Eupolis (fr. 366), my friends, remarks:

Music's a profound business—† and a complicated one,

which always presents those capable of appreciating it with something new. This is why Anaxilas says in *Hyacinthus* (fr. 27):

Music's like Libya, by the gods—
it's always producing a new monster
every year!

Because, my fortunate friends, to quote Theophilus' *Citharode* (fr. 5):

Music's

a vast, secure storeroom
for anyone who studied it and got an education.

For the fact is that it shapes our character and calms individuals who are hot-tempered or argumentative. Cleinius the Pythagorean, for example, according to Chamaeleon of Pontus (fr. 4 Wehrli),¹⁰³ lived and behaved in an exem-

¹⁰³ Material very similar to this (but not attributed to Chamaeleon) is preserved at Ael. *VH* 14.23.

χαλεπαίνειν αὐτὸν δι' ὄργην, ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν λύραν ἐκιθάριζεν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητούντας τὴν αἰτίαν ἔλεγεν, "πραῦνομαι." καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῇ κιθάρα κατεπραῦνετο, ἣν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Ἡετίωνος λαφύρων μόνην Ὀμηρος χαρίζειται, καταστέλλειν τὸ πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ δυναμένην· μόνος γοῦν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ταύτη χρῆται τῇ μουσικῇ. ὅτι δὲ καὶ νόσους ἰᾶται μουσικῇ Θεόφραστος ἰστόρησεν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, ἰσχυδιακοῦς²⁰ | φάσκων ἀνόσους διατελεῖν, εἰ καταυλήσοι τις τοῦ τόπου τῇ Φρυγιστὶ ἄρμονίᾳ. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἄρμονίαν Φρύγες πρῶτοι εὔρον καὶ μετεχειρίσαντο· διὸ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλλητὰς Φρυγίους καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχειν. οἷός ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι Σάμβας καὶ Ἄδων καὶ Τῆλος, παρὰ δὲ Ἰππώνακτι Κίων καὶ Κῶδαλος καὶ Βάβυς, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ χειρὸν αὐλούντων·

κάκιον Βάβυς²¹ αὐλεῖ.

ὁ δ' Ἀριστόξενος τὴν εὔρεσιν αὐτῆς Ἰάγνιδι τῷ Φρυγὶ ἀνατίθησιν. | Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Μουσικῆς οὐδ' ἄρμονίαν φησὶ δεῖν καλεῖ-

²⁰ ἰσχυδιακοῦς Olson: ἰσχυιακοῦς ACE

²¹ καὶ κίων ἢ Βάβυς ACE: κάκιον Casaubon, ἦ del. Kaibel

¹⁰⁴ But cf. *Il.* 3.54 (of Paris); 18.570 (on the Shield of Achilles).

¹⁰⁵ Sambas is Stephanis #2209, Adon is Stephanis #53, Telus is Stephanis #2409, Cion (or Cicon) is Stephanis #1404,

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plary fashion, and if he ever happened to get angry or upset, he picked up his lyre and started playing it. When asked why, he would say: "I'm calming myself down." The Homeric Achilles similarly used his lyre to get control of his temper (cf. *Il.* 9.186–8); this was the only object Homer awarded him from the plunder of Eetion, and it had the power to control the fiery aspect of his personality. He is the only character in the *Iliad*, at any rate, who plays this sort of music.¹⁰⁴ Theophrastus in his *On Inspiration* (fr. 726B Fortenbaugh) reported that music cures diseases, claiming that individuals who suffer from sciatica have their symptoms relieved if someone plays the lyre over the affected spot using the Phrygian scale. The Phrygians invented and developed this scale, which is why the pipe-players in Greece are Phrygians or have names appropriate for slaves. Examples include Alcman's (*PMG* 109) Sambas, Adon, and Telus, and Hipponax' (fr. 153 Degani) Cion, Codalus, and Babys,¹⁰⁵ to whom the proverb (*Zenob.* 4.81) about people whose pipe-playing constantly deteriorates refers:

Babys' pipe-playing is getting worse.

Aristoxenus (fr. 78 Wehrli) attributes the invention of the scale to Hyagnis of Phrygia.¹⁰⁶ But Heracleides of Pontus in Book III of *On Music* (fr. 163 Wehrli = fr. 114 Schütrumpf) claims that it should not be referred to as

Codalus is Stephanis #1523, and Babys is Stephanis #506. Nothing further is known about any of them.

¹⁰⁶ *Plu. Mor.* 1132f calls Hyagnis the father of the satyr Mar-syas; cf. *Antip. Thess. AP* 9.266 = *GPh* 681–6.

σθαι τὴν Φρύγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λύδιον ἄρμονίας 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 διαφυλάττουσιν, Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ (οὔτοι γὰρ εἰσιν <οἱ>²² τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες) παραπλήσιον αἰεὶ ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀγωγὴν, Ἴώνων δὲ τὸ

d πολὺ | πλήθος ἡλλοίωται διὰ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δυναστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων. τὴν οὖν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελωδίας ἣν οἱ Δωριεῖς ἐποιοῦντο Δώριον ἐκάλουν ἄρμονίαν, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ Αἰολίδα ἄρμονίαν ἣν Αἰολεῖς ἤθον, Ἰαστὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἔφασκον ἣν ἤκουον ἄδόντων τῶν Ἴώνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δώριος ἄρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον οὐδ' ἰλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν, οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτε πολύτροπον. τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ |

e ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἵπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοὔργον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον καὶ τεθαρρηκός, διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἄνεσις. διόπερ ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς ὑποδωρίου καλουμένης ἄρμονίας ἦθος· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἣν ἐκάλουν Αἰολίδα, ὡς καὶ

²² add. Kaibel

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Phrygian any more than as Lydian; for there are three scales, inasmuch as there are three types of Greeks: Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians. There are substantial differences in the character of these groups: the Spartans cling more closely to their ancestral customs than the other Dorians do; the Thessalians—because the origin of the Aeolian group can be traced back to them—continue to live much as they always have; but the vast majority of Ionians have changed their life-style, as a consequence of their interaction with whichever barbarians have power over them at the moment. People accordingly came to refer to the melodic tradition the Dorians practiced as the Doric scale; referred to the scale in which the Aeolians sang as the Aeolic scale; and called the third scale, in which they heard the Ionians singing, Ionic. The Doric scale, then, expresses masculinity and ostentation, and is not frivolous or light-hearted but fierce and serious, and is neither elaborate nor complex. The Aeolic character is haughty and bombastic, as well as a bit conceited, and these characteristics fit their interest in horse-breeding and their emphasis on hospitality; they are not treacherous but dignified and confident, which is why they enjoy drinking, sex, and everything else associated with a relaxed life-style. Their character thus fits the so-called hypodoric¹⁰⁷ scale; for according to Heracleides, this is how people referred to the Aeolic scale, as for example Lasus of Her-

¹⁰⁷ I.e. "sub-Doric."

Λᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ Εἰς τὴν <Ἐν>²³ Ἑρμῶν
Δήμητρα Ὑμνῶ λέγων οὕτως·

f Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον
μελιβόαν | ὕμνον ἀναγνέων,
Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν.

ταῦτα δ' ἄδουσιν πάντες ὑποδῶρια²⁴ τὰ μέλη. ἐπεὶ οὖν
τὸ μέλος ἐστὶν ὑποδῶριον,²⁵ εἰκότως Αἰολίδα φησὶν
εἶναι τὴν ἀρμονίαν ὁ Λᾶσος. καὶ Πρατίνας δέ πού
φησι·

μήτε σύντονον δίωκε
μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν
Μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν
νεῶν ἄρουραν Αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφέστερόν φησιν·

πρέπει τοι
πᾶσιν ἀοιδολαβράκταις
Αἰολὶς ἀρμονία. ||

625 πρότερον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, Αἰολίδα αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν,
ἕστερον δ' ὑποδῶριον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν τοῖς
αὐλοῖς τετάχθαι νομίσαντες αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Δῶριον
ἀρμονίαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ὀρώντας αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄγκον καὶ

²³ add. Schweighäuser

²⁴ ὑποδῶρια τὰ μέλη A: τὰ μέλη del. Kaibel

²⁵ ὑποδῶριον τὰ μέλη A: τὰ μέλη del. Casaubon

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mione in his *Hymn to the Demeter in Hermione* (PMG 702),¹⁰⁸ where he says the following:

I sing of Damater and Cora, the wife of Clymenus,¹⁰⁹
lifting up a honey-toned hymn
in a deep-sounding Aeolic scale.

Everyone sings this passage in the hypodoric scale; since the song is hypodoric, it is unsurprising that Lasus refers to the scale as Aeolic. Pratinas as well (PMG 712a) says somewhere:

Do not pursue an intense
Muse or the one who is
relaxed; but as you plow, Aeolize
the center of the field in your song.

And in the section immediately after this he puts it more clearly (PMG 712b):

The Aeolic scale,
I assure you, is appropriate for anyone
who is greedy for songs.

Previously, then, as I said, they referred to this as the Aeolic scale, but later as hypodoric, according to some authorities because they believed that it was pitched lower than (*hupo*) the Doric scale on the pipes. But in my opin-

¹⁰⁸ The first verse is quoted also at 10.455d, where Athenaeus (again citing Heracleides of Pontus) claims that the entire poem was asigmatic.

¹⁰⁹ Literally "the Famous One" (i.e. Hades).

τὸ προσποιήματα τῆς καλοκάγαθίας ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρμονίας ἤθεσιν Δώριον μὲν αὐτὴν οὐ νομίζουσιν, προσεμφερῆ δὲ πῶς ἐκείνη. διόπερ ὑποδώριον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς τὸ προσεμφερὲς τῷ λευκῷ ὑπόλευκον καὶ τὸ μὴ γλυκὺ μὲν ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτου λέγομεν ὑπόγλυκον· οὕτως καὶ
 b ὑποδώριον τὸ μὴ πάνυ | Δώριον. ἐξῆς ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἦθος, ὃ διαφαίνουσιν οἱ Ἴωνες, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίαις βρενθυόμενοι καὶ θυμῷ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλλακτοι, φιλόνοικοι, οὐδὲν φιλόανθρωπον οὐδ' ἰλαρὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ἀστοργίαν <δὲ>²⁶ καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἐμφανίζοντες. διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστί γένος²⁷ οὐτ' ἀνθηρὸν οὐτε ἰλαρὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀσθηρὸν καὶ σκληρὸν, ὄγκον δ' ἔχον οὐκ ἀγεννή· διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ προσφιλεῖς ἢ ἀρμονία. τὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν Ἰώνων ἦθη τρυφερότερα καὶ πολὺ παραλάττον τὸ | τῆς ἀρμονίας ἦθος. φασὶ δὲ Πύθερμον τὸν Τήμιον ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἀρμονίας τούτῳ ποιῆσαι σκολιὰ μέλη, καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸν ποιητὴν Ἰωνικὸν Ἰαστὶ κληθῆναι τὴν ἀρμονίαν. οὗτός ἐστι Πύθερμος οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀνάμιος ἢ Ἰππῶναξ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις· < . . . καὶ>²⁸ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως·

χρυσὸν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τᾶλλα.

λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ Πύθερμος·

²⁶ add. Kaibel

²⁷ γένος ἀρμονίας ACE: ἀρμονίας del. Olson

²⁸ add. Kaibel

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ion they saw the haughtiness and false nobility characteristic of the scale, and regarded it not as Doric but as somehow similar to Doric. They accordingly referred to it as hypodoric, in the same way that we refer to the color that resembles white (*leukon*) as *hupoleukon*, and to something that is not sweet (*gluku*) but almost is as *hupogluku*. So too that which is not precisely Doric is hypodoric. Let us next consider the character of the Milesians, which the Ionians illustrate by acting proud of their fine physiques; being high-spirited, difficult to bring to terms, and quarrelsome; displaying neither kindness nor good humor; and exhibiting cold, harsh behavior instead. This is why the Ionic type is neither exuberant nor cheerful, but harsh and austere, and features a rather noble dignity; as a consequence, the scale is particularly well-suited to tragedy. The behavior of today's Ionians, however, is more effeminate, and the character of their scale is considerably different. People say that Pythermus of Teos composed lyric skolia in this sort of scale, and that because the poet was an Ionian, the scale came to be referred to as Ionic. This is the Pythermus mentioned by Ananius (fr. 2 West²) or Hipponax in his *Iambs* (fr. spurium 218 Degani): . . . ¹¹⁰ Also in another passage, as follows:

Pythermus talks about gold as if nothing else mattered.

Pythermus says the following (*PMG* 910):

¹¹⁰ The quotation has fallen out of the text.

οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα τᾶλλα πλὴν <ὁ> χρυσός.

- οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πιθανόν ἐστι τὸν
 d Πύθερμον ἐκείθεν ὄντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν | ἀγωγὴν τῶν
 μελῶν ἀρμόττουσαν τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν Ἰώνων· διόπερ
 ὑπολαμβάνω οὐχ ἀρμονίαν εἶναι τὴν Ἰαστί, τρόπον
 δέ τινα θαυμαστὸν σχήματος ἀρμονίας. καταφρονη-
 τέον οὖν τῶν τὰς μὲν κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς οὐ δυναμέ-
 νων θεωρεῖν, ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ τῇ τῶν φθόγγων
 ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τιθεμένων ὑπερμιξολύδιον
 ἀρμονίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἄλλην. οὐχ ὁρῶ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ τὴν ὑπερφρύγιον ἴδιον ἔχουσαν ἦθος· καίτοι
 e τινὲς φασιν ἄλλην ἐξευρηκέαι | καινὴν ἀρμονίαν
 ὑποφρύγιον. δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶδος ἔχειν ἦθους ἢ
 πάθους, καθάπερ ἡ Λοκριστί· ταύτη γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν
 γενομένων κατὰ Σιμωνίδην καὶ Πίνδαρον ἐχρήσαντό
 ποτε, καὶ πάλιν κατεφρονήθη. τρεῖς οὖν αὐταί, καθά-
 περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶπομεν εἶναι ἀρμονίας, ὅσα καὶ τὰ
 ἔθνη. τὴν δὲ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ τὴν Λυδιστὶ παρὰ τῶν
 βαρβάρων οὐσας γνωσθῆναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπὸ τῶν
 σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυ-
 γῶν καὶ Λυδῶν· Λυδοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνηκολούθησαν |
 f 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

¹¹¹ Both poets belong to the end of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries BCE.

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It appears that nothing actually matters except gold.

On the basis of this remark, then, it is believable that because Pythermus was from there, he produced a style of lyric poetry that fit the Ionian character. I accordingly suspect that the scale in question was not Ionic but an unusual scale of some other type. We should accordingly ignore individuals who are unable to see any difference among the types, and who rely instead on how high or low the sounds are pitched, and who postulate the existence of a hypermixolydian scale, and of yet another higher than it. For I do not see that the hyperphrygian has a distinctive character; and indeed, some authorities claim to have discovered yet another new scale, the hypophrygian. But a scale must have a particular character or effect, as the Locrian scale does; for some contemporaries of Simonides and Pindar¹¹¹ employed this at one point, and then afterward it fell out of favor again. There are thus these three scales, as I noted at the beginning (14.624c), and they match the number of types of Greeks. As for the Phrygian and Lydian scales, which originated with the barbarians, the Greeks learned about them from the Phrygians and Lydians who moved down into the Peloponnese along with Pelops;¹¹² for Lydians accompanied him, on account of the fact that Sipylos¹¹³ was a Lydian city, while the Phrygians did so not because they shared a border with the Lydians, but because Tantalus was their king. You can see large mounds everywhere in the Peloponnese, but especially in Lacedaemon,

¹¹² Sc. when he married Hippodameia and became king of Elis. ¹¹³ The city of Pelops' father, Tantalus, and thus originally of Pelops himself.

πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χώματα μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. μαθεῖν οὖν τὰς ἁρμονίας ταύτας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρὰ τούτων, διὸ καὶ Τελέστης ὁ Σελινούντιός φησιν· ἢ

- 626 πρώτοι παρὰ κρατήρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς
 συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρέϊας
 Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον·
 τοὶ δ' ὀξύφωνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον
 Λύδιον ὕμνον.

Ὁὐ παραληπτέον δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν, φησὶν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ὡς Ἐφορος ἱστορεῖ, ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ γοητεία παρεισήχθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ
 b τοὺς παλαιοὺς | Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλὸν καὶ
 ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκῆ νομιστέον εἰσαγαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρώτους Ἀρκάδων εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παισὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ νεανίσκοις²⁹ γενομένοις ἕως τριάκοντα ἐτῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτὴν, τᾶλλα τοῖς βίοις ὄντας αὐστηροτάτους. παρὰ γοῦν μόνοις Ἀρκάσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμον τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Τιμοθέου καὶ Φιλοξένου νόμους μαθάνοντες χορεύουσι κατ' ἐν-

²⁹ ἐν παισὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νεανίσκοις A; but the traditional text of Polybius omits the prepositions.

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which people identify as tombs of the Phrygians who accompanied Pelops. The Greeks, then, learned these scales from them, which is why Telestes of Selinus (*PMG* 810) says:

The first to sing a Phrygian tune in honor of the
Mountain Mother
beside the Greeks' mixing-bowls as the flutes played
were Pelops' companions;
they struck up a Lydian hymn with the high-pitched
vibrations of harps.

Polybius of Megalopolis (4.20.5–21.9) says that we should reject Ephorus' (*FGrH* 70 F 8) claim that music was introduced to human beings to trick and deceive them. Nor should we believe that the ancient inhabitants of Crete and Lacedaemon introduced rhythmic movements coordinated with pipes into war in place of trumpets without any reason, or that the earliest Arcadians lacked a motivation for incorporating music into every aspect of their society, forcing not just their boys but their young men up to the age of 30 to immerse themselves in it, despite the fact that they otherwise led extraordinarily austere lives. It is only Arcadian boys, at any rate, who are required by law to become accustomed from the time they are toddlers to singing their hymns and paeans, which they universally use to offer praise to the local heroes and gods in their traditional fashion. After these they learn the tunes of Timotheus and Philoxenus, and they dance every year in their

- c *αὐτὸν τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς αὐληταῖς | ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, οἱ μὲν οὖν παῖδες τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ παρ' ὅλον δὲ τὸν βίον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς οὐχ <οὔτω ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀγωγὰς>³⁰ διὰ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀκροαμάτων ὡς δι' αὐτῶν, ἀνὰ μέρος ᾄδειν ἀλλήλοις προστάττοντες. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀρνηθῆναί τι μὴ εἰδέναι οὐδεὶ αὐτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν, τὸ δὲ ᾄδειν ἀποτριβεσθαι αἰσχρὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεται. καὶ μὴν ἐμβατήρια μετ' αὐλοῦ καὶ τάξεως ἀσκούντες, ἔτι δὲ ὀρχήσεις ἐκπονούντες μετὰ κοινῆς ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ*
- d *δαπάνης κατ' | ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιδείκνυνται. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοὺς εἴθισαν οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ περιουσίας χάριν, ἀλλὰ θεωροῦντες τὴν ἐκάστου κατὰ τὸν βίον σκληρότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν ἀστηρίαν, ἣτις αὐτοῖς παρέπεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στυγνότητα τὴν κατὰ <τὸ>³¹ πλείστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν, οἷς καὶ συνεξομοιούσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες ἄνθρωποι· διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐθνικὰς διαστάσεις πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν ἥθεσι καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνόδοις*
- e *κοινὰς καὶ θυσίας ἀνδράσι καὶ | γυναιξὶ κατείθισαν, ἔτι δὲ χοροὺς παρθένων ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων, σπεύδοντες τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀτέραμνον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐθισμῶν κατασκευῆς ἐξημεροῦν καὶ πραινεῖν. ὧν Κυναιθεῖς ὀλιγω-*

³⁰ add. Kaibel e Polybio

³¹ add. Kaibel e Polybio

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theaters along with the Dionysiac pipe-players;¹¹⁴ the boys dance in their own contests, while the young men dance in the men's contests. And at no point in their lives do they organize matters at their public festivals using entertainers imported from elsewhere, but they rely instead on their own abilities, requiring one another to take turns singing. None of them is embarrassed to confess ignorance of any other subject; but they do consider a lack of musical training something to be ashamed of. They practice marching-songs drawn up in lines and accompanied by pipes, and they also work hard on their dancing and put on shows in their theaters every year with public support and funding. The ancients accustomed themselves to practices of this sort, then, not out of an interest in luxury and excess, but because they knew that individual lives were difficult, and recognized the harshness of their manners, which dogged them on account of the frigidity of their environment and the general gloominess that prevailed in their territory, to both of which human beings have a universal natural tendency to assimilate themselves; this is why we differ widely from one another along ethnic lines in our behavior, physical build, and skin-color. In addition, they made it their custom to have public gatherings and sacrifices for men and women, as well as dances for both girls and boys, since they were eager to use the practices they devised to tame and calm their natural rigidity. The inhabitants of Cynaetha ultimately came to feel contempt for such prac-

¹¹⁴ I.e. those who play to accompany events at Dionysiac festivals, such as the dithyrambic dance-competitions referred to here.

ρήσαντες εἰς τέλος, καίτοι σκληρότατον παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὁμοῦ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἔχοντες, πρὸς μὲν αὐτὰς τὰς ἐν ἀλλήλοις παρατριβὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὀρμήσαντες τέλος ἀπεθριώθησαν οὕτως ὡς μέγιστα ἀσεβήματα παρὰ μόνοις αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι.

f καθ' οὓς δὲ καιροὺς τὴν μεγάλην σφαγὴν | ἐποίησαντο, εἰς ἃς ποτε πόλεις Ἀρκαδικὰς κατὰ τὴν δίοδον εἰσῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐξεκήρυξαν, Μαντινεῖς δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν καθαρμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο σφάγια περιαγαγόντες κύκλῳ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης.

Ἀγίας δ' ὁ μουσικὸς ἔφη τὸν στύρακα τὸν ἐν ταῖς ὀρχήστραις θυμιώμενον τοῖς Διονυσίοις Φρύγιον ποιεῖν ὁδμὴν τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις.

627 Τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον ἢ μουσικὴ ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτροπὴ ἦν. || Ἀλκαῖος γοῦν ὁ ποιητής, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μουσικώτατος γενόμενος, πρότερα τῶν κατὰ ποιητικὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τίθεται, μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος πολεμικὸς γενόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις σεμνυνόμενός φησιν·

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος
 χάλκῳ, παῖσα δ' Ἄρη κεκόσμηται στέγα
 λάμπραισιν κυνίαισι, κατ
 τῶν λεῦκοι κατέπερθεν ἵππιοι λόφοι
 νεύοισιν, κεφάλαισιν ἄν-

b δρων ἀγάλματα· | χάλκισαι δὲ πασσάλοις

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tices, even though they occupy far and away the most rugged part of Arcadia, as far as both topography and climate are concerned; they plunged into open conflict and rivalry with one another, and in the end were so brutalized that the most appalling acts of impiety occurred exclusively in their country. At the time they were carrying out their enormous massacre,¹¹⁵ whenever they entered other Arcadian cities in the course of their travels, everyone immediately issued a public proclamation expelling them, and after they left, the Mantineans purified their city by carrying sacrificial victims around the perimeter of the entire area.

Agias (fr. 4, *FHG* iv.293), who wrote on music, said that the storax-gum burned in the dancing-areas at Dionysiac festivals produced a Phrygian scent for anyone who caught a whiff of it.

In the old days, music encouraged bravery. The poet Alcaeus, for example, who was as devoted to music as anyone ever has been, ranks brave deeds ahead of poetic accomplishments, but was more devoted to war than necessary. This is why he expresses pride in matters of this sort and says (fr. 140):

The huge house shines
with bronze; the entire place has been decorated
by Ares
with gleaming helmets, and white
crests of horse-hair nod from
their tops, ornaments for
men's heads. Brilliant bronze

¹¹⁵ The events in question probably took place sometime in the 230s BCE.

κρύπτοισιν περικείμεναι

λάμπραι κνάμιδες, ἔρκος ἰσχύρω βέλεος·
θόρρακές τε νέω λίνω,

κόιλαί τε κατ' ἄσπιδες βεβλήμεναι·

παρ δὲ Χαλκίδικαι σπάθαι,

παρ δὲ ζώματα πόλλα καὶ κυπάσσιδες.

τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λάθεσθ' ἐπεὶ

δὴ πρότιςτ' ὑπὰ τῶργον ἔσταμεν τόδε.

καίτοι μᾶλλον ἴσως ἤρμοττε τὴν οἰκίαν πλήρη εἶναι
μουσικῶν ὀργάνων. ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν
c ὑπελάμβανον | εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρετῶν,
καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ προσνέμειν < . . . > οὐ τοῖς
ἄλλοις. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν ἀγαθὸς ὦν ποιητῆς πρῶτον
ἐκαυχῆσατο τῷ δύνασθαι μετέχειν τῶν πολιτικῶν
ἀγώνων, δεύτερον δὲ ἐμνήσθη τῶν περὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων·

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐυναλίοιο ἀνακτος
καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ
τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγραφήναι |
d ἠξίωσεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ποιήσας·

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greaves, a defense against
powerful missiles, conceal the pegs they hang
upon.

Likewise breastplates of fresh linen,
and hollow shields thrown on the floor;
and Chalcidian swords are there,
and numerous loin-cloths and short tunics.

We cannot forget these objects, now
that we have undertaken this project.

It might actually have been more appropriate for his house to be full of musical instruments. But the ancients regarded courage as the most important public virtue, and to assign to this the majority . . . rather than to others. Although Archilochus, for example, was a good poet, he boasted first about his ability to participate in political struggles and mentioned his poetic accomplishments second, saying (fr. 1 West²):

I am a servant of Lord Enyalios,¹¹⁶
and I understand the lovely gift of the Muses.

So too, even though Aeschylus had a substantial reputation for his poetry, he nonetheless preferred to have a reference to his bravery inscribed on his tomb, and he wrote (test. 162 = FGE 478–9):¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Sometimes identified with Ares, sometimes a separate figure.

¹¹⁷ Two additional lines of the epitaph, which identify the tomb as Aeschylus' and place it in Gela in Syracuse, are preserved in the anonymous *Life of Aeschylus* (test. 1.42–3) and at *Plu. Mor.* 604e–f.

ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

διόπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετ' αὐλῶν
στρατεύονται, Κρήτες δὲ μετὰ λύρας, μετὰ δὲ συρίγ-
γων καὶ αὐλῶν Λυδοί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ. πολλοὶ
δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται μετ'
αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, καταπραΰνοντες τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς
e ψυχάς. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν ἰ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτη τῶν
Ἱστοριῶν, Γέται, φησί, κιθάρας ἔχοντες καὶ κιθαρί-
ζοντες τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται. ὅθεν ἔοικεν καὶ
Ὅμηρος διατηρῶν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατά-
στασιν λέγειν·

φόρμιγγός θ', ἣν δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην,³²

ὡς καὶ τοῖς εὐωχουμένοις χρησίμης οὔσης τῆς
τέχνης. ἦν δ' ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτο νενομισμένον, πρῶτον
μὲν ὅπως ἕκαστος τῶν εἰς μέθην καὶ πλήρωσιν ὠρμη-
μένων ἰατρὸν λαμβάνη τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας
τὴν μουσικὴν, εἶθ' ὅτι τὴν αὐθάδειαν πραΰνει· περιαι-
f ρουμένη ἰ γὰρ τὴν στυγνότητα ποιεῖ πραότητα καὶ
χαρὰν ἐλευθέριον, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰσήγαγε τοὺς

³² A combination of *Od.* 8.99 φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ
συνήγορός ἐστι θαλείη and 17.270–1 φόρμιγγξ ἠπύει, ἣν ἄρα
δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην.

¹¹⁸ A reference to the famous battle of 490 BCE, when the
Athenians defeated a large Persian expeditionary force. Aeschy-

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The grove at Marathon could describe the might that
won me a fine reputation,
as could the long-haired Mede who came to know
it.¹¹⁸

This¹¹⁹ is why the Spartans, who are extremely courageous, go into battle accompanied by pipes, the Cretans accompanied by the lyre, and the Lydians accompanied by pan-pipes and pipes, according to Herodotus (1.17.1). Many barbarian peoples also arrange for their embassies to be accompanied by pipes and lyres, as a way of calming their enemies' tempers. Theopompus says in Book XLVI of his *History* (FGrH 115 F 216): When the Getae enter into diplomatic negotiations, they have lyres in their hands and play them. Homer thus apparently preserves the ancient situation in Greece when he says:

and the lyre, which the gods made to accompany
feasts,¹²⁰

since this skill is useful for people attending a banquet. This was apparently the custom first in order that anyone who wanted to get drunk and stuff himself would have music as a physician to treat his reckless, disorderly behavior, and next because it tempers surliness; for when it strips off one's gloom, it produces gentleness and the happiness that befits a free person, which is why Homer brought the gods

lus' brother Cynegirus died in the battle, trying to capture a Persian ship (A. test. 16-48).

¹¹⁹ The fact that music can be used to encourage bravery (14.626f). For what follows, cf. 12.517a-b.

¹²⁰ A garbled combination of *Od.* 8.99 and 17.270-1; see critical n.

θεοὺς χρωμένους ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἰλιάδος τῆ μουσικῆ. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμίαν διετέλουν³³ ἀκροώμενοι

φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,
Μουσάων,³⁴ αἱ ἄειδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῆ·

παύσασθαι γὰρ ἔδει τὰ νείκη καὶ τὴν στάσιν, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν. εἰκόσιν οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδιδόναί ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐπανορθώσεως χάριν καὶ ὠφελείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ περιέλαβον ἔθεσι
628 καὶ νόμοις τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους || ἄδειν ἅπαντας ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν, ὅπως καὶ διὰ τούτων τηρῆται τὸ καλὸν καὶ σωφρονικὸν ἡμῶν· ἐναρμονίῳ γὰρ ὄντων τῶν ἁσμάτων προσγινόμενος ὁ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν ἐκάστων τρόπον. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ³⁵ οὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπέν-
b δωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνῳ | καὶ μέθη, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες. Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν φησιν·

ὡς Διωνύσου ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Φιλοκτήτῃ ἔφη·

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίης.

³³ μετὰ δὲ τὴν . . . διετέλουν γὰρ A: corr. Kaibel

³⁴ The traditional text of Homer has Μουσάων θ'.

³⁵ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντες A: παλαιοὶ ἔσπενδον CE: σπένδοντες del. Wilamowitz

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on at the beginning of the *Iliad* enjoying music. For after their argument about Achilleus, they spend their time listening (1.603–4)

to a beautiful lyre, which Apollo was holding,
that belonged to the Muses, who sang responsively
with their lovely voices;

since their quarrels and division needed to be brought to an end, as I was saying. Most people thus appear to incorporate this knowledge into social occasions to correct and improve them. The ancients, in fact, enshrined in their customs and rules that everyone who attended their feasts was to sing the hymns that honor the gods, the idea being that these would preserve our sense of what is good and decent; for when songs are sung in harmony, the remarks about the gods that accompany them lend dignity to everyone's behavior. Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 172) claims that the ancients did not perform dithyrambos on all occasions but only when pouring libations, and that they sang about Dionysus when they were drinking wine and getting drunk, but about Apollo in calm, orderly situations. Archilochus (fr. 120 West²), at any rate, says:

Since I know how to initiate the dithyramb, the
beautiful song devoted to
King Dionysus, when my mind has been lightning-
blasted with wine.

So too Epicharmus said in *Philoctetes* (fr. 131):

It's not a dithyramb, when you drink water!

ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡδονῆς χάριν ἐπιπολαίου καὶ δημο-
 τικῆς ἢ μουσικῆ προῆλθεν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τὰς ἐστι-
 άσεις, ὡσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-
 μένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὅτι μὲν ἐμάνθανον τὴν
 μουσικὴν οὐδὲ λέγουσιν· ὅτι δὲ κρίνειν δύνανται
 καλῶς τὴν τέχνην ὁμολογεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ φασιν
 τρὶς ἤδη σεσωκέναι διαφθειρομένην αὐτήν. καὶ πρὸς
 c γυμνασίαν δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητα | διανοίας συμβάλλεται ἢ
 μουσικῆ· διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων οἱ γνωσκόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν χρώμενοι. οὐ
 κακῶς δ' ἔλεγον οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ὅτι καὶ
 τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινου-
 μένης πως τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐλευθέριοι καὶ καλά
 ποιοῦσι τοιαύτας, αἱ δ' ἐναντίαι τὰς ἐναντίας. ὅθεν καὶ
 τὸ Κλεοσθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου χαρίεν καὶ
 σημείον διανοίας πεπαιδευμένης· ἰδὼν γάρ, ὡς φασι,
 d φορτικῶς ὀρχησάμενον ἕνα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς | μνη-
 στῆρων (Ἴπποκλείδης δ' ἦν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος) ἀπωρχῆσθαι
 τὸν γάμον αὐτὸν ἔφησεν, νομίζων ὡς ἔοικεν καὶ τὴν
 ψυχὴν τάνδρὸς εἶναι τοιαύτην. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ
 πορεία καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ κόσμος, αἰσχρὸν
 δὲ ἀταξία καὶ τὸ φορτικόν. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς συνέταπτον οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὰς
 ὀρχήσεις καὶ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς σχήμασι σημείοις μόνον

¹²¹ Casaubon took this to be a reference to the careers of Terpander, Timotheus, and Phrynis.

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That music was not originally introduced into feasts for the sake of superficial pleasure catering to conventional tastes, as some authorities believe, is apparent from what has been said. The Spartans do not claim to have invested any time in learning about music; but they generally maintain that they are good judges of the art, and they allege that they have rescued it three times when it was in decline.¹²¹ Music also contributes to the training and sharpening of the intellect; this is why all the Greek and barbarian peoples known to us use it. Damon of Athens¹²² (37 B 6 D–K) was accordingly quite right to say that songs and dances can only be produced when the soul is somehow set in motion; free, beautiful souls produce songs and dances that resemble them in that respect, and *vice versa*. Hence the witty remark of Cleosthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, which shows that he had an educated intellect; for they say that when he saw one of his daughters' suitors—specifically Hippocleides of Athens—doing a vulgar dance, he commented that the man had danced away his marriage,¹²³ since he thought that his soul most likely matched his actions. For grace and dignity in how a person dances and carries himself are in fact attractive, whereas clumsiness and low-class behavior are embarrassing. This is why the poets from the very beginning designed their dances for free people and used the movements only to illustrate the

¹²² Or perhaps "The followers/students of Damon of Athens." Damon (mid-5th century BCE) is PAA 301540.

¹²³ The story comes from Hdt. 6.129, where the tyrant's name is given as Cleisthenes (tyrant of Sicyon c.600–570 BCE). According to Herodotus, the rejected suitor had the last word: "Hippocleides could not care less." Hippocleides is PAA 538230.

τῶν ἀδομένων, τηροῦντες αἰεὶ τὸ εὐγενές καὶ ἀνδρῶδες
 ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὅθεν καὶ ὑπορχήματα τὰ τοιαῦτα προσηγό-
 e ρεον. εἰ δέ τις ἀμέτρως | διαθείη τὴν σχηματοποιίαν
 καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς ἐπιτυγχάνων μηδὲν λέγει κατὰ τὴν
 ὄρχησιν, οὗτος δ' ἦν ἀδόκιμος. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης
 ἢ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Σκευαῖς, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν,
 εἴρηκεν οὕτως·

ὥστ' εἴ τις ὄρχοιτ' εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν· νῦν δὲ δρῶσιν
 οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἐστῶτες
 ὠρύνονται.

ἦν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὄρχήσεως γένος τῆς ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς
 εὐσχημον τότε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές καὶ ὡσανεὶ τὰς ἐν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις κινήσεις ἀπομιμούμενον. ὅθεν καὶ Σω-
 f κράτης ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν τοὺς κάλλιστα | χορεύοντας
 ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια λέγων οὕτως·

οἱ 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. ||

¹²⁴ Apparently taken here to mean "(compositions) in which the dancing (*orchēsis*) takes a subordinate (*hupo*) part"; cf. 14.631c.

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words that were sung, making a consistent effort to preserve the nobility and manliness associated with them, as a consequence of which they referred to compositions of this sort as *huporchêmata*.¹²⁴ But if someone's choreography was excessive, or if, when it came to the songs, his lyrics were unconnected to the dance-steps, he got a bad reputation. This is why Aristophanes or Plato (fr. 138) in his *Equipment*,¹²⁵ according to Chamaeleon (fr. 42 Wehrli), says the following:

So that if someone was a good dancer, it was worth watching. But nowadays they're worthless, and they just stand in one spot and howl, as if they were having a seizure.

For the type of dancing in which the choruses engaged in those days was graceful and impressive, and imitated, as it were, the movements of men wearing armor. This is why Socrates (fr. 3 West²) in his poetry claims that the best dancers are also the best warriors, putting it as follows:¹²⁶

Those who show the gods the finest honors in choruses are the best in war.

For choral dance represented something approaching military drill, and was a way of demonstrating not just good discipline generally but specifically the care they took of their bodies.

¹²⁵ The play is elsewhere consistently attributed to Plato Comicus rather than to Aristophanes.

¹²⁶ It is unclear whether these are both hexameters or part of an elegiac couplet.

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 Σικυώνιος. ἧ ῥα θεοῖσι
 ταῖς Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπέκειτο γέρας.

οὐ κακῶς δὲ καὶ Καφισίας ὁ αὐλητῆς, ἐπιβαλλομένον |
 b 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· ἐζήτουν γὰρ
 κὰν ταύτη κινήσεις καλὰς καὶ ἐλευθερίους, ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ
 μέγα περιλαμβάνοντες, καὶ τὰ σχήματα μετέφερον
 ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς χορούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χορῶν εἰς τὰς
 c παλαιίστρας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ κὰν τῇ | τῶν
 σωμάτων ἐπιμελεία περιεποιοῦντο τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ
 πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις κινήσεις ἐγυμνάζοντο μετὰ
 τῆς ὠδῆς· ὅθεν ἐκινήθησαν αἱ καλούμεναι πυρρίχαι

¹²⁷ Stephanis #172. Bacchiades (who appears to have erected a statue of himself in the Muses' sanctuary on Helicon, although he dedicated it to the Muses of his native city, whom he regarded as responsible for his success) is Stephanis #510.

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Amphion of Thespieae in Book II of *On the Sanctuary of the Muses on Mount Helicon* (FGrH 387 F 1) says that boys danced on Helicon and that the celebrations were taken seriously. He cites the following ancient epigram (anon. FGE 1844-7):

I did both—I danced and I trained a men's chorus in
the sanctuary
of the Muses; Anacus of Phigaleia¹²⁷ played the
pipes.
I am Bacchiades of Sicyon. I assuredly set money
aside
for this fine offering to the goddesses in Sicyon.

The pipe-player Caphisias¹²⁸ was entirely justified, when one of his students was trying to play the pipes loudly and was concerned about nothing else, to hit him and say that quality is not defined by volume, but that volume is instead defined by quality. The statues produced by early artists also preserve traces of the ancient style of dance. As a consequence, everything connected with gesture was done more carefully for this reason; for in this area as well they aspired to attractive movements appropriate to free people, and they attempted to incorporate volume in quality, and transferred the postures from there to their dances, and from their dances to their wrestling schools. For the fact is that they acquired courage through their music, as well as through the care they took of their bodies, and they practiced the movements they made when wearing armor to musical accompaniment. This is the origin of the so-

¹²⁸ Stephanis #1387. A very similar anecdote is recorded at D.L. 7.21, where Zeno is said to have repeated it.

καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως· πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὀνομασίαι³⁶ αὐτῶν, ὡς παρὰ Κρησὶν ὀρσίτης καὶ ἐπικρήδιος. τὴν δ' ἀπόκινον καλουμένην ὀρχησιν, ἧς μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ἀμαζόσιν Ἀριστοφάνης τ' ἐν Κενταύρῳ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες, ὕστερον μακτρισμὸν ὠνόμασαν· ἦν καὶ πολ-
d λαὶ γυναῖκες ὠρχοῦντο, ἃς καὶ ἰ μακτιστρίας ὀνομα-
ζομένας οἶδα. τὰ δὲ στασιμώτερα καὶ πυκνότερα καὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν ἀπλουστέραν ἔχοντα καλεῖται δάκτυλοι, ἰαμβική, Μολοσσική, ἐμμέλεια, κόρδαξ, σίκιννις, Περσική, Φρύγιος, νιβατισμός, Θράκιος, κολαβρισμός, Τελεσιάς· Μακεδονικὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ὀρχησις, ἣ
χρησάμενοι οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαίου Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φι-
λίππου ἀδελφὸν ἀνείλον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μαρσύας ἐν
e τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῶν. μανιώδεις δ' εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις κερ-
νοφόρος καὶ ἰ μογγὰς καὶ θερμανστρίς. ἦν δὲ καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡ καλουμένη ἄνθεμα. ταύτην δὲ
ὠρχοῦντο μετὰ λέξεως τοιαύτης μιμούμενοι καὶ λέ-
γοντες·

³⁶ αἰπολλαὶ παραιονομασίαι A: corr. Kaibel

¹²⁹ A dance that imitated movements associated with hoplite combat; cf. 14.630d–1b; Pl. *Lg.* 815a.

¹³⁰ Included in a list of humorous dances at 14.629f.

¹³¹ A tragic dance; cf. 1.20e; 14.630d–e.

¹³² A comic dance; cf. 1.20e; 14.630e.

¹³³ A dance associated with satyr play; see 1.20e; 14.618c n., 630b.

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called *purrhichai*¹²⁹ and of all other dances of this type; for there are many names for them, for example *orsitês* and *epikrêdios* on Crete. As for the so-called *apokinos* dance, which is mentioned by Cratinus in *Nemesis* (fr. 127), Cephisodoros in *Amazons* (fr. 2), Aristophanes in *The Centaur* (fr. 287), and numerous other authors, it was later referred to as a *maktrismos*,¹³⁰ many women used to dance it, and I know that they were referred to as *maktristriaï*. Dances that are more static and contained, on the other hand, and that involve simpler steps, are known as *daktuloï* ("fingers"), *iambikê* ("iambic"), Molossian, *emmeleia*,¹³¹ *kordax*,¹³² *sikinnis*,¹³³ Persian, Phrygian, *nibatismos*, Thracian, *kolabrismos*, and *Telesias*;¹³⁴ the latter is a Macedonian dance, which Ptolemy's men¹³⁵ did when they killed Philip's brother Alexander,¹³⁶ according to Marsyas in Book III of the *History of Macedon* (FGrH 135 F 11). Dances that resemble the movements of lunatics are the *kernophoros* ("kernos-bearer"¹³⁷), *mongas*, and *thermaustris* ("tongs"). There was also a dance known as the *an-thema*, which was performed by private citizens.¹³⁸ They used to match their gestures to lyrics along the following lines when they performed it, saying (carm. pop. PMG 852):

¹³⁴ Cf. 14.630a.

¹³⁵ Or perhaps simply "Ptolemy."

¹³⁶ Alexander II of Macedon (reigned 370/69–367 BCE), who was murdered and replaced by Ptolemy of Alorus. The Philip in question is Philip II, Alexander the Great's father.

¹³⁷ For the *kernos* (a small pot used to carry offerings), cf. 11.476e–f.

¹³⁸ I.e. rather than by performers in public festivals.

ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα,
 ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλινα;
 ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα, ταδὶ τὰ ἴα,
 ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

παρὰ δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Χιτωνέας Ἀρτέμιδος ὄρ-
 χησίς τις ἐστὶν ἴδιος καὶ αὐλησις. ἦν δέ τις καὶ
 Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις παροίνιος, καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δὲ
 πάροιον ἠκρίβουν ὄρχησιν. καλεῖται δέ τις καὶ ἄλλη
 ὄρχησις κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις, ἧς μνημονεύει Μένιππος
 f ὁ κυνικὸς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. καὶ γελοῖαι ἢ δ' εἰσὶν
 ὀρχήσεις ἴγδις καὶ μακτρισμὸς ἀπόκινός τε καὶ σο-
 βάς, ἔτι δὲ μορφασμὸς καὶ γλαυξ καὶ λέων ἀλφίτων
 τε ἔκχυσις καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴ καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ πυρ-
 ρίχη. μετ' αὐλῶν δ' ὠρχοῦντο τὴν τοῦ κελουστοῦ καὶ
 τὴν καλουμένην πινακίδα. σχήματα δὲ ἐστὶν ὀρχή-
 σεως ξιφισμὸς, καλαθίσκος, καλλαβίδες, σκῶψ, σκῶ-
 πευμα. ἦν δὲ ὁ σκῶψ τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα
 ἄκραν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων.
 μνημονεύει Αἰσχύλος ἐν Θεωροῖς·

καὶ μὴν παλαιῶν τῶνδέ σοι σκωπευμάτων. ||

630 καλλαβίδων δ' Εὐπόλις ἐν Κόλαξιν·

¹³⁹ At 14.629c *maktrismos* and *apokinios* are said to be different names for the same dance.

¹⁴⁰ Doubtless wildly celebratory.

¹⁴¹ Patently out of place in this list; cf. 14.629c n., 630d-1b.

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Where are my roses? Where are my violets?

Where is my lovely celery?

Here are my roses! Here are my violets!

Here is my lovely celery!

The Syracusans have a unique style of dancing and pipe-playing performed in honor of Artemis Chitônea. There was also a dance called the Ionian that imitated a drunk's movements; in addition, they perfected a drunk-dance known as the *angelikê* ("messenger-[dance]"). Another dance is referred to as the *kosmou ekpurôsis* ("cosmic conflagration"); Menippus the Cynic mentions it in his *Symposium* (fr. IV, p. 246 Riese). There are humorous dances as well: the *igdis* ("mortar"), *maktrismos*, *apokinós*,¹³⁹ and *sobas*, as well as the *morphasmos*, little owl, lion, barley-groat-dumping, debt-cancellation,¹⁴⁰ letters, and *purrhichê*.¹⁴¹ They performed the bosun's dance and the so-called *pinakis* to pipe-music. Dance-steps include: the sword-play, basket, *kallabides*, scops owl,¹⁴² and *skôpeuma*. The scops owl was a step in which the dancers cupped their hand, placed it over their brow, and looked off into the distance. Aeschylus mentions it in *Sacred Ambassadors* (fr. 79):

And look at these ancient *skôpeumata* you've got!¹⁴³

Eupolis (mentions) *kallabides* in *Flatterers* (fr. 176.2-3):¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Cf. 9.391a-c with n.; Poll. 4.103.

¹⁴³ But the definition given above seems unlikely to be the sense intended here.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted at greater length at 14.646f.

καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει.

θερμανστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεῖρ καταπρηνής, χεῖρ σιμή, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος, στρόβιλος. καὶ Τελεσιᾶς δ' ἐστὶν ὄρχησις καλουμένη στρατιωτικὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τινος ἀνδρὸς Τελεσιῶν λαβοῦσα τοῦνομα, μεθ' ὅπλων τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἐκείνου ὀρχησαμένου, ὡς φησιν Ἰππαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων Πολιτείας. |

- b Καλεῖται δ' ἡ μὲν σατυρικὴ ὄρχησις, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Χορῶν, σίκιννις καὶ οἱ σάτυροι σικιννισταί· τινὲς δὲ φασιν Σίκιννον τινα βάρβαρον εὐρετὴν αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι δὲ Κρήτα λέγουσι τὸ γένος εἶναι τὸν Σίκιννον. ὀρχησταί δ' οἱ Κρήτες, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος. Σκάμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Εὐρημάτων σίκιννι αὐτὴν εἰρήσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σείεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον ὀρχήσασθαι τὴν σίκιννιν Θέρσιππον. προτέρα δ' εὐρηται ἡ περὶ τοὺς πόδας κίνησις
- c τῆς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν. | οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τοὺς πόδας μᾶλλον ἐγυμνάζοντο ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις. οἱ δὲ Κρήτες κυνηγετικοί, διὸ καὶ ποδώκεις. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἳ φασὶ τὴν σίκιννιν ποιητικῶς ὠνο-

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Apollon. fr. 1 (quoted at 11.467f).

¹⁴⁶ Stephanis #2387 (where the reference is to this passage); otherwise unknown. For the dance itself, cf. 14.629d.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. 1.20e (citing Aristonicus).

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who does *kallabides*-dances when he walks,
and shits sesame cakes.

The *thermaustris* ("tongs"), *hekaterides* ("alternate [hands]"), look-out, down-turned hand, cupped hand, two-footer, club-grabbing, *epankônismos* ("nudging"), basket,¹⁴⁵ and top. The so-called *Telesias* is another dance; it is performed by soldiers and got its name from a man named Telesias,¹⁴⁶ who was wearing hoplite armor when he danced it for the first time, according to Hippagoras in Book I of *On the Carthaginian Constitution* (FGrH 743 F 1).

According to Aristocles in Book I of *On Choruses* (fr. 9, FHG iv.331), the dance used in satyr plays is a *sikinnis*, and the satyrs are *sikinnistai*; some authorities claim that a barbarian named Sicinnus invented (this dance),¹⁴⁷ while others say that Sicinnus' family was from Crete. The Cretans are dancers, according to Aristoxenus (fr. 107 Wehrli). Scamon in Book I of *On Inventions* (FGrH 476 F 2) says that it gets the name *sikinnis* from the verb *seiesthai* ("to shake oneself"),¹⁴⁸ and that the first person to dance it was Thersippus.¹⁴⁹ Movements involving the feet were invented before those that involve the hands; for the ancients gave their feet more exercise in their contests and when they hunted. The Cretans like to hunt, which is why they are fast on their feet.¹⁵⁰ But some authorities¹⁵¹ claim

¹⁴⁸ A preposterous etymology.

¹⁴⁹ Stephanis #1196; otherwise unknown.

¹⁵⁰ Presumably another observation taken from Aristoxenus (cited above). ¹⁵¹ Sc. in contrast to Scamon (cited above);

several source-documents appear to have been crudely spliced together in this section.

μάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν καὶ οἱ σάτυροι ὀρχοῦνται ταχυτάτην οὔσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πάθος³⁷ αὕτη ἡ ὄρχησις, διὸ οὐδὲ βραδύνει. συνέστηκεν δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγωδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον. τρεῖς δ' d εἰσὶ τῆς σκηρικῆς | ποιήσεως ὀρχήσεις, 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 τὸ διώκειν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἠττωμένους

φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακοῦς³⁸
εἶναι.

e ἡ δὲ γυμνοπαιδικὴ παρεμφερὴς ἐστὶ | τῇ τραγικῇ ὀρχήσει, ἣτις ἐμμέλεια καλεῖται· ἐν ἑκατέρῃ δὲ ὁράται τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν. ἡ δ' ὑπορχηματικὴ τῇ κωμικῇ οἰκειοῦται, ἣτις καλεῖται κόρδαξ· παιγνιώδεις δ' εἰσὶν ἀμφότεραι. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ 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 οὔσα ὡς

³⁷ ἦθος Meineke

³⁸ Unmetrical (κακὸς Herodotus)

¹⁵² Another fanciful etymology; "poetically" apparently means "via an anagrammatic rearrangement of the letters."

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that the word *sikinnis* is derived poetically from *kinêsis* ("movement"),¹⁵² because the satyrs move with great rapidity when they dance; for this dance involves no suffering, and it is therefore not done slowly. In ancient times, all satyric poetry consisted of choruses, like the tragedy of that period; as a consequence, neither included actors. Three dance-styles are associated with dramatic poetry: tragic, comic, and satyric. Likewise three dance-styles are associated with lyric poetry: *purrhichê*, *gumnopaidikê*,¹⁵³ and *huporchêmatikê*.¹⁵⁴ The *purrhichê* resembles satyric dancing, inasmuch as both are done rapidly. The *purrhichê* appears to be associated with warfare, since boys perform it dressed in hoplite equipment. Speed is needed in war to pursue the enemy, and when defeated

to try to escape and not remain, and not be ashamed
of being cowards.¹⁵⁵

The *gumnopaidikê* is similar to the tragic dance known as an *emmeleia*; for seriousness and gravity are apparent in both. The *huporchêmatikê* is related to the comic dance known as a *kordax*; both are playful. Aristoxenus (fr. 103 Wehrli) claims that the *purrhichê* got its name from a Spartan named Pyrrhichus;¹⁵⁶ the name Pyrrhichus is still used in Sparta even today. The fact that this style of dance

¹⁵³ Literally "naked-boy (dance)"; cf. 14.631b-c.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. 14.631c.

¹⁵⁵ Adopted from Delphic Oracle Q101.3 Fontenrose (quoted at Hdt. 1.55.2).

¹⁵⁶ Poralla #653 (but almost certainly a mythical rather than a historical character).

Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ εὖρημα· πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ
 f Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τὰ ἐμβατήρια | μέλη ἀναλαμ-
 βάνουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ
 Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα
 ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔρρυθμον κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλό-
 χορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσ-
 σσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρα-
 τεύαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ
 παιωνίσωσιν, ἄδειν καθ' ἓνα <τὰ>³⁹ Τυρταίου· κρίνειν
 δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον διδόναι τῷ νικῶντι
 631 κρέας. || ἡ δὲ πυρρίχη παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν
 οὐκ ἔτι παραμένει· ἐκλιπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς συμβέβηκε
 καὶ τοὺς πολέμους καταλυθῆναι. παρὰ μόνοις δὲ
 Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμένει προγύμνασμα οὔσα τοῦ
 πολέμου· ἐκμαυθάνουσί τε πάντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ
 πέντε ἐτῶν πυρριχίζειν. ἡ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πυρρίχη
 Διονυσιακὴ τις εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐπιεικεστέρα οὔσα τῆς
 ἀρχαίας· ἔχουσι γὰρ οἱ ὀρχούμενοι θύρσους ἀντὶ
 δοράτων, προῖενται δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους νάρθηκας⁴⁰ καὶ
 λαμπάδας φέρουσιν ὀρχοῦνταί τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Διό-
 b νυσον καὶ | τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς,⁴¹ ἔτι τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Πενθέα.
 τακτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πυρρίχης τὰ κάλλιστα μέλη καὶ

³⁹ add. Kaibel

⁴⁰ καὶ νάρθηκας ACE: καὶ del. Olson

⁴¹ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς A: τὰ περὶ del. Kaibel

¹⁵⁷ Literally "armed," i.e. "martial (songs)."

¹⁵⁸ Sc. as they march toward the enemy.

has a warlike character supports the notion that the Spartans invented it; the Spartans dedicate themselves to war, and their sons memorize their marching-songs, known as *enoplia*.¹⁵⁷ So too the Spartans themselves recite Tyrtaeus' poems during their wars and move in time with them.¹⁵⁸ Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 216) says that after the Spartans defeated the Messenians because of Tyrtaeus' generalship,¹⁵⁹ they made it a custom during their campaigns that, after they have dinner and sing a paean, they take turns singing Tyrtaeus' poems; the polemarch judges among them¹⁶⁰ and awards the winner a piece of meat as a prize. The other Greeks no longer dance the *purrhichê*; after it fell out of use, their wars coincidentally came to an end as well. Only the Spartans continue to perform the *purrhichê*, which serves as a form of military training, and everyone in Sparta learns to dance it, beginning at age five. The *purrhichê* performed in our time appears to have a Dionysiac character and is more presentable than the ancient one; for the dancers hold thyrsuses rather than spears, throw fennel-stalks at one another and carry torches, and perform dances that represent the story of Dionysus and the Indians,¹⁶¹ as well as the story of Pentheus.¹⁶² The most attractive melodies and rapid rhythms

¹⁵⁹ During the Second Messenian War. Tyrtaeus (Poralla #709) belongs to the mid-7th century BCE. Substantial portions of his poetry are preserved, but none of them in Athenaeus.

¹⁶⁰ Sc. as to who has sung the best.

¹⁶¹ I.e. the story of

Dionysus' conquest of the East; cf. 5.200c-d with n.

¹⁶² The young king of Thebes who was first driven mad by Dionysus and then torn apart by the maenads (including his own mother and aunts), as in Euripides' *Bacchae*.

τοὺς ὀρθίους ῥυθμούς. ἔοικεν δὲ ἡ γυμνοπαιδικὴ τῇ
καλουμένην ἀναπάλη παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς· γυμνοὶ γὰρ
ὀρχοῦνται οἱ παῖδες πάντες, ἐρρῦθμους φοράς τινας
ἀποτελοῦντες καὶ σχήματά τινα τῶν χειρῶν κατὰ τὸ
ἀνάπαλον, ὥστ' ἐμφαίνειν θεωρήματά τινα τῆς παλαι-
στρας καὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου, κινοῦντες ἐρρῦθμῳ τοὺς
πόδας. τρόποι δ' αὐτῆς οἷ τε Ὀσχοφορικοὶ καὶ οἱ
βακχικοί, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ταύτην⁴² εἰς τὸν
c Διόνυσον ἀναφέρεσθαι. Ἄριστόξενος δὲ φησιν ὡς οἱ
παλαιοὶ γυμναζόμενοι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γυμνοπαιδικῇ εἰς
τὴν πυρρίχην ἐχώρουσαν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θέα-
τρον. καλεῖται δ' ἡ πυρρίχη καὶ χειρονομία. ἡ δ'
ὑπορχηματικὴ ἐστὶν ἐν ἧ ἄδων ὁ χορὸς ὀρχεῖται.
φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Βακχυλίδης·

οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς.

καὶ Πίνδαρος δὲ φησιν·

Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα.

ὀρχοῦνται δὲ ταύτην παρὰ τῷ Πινδάρῳ οἱ Λάκωνες,
καὶ ἐστὶν ὄρχησις⁴³ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. βέλτιστοι
d δὲ εἰσι τῶν τρόπων οἵτινες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται. ἢ εἰσὶ δὲ
οἶδε· προσοδιακοί,⁴⁴ ἀποστολικοὶ (οὔτοι δὲ καὶ παρ-

⁴² τὴν ὄρχησιν ταύτην A: τὴν ὄρχησιν del. Kaibel

⁴³ ὑπορχηματικὴ ὄρχησις A: ὑπορχηματικὴ del. Kaibel

⁴⁴ προσοδιακοί Dindorf: προσφδιακοί ACE

¹⁶³ An adjective derived from *Ōschophoria* (literally "Grape-

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should be used for the *purrhichê*. The *gumnopaidikê* resembles what the ancients referred to as an *anapalê*; because all the boys (*paides*) dance in the nude (*gumnoi*), producing rhythmic movements and hand-gestures in an *anapalon* style reminiscent of what one might see in a wrestling-school or at a pancration competition, moving their feet to the beat. *Ôschophorikoi*¹⁶³ and Bacchic dances are varieties of this type, which is accordingly associated with Dionysus. Aristoxenus (fr. 108 Wehrli) claims that the ancients first practiced (*gumnazomenoi*) the *gumnopaidikê* and then moved on to the *purrhichê* before entering the theater. The *purrhichê* is also known as a *cheironomia*.¹⁶⁴ The *huporchêmatikê* is a style in which the chorus dances while singing. Bacchylides (fr. 15.1), for example, says:

There's no time for sitting around or delay.

Pindar (fr. 112) as well says:

A Spartan herd of girls.¹⁶⁵

The Spartans do this dance in Pindar, and both men and women perform it. The best styles¹⁶⁶ are those that involve dancing. They are the following: *prosodiakoi* ("processional [songs]"), *apostolikoi* ("departure [songs]")—these

vine-tendril-bearing"; cf. 11.495f), the name of an Athenian festival celebrated in honor of Dionysus.

¹⁶⁴ Literally "gesticulation"; cf. 14.629b-c. ¹⁶⁵ The quotation seems out of place here and might be better at 14.632f-3a.

¹⁶⁶ Sc. of poetry. Kaibel marked a lacuna before this sentence, but more likely the problem is to be traced to Athenaeus' clumsy combination of a number of separate source-documents.

θένιοι καλοῦνται), καὶ οἱ τούτοις ὅμοιοι. τῶν γὰρ ὕμνων οἱ μὲν ὠρχοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὠρχοῦντο < . . . > ἢ τοὺς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν παιᾶνα δὲ ὅτε μὲν, ὅτε δὲ οὐ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι σπουδαῖαι καὶ φαῦλαι ὀρχήσεις. ὁ μὲν κόρδαξ παρ' Ἑλλησι 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 ἐν |
 e 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 οἰκείου αὐτοῖς κόσμον· διόπερ ἦσαν ἴδιοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρμονίαν αὐλοὶ καὶ ἐκάστοις αὐλητῶν ὑπῆρχον αὐλοὶ ἐκάστη ἀρμονίᾳ πρόσφοροι ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι. Πρόνομος δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος πρῶτος ἠῦλησεν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν <πάσας>⁴⁵ τὰς ἀρμονίας. νῦν δὲ εἰκῆ καὶ ἀλόγως ἄπτονται τῆς μουσικῆς. καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὸ παρὰ τοῖς
 f ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμῆν σημείον | ἦν κακοτεχνίας· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Φλιάσιος κροταλιζομένου ποτέ τινας τῶν αὐλητῶν διατρίβων αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὑποσκηνίῳ, “τί τοῦτ’;” εἶπεν “δῆλον ὅτι μέγα κακὸν γέγονεν,” ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμήσαντος. οἶδα δὲ τινὰς τοῦθ' ἱστορήσαντας ὡς Ἀντιγενεΐδου εἰπόν-

⁴⁵ add. Meineke

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are also referred to as *parthenioi* (“[songs] of unmarried girls”)—and the like. For some hymns are accompanied by dancing, while others are not . . . or those in honor of Aphrodite or Dionysus, while the paeon sometimes is and sometimes is not. The barbarians have both serious and vulgar dances, just like the Greeks. Among the Greeks, the *kordax* is low-class, whereas the *emmeleia* is serious, like the Arcadian *kidaris* and the Sicyonian *alêtêr*. The term *alêtêr* is also used on Ithaca, according to Aristoxenus in Book I of *Comparisons* (fr. 109 Wehrli). That is all I have to say about dancing for the moment.

Efforts were made in ancient times to keep music beautiful, and all its technical elements served to maintain its proper organization; this is why every scale had a specific set of pipes, and every pipe-player owned pipes suited to each scale used in the competitions. Pronomus of Thebes¹⁶⁷ was the first person to play all the scales using a single set of pipes. Nowadays, on the other hand, people approach music in a random, careless manner. In the past, moreover, being a popular favorite was regarded as evidence of bad technique; as a consequence, when a pipe-player got applause once while Asopodorus of Phlius¹⁶⁸ (*SH* 224) was still killing time backstage, he said: “What was that? Apparently something terrible happened!”, as if that were the only way the crowd could have given the other man a favorable reception. But I am aware that some authorities report that it was Antigeneidas¹⁶⁹ who said this.

¹⁶⁷ Stephanis #2149; PAA 789605. This comment interrupts the flow of the argument, which resumes in the next sentence.

¹⁶⁸ Stephanis #468; cf. 14.639a n.

¹⁶⁹ Stephanis #196.

- 632 τος. καίτοι οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς γε τέλος ποιοῦνται τῆς τέχνης τὴν παρὰ τοῖς θεάτροις ἢ εὐημερίαν. διόπερ Ἄριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς, ὅμοιον, φησί, ποιούμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρρητικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλησιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις⁴⁶ γεγονόσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβεβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἄγειν δὲ μίαν τιὰ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ἧ συνιόντες ἀναμιμνήσκονται τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων καὶ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες ἀπέρχονται. οὕτω δὲ οὖν, φησί, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβαρῶνται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προελήλυθεν ἢ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική, καθ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἄριστόξενος· κάμοι δὲ διὰ τοῦτο φαίνεται φιλοσοφητέον εἶναι περὶ μουσικῆς. καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καταφανῆς ἐστίν ἐκ πολλῶν οὐ παρέργως ἀψάμενος ἢ μουσικῆς· ὅς γε καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν διὰ μουσικῆς ἀποφαίνει συγκειμένην. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔοικεν ἢ παλαιὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφία τῇ μουσικῇ μάλιστα εἶναι δεδομένη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα, τῶν δὲ ἡμιθέων Ὀρφέα μουσικώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον ἔκρινον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς χρωμένους τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ

⁴⁶ ἢ Ῥωμαίοις del. Wilamowitz

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The fact is that our contemporaries regard a successful public performance as the ultimate aim of their craft. This is why Aristoxenus says in his *Symptotic Miscellany* (fr. 124 Wehrli): We act like the inhabitants of the Posidonia located on the Tyrrhenian Gulf. What happened to them is that they were originally Greeks but have turned into barbarians and become Etruscans or Romans, and their language has changed,¹⁷⁰ along with all their other practices. They continue today to celebrate only one Greek festival, in which they get together and imitate their ancient way of speaking and behaving; after they wail about them with one another and cry their hearts out, they go back home. We are actually in the same situation, he says; for our theaters have been barbarized, and popular music itself has been utterly degraded, and only a few of us recall privately what music was once like. Thus Aristoxenus; but it seems to me as well on this account that music deserves to be a subject of philosophical inquiry. There is in fact considerable evidence that Pythagoras of Samos, who has such a great reputation in philosophy, took a more than passing interest in music; indeed, he insists that music holds the fabric of the entire universe together. And by and large ancient Greek wisdom (*sophia*) appears to have been closely connected with music. This is why they regarded Apollo and Orpheus as the most musical and the wisest (*sophôtatos*) of the gods and demigods, respectively, and why they referred to everyone who practiced this art as a

¹⁷⁰ Latin was sometimes thought to be merely a dialect of Greek; see Stevens, *CJ* 102 (2006/7) 115–44.

σοφιστὰς ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐποίησε·
εἴτ' οὖν σοφιστῆς † καλὰ † παραπαίων χέλυν.

- d ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν οἰκειότατα διέκειντο | οἱ
ἀρχαῖοι δῆλον καὶ ἐξ Ὀμήρου· ὃς διὰ τὸ μεμελο-
ποιηκέναι πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἀφροντιστὶ πολ-
λοὺς⁴⁷ ἀκεφάλους ποιεῖ στίχους καὶ λαγαρούς, ἔτι δὲ
μειούρους. Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θεόγνις καὶ
Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ Περιάνδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγειο-
ποιὸς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ
ποιήματα μελωδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι τοὺς στίχους τοῖς
ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων καὶ σκοποῦσιν
ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεῖς <μήτε>⁴⁸ ἀκέφαλος ἔσται μήτε
e λαγαρὸς μήτε μείουρος. ἀκέφαλοι | δέ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀρχῆς τὴν χωλότητα ἔχοντες·

ἐπεὶ δὴ νῆάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἴκοντο.
ἐπίτονος τετάνυστο βοὸς ἴφι κταμένοιο.⁴⁹

λαγαροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ, οἶον·

αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνείαν φίλον υἱὸν⁵⁰ Ἀγχίσαο.

⁴⁷ τοὺς πολλοὺς ACE: τοὺς del. Meineke

⁴⁸ add. Meineke ⁴⁹ cf. *Od.* 12.423 ἐπίτονος βέβλητο,
βοὸς ῥινοῖο τετευχώς; *Il.* 3.375 ἢ οἱ ῥῆξεν ἱμάντα βοὸς ἴφι
κταμένοιο. ⁵⁰ φίλον υἱὸν Meineke: υἱὸν φίλον A

¹⁷¹ Literally "mouse-tailed."

¹⁷² I.e. that begin with what ought properly to be a short syllable, where a dactylic hexameter requires a long.

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sophistês ("wise man, intellectual"), as Aeschylus (fr. 314) wrote:

So then, a *sophistês* † beautiful † striking a false note
on a tortoise-shell lyre.

That the ancients were intimately familiar with music is also apparent from Homer, who in the course of composing all his poetry carelessly produces numerous headless and hollow, as well as tapering¹⁷¹ lines. Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, and Phocylides, as well as the elegiac poet Periander of Corinth and the others who do not set their poems to music, carefully construct their lines as regards the number and arrangement of the metrical units, and see to it that none of them will be headless, hollow, or tapering. Headless lines are those that limp at the beginning:¹⁷²

when in fact they came to the ships and the
Hellespont. (*Il.* 23.2)
a strap made of a slaughtered bull's hide was
stretched over it.¹⁷³

Hollow lines are those (that limp) in the middle, for example:

straightaway, then, Aeneas the beloved son of
Anchises.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ A conflation of *Od.* 12.423 (which begins with the metrical anomaly referred to here) and *Il.* 3.375 (which does not).

¹⁷⁴ An adespota dactylic hexameter not found in the traditional text of Homer. The verse (as emended by Meineke) has a short in the second syllable of *huion*, where a dactylic hexameter requires a long.

τῶν αὐθ' ἠγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε.

μείουροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς, οἶον· |

- f Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν, ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν.
καλὴ Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας εἰκυῖα.⁵¹
τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἦμα.

διετήρησαν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι
τὴν μουσικὴν, πλείστη αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, καὶ συχνοὶ
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μελῶν ποιηταί. τηροῦσιν δὲ καὶ
633 νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς || πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς
ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. ὅθεν καὶ Πρατίνας φησί·

Λάκων ὁ τέττιξ εὐτυκος ἐς χορόν.

διὸ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ διετέλουσαν προσαγορεύοντες οὕτως
τὰς ᾠδὰς·

< . . . > γλυκντάτων πρύτανιν ὕμνων,

καί·

< . . . > μέλεα μελιπτέρωτα Μουσᾶν.⁵²

⁵¹ cf. *Il.* 8.305 καλὴ Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῆσιν.

⁵² διὸ καὶ . . . Μουσᾶν del. Wilamowitz

¹⁷⁵ For the verse to scan as a dactylic hexameter, the *iota* in *Asklēpion* must be treated as long rather than as short (as expected).

¹⁷⁶ For the verse to scan as a dactylic hexameter, the first syllable in *ophin* must be treated as long rather than as short (as expected); West prints *opphin*.

¹⁷⁷ An adespota dactylic hexameter not found in the tradi-

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The two sons of Asclepius, again, were their
leaders.¹⁷⁵ (*Il.* 2.731)

Tapering lines are those (that limp) at the end, for example:

The Trojans shuddered when they saw the glistening
serpent.¹⁷⁶ (*Il.* 12.208)

Lovely Cassiepeia, like to the gods in appearance.¹⁷⁷
I filled a large goatskin sack with this and brought it;
provisions were inside.¹⁷⁸ (*Od.* 9.212)

The Spartans were the Greeks who preserved their music most faithfully, inasmuch as they were deeply immersed in it, and they produced large numbers of lyric poets. Even today they carefully preserve their ancient songs and have a great deal of precise information about them. Pratinas (*PMG* 709) accordingly says:

The Spartan cicada is well-suited to a chorus.¹⁷⁹

This is why the poets constantly referred to their songs as follows (adesp. *PMG* 954a):

leader of sweetest hymns,

and (adesp. *PMG* 954b):

honey-winged songs of the Muses.

tional text of Homer (cf. *Il.* 8.305). For the verse to scan as a dactylic hexameter, the first syllable in *eoikuia* must be treated as long rather than as short (as expected).

¹⁷⁸ The final word in the line as Athenaeus gives it has three syllables, which will not do at the end of a dactylic hexameter; the problem can be resolved by converting the *iota* to a subscript.

¹⁷⁹ For "Spartan cicadas," cf. 15.680d.

ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βίου σωφροσύνης καὶ αὐστηρίας μετέβαινον ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν μουσικὴν, ἐχούσης τὸ κλητικὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐγένετο χαίρειν τοὺς ἀκρωμένους.

- Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ χορηγούς, ὡς φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος
 b Δημήτριος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Ἰ Ποιημάτων, οὐχ ὥσπερ
 ἔστιν τοὺς μισθουμένους τοὺς χορούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθη-
 γουμένους τοῦ χοροῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα ση-
 μαίνει.

Καὶ τὸ χρηστομουσεῖν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τῆς μουσικῆς νόμους.

- Συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φιλομουσεῖν τοὺς Ἑλληνας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης ἀταξίας κατα-
 γηρασάντων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἀρχαίων νομίμων ἢ τε προαίρεσις αὕτη κατελύθη καὶ τρόποι μουσικῆς
 φαῦλοι κατεδείχθησαν, οἷς ἕκαστος τῶν χρωμένων
 c ἀντὶ μὲν πραότητος ἰ περιεποιεῖτο μαλακίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ
 σωφροσύνης ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν. ἔσται δ' ἴσως
 τοῦτο <ἔτι>⁵³ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον προαχθήσεται,
 εἰ μὴ τις ἀγάγη πάλιν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς τὴν πάτριον
 μουσικὴν· τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰς πράξεις
 καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ὕμνους δι' ᾧδῆς ἐποιούντο. Ὅμηρος
 γοῦν φησιν ἐπ' Ἀχιλλέως·

⁵³ add. Kaibel

¹⁸⁰ These last few remarks represent another fragment of the brief "history of music" that forms the framework for this section

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For they were happy to make the transition from the sober austerity in which they lived to music, since the science has a charming effect. It was accordingly unsurprising that those who listened to it became happy.¹⁸⁰

They used the term *chorêgos*,¹⁸¹ according to Demetrius of Byzantium in Book IV of *On Poems* (FHG ii.624), not to refer to the individuals who hired and paid the chorus, as people do today, but to those who danced at the head of one (e.g. Alcm. PMG 1.44), as the name itself suggests.

(They) also (used the verb) *chrêstomousein*¹⁸² to mean "not to violate the ancient principles of music."

In ancient times, the fact was that the Greeks enjoyed music. But afterward, when the situation became chaotic and almost all the old customs grew antiquated, this tendency was abandoned and low-class musical styles emerged; everyone who composed in them opted for effeminacy rather than gentleness, and for loose licentiousness rather than self-control. This state of affairs will perhaps continue to develop and grow even more pronounced, unless the traditional style of music is brought back to general attention. For in ancient times they produced songs that described the heroes' deeds or were hymns of praise honoring the gods. Homer (*Il.* 9.189) says of Achilles, for example:

of the *Learned Banqueters*, and into which a wide variety of other material has been inserted here and there.

¹⁸¹ Literally "chorus-leader."

¹⁸² Literally "to be devoted to good music" *vel sim.*; the word is not attested elsewhere.

< . . . > ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων.⁵⁴

καὶ τὸν Φήμιον δέ φησιν ὅτι

πολλὰ < . . . > βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδεν,⁵⁵
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί. |

- d τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐσώζετο, ὡς φησι Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς. τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδοντο οἱ ᾠδοί. ὅτε γάρ, φησί, ἠτήσατο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀποδημίαν ὁ Κῦρος (ἐγγόνοι δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ραβδοφόρων, εἰθ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλοφόρων) < . . . > καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. εὐωχουμένου οὖν τοῦ Ἀστυάγουσ μετὰ τῶν φίλων τότε Ἄγγάρης ὄνομα (οὗτος δ' ἦν τῶν ᾠδῶν ὁ ἐνδοξότατος)
- e ἠῆδεν εἰσκληθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα τῶν εἰθισμένων καὶ | τὸ ἔσχατον εἶπεν ὡς ἀφείται εἰς τὸ ἔλος θηρίον μέγα, θρασύτερον ὑὸς ἀγρίου· ὃ ἂν κυριεύσῃ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸ τόπων, πολλοῖς μετ' ὀλίγον ραδίως μαχεῖται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀστυάγουσ "ποῖον θηρίον;" ἔφη Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην. νομίσας οὖν ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑπωπτευκέσαι καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος < . . . > οὐδὲν ὦνησεν.

⁵⁴ ἠρώων does not belong in the text of Homer, but is more likely a misquotation by Athenaeus than an intrusive gloss.

⁵⁵ The traditional text of Homer has οἶδας.

¹⁸³ I.e. Cyrus the Great (d. 530 BCE), who built the Persian Empire, in large part by overthrowing Astyages, the king of the Medes, around 550.

¹⁸⁴ In a Greek context, the word

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he was singing, of course, of the famous deeds of
men who were heroes.

And as for Phemius, he says that (*Od.* 1.337–8)

he knew many stories capable of charming
mortals,
the deeds of men and of gods, tales whose fame
singers spread.

This custom was preserved among the barbarians, according to Dinon in his *History of Persia* (FGrH 690 F 9). The bards knew in advance about the courage of Cyrus I,¹⁸³ for example, and about the war that was about to take place against Astyages. He says that when Cyrus requested permission to visit Persia—he had previously commanded Astyages' rod-bearers,¹⁸⁴ and then later his armed men— . . . and he left. Astyages was having a feast at that point with his friends, and a man named Angares—he was the most distinguished bard—who had been invited in, sang the other, conventional songs, and at the end said that a great beast, even bolder than a wild boar, had been allowed to escape into the swamps; if it got control of the territory around there, it would soon have no difficulty fighting large numbers of men. When Astyages asked "What kind of beast are you referring to?", the bard said that he meant Cyrus the Persian. Although Astyages was accordingly convinced that he had been right to be suspicious of Cyrus and tried to summon . . . it did no good.

would refer to minor local officials with police powers of some sort; in a Roman context (too early for Dinon, who belongs to the 4th century BCE; but the interjection may not represent his actual words), it is the equivalent of "lictors."

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν περὶ μουσικῆς
αὐλῶν ἀκούων βόμβου καταπαύσω τὸ πολυλογεῖν, τὰ
ἐκ Φιλαύλου Φιλεταίρου ἐπειπῶν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, καλόν γ' ἔστ' ἀποθανεῖν αὐλούμενον |
f τούτοις ἐν Ἄιδου γὰρ μόνοις ἐξουσία
ἀφροδισιάζειν ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τρόπους
ῥυπαροὺς ἔχοντες μουσικῆς ἀπειρία
εἰς τὸν πίθον φέρουσι τὸν τετρημένον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ σαμ-
βύκης ἔφη ὁ Μασούριος ὀξύφθογγον εἶναι μουσικὸν
ὄργανον τὴν σαμβύκην διειλέχθαι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐ-
φορίωνα τὸν ἐποποιὸν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἴσθμίων, χρήσθαι
634 φήσας αὐτῷ Πάρθους καὶ Τρωγλοδύτας || τετραχόρδῳ
ὄντι· ἱστορεῖν δὲ τοῦτο Πυθαγόραν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς
Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης. καλεῖται δέ τι καὶ τῶν πολιορ-
κητικῶν 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 Πόλις, ὡς
ἀπὸ δύο νεῶν προσάγοιτο τοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων τείχεσι
καλεῖσθαι τε σαμβύκην, ἐπειδὴ ὅταν ἐξαρθῆ γίνεται
b σχῆμα νεὸς καὶ κλίμακος ἐνοποιουμένων, ὅμοιον δὲ τί
ἐστίν καὶ τὸ τῆς | σαμβύκης. Μόσχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ

¹⁸⁵ An allusion to the punishment of the Danaids (Pl. *Grg.*
493b; R. 363d; X. *Oec.* 7.40). ¹⁸⁶ Not the philosopher but
the geographer also referred to at 4.183f-4a.

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Although I have much more to say about music, I hear the roar of the pipes, and I will therefore bring this long speech to an end, after appending the following passage from Philetaerus' *The Man Who Loved the Pipes* (fr. 17):

Zeus, it's nice to be listening to pipe-music when you die—
because those are the only people allowed
to have sex in Hades! Those who've got filthy
manners,
on the other hand, and don't know anything about
music,
fetch (water) and pour it into the jar full of holes.¹⁸⁵

After this, questions arose about the *sambukê*, and Maturius said that it was a high-pitched musical instrument and had been discussed by the epic poet Euphorion in his *On the Isthmian Games* (fr. 9, *FHG* iii.73), where he claims that it has four strings and is played by Parthians and Troglodytes; also that Pythagoras¹⁸⁶ recorded this in his *On the Red Sea*. There is also a piece of siege-equipment known as a *sambukê*; Biton describes its appearance and construction in his *To Attalus on Machines* (paragraphs 57–61, Marsden pp. 74–6).¹⁸⁷ Andreas of Panormus in Book XXXIII of his *History of Sicily by City* (*FGrH* 571 F 1) (reports) that two boats brought it up against the enemy's walls; it is referred to as a *sambukê* because when it is set up, it resembles a ship and a ladder combined, and a *sambukê* looks somewhat similar. Moschus in Book I of the

¹⁸⁷ See Landels, *JHS* 86 (1966) 69–77.

Μηχανικῶν Ῥωμαϊκὸν εἶναι λέγει τὸ μηχανήμα καὶ Ἑρακλείδην τὸν Ταραντῖνον εὐρεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, Μάρκελλος, φησί, δυσχρηστούμενος ἐν τῇ Συρακουσῶν πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρχιμήδους κατασκευασμάτων ἔλεγεν ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν αὐτοῦ κναθίζειν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀρχιμήδην, τὰς δὲ σαμβύκας ραπιζομένας ὥσπερ ἐκ πότου μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκπεπτωκένας.

Εἰπόντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Αἰμιλιανοῦ· ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὦ
 c ἑταῖρε | Μασούριε, πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐννοίᾳ
 γίνομαι, μουσικῆς ὦν ἐραστής, περὶ τῆς μαγάδιδος
 καλουμένης, πότερον αὐλῶν εἶδος ἢ κιθάρας ἐστίν. ὁ
 μὲν γὰρ ἡδιστος Ἀνακρέων λέγει πον·

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι

† χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν † ἔχων,

ὦ Λεύκασπι, σὺ δ' ἠβᾶς.

Ἴων δ' ὁ Χίος ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ ὡς περὶ αὐλῶν λέγει διὰ
 τούτων·

Λυδὸς τε μάγαδις αὐλὸς ἠγείσθω βοῆς.

ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος ἱαμβεῖον Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμμα
 d τικός, ὃν μάντιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος | φι-
 λόσοφος διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τῆς τῶν
 ποιημάτων διανοίας, γένος αὐλοῦ φησιν εἶναι τὸν
 μάγαδιν, οὗτ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐν τοῖς Περι

BOOK XIV

Art of Mechanics says that this is a Roman machine, and that Heracleides of Tarentum designed it. Polybius says in Book VIII (6.5–6 Buettner-Wobst) of his *History*: When Marcellus¹⁸⁸ was baffled during the siege of Syracuse by the devices Archimedes invented, he would say that Archimedes was ladling wine for his own ships from the sea, whereas his *sambukai* had been beaten up and ignominiously kicked out, as it were, from the party.

Aemilianus responded to these remarks: Well, my friend Masurius, since I myself am a music-lover, I often wonder whether what is referred to as a *magadis* is a type of pipe or a lyre. For the delightful Anacreon (*PMG* 374)¹⁸⁹ says somewhere:

I play the harp, holding
 a 20 † -stringed *magadis*, †
 Leucaspis, but you're young and beautiful.

Ion of Chios in *Omphale* (*TrGF* 19 F 23) refers to them as if they were pipes, in the following passage:

And let the Lydian *magadis*-pipe initiate the noise!

In his explication of this iambic line, the grammarian Aristarchus—the philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes (fr. 93 van Straaten) used to refer to him as a *mantis* (“seer”), because he could easily divine the point of a poem—claims that the *magadis* is a type of pipe, even though Aristoxenus (fr. 100 Wehrli) does not say this in either his *On Pipe-Players* or

¹⁸⁸ The Roman general Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who besieged Syracuse in 213 BCE. Archimedes (below) was killed when the city was finally sacked in 212.

¹⁸⁹ Quoted again, in abbreviated form, at 14.635c.

Αὐλητῶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Αὐλῶν καὶ Ὀργάνων, ἀλλὰ
 μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀρχεστράτου πεποιήται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ δύο
 βιβλία Περὶ Αὐλητῶν. οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ Πύρ-
 ρανδρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Αὐλητῶν, οὐδὲ Φίλλης ὁ Δήλιος·
 ξυνέγραψε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Περὶ Αὐλητῶν καὶ Εὐ-
 φράνωρ. Τρύφων δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν
 λέγει οὕτως· ὁ δὲ μάγαδις καλούμενος αὐλός. καὶ |
 e πάλιν <ὁ>⁵⁶ μάγαδις ἐν ταύτῳ ὀξὺν καὶ βαρὺν φθόγ-
 γον ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡς Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ὀπλομάχῳ
 φησίν·

μαγάδι λαλήσω μικρὸν ἅμα σοι καὶ μέγα.

τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν μοι ταύτην οὐδεὶς ἄλλος δυνήσεται
 ἀπολύσασθαι, καλὲ Μασούριε, ἢ σύ.

Καὶ ὃς ἔφη· Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς Εἰς
 Ἴωνα Ἀντεξηγήσεις, ἑταῖρε Αἰμιλιανέ, μάγαδι ἀυ-
 λὸν ἀκούει τὸν κιθαριστήριον· οὗ μνημονεύειν Ἀρι-
 στούξενον ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Αὐλῶν Τρήσεως λέγοντα
 f πέντε | γένη εἶναι αὐλῶν, παρθενίους, παιδικούς, κιθα-
 ριστηρίους, τελείους, ὑπερτελείους. ἢ ἐλλείπειν οὖν δεῖ
 παρὰ τῷ Ἴωνι τὸν τε σύνδεσμον, ἵν' ἦ

μάγαδις αὐλός <θ'>⁵⁷

56 add. Kaibel

57 add. Kaibel

190 Otherwise unknown, but presumably not to be identified with the gastronomic poet from Gela.

191 For Euphranor, cf. 4.182c, 184e.

his *On Pipes and Instruments*, and neither does Archestratus;¹⁹⁰ the latter also produced an *On Pipe-Players* in two Books. Pyrrhandrus also omits any mention of this instrument in his *On Pipe-Players* (FHG iv.486), as does Phillis of Delos (fr. 6, FHG iv.476); for he too composed an *On Pipe-Players*, as did Euphranor.¹⁹¹ But Tryphon in Book II of *On Terminology* (fr. 110 Velsen) says the following:¹⁹² the pipe referred to as a *magadis*. And again: The *magadis* produces high and low tones simultaneously, as Anaxandrides says in *The Hoplite-Trainer* (fr. 36):

I'll speak along with you soft and loud, like a
magadis.

No one other than you, therefore, my good Masurius, will be able to resolve this puzzle for me.

And Masurius said: The grammarian Didymus in his *Polemical Explication of Ion* (pp. 302–3 Schmidt), my friend Aemilianus, takes a *magadis* to be a pipe played to accompany a lyre; (he also claims that) Aristoxenus mentions the instrument in Book I of *On the Boring of Pipes* (fr. 101 Wehrli), where he asserts that there are five types of pipes: girls' pipes, boys' pipes, pipes played to accompany a lyre, adult-pipes, and more-than-adult pipes.¹⁹³ Alternatively, the conjunction must be missing from (the text of) *Ion* (*TrGF* 19 F 23, quoted in full at 14.634c), meaning that it ought to read:

the *magadis* and the pipe,

¹⁹² Virtually identical material (including Anaxandr. fr. 36) appears at 4.182c–d, but with no reference to Tryphon.

¹⁹³ A similar list appears at 4.176e–f (but with no mention of Aristoxenus).

ὁ προσαυλούμενος τῇ μαγάδιδι. ἡ γὰρ μάγαδις ὄργανόν ἐστι ψαλτικόν, ὡς Ἀνακρέων φησί, Λυδῶν τε εὔρημα. διὸ καὶ τὰς Λυδὰς ψαλτρίας φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Ἴων ἐν τῇ Ὀμφάλῃ διὰ τούτων·

ἀλλ' εἶα, Λυδαὶ ψάλτριαι, παλαιθέτων
ὑμνων ἀοιδοί, τὸν ξένον κοσμήσατε. ||

635 Θεόφιλος δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ καὶ τὸ τῇ μαγάδιδι ψάλλειν μαγαδίξειν λέγει ἐν τούτοις·

πονηρὸν υἷὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐστὶν μαγαδίξειν ἐπὶ τροχοῦ καθημένου·
οὔδεις γὰρ ἡμῶν ταῦτὸν ἄσεται μέλος.

Εὐφορίων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰσθμίων παλαιὸν μὲν φησι τὸ ὄργανον εἶναι τὴν μάγαδιν, μετασκευασθῆναι δ' ὀψέ ποτε καὶ σαμβύκην μετονομασθῆναι· πλείστον δ' εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ὄργανον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ, ὡς καὶ μίαν τῶν
b Μουσῶν ἔχουσαν αὐτὸ | ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος ποιηθῆναι ἀρχαίου ἀγαλματοποιοῦ. Μέναιχμος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Τεχνιτῶν τὴν πηκτίδα, ἣν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ μαγάδιδι, Σαπφῷ φησιν εὐρεῖν. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ τὴν μάγαδιν καὶ τὴν πηκτίδα χωρὶς πλήκτρον διὰ ψαλμοῦ παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρεῖαν. διόπερ καὶ Πίνδαρον εἰρη-

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which is played along with the *magadis*. For a *magadis* is an instrument that resembles a harp, as Anacreon (*PMG* 374, quoted at 14.634c) says, and was invented by the Lydians. This is why Ion in his *Omphale* (*TrGF* 19 F 22) refers to the Lydian women as harp-players, in the following passage:

But come, Lydian women who play the harp, singers
of ancient hymns—tend to the stranger!

The comic author Theophilus in *Neoptolemus* (fr. 7) uses the verb *magadizein* to refer to plucking the strings of a *magadis*, in the following passage:

It's a bad idea for a son, a father, and
a mother to sit on a wheel¹⁹⁴ and *magadizein*;
because none of us is going to sing the same song.

Euphorion in his *On the Isthmian Games* (fr. 8, *FHG* iii.73) says that the *magadis* is an ancient instrument, and that at some late point its shape changed and it came to be referred to as a *sambukê*; this instrument was particularly common on Mitylene, to the extent that the ancient sculptor Lesbothemis represented a Muse as holding one.¹⁹⁵ Menaechmus in his *On Artists* (*FGrH* 131 F 4a)¹⁹⁶ claims that Sappho (fr. 247) invented the *pêktis*, which he identifies with the *magadis*. Aristoxenus (fr. 99 Wehrli) (says) that the *magadis* and the *pêktis* can be played without a pick, by plucking the strings. Also that this is why Pindar, in

¹⁹⁴ A torture device.

¹⁹⁵ Very similar material appears at 4.182f. Lesbothemis' dates are unknown.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. 14.635e.

κέναι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰέρωνα σκολίῳ, τὴν μάγαδιν ὀνομάσαντα·

ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον,

διὰ τὸ διὰ δύο γενῶν ἅμα καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἔχειν τὴν
 c συνωδίαν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ παίδων. καὶ Φρύνιχος | δ' ἐν
 Φοινίσσαις εἶρηκε·

ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' αἰείδοντες μέλη.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς·

πολὺς δὲ Φρῦξ τρίγωνος ἀντίσπαστά <τε>
 Λυδῆς ἐφύμνει πηκτίδος συγχορδία.

διαποροῦσι δ' ἔνιοι ὅπως τῆς μαγάδιδος οὔσης κατὰ
 Ἀνακρέοντα < . . . > (ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε τὰ πολύχορδα
 ὀφθῆναι) μνημονεύων αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀνακρέων λέγει·

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι

† χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν † ἔχων,

ὦ Λεύκασπι.

d καὶ ὁ μὲν Ποσειδώνιος φησιν τριῶν μελωδιῶν | αὐτὸν
 μνημονεύειν, Φρυγίου τε <καὶ Δωρίου>⁵⁸ καὶ Λυδίου·

⁵⁸ add. Musurus

¹⁹⁷ Quoted at greater length at 14.635d–e, where it is clear that the “two types of instrument” in question (below) are the *pékktis* and the *barbitos*. Another fragment of the same poem is cited at 12.512d.

his skolion directed to Hieron (fr. 125.3),¹⁹⁷ says in reference to the *magadis*:

notes that responded to its sound,

because when the two types of instrument are played simultaneously an octave apart, the men's and the boys' parts match one another. So too Phrynichus says in *Phoenician Women* (*TrGF* 3 F 11):

singing songs that match one another in the plucking of their strings.

Also Sophocles in *Mysians* (fr. 412):¹⁹⁸

A Phrygian *trigônos* sounds repeatedly, and the many strings of a Lydian *pêktis* accompany it with answering notes.

Some authorities express bafflement at how it can be that, if the *magadis* was in Anacreon's time . . .¹⁹⁹—for multi-stringed instruments appeared at a relatively late date—Anacreon (*PMG* 374.1–3)²⁰⁰ says when he mentions it:

I play the harp, holding
a 20 † -stringed *magadis*, †
Leucaspis.

Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 107 = fr. 292 Edelstein–Kidd) claims that Anacreon mentions three melodic schemes, the Phrygian, the Doric, and the Lydian—these are the

¹⁹⁸ Quoted also at 4.183e.

¹⁹⁹ The lost portion of the text presumably included words to the effect of "only a four-stringed instrument" (cf. 14.634f–5a).

²⁰⁰ Quoted at slightly greater length at 14.634c.

ταύταις γὰρ μόναίς τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα κεχρηῆσθαι ὡς
 ἑπτὰ χορδαῖς ἐκάστης περαινομένης εἰκότως φάναί
 ψάλλειν αὐτὸν εἴκοσι χορδαῖς, τῷ ἀρτίῳ χρησάμενον
 ἀριθμῷ τὴν μίαν ἀφελόντα. ἀγνοεῖ δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος
 ὅτι ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ὄργανον ἢ μάγαδις, σαφῶς Πιν-
 δάρου λέγοντος τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἀντίφθογγον εὐρέην
 τῇ παρὰ Λυδοῖς πηκτίδι τὸν βάρβιτον·

τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρεν
 πρῶτος, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν

e ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς | ἀκούων πακτίδος.

πηκτίς δὲ καὶ μάγαδις ταυτόν, καθά φησιν ὁ Ἀρι-
 στοξένος καὶ Μέναιχμος ὁ Σικυώνιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ
 Τεχνιτῶν καὶ τὴν Σαπφῶ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, ἥτις ἐστὶν
 Ἀνακρέοντος πρεσβυτέρα, πρῶτην χρήσασθαι τῇ
 πηκτίδι. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέ-
 οντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων
 Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τε τοῖς
 ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις καὶ τοῖς καταλογάδην. ἐγένε-
 νετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ
 f εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, | ὡς Σωσίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ Χρόνων. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κιθαρῳδῶν,
 ὅπερ ἐστὶ πέμπτον Περὶ Ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκούργου
 τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃς ὑπὸ

201 Part of the third verse is quoted also at 14.635b.

202 Cf. 14.635b.

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only ones he uses—and that since each requires seven strings, it makes sense that he claims to play with 20 strings, because he is subtracting one and using a round number. But Posidonius is unaware that the *magadis* is an ancient instrument, since Pindar (fr. 125) asserts unambiguously that Terpander invented the *barbitos* to respond to the sound of the Lydian *pêktis*:²⁰¹

which Terpander of Lesbos in fact invented
at one point, hearing notes played on the high-
pitched
paktis at the Lydians' dinner parties, that responded
to its sound.

A *pêktis* and a *magadis* are the same instrument, according to Aristoxenus (fr. 98 Wehrli) and Menaechmus of Sicyon in his *On Artists* (FGrH 131 F 4b);²⁰² the latter authority adds that Sappho, who is earlier than Anacreon, was the first person to play the *pêktis*. That Terpander as well antedates Anacreon is apparent from the following: Terpander was the first victor at the Carneia festival,²⁰³ according to Hellanicus in both the metrical and the prose versions of his *Victories at the Carneia* (FGrH 4 F 85a). The Carneia was established in the 26th Olympiad,²⁰⁴ according to Sossibius in his *On Chronology* (FGrH 595 F 3). But Hieronymus in his *On Citharodes*—that is, Book V of *On Poets* (fr. 33 Wehrli)—says that Terpander was a contemporary of the lawgiver Lycurgus,²⁰⁵ who is universally and without

²⁰³ A major Spartan festival; cf. 4.141e–f.

²⁰⁴ 676–672 BCE.

²⁰⁵ Lycurgus (Poralla #499) was the legendary founder of the Spartan state.

πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσῳ διαθεῖναι. Εὐφορίων τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰσθμίων τὰ πολυχорδὰ φησι τῶν ὀργάνων ὀνόμασι μόνου παρηλάχθαι, παμπάλαιον δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν. ||
 636 Διογένης δ' ὁ τραγικὸς διαφέρειν πηκτίδα μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῇ Σεμέλῃ·

καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους
 Κυβέλης γυναικας, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν,
 τυπάνοισι καὶ ρόμβοισι καὶ χαλκοκτύπων
 βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι κυμβάλων

* * *

σοφὴν θεῶν ὑμνωδὸν ἰατρόν θ' ἄμα.
 κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας τε παρθένους
 ποταμῷ παροίκους Ἄλνι Τρωλίαν θεὸν
 δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος Ἄρτεμιν σέβειν |
 b ψαλμοῖς τριγῶνων πηκτίδων ἀντιζύγοις
 ὀλκοῖς κρεκούσας μάγαδιν, ἔνθα Περσικῷ
 νόμῳ ξενωθείς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς.

καὶ Φίλλις δ' ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Μουσικῆς διαφέρειν φησὶ πηκτίδα μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως φοίνικες, πηκτίδες, μαγάδιδες, σαμβύκαι, ἰαμβύκαι, τρίγωνα, κλεψίαμβοι, σκινδαψοί, ἐννεάχορδα. ἐν οἷς γάρ, φησί, τοὺς ἰάμβους ἦδον ἰαμβύκας ἐκάουν, ἐν

206 In 776 BCE.

207 Cf. 4.182f (where the same list is attributed to Aristoxenus) with n.

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dissent reported to have joined Iphitus of Elis in establishing the first numbered Olympic Games.²⁰⁶ And Euphorion in his *On the Isthmian Games* (fr. 8, *FHG* iii.73) claims that all that has changed in the case of multi-stringed instruments is the names used for them, and that they have been played for a very long time. The tragic author Diogenes (says) that a *pêktis* is different from a *magadis*, putting it as follows in his *Semele* (*TrGF* 45 F 1):

Indeed, I hear that the headband-wearing women
devoted to Asian Cybele, the children of the wealthy
Phrygians,
producing an uproar with drums, bull-roarers, and
the booming of bronze cymbals they hold in both
hands

* * *

a wise goddess, who is celebrated in song and also a
healer.

I hear too that the Lydian and Bactrian girls
who live on the banks of the Halys River worship the
Tmolian
goddess Artemis in her laurel-shaded sacred grove
with contrasting notes played on triangular *pêktides*,
plucking the strings of a *magadis*, where a pipe,
treated like a guest, conspires with choruses in a
Persian melody.

Phillis of Delos in Book II of *On Music* (fr. 2, *FHG* iv.476) likewise claims that a *pêktis* is different from a *magadis*, putting it as follows:²⁰⁷ *phoinikes*, *pêktides*, *magadides*, *sambukai*, *iambukai*, *trigôna*, *klepsiamboi*, *skindapsoi*, nine-strings. For they referred to the instruments played when they sang iambic poetry, he says, as *iambukes*, and to

c οἷς δὲ παρελογίζοντο τὰ ἐν ἰ τοῖς μέτροις κλεψι-
 άμβους, μαγάδιδας δὲ <ἐν οἷς>⁵⁹ τὰ διὰ πασῶν καὶ
 πρὸς ἴσα τὰ μέρη τῶν ἀδόντων ἡρμοσμένα. καὶ ἄλλα
 δ' ἦν παρὰ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ βάρβιτος ἢ βάρμος. καὶ
 ἄλλα πλείονα τὰ μὲν ἔγχορδα, τὰ δὲ ἔνηχα κατ-
 εσκευάζον.

Ἦν γὰρ δὴ τινα καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμφυσωμένων καὶ
 χορδαῖς διελλημμένων ἕτερα ψόφου μόνον παρασκευ-
 αστικά, καθάπερ τὰ κρέμβαλα. περὶ ὧν φησι Δι-
 καίαρχος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου, ἐπι-
 d χωριάσαι φάσκων ποτὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἰ εἰς τὸ
 προσορχεῖσθαι τε καὶ προσάδειν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὄρ-
 γανά τινα ποιά, ὧν ὅτε τις ἄπτοιτο τοῖς δακτύλοις
 ποιεῖν λιγυρὸν ψόφον· δηλοῦσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέ-
 μιδος ἄσματι, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή·

Ἄρτεμι, σοί μὲ † τι φρῆν ἐφίμερον
 ὕμνον νεναίτε ὄθεν
 ἀδε τις ἀλλὰ χρυσοφάνια †
 κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάραια χερσίν.

Ἐρμιππος δ' ἐν Θεοῖς τὸ τούτοις κρούειν κρεμβα-
 λιάζειν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

λεπάδας δὲ πετρῶν ἀποκόπτοντες
 κρεμβαλιάζουσιν.

Δίδυμος δὲ φησιν εἰσθέσθαι τινὰς ἀντὶ τῆς λύρας

⁵⁹ add. Kaibel

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those played when they misrepresented the metrical material as *klepsiamboi*,²⁰⁸ whereas *magadides* were the ones whose octave-intervals were arranged so that all the singers had an equal share of them. There were also other instruments in addition to these, for example the *barbitos* or *barmos*.²⁰⁹ They produced many others as well, some of them string instruments, others percussion instruments.

There were in fact other instruments, apart from the wind-instruments and those whose various tones are produced by strings, that merely make noise, as for example castanets. Dicaearchus discusses these in his *On the Greek Life-Style* (fr. 60 Wehrli = fr. 72 Mirhady), saying that at one point instruments of this type were extremely popular for women to dance and sing to, and that when a woman held them in her hands, they produced a high-pitched sound. Also that this is apparent from the song in honor of Artemis that begins (adesp. *PMG* 955):

Artemis, to you me † something mind desirable
 hymn [corrupt], whence
 [corrupt] someone but gold-[corrupt] †
 bronze-edged castanets in her hands.

Hermippus in *Gods* (fr. 31) uses the verb *krembaliazerein* to refer to clapping these together, in the following passage:

They knock limpets off rocks and *krembaliazousin*.

Didymus (pp. 250–1 Schmidt) claims that rather than

²⁰⁸ Allegedly cognate with *kleptô* (“steal, cheat”); but the explanation of the name has the ring of desperate and unlikely etymologizing.

²⁰⁹ Called the *barômos* at 4.182e (citing Euphorion).

κογχύλια καὶ ὄστρακα συγκρούοντας ἔρρυθμον |
 e ἦχόν τινα ἀποτελεῖν τοῖς ὀρχουμένοις, καθάπερ καὶ
 Ἀριστοφάνην ἐν Βατράχοις φάναι. Ἀρτέμων δ' ἐν τῷ
 πρώτῳ Περὶ Διονυσιακοῦ Συστήματος Τιμόθεόν φησι
 τὸν Μιλήσιον παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαι πολυχор-
 δοτέρῳ συστήματι χρῆσασθαι τῇ μαγάδι· διὸ καὶ
 παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν εὐθνυόμενον ὡς παραφθείροι τὴν
 ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν, καὶ μέλλοντός τινος ἐκτέμνειν
 αὐτοῦ τὰς περιττὰς τῶν χορδῶν, δείξαι παρ' αὐτοῖς
 f ὑπάρχοντα | Ἀπολλωνίσκον πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνταξιν
 ἰσόχορδον λύραν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀφεθῆναι. Δοῦρις δ' ἐν
 τῷ Περὶ Τραγωδίας ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ τὴν μάγαδιν
 ἀπὸ Μάγδιος Θρακὸς γένος. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῇ
 Πρὸς τὴν Ἀριστοκλέους Ἐπιστολῇ Ἀντιγραφῇ, ὃ
 νῦν, φησίν, ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ψαλτήριον, τοῦτ' εἶναι
 μάγαδιν, ὃ δὲ κλεψίαμβος κληθείς, ἔτι δ' ὁ τρίγωνος
 καὶ ὁ ἔλυμος καὶ τὸ ἐννεάχορδον ἀμαυρότερα τῇ χρεῖα
 καθέστηκεν. καὶ Ἀλκμὰν δέ φησιν·

< . . . > μάγαδιν δ' ἀποθέσθαι. ||

637 Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Θαμύρᾳ·

πηκταὶ δὲ λύραι καὶ μαγαδίδες
 τά τ' ἐν Ἑλλησι ξόαν' ἠδυμελῆ.

Τελέστης δ' ἐν Ὑμεναίῳ διθυράμβῳ πεντάχορδόν
 φησιν αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ τούτων·

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playing a lyre, some people make it a practice to strike shells or potsherds against one another to produce a rhythmic sound to accompany dancers, as Aristophanes says in *Frogs* (1304–6). Artemon in Book I of *On the Dionysiac Guild* (fr. 11, *FHG* iv.342) claims that Timotheus of Miletus is widely believed to have played a *magadis* equipped with an exceptionally large number of strings. This is why, when he was being called to account in Sparta for allegedly corrupting the ancient musical style, and someone was about to cut off his excess strings, he pointed out that they had a small statue of Apollo holding a lyre with the same number of strings as his own was strung with, and was acquitted. Duris in his *On Tragedy* (*FGrH* 76 F 28) claims that the *magadis* gets its name from Magdis, whose family was from Thrace. But Apollodorus says in his *Treatise in Response to Aristocles' Letter* (*FGrH* 244 F 219): What we refer to today as a *psaltêrion* is a *magadis*, whereas what was known as a *klepsiambos* has fallen out of use, as have the *trigônos*, the *elumos*,²¹⁰ and the nine-stringer. So too Alcman (*PMG* 101) says:

to set aside a *magadis*.

Sophocles in *Thamyra* (fr. 238):

carefully constructed lyres and *magadides*,
and the sweet-toned wooden instruments the Greeks
play.

Telestes in the dithyramb *Hymenaeus* (*PMG* 808) claims that the *magadis* has five strings, in the following passage:

²¹⁰ A type of pipe; cf. 4.176f with n.

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλαν κλαγγὰν ἰεῖς
 κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν
 πενταρράβδῳ χορδᾶν ἀρθμῶ
 χέρα καμψιδιάυλον ἀναστρωφῶν τάχος. |

- b οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὄργανον ᾧ τῶν Θρακῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις χρῶνται, ὡς φησιν Νικομήδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀρφείως. φοίνικα δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Ἔφορος καὶ Σκάμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Εὐρημάτων ὑπὸ Φοινίκων εὐρεθὲν ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν πρώτῳ Δηλιάδος διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ φοίνικος τοὺς ἀγκῶνας αὐτοῦ ἐξεργάσθαι. τῇ σαμβύκῃ πρώτην φησὶ χρήσασθαι Σίβυλλαν, ἧς Σκάμων
- c ὁ | προειρημένος < . . . > ὀνομασθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σάμβυκος τινός. καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος δὲ καλουμένου (ὄργανον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μουσικόν) ὁ προειρημένος Ἀρτέμων γράφει οὕτως· ὅθεν πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων οὐδ' εἰ γέγονέ ποτε γινώσκειται, καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου τρίπους· ὀλιγοχρόνιον γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν σχῶν ἢ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐργώδης εἶναι κατὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν ἢ δι' ἣν δὴ ποτ' οὖν αἰτίαν συντόμως καταλυθεῖς διαλέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἦν δὲ παραπλήσιος μὲν Δελφικῶ τρίποδι καὶ τοῦνομ' ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχευ, τὴν δὲ χρῆσιν τριπλῆς κιθάρας παρ-

²¹¹ I.e. a pick.

²¹² I.e. the famous palm tree to which Leto clung when she gave birth to Apollo (*h.Ap.* 117 with Allen-Halliday-Sikes ad loc.).

²¹³ I.e. the Sibyl, Apollo's prophetess/priestess, here treated as a specific historical individual.

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Each of them was producing a different noise,
stirring up the *magadis*, which gets its voice from a
bit of horn,²¹¹
with its set of five rod-like strings,
by rapidly moving his hand back and forth.

I also know of another instrument, which the Thracian kings play at their dinner parties, according to Nicomedes in his *On Orpheus* (*FGrH* 772 F 3). As for the instrument referred to as a *phoinix*, Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 4) and Scamon in his *On Inventions* (*FGrH* 476 F 4) (report that) it got this name from the fact that the Phoenicians (*Phoinikes*) invented it, whereas Semus of Delos in Book I of the *History of Delos* (*FGrH* 396 F 1) (claims that it was called this) because its ribs were made from the palm tree (*phoinix*) on Delos.²¹² He says that the first person to play the *sambukê* was Sibylla,²¹³ about whom the Scamon referred to above . . . ; it got its name from the fact that a certain Sambyx invented it. As for the so-called *tripous*, moreover—this is another musical instrument—the Artemon (fr. 12, *FHG* iv.342–3) mentioned above (14.636e) writes as follows: As a consequence of which, we do not even know if many of the instruments ever existed, as for example the *tripous* of Pythagoras of Zacynthus; for it was important for only a short period, either because it seemed to be difficult to play, or because it abruptly fell out of use for one reason or another and most people forgot about it. It resembled a Delphic tripod, hence its name, and was played like a triple lyre. For its feet rested on a base that

είχετο· τῶν γὰρ ποδῶν ἐστῶτων ἐπὶ τινος βάσεως
 d εὐστρόφου, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν περιάκτων δίφρων | κατα-
 σκευάζονται θέσεις, τὰς μέσας τρεῖς χώρας τὰς ἀπὸ
 ποδὸς ἐπὶ πόδα διεστῶσας ἐνέτεινε χορδαῖς, ὑπερθεῖς
 ἐκάστη πῆχυν καὶ κάτω προσαρμόσας χορδοτόνια,
 καὶ τὸν ἐπάνω κόσμον κοινὸν τοῦ λέβητος καὶ τῶν
 παρηρητημένων † ἐνίων † ἀποδούς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν
 φαντασίαν εἶχεν ἀστείαν καὶ τὸν ἦχον προσέβαλλεν
 ἀδρότερον. διένειμεν δὲ τὰς τρεῖς χώρας ταῖς τρισὶν
 ἀρμονίαις τῇ τε Δωριστὶ καὶ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ Λυδιστὶ
 καὶ καθεζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τινος δίφρου περὶ ταῦτον
 συμμέτρως ἔχοντα τῇ συστάσει, διείρας δὲ τὴν
 εὐώνυμον χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ
 e χρησόμενος τῷ πλήκτρῳ, | καθ' ὁποίαν δὴ πρώτῃν
 ἤρείτο τῶν ἀρμονιῶν μετέστρεφε τῷ ποδὶ τὴν βάσιν
 εὐτροχον⁶⁰ οὔσαν, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν πλευρὰν πάλιν
 ἐπιβάλλων ἐχρήτο καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν. οὕτω δ' ὀξέως
 ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα προσῆγεν αὐτῷ τὰ συστήματα ἢ τῆς
 βάσεως εὐκινησία τῷ ποδὶ ψανομένη καὶ τὴν χει-
 ροθεσίαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰθίσθη κατοξύνειν ὥστ', εἴ τις
 μὴ συννορή τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς μόνον
 κρίνοι, νομίζειν τριῶν κιθαρῶν ἀκούειν διαφόρως ἡρ-
 μοσμένων. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄργανον θαυμαστὴν ἰσχυρῶς
 μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου βίον ἐξέλιπεν εὐθέως.

Τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρώτόν φησιν Μέναιχμος
 f εἰσαγαγεῖν | Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, τῇ ἡλικίᾳ

⁶⁰ εὐτροχον δ' A: δ' del. Musurus

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could be turned easily, in the same way that the seats of rotating stools are constructed; the three spaces between the legs had strings stretched across them; it had a bridge that extended over the top of each space, and was fitted on the bottom with tail-pieces that kept the strings taut; and the upper portion resembled a combination of a bowl and [corrupt] attached to it, which gave it a sophisticated appearance and made the sound more robust. He assigned each of the three spaces to one of the three scales (that is, the Doric, the Phrygian, and the Lydian); he himself would sit on a stool constructed to match its proportions, extending his left hand to hold the instrument and wielding the pick with the other, and would turn the base, which rotated easily, with his foot, depending on which scale he had chosen to begin with, and would then move on to play another side, and another one after that. The rapid movement of the base, when he touched it with his foot, brought the various sets of strings beneath his hands so quickly, and he had become accustomed to manipulating it so dazzlingly fast, that if you did not see what was going on but simply judged on the basis of what you heard, you would think that you were listening to three lyres with different tunings. Although this instrument was regarded with considerable awe, it fell out of use immediately after he died.

Menaechmus (*FGrH* 131 F 5) claims that Aristonicus of Argos,²¹⁴ who was a contemporary of Archilochus²¹⁵ and

²¹⁴ Stephanis #366.

²¹⁵ Archilochus belongs to the mid- to late-7th century BCE.

γενόμενον κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον, κατοικήσαντα ἐν Κορκύρα. Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Ἀθίδος, Λύσανδρος φησὶν, ὁ Σικυώνιος κιθαριστῆς πρῶτος μετέστησε τὴν ψιλοκιθαριστικὴν, μακροὺς τοὺς τόνους ἐντείνας κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν εὐογκοῦ ποιήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔναυλον κιθάρισιν, ἣ πρῶτοι οἱ περὶ Ἐπίγονου ἢ ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ περιελὼν τὴν συντομίαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς κιθαρισταῖς χρώματά τε εὐχρῶα πρῶτος ἐκθάρισε καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ μάγαδι,⁶¹ καὶ ὄργανον μετέλαβεν μόνος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρῶγμα αὐξήσας χορὸν περιεστήσατο πρῶτος. Δίωνα δὲ τὸν Χίον τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου σπονδεῖον πρῶτον κιθαρίσαι Μέναιχμος. Τιμόμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς Στήσανδρον λέγει τὸν Σάμιον ἐπὶ πλείον αὐξήσαι τὴν τέχνην καὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρωδήσαι | τὰς καθ' Ὅμηρον μάχας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀδυσσεείας. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτόν φασιν παρ' Ἐλευθερναίοις κιθαρίσαι τὰς ἐρωτικὰς ᾠδὰς Ἀμῆτορα τὸν Ἐλευθερναῖον, οὗ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἀμητορίδας καλεῖσθαι. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ φησιν· ὥσπερ τῶν ἑξαμέτρων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ γελοῖον παρωδᾶς εὔρον, οὕτως καὶ τῆς κιθαρωδίας πρῶτος Οἰνώπας· ὃν ἐζήλωσαν Πολύευκτός τε ὁ

⁶¹ μάγαδι τὸν καλούμενον συριγμόν A: τὸν καλούμενον συριγμόν del. Olson

²¹⁶ Stephanis #1573. ²¹⁷ Or "by Epigonus and his students." Epigonus is Stephanis #855. ²¹⁸ Presumably to be identified with the *iambukai* mentioned in 14.636b.

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lived on Corcyra, was the first person to play a lyre without singing along to it. But Philochorus says in Book III of the *History of Attica* (FGrH 328 F 23): The lyre-player Lysander of Sicyon²¹⁶ was the first person to move to a style of lyre-playing that involved no singing, by tuning the strings higher and giving them a full sound, and to one that produced something resembling pipe-music, a style Epigonus pioneered.²¹⁷ Lysander eliminated the plain style that prevailed among lyre-players who did not sing along with the music, and was the first person to introduce colorful modulations when he played *iamboi*²¹⁸ or a *magadis*. No one before him had made one instrument sound like another, and by expanding his craft he became the first musician to establish a group around him. Menaechmus (FGrH 131 F 6) (reports) that Dion of Chios²¹⁹ was the first person to play a libation-song in honor of Dionysus on the lyre. Timomachus in his *History of Cyprus* (FGrH 754 F 1) claims that Stesandrus of Samos²²⁰ expanded the art considerably and was the first person to play the lyre while he sang the battle-scenes in Homer, beginning with the *Odyssey*, in Delphi. Other authorities report that erotic songs were first played on the lyre at Eleuthernae by Ametor of Eleuthernae,²²¹ whose descendants are known as the Ametoridae. Aristoxenus (fr. 136 Wehrli) says: In the same way that some people made up parodies of hexameter lines in order to be amusing,²²² so too Oenopas²²³ invented parodies of citharodic performances; Polyeuctus of Achaea

²¹⁹ Stephanis #792.

²²⁰ Stephanis #2301.

²²¹ Stephanis #152.

²²² E.g. Matro of Pitane (4.134d-

7c) and Hegemon of Thasos (15.698d-9a).

²²³ Stephanis #1933; cf. 1.19f-20a (where he is called Oenonas).

Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Κυναιθεύς. καὶ μοχθηρῶν δὲ ἄσμάτων γεγόνασι ποιηταί, περὶ ὧν φησι Φαινίας ὁ
 c Ἐρέσιος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τοὺς Ἱ Σοφιστὰς γράφων οὕτως·
 Τελένικος ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀργᾶς ποιηταὶ μοχθη-
 ρῶν ὄντες νόμων πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἴδιον χαρακτήρα τῆς
 ποιήσεως εὐπόρουσι, τῶν δὲ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Φρύνιδος
 νόμων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠδύναντο ἐπιβαῦσαι. τοῦ
 Ἀργᾶ μνημονεύει Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἀποβάτῃ οὕτως·

(A.) Χορόνικος <ὁ> ποιητῆς ὀδί.

(B.) τίνων ποιητῆς ἄσμάτων; (A.) σεμνῶν πάνυ.

(B.) τί πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν οὗτος; (A.) ἡμέρας

δρόμῳ

κρείττων.

καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ· ἰ

d ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυνῆς τις εἶναι φαίνεται·
 ὡς δ' εὐρύθμως λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον
 εἶτ' ἐσχεδίασε δριμέως † ενπαπαι †
 μεστὸς γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν βούλομαι
 κωδωνίσας πέμψαι σ' ἀγωνιούμενον,
 ἵνα καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστὰς, ᾧ φίλε.

ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους ποιήσας Πτω-

²²⁴ Stephanis #2095 and 702, respectively.

²²⁵ Stephanis #292; cf. 4.131b with n. Telenicus is otherwise unknown.

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and Diocles of Cynaetha²²⁴ followed his example. There have also been poets who produced depraved songs. Phaenias of Eresus discusses them in his *Response to the Sophists* (fr. 10 Wehrli), where he writes as follows: Telenicus of Byzantium, along with Argas,²²⁵ were poets who produced indecent tunes; although they were successful with their own type of poetry, they were unable to come anywhere near to the tunes of Terpander and Phrynis. Alexis in *The Chariot-Acrobat* (fr. 19) mentions Argas, as follows:

(A.) This poet here's Choronikus.

(B.) What sort of songs does he write? (A.) They're very distinguished.

(B.) How does he compare to Argas? (A.) He's miles and miles²²⁶ ahead.

Also Anaxandrides in *Heracles* (fr. 16):

Because he looks like someone with natural talent.
Since after he picked up his instrument gracefully,
he then improvised piercingly [corrupt].
I've had enough of testing you; I want
to send you to compete against Argas,
so that you too can defeat the sophists, my friend!

The author of the *Beggars* attributed to Chionides (fr. 4)²²⁷

²²⁶ Literally "a day's run."

²²⁷ Similar doubts about the play's authorship are expressed at 4.137e (contrast 3.119e).

χοὺς Γνησίππου τινὸς μνημονεύει παιγνιαγράφου τῆς
 ἰλαρᾶς μούσης, λέγων οὕτως·

e ταῦτ' οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδ' ὁ Κλεομένης
 ἐν | ἐννέ' ἄν χορδαῖς κατεγλυκάνατο.

καὶ ὁ τοὺς Εἴλωτας δὲ πεποιηκῶς φησιν·

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
 ἀρχαίου αἰεῖδειν, ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν.
 κείνος νυκτερὶν' ἠῦρε μοιχοῖς αἰείσματ'
 ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
 γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

τίς ἄρ' ἔρωτα † μοιδεν † ᾧ Γνήσιππε, ἐγὼ †
 πολλῇ χολῇ †;
 οἶμαι < . . . > μηδὲν οὕτως μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ
 κενόν.

σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ἐν Βουκόλοις· |

f ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,
 τῷ Κλεομάχου δ', ὃν οὐκ ἄν ἠξίουν ἐγὼ
 ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἄν εἰς Ἀδώνια.

²²⁸ Stephanis #556; PAA 279680. The name is rare, and this is presumably the same man as the tragic poet (PAA 279690; TrGF 27) referred to below as the "son of Cleomachus."

²²⁹ Perhaps to be identified with the dithyrambic poet Cleomenes of Rhegium, mentioned at 9.402a.

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mentions a certain Gnesippus,²²⁸ who wrote witty little pieces of humorous poetry, saying the following:

By Zeus—Gnesippus and Cleomenes²²⁹ couldn't have made
this palatable, even if they'd used nine strings!

So too the author of *Helots* (Eup. fr. 148) says:

Singing the works of Stesichorus, Alcman,
and Simonides is old-fashioned; but you can hear
Gnesippus!
He invented night-time songs for adulterers holding
harps²³⁰
to use to summon women out to them.

Cratinus in *Soft Men* (fr. 104):

Who, then, love [corrupt], Gnesippus, I [corrupt]?
I don't think anything . . . is so stupid and vacuous!

He also makes fun of him for his poetry in *Cowherds* (fr. 17):

who didn't offer Sophocles a chorus when he asked
for one,
but gave one to Cleomachus' son, who *I* wouldn't
have thought
deserved to serve as my trainer even for the
Adonia!²³¹

²³⁰ Literally "an *iambukê* or a *trigônos*." ²³¹ The Adonia was a women's festival that involved drinking and dancing; the speaker's point is not that it actually featured state-sponsored dramatic choruses but that the poetry of Cleomachus' son is better suited to such depraved settings—if even to them.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὠραῖς·

ἔγω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας
ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
† μετὰ τῶν † παρατιλιτριῶν
ἔχων χορὸν Λυδιστὶ τιλ-
λουσῶν μέλη πονηρά. ||

639 Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Στερροῖς καὶ περὶ μοιχείας ἀναστρέφεισθαί φησιν αὐτόν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐρωτικῶν τὰ ἐρωτικά φησιν ἄσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφούς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν. ἔτι δὲ τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου Ἐπικιχλίδων τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμμέτρου ποιήσεως τούτων ἔχεταιί τινος τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἀσωποδώρου περὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιστολῶν γένος ἐρωτικῆς τινος διὰ λόγου ποιήσεώς ἐστιν.

b Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου διεξεληθόντος | περιηγήχθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ αἱ δεύτεραι καλούμεναι τράπεζαι, πολλάκις ἡμῖν διδόμεναι οὐ μόνον ταῖς τῶν Κρονίων ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς Ῥωμαίων παισὶν <ἔθος ἐστίν>⁶² ἐστὶ ἂν τοὺς οἰκέτας, αὐτοὺς τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀναδεχομένους λειτουργίας. Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος. ἐν Κρήτῃ γοῦν τῇ τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἑορτῇ τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται,

⁶² ἔθος ἐστὶν Musurus: ἔθος ἦν CE

²³² Literally *didaskalos* ("trainer"); but the word is routinely used to refer to the poet himself.

²³³ *melê*, with a pun on another sense of the word, "songs."

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And in his *Seasons* (fr. 276):

And let the tragic poet,²³²
 Cleomachus' son, go
 † with his † along with a chorus
 of hair-pluckers, plucking their
 nasty limbs²³³ in the Lydian style.

Teleclides in his *Tough Guys* (fr. 36) claims that Gnesippus spent his time seducing women. Clearchus in Book II of the *Erotica* (fr. 33 Wehrli) says that erotic songs and the so-called *Lokrika*²³⁴ are no different from the poems of Sappho and Anacreon. So too Archilochus' poetry and most of Homer's *For Thrushes*,²³⁵ which are composed in meter, have some connection with these passions, while Asopodorus' essays on Eros²³⁶ (*SH* 223) and the entire genre of erotic epistles represent a type of erotic poetry written in prose.

After Masurius completed these lengthy remarks, what are referred to as the second tables were brought around for us; we were frequently offered them, and not just during the Cronia²³⁷ festival, when the Romans customarily provide a meal for their household slaves and take over the slaves' duties themselves. This is a Greek custom. Something similar happens, for example, during the Hermaia

²³⁴ See 15.697b–c for an example of the genre (= carm. pop. *PMG* 853).

²³⁵ Cf. 2.65b (where one ought perhaps to translate "to the boys" rather than "to the children").

²³⁶ Cf. 10.445b (which makes it clear that Asopodorus was in fact a prose author); 14.631f. ²³⁷ The Greek name for the Saturnalia (referred to again briefly at 14.639e, where see n.).

ὡς φησι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν
 εὐωχουμένων γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ δεσπότες ὑπηρε-
 τοῦσιν πρὸς τὰς διακονίας. καὶ ἐν Τροιζήνι δὲ μηνὶ
 c Γεραιστίῳ· πανήγυρις | δὲ τότε γίνεται πολυήμερος,
 ἧς ἐν μιᾷ οἱ δούλοι μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν κοινῇ τε ἀστρα-
 γαλίζουσιν καὶ οἱ κύριοι τοὺς δούλους ἐστιῶσιν, ὡς ὁ
 αὐτὸς φησιν Καρύστιος. Βήρωσος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Βαβυ-
 λωνιακῶν τῷ Λῶφ φησὶ μηνὶ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ ἄγεσθαι
 ἑορτὴν Σάκαια προσαγορευομένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ
 ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐν αἷς ἔθος εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς δεσπό-
 τας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀφηγεῖσθαι τε τῆς οἰκίας ἕνα
 αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βασιλικῇ, ὃν καὶ
 καλεῖσθαι ζωγάνην. μνημονεύει τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ Κτη-
 d σίας | ἐν δευτέρῳ Περσικῶν. Κῶιοι δὲ τοῦναντίον
 δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ Κωακῶν· ὅταν
 γὰρ τῇ Ἡρᾷ θύωσιν, δούλοι οὐ παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τὴν
 εὐωχίαν. διὸ καὶ Φύλαρχον εἰρηκένας·

† σουριμη † μῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοί,
 ἀνδράσι † προσκεινοῖσιν † ἐλεύκθερον ἄμαρ
 ἔχοντες·

δούλων δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἡβαιόν.

Βάτων δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεσσαλίας |
 e καὶ Αἰμονίας σαφῶς ἐμφανίζει τὴν τῶν Σατουρναλίων
 ἑορτὴν Ἑλληνικωτάτην, φάσκων αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς

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festival on Crete, according to Carystius in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 13, *FHG* iv.358–9, including the description of the customs in Troezen below); for while the household slaves feast, their masters do all the work connected with the serving. So too in Troezen during the month of Geraistios: a multi-day festival takes place then, and on one day the slaves play knucklebones along with the citizens, and the masters provide their slaves with a meal, according to the same Carystius. Berosus in Book I of the *History of Babylon* (*FGrH* 680 F 2) says that a festival known as the Sakaia is celebrated in Babylon on the 16th day of the month Lôos; it lasts for five days, during which the custom is for the domestic slaves to rule their masters, and one of them has authority over the household and wears something known as a *zôganê* that resembles a king's robes. Ctesias also mentions the festival in Book II of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 688 F 4). The Coans do the opposite, according to Macareus in Book III of the *History of Cos* (*FGrH* 456 F 1b),²³⁸ for when they sacrifice to Hera, no slaves attend the feast, which is why Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 84 = *SH* 694A) says:

[corrupt] free men alone carry out the rites,
to/for men [corrupt], to whom belongs the day of
freedom;
but no slave at all enters even for a moment.

The orator Bato of Sinope in his *On Thessaly and Haemonia* (*FGrH* 268 F 5) brings out the strikingly Greek character of the Saturnalia festival²³⁹ clearly, claiming that

²³⁸ Cf. 6.262c (a slightly fuller citation of the passage).

²³⁹ Celebrated in Rome in late December.

Θεσσαλοῖς Πελώρια καλεῖσθαι, γράφων οὕτως· θυσί-
 ας κοινῆς τοῖς Πελασγοῖς γινομένης ἀπαγγεῖλαί τινα
 τῷ Πελασγῷ ἄνδρα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Πέλωρος, διότι ἐν τῇ
 Αἰμονίᾳ σεισμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων ῥαγεῖη τὰ Τέμ-
 πη ὄρη ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ διότι διὰ τοῦ διαστήματος
 ὀρμήσαν τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ τοῦ
 Πηγειοῦ ρεῖθρον, καὶ τὴν πρότερον λιμνάζουσαν χώ-
 f ραν ἄπασαν | γεγυμνωσθαι καὶ ἀναξηρανομένων 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 ὃ τι ἔχοι παρ' αὐτῷ βέλτιστον καὶ
 παρατιθέναι ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῷ ἀπαγγεῖλαντι, καὶ
 αὐτὸν τὸν Πελασγὸν προθύμως διακονεῖν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντας ὑπηρετεῖν, καθότι
 ἐκάστῳ ὁ καιρὸς παρέπιπτεν. διόπερ, φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὴν
 640 χώραν κατέσχον, ἀπομίμημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐορ-
 τῆς < . . . > καὶ θύοντας Διὶ Πελωρίῳ || τραπέζας τε
 λαμπρῶς κοσμοῦντας παρατιθέναι καὶ οὕτως φιλάν-
 θρωπον⁶³ τὴν πανήγυριν συντελεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 ξένους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην παραλαμβάνειν καὶ
 τοὺς δεσμώτας λύειν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας κατακλίναντας
 μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἐστιᾶν, διακοινοῦντων αὐτοῖς
 τῶν δεσποτῶν· καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἔτι καὶ νῦν Θεσσαλοὺς
 μεγίστην ἐορτὴν ἄγοντας προσαγορεύειν Πελώρια.

⁶³ φιλάνθρωπόν τε A: del. Musurus

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the Thessalians refer to it as the Peloria, and writing as follows: When the Pelasgians were carrying out a public sacrifice, a man named Pelorus brought Pelasgus a message, to the effect that there had been major earthquakes in Haemonia, producing a rift in what is known as the Tempe Range; that the lake-water had rushed out through the gap and joined the course of the Peneius River, and the land that had previously been at the bottom of the lake had all been exposed; and that as the water dried up, extraordinarily large and beautiful plains were emerging. When Pelasgus heard the news, therefore, he set his table, which was covered with a large amount of food intended for him, in front of Pelorus. Everyone else similarly expressed their warm feelings by taking the finest item of food they had and setting it on the table for the man who had brought the message; and Pelasgus himself enthusiastically served him, with the other important people assisting him wherever an opportunity arose. This is why, they say, after they took control of the territory, as an imitation of the festival that occurred at that time . . . and they sacrifice to Zeus Pelorias and set out tables covered with spectacular food. They make the festival so hospitable, that they welcome all visitors to the meal, and release their prisoners; and they have their domestic slaves lie down, and then serve them a feast, during which the slaves may say anything they like, and the masters do all the serving. To sum up, even today this is the most important festival the Thessalians celebrate, and they refer to it as the Peloria.

Πολλάκις οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν τοιούτων ἡμῖν παρατιθεμένων ἐπιδορπισμάτων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων |

b αἱ δευτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.

τί γὰρ ποθεῖ τράπεζα; τῷ δ' οὐ βρίθεται;
πλήρης μὲν ὄψων ποντίων, πάρεισι δὲ
μόσχων τέρειναι σάρκες χηνεῖα τε δαῖς
καὶ πεπτὰ καὶ κροτητὰ τῆς ξουθοπτέρου
πελανῶ μελίσσης ἀφθόνως δεδευμένα,

φησὶν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κρήσσαις. καὶ ὡς ὁ Εὐβουλος
δ' ἐν Ὀλβία ἔφη·

(A.) ἐν τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ πωλήσεται
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις· σῦκα, (B.) κλητῆρες (A.)
βότρυς, |

c γογγυλίδες, ἄπιοι, μῆλα, (B.) μάρτυρες (A.)
ρόδα,

μέσπιλα, χόρια, σχαδόνας, ἐρέβινθοι, (B.) δίκαι
(A.) πυός, πυριάτη, μύρτα, (B.) κληρωτήρια
(A.) ὑάκινθος, ἄρνες, (B.) κλεψύδραι, νόμοι,
γραφαί.

μέλλοντος οὖν τοῦ Ποντιανοῦ λέγειν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν
παρακειμένων, οὐ πρότερόν γε, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός,

²⁴⁰ Alluding to the "second tables" discussed in what follows.

²⁴¹ Beestings (*puos*) is the first milk a sheep or goat produces after giving birth, and *puriatê* (here translated "cottage cheese") is beestings that have been heated and curdled.

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Since, as I noted (14.639b), we were repeatedly served after-dinner snacks (*epidorpismata*) of this sort, one of the guests said (E. *Hipp.* 436):

Somehow second thoughts²⁴⁰ are wiser.

For what does the table lack? With what is it not laden?

It is full of seafood; but also present is the tender flesh of calves, and a meal that consists of a goose, and baked and kneaded cakes liberally drenched with the liquid produced by the auburn-winged honeybee,

as Euripides puts it in *Cretan Women* (fr. 467). And as Eubulus said in *Olbia* (fr. 74):

(A.) Because everything will be sold all together in the same spot in Athens: figs, (B.) summons-officers! (A.) grapes, turnips, pears, apples, (B.) witnesses! (A.) roses, medlars, after-birth pudding, honeycomb, chickpeas, (B.) lawsuits!
(A.) beestings, cottage cheese,²⁴¹ myrtle-berries, (B.) allotment machines!²⁴²
(A.) hyacinth, lambs, (B.) waterclocks, laws, indictments!

As Pontianus, then, was about to begin discussing the individual items we had been served, Ulpian said: We are not

²⁴² To pick the individual jurors assigned to various law courts; see Dow, *HSCP* 50 (1939) 1-34.

ἀκουσόμεθα περὶ τούτων, ἕως ἂν περὶ ἐπιδορπισμάτων εἴπῃς. καὶ ὁ Ποντιανός· τραγήματα Κράτης φησὶ Φιλιππίδην λέγειν ἐν Φιλαργύρῳ οὕτως· |

- d πλακοῦντες, ἐπιδορπίσματ', ὦά, σήσαμα·
ὄλην λέγοντ' ἂν μ' ἐπιλίποι τὴν ἡμέραν.

καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Τελεσίᾳ·

(A.) τράγημα, μυρτίδες, πλακοῦς, ἀμυγδαλαῖ.

(B.) ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦθ' ἠδιστά γ' ἐπιδορπίζομαι.

Σώφιλος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ·

ἡδύ γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν Ἑλλήνων αἰεὶ
συνάγειν. τὸ πρᾶγμα χάριεν· οὐχὶ δώδεκα
κνάθους" ἀνεβόησέν τις, "ὑποχεῖς; κωμάσαι
πρὸς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν δεῖ γάρ, ἵν' ἐκεῖ
κατακλιθεῖς
ἐπιδορπίσῃται τὰς ὀνείας ματτύας." |

- e Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ μεταδόρπια αὐτὰ καλεῖ ἐν
τούτοις· πάντα τε εὐώδη ἔφερε που τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἢ
γῆ, καὶ τὸν ἡμερον δὲ καρπὸν πλείστον ἔφερεν καὶ
ἀκροδρύων πλήθος καὶ ὅσα παραμύθια ἡδονῆς μετα-

²⁴³ "after-dinner snacks"; cf. 14.640a.

²⁴⁴ Sc. of time to complete the catalogue.

²⁴⁵ The first verse is quoted also at 2.52f (with *trôgalia* for *tragêma*, and a different form of the final word).

²⁴⁶ As again in Sophil. fr. 5.5 below, it is not actually the noun but the cognate verb *epidorpizomai* that is used.

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going to hear about these until you offer some remarks about the term *epidorpismata*.²⁴³ Pontianus (responded): Crates (fr. 112 Broggiato) claims that Philippides in *The Miser* (fr. 20) refers in this way to *tragêmata* ("snacks, dainties"):

flat-cakes, *epidorpismata*, eggs, sesame-seeds;
if I talked all day, I'd still run short.²⁴⁴

Also Diphilus in *Telesias* (fr. 80):²⁴⁵

(A.) a snack (*tragêma*), myrtle-berries, a cake,
almonds.

(B.) These are my favorite *epidorpismata*!²⁴⁶

Sophilus in *The Deposit* (fr. 5):

It's always nice to get together with
Greeks! It's a pleasant occasion; somebody shouts
"Pour a dozen ladlesful! Because we've got to get
drunk and
go visit the girl from Tanagra, so a person can lie
down there
and have an after-dinner snack (*epidorpisma*) of
donkey hash!"

Plato in his *Account of Atlantis* (*Criti.* 115a–b, altered and condensed) refers to them as *metadorpia* in the following passage: Somehow the land produced fragrant plants of all sorts for its inhabitants; it also produced large quantities of domesticated crops, and a great deal of fruit and nuts, and all the *metadorpia* that stimulate pleasure.²⁴⁷ Tryphon (fr.

²⁴⁷ The traditional text of Plato says "that produce satiety, make one feel full."

δόρπια. Τρύφων δέ φησι τὸ παλαιὸν πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς δαιτυμόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκάστου μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλά τε καὶ ποικίλα ἐπεισφέρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι. Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ φησὶν περὶ τῶν δευτέρων τραπεζῶν λέγων·

ἀμνυδάλια, καρύδι', ἐπιφορήματα.

καὶ Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἑρακλεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν πρώτῃ καὶ ἐπιδορπίσασθαι δ' ἔλεγον τὸ ἐντραγεῖν καὶ ἐπι
 f δειπνήσαι.⁶⁴ ἄπερ | Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἑρακλεῖ Γαμοῦντι
 ἐπιφορήματα καλεῖ διὰ τούτων· † ἰτρίοις ἐπιφορήμασι
 τ' ἄλλοις γέμουσα. † καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
 641 σιτίοις δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολ-
 λοῖς. || τὸ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν λεγόμενον Ἄβυ-
 δηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα τέλος τί ἐστὶν ἐλλιμένιον,⁶⁵ ὡς
 Ἀριστείδης φησὶν ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Παροιμιῶν. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος· τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πρὶν
 εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς δαιτυμόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι
 τὴν ἐκάστου μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλά <τε καὶ>⁶⁶
 ποικίλα ἐπιφέρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι. |

⁶⁴ Kaibel deletes the entire section of text from Τρύφων δέ το ἐπιδειπνήσαι. ⁶⁵ καὶ ἐλλιμένιον A: καὶ del. Kaibel

⁶⁶ cf. 14.640e

²⁴⁸ The material that follows (from Tryphon, Philyllius, Archippus, and Herodotus) all appears a second time, in a different order and a slightly expanded form, below.

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136 Velsen)²⁴⁸ claims that in ancient times, before the dinner guests entered the room, each man's share of the food was set on the tables, and that afterward many additional items of various sorts were brought in (*epeispheresthai*), which is why they were referred to as *epiphorêmata*. Philyllius in *The Well-Digger* (fr. 18), discussing the second tables, says:

little almonds, little nuts, *epiphorêmata*.

Also Archippus in *Heracles* (fr. 11) and Herodotus in Book I (133.2).²⁴⁹ They also used the verb *epidorpisasthai* to mean "to snack" and "to eat something after dinner."²⁵⁰ Archippus in *Heracles Getting Married* (fr. 11, unmetrical) refers to them as *epiphorêmata* in the following passage: † loaded with *itria*²⁵¹ and other *epiphorêmata* †. Likewise Herodotus in Book I (133.2): They do not eat much bread or cake, but consume many *epiphorêmata*. What is referred to in the proverb as an "*epiphora* from Abydos" is actually some type of harbor tax, according to Aristides in Book III of *On Proverbs*.²⁵² Tryphon's student Dionysius: In ancient times, before the dinner guests entered the room, each man's share of the food was set on the tables; afterward many additional items of various sorts were brought in (*epeispheresthai*), which is why they were referred to as *epiphorêmata*. Philyllius in *The Well-Digger*

²⁴⁹ Quoted at 4.144a and again (at less length) below.

²⁵⁰ See 14.641b n.

²⁵¹ Cakes of some sort; cf. 14.646d.

²⁵² Cf. Zenob. I.1.

- b Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι λέγων ὧδε·

ἀμυγδάλια, καρύδι', ἐπιφορήματα.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Μενέλεω ἐπιτραπεζώματα αὐτὰ καλεῖ οἶον τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα ταῖς τραπέζαις βρώματα, λέγων οὕτως·

(A.) εἰπέ μοι,

ὡς ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων; |

- c (B.) ὁ γὰρ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς αὐτὰ κατέφαγεν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης τὰ τραγήματ' ἀφῆσιν λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τρωγάλια· ὡσεὶ γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμὸν εἶναι. Πίνδαρος δέ ἐστιν ὁ εἰπών·

δείπνου δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὴ τρωγάλιον
καίπερ πεδ' ἄφθονον βοράν.

ὄντως γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀποβλέψαντα ἔστιν εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα εἰπεῖν·

ὁρᾶς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδὺς βίος.

ὅτι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αἱ δευτέραι τραπέζαι πολυτελῶς μεμεριμνημέναι, παρίστησεν Πίνδαρος ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις περὶ τῆς Πέλοπος κρουραίας διηγούμενος·

²⁵³ The second verse is quoted also at 4.171a.

²⁵⁴ Aristotle's comment is cited in a more complete form at 14.641d–e. *trôgalia* is cognate with *trôgô* ("nibble on, eat"), while

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(fr. 18), discussing the food brought in after dinner was over, (puts it) thus:

little almonds, little nuts, *epiphorêmata*.

Plato in *Menelaus* (fr. 76) refers to these items as *epitrapezômata*, that is, as the foods placed upon (*epi-*) the tables (*trapezai*), putting it as follows:²⁵³

(A.) Tell me—

how come there's so little left of the *epitrapezômata*?

(B.) Because that bastard gobbled them down!

Aristotle in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 674) claims that the ancients referred to *tragêmata* as *trôgalia*; for they are, as it were, an *epidorpismôn*.²⁵⁴ Pindar (fr. 124c)²⁵⁵ is the one who said:

A *trôgalion* is tasty when dinner is coming to an end, even if it follows an immense amount of food.

For one actually can, to quote Euripides (fr. 1052.3), look at what has been served and say:

You see how pleasant life is when your table's full!

Since the fact that the ancients put considerable thought and expense into their second tables is established by Pindar in the *Olympian Victory Odes* (1.50–2), when he describes how Pelops was butchered:²⁵⁶

an *epidorpismôn* (cf. 14.640e *epidorpisasthai*) is literally "something eaten after (*epi*) dinner (*dorpon*)." ²⁵⁵ Other portions of the fragment are preserved at 11.782d, 480c.

²⁵⁶ The mythical king Tantalus butchered his son Pelops and served him to the gods, to see if they could tell what they were eating; Demeter (who was distracted by the loss of her daughter Persephone) ate Pelops' shoulder.

- d τραπέζισι δ⁶⁷ ἀμφὶ δεύκτερα⁶⁸ κρεῶν |
 σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον.
 ἔμοι δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαρ-
 γον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν.

οἱ δὲ παλαιότεροι ἀπλῶς τραπέζας ἔλεγον, ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς
 ἐν Ἡφαίστῳ σατυρικῶ·

- (Δι.) θοίνῃ σε πρῶτον τέρψομεν· πάρεστι δέ.
 (Ηφ.) τὸ δεύτερον <δὲ> τῷ με κηλήσεις τρόπῳ;
 (Δι.) μύρῳ σε χρίσω πάμπαν εὐόσμῳ δέμας.
 (Ηφ.) ὕδωρ δὲ νῦναι χεῖρας οὐ πρόσθεν δίδως;
 (Δι.) ἦνίκα τράπεζά γ' ἐκποδὼν ἀπαίρεται.

Ἄριστοφάνης Σφηξίν·

ὑδωρ κατὰ χειρός· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν.

- e Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης | παραπλησίως
 ἡμῖν δευτέρας τραπέζας προσαγορεύει διὰ τούτων· τὸ
 μὲν οὖν ὄλον διαφέρειν τράγημα βρώματος νομιστέον
 ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρωγαλίου. τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοῦνομα
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι⁶⁹ παρατίθενται.
 διόπερ οὐ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν
 προσαγορεύσας τράπεζαν· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός
 τις ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐστιν, καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρα-

⁶⁷ The traditional text of Pindar has τ'.

⁶⁸ The traditional text of Pindar has δεύτατα.

⁶⁹ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ βρώματα A: τὰ βρώματα del. Kaibel

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At their tables during the second course they
divided up your flesh and ate it.
But I find it impossible to describe
any god as a glutton.

People in the more distant past referred to them simply as
“tables,” for example Achaëus in the satyr play *Hephaestus*
(*TrGF* 20 F 17):

(Dionysus) First we'll treat you to a meal; here it is!

(Hephaestus) What's the second way you'll charm
me?

(Dionysus) I'll smear sweet-smelling perfume all over
your body.

(Hephaestus) You're not offering me water to wash
my hands first?

(Dionysus) When the table's taken away!

Aristophanes in *Wasps* (1216):

Water over our hands! Bring in the tables!

Aristotle in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 675)²⁵⁷ refers to them
as “second tables,” much as we do, in the following pas-
sage: In general, a *tragêma* should be regarded as different
from ordinary food, to the extent that what one eats differs
from what one munches on (*trôgalion*); for this is the name
the Greeks traditionally use, since these items are served
as snacks (*tragêmata*). The first person to use the term
“second table” would thus seem to have been right; for
snacking (*tragêmatismos*) is in fact eating something after
dinner (*epidorpismos*), and the *tragêmata* are served as

²⁵⁷ Cf. 14.641b with n.

τίθεται <τὰ>⁷⁰ τραγήματα. Δικαίάρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Εἰς Τροφωνίου Καταβάσεώς φησιν οὕτως· ἢ γε τὴν πολλὴν δαπάνην ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις παρέχουσα δευτέρα τράπεζα προσεγένετο, καὶ στέφανοι καὶ μύρα |
 f καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πάντα. ἐδίδοτο δὲ καὶ ῥὸν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τραπέζῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ λαγῶα καὶ κίχλαι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν μελιπήκτων εἰσ-
 εφέρετο, ὡς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεπτινίσκῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

(A.) οἶνον Θάσιον πίνοισ ἄν; (B.) εἴ τις ἐγχείοι.

(A.) πρὸς ἀμυγδάλας δὲ πῶς ἔχεις; (B.)
 εἰρηρικῶς.

† μαλακὰς σφόδρα διασ † μέλιτι προσπαίξειν
 βία.

(A.) μελίπηκτα δ' εἴ σοι προσφέρου; (B.)
 τρώγοιμι καὶ ||

642 ῥὸν δὲ καταπίνοιμ' ἄν. (A.) ἄλλου δεῖ τινος;

ἐν δὲ Ὅμοιοις·

εἶτ' ἐπεισῆγεν χορείαν ἢ τράπεζαν δευτέραν
 καὶ παρέθηκε γέμουσαν πέμμασι παντοδαποῖς.

Ἄμφις δὲ ἐν Γυναικομανίᾳ·

⁷⁰ add. Kaibel

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what amounts to a second dinner. Dicaearchus in Book I of his *Descent into Trophonius' Shrine* (fr. 19 Wehrli = fr. 80 Mirhady) says the following: The second table, which makes dinner parties quite expensive, was also there, along with garlands, perfumes, incense, and everything that goes with them. An egg was also offered on the second table, in the same way that hare-meat and thrushes were brought in along with the honey-cakes, as Antiphanes says in *Little Leptinus* (fr. 138), as follows:

(A.) Would you drink some Thasian wine? (B.) If
someone pours it in my cup!

(A.) How do you feel about almonds? (B.) Calm.
† extremely soft [corrupt] † to play forcefully with
honey.

(A.) And if someone brought you a honey-cake? (B.)
I'd eat it, and
I'd also gulp down an egg. (A.) Do you need anything
else?

And in *Men Who Looked Like Each Other*²⁵⁸ (fr. 172.5–6):

Then after that he'd bring in a dance or a second
table,
and he'd set it beside us, loaded with pastries of all
kinds.

Amphis in *Crazy about Women* (fr. 9):

²⁵⁸ Called *Women Who Looked Like Each Other* at 4.158c. Meineke combined these verses with the passage from the same play preserved at 11.471c to produce fr. 172.

ATHENAEUS

(A.) ἤδη ποτ' ἤκουσας βίον
ἀλληλεμένον; (B.) ναί. (A.) τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἔστιν
σαφῶς·

ἄμητες, οἶνος ἠδύς, ψά, σησαμαί,
μύρον, στέφανος, αὐλητρίς. (B.) ὦ Διοσκόρω, |
b ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν διελέλυθας.

Ἄναξανδρίδης Ἀγροίοις·

ὡς δ' ἔστεφανώθην, ἡ τράπεζ' εἰσήρετο
τοσαῦτ' ἔχουσα βρώμαθ' ὅσα μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
καὶ τὰς θεὰς οὐδ' ἔνδον ὄντ' ἤδειν ἐγώ·
οὕτως παρέζων † χρηστῶς οὐκ † ἔζων τότε.

Κλέαρχος Πανδρόσω·

(A.) λάβ' ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός. (B.) μηδαμῶς·
καλῶς ἔχει.

c (A.) λάβ', ὠγάθ'. | οὐδὲν χεῖρον. <ἡ> παῖς,
ἐπιτίθει
ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κάρνα καὶ τραγήματα.

Εὐβουλος Καμπυλίωνι·

(A.) τραγημάτων δ' ἔσθ' ἡ τράπεζά σοι πλέα.
(B.) οὐ φιλοτραγήμων εἰμί πως ἐκάστοτε.

Ἄλεξις Πολυκλεία (ἑταίρας δ' ὄνομα Πολύκλεια)·

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρὼν κομφὸς ἦν τραγήματα.

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(A.) Did you ever hear about the refined²⁵⁹ life? (B.) Yes. (A.) This is certainly it: wheat-cakes, delicious wine, eggs, sesame-bread, perfume, a garland, a pipe-girl. (B.) Castor and Polydeuces!
You've listed the names of the 12 gods!

Anaxandrides in *Rustics* (fr. 2):

After a garland was put on my head, the table was brought in;
it had more food, by the gods and goddesses, than I've ever seen indoors!
So I was merely living † not well † I was living then.

Clearchus in *Pandrosus* (fr. 4):

(A.) Take some water over your hands. (B.) No, no; it's fine.
(A.) Take it, my good sir; there's no harm done. Slave-girl! Put nuts and dainties (*tragêmata*) on the table!

Eubulus in *Campulion* (fr. 44):

(A.) Your table's full of *tragêmata*.
(B.) Somehow I don't always like *tragêmata*.

Alexis in *Polycleia* (fr. 190)—*Polycleia*²⁶⁰ is a courtesan's name:

The guy who invented *tragêmata* was smart—

²⁵⁹ From a verb that normally refers to grinding grain.

²⁶⁰ PAA 778695.

τοῦ συμποσίου γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐξέεῦρε καὶ
ἀργοὺς ἔχειν μηδέποτε τὰς σιαγόνας. |

- d καὶ ἐν Ὀμοίᾳ (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δράμα καὶ ὡς Ἀντιδότου
φέρεται).

(A.) οὐδὲ φιλόδειπνός εἰμι μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,
τραγήμασιν χαίρω δὲ μᾶλλον. (B.) εὖ πάνν.
(A.) τραγήματ' αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ ὅτι νομίζετε
τοῖς νυμφίοις μετιούσι τὴν νύμφην † λέγεις †
παρέχειν, ἄμητας καὶ λαγῶα καὶ κίχλας.
τούτοισι χαίρω, τοῖς δὲ κεκαρυκευμένοις
ᾧφοισι καὶ ζωμοῖσιν ἦδομ', ᾧ θεοί.

- e Ἀπίων δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος, ὡς φησι Πάμφιλος, ἐπαί-
κλειά | φησι καλεῖσθαι τὰ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον τραγή-
ματα. Ἐφιππος Ἐφήβοις.

χόνδρος μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσῆλθε, μύρον Αἰγύπτιον,
Φοινικικοῦ βίκός τις ὑπανεώγγυτο,
ἴτρια, τραγήμαθ' ἦκε, πυραμοῦς, ἄμης,
ᾧῶν ἑκατόμβη. πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχναύομεν.
ἐμασώμεθ' οὕτως ἀνδρικῶς ὅσ' εἴχομεν.
καὶ γὰρ παραμασύντας τινὰς παρεβόσκομεν⁷¹.

⁷¹ παρεβόσκομεν Olson: παρὰμασουλτας MSS: παρα-
βόσκομεν Casaubon

²⁶¹ This is the only fragment preserved of a play by this title by either poet. The title is a common one, which may be the ultimate source of the confusion.

²⁶² For *karukê*, see 4.132f n.

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because he discovered how to pass the time at parties
and
never have inactive jaws!

And in *The Girl Who Looked Like Someone Else* (fr. 168)
—the same play is also assigned to Antidotus:²⁶¹

(A.) I don't like dinner, by Asclepius;
I much prefer *tragêmata*. (B.) Excellent!
(A.) Because I recognize that you think it's proper for
bridegrooms,
when they go fetch the bride † you say † to supply
tragêmata—wheat-cakes, and hare-meat, and
thrushes.
Gods!—that's what I like; and I enjoy fancy
ingredients
that've been made into *karukê*,²⁶² and broths.

But Apion (*FGrH* 616 F 32) and Diodorus (= Gloss. Ital. 204 K-A), according to Pamphilus (fr. IV Schmidt), claim that the *tragêmata* served after dinner are referred to as *epaikleia*.²⁶³ Ephippus in *Ephebes* (fr. 8):²⁶⁴

After that, wheat-pudding arrived, and Egyptian
perfume;
someone opened a transport-jar of Phoenician wine;
wafer-bread came, *tragêmata*, honey-cake, milk-cake,
a hecatomb of eggs. We were nibbling on all these
items.
That's how bravely we chewed on everything we had;
for the fact was that we were also feeding some
fellow-chewers.

²⁶³ Cf. 14.664e. ²⁶⁴ Verse 2 is quoted also at 1.29d,
while verses 3-4 are quoted also at 2.58a.

καὶ ἐν Κύδωνι·

καὶ μετὰ δείπνον κόκκος < . . . >
 ἐρέβινθος, < . . . > κύαμος,
 χόνδρος, τυρός, μέλι, σησαμίδες,
 † βράχος, βρυγμός, μνοῦς †, πυραμίδες,
 μῆλον, κάρνον, γάλα, κανναβίδες,
 κόγχαι, χυλός, Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος.

Ἄλεξις Φιλίσκῳ·

ἀρτέα

- f τράπεζ', ἀπονύψασθαι | δοτέον, προσοιστέος
 στέφανος, μύρον, σπονδή, λιβανωτός, ἐσχαρίς,
 † τραγήματα † δοτέον ἔτι, πλακοῦντος ἀπτέον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος ἐν τῷ Δείπνῳ
 643 δευτέρων || τραπέζων μνημονεύων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμῖν
 παρακειμένων ὠνόμασεν, φέρε καὶ τούτων ἀπομνη-
 μονεύσωμεν·

τὰς δὲ δὴ πρόσθεν μολούσας
 < . . . > λιπαρανγείς
 πορθμίδας πολ-
 λῶν ἀγαθῶν πάλιν εἴσφε-
 ρον γεμούσας,
 τὰς ἐφήμεροι καλέουσι
 νῦν τραπέζας < δευτέρας >.

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And in *Cydon* (fr. 13):

And after dinner a pomegranate-seed,
 a chickpea, a bean,
 wheat-pudding, cheese, honey, sesame-cakes,
 [corrupt], wheat-and-honey-cakes,²⁶⁵
 an apple, a nut, milk, hemp-seeds,
 shellfish, barley-water, Zeus-brain.²⁶⁶

Alexis in *Philiscus* (fr. 252):

A table

needs to be brought; washing-water needs to be
 offered; a garland
 has to be fetched, and perfume, a libation,
 frankincense, and a brazier;
 † *tragêmata* † still needs to be distributed; a cake has
 to be grabbed!

Alright—since Philoxenus of Cythera in his *Dinner Party* (PMG 836(e)) mentioned second tables and referred specifically to many of the items we were served, let me cite the following passage:

As for the glistening vessels
 . . . that came
 previously, they
 brought them in again, loaded with
 a great deal of good food;
 these are what mortals refer to
 today as second tables,

²⁶⁵ *pyramides*; see 14.647b-c.

²⁶⁶ An unidentified dainty; cf. 12.514e (citing Clearchus).

ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' Ἀμαλθεί-
 ας κέρας· ταῖς δ' ἐν μέσαισιν
 ἐγκαθιδρύ-
 θη μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς, λευ-
 κὸς μυελὸς γλυκερός,
 λεπτᾶς ἀράχνας ἐναλιγκί-
 οισι πέπλοις
 συγκαλύπτων ὄψιν αἰσχύ-
 νας ὕπο, μὴ κατίδης
 b μαλογενὲς † | πῶν λιπῶν
 ταῖς ἀνάγκαις †
 ξηρὸν ἐν ξηραῖς Ἀρισταί-
 ου μελιρρύτοισι παραῖς·
 τῷ δ' ὄνομ' ἦς ἄμυλος.
 χερσὶν δ' ἐπέθεντο < . . . >
 < . . . > στόμιον μαλεραῖς
 < . . . >
 † ταν † δεξαμέναν ὅ τι κεν
 διδῶ τις, ἅ Ζανὸς καλέοντι
 τρώγματ'· ἔπειτ' ἐπένειμεν
 ἐγκατακνακομιγὲς
 πεφρυγμένον
 πυρβρομολευκερεβινθο-
 † ακανθουμικτριτυαδν †
 βρῶμα τὸ παντανάμικτον

267 I.e. a horn of plenty; see 11.783c n.

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whereas the immortals call them Amal-
 theia's horn.²⁶⁷ In the midst of them
 was placed
 an enormous source of joy for mortals,
 sweet white marrow,
 which was concealing its face in
 robes that resembled a
 fine spider-web, out of
 shame, to keep you from seeing
 its sheep-born † flock after leaving
 under compulsion †
 dry among the dry, honey-flowing
 springs of Aristaeus;²⁶⁸
 its name was *amulos*.²⁶⁹
 With fierce hands . . .
 . . . they placed in their mouth

. . .
 [corrupt] after it accepted whatever
 someone offered, which people call Zeus'
trôgmata. Then he began distributing
 a roasted
 mixture of entrails and safflower,
 a dish that represented a thorough blending of
 wheat-oat-white-chickpea-
 † thistle-mixed-[corrupt]-

²⁶⁸ The hero Aristaeus was a son of Apollo and the mortal Autonoe and was associated with shepherding and the production of honey and olive oil (e.g. [Arist.] *Mir.* 838^b23-4; "Heracleides" fr. IX.2, *FHG* ii.214). But exactly what edible substance is being referred to is unclear.

²⁶⁹ See verse 18 below; Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 1092.

† ἀμπυκικηροιδηστί-
 χας † παρεγίνετο τούτοις
 σταιτινοκογχομαγῆς
 † τοξαισελαιο- †
 ξανθεπιπαγκαπύρω-
 τος χοιρίνας,
 ἀδέα δὲ < . . . >
 κυκλωτὰ † ομοφλωκτα † ἀνάριθμα |
 c καὶ μελίπακτα τετυγμέν'
 ἄφθονα σασαμόφωκτα·
 τυρακίνας δὲ γάλακτι
 καὶ μέλι συγκατάφυρτος
 ἦς ἄμυλος πλαθανίτας.
 σασαμοτυροπαγῆ δὲ
 καὶ ζεσελαιοπαγῆ
 πλατύνετο σασαμόπλαστα
 πέμματα. κᾶτ' ἐρέβινθοι
 κνακομιγείς ἀπαλαῖς θάλ-
 λοντες ὄραις,
 ὦά τ' ἀμυγδαλίδες < τε >
 τᾶν μαλακοφλοῖδων
 < . . . > τετο τρωκτά τε παισὶν
 † ἀδυιδη † κάρυ' ἄλλα
 θ' ὅσσα πρέπει παρὰ θοίαν
 ὀλβιόπλουτον < . . . >
 πόσις δ' ἐπεραίνετο κότ-
 ταβοί τε λόγοι τ' ἐπὶ κοινᾶς·

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headband-wax-[corrupt]-
 -[corrupt] † along with these was
 a dough-shell-kneaded
 † [corrupt]-olive-oil †
 brown-all-over-crackling
choirinas-cake,²⁷⁰
 and countless . . .
 delicious, round [corrupt]
 and a limitless number of honey-cakes that
 had been formed and toasted with sesame.
 There was a cheese-cake kneaded together
 out of milk and honey,
 an *amulos* produced in a bread-pan.
 Also pastries formed from sesame and cheese
 that had been boiled in oil
 and sprinkled with sesame-seeds
 were stretched out wide. After this were chick-peas
 mixed with safflower-seeds, flourishing in
 delicate, youthful beauty;
 and eggs and some soft-
 skinned almonds
 were . . . and nuts
 [corrupt] that children snack on,
 and whatever else belongs at a rich,
 wealthy meal . . .
 The drinking was coming to an end, along with
 games of
 cottabus²⁷¹ and general conversation;

²⁷⁰ Cf. 14.647b-c.

²⁷¹ For the symposium-game cottabus, cf. 15.665d-8f.

ἔνθα τι καινὸν ἐλέχθη
 d κομψὸν | ἄθυρμάτιον, καὶ
 θαύμασαν αὐτ' ἐπὶ τ' ἤνη-
 σαν.

ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος, ὃν ἐπαινῶν Ἄντι-
 φάνης ἐν τῷ Τριταγωνιστῇ φησι·

πολὺ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ποητῶν διάφορος
 ὁ Φιλόξενος. πρῶτιστα μὲν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν
 ἰδίοισι καὶ καινοῖσι χρῆται πανταχοῦ·
 ἔπειτα <τὰ> μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν
 ὡς εἶ κέκραται. θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἦν
 ἐκείνος, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν· |
 e οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ
 ἀνθεισιπότατα μέλεα 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 ἀναγράφαντα πλακουντοποιικὰ συγγράμματα
 Αἰγυμίου καὶ Ἑγησίππου καὶ Μητροβίου, ἔτι δὲ Φαί-
 f στου.⁷² ἡμεῖς δὲ ἅ μετεγράψαμεν ὀνόματα | πλα-
 κούντων τούτων σοι καὶ μεταδώσομεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ
 <ὕπ>⁷³ Ἀλκιβιάδου πεμφθέντος Σωκράτει· ὃν Ξαν-
 θίππης κατακλασάσης⁷⁴ ὁ Σωκράτης, “οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη,

⁷² Φαίστου Meineke: Φαίτου A

⁷³ add. Casaubon

⁷⁴ κατακλασάσης Kaibel e Aeliano: καταγελασάσης A

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in the course of this a novel, clever
little joke was made, and
they were surprised by it and expressed
approval.

Thus Philoxenus of Cythera; Antiphanes praises him in his
The Tritagonist (fr. 207), saying:

Philoxenus is much better than all the other
poets. Because, first of all, he uses strange
vocabulary that no one else knows everywhere;
and then, what a fine mix of modulations and
coloring in his songs (*melê*)! He was a god
among men; he knew what music really was!
Whereas today's poets produce miserable (*melea*)
ivy-woven, spring-fed, flower-flitting, bizarre
songs (*melê*), and fold miserable (*melea*) vocabulary
into them.

Many members of the group produced lists of names of
cakes, and I will share as many of them as I can remember
with you. I am aware that Callimachus in his *Tablet of Mis-
cellaneous Treatises* (fr. 435 Pfeiffer) recorded treatises
on the art of cake-making by Aegimus, Hegesippus, and
Metrobius, as well as by Phaestus. I will share as many
names of these cakes as I copied down with you, and I will
not treat them like the one Alcibiades sent to Socrates;
for when Xanthippe²⁷² smashed it, Socrates said: "Well,

²⁷² Socrates' wife (PAA 730275), who is imagined as jealous of
Alcibiades' relationship with her husband. A more complete ver-
sion of the anecdote is preserved at Ael. VH 11.12.

644 “οὐδὲ σὺ μεθέξεις τούτου.” τοῦτο δὲ ἰστορήσεν Ἀντί-
πατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ὀργῆς. ἢ ἐγὼ δὲ φιλο-
πλάκουντος ὧν οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδον τὸν θεῖον ἐκείνον
ἐξυβριζόμενον πλακοῦντα. μνημονεύων οὖν ὁ κωμικὸς
Πλάτων εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Ποιητῇ οὕτως·

μόνος δ' ἄγεστος,
ἄσπλαγχος ἐνιαυτίζομαι, ἀπλάκουντος, ἀλι-
βάνωτος.

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς κόμης ἀμνήμων εἰμὶ ἦν Πλα-
κοῦντά φησι καλεῖσθαι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν δω-
δεκάτῳ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου, τῶν Ὑποπλακίων Θηβῶν
φάσκων αὐτὴν ἀπέχειν σταδίους ἕξ. περισπαστέον |
b δὲ λέγοντας πλακοῦς τὴν ὀνομαστικὴν συνήρηται
γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλακοῖς, ὡς τυρόεις τυροῦς, σησαμόεις
σησαμοῦς. εἴρηται δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἄρτος. ὅτι δὲ
καλοῦς πλακοῦντας ἐν Παρίῳ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φα-
γεῖν ἔστιν οἱ ἐπιδημήσαντες μαρτυρήσουσιν· Ἀλέξις
γὰρ πεπλάνηται λέγων τοὺς ἐκ Πάρου. λέγει δὲ οὕτως
ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρχιλόχῳ·

ὦ τὴν εὐτειχῆ⁷⁵ ναίων Πάρου, ὄλβιε πρέσβυ,
ἣ κάλλιστα φέρει χώρα δύο τῶν συναπασῶν, |

⁷⁵ ἡῦτυχῆ (“fortunate”) Arnott

²⁷³ Literally “Cake”; cf. *Il.* 6.396–7.

²⁷⁴ Roughly three-quarters of a mile.

²⁷⁵ Sc. rather than as an adjective.

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you're not going to have any of it either!" Antipater told this story in Book I of *On Anger* (fr. 65, SVF iii.257). I, on the other hand, am fond of cakes, and I would not have allowed that divine cake to be abused this way. The comic author Plato mentions cakes in his *The Poet* (fr. 121), saying the following:

I alone have spent a year
without a single taste, with no entrails, no cakes, and
no frankincense.

Nor, again, have I forgotten the village that Demetrius of Scepsis in Book XII of the *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 8 Gaede) claims was known as Placous;²⁷³ he says that it is six stades²⁷⁴ from Hypoplacian Thebes. A circumflex accent ought to be placed on the final syllable of *plakous* when the word is used as a substantive;²⁷⁵ because it is contracted from *plakoeis*, like *turous* from *turoeis*, and *sêsamous* from *sêsamoeis*. This use involves an ellipsis of *artos* ("bread"). Anyone who spends time in Parium on the Hellespont will attest to the fact that excellent cakes can be eaten there; for Alexis is wrong when he refers to the cakes that come from Paros. He puts it as follows in his play entitled *Archilochus* (fr. 22):

Blessed old man,²⁷⁶ who inhabit Paros with its fine
walls!

Your country has two products that outdo those from
anywhere else:

²⁷⁶ Archilochus (the title-character of the play) was himself from Paros, so perhaps he is the individual addressed.

- c κόσμον μὲν μακάρεσσι λίθον, θνητοῖς δὲ
πλακοῦντας.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι διαφέροντές εἰσι πλακοῦντες
Σώπατρος ὁ φλυακογράφος φησὶν ἐν Βακχίδος Μνη-
στήρσιν·

πλακουντοποιὸν ὠνομασμένην Σάμον.

ἐγχύτων δὲ πλακοῦντων μνημονεύει Μένανδρος μὲν ἐν
Ψευδηρακλεί·

- d οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποεῖν οὐδ' οἶα σὺ
εἴωθας εἰς ταῦτον καρυκεύειν μέλι, |
σεμίδαλι, ῥά. πάντα γὰρ τὰναντία
νῦν ἔστιν· ὁ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποεῖ,
πλακοῦντας ὀπτᾶ,⁷⁶ χόνδρον ἔψει καὶ φέρει
μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἶτα θρίον καὶ βότρυν·
ἢ δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη
κρεάδι' ὀπτᾶ καὶ κίχλας.

Εὐάγγελος δὲ Ἀνακαλυπτομένη·

(A.) τέτταρας < . . . > τραπέζας τῶν γυναικῶν
εἰπά σοι,
ἔξ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὸ δεῖπνον δ' ἐντελές καὶ
μηδενὶ

⁷⁶ ὀπτούς ACE; but A has the correct reading ὀπτᾶ at 4.172b

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stone that brings honor to the blessed ones,²⁷⁷ and
cakes that do the same for mortals.

The phylax-author Sopater in *The Suitors of Bacchis* (fr. 4)
claims that Samian cakes are outstanding:

Samos, known as a cake-maker.

Menander in *The Fake Heracles* (fr. 409.6–13)²⁷⁸ mentions
cakes produced in moulds:

It's not a matter of making *kanduloi*²⁷⁹ or the kinds of
dishes

you're used to, when you combine honey, flour,
and eggs in a *karukê*. Because everything's the other
way

around nowadays: the cook makes moulded cakes,
bakes flat-cakes, and boils wheat-pudding and serves
it

after the saltfish, followed by a fig-leaf pastry and
grapes;

whereas the artisan-woman who's lined up opposite
him

roasts bits of meat and thrushes.

Euangelus in *The Girl Whose Veil Was Removed*²⁸⁰ (fr. 1):

(A.) I told you—four tables of women,
and six of men; and the dinner should be complete,
with nothing

²⁷⁷ I.e. Parian marble, used in temples, for statues, and the
like.

²⁷⁸ An extract from a much longer fragment quoted
at 4.172a–c.

²⁷⁹ For *kandulos* and *karukê* (below), see

4.132f nm.

²⁸⁰ I.e. *The Bride*.

- e ἔλλιπές. | λαμπροὺς γενέσθαι βουλόμεσθα τοὺς
γάμους.
οὐ παρ' ἑτέρου δεῖ πυθέσθαι, πάντα δ' αὐτόπτης
ἔρω.
† τῶν μὲν ἔλαων ἄφελε † πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν βούλη
γένη.
εἰς δὲ τὰ κρέα μόσχον ἔλαβες, δέλφακας,
χοίρους, λαγῶς,
(B.) ὡς ἀλαζῶν ὁ κατάρατος. (A.) θρία, τυρόν,
ἐγχύτους,
(B.) παῖ Δρόμων. (A.) κἀνδυλον, ὡά τ', ἀμύλιον
< . . . >
τὸ πέρας, ὕψος τῆς τραπέζης πῆχων ἔσται
τριῶν, |
- f ὥστε τὸν δειπνοῦντ' ἐπαίρειν, ἂν τι βούληται
λαβεῖν.

Ἄμης. πλακοῦντος γένος. Ἀντιφάνης·

ἄμητες, ἄμυλοι.

Μένανδρος ἐν Ἵποβολιμαίῳ·

τὸν ἄμητα, Χαίριππ', οὐκ ἔῃς πέττειν τινά.⁷⁷

Ἴωνες δέ, ὡς φησι Σιληνὸς ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, ἄμην
αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν. καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ἀμητίσκους Τηλε-
κλείδης·

⁷⁷ A more complete version of the fragment preserved in Photius makes it clear that τινά is in fact the interrogative τίνα, which introduces a question by a second speaker.

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missing! We want this to be a brilliant wedding feast. You don't need to ask anyone else; I'll keep an eye on the situation and tell you everything.

† of the olives take away † as many types as you like, whereas for the meat you bought a calf, pigs, piglets, hares,

(B.) This jerk's really full of hot air! (A.) fig-leaf pastries, cheese, moulded cakes,

(B.) Slave! Dromo! (A.) a *kandulos*; also eggs, a little *amulos* . . .

to cut a long story short, the table's going to be almost five feet²⁸¹ high,

so the guests will have to stretch, if they want to get anything.

Amês. A type of cake. Antiphanes (fr. 297):

amêtes, amuloi.

Menander in *The Supposititious Child* (fr. 381.1):²⁸²

You're not letting anyone bake the *amês*, Chaerippus!

But the Ionians, according to Silenus in his *Glossary*, refer to it as an *amên*.²⁸³ Teleclides (fr. 1.12)²⁸⁴ refers to the small ones as *amêtiskoi*:

²⁸¹ Literally "three cubits."

²⁸² Photius preserves a slightly longer version of the fragment, which makes it clear that the final word in verse 1 belongs to a second speaker (Chaerippus) and that what the first speaker actually says is "You're not letting (me) bake the *amês*, Chaerippus?"

²⁸³ Sc. in the accusative (as opposed to the third-declension Attic form *amêta* in the passage from Menander quoted above).

²⁸⁴ An extract from a much longer fragment quoted at 6.268a-d. Verse 12 is quoted alone also at 2.64f.

† αὐτόματα⁷⁸ † δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων ἐς τὸν
φάρνγ' εἰσεπέτοντο.

Διακόμιον. Φερεκράτης· ||

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ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπληστίας
διακόμιον ἐπήσθεν, ἀμφιφῶντ' ἔχων.

Ἄμφιφῶν. πλακοῦς Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνακείμενος, ἔχει δ'
ἐν κύκλῳ καόμενα δάδια. Φιλήμων ἐν Πτωχῇ ἢ Ῥοδία·

Ἄρτεμι, φίλη δέσποινα, τοῦτόν σοι φέρω,
ὦ πότνι', ἀμφιφῶντα καὶ σπονδήσιμα.

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἐκάτῃ. Φιλόχορος
δ' ἀμφιφῶντα αὐτὸν κληθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς Ἀρ-
τέμιδος ἱερὰ φέρεσθαι ἔτι τε καὶ εἰς τὰς τριόδους, ἐπεὶ
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπικαταλαμβάνεται ἡ σελήνη ἐπὶ
b ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς | τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὁ
οὐρανὸς ἀμφιφῶς γίνεται.

Βασυνίας. Σῆμος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Δηλιάδος, ἐν τῇ τῆς
Ἐκάτης, φησὶν, νήσῳ τῇ Ἴριδι θύουσι Δήλιοι τοὺς
βασυνίας καλουμένους· ἐστὶν δὲ ἐφθὸν πύρινον, σταῖς
σὺν μέλιτι καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κόκκωρα, ἰσχάς, καὶ
κάρνα τρία.

⁷⁸ At both 2.64f and 6.268c, Athenaeus has ὀπταὶ (metrical).

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† Of their own accord † thrushes accompanied by
amêtiskoi flew into their gullets.

Diakonion. Pherecrates (fr. 167):

Since he couldn't be satisfied,
he ate a *diakonion* too, even though he had an
amphiphôn.

Amphiphôn. A cake dedicated to Artemis; it is surrounded by burning torches. Philemon in *The Beggar-Woman* or *The Girl from Rhodes* (fr. 70):

Artemis, beloved mistress: I'm bringing you this
amphiphôn, lady, and libation-cakes.

Diphilus also refers to it in *Hecate* (fr. 27). Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 86b) (claims) that it was known as an *amphiphôn* and was taken to Artemis' shrines, as well as to the cross-roads, because on that day the moon sets at the same time as the sun rises, and the sky is lit up by both (*amphiphôs*).

Basunias.²⁸⁵ Semus says in Book II of the *History of Delos* (*FGrH* 396 F 5): The Delians sacrifice what are known as *basuniai* to Iris on Hecate's island²⁸⁶—a *basunias* is a wheat-dumpling made of dough mixed with honey—along with what are known as *kokkôra*, a dried fig, and three nuts.

²⁸⁵ It is unclear whether this is the nominative singular or if Athenaeus (or his source) has simply drawn the word (in the accusative plural) direct from the quotation that follows.

²⁸⁶ Identified by Harpocration E 14 (citing Phanod. *FGrH* 325 F 1 and Semus *FGrH* 396 F 2) as a tiny island near Delos.

Στρεπτοὶ καὶ νεήλατα. τούτων μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Ἑπερ Κτησιφώντος Περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου.

Ἐπίχυτον. Νικοφῶν ἐν Χειρογάστορσιν. |

- c ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρτους, μᾶζαν, ἀθάρην, ἄλφιτα, κόλλικας, ὀβελίαν, μελιτοῦτταν, ἐπιχύτους, πτισάνην, πλακοῦντας, δενδαλίδας, ταγηνίας.

Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸν ἀττανίτην καλούμενον ἐπίχυτόν φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἀττανίτου Ἰππῶναξ ἐν τούτοις μνημονεύει.

οὐκ ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ λαγοὺς καταβρύκων,
οὐ τηγανίτας σησάμοισι φαρμάσσω
οὐδ' ἀττανίτας κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτων. |

- d Κηρίον⁷⁹ 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, ὡς φησιν Φιλητᾶς ἐν Ἀτάκτοις.

Γλυκίνας. ὁ διὰ γλεύκου⁸⁰ καὶ ἐλαίου πλακοῦς παρὰ Κρησίν, ὡς φησι Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσσαις.

Ἐμπέπτας, ὁ αὐτὸς φησι, πύρινος ἄρτος κοῖλος καὶ σύμμετρος, ὅμοιος ταῖς λεγομέναις κρηπίσιν, εἰς ἃς ἐντίθεται τὰ διὰ τοῦ τυροῦ σκευαζόμενα πλακοῦντια. |

⁷⁹ Κηρίον Kaibel: κρηῖον A

⁸⁰ γλεύκου Olson: γλυκέος ACE

²⁸⁷ Literally "freshly rolled" (< *neos* + *elaunō*).

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Streptoi ("twists") and *neêlata*.²⁸⁷ The orator Demosthenes mentions these in his *On Behalf of Ctesiphon on the Crown* (18.260).

Epichutos.²⁸⁸ Nicophon in *Men Who Live from Hand to Mouth* (fr. 6):

I have loaves of bread, barley-cake, wheat-gruel,
barley groats,
barley-loaves, spit-bread, honey-cake, *epichutoi*,
barley-gruel, flat cakes, *dendalides*,²⁸⁹ fried cakes.

Pamphilus (fr. II Schmidt) claims that what is known as an *attanitês* is an *epichutos*. Hipponax (fr. 37 Degani) mentions the *attanitês* in the following passage:²⁹⁰

eating no francolins or hares,
covering no fry-cakes with sesame seeds,
and dipping no *attanitai* in honeycomb.

Kêrion ("honeycomb") cake. A type of bread, which the Argives take to the bridegroom from the bride; it is baked in the coals, and their friends are invited to share it. It is served with honey, according to Philetas in the *Miscellany* (fr. 9 Dettori = fr. 37 Spanoudakis).

Glukinas. A Cretan cake made with grape-must and olive oil, according to Seleucus in the *Glossary* (fr. 44 Müller).

According to the same author (Seleucus fr. 53 Müller), an *empeptas* is a hollow, symmetrical loaf of wheat-bread, which resembles what are referred to as *krêpides*, into which they stuff the small cakes made with cheese.

²⁸⁸ The word is given in the accusative singular, as in the reference to Pamphilus that follows. ²⁸⁹ A type of barley-cake.

²⁹⁰ The first verse is quoted also at 9.388a-b.

- e Ἐγκρίδες. περμάτιον ἐψόμενον 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 πωλητὴν φησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν τούτοις· † μητ' αρμα εἶναι ἐγκριδοπώλην. † Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Κραπατάλλοις·

ταυτ' ἔχων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀρπαζέτω τὰς ἐγκρίδας.

- f Ἐπικύκλιος. πλακοῦς τις παρὰ Ἰσυρακοσίοις οὕτως καλούμενος. καὶ μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσσεια.

Γούρος. ὅτι πλακοῦντος εἶδος ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις φησίν·

πίνουσι· καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ μὲν ἴτρια,
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμιγμένους
γούρους φακοῖσι· κείθι δ' οὔτε περμάτων
ἄπεστιν οὐδ' ἔν, ἄσος ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γῆ
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα δ' ἀφθόνως πάρα. ||

- 646 Κριβάνας. πλακοῦντάς τινας ὀνομαστικῶς Ἀπολ-

291 Quoted also, in slightly more complete form, at 4.172d-e.

292 Quoted at 3.110b (unmetrical).

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Enkrides. A small pastry deep-fried in olive oil and covered with honey afterward. Stesichorus (*PMG* 179(a).1-2) mentions them in the following passage:²⁹¹

wheat-pudding, *enkrides*,
and other pastries and pale honey.

Epicharmus (fr. 46)²⁹² also mentions them, as does Nicophon in *Men Who Live from Hand to Mouth* (fr. 10.5).²⁹³ Aristophanes in *Danaids* (fr. 269, corrupt and unmetrical) says that there are people who sell them, in the following passage: † nor [corrupt] to be an *enkrides*-vendor. † Pherecrates in *Small Change* (fr. 99):

Since he's got these items, let him snatch the *enkrides*
in the streets!

Epikuklios. A type of cake the Syracusans refer to by this name. Epicharmus mentions it in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 23).

Gouros. Solon in his *Iambs* (fr. 38 West²) says that this is a type of cake:

They're drinking; and some of them are eating *itria*,
others bread, and others *gouroi* mixed up
together with lentils. Not a single type of pastry
is missing there, out of all those the black earth
produces for human beings, but everything's available
in abundance.

Kribanes.²⁹⁴ Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 255) (reports)

²⁹³ The passage (quoted at 3.126f) actually refers to *enkrides*-vendors. ²⁹⁴ The word is given in the accusative plural, as in the citation from Apollodorus that follows.

λόδωρος παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι. ὁμοίως καὶ Σωσίβιος ἐν τρίτῳ
Περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς εἶναι
φάσκων αὐτούς, χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς Λάκωνας πρὸς τὰς
τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιάσεις, περιφέρειν τ' αὐτούς, ὅταν
μέλλωσιν ἄδειν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον ἐγκώμιον τῆς
Παρθένου αἰ ἐν τῷ χορῷ ἀκόλουθοι.

Κριμνίτης. πλακοῦς ποιὸς διὰ κρίμνων γινόμενος,
ὡς Ἱατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πλακούντων ἀναγράφει. |

- b Σταιτίτας. πλακοῦς ποιὸς ἐκ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος.
μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμφ. σταῖς δ'
ἐστὶν ὑγρὸν εἰς τήγανον ὑποχέομενον, μέλιτος ἐπι-
βαλλομένου καὶ σησάμης καὶ τυροῦ, ὡς Ἱατροκλῆς
φησὶν.

Χαρίσιος. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαι-
ταλεῦσιν·

ἐγὼ † δευων †
πέμφω πλακοῦντ' εἰς ἐσπέραν χαρίσιον.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ἀγκυλίῳ ὡς περὶ ἄρτου αὐτοῦ ὄντος
οὕτωςι λέγει·

ἐξεπήδησ' ἄρτίως
πέττουσα τὸν χαρίσιον.

- c Επίδαιτρον. | πλακουντῶδες μάζιον ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ
ἐσθιόμενον, ὡς φησι Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀττικῶν
Ἵονομάτων.

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that certain cakes are expressly referred to this way in Alcman (*PMG* 94).²⁹⁵ So too Sosibius in Book III of *On Alcman*, claiming that they are shaped like a breast; that the Spartans use them at the feasts their women celebrate; and that they serve them when the girls participating in the chorus are about to sing the hymn of praise composed in honor of the Virgin.

Krimnitês. A type of cake made of coarse barley-meal (*krimna*), as Iatrocles records in his *On Cakes*.

Staititas. A type of cake made of spelt-flour dough (*stais*) and honey. Epicharmus mentions them in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 46).²⁹⁶ Moist spelt-flour dough is poured out into a frying pan, and honey, sesame-seeds, and cheese are added on top of it, according to Iatrocles.

Charisios.²⁹⁷ Aristophanes mentions this in *Banqueters* (fr. 211):

I'll [corrupt]

send a *charisios* cake in the evening.

Eubulus in *Ancylion* (fr. 1.2-3)²⁹⁸ refers to it as if it were a type of bread, as follows:

She leapt out just now,
as she was baking the *charisios*.

Epidaitron. A small barley-cake that resembles a cake and is eaten at dinner, according to Philemon in his *On Attic Vocabulary*.

²⁹⁵ Quoted at 3.114f.

²⁹⁶ Quoted at 3.110b (unmetrical).

²⁹⁷ Literally "thanksgiving," i.e. "offered to express thanks."

²⁹⁸ Quoted also at 15.668d, along with another verse.

Νᾶνος. ἄρτος πλακουντώδης διὰ τυροῦ καὶ ἐλαίου σκευαζόμενος.

Ψωθία. τὰ ψαθύρια. Φερεκράτης Κραπατάλλοις·

λήψει δ' ἐν Ἄιδου κραπάταλον καὶ ψωθία.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Θεόδωρος δ' ἐν Ἀττικαῖς Γλώσσαις τοῦ ἄρτου τὰ ἀποθραυόμενα ψωθία καλεῖσθαι, ἃ τινὰς ὀνομάζειν ἀτταράγους. |

d Ἴτριον. πεμμάτιον λεπτόν διὰ σησάμον καὶ μέλιτος γινόμενον. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ἀνακρέων οὕτως·

ἤριστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποκλάς,
οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον.

Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀχαρνέουσιν·

< . . . > πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια.

Σοφοκλῆς Ἐριδι·

ἐγὼ δὲ πεινώσ' αὖ πρὸς ἴτρια βλέπω.

Ἀμόραι. τὰ μελιτώματα Φιλητᾶς ἐν Ἀτάκτοις ἀμόρας φησὶν καλεῖσθαι. μελιτώματα δ' ἐστὶν πεπεμμένα.

e Ταγηνίτης. πλακοῦς | ἐν ἐλαίῳ τετηγανισμένος.

²⁹⁹ According to Poll. 9.83 (= *Small Change* test. i), Pherecrates actually used *psôthia* to refer to a coin that was used in Hades and was supposedly equivalent to three obols.

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Nanos. Bread that resembles a cake and is made with cheese and olive oil.

Psôthia. Crumbs. Pherecrates in *Small Change* (fr. 86):

You'll get small change and *psôthia* in Hades.²⁹⁹

Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrH* 244 F 283) and Theodorus in the *Attic Glossary* (*FGrH* 346 F 2) (claim that) bread-crumbs, referred to by some authorities as *attaragoi*, are known as *psôthia*.

Itrion. A light, thin pastry made with sesame and honey. Anacreon (*PMG* 373.1-2)³⁰⁰ mentions it, as follows:

I broke off a bit of crisp *itrion* and had it for lunch,
and I drank a jar of wine.

Aristophanes in *Acharnians* (1092):

cakes, sesame-cakes, *itria*.

Sophocles in *Strife* (fr. 199):

But I'm hungry, and I've got an eye out for *itria*
again.

Amorai. Philetas in the *Miscellany* (fr. 8 Dettori) claims that *melitômata* ("honey-cakes") are referred to as *amorai*.³⁰¹ *Melitômata* are a type of baked good.

Tagênitês. A cake cooked in oil in a frying-pan

³⁰⁰ Quoted also at 11.472e.

³⁰¹ Perhaps to be identified with the *homôron* said at 3.110b (where see n.) to have been mentioned by Epicharmus (fr. 46); see Dettori's n. on Philitas (the spelling of whose name varies in the ancient sources).

μνημονεύει Μάγνης <ἦ>⁸¹ ὁ ποιήσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας κωμωδίας ἐν Διονύσῳ δευτέρῳ·

ταγηνίας ἤδη τεθέασαι χλιαροὺς
σίζοντας, ὅταν αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιχέης μέλι;

καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Νόμοις·

καὶ δρόσον βάλλων ἔωθεν χλιαρὸς ταγηνίας.

Ἐλαφος. πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασ-
σόμενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.

Ναστός. πλακοῦντος εἶδος, ἔχων ἔνδον καρυκείας.

Χορία. βρώματα διὰ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος γινόμενα.

Ἄμορβίτης. πλακοῦντος εἶδος παρὰ Σικελοῖς· οἱ δὲ
< . . . >

f Παισά. | πλακοῦντια παρὰ Κώοις, ὡς φησιν
Ἰατροκλῆς.

Σησαμίδες. ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμων πεφρυγμένῳ
καὶ ἐλαίου σφαιροειδῆ πέμματα. Εὐπόλις Κόλαξις·

ὅς Χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει,
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει,
μήλα δὲ χρέμπεται.

⁸¹ add. Musurus

³⁰² For the *téganon/tagénon*, cf. 6.228e–9b; Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 11.8–9. ³⁰³ Literally “emitting dew.”

(*têganon*).³⁰² Magnes—or whoever wrote the comedies attributed to him—mentions (them) in *Dionysus II* (fr. 2):

Have you ever seen hot *tagêniai*
sizzling when you pour honey on them?

Also Cratinus in *Laws* (fr. 130):

and a hot *tagênias* breathing steam³⁰³ at dawn.

Elaphos.³⁰⁴ The cake made of spelt-flour dough, honey, and sesame during Elaphebolion.³⁰⁵

Nastos. A type of cake, which is stuffed with rich food.³⁰⁶

Choria. Food made with honey and milk.³⁰⁷

Amorbitês. A Sicilian type of cake; but other authorities . . .

Paisa. Small Coan cakes, according to Iatrocles.

Sêsamides. Round pastries made of honey, roasted sesame-seeds, and olive oil. Eupolis in *Flatterers* (fr. 176):³⁰⁸

who smells like the Graces,
does *kallabides*-dances when he walks,
shits *sêsamides*,
and spits apples.

³⁰⁴ Literally "deer." ³⁰⁵ The ninth month of the Attic calendar (approximately late February/March).

³⁰⁶ *karukeia*, cognate with *karukê* (a spicy, blood-based Lydian sauce; cf. 4.160b, 172b, 173d; 12.516c).

³⁰⁷ More likely a dish produced by stewing ingredients of this sort within the fetal envelope (*chorion*) of a sheep or goat, meaning that the entry is out of place here. See in general Gow on Theoc. 9.19.

³⁰⁸ Verses 2–3 are quoted also at 14.630a.

Ἀντιφάνης Δευκαλίωνι·

σησαμίδες ἢ μελίπηκτα † ἢ τοιοῦτό τι.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐφιππος ἐν Κύδωνι· πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον.⁸² ||

647 Μύλλοι. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεσμῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶ τοῖς Παντελείοις τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐφήβαια γυναικεία, ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μύλλους καὶ περιφέρεσθαι ταῖς θεαῖς.

Ἐχίνος. Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῇ ἐκ παραλλήλου τιθεὶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐξαιρέτως γινόμενα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ γράφει οὕτως· τῇ
b δὲ | περὶ τὸν ἄμμητα δόξῃ τὸν καινὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας εἰσάγουσα τραπέζης ἐχίνον. ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίον· παραγενομένου δὲ σοῦ καὶ συντεθέντος κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ῥόδῳ νόμους ἀπομασησαμένου πειράσομαι πλείω περιθεῖναι λόγον.

Κοτυλίσκος. Ἡρακλέων ὁ Ἐφέσιος πλακούντας τινὰς φησιν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τρίτου μέρους τῆς χοίνικος γινομένους.

⁸² Kaibel suggested that a lost note on the *γελώνιος* πλακοῦς (attested at *An. Ox.* iii.168) stood originally at this point in the text.

³⁰⁹ According to *An. Ox.* iii.168, Athenaeus mentioned “the Gelonian cake” along with the *sésamous*, and Kaibel proposed inserting the lost entry here (or, alternatively, at 3.114b).

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Antiphanes in *Deucalion* (fr. 79):

sêsamides or honey-cakes † or something like that.

Ephippus also mentions them in *Cydon* (fr. 13.3); the passage was cited earlier (14.642e).³⁰⁹

Mulloi. Heracleides of Syracuse in his *On the Customs in Syracuse* says that at the Panteleia, which is part of the Thesmophoria festival, female genitalia were manufactured out of sesame-seeds and honey, and that these are referred to everywhere in Sicily as *mulloi* and are carried in processions in honor of the goddesses.³¹⁰

Echinos.³¹¹ Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 15 Dalby) compares the most exceptional products of Attica with those in Rhodes, writing as follows:³¹² introducing an *echinos* on the second table, as a fresh competitor to face the fine reputation attached to the *amês*. For the moment, I am offering only a summary account of it; but when you are here and chew on one prepared in the Rhodian style, I will attempt to offer a more complete description.

Kotuliskos. Heracleon of Ephesus says that certain cakes made from a third of a *choinix*³¹³ are referred to this way.

³¹⁰ Demeter and Persephone, to whom the Thesmophoria festival belonged.

³¹¹ Normally "sea urchin," but here clearly a cake that resembles one.

³¹² Probably from the same section of the letter as the fragment quoted at 14.652c-d, in which case the subject here (feminine) is the island of Rhodes itself.

³¹³ Sc. of wheat or barley. A *choinix* contained four *kotulai*, of which *kotuliskos* is a diminutive.

Χοιρίναι. τούτων μνημονεύει Ἰατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πλακούντων καὶ τοῦ πυραμούντος καλουμένου, <οὐ>⁸³
 c διαφέρειν | λέγων τῆς πυραμίδος καλουμένης· γίνε-
 σθαι γὰρ ταύτην ἐκ πυρῶν πεφωσμένων καὶ μέλιτι
 δεδευμένων. αὐταὶ δὲ ἄθλα τίθενται ταῖς παννυχίσι τῷ
 διαγρυνπήσαντι.

Χρῦσιππος δ' ὁ Τυανεύς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἄρ-
 τοκοπικῷ εἶδη πλακούντων καὶ γένη τάδε ἀναγράφει
 Τερεντίνον, Κρασσιανόν, Τουτιανόν, Σαβελλικόν
 κλοῦστρον, Ἰουλιανόν, Ἀπικιανόν, Κανωπικά, περ-
 λούκιδον, Καππαδοκικόν, ἠδύβια, μαρυπτόν, πλίκιον,
 γουττάτον, Μουτιανόν (τοῦτον, φησί, μάξεις ἐξ οἴνου
 σκληρόν· εἰ δέ σοι τυρίον παρέσται, ἤμισυ μάξεις ἐξ
 d οἴνου καὶ ἤμισυ ἐκ τυροῦ· ἠδονικώτερον | γὰρ γίνε-
 ται), κλοῦστρον Κυριανόν, κλοῦστρον γουττάτον,
 κλοῦστρον Φαβωνιανόν, μουστάκια ἐξ οἰνομέλιτος,
 μουστάκια σησαμᾶτα, κλοῦστρον πούριον, † γωσλω-
 ανιον †, Παυλιανόν. ἐκ τυροῦ δέ, φησί, γίνεται
 πλακουντηρὰ τάδε· ἔγχυτος, σκριβλίτης, σουβίτυλ-
 λος (γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλικος σουβίτυλλος), σπῖρα
 (καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τυροῦ γίνεται), λούκουντλοι, ἀργυρο-

⁸³ add. Kaibel

³¹⁴ Cf. Philox. Cyth. *PMG* 836(e).15 (quoted at 14.643b).

³¹⁵ An echo of Call. fr. 227.5-6 (quoted at 15.668c).

³¹⁶ *kloustron* (as again repeatedly below) = Latin *crustulum*.

³¹⁷ = Latin *perlucidus*.

³¹⁸ For Cappadocian baking, cf. 3.112c.

Choirinai.³¹⁴ Iatrocles mentions these in his *On Cakes*, along with the so-called *puramous*, claiming that this is no different from the so-called *puramis*; for the latter is made from wheat that has been toasted and soaked in honey. They are offered as prizes at all-night festivals for those who stay awake the entire time.³¹⁵

Chrysippus of Tyana in his work entitled *The Art of Baking* lists the following types and varieties of cakes: Terentine, Crassian, Tutian, Sabine pastry,³¹⁶ Julian, Apician, Canopic, *perloukidon*,³¹⁷ Cappadocian,³¹⁸ *hêdubia*,³¹⁹ *marupton*, *plikion*,³²⁰ *gouttaton*,³²¹ Montian (you should knead this type, he says, with wine until the dough stiffens; if you have a bit of cheese, knead half the dough with wine, and half with cheese; this makes it tastier), Curian pastry, *gouttaton* pastry, Favonian pastry, *moustakia*³²² made with honeyed wine, *moustakia* made with sesame-seed, *pourion*³²³ pastry, [corrupt], Paulinian. The following cake-like pastries, he says, are made with cheese: *enchutos*,³²⁴ *skriblitês*,³²⁵ *soubitullos* (a *soubitullos* is made from rice-wheat groats), *spira*³²⁶ (this is also made with cheese), *loukountloi*,³²⁷ *argurotruphêma*,³²⁸ *libos*,³²⁹ *kir-*

³¹⁹ Literally "life-sweeteners" *vel sim*.

³²⁰ Probably cognate with Latin *plico* ("fold").

³²¹ = Latin *guttatus*, *guttatum*.

³²² = Latin *mustacea*

("must-cakes"). ³²³ Perhaps a Latinized version of a Greek adjective derived from *puros* ("wheat"; but the Latin word is attested elsewhere only in the form *purinos*).

³²⁴ "moulded (cake)"; cf. 14.644c-f.

³²⁵ = Latin *scriblita* or *scribilita*.

³²⁶ = Latin *spira* ("coil").

³²⁷ = Latin *lucunculi*.

³²⁸ Literally "silver-luxury (cake)."

³²⁹ = Latin *libus* or *libum*; cf. 3.125f-6a.

τρύφημα, λίβος, κίρκλος, λιξόλας, κλουστροπλακοῦς.
 γίνεται δέ, φησί, καὶ ὀρυζίτης πλακοῦς. ὁ δὲ φθῶις
 οὕτω γίγνεται τυρὸν ἐκπίεσας τρίβε καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς |
 e κόσκινον χάλκεον διήθει, εἴτ' ἐπίβαλε μέλι καὶ σε-
 λίγνεως ἡμίναν καὶ συμμάλαξον εἰς ἓν. κάτιλλος δὲ
 ὀρνᾶτος ὁ λεγόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὕτως γίγνεται
 θρίδακας πλύνας ξέσον καὶ ἐμβαλὼν οἶνον εἰς θυίαν
 τρίβε τὰς θρίδακας, εἶτα τὸν χυλὸν ἐκπίεσας σε-
 λίγνιον συμφύρασον αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεσεῖν ἑάσας μετ'
 ὀλίγον τριῦσον εὐτόνως, προσβαλὼν ὀλίγον στέατος
 χοιρείου καὶ πέπερι, καὶ πάλιν τρίψας ἔλκυσον λάγα-
 νον καὶ λειάνας ἐκτεμὼν κατάτεμνε καὶ ἔψε εἰς ἔλαιον
 f θερμότατον εἰς ἡθμὸν | βαλὼν τὰ κατακεκομμένα.
 ἄλλα πλακοῦντων γένη· ὄστρακίτης, ἀττανῖται, ἄμυ-
 λον, τυροκόσκινον. τυρὸν ἐκπιάσας καλῶς θῆς εἰς
 ἄγγος, εἴτ' ἄνω κόσκινον χαλκοῦν ἐπιθεῖς διάγε τὸν
 τυρόν. ὅταν δὲ μέλλης προσφέρειν, βάλε μέλιτος
 αὐταρκες ἐπάνω. ὑποτυρίδες δὲ οὕτως γίνονται· εἰς
 γάλα βαλὼν μέλι ἐκπίεσον καὶ βάλε εἰς σκεῦος καὶ ἕα
 παγῆναι. ἐὰν δέ σοι παρῆ κοσκίνια μικρά, ἐπίβαλε εἰς
 αὐτὰ τὸ σκεῦος, καὶ ἕα ἐκρεῖν τὸν ὀρόν. καὶ ὅταν σοὶ
 δόξη πεπηγέναι, ἄρας τὸ σκεῦος μετάβαλε εἰς ἀργύ-
 ρωμα, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ὄψις ἄνωθεν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἦ κοσκίνια,

330 = Latin *circulus* or *circlus*.

331 = Latin *lixula*.

332 "*crustulum*-cake."

333 *salignis* = Latin *siligo*. A *hēmīna* is a Roman measure (Lat. *hemina*) equal to half a *sextarius*.

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klos,³³⁰ *lixolas*,³³¹ and *kloustoplakous*.³³² There is also a type of cake, he says, made from rice. A *phthois* is made as follows: Press a piece of cheese; mash it; and place it in a bronze sieve and force it through. Then add honey and a *hêmina* of fine flour,³³³ and mix it all together. What the Romans call a *katillos ornatos*³³⁴ is made as follows: Wash and grate lettuce; put some wine in a mortar, and mash the lettuce;³³⁵ then squeeze out the liquid and work fine flour into it. Let it settle for a little while, then knead it vigorously. Add a bit of pork-fat and pepper; knead it again; stretch it out into a thin sheet; smooth it; trim it; cut it into small sections; put the pieces in a colander; and deep-fry them in olive oil that is as hot as possible. Other types of cakes: *ostrakitês*,³³⁶ *attanitai*, *amulon*, *turokoskinon*.³³⁷ Squeeze some cheese as dry as you can, and place it in a bowl; then place a bronze sieve on top of it, and force the cheese through. When you are about to serve it, pour the appropriate amount of honey on top. *Hypoturides*³³⁸ are made as follows: Add honey to milk; squeeze the mixture dry; toss it in a dish; and let it curdle. If you have small sieves, put the dish upside-down on top of them and let the whey drain off. When it appears to have curdled, pick up the dish and transfer it to a silver bowl;³³⁹ the pattern³⁴⁰

³³⁴ = Latin *catillus ornatus* ("elaborate dish").

³³⁵ Sc. together with the wine.

³³⁶ Presumably cognate with *ostrakis* ("pine seed, pine nut") (2.57b).

³³⁷ Literally "cheese-sieve"; the recipe apparently follows.

³³⁸ Literally "under-cheesecakes."

³³⁹ Sc. for serving.

³⁴⁰ Produced by the sieve.

φλαβιλλίοις καινοῖς χρῶ, ἐν οἷς τὸ πῦρ ριπίζεται· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιεῖ χρεῖαν. κοπτοπλακοῦς. ἐν Κρήτῃ δέ, φησίν, πλακουντάριον ποιούσιν, ὅπερ ὀνομάζουσι γάστριν. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως· κάρνα Θάσια καὶ Ποντικὰ
 648 καὶ ἀμύγδαλα, ἔτι δὲ ἥ μήκων, ἄ⁸⁴ φρύξας θεράπευσον καλῶς καὶ εἰς θύϊαν καθαρὰν τρίψον ἐπιμελῶς· συμμίξας τε τὴν ὀπώραν μάλαξον μέλιτι ἠψημένῳ, προσβαλὼν πέπερι πλέον καὶ μάλαξον· γίνεται δὲ μέλαν διὰ τὴν μήκωνα. διαπλατύνας ποίησον τετράγωνον· εἶτα σήσαμον λευκὸν τρίψας μάλαξον μέλιτι ἠψημένῳ καὶ ἔλκυσον λαγάνια δύο καὶ ἐν θῆς ὑποκάτω καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἐπάνω, ἵνα τὸ μέλαν εἰς μέσον γένηται, εὖ ρύθμισόν τε αὐτό. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς πεμματολόγος
 b Χρύσιππος. Ἄρποκρατίων ἰ δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πλακούντων τὴν παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καλουμένην παγκαρπίαν < . . . > καλεῖ. ἴτρια δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα συντεθρυμμένα μετὰ μέλιτος ἐψόμενα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔψησιν σφαιρηδὸν συντεθέντα περιδεῖται βύβλω λεπτῇ ἕνεκα τοῦ συμμένειν. πολτοῦ δὲ μνημονεύει Ἄλκμαν οὕτως·

ἤδη παρεξεί πνάνιον τε πολτὸν
 χίδρον τε λευκὸν κηρίναν τ' ὀπώραν.

ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πνάνιον, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος, πανσπερμία ἐν γλυκεῖ ἠψημένη· χίδρον δὲ οἱ ἐφθοὶ πυροῖ· κηρίναν δὲ

⁸⁴ μήκωνα ὄν A: corr. Kaibel

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will be on top. If you have no sieves, use fresh *flabilla*³⁴¹ of the type used to fan the fire; they serve the same purpose. *A koptoplakous*.³⁴² On Crete, he says, they produce a small cake they call a *gastris*.³⁴³ It is made as follows: Thasian nuts, Pontic nuts, and almonds, along with some poppy-seed; toast them, keeping a close eye on them as you do,³⁴⁴ and mash them fine in a clean mortar; mix the fruit in and work it smooth along with some reduced honey; add a considerable amount of pepper and work it smooth. It turns out black because of the poppy-seed. Flatten it out into a square. Next, grate white sesame-seed; work it into a paste with reduced honey; press it into two sheets, putting one on the bottom, and the other on top of it, so that the black mixture can go in the middle; and assemble it nicely. Thus the wise pastry-expert Chrysippus. But Harpocration of Mende in his *On Cakes* refers to what the inhabitants of Alexandria call a *pankarpia*³⁴⁵ as . . . These are *itria*³⁴⁶ that have been ground up with honey and boiled; after being boiled, they are rolled into balls and wrapped in a thin sheet of paper to hold them together. Alcman (*PMG* 96) mentions porridge, as follows:

Now he'll offer *puanion*-porridge,
and white *chidron*, and waxen produce.

According to Sosibius (*FGrH* 595 F 12), *puanion* is seeds of all sorts that have been stewed in grape-must; stewed grains of wheat are *chidron*; and by "waxen produce" he

³⁴¹ = Latin *flabella* ("fan").
"cake."

³⁴² Literally "pounded-
³⁴³ The word normally means "pot-belly" and thus
"glutton."

³⁴⁴ Sc. so as not to let them burn.

³⁴⁵ Literally "all-fruit [cake]."

³⁴⁶ See 14.646d.

c ὁπώραν λέγει τὸ μέλι. καὶ Ἰ' Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ οὕτως λέγει ἐν Γῆ καὶ Θαλάσση·

< . . . > πολτὸν ἔψειν ὄρθριον.

καὶ τῶν καλουμένων δὲ μελικηρίδων μνημονεύει Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις οὕτως·

ὥσπερ τῶν αἰγιδίων ὄζειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μελικήρας.

Δεχθέντων καὶ τούτων ὁ σοφὸς Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη πόθεν ὑμῖν, ὦ πολυμαθέστατοι γραμματικοί, καὶ ἐκ ποίας βιβλιοθήκης ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ σεμνότατοι οὗτοι συγγραφεῖς Χρῦσιππος καὶ Ἄρποκρατίων, διαβάλλοντες καλῶν ὀνόματα φιλοσόφων τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ; τίς d δὲ καὶ ἡμίαν Ἑλλήνων ὠνόμασεν ἢ τίς ἀμύλου μνημονεύει; ἀπαντήσαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Λαρηνσίου καὶ εἰπόντος· τὴν μὲν ἡμίαν οἱ τὰ εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφερόμενα ποιήματα πεποιηκότες οἶδασι, κὰν τῷ Χείρωνι ἐπιγραφομένῳ οὕτως λέγεται·

καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ διπλάσιον χλιαρόν, ἡμίνας δύο.

τὰ δὲ ψευδεπιχάρμεια ταῦτα ὅτι πεποιήκασιν ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι Χρυσόγονός τε ὁ ἀθλητής, ὡς φησιν Ἄριστόξενος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Πολιτικῶν Νόμων, τὴν Πολιτείαν

³⁴⁷ Referring to the Stoic Chrysippus of Soli (c.280–207 BCE) and the Platonic philosopher Harpocration of Argos (2nd century CE).

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means "honey." Epicharmus as well puts it as follows in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 20):

to cook porridge before the sun's up.

Pherecrates in *Deserters* (fr. 30) likewise mentions what are referred to as *melikêrides*, as follows:

to have your breath smell like a honey-cake
(*melikêra*), as the breath of kids does.

After these remarks were complete, the wise Ulpian said: What source, my deeply learned grammarians, or what library produced these awe-inspiring essayists of yours, Chrysippus and Harpocraton, who bring disgrace on the eminent philosophers whose names they share?³⁴⁷ What Greek ever used the word *hêmîna* or mentions an *amulon*?³⁴⁸ Larensius answered him and said: The authors of the poems attributed to Epicharmus are familiar with the *hêmîna*, and the following is said in the work entitled *Cheiron* ([Epich.] fr. 289):³⁴⁹

and to drink twice as much hot water, two *hêmînai*.

Well-known individuals produced these pseudepicharmic texts ([Epich.] *Pseud.* test. i), and according to Aristoxenus in Book VIII of the *Civic Laws* (fr. 45 Wehrli), the pipe-player Chrysogonus³⁵⁰ wrote the one entitled *The Consti-*

³⁴⁸ The words Ulpian asks about have been used in the quotations from Chrysippus' *The Art of Breadmaking* at 14.647e, f, respectively.

³⁴⁹ Quoted also at 11.479b, along with Sophr. fr. 100.

³⁵⁰ Stephanis #2637; cf. 8.350d-e.

e ἐπιγραφομένην· Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μαντικῆς
 Ἀξιόπιστον τὸν εἶτε Δοκρὸν γένος ἢ Σικυώνιον | τὸν
 Κανόνα καὶ τὰς Γνώμας πεποιηκένας φησίν. ὁμοίως
 δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. τοῦ δὲ ἀμύλου μνη-
 μονεύει Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Στερροῖς οὕτως λέγων·

φιλῶ πλακοῦντα θερμόν, ἀχράδας οὐ φιλῶ,
 χαίρω λαγῶις ἐπ' ἀμύλω καθημένοις.

τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ
 κοπτὴν τινα καλεῖτε, ὁρῶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ κειμένην ἐπὶ τῆς
 τραπέζης, λέγετε ἡμῖν, ὦ λίχνοι, τίς τοῦ ὀνόματος
 τούτου τῶν ἐνδόξων μνημονεύει; καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος
 ἔφη· τὸ μὲν θαλάσσιον πράσον κόπτῃν φησὶ καλεῖ-
 f σθαι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος ἐν ἐβδόμῳ | Γεωργικῶν.
 τοῦ δὲ ἡμῖν παρακειμένου μελιπήκτου μέμνηται Κλέ-
 αρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γρίφων⁸⁵ οὕτως λέγων·
 σκεύων κελεύοντι λέγειν ὀνόματα⁸⁶ εἰπεῖν·

τρίπους, χύτρα, λυχνεῖον, ἀκταία, βάθρον,
 σπόγγος, λέβης, σκαφεῖον, ὄλμος, λήκυθος,
 σπυρίς, μάχαιρα, τρύβλιον, κρατήρ, ραφίς.

ἢ πάλιν ὄψων οὕτως·

⁸⁵ Γρίφων Casaubon: γράφων A ⁸⁶ σκεύων κελεύοντι
 . . . ὀνόματα Kaibel: σκεύη κελεύοντα . . . ὅμοια A

³⁵¹ Literally "Deserving-of-Belief"—a highly appropriate
 (and thus most likely invented) name for the author of works of
 gnomic wisdom.

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tution. Philochorus in his *On Prophecy* (FGrH 328 F 79), on the other hand, claims that Axiopistus,³⁵¹ whose family was from either Locris or Sicyon, is the author of *The Rule and Wise Sayings*. Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 226) records the same information. As for the *amulon*, Teleclides mentions it in *Tough Guys* (fr. 34), saying the following:

I like a warm cake; I don't like wild pears;
and I really enjoy hare-meat set on top of an *amulon*.

When he heard this, Ulpian said: Well, since you refer to something known as a *koptê*,³⁵² and I see one set on everyone's table—tell me, my gluttons, what reputable author mentions this word? Democritus responded: Dionysius of Utica in Book VII of *The Art of Farming* claims that the sea-leek is referred to as a *kóptê*. Whereas the honey-cake (*melipêkton*) we have been served³⁵³ is mentioned by Clearchus of Soli in his *On Riddles* (fr. 87 Wehrli), where he says the following: When someone tells you to name furnishings,³⁵⁴ say:

table, cook-pot, lampstand, marble mortar, bench,
sponge, basin, bowl, wooden mortar, oil-jug,
basket, knife, cup, mixing-bowl, needle.

Or again (if he asks for the names) of prepared dishes, (say) the following:

³⁵² Presumably a reference to the mention of a *koptoplakous* in the quotation from Chrysippus at 14.647f. ³⁵³ Sc. "and which goes by the same name" (but with the accent on the ultima); cf. the penultimate verse quoted by Clearchus at 14.649a and the fragment of Sopater that follows. ³⁵⁴ Sc. as a drinking-party game; cf. 10.457c-f (citing Clearchus' *On Proverbs*).

649 ἔτνος, φακῆ, τάριχος, ἰχθύς, γογγυλῖς,
 σκόροδον, ἢ κρέας, θύννειον, ἄλμη, κρόμμυον,
 σκόλυμος, ἔλαια, κάππαρις, βολβός, μύκης.

ἐπί τε τῶν τραγημάτων ὁμοίως·

ἄμης, πλακοῦς, ἔντιλτος, ἴτριον, ῥόα,
 ῶόν, ἐρέβινθος, σησάμη, κοπτή, βότρυς,
 ἰσχάς, ἄπιος, πέρσεια, μῆλ', ἀμύδαλα.

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος. ὁ δὲ φλυακογράφος Σώπατρος
 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πύλαι δράματι φησιν·

τίς δ' ἀναρίθμου μήκωνος εὔρε κοπτὰς
 ἢ κνηκοπύρους ἠδονὰς τραγημάτων ἔμειξεν;

ἀπέχεις, ὦ καλέ μου λογιστὰ Οὐλπιανέ, τὴν κοπτήν
 b ἧς συμβουλεύω ἰ σοι ἀπεσθίειν. καὶ ὃς οὐδὲν μελ-
 λήσας ἀνελόμενος ἦσθιεν. γελασάντων δὲ πάντων
 ἔφη ὁ Δημόκριτος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσθίειν σοι προσέταξα,
 καλὸν ὀνοματοθήρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐσθίειν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπεσθί-
 ει οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν Φινεῖ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Θεό-
 πομπος·

παῦσαι κυβεύων, μειράκιον, καὶ τοῖς βλίτοις
 διαχρῶ τὸ λοιπόν. κοιλίαν σκληρὰν ἔχεις·
 τὰ πετραῖα τῶν ἰχθυδίων ἀπέσθιε.

³⁵⁵ Presumably cognate with *tilton* ("scaled saltfish") (3.118e).

³⁵⁶ See 14.646d.

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bean-soup, lentil-soup, saltfish, fish, turnip,
garlic, meat, tuna, brine-sauce, onion,
golden thistle, olive, caper, hyacinth-bulb, mushroom.

So too in the case of snacks:

amês, cake, *entiltos*,³⁵⁵ *itrion*,³⁵⁶ pomegranate,
egg, chickpea, sesame-seed, *koptê*, grape-cluster,
dried fig, pear, persea, apples, almonds.

Thus Clearchus. But the phlyax-author Sopater says in his play entitled *Gates* (fr. 16):

Who invented *koptai* made of countless poppy-
seeds,
or mixed together delicious snacks of wheat and
safflower-seed?

You have received full payment, my noble and precise³⁵⁷
Ulpian, as far as *koptê* is concerned, and I advise you to
apesthiein it. Ulpian did not hesitate for a moment, but
picked up his *koptê* and began to eat it. Everyone laughed,
and Democritus said: But I did not order you to eat
(*esthiein*) it, my good word-hunter; I ordered you *not* to eat
it. For this is how the comic poet Theopompus uses
apesthiein in *Phineus* (fr. 63):

Stop shooting dice, young man, and eat
blite from now on! Your guts are locked up;
don't eat (*apesthie*)³⁵⁸ rock-fish!

³⁵⁷ Ulpian is also called *logistês* at 9.401b, perhaps as a refer-
ence to supposed service at some point as an Imperial account-
inspector.

³⁵⁸ But the verb could just as well mean "eat" here.

ἡ τρυξ ἄριστόν ἐστιν εἰς εὐβουλίαν.
ταυτ' ἦν ποῆς, ῥάων ἔσει τὴν οὐσίαν.

- c χρώνται δὲ | τῷ ἀπεσθίειν καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπό τινος
ἐσθίειν, ὡς Ἐρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·

οἴμοι τάλας, δάκνει, δάκνει,
ἀπεσθίει μου τὴν ἀκοήν.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὁ Σύρος καὶ δηχθεὶς σφόδρα,
ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη, παράκειται ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ
φιττάκια· ἅπερ ἦν εἴπης παρὰ τίνι κέεται,

δώσω σοι

οὐ

χρυσέους δέκα στατήρας

- κατὰ τὸν Ποντικὸν λεσχηνευτήν, ἀλλὰ τουτὶ τὸ ἔκ-
πωμα. σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
ἀπορεῖς, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σε διδάξω. Νίκανδρος μὲν ὁ Κολο-
d φώνιος ἐν τοῖς Θηριακοῖς | μνημονεύων αὐτῶν φησιν·

φιττάκι' ἀκρεμόνεσιν ἀμυγδαλέοισιν ὅμοια.

γράφεται δὲ καί·

βιστάκια < . . . > ἀμυγδαλόεντα πέφανται.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The traditional text of Nicander has πιστάκι' ἀκρεμό-
νεσιν ἀμυγδαλόεντα πέφανται.

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Unfermented wine's best for sensible behavior.

If you act like this, you'll be easier on your property.

They also use *apesthiein* to mean "to eat part of something" (*apo tinos esthiein*), for example Hermippus in *Soldiers* (fr. 51):

Shit! He's biting me! he's biting me!
He's eating part (*apesthiei*) of my ear!

The Syrian³⁵⁹ had thus been caught in a mistake and was extremely upset, and he said: Alright—there are also pistachio nuts on our tables. If you tell me what author refers to them,

I will give you

not

ten gold staters,

to quote the chatterbox³⁶⁰ from Pontus (Heraclid. Pont. Jun. *SH* 480), but this drinking vessel. When Democritus remained silent, Ulpian said: Well, since you are at a loss, I will provide you with the answer. Nicander of Colophon mentions them in his *Theriaca* (891), saying:

pistachio nuts (*phittakia*), which resemble almonds,
on the branches.

But there is also the reading:

pistachio nuts (*bistakia*) that look like almonds have
appeared.

³⁵⁹ Ulpian. ³⁶⁰ *leschêneutês*, playing on the name of Heracleides' poem *Leschai*.

καὶ Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως· φέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ πέρσειον ἢ Ἀραβία καὶ ἡ Συρία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον βιστάκιον ὃ δὴ βοτρυνώδη τὸν καρπὸν ἀφίησι λευκόφαιον ὄντα καὶ μικρόν,⁸⁸ παρεμφερῆ τοῖς δακρύοις, ἃ δὴ ῥαγῶν τρόπον ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβάλλει, τὰ δ' ἔνδον ἔγχλωρον καὶ τοῦ κωνίου τῶν στροβίλων ἦττον μὲν εὐχυμον, εὐώδη e δὲ μᾶλλον. οἱ δὲ τὰ Γεωργικὰ | συγγράψαντες ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ γράφουσιν οὕτως· καὶ τὴν μελίαν καὶ τὴν τέρμινθον, ἃ δὴ νῦν πιστάκια οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τοῦ π' πιστάκια ταῦτα ὠνόμασαν, ὃ δὲ Νίκανδρος δασέως φιλτάκια, Ποσειδώνιος δὲ βιστάκια.

Περιβλέψας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τυχῶν 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 κοινᾶρων καὶ παλιούρων. | μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Κυζικηνὸς f ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος λέγων οὕτως· κερανοῦ δὲ σκήψαντος εἰς τὸν τάφον ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τοῦ σήματος δενδρίον, ὃ ἐκείνοι κόνναρον ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δενδρίον μεγέθει μὲν πτελέης καὶ πεύκης οὐθέν τι μείον, ἀκρεμόνας δὲ ἔχει θαμέας καὶ δολιχοὺς καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀκανθώδεας, τὸ δὲ φύλλον τέρεν 650 καὶ χλωρόν, τῇ φυῇ περιφερές. ἢ καρποφορεῖ δὲ δις τοῦ ἔτεος, ἡρὸς τε καὶ φθινοπώρου. γλυκὺς δὲ πάνυ ὁ

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So too the Stoic Posidonius in Book III of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 3 = fr. 55a Edelstein–Kidd) writes as follows: Persea grows in Arabia and Syria, as does the so-called *bistakion* (“pistachio”). The latter (tree) produces clusters of small, off-white fruit that resemble tears, and that spill over on top of one another like a bunch of grapes; they are pale on the inside and not as moist as pine-nuts but more fragrant. The brothers who composed the *Art of Farming*³⁶¹ write as follows in Book III: and the manna-ash and the terebinth, which the Syrians refer to today as *pistakia*. They referred to them as *pistakia*, with a *pi*, whereas Nicander uses the aspirated form *phittakia*, while Posidonius has *bistakia*.

He glanced around at the group when he completed these remarks, and after they expressed approval, he said: Alright—I intend to discuss all the other foods we have been served, allowing you to be astonished at my wide learning. I will begin by speaking about what the inhabitants of Alexandria refer to as *konnara* and *paliouroi*. Agathocles of Cyzicus mentions these in Book III of his history of his native land (*FGrH* 472 F 4), where he says the following: After a lightning-bolt struck the tomb, a tree the locals refer to as a *konnaron* grew from the mound. This tree is at least as tall as an elm or a pine, and has long, closely-set branches that are somewhat thorny; its leaves are soft, pale-green, and round. It produces fruit twice a year, in the spring and the fall. The fruit is extremely sweet;

³⁶¹ Sextus Quintilius Condianus and Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who shared the consulship in 151 CE.

⁸⁸ *μικρόν* Olson: *μακρόν* A

καρπός, μέγεθος κατὰ φανλίην ἐλάην καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ ὀστέον ταύτῃ προσείκελον, διαλλάσσον δὲ τῇ τοῦ χυμοῦ ἡδονῇ. καὶ τρώγεται ἔτι χλωρὸς ὁ καρπός· καὶ ἐπὴν ἀνανθή, ποιούσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄλευρα, καὶ πατέονται ταῦτα οὐ μάζαντες οὐδ' ὕδατι δεύοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλως ὀκοιά περ πέφυκεν. καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κύκλωπί φησι·

< . . . > παλιούρου κλάδω.

- Θεόπομπός τε ἐν εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ Φιλιππικῶν μνημονεύει | αὐτῶν καὶ Δίφιλος ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρός ἐν τῷ
 b Περὶ τῶν Προσφερομένων τοῖς Ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ τοῖς Νοσοῦσιν. τούτων δὲ πρῶτον ἐμνήσθη, 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. ἐξῆς οὖν λέξω
 c Πελοπόννησος Ἀπία ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐπιδαψιλεύειν | ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φυτόν, φησὶν Ἰστρός ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς. ὅτι δὲ τὰς ἀπίους ἐν ὕδατι εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Ἄλεξις ἐν Βρεττία παρίστησι διὰ τούτων·

(A.) εἶδές ποτε

πίνουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀπίους παρακειμένας ἐν ὕδατι; (B.) πολλὰ πολλάκις δήπου. τί οὖν;

(A.) οὐκοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκλεγόμενος λαμβάνει τῶν ἐπινεουσῶν τὴν πεπαιτάτην αἰεί;

(B.) δηλονότι.

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it is the size of a *phaulios* ("coarse") olive, which both its flesh and its pit resemble, although its juice tastes better. The fruit is eaten while still green. After it dries, they make flour out of it; when they eat this, they do not knead it or add any water, but simply consume it as is. Euripides says in *Cyclops* (394):

with a *paliouros*-branch.

Theopompus mentions *paliouroi* in Book XXI of the *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 133), as does the physician Diphilus of Siphnos in his *On Foods for the Healthy and the Sick*. I mentioned these items first, my friends, not because we have been served them today, but because I often had them on the second tables in beautiful Alexandria; although the question of their name came up there, I encountered them here,³⁶² in this book, and culled them from that source. My next topic will accordingly be the pears (*apia*) we have been served; for the Peloponnese came to be called *Apia* from them, since the tree flourishes there, according to Istrus in his *History of the Argolid* (FGrH 334 F 39). That they used to serve pears in water at their drinking parties is attested by Alexis in *The Girl from Bruttium* (fr. 34), in the following passage:

(A.) Did you ever see pears served in water to people who were drinking? (B.) Of course; lots of them, all the time.

So what?

(A.) Doesn't everyone always choose the ripest one that's floating around and take it?

(B.) Obviously.

³⁶² In Rome.

d αἰ δ' ἀμαμηλίδες οὐκ εἰσιν ἄπιοι, | ὥς τινες οἴονται,
ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι καὶ ἥδιον καὶ ἀπύρηνον. Ἀριστομένης
ἐν Διονύσῳ φησίν·

ὁ Χίος οὐκ οἶσθ' ὡς ἀμαμηλίδας ποεῖ;

ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν ἕτερον τῆς ἀπίου καὶ ἥδιον Αἰσχυλίδης
παρίστησιν ἐν τρίτῳ Γεωργικῶν. περὶ Κέω γοῦν τῆς
νῆσου λέγων γράφει οὕτως· ἀπίους ἢ νῆσος φέρει
κρατίστας κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καλουμένας ἀμαμη-
λίδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀπύρρηνοί τε καὶ ἠδέϊαι καὶ γλυκέϊαι.
Ἀέθλιος δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ὀρων Σαμίων, εἰ γνήσια τὰ
e συγγράμματα, ὁμομηλίδας αὐτὰς | καλεῖ. Πάμφιλος
δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Γλωσσῶν καὶ Ὀνομάτων, ἐπιμηλὶς,
φησίν· ἀπίου γένος. Ἀνδροτίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γεωρ-
γικῶν φωκίδας φησὶν εἶδος ἀπίων εἶναι.

Ῥόων < . . . > δὲ σκληροκόκκων⁸⁹ τῶν γὰρ ἀπυ-
ρήνων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς μνημονεύει. καὶ ἐν
Ἀναγύρῳ·

< . . . > πλὴν ἀλεύρου καὶ ῥόας.

καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ. Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν Κέρκωσί φησιν·

ἤδη τεθέασαι κόκκον ἐν χιόνι ῥόας;

⁸⁹ λέγονται δέ τινες ῥόαι ἀπύρρηνοι καὶ ἕτεραι σκληρό-
κοκκοὶ CE

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Medlars (*hamamêlides*) are not pears, as some people believe, but a different type of fruit that tastes better and lacks seeds.³⁶³ Aristomenes says in *Dionysus* (fr. 11):

Don't you know that Chios produces medlars?

Aeschylides in Book III of the *Art of Farming* establishes that this is a different fruit from a pear and tastes better. In his discussion of the island of Ceos, at any rate, he writes as follows: The island produces excellent pears that resemble what the Ionians refer to as *hamamêlides*; they lack seeds and are delicious and sweet. Aethlius in Book V of the *Annals of Samos* (FGrH 536 F 1b)—if the treatise is genuine—refers to them as *homomêlides*. Pamphilus says in his *On Words and Names* (fr. V Schmidt): *epimêlis*: a variety of pear.³⁶⁴ Androtion in his *On the Art of Farming* (FGrH 324 F *78) reports that *phôkides* are a type of pear.

Pomegranates (*rhoai*) . . . while others have hard seeds; for Aristophanes mentions the type that lack stones in *Farmers* (fr. 120). Also in *Anagyris* (fr. 52):

except for coarse-ground wheat and pomegranates.

And in *Gerytades* (fr. 188). Hermippus says in *Cercopes* (fr. 37):

Have you ever seen a pomegranate seed in the snow?

³⁶³ But medlars have seeds, and this is presumably a bad deduction based on the passage of Aeschylides quoted below.

³⁶⁴ Cited also at 3.82d.

ροΐδιον μέντοι ὡς βοΐδιον τὸ ὑποκοριστικόν. Ἄντι-
φάνης ἐν Βοιωτία·

ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι τῶν ῥοῶν
τῶν σκληροκόκκων.

Ἐπίλυκος Κωραλίσκω·

< . . . > μῆλα καὶ ῥόας λέγεις.

Ἄλεξις Μνηστῆρσιν·

ῥόαν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. |

- f σίδας δ' ὅτι τὰς ῥοιάς καλοῦσι Βοιωτοὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης
ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαδεκάτῃ τῶν Εὐρωπαϊκῶν οὕτως γράφει
ἀμφισβητούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς περὶ τῆς
χώρας ἣν καλοῦσι Σίδας, Ἐπαμινώνδας δικαιολογού-
μενος ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς μεταλαβὼν κεκρυμ-
μένην ῥόαν καὶ δείξας ἤρετο τί καλοῦσι τοῦτο. τῶν δ'
651 εἰπόντων ῥόαν, "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 Τιμωρουμένω ῥοΐδια αὐτὰς
ὠνόμασεν διὰ τούτων·

³⁶⁵ Diminutive of *bous* ("ox, cow"). This comment appears to belong with the quotation from Menander (fr. 83.2) below. It is unclear whether the word ought to be printed *rhoïdion* or *rhoïdion* (thus Kassel–Austin in the Menander passage).

³⁶⁶ Referred to as *The Boeotian Woman* also at 11.474e, but as *The Boeotian* at 3.84a; 9.367f.

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The diminutive, moreover, is *rhoïdion*, like *boïdion*.³⁶⁵ Antiphanes in *The Boeotian Woman*³⁶⁶ (fr. 60):

to bring me some of the pomegranates with hard
seeds
from the countryside.

Epilycus in *Coraliscus* (fr. 2):

You're talking about apples and pomegranates.

Alexis in *The Suitors*³⁶⁷ (fr. 73):

because a pomegranate from their hand.

As for the Boeotians referring to pomegranates (*rhoiai*) as *sidai*, Agatharchides writes as follows in Book XIX of his *History of Europe* (FGrH 86 F 8): When the Athenians were having a dispute with the Boeotians about the area they refer to as Sidai, Epaminondas,³⁶⁸ in the course of arguing his side of the case, abruptly took in his right hand a pomegranate he had been keeping hidden; showed it to them; and asked what their word for it was. When they said that they called it a *rhoa*, he said: "But we call it a *sida*"—the area contains a large number of these trees, which is how it originally got its name—and won the decision. Menander in *The Masochist* (fr. 83) referred to them as *rhoïdia*,³⁶⁹ in the following passage:

³⁶⁷ Sc. "of Helen," as the Antiatticist (citing fr. 74–5) makes clear.

³⁶⁸ Agatharchides Book XIX apparently covered events in 250 BCE, but Epaminondas died in 362; so this anecdote must have represented a bit of historical background.

³⁶⁹ Or *rhoïdia*? See 14.650e n.

† μετ' ἄριστον γὰρ ὡς ἀμυγδάλας ἐγὼ †
παρέθηκα καὶ τῶν ροιδίων ἐτρώγομεν.

λέγεται δέ τι καὶ φυτὸν σίδη ὁμοιον ροιδῶ, γινόμενον
ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν λίμνῃ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι, οὗ τὰ
μὲν φύλλα τὰ πρόβατα ἐσθίει, τὸν δὲ βλαστὸν αἱ ὕες,
ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν, γίνε-
b σθαι λέγων καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ ὁμώνυμόν τι | αὐτῇ ἄνευ
ρίζῶν.

Φοίνικες. Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀναβάσεώς
φησιν· ἐν κῆν⁹⁰ δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ
ὄξος ἐψητὸν⁹¹ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν
φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς
οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι
ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιοι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος,
ἣ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερεν. τὰς δὲ τινὰς
ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα παρετίθεντο,⁹² καὶ ἦν παρὰ
c πτότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῇ
πρώτῃ | περὶ Βαβυλῶνος λέγων φησὶν· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτόθι
φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, οἱ πλεῦνες
αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ
μέλι ποιέονται. τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσιν
τῶν γὰρ φοινίκων οὓς ἔρσενας καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν
καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῆσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοινί-
κων, ἵνα τε πεπαίγη σφιν ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐνδύνων
καὶ μὴ ἀπορρείη ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ

⁹⁰ Thus Xenophon.

⁹¹ καὶ ἐψητὸν A; the traditional text of Xenophon omits καὶ

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† Because after lunch, when almonds I † served, and we were eating some of the *rhoidia*.

There is also said to be a plant known as a *sidê* that resembles a pomegranate and is found in the marsh near Orchomenus, right in the water; the sheep and goats eat its leaves, while the pigs eat its fruit, according to Theophrastus in Book IV of *On Plants* (fr. 401 Fortenbaugh), who reports that another plant by the same name, but that lacks roots, grows in the Nile.

Date-palms. Xenophon says in Book II (3.14–15) of the *Anabasis*: A large amount of grain was available there, as well as date-wine and reduced vinegar made from the same fruit. As for the palm-fruit itself, the type one can see in Greece was reserved for the domestic slaves, whereas the select pieces were reserved for the masters; they were amazingly attractive and large, and looked exactly like electrum. The locals dried some of them and served them as snacks; they were nice to eat when you were drinking, but gave you a headache. Herodotus says in his discussion of Babylon in Book I (193.4–5, slightly condensed and modified): There are date-palms there that grow everywhere in the plain; the majority bear fruit, and are the source of their grain, wine, and honey. They care for them as one does a fig tree: they tie the fruit of what they refer to as the male palms to the fruit-bearing female palms, so that the fig-wasp can enter the fruit and make it ripen for them,³⁷⁰ and to keep the fruit from falling off the tree; for

³⁷⁰ For fig-wasps, see Dunbar on Ar. Av. 590.

⁹² The traditional text of Xenophon has ἀπερίθραυαν.

φορέουσιν ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσηνες καθάπερ οἱ ὄλον-
 θοι. τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἱστορεῖ |
 d περὶ τοῦ ἐν Διβύῃ καλουμένου λωτοῦ αὐτόπτης γενό-
 μενος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης Πολύβιος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ
 τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δένδρον ὁ
 λωτὸς οὐ μέγα, τραχὺ δὲ καὶ ἀκανθῶδες, ἔχει δὲ
 φύλλον χλωρὸν παραπλήσιον τῇ ράμνῳ, μικρὸν
 βαθύτερον καὶ πλατύτερον. ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τὰς μὲν ἀρ-
 χὰς ὁμοίος ἐστὶν καὶ τῇ χροῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ταῖς
 λευκαῖς μυρτίσι ταῖς τετελειωμέναις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ
 τῷ μὲν χρώματι γίνεται φοινικοῦς, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει ταῖς
 γογγύλαις ἐλαίαις παραπλήσιος, πυρήνα δὲ ἔχει
 e τελέως | μικρόν. ἐπὰν δὲ πεπανθῇ, συνάγουσι καὶ τὸν
 μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις μετὰ χόνδρου κόψαντες σάπτουσιν
 εἰς ἀγγεῖα, τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐξελόντες τὸν πυρή-
 να συντιθέασιν ὡσαύτως καὶ σιτεύονται τοῦτον. ἐστὶ
 δὲ τὸ βρῶμα 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, οἶνομέλιτι χρηστῷ
 παραπλήσιος, ᾧ χρῶνται χωρὶς ὕδατος. οὐ δύναται δὲ
 πλέον δέκα μένειν ἡμερῶν, διὸ καὶ ποιοῦσι κατὰ
 f βραχὺ | πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ὄξος ἐξ
 αὐτῶν. Μελανιππίδης δ' ὁ Μήλιος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν
 φοίνικας τὸν καρπὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζει τὸν λόγον ποι-
 ούμενος περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Δαναΐδων·

371 A prickly shrub of some sort.

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the male trees produce fig-wasps in much the same way as the flowers of the wild fig do. Polybius of Megalopolis in Book XII (I.2) of his *History* offers information similar to what Herodotus has, but about what is known in Libya as the *lôtos*, which he himself saw. He says the following: The *lôtos* is a relatively small tree, and is rough and covered with thorns. Its leaves are light green and resemble those of a *rhamnós*,³⁷¹ but are slightly thicker and broader. The fruit initially resembles ripe white myrtle-berries in its color and size; but as it gets larger, it takes on a dark-red hue. It is about as big as a round olive, and has a very small pit. Once it is ripe, they harvest it, and chop up some of it with groats and pack it into jars for their slaves, whereas they first remove the pits from the portion intended for the free people, and then process it in the same way and eat it. This food is similar to figs or dates, but it smells better. Wine is also produced from the fruit when it is soaked in water and mashed. As for its taste, it is delicious and enjoyable, and resembles good *oinomeli*,³⁷² they drink it without adding water.³⁷³ It cannot be stored for more than ten days, and they therefore produce it a little at a time for immediate consumption. They also make vinegar from the same ingredients. Melanippides of Melos in his *Danaids* (PMG 757) refers to the fruit³⁷⁴ as *phoinikes* in the following passage, where he is discussing the Danaids themselves:

³⁷² Honey (*meli*) into which wine (*oinos*) had been mixed.

³⁷³ Sc. in contrast to the normal Greek custom of mixing wine with water.

³⁷⁴ Sc. of the date-palm, to which the discussion now returns after the brief excursus on the *lôtos*. The term *phoinix* is normally used of the tree rather than of its fruit.

οὐ γὰρ † ἀνθρώπων φόρεν μορφὰν ἐνείδος †
οὐδὲ † τὰν αὐτὰν † γυναικείαν ἔχον,
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρμάτεσσι διφρού-
χοις ἐγυμνάζοντ' ἀν' εὐ-
ήλι' ἄλσεα πολλάκις
θήρῃσι φρένα τερπόμεναι,
<αἱ δ' > ἱερόδακρυν λίβανον εὐώ-
δεις τε φοίνικας κασίαν τε ματεῦσαι
τέρενα Σύρια σπέρματα. ||

- 652 καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Φυτῶν οὕτως· φοινίκων ἀνόρχων, 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,
b Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ἐταίρου ὄντος | αὐτῷ καὶ πέμποντος φοίνικας συνεχῶς. τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου δ' ὧν ὁ Νικόλαος καὶ ἱστορίαν συνέγραψεν πολλήν.

Ἰσχάδες. σφόδρα τῶν ἰσχάδων ἐθαυμάζοντο αἱ Ἀττικάι. Δίνων γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς φησιν· παρετίθεντο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς βασιλέως ὅσα ἢ γῆ βρώματα φέρει ἢς ἄρχει βασιλεύς, ἀφ' ἐκάστου ὅσον

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For not † of human beings [corrupt] shape
 [corrupt] †
 and not † the same † feminine having,
 but they often used to exercise
 in the sunny groves
 in chariots fitted with seats,
 taking pleasure in hunting,
 while others, seeking out the sacred tears of
 frankincense, fragrant *phoinikes*, and cassia,
 soft Syrian seeds.

Also Aristotle in his *On Plants* (fr. 326), as follows: of castrated *phoinikes*, which some authorities refer to as eunuchs, while others call them pit-less. Hellanicus in his *Journey Inland to Ammon's Shrine* (FGrH 4 F 56)—if the treatise is genuine—similarly calls the fruit a *phoinix*, as does the comic author Phormus in *Atalantas* (fr. 1). As for the so-called Nicolaus dates³⁷⁵ imported from Syria, I can tell you only that they were awarded this name by the emperor Augustus, who took great pleasure in eating them, because Nicolaus of Damascus (FGrH 90 T 10a) was a friend of his and regularly sent him dates.³⁷⁶ Nicolaus was a Peripatetic and wrote a long *History*.³⁷⁷

Dried figs. Dried Attic figs were held in very high regard. Dinon, for example, says in his *History of Persia* (FGrH 690 F 12): The king's table featured every food the land he controlled produced, representing an offering of

³⁷⁵ *phoinikes* (as again below).

³⁷⁶ Very similar material is preserved at Plu. *Mor.* 723d (= FGrH 90 T 10b).

³⁷⁷ In 144 books; see 6.249a.

ἀπαρχήν. ξενικῶ δὲ οὐδενὶ οὔτε βρώματι οὔτε ποτῶ
 ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ Ξέρξης τοὺς βασιλεῖς χρῆσθαι· ὅθεν καὶ
 c νόμος τις ὕστερον ἐγένετο. εἰσενέγκαντος | γάρ ποτε
 τῶν εὐνούχων τινὸς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τραγήμασιν ἰσχά-
 δας Ἀττικὰς, ἐρωτῆσαι ποταπαὶ εἶεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθετο
 ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, τοῖς ἀγορασταῖς ἀπηγόρευεν ὠνεῖσθαι,
 ἕως ἂν ἐξουσία γένηται αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν ὅταν ἐθέλλῃ
 καὶ μὴ ἀγοράζειν. λέγεται δὲ τὸν εὐνούχον ἐπίτηδες
 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθή-
 νας στρατείας. Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Κυβερνήτῃ φησίν·

εἰσέβαινον ἰσχάδες,
 τὸ παράσημον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ θύμον δέσμαι
 τινές.

Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Πρὸς τὸν Κωμικὸν Ποσειδίππον |
 d Ἐπιστολῇ, ἐν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, φησίν, πάθεσιν Εὐρι-
 πίδην νομίζω Σοφοκλέους οὐδὲν διαφέρειν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς
 ἰσχάσι τὰς Ἀττικὰς τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ προέχειν. κὰν τῇ
 Πρὸς Διαγόραν δὲ Ἐπιστολῇ γράφει οὕτως· ἡ δὲ γῆ
 ταῖς μὲν χελιδονείοις ἰσχάσιν ἀντιπαρατιθείσα τὰς
 Βρυγινδαρίδας καλουμένας, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι βαρβαρι-

³⁷⁸ Xerxes I (reigned 486–465 BCE); the expedition referred to below is the Persian invasion of mainland Greece in 480–479.

³⁷⁹ Plu. *Mor.* 173c preserves a very similar anecdote.

³⁸⁰ An echo of the story at Hdt. 5.105.2 about how Darius ordered a servant to do something similar in the aftermath of the destruction of Sardis.

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first fruits, as it were, from every region. Xerxes³⁷⁸ believed that the members of the royal household should not consume any foreign food or drink, as a consequence of which there was later a law to that effect. For on one occasion, when one of the eunuchs included dried Attic figs among the snacks that were served, Xerxes asked where they came from. When he heard that they were from Athens, he denied his purchasing-agents the right to buy them until he had the ability to take them whenever he wanted rather than spending money on them.³⁷⁹ There is also a story to the effect that the eunuch did this deliberately, to remind Xerxes of his expedition against Athens.³⁸⁰ Alexis says in *The Steersman* (fr. 122):

Dried figs, the distinctive
product of Athens, entered, as did some bunches of
thyme.³⁸¹

Lynceus says in his *Letter to the Comic Author Posidippus* (fr. 17 Dalby): In my opinion, Euripides is no better than Sophocles when it comes to tragic emotions. But as for dried figs, the Attic variety is far superior to any other. And in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 13 Dalby) he writes as follows: The land counters swallow-figs³⁸² with what are known as Brugindarides,³⁸³ which have a barbaric name but speak

³⁸¹ Or perhaps "some strings of bulbs" of an unidentified sort; cf. Arnott ad loc.

³⁸² For swallow-figs, cf. 3.75c-d; 13.582f. "The land" in question is presumably Rhodes; cf. 3.75d-e (again citing Lynceus' *Letters*).

³⁸³ Poll. 6.81 mentions a type of Rhodian figs called *Bagindarioi*.

ζούσας, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκείνων Ἀττικι-
ζούσας. Φοινικίδης δ' ἐν Μισουμένη φησίν·

- (A.) μύρτων λέγουσιν καὶ μέλιτος ἐγκώμια, |
e καὶ τῶν προπυλαίων καὶ τέταρτον ἰσχάδων·
τούτων ἐγευσάμην καταπλεύσας εὐθέως –
(B.) καὶ τῶν προπυλαίων; (A.) κοῦδὲν ἦν τούτων
ὄλως
πρὸς ἀτταγήνα συμβαλεῖν τῶν βρωμάτων.

ἐν τούτοις τηρητέον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀτταγήνος μνήμην.
Φιλῆμων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν Ὀνομάτων Αἰγι-
λίδας φησὶν εἶναι τὰς καλλίστας ἰσχάδας· Αἴγιλα δ'
εἶναι δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγίλου τινὸς ἥρωος
ὠνομασμένον· χελιδονίας δὲ καλεῖσθαι τὰς ἐρυθρομε-
f λαίνας ἰσχάδας. Θεόπομπος | δ' Εἰρήνη τὰς Τιθρα-
σίας ἐπαινῶν ἰσχάδας φησὶν οὕτως·

μάζαι, πλακοῦντες, ἰσχάδες Τιθράσιαι.⁹³

οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ
ἰσχάδες – ὄντως γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην,

< . . . > οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων –

ὡς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράφει
Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιούντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ
γλεύκον⁹⁴ καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. ||

⁹³ Better Τιθράσιαι (thus Kock, followed by Kassel–Austin)

⁹⁴ γλεύκον Olson: γλυκὺν ACE

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Attic just as well as the other type as far as a delicious flavor is concerned. Phoenicides says in *The Girl No One Liked* (fr. 2):

(A.) They offer speeches praising myrtle-berries,
 honey,
 the Propylaia,³⁸⁴ and, number four, dried figs;
 I tasted those the minute I sailed into port—
 (B.) You tasted the Propylaia? (A.) and not a single
 one
 of these foods could compare to a francolin.

Note the mention of the francolin in this passage. Philemon in his *On Attic Vocabulary* says that the best variety of dried figs are Aegilides—Aegila is an Attic deme that gets its name from a hero known as Aegilus—and that reddish-black dried figs are known as *chelidoniai* (“swallow-figs”). Theopompus in *Peace* (fr. 12) recommends Tithrasian figs, saying the following:

barley-cakes, cakes, dried Tithrasian figs.

There was such universal enthusiasm for dried figs—for the fact is, to quote Aristophanes (fr. 681), that

Nothing's sweeter than dried figs—

that, according to Hegesander (fr. 43, *FHG* iv.421), Amittrochates, the king of India,³⁸⁵ wrote Antiochus asking him to buy grape-must, dried figs, and a sophist, and send them

³⁸⁴ The monumental entrance-way to the Athenian acropolis, erected in the late 430s BCE.

³⁸⁵ Reigned 294–269 BCE; the Antiochus in question is thus presumably Antiochus I Soter.

653 καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλεύκον⁹⁵ ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι. ὅτι δὲ καὶ πεφωσμένας ἰσχάδας ἥσθιον Φερεκράτης δείκνυσιν ἐν Κοριαννοῖ λέγων οὕτως·

ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας μοι πρόελε τῶν πεφωσμένων.⁹⁶

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 πρόσκνιδας⁹⁷ γένος ἰσχάδων.

Βότρυς δὲ ὅτι μὲν κοινὸν δῆλον. σταφυλῆς δὲ μέμνηται, καίτοι δοκοῦντος τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἀσιαγενοῦς εἶναι, Κράτης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου, ἐν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς τοῖς ἀρχαίοις φάσκων ἀντὶ τοῦ βότρυος τὴν σταφυλὴν κείσθαι διὰ τούτων·

αὐτῆσι σταφυλῆσι μελαίνησιν κομόωντες.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἐστὶν παντὶ δῆλον. Πλάτων δὲ

⁹⁵ γλεύκον Olson: γλυκὺν ACE

⁹⁶ Better πεφωγμένων (thus Kassel–Austin, following the lexicographers)

⁹⁷ Hesychius and Pollux suggest that the word ought to be spelled πρόκνιδας.

to him. Antiochus wrote back: I'll send you dried figs and grape-must. But trafficking in sophists is not allowed in Greece.³⁸⁶ Pherecrates in *Corianno* (fr. 74, encompassing both quotations) shows that they used to eat toasted figs, when he says the following:

But pick out some of the toasted dried figs for me!

And shortly after that:

Bring dried figs! Some of the black ones—do you understand?

In the land of those Mariandynian barbarians they call dried black figs *chutrai*.³⁸⁷

I am also aware that Pamphilus (fr. XXXI Schmidt) refers to a variety of dried figs as *prosknides*.³⁸⁸

That *botrus* is a common term³⁸⁹ is obvious. Crates in Book II of the *Attic Dialect* (fr. 109 Broggiato) mentions the word *staphulê*, even though the term appears to be of Asian origin, and claims that *staphulê* is attested in place of *botrus* in the ancient *Hymns*, in the following passage:³⁹⁰

with long hair consisting of the black *staphulai* themselves.

That the word is also found in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 18.561; *Od.*

³⁸⁶ As if this were a dangerous commodity in which trade was prohibited.

³⁸⁷ Literally "cookpots," which the fire turned black.

³⁸⁸ Hsch. π 3540 gives the word in the form *proknis*, while Poll. 6.81 has *prokrides*. ³⁸⁹ Sc. for "grape."

³⁹⁰ Perhaps from the lost portion of the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (= fr. B in West's Loeb).

ἐν ὀγδόῳ Νόμων καὶ βότρυς καὶ σταφυλὰς ὀνομάζει
 c διὰ τούτων· ὃς ἂν ἀγροίκου | ὀπώρας γεύσῃται,
 βοτρυῶν εἴτε καὶ σύκων, πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ὥραν τὴν τοῦ
 τρυγᾶν Ἀρκτούρω σύνδρομον, εἴτ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ χω-
 ρίοις εἴτε καὶ ἐν ἄλλων, ἱερὰς μὲν <πεντήκοντα>⁹⁸
 ὀφειλέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ
 δρέπῃ, ἐὰν δ' ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων, μνᾶν, ἐὰν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων,
 δύο μέρη τῆς μνᾶς. ὃς δ' ἂν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγο-
 μένην σταφυλὴν <ἦ>⁹⁹ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομα-
 ζόμενα ὀπωρίζειν βούληται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων
 λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὀπόταν βούληται καρ-
 d πούσθω, ἐὰν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων μὴ | πείσας, ἐπομένως τῷ
 νόμῳ τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὃ τι μὴ κατέθετο, ἐκείνως αἰεὶ
 ζημιούσθω. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν
 ζητῶ τίς ἢ γενναῖα σταφυλὴ καὶ τίνα τὰ γενναῖα
 σῦκα. ὦρα οὖν ὑμῖν ζητεῖν, ἕως ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς
 παρακειμένων διεξέλθω. καὶ ὁ Μασσούριος ἔφη·

μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἕς τ' αὔριον ἕς τ' ἔννηφι.¹⁰⁰

γενναῖα λέγει τὰ εὐγενῆ ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὡς καὶ Ἀρχί-
λοχος·

< . . . > παρέλθε, γενναῖος γάρ εἰς.

⁹⁸ πενήκοντα (i.e. ν') om. A ⁹⁹ Thus Plato.

¹⁰⁰ Better ἕς τε ἔννηφι, as at 3.100b

³⁹¹ = 100 drachmas.

³⁹² I.e. "I will answer your question at once!" But Masurius

5.69) is apparent to anyone. Plato in Book VIII of the *Laws* (844d–e) uses both *botrus* and *staphulê* in the following passage: Anyone who tastes wild fruit, be it *botrues* or figs, before harvest-time (coinciding with the rise of Arcturus) arrives, be it in his own fields or those of others, is to owe 50 drachmas, to be dedicated to Dionysus, if he picks them from his own field; a *mina*,³⁹¹ if he picks them from his neighbors' fields; and two-thirds of a *mina*, if he picks them from fields belonging to anyone else. And if anyone wants to harvest what is known today as a "noble *staphulê*" or what are called "noble figs," if he gets them from his own fields, he may pick them however and whenever he wishes, whereas if he gets them from someone else's field without permission, in accord with the principle that no one is to meddle with what is not his own, he is always to be punished as specified. Thus the divine Plato. But I pose the further question of what a noble *staphulê* and noble figs are. It is therefore time for you to take up this matter, while I work my way systematically through the various items we have been served. And Masurius said (*Hes. Op.* 410):

And put nothing off until tomorrow or the next
day!³⁹²

The philosopher³⁹³ is referring to crops that have been carefully bred (*eugenê*) as "noble" (*gennaia*), as does Archilochus (fr. 225 West²):

Pass by; for you are noble (*gennaios*).

rapidly returns to merely cataloguing literary references to grapes generally.

³⁹³ Plato (quoted above).

e ἢ τὰ ἐπιγεγεννημένα οἶον τὰ ἐπεμβεβλημένα· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ἐπεμβολάδας ἀπίους | ὀνομάζει τὰς ἐγκεκεντρισμένας. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Ἑπερ Κτησιφώντος· σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλαίας συλλέγων. Ξενοφῶν ἐν Οἰκονομικῷ· ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γλυκαίνεσθαι τὰς σταφυλάς. οἶδασιν δὲ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴνω συντιθεμένους βότρυς. Εὐβουλος γοῦν ἐν Κατακολωμένῳ φησίν·

ἀλλὰ παραλαβὼν ἀκράτῳ κροῦε καὶ δίδου
 πυκνὰς
 καὶ βότρυς τρώγειν ἀνάγκαζ' αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴνου
 συχνούς.

f ὁ δὲ τὸν Χείρωνα πεποικῶς τὸν εἰς Φερεκράτην ἀναφερόμενόν | φησιν·

ἀμυγδάλας καὶ μῆλα καὶ μιμαίκυλα
 καὶ μύρτα καὶ σέλινα κάξ οἴνου βότρυς
 καὶ μυελόν.

ὅτι δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις διηνεκεῖς ἦσαν αἱ ὀπώραι πᾶσαι, μαρτυρεῖ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὀραις. τί οὖν παράδοξον ἱστορεῖν δοκεῖ Ἀέθλιος ὁ Σάμιος ἐν πέμπτῳ Σαμίῳ Ὀρων λέγων· σῦκον καὶ σταφυλὴ καὶ ὀμομηλῖς καὶ μῆλα καὶ ροιαὶ¹⁰¹ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐγίνετο; || Λυγκεὺς δ' ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῇ ἐπαινῶν τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γινόμενον Νικο-

¹⁰¹ ροιαὶ Olson: ρόδα ACE

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Or else (he means) those that have been grown on something else (*epigegennêmena*), which is to say, that have been grafted; because Aristotle (fr. 327) refers to grafted pears as *epembolades*. Demosthenes in his *On Behalf of Ctesiphon*³⁹⁴ (18.262): collecting figs, grapes (*botrus*), and olives. Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* (19.19): that the grapes (*staphulai*) grow sweet in the sunlight. Our predecessors also know about grapes preserved in wine. Eubulus, for example, says in *The Man Who Was Glued to the Spot* (fr. 48):

But take him with you and keep clobbering him with
unmixed wine; give him one drink after another,
and force him to eat lots of grapes packed in wine.

The author of the *Cheiron* attributed to Pherecrates (fr. 158) says:

almonds, apples, arbutus-fruit,
myrtle-berries, celery, grapes packed in wine,
and marrow.

Aristophanes in *Seasons*³⁹⁵ bears witness to the fact that fruit of all types was constantly available in Athens. So what seems strange about the information provided by Aethlius of Samos in Book V of the *Samian Chronicles* (FGrH 536 F 1a), when he says: Figs, grapes (*staphulê*), medlars, apples, and pomegranates were produced twice a year? Lynceus in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 7 Dalby) recommends the Nicostratean grape found in Attica, and

³⁹⁴ Usually referred to today as the *De Corona* ("On the Crown").

³⁹⁵ Cf. fr. 581.1-3, quoted at 9.372b.

στράτειον βότρυν καὶ ἀντιτιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥοδιακοὺς
 φησιν· τῷ δ' ἐκεῖ καλουμένῳ βότρυν Νικοστρατείῳ
 τὸν Ἰππώνειον ἀντεκτρέφουσι βότρυν, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἑκα-
 τομβαιῶνος μηνὸς ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς οἰκέτης διαμένει
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων εὖνοιαν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλάκις ὑμῖν εἴρηται περὶ τε κρεῶν καὶ
 ὀρνίθων,¹⁰² ἔρχομαι καὶ γὰρ λέξων ὅσα ἐκ πολυαναγνω-
 b σίας εὐρεῖν ἠδυνήθην παρὰ τὰ προειρημένα. | περι-
 στέριον οὕτως ἔστιν εὐρεῖν εἰρημένον παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ
 ἐν Παλλακῇ·

μικρὸν ἐπιμείνας προστρέχει
 “ἠγόρακά σοι περιστέρια” λέγων.

ὁμοίως Νικόστρατος Ἄβρα·

ταὐτ' ἀξιῶ·

† εἰ τ' ὀρνιθάριον † τὸ περιστέριον, τὸ γαστρίον.

Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἀντέρωτι·

περιστέρια γὰρ εἰσάγων καὶ στρουθία.

Φρύνιχος Τραγωδοῖς·

περιστέριον δ' αὐτῷ τι λαβὲ τριωβόλου.

Φασιανικός. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ δω-

¹⁰² καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ περιστεριδίων A: καὶ περιστεριδίων
 del. Kaibel

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compares the Rhodian variety to it, saying: To match what is referred to there³⁹⁶ as the Nicostratean grape, they cultivate the Hipponeian grape, which remains constantly cheerful from the month Hecatombaion³⁹⁷ on, like a good domestic slave.

Since you have frequently discussed meat and birds,³⁹⁸ I intend to tell you everything else I was able to find out in addition about these topics from my extensive reading. A pigeon can be found referred to as follows in Menander's *The Concubine* (fr. 280):

Wait a bit, and then run up
and say "I've bought you some pigeons."

Likewise Nicostratus in *Habra* (fr. 2):

This is what I'm requesting:
† and if a little bird † the pigeon, the stomach-
sausage.

Anaxandrides in *The Rival in Love* (fr. 7):

because by bringing in pigeons and sparrows.

Phrynichus in *Tragic Actors* (fr. 53):

Buy him a pigeon for three obols!

Pheasant. King Ptolemy in Book XII of his *Commen-*

³⁹⁶ In Attica.

³⁹⁷ The first month of the Attic year, which began in mid-summer.

³⁹⁸ The general subject of 9.373a-403d.

δεκάτῳ τῶν Ἑπομνημάτων περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
 c βασιλείων | λέγων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζῶν
 τρεφομένων φησὶν τά τε τῶν φασιανῶν, οὓς τετάρους
 ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐ¹⁰³ μόνον ἐκ Μηδίας μετεπέμπετο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ νομάδας ὄρνιθας ὑποβαλὼν ἐποίησε πλῆ-
 θος, ὥστε καὶ σιτεῖσθαι τὸ γὰρ βρῶμα πολυτελές
 ἀποφαίνουσιν. αὕτη <ἡ>¹⁰⁴ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασι-
 λέως φωνή, ὃς οὐδὲ φασιανικοῦ ὄρνιθος ποτε γεύσα-
 σθαι ὠμολόγησεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τι κειμήλιον ἀνα-
 κείμενον εἶχε τούσδε τοὺς ὄρνιθας. εἰ δὲ ἐωράκει ὡς
 d ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ εἷς ἐστὶ παρακείμενος χωρὶς | τῶν ἤδη
 κατανηλωμένων, προσαναπεπληρώκει ἂν ταῖς πολυ-
 θρυλήτοις ἱστορίαις τῶν Ἑπομνημάτων τούτων ταῖς
 εἰκοσιτέσσαρσιν καὶ ἄλλην μίαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἢ
 Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπομνήμασι, τῶν φασιανῶν,
 φησὶν, οὐ κατὰ λόγον ἢ ὑπεροχῇ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἀλλὰ
 πολλῶ μείζων.¹⁰⁵ εἰ δ' ὁ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ
 τῶν ταῶνων πλῆθος ἐωράκει τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑρῶμην,
 καταπεφεύγει ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ἀδελφοῦ πάλιν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξεληλαμένος. τοσ-
 e οὔτον | γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν ὄρνιθῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ
 Ἑρῶμῃ, ὡς δοκεῖν προμεμαντευμένον τὸν κωμωδιο-

¹⁰³ οὓς οὐ A: οὓς del. Kaibel

¹⁰⁴ add. Kaibel

¹⁰⁵ Kaibel misguidedly proposed expelling this sentence from the text on the ground that it is ill-integrated with what surrounds it.

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taries (FGrH 234 F 2a),³⁹⁹ in the course of his discussion of the royal palace in Alexandria and the animals kept there, says: Not only did he import the variety of pheasants known as *tetaroi* from Media, but he also bred *nomades* birds, and produced so many of them that they could be eaten; for they are generally regarded as expensive food. This quotation is drawn from the illustrious king, who admitted that he had never tasted pheasant, but who instead treated these birds like a treasure he kept stored away. If he had seen how each of us has one sitting on the table beside him, in addition to those we have already consumed, he would have filled another Book on top of (FGrH 234 T 2) the notorious 24 of those *Commentaries* of his. Aristotle (fr. 991) or Theophrastus says in his *Commentaries*: Male pheasants are not merely as much larger⁴⁰⁰ as one would expect, but far larger than that. Whereas if the king referred to above⁴⁰¹ had seen how many peacocks there are in Rome, he would have run away to the sacred Senate, as if he had been driven from the throne by his brother for a second time. There are so many of these birds in Rome, that the comic poet Antiphanes in *The Soldier* or *Tycho* (fr.

³⁹⁹ The same passage is referred to at 9.387e, where Epaenaeus is also cited as claiming that another name for a pheasant is *taturas*. Cf. 9.398b–9a (the *tetrax*). What follows makes it clear that the individual to whom Ptolemy was referring was his brother Ptolemy VI Philometor.

⁴⁰⁰ Sc. than females.

⁴⁰¹ Ptolemy VI Philometor, who was driven from the Egyptian throne in 164 BCE by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (the author of the *Commentaries*) but was restored after he appealed to Rome for support.

ποιὸν Ἀντιφάνην ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ἢ Τύχωνι εἰρηκέναι
τάδε·

τῶν ταῶν μὲν ὡς ἅπαξ τις ζεύγος ἤγαγεν μόνον,
σπάνιον ὃν τὸ χρήμα, πλείους εἰσὶ νῦν τῶν
ὀρτύγων·
χρηστὸν ἄνθρωπον δ' ἕάν τις ἕνα μόνον ζητῶν
ἴδῃ,
ὄψεται ἕκ τούτου πονηροὺς πέντε παῖδας
γεγονότας. |

f Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Λαμπάδι·

καταφαγεῖν
αὐτὸς τοσοῦτ' ἀργύριον; οὐδ' εἰ γάλα λαγοῦ
εἶχον, μὰ τὴν Γῆν, καὶ ταῶς κατήσθιον.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ τιθασοὺς εἶχον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις
Στράττις παρίστησιν ἐν Πανσανία διὰ τούτων·

πολλῶν φλυάρων καὶ ταῶν ἀντάξια,
οὓς βόσκειθ' ὑμεῖς ἕνεκα τῶν ὠκυπτέρων.

Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Μελιλότῳ ||

655 οὐ μανικόν ἐστ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ τρέφειν ταῶς,
ἐξὸν τοσοντοῦ δὲ ἀγάλματ' ἀγοράσαι;

Ἀναξίλας Ὀρνιθοκόμοις·

καὶ πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις τιθασὸς οἰμῶζων ταῶς.

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203)⁴⁰² would appear to have had a premonition of the situation when he said the following:

When someone imported a single pair of peacocks
only once,
they were rare. But nowadays they're more common
than quail.

If someone looks for decent people, on the other
hand, and spots only one,
he'll see that the guy's got five bad sons.

Alexis in *Lampas* (fr. 128):

that I wasted

that much money all by myself? Not even if I'd had
hare's
milk, by Earth, and ate peacocks!

Strattis in *Pausanias*⁴⁰³ (fr. 28) establishes that they kept tame peacocks in their houses, in the following passage:

worth lots of nonsense and peacocks,
which you keep because of their tail-feathers.

Anaxandrides in *Melilot* (fr. 29):

Isn't it crazy to raise peacocks in your house,
when you could buy two statues for the same price?

Anaxilas in *Bird-Keepers* (fr. 24):

And in addition, on top of that, a damned tame
peacock!

⁴⁰² The first two verses are quoted also at 9.397a.

⁴⁰³ Referred to as *Macedonians* or *Pausanias* at 13.589a.

Μηνόδοτος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ τὸ Ἱερὸν τῆς Σαμίας Ἑρας φησὶν· οἱ ταοὶ ἱεροὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἑρας· καὶ μῆποτε πρῶτιστοι καὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐτράφησαν ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς ἕξω τόπους διεδόθησαν, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρύονες ἐν τῇ Περσίδι καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι μελεαγρίδες ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ. διὸ καὶ | Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμοπατρίοις φησὶν·

ἐν Ἡλίου μὲν φασι γίνεσθαι πόλει
φοίνικας, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ γλαῦκας· ἡ Κύπρος
ἔχει πελείας διαφόρους, ἡ δ' ἐν Σάμῳ
Ἑρα τὸ χρυσοῦν, φασὶν, ὀρνίθων γένος,
τοὺς καλλιμόρφους καὶ περιβλέπτους ταῶς.

διόπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίσματος τῶν Σαμίων ταῶς ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μελεαγρίδων Μηνόδοτος ἐμνήσθη, λέξομέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν. Κλύτος ὁ
c Μιλήσιος, Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ μαθητῆς, ἐν | τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Μιλήτου γράφει περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτως· περὶ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Παρθένου ἐν Λέρῳ εἰσὶν οἱ καλούμενοι ὄρνιθες μελεαγρίδες· ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐστὶν ἐλώδης ἐν ᾧ τρέφονται· ἐστὶ δὲ ἄστοργον πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα τὸ ὄρνεον καὶ ὀλιγωρεῖ τῶν νεωτέρων, ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν· ἔχει δὲ τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ὄρνιθος γενναίου, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν μικρὰν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταύτην ψιλὴν, ἐπ' αὐτῆς δὲ λόφον σάρκινον, σκληρόν, στρογγύλον, ἐξέχοντα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὥσπερ
d πᾶτταλον, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα | ξυλοειδῆ, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς γνάθοις ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀρξαμένην ἀντὶ πώγωνος

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Menodotus of Samos says in his *On the Contents of the Temple of Samian Hera* (FGrH 541 F 2): The peacocks are sacred to Hera. And it may be that they were first bred and kept on Samos, and were dispersed from there to other regions, just as roosters originated in Persia, and the so-called *meleagrides* originated in Aetolia. This is why Antiphanes says in *Men Who Shared a Father* (fr. 173):

People claim there are phoenixes in
Heliopolis, and little owls in Athens. Cyprus
has got special doves, and Samian Hera,
they say, has her extraordinary species of birds,
the spectacularly gorgeous peacocks.

This is why Samian coins have a peacock on them. But since Menodotus also mentioned *meleagrides*, I intend to say something on the topic. Clytus of Miletus, a student of Aristotle, writes as follows about them in Book I of *On Miletus* (FGrH 490 F 1): The birds known as *meleagrides* are found around the temple of the Virgin⁴⁰⁴ in Leros. The area in which they are kept is marshy. The bird shows no concern for its offspring and neglects its chicks, and as a result the priests are forced to take care of them. It is the size of a domesticated chicken, and has a head that is disproportionately small in comparison to its body and that lacks feathers; on top of its head is a fleshy, hard, round crest, which projects from its head like a peg and is the color of wood. Attached to its jaw, beginning at its mouth, is a long

⁴⁰⁴ Artemis.

μακρὰν σάρκα καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τῶν ὀρνίθων. τὴν δὲ τοῖς ὄρνισιν ἐπὶ τῷ ῥύγχει γινομένην, ἣν ἔνιοι πώγωνα καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἔχει· διὸ καὶ ταύτη κολοβόν ἐστιν. ῥύγχος δὲ ὀξύτερον καὶ μείζον ἢ ὄρνις ἔχει. τράχηλος μέλας, παχύτερος καὶ βραχύτερος τῶν ὀρνίθων. τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἅπαν ποικίλον, μέλανος ὄντος τοῦ χρώματος ὄλου, πτίλοις λευκοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς διειλημμένου <οὐ>¹⁰⁶ μείζοσιν φακῶν. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν
 e ῥόμβοις | οἱ κυκλίσκοι <ἦσσον>¹⁰⁷ μέλασι τοῦ ὄλου χρώματος· διὸ καὶ ποικιλίαν τινὰ οἱ ῥόμβοι παρέχονται, τοῦ μὲν μέλανος ἔχοντες λευκότερον τὸ χρῶμα, τοῦ δὲ λευκοῦ πολὺ μελάντερον. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐταῖς πεποίκιλται λευκῶ πριονώδεσιν σχήμασιν¹⁰⁸ παρ' ἄλληλα κειμένοις. σκέλη δὲ ἄκεντρα ὅμοια τοῖς ὀρνιθίοις. παραπλήσια δ' εἰσὶν αἱ θήλειαι τοῖς ἄρρεσιν· διὸ καὶ δυσδιάκριτόν ἐστι τὸ τῶν μελεαγρίδων γένος. τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος περὶ τῶν μελεαγρίδων ἱστόρησεν. |
 f Ὅπτῶν δελφάκων δὲ μνημονεύει Ἐπικράτης ἐν Ἐμπόρῳ·

ἐπὶ τοῖσδ' ἐγὼ
 μάγειρος. οὔτε Σικελία καυχῆσεται
 τρέφει τοιοῦτον ἄρταμον κατ' ἰχθύων,
 οὐκ Ἥλις, ἔνθα δελφάκων ἐγὼ κρέα
 κάλλιστ' ὄπωπα πυρὸς ἀκμαῖς ἠνθισμένα.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Πονήρῳ·

bit of flesh that resembles a beard and is redder than a rooster's wattle. But it lacks the growth found on a rooster's beak, which some authorities refer to as a beard; it is thus stunted in this regard. Its beak is sharper and longer than what a rooster has. Its neck is black, and is thicker and shorter than a rooster's. Its body is of a generally variegated appearance: its overall color is black, interspersed with numerous white feathers the size of lentils or smaller. These spots are set within lozenges that are not as black as the bird's overall color; as a consequence, the lozenges produce a variegated pattern, since they are lighter in shade than the bird's black parts but much darker than its light parts. The portion of the body around their wings is speckled with white in a parallel zigzag pattern. Their legs lack spurs like chickens'. The females resemble the males, and *meleagrides* are accordingly difficult to sex. This is the information the Peripatetic philosopher has to offer about *meleagrides*.

Epicrates in *The Merchant* (fr. 6) refers to roasted pigs:

I'm their successor
in the profession of cook. Sicily won't claim
to produce a chef like me when it comes to handling
fish,
and neither will Elis, where I've seen lovely
pork browned by the flame's tips.

Alexis in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 194):

¹⁰⁶ add. Schweighäuser

¹⁰⁷ add. Wilamowitz

¹⁰⁸ σχήμασιν πυρώδεσιν καὶ A: σχήμασιν πυρώδεσιν
tantum CE: πυρώδεσιν del. Schweighäuser, καὶ del. Kaibel

τριωβόλου κρέισκον άστέιον πάνυ
 ύειον όπτόν < . . . >

656 και θερμόν, έγχυλότερον || όταν η̂, προσφέρων.

Άθηναίοι δ', ώς φησι Φιλόχορος, ταίς Ώραις θύοντες
 ούκ όπτώσιν, άλλ' έψουσι τὰ κρέα, παραιτούμενοι τὰς
 θεάς άπέίργειν τὰ περισκελή καύματα και τούς
 αυχμούς, μετά δέ τής συμμέτρου θερμασίας και ύδά-
 των ώραίων εκτελείν τὰ φυόμενα· τήν μέν γάρ όπτη-
 σιν έλάττους παρέχεσθαι ώφελείας, τήν δέ έψησιν ού
 μόνον τήν ώμότητα περιαιρείν, άλλά και τὰ σκληρά
 μαλάττειν δύνασθαι και τὰ λοιπά πεπαίνειν. έτι δ'
 ευμενέστερον και ακινδυνότερον πεπαίνει τήν τροφήν,

b διόπερ | έφθόν έποπτάν ού φασι δέιν ούδ' έφέψειν· τò
 μέν γάρ ανάλυσιν έχειν δοκεί του βελτίονος, ώς
 φησιν Άριστοτέλης, τὰ δέ όπτὰ τών έφθών ώμότερα
 και ξηρότερα. τὰ δέ όπτὰ κρέα καλείται φλογίδες.
 Στράττις γοϋν έν Καλλιππίδη έπί του Ήρακλέους
 φησίν·

αυτίκα δ' ήρπασε τεμάχη
 θερμάς τε κάπρου φλογίδας έβρυché τε πάνθ'
 άμα.

και Άρχιππος έν Ήρακλεί Γαμούντι·

ταδι δ' άμα χοί-
 ρων ακροκόλια μικρών,

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bringing a very sophisticated little piece of roasted pork for three obols . . .

and warm, as soon as it's really juicy.

According to Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 173), when the Athenians sacrifice to the Seasons, they do not roast the meat but stew it, and they ask the goddesses to protect them from excessive heat and droughts, and to bring the crops to maturity with moderate temperatures and the appropriate amount of rainfall; for the process of roasting has a less positive effect, whereas stewing not only eliminates the rawness but is capable of softening the hard parts and making the rest tender. In addition, (stewing) makes the food tender in a gentler and less dangerous way, which is why people say that food that has been stewed should not be stewed a second time or subsequently roasted, since doing so would seem to ruin what is best about it, according to Aristotle,⁴⁰⁵ whereas roasted foods are rawer and dryer than stewed foods. Bits of roasted meat are referred to as *phlogides*.⁴⁰⁶ Strattis in *Callipides* (fr. 12), for example, says in reference to Heracles:

He immediately grabbed fish-steaks
and hot *phlogides* of boar-meat, and wolfed them all
down simultaneously.

Also Archippus in *Heracles Getting Married* (fr. 10):

And here at the same time are little
piglets' trotters,

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *Meteor.* 380^b21–3, although this is not at all what Aristotle (who is discussing the differing mechanics of boiling and stewing) means.

⁴⁰⁶ Cognate with *phlegô* ("to burn").

c ταύρου τ' αὐξίκερω φλογίδες,
αἱ δολιχαί τε κάπρου | φλογίδες.

περὶ δὲ περδίκων τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἐμέ, πλεόνων
εἰρημένων ὑφ' ὑμῶν; ἀλλ' οὐ παραλείψω τὸ ἱστορηθὲν
ὑπὸ Ἡγησάνδρου ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν· φησὶν γὰρ
ὅτι Σάμιοι πλεύσαντες εἰς Σύβαριν καὶ κατασχόντες
τὴν Σιρίτιν χώραν περδίκων ἀναπτάντων καὶ ποιη-
σάντων ψόφον ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον καὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς
τὰς ναῦς ἀπέπλευσαν.

d Περὶ δὲ λαγῶν Χαμαιλέων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σιμων-
νίδου ὡς δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ Ἰέρωνι ὁ Σιμωνίδης, οὐ
παρατεθέντος αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν | καθάπερ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις λαγωῦ, ἀλλ' ὕστερον μεταδιδόντος τοῦ
Ἰέρωνος, ἀπεσχεδίασεν·

οὐδὲ γὰρ < . . . > εὐρύς περ ἐὼν ἐξίκετο δεῦρο.

e ὄντως δ' ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ
αἰσχροκερδής, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν. ἐν Συρακούσαις
γούν τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἀποστέλλοντος αὐτῷ τὰ καθ'
ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς πωλῶν τὰ πλείω ὁ Σιμωνίδης τῶν
παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων ἑαυτῷ μικρὸν μέρος
ἀπετίθετο. ἐρομένου δέ τινος τὴν αἰτίαν, “ὅπως,” εἶπεν,
“ἢ τε Ἰέρωνος μεγαλοπρέπεια | καταφανῆς ἢ καὶ ἡ
ἐμὴ κοσμιότης.”

Οὔθατος δὲ Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Στερροῖς οὔτως μνη-
μονεύει·

407 Tyrant of Gela 485–478 BCE, and of Syracuse 478–466.

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and *phlogides* from a high-horned bull,
and the long *phlogides* from a boar.

Why should I discuss partridges, given that you have said a great deal about the subject (9.388e–90d)? But I will not omit the story told by Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 44, *FHG* iv.421); for he claims that when the Samians sailed to Sybaris and put in to shore near Siritis, some partridges flushed, producing a noise, and the Samians were so surprised that they ran away and got into their ships and sailed off.

As for hares, Chamaeleon in his *On Simonides* (fr. 33 Wehrli) says that Simonides was having dinner with Hieron,⁴⁰⁷ and that everyone else had a hare set on his table, but Simonides did not. Later on, Hieron offered him some, and Simonides extemporized a verse to fit the occasion:

For wide though it was, it did not come this far.⁴⁰⁸

Simonides was in fact a true cheapskate and a money-grubber, according to Chamaeleon. In Syracuse, for example, Hieron used to send him lavish supplies to cover his day-to-day needs, but Simonides sold most of what he was sent and kept only a tiny portion for himself. When someone asked him why, he said: "So that everyone can be aware of Hieron's generosity—and also of my own sense of propriety."

Teleclides in *Tough Guys* (fr. 33)⁴⁰⁹ mentions udder, as follows:

⁴⁰⁸ A parodic echo of *Il.* 14.33.

⁴⁰⁹ Quoted also at 9.399c, which appears to be a longer fragment of the material drawn on only in passing here.

ὡς οὔσα θῆλυς εἰκότως οὔθαρ φορῶ.

ὑπογάστριον δ' αὐτὸ ὠνόμασεν Ἀντίδοτος ἐν Μεμ-
ψιμοίρω. σιτευτῶν δὲ ὀρνίθων μὲν μνημονεύει Μάτρων
ἐν ταῖς Παρωδίαις οὕτως·

ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐγέλασαν, ἐπήνεικάν τ' ἐπὶ
τούτῳ

f σιτευτὰς ὀρνίθας ἐπ' ἀργυρέοισι πίναξι, |
ἄτριχας, οἰέτεας, λαγάνοις κατὰ νῶτον εἴσας.

δελφάκων δὲ σιτευτῶν ὁ φλυακογράφος Σώπατρος ἐν
Βακχίδος Γάμῳ οὕτως·

εἶ που κλίβανος ἦν, πολὺ δέλφαξ σιτευτὸς
ἔγρυξεν.

δελφάκια δὲ Αἰσχίνης εἶρηκεν ἐν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ οὕτως·
ὥσπερ αἱ καπηλίδες τὰ δελφάκια τρέφουσιν. Ἀντι-
σθένης δ' ἐν Φυσιογνωμονικῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι τὰ
δελφάκια πρὸς βίαν χορτάζουσιν. καὶ ἐν Προ-
657 τρεπτικῷ δέ· ἀντὶ δελφακίων τρέφεσθαι. || δέλφακα δὲ
ἀρσενικῶς εἶρηκεν Πλάτων ἐν Ποιητῇ·

< . . . > δέλφακα δὲ ραιότατον.

Σοφοκλῆς Ὀβρει·

< . . . > ἐσθίειν ἐθέλων τὸν δέλφακα.

410 Literally "underbelly"; cf. 9.399c-d.

411 I.e. extremely crisp. The verse is adapted from *Il.* 2.765.

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I'm a female, so naturally I've got an udder (*outhar*).

Antidotus in *The Complainer* (fr. 1) called it a *hupogastriion*.⁴¹⁰ Matro in his *Parodies* (fr. 5 Olson-Sens = SH 538) refers to grain-fattened birds, as follows:

Thus he spoke. But they laughed, and they brought in
in addition to this
grain-fattened birds on silver serving-platters,
clean-plucked, all of the same age, like to pieces of
wafer-bread⁴¹¹ over their back.

The phlyax-author Sopater in *The Marriage of Bacchis* (fr. 5) (mentions) grain-fattened pigs, as follows:

If there was a baking-shell anywhere, a grain-fattened
pig (*delphax*) grunted loudly.

Aeschines uses the diminutive form *delphakia*⁴¹² in *Alcibiades* (SSR VI A 45), as follows: in the same way that the women who run shops raise *delphakia*. Antisthenes in *The Expert in Physiognomy* (SSR V A 62): For those women in fact force-feed their *delphakia*. Also in the *Art of Exhortation* (SSR V A 63): to be raised in place of *delphakia*. Plato in *The Poet* (fr. 119) uses *delphax* as a masculine:

an extremely easy-going (masc.) *delphax*.

Sophocles in *Outrageous Behavior* (fr. 671):

wanting to eat the (masc.) *delphax*.

⁴¹² What follows appears to be a largely separate fragment of the discussion of the use of *delphax* and its variants drawn on also at 9.374d-5b.

Κρατῖνος Ὀδυσσεύσιν·

< . . . > δέλφακας μεγάλους.

θηλυκῶς δὲ Νικοχάρης ἔφη· † κύουσιν δέλφακα †.
καὶ Εὐπόλις Χρυσῶ Γένει·

οὐκ ἄλλ' ἔθνον δέλφακ' ὦδον θῆστιά
καὶ μάλα καλήν.

καὶ Πλάτων Ἴοι·

πρόσφερε δεῦρο δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς δέλφακος.

Θεόπομπος Πηνελόπη·

καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σφάττουσιν ἡμῶν δέλφακα.

- b χηνῶν δὲ σιτευτῶν | καὶ μούσων Θεόπομπος ἐν τρίτῃ
καὶ δεκάτῃ Φιλιππικῶν καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐν
οἷς ἐμφανίζει τὸ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα τῶν Λακῶνων
ἐγκρατὲς γράφων οὕτως· καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι ἔπεμψαν Ἀγη-
σιλάῳ προσιόντι πρόβατα παντοδαπὰ καὶ βοῦς εὖ
τεθραμμένους, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πέμματα καὶ
τραγημάτων εἶδος παντοδαπῶν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος τὰ
μὲν πρόβατα καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἔλαβεν, τὰ δὲ πέμματα καὶ
τὰ τραγήματα πρῶτον μὲν οὐδ' ἔγνω· κατεκεκάλυπτο
c γάρ. ὡς | δὲ κατείδεν, ἀποφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν,
εἰπὼν οὐ νόμιμον εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι τοι-

⁴¹³ Cited (but not quoted) at 9.375a.

⁴¹⁴ Quoted at 9.384a; 15.676c-d.

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Cratinus in *Odysseuses* (fr. 155):

big (masc.) *delphakes*.

But Nicochares (fr. 22, unmetrical) used it as a feminine:
† a pregnant (fem.) *delphax* †. Also Eupolis in *The Golden Age* (fr. 301):⁴¹³

No; but they were sacrificing a singing *delphax* to
Hestia—
and a very nice (fem.) one!

And Plato in *Ion* (fr. 56):

Bring the head of the (fem.) *delphax* over here!

Theopompus in *Penelope* (fr. 49):

And they're slaughtering our sacred (fem.) *delphax*.

Theopompus mentions grain-fattened geese and calves in Book XIII of the *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 106)⁴¹⁴ and Book XI of the *History of Greece* (FGrH 115 F 22), where he calls attention to the Spartans' discipline where the consumption of food is concerned, writing as follows: As Agesilaus⁴¹⁵ was approaching, the Thasians sent him herd-animals of all kinds and well-fed cows, as well as pastries and every type of snack. Agesilaus accepted the sheep and goats and the cows, but initially failed to notice the pastries and the snacks, since they were covered up. But when he saw them, he ordered the Thasians to take them away, saying that Spartans were not allowed to consume food of this

⁴¹⁵ Agesilaus II of Sparta (Poralla #9), reigned 400–360/59 BCE.

ούτοις τοῖς ἐδέσμασι. λιπαρούντων δὲ τῶν Θασίων, “δότε,” φησί, “φέροντες ἐκείνοις,” δείξας αὐτοῖς τοὺς εἴλωτας, εἰπὼν ὅτι τούτους δέοι διαφθείρεσθαι τρώγοντας αὐτὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Λακεδαιμονίων. ὅτι δὲ τοῖς εἴλωσιν ὑβριστικῶς πάννυ ἐχρῶντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Μύρων ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν γράφων οὕτως· τοῖς δ’
d εἴλωσι | πᾶν ὑβριστικὸν ἔργον ἐπιτάττουσι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἄγον ἀτιμίαν· κυνήην τε γὰρ ἕκαστον φορεῖν ἐπάναγκες ὤρισαν καὶ διφθέραν περιβεβλησθαι πληγὰς τε τεταγμένας λαμβάνειν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀδικήματος χωρὶς, ἵνα μήποτε δουλεύειν ἀπομάθωσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἴ τινες ὑπερακμάζοιεν τὴν οἰκετικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἐπέθηκάν τινες θάνατον καὶ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπιτίμιον, εἰ μὴ ἐπικόπτοιεν τοὺς ἀδρουμένους.
e καὶ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ἔταξαν μοῖραν | ἣν αὐτοῖς ἀνοίσουσιν αἰεὶ. χηνίζειν δὲ εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν αὐλούντων. Δίφιλος Συνωρίδι·

ἐχηνίασας· ποιοῦσι τοῦτο πάντες οἱ
παρὰ Τιμοθέω.

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πετασῶνος μέρος ἐκάστῳ κείται, ἣν πέρναν καλοῦσι, φέρε τι εἴπωμεν καὶ περὶ ταύτης, εἴ τις τοῦ ὀνόματος μνημονεύει. κάλλισται μὲν γὰρ αἱ Γαλλικαί, οὐκ ἀπολείπονται δὲ αὐτῶν οὔτε <αἱ>¹⁰⁹ ἀπὸ Κιβύρας τῆς Ἀσιατικῆς οὔτε αἱ Λύκιοι. μνημονεύει δ’

¹⁰⁹ add. Musurus

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sort. When the Thasians insisted, he said: "Take it and give it to *them*," pointing toward the helots, as a way of saying that he much preferred that the helots be ruined by eating this food than that he and the other Spartans who were there be. That the Spartans treated the helots in an extremely ugly and demeaning way is recorded by Myron of Priene in Book II of the *History of Messenia* (FGrH 106 F 2), where he writes as follows: They assign the helots all the ugly and demeaning jobs that bring nothing but dishonor with them. For they required each of them to wear a dog-skin cap and dress in a rough leather robe, and to be whipped a certain number of times every year, regardless of whether they did anything wrong, to keep them from forgetting that they were slaves. In addition, they imposed the death-penalty on any of them who looked healthier than a domestic slave should, and they fined their masters if they failed to take disciplinary measures against any who had too much flesh on their bones. And when they assigned the helots their land, they fixed a share of the crop that they were to bring to the Spartans in perpetuity. The verb *chênizein* ("to sound like a goose, cackle") is used to describe pipe-players. Diphilus in *Synoris* (fr. 78):

Echêniasas ("You cackled"); that's typical of
Timotheus' students!

But since each of us also has a slice of *petasôn* ("ham")⁴¹⁶—also known as *perna*—well, let me say something about this as well, and in particular about whether any author uses the word. The best hams actually come from Gaul, although those from Asiatic Cibyra and Lycia are no worse

⁴¹⁶ = Latin *petaso*; *perna* (= Latin *perna*) is more common.

αὐτῶν Στράβων ἐν τρίτῃ Γεωγραφουμένων, ἀνὴρ οὐ
 f πάνν νεώτερος· ἰ λέγει γὰρ αὐτὸς¹¹⁰ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πραγματείας ἐγνωκέναι Ποσειδώνιον τὸν ἀπὸ
 τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφον, οὗ πολλάκις ἐμεμνήμεθα συγ-
 γενομένου Σκιπίωνι τῷ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλόντι. γράφει
 δ' οὖν ὁ Στράβων οὕτως· ἐν Σπανία πρὸς τῇ Ἀκυτανία
 658 πόλις Πομπέλων, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις Πομπηϊόπολις, ἢ ἐν
 ἧ̄ πέρναι διάφοροι συντίθενται ταῖς Κανταβρικαῖς
 ἐνάμιλλοι.

Ἄλιπάστων δὲ κρεῶν μνημονεύει ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας
 ποιητῆς Ἀριστομένης ἐν Διονύσῳ·

ἀλίπαστα ταῦτα παρατίθημί σοι.

καὶ ἐν Γόσησιν.¹¹¹

ἀλίπαστον αἰεὶ τὸν θεράποντ' ἐπεσθίειν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Σικελίας αὔχημα τροφαλὶς ἦδ' ἐστὶ
 σοι, φίλοι, λέξωμέν τι καὶ περὶ τυρῶν. Φιλήμων μὲν
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Σικελικῷ·

ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ᾠόμην τὴν Σικελίαν ἰ
 b ἐν τοῦτ' ἀπότακτον αὐτό, τοὺς τυροὺς ποεῖν
 καλοῦς· ἔτι ταῦτα προσετίθην ἀκηκοῶς,

¹¹⁰ αὐτὸς Schweighäuser: αὐτὸν A

¹¹¹ ἐν Γόσησιν ὁ Στράβων A: ὁ Στράβων del. Wilamowitz

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than them. Strabo mentions them in Book III (162) of the *Geography*; he is not much earlier than our own time, given that in Book VII (fr. 60 Jones) of the same work he reports that he was personally acquainted with the Stoic philosopher Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 T 10b = test. 8 Edelstein-Kidd), to whom we have referred repeatedly, and who was a contemporary of the Scipio who captured Carthage.⁴¹⁷ Strabo, at any rate, writes as follows: In Spain, near Aquitania, is the city of Pompelona, that is, Pompeiopolis; outstanding hams (*pernai*), as good as those produced in Cantabria, are cured there.

The comic poet Aristomenes in *Dionysus* (fr. 12) mentions salted meat:

I'm serving you this salted (meat).

And in *Religious Quacks* (fr. 6):

that the servant always eats salted (meat) as well.

But since you also have (adesp. com. fr. *124, unmetrical) the pride of Sicily, this fresh cheese, my friends, let me offer some further comments on the topic of cheese. For Philemon (says) in his play entitled *The Sicilian* (fr. 79):

I used to think that Sicily
produced only this single specialty, first-rate
cheese. I also added these, from hearing what people
said,

⁴¹⁷ In 146 BCE. The Scipio in question is P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, and Athenaeus has garbled his source, confusing Posidonius and Panaetius, as also at 12.549d–e. Strabo was born c.64 BCE and died sometime after 21 CE.

ἱμάτια ποικίλ' εἰ λέγοι τις Σικελικά.

† σκεύη μὲν οὖν καὶ κτήματ' † ὠόμην φέρειν.

καὶ ὁ Τρομιλικὸς δὲ τυρὸς ἔνδοξός ἐστι. περὶ οὗ φησιν
 Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου
 οὕτως· τῆς Ἀχαιῆς πόλις Τρομίλεια, περὶ ἣν γίνεται
 τυρὸς αἰγίος ἡδιστος, οὐκ ἔχων σύγκρισιν πρὸς |
 c ἕτερον, ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Τρομιλικός· οὗ καὶ Σιμων-
 νίδης μνημονεύει ἐν Ἰάμβῳ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

⟨ῆ⟩ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ προουκπουέαι, Τηλέμβροτε,
 γράφων·

ἐνταῦθα μὲν τοι τυρὸς ἐξ Ἀχαιῆς

Τρομίλιος θαυμαστός, ὃν κατήγαγον.

Εὐριπίδης δ' ἐν Κύκλωπι ὁπίαν καλεῖ τυρὸν τὸν δρι-
 μὺν τὸν πηγνύμενον τῷ τῆς συκῆς ὀπῶ·

καὶ τυρὸς ὁπίας ἔστι καὶ Διὸς¹¹² γάλα.

ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ πάντων εἶπον τῶν παρακειμένων ἀπο-
 τράγημά τε πεποίημαι τὸν Τρομιλικόν, καταπαύσω |
 d τὸν λόγον· τὸ γὰρ λείψανον τῶν τραγημάτων καὶ
 τρωξίμων ἀποτράγημα εἶρηκεν Εὐπόλις· σκώπτων
 γὰρ Διδυμίαν τιὰ ἀποτράγημα αὐτὸν εἶρηκεν ἀλώ-

¹¹² The traditional text of Euripides has βούδς.

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if anyone mentioned embroidered Sicilian robes.
† equipment then and goods † I used to think it
yielded.

Tromilic cheese also has a good reputation. Demetrius of Scepsis in Book II of the *Trojan Battle Order* (fr. 3 Gaede) has the following to say about it: There is a city in Achaea known as Tromileia, and delicious goat-cheese is produced in the area. The cheese is incomparable, and is known as Tromilic; Simonides mentions it in the *Iamb* that begins (Semon. fr. 22 West²):

You certainly get a lot of work done ahead of time,
Telebrotus!

He writes (Semon. fr. 23 West²):

Here in fact is marvellous Tromilic
cheese from Achaea, which I imported.

Euripides in *Cyclops* (136) refers to sharp-flavored cheese curdled with fig juice (*opos*) as *opias*:

and there's *opias* cheese and Zeus-milk.

Since I have discussed all the items we have been served, and have made the Tromilic cheese a final treat (*apotragêma*), I will bring my speech to a close. For Eupolis (fr. 306) refers to what is left over from the snacks (*tragêmata*) and dainties as an *apotragêma*; for he makes fun of a certain Didymias⁴¹⁸ by referring to him as a fox's *apotragêma*,⁴¹⁹ as a way of saying either that he is physically

⁴¹⁸ PAA 323582.

⁴¹⁹ The *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 132.13) has *apopatêma* ("shit").

πεκος ἦτοι ὡς μικρὸν τὸ σῶμα ἢ ὡς κακοήθη καὶ πανούργον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἄσκαλωνίτης Δωρόθεος. τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς τῶν τυρῶν καὶ πλατεῖς Κρήτες θηλείας καλοῦσιν, ὡς φησι Σέλευκος· οὓς ἐν θυσίαις τισὶν ἐναγίζουσιν. πυριέφθων δὲ μνημονεύει (οὕτω δὲ καλεῖται τὸ πρῶτον γάλα) Φιλιππίδης ἐν Αὐλοῖς· |

e τὰ δὲ πυριέφθα καὶ τὰ λάγανα ταῦτ' ἔχων.

καὶ ἴσως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδειπνίδας ἔλεγον Μακεδόνες· κώθωνος γὰρ ἠδύσματα ταῦτα.

Τοιαῦτά τινα ἔτι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ διαλεγομένου ἐπελθὼν εἰς ἐκείνων τῶν σοφιστῶν μαγείρων ἐκήρυσσε μῦμα. καὶ πολλῶν ξενιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι – οὐ γὰρ ἐδείκνυεν ὁ στιγματίας ὅτι ἦν – ἔφη· ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες δαιταλῆς, ὅτι καὶ Κάδμος ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου πάππος μάγειρος ἦν. σιωπησάντων δὲ καὶ
f ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντων, Εὐήμερος, ἔφη, ὁ | Κῶος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀναγραφῆς τοῦθ' ἱστορεῖ, ὡς Σιδωνίων λεγόντων τοῦτο, ὅτι Κάδμος μάγειρος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν Ἀρμονίαν ἀλητρίδα καὶ αὐτὴν οὔσαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφυγεν σὺν αὐτῇ.

ἐγὼ δὲ φεύξομαι <γ'> ἐλεύθερος γεγώς.

420 Literally "fire-stewed," i.e. "heat-curdled."

421 Sc. produced by a sheep or goat after it gives birth.

422 *laganon*; cf. 3.110a; 8.363a.

423 "after-dinner dainties" *vel sim.* Cf. 14.664d–e.

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unimposing or that he is nasty and treacherous, according to Dorotheus of Ascalon. The Cretans refer to thin, flat cheeses as "female," according to Seleucus (fr. 56 Müller); they offer them during certain sacrificial rites. *Puriephthoi*⁴²⁰ (cheeses)—this is a term for the first milk⁴²¹—are mentioned by Philippides in *Pipes* (fr. 10):

having the *puriephthoi* and this wafer-bread.⁴²²

The Macedonians perhaps referred to all foods of this type as *epideipnides*,⁴²³ because these are delicious items eaten in the course of a drinking party.

As Ulpian was still in the middle of remarks along these lines, one of the well-known sophist-cooks came in and announced a *muma*. When many of the guests expressed puzzlement about the announcement—because the son-of-a-bitch had not given us any indication of what this was⁴²⁴—he said: You are apparently unaware, banqueters, that Dionysus' grandfather Cadmus was a cook. This remark was met with universal silence, and he continued: Euhemerus of Cos in Book III of his *Sacred Catalogue* (*FGrH* 63 F 1) records this, citing the inhabitants of Sidon to the effect that Cadmus was the king's cook, and that he took the pipe-girl Harmonia, who was also one of the king's slaves, and ran away with her.

But I shall escape, since I was born free.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ The word is finally defined at 14.662d-e, after a long digression on cooks.

⁴²⁵ An anonymous iambic trimeter line, accepted neither by Snell among the tragic adespota nor by Kassel-Austin among the comic adespota.

- οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εὔροι τις ὑμῶν δούλον μάγειρόν τινα ἐν
 659 κωμωδία πλὴν παρὰ Ποσειδίππῳ μόνῳ. ἢ δούλοι δ'
 ὀψοποιοὶ παρήλθον ὑπὸ πρώτων Μακεδόνων τοῦτ'
 ἐπιτηδευσάντων ἢ δι' ὕβριν ἢ δι' ἀτυχίαν τῶν αἰχμα-
 λωτισθεισῶν πόλεων. ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν μὲν
 πολιτικὸν μάγειρον μαίσιωνα, τὸν δ' ἐκτόπιον τέττιγα.
 Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν μαίσιωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 μασᾶσθαι οἶεται κεκλήσθαι, οἷον τὸν ἀμαθῆ καὶ πρὸς
 γαστέρα νενευκότα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Μαίσιων γέγονεν
 κωμωδίας ὑποκριτῆς Μεγαρεὺς τὸ γένος, ὃς καὶ τὸ
 προσωπεῖον εἶρε τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον μαίσιωνα, |
 b ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Προσώπων, εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν φάσκων καὶ τὸ τοῦ θερά-
 ποντος πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ τοῦ μαγείρου. καὶ εἰκότως
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις πρέποντα σκώμματα καλεῖται μαισιω-
 νικά· μάλιστα γὰρ εἰσάγονται οἱ μάγειροι σκωπτικοί
 τινες, ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν Ἐπιτρέπουσιν. καὶ Φιλή-
 μων δέ πού φησιν·

- σφίγγ' ἄρρεν', οὐ μάγειρον, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
 εἴληφ'. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔν, μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
 ὦν <ἂν> λέγῃ συνίημι· καινὰ ῥήματα |
 c πεπορισμένος γὰρ ἔστι¹¹³.

¹¹³ πάρεστιν (rightly) 9.382b and the papyrus

⁴²⁶ Cf. Posidipp. Com. fr. 2, cited at 14.659c.

⁴²⁷ Literally "cicada."

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For none of you could name a single slave cook in any comedy, except in Posidippus.⁴²⁶ Slave chefs were first introduced by the Macedonians, who made this a practice as a consequence either of their insolence or of the bad luck of the cities they captured. The ancients referred to a cook who had citizen-status as a *maisôn*, and to a cook from abroad as a *tettix*.⁴²⁷ The philosopher Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 13, *SVF* iii.200) believes that the term *maisôn* is derived from *masasthai* ("to chew") and refers to someone who is uneducated and fixated on his belly. He is unaware that Maison⁴²⁸ was a comic actor, whose family was from Megara and who invented the *maisôn*-mask, which gets its name from him; thus Aristophanes of Byzantium in his *On Masks* (fr. 363 Slater), who claims that the same individual also invented the servant-mask and the cook-mask. It comes as no surprise that the jokes appropriate to such characters are referred to as *maisônika*; for some cooks are brought onstage for comic relief in particular, for example in Menander's *Men at Arbitration*.⁴²⁹ Philemon as well says somewhere:⁴³⁰

I've taken a male Sphinx into my house,
not a cook! By the gods, I don't understand
a single word he says. He's here with a full supply
of strange vocabulary.

⁴²⁸ Stephanis #1594.

⁴²⁹ Presumably a reference to the (largely lost) opening scene of the play, which featured the cook Cario.

⁴³⁰ At 9.382b-c, in another long section on cooks, these lines are attributed instead to Strato Comicus (= fr. 1.1-4).

τὸν δὲ Μαίσιωνα Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Τίμαιον ἐκ
τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ φησὶν εἶναι Μεγάρων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν
Νισαίων. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Ποσειδίππος περὶ δούλων μαγεί-
ρων ἐν Ἀποκλειομένη φησὶν·

ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα. συμβαίνει δέ τι
νῦν μοι διακονοῦντι παρὰ τῷ δεσπότη
ἀστέιον· οὐχ ἀλώσομ' ἐκφέρων κρέας.

καὶ ἐν Συντρόφοις·

- (A.) ἐβάδιζες ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν μάγειρος ὦν; |
d (B.) ἐντὸς πυλῶν γὰρ <ἂν> μένων ἄδειπνος ἦν.
(A.) πότερ' οὖν ἀφείσαι; (B.) κατ' ἀγορὰν
ἐργάζομαι·
ἐπρίατο γάρ τις ὁμότεχνός με γνώριμος.

οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν παράδοξον εἰ καὶ θυτικῆς ἦσαν ἔμπειροι
οἱ παλαιότεροι μάγειροι· προΐσταντο γοῦν καὶ γάμων
καὶ θυσιῶν. διόπερ Μέανδρος ἐν Κόλακι τὸν τοῖς
τετραδισταῖς διακονούμενον μάγειρον ἐν τῇ τῆς Παν-
δήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἑορτῇ ποιεῖ ταυτὶ λέγοντα· |

- e σπονδῆ· δίδου σὺ σπλάγχχ' ἀκολουθῶν. ποῖ
βλέπεις;

⁴³¹ Nisaea was the port of the mainland city of Megara (as opposed to Megara Hyblaea, in Sicily). This comment belongs with the citation from Aristophanes of Byzantium above, suggesting that two source-documents have been crudely spliced together.

⁴³² I.e. a group of people who gathered on the fourth day of

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Polemon in his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 46 Preller), on the other hand, claims that Maison was a Megarian from Sicily rather than from Nisaea.⁴³¹ But Posidippus in *The Girl Who Was Locked Out* (fr. 2) says on the subject of slave cooks:

So much for that. But something funny's
happening for me today, as I work in my master's
house—I'm not going to get caught when I swipe
meat!

And in *Foster-Brothers* (fr. 25):

(A.) You left the courtyard, even though you're a
cook?

(B.) Sure—if I'd stayed inside it, I wouldn't have had
any dinner.

(A.) Were you set free? (B.) I work in the
marketplace;
because another cook I know bought me.

It was not unusual, therefore, for ancient cooks to be familiar with sacrificial procedure; at any rate, they were in charge of both wedding feasts and sacrifices. This is why Menander in *The Flatterer* (*Kol.* fr. 1 Sandbach) represents the cook who is working for the fourth-day group⁴³² at the festival of Aphrodite Pandêmos as saying the following:

Libation! Follow me, and hand me the entrails!
What're you gawking at?

every month (often identified as the birthday of Hermes or Hercules) to have a party; see Arnott on Alex. fr. 260.

σπονδή. φέρ' ὦ παῖ Σωσία. σπονδή. καλῶς
 ἔχει. θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις εὐχόμεθα
 Ὀλυμπίαισι, πᾶσι πάσαις - λάμβανε
 τὴν γλῶτταν ἐν τούτῳ - διδόναι σωτηρίαν,
 ὑγίειαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τῶν ὄντων τε νῦν
 ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν πᾶσι. ταῦτ' εὐχόμεθα.

καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ δέ φησιν ἕτερος·

f κῶς | <ὄν> ἀπεῦσα κῶς ἐμίστουλα κρέα
 ἱρωστί· καὶ γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἐπίσταμαι.

ἐμφαίνει δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡ Πρὸς Ἀλέξαν-
 δρον Ὀλυμπιάδος Ἐπιστολή. προτρεπομένη μάγει-
 ρον αὐτῇ πρίασθαι θυσιῶν ἐμπειρον ἢ μήτηρ φησί·
 Περίγναν τὸν μάγειρον λαβὲ παρὰ τῆς μητρός. οὗτος
 γὰρ οἶδε τὰ ἱερά σου τὰ πατρῶα πάντα ὅν τρόπον
 660 Ὀλυμπιάς προθύεται οὗτος οἶδεν. || μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης,
 ἀλλὰ λαβέ, καὶ ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἐμὲ τὴν ταχίστην.
 ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἢ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν
 Ἀθήνησι Κηρύκων· οἶδε γὰρ μαγείρων καὶ βουτύπων
 ἐπέιχον τάξιν, ὡς φησιν Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίας
 πρώτῳ. Ὅμηρός τε τὸ ῥέζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ θύειν τάσσει, τὸ

433 Sc. to remove the bristles.

434 In fact, the letter appears to be by someone other than Olympias (Alexander's mother; Berve i #581) and merely refers to her in the third person.

435 Berve i #625.

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Libation! Slave! Sosias! Come on! Libation! It's okay. Let us pray to all the Olympian gods and Olympian goddesses—put the tongue in here!—that they grant us all safety, health, everything good, and enjoyment of whatever property we possess at the moment. Let us make this our prayer!

So too in Simonides (Semon. fr. 24 West²) another (cook) says:

and how I singed a pig⁴³³ and stuck the meat on spits, as the ritual requires. Because I understand it quite well.

Olympias' *Letter to Alexander*⁴³⁴ brings out their range of expertise. In the course of encouraging him to buy her a cook familiar with making sacrifices, his mother says: Buy the cook Pelignas⁴³⁵ from your mother. For he knows how all your ancestral sacrifices, including the Argadistica and the Bacchica, are made; he also knows about all the preliminary sacrifices Olympias makes. Don't miss this opportunity; purchase him and send him to me as rapidly as possible! That cooking was a respectable occupation can be gathered from the case of the Athenian Kêrukes,⁴³⁶ for they occupied the position of cooks and slaughterers, according to Cleidemus in Book I of *Early Origins* (FGrH 323 F 5a).⁴³⁷ Homer as well uses the verb *rhezein* in the

⁴³⁶ An old aristocratic family with a hereditary right to carry out certain official duties associated with the mysteries at Eleusis.

⁴³⁷ Cf. below (after the intrusive comments on verbs meaning "to sacrifice"); 10.425e; 14.660d-e.

δὲ θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ψαιστὰ μεταδόρπια θυμιᾶν. καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ θύειν δρᾶν ὠνόμαζον. ἔδρων δ' οἱ Κήρυκες ἄχρι πολλοῦ βουθυτοῦντες, φησί, καὶ σκευάζοντες καὶ
 b μιστύλλοντες, ἔτι δ' οἰνοχοοῦντες. | Κήρυκας δ' αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ὠνόμαζον. ἀναγέγραπταί τε οὐδαμοῦ μαγείρῳ μισθός, ἀλλὰ κήρυκι. καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ θύει βασιλεύων. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ποιητής·

ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλεί χαλκῶ.
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας,
 θυμοῦ δευομένους, ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἴλετο χαλκός.

καὶ Θρασυμήδης ὁ τοῦ Νέστορος υἱὸς ἀναλαβὼν |
 c πέλεκυν κόπτει τὸν βούν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ γήρας ὁ Νέστωρ οὐκ ἠδύνατο· συνεπόνουν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀδελφοί. οὕτως ἔνδοξον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον τὸ τῆς μαγειρικῆς τέχνης ἀξίωμα. καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δ' οἱ τιμηταί – μεγίστη δ' αὕτη ἀρχή – τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ ἐστεφανωμένοι πελέκει τὰ ἱερεῖα κατέβαλλον. οὐ παρέργως δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ καὶ τὰ ὄρκια

⁴³⁸ E.g. *Il.* 1.147; *Od.* 1.61.

⁴³⁹ Cakes made of ground (*psaistos*) barley; perhaps a reference to *Od.* 14.446, where the word used is, however, *argmata*.

⁴⁴⁰ Literally “to do, accomplish (rites)”; used in the description of the *Kêrukēs* that follows.

⁴⁴¹ “better, stronger”; a nonsensical etymology. *Harp.* K 52, *Hsch.* κ 2560, and *Suda* κ 1542 all derive the name from “*Kêrux* the son of *Hermes*,” suggesting that the etymology proposed in *Athenaeus* merely reflects a manuscript error.

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sense *thuein* ("to make sacrifice"),⁴³⁸ and *thuein* to refer to burning the after-dinner *psaista*.⁴³⁹ The ancients also referred to making sacrifice (*thuein*) with the word *dran*.⁴⁴⁰ The Kêrukes acted (*edrôn*) as slaughterers for a long time, says (Cleidemus), and prepared and spitted meat, and also poured wine; the name Kêrukes was derived from *kreit-tôn*.⁴⁴¹ There is no record anywhere of a cook having been paid a wage, although a *kêrux* is.⁴⁴² So too Homer's Agamemnon carries out a sacrifice, despite being a king; for the poet says (*Il.* 3.292-4):

He spoke; and he slit the lambs' throats with pitiless
bronze.

And he set them down on the ground, gasping
and stripped of life; for the bronze took away their
vigor.

Nestor's son Thrasymedes also picks up an ax and strikes the cow (*Od.* 3.439-44), since Nestor was unable to do this on account of his advanced age;⁴⁴³ the rest of his brothers assisted him. This is how respectable and important was the esteem in which the cook's craft was held. So too the Roman censors—this is an extremely important office—used an ax to fell the sacrificial victims, wearing togas with purple borders, and with garlands on their heads. When Homeric heralds (*kêrukes*) fetch the objects needed for

⁴⁴² Presumably an observation offered by Cleidemus as further evidence that Athens' Kêrukids functioned originally as cooks and slaughterers, since animals had to be butchered as part of public cult from the very earliest times.

⁴⁴³ The explanation of Thrasymedes' behavior does not appear in Homer, but has been added by Athenaeus (or his source).

καὶ τὰ ἱερόθυτα κήρυκες κομίζουσιν, ὡς παλαιᾶς οὔσης καὶ προσηκούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς λειτουργίας· |

d Ἐκτωρ δὲ προτὶ ἄστῃ δύο¹¹⁴ κήρυκας ἔπεμπεν
καρπαλίμως, ἄρνάς τε φέρειν Πρίαμόν τε
καλέσσαι.

καὶ πάλιν·

αὐτὰρ ὁ Ταλθύβιον προΐει κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς ἰέναι, ἧδ' ἄρν' ἐκέλευσεν
οἰσέμεναι.

καί·

Ταλθύβιος δὲ θεῶ ἐναλίγκιος αὐδῆν
κάπρον ἔχων ἐν χερσὶ παρίστατο ποιμένι λαῶν.

e ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἀτθίδος Κλειδήμος φύλον |
ἀποφαίνει μαγείρων ἐχόντων δημιουργικὰς τιμάς, οἷς
† καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνεργεῖν † ἔργον ἦν. οὐκ ἀπεικότως δὲ
καὶ Ἀθηνίων ἐν Σαμόθραξι, ὡς φησιν Ἰόβας, μάγει-
ρον εἰσάγει φυσιολογοῦντα διὰ τούτων·

(A.) οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι πάντων ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη
πρὸς εὐσέβειαν πλείιστα προσενήνεχθ' ὄλως;
(B.) τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦτο; (A.) πάνυ γε, βάρβαρε.
τοῦ θηριώδους καὶ παρασπόνδου βίου

¹¹⁴ The traditional text of Homer has the dual δύο (necessary for the meter).

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oath-ceremonies and sacrifices, this is not merely an incidental service, since the duty is an ancient one with which they are closely associated (*Il.* 3.116–17):

Hector swiftly dispatched two heralds
to the city, to fetch lambs and to summon Priam.

And again (*Il.* 3.118–20):

But King Agamemnon sent Talthybius off, to go
to the hollow ships, and ordered him to bring
lambs.

And (*Il.* 19.250–1):

Talthybius, whose voice resembled a god's,
stood beside the shepherd of the people, holding a
boar in his hands.

In Book I of his *History of Attica* (*FGrH* 323 F 5b),⁴⁴⁴ Cleidemus makes it clear that there was a guild of cooks who held public office; their job was † and the masses to carry out †. It is quite understandable, according to Juba (*FGrH* 275 F 86), that Athenio in *Samothracians* (fr. 1) brings a cook onstage discussing natural phenomena in the following passage:

(A.) Don't you realize that the art of cooking has
contributed more to pious practice than all the others
combined?

(B.) It's that type of business? (A.) Absolutely, you
barbarian!

Because it liberated us from a savage existence,

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. 14.660a–b with n.

f ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἀπολύσασα καὶ τῆς δυσχεροῦς |
ἀλληλοφαγίας ἤγαγ' εἰς τάξιν τινὰ
καὶ τουτονὶ περιῆψεν ὃν νυνὶ βίον
ζῶμεν. (B.) τίνα τρόπον; (A.) πρόσσεχε, κἀγὼ σοι
φράσω.

ἀλληλοφαγίας καὶ κακῶν ὄντων συχνῶν
γενόμενος ἀνθρωπός τις οὐκ ἀβέλτερος
ἔθυσ' ἱερεῖον πρῶτος, ὥπτησεν κρέας.
ὡς δ' ἦν τὸ κρέας ἡδίων ἀνθρώπου κρεῶν,
αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐμασῶντο, τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα
θύοντες ὥπτων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ τῆς ἡδονῆς ||
661 ἐμπειρίαν τιν' ἔλαβον, ἀρχῆς γενομένης
ἐπὶ πλείον ἠῦξον τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην.
ὄθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν πρότερον μεμνημένοι
τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῖς θεοῖσιν ὀπτῶσιν φλογὶ
ἄλας οὐ προσάγοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐδέπω
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χρήσιν ἐξευρημένοι.
ὡς δ' ἤρεσ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλας
προσάγουσιν ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν † γεγραμμένων †
τὰ πάτρια διατηροῦντες. ἅπερ ἡμῖν μόνα
ἀπασιν ἀρχὴ γέγονε τῆς σωτηρίας, |
b τὸ προσφιλοτεχνεῖν διὰ τε τῶν ἡδυσμάτων
ἐπὶ πλείον αὔξειν τὴν μαγειρικὴν τέχνην.

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in which no covenants are possible, and from harsh cannibalism; provided us with some order; and bestowed this life we live today upon us. (B.) How? (A.) Pay attention, and I'll tell you!

There was cannibalism and trouble of all kinds. But someone who was no fool made the first sacrifice and roasted meat; and because this meat tasted better than human flesh,

they stopped chewing on one another, and began sacrificing domestic animals and roasting them. Once they got some experience with how delicious this was, that was the beginning, and they developed the art of cooking further and further.

As a consequence, even today people recall life in the old days

by roasting the entrails on the fire for the gods but not adding salt; because they hadn't yet discovered using it for such purposes.

Since they got to like it later on, however, nowadays they include salt in the ceremony too † having been written †

preserving the traditional practices. This was the sole origin of the security we all enjoy:

the pleasure we take in improving our skills, and our continual

upgrading of the art of cooking through the use of spices.

(B.) καινὸς γάρ ἐστιν οὗτοσὶ Παλαίφατος.

(A.) μετὰ ταῦτα γαστρίον τις ὠνθυλευμένος
προϊόντος εἰσηνέγκατ' ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου
ἐρίφιον ἐτακέρωσε, πνικτῶ διέλαβεν
περικομματίῳ, διεγίγγρασ' ὑποκρούσας γλυκεί,

c λάχανον, τάριχος πολυτελής, χόνδρον, μέλι.

† ὡς πολὺ † διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἅς νῦν λέγω
ἀπέιχ' ἕκαστος τοῦ φαγεῖν ἂν ἔτι νεκροῦ·
αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες ἡξίουσιν συζῆν, ὄχλος
ἡθροΐζειτ', ἐγένονθ' αἱ πόλεις οἰκούμεναι
διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὅπερ εἶπα, τὴν μαγειρικὴν.

(B.) ἄνθρωπε χαίρει, περὶ πόδ' εἰ τῷ δεσπότῃ.

(A.) καταρχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς οἱ μάγειροι, θύομεν,
σπονδὰς ποοῦμεν, τῷ μάλιστα τοὺς θεοὺς
ἡμῖν ὑπακούειν διὰ τὸ ταῦθ' εὐρηκέναι |

d τὰ μάλιστα συντίνοντα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν καλῶς.

(B.) ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας οὖν ἀφείς παῦσαι λέγων
ἡμαρτον. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο <νῦν> συνείσιθι
ἐμοί, τά τ' ἔνδον εὐτρεπῆ ποίει λαβών.

καὶ Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Λεβητίῳ δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡ μαγειρικὴ τέχνη

⁴⁴⁵ Palaephatus is variously described as a historian, epic poet, and grammarian (FGrH 44 T 1-4); almost none of his work survives.

⁴⁴⁶ Referred to elsewhere as *The Cauldron* (e.g. 6.226a; 9.383c).

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(B.) This guy's a new Palaephatus!⁴⁴⁵

(A.) After this, as time continually moved forward,
someone introduced a stuffed stomach-sausage:
he stewed kid-meat until it was tender, wrapped it in
casserole

hash, hit the right note by drizzling grape-must on
top,
and smuggled in a fish no one had ever seen before,
plus vegetables, expensive saltfish, wheat-pudding,
and honey.

† How much † because of the delicious flavors I'm
describing now,
they would all have given up eating corpses after that.
They all began to like the idea of living together; a
crowd

began to form; and cities came to be inhabited—
on account of the art of cooking, as I said!

(B.) Greetings, sir! You're exactly what your master
needs!

(A.) We cooks take care of the preliminaries, make
the sacrifice,
and perform the libations—because the gods pay
particular

attention to us, since we invented these practices
that are intimately connected to living a good life.

(B.) Drop the issue, then, and stop defending your
piety;

I was wrong. Come inside here now with
me, and take charge of everything there and make it
right.

So too Alexis in *The Little Cauldron*⁴⁴⁶ (fr. 134) makes it

ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν ἐλευθέρων· πολίτης γάρ τις οὐκ ἀγενὴς
 ἐν αὐτῷ δείκνυται ὁ μάγειρος. καὶ οἱ τὰ Ὀψαρτυτικὰ
 e δὲ συγγράψαντες | Ἡρακλείδης τε καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ
 Λοκρὸς οὐχ ἀρμόττειν φασὶ <δούλοισι>¹¹⁵ τὴν μαγει-
 ρικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐκ-
 σεμνύνει δὲ τὴν τέχνην καὶ ὁ νεώτερος Κρατῖνος ἐν
 τοῖς Γίγασι λέγων·

(A.) ἐνθυμεί δὲ τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκὴ
 ὄζει καπνός τ' ἐξέρχεται εὐωδέστατος;
 οἰκεῖ τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, <ἐν> τῷ χάσματι
 λιβανωτοπώλης ἢ μάγειρος Σικελικός. |
 f (B.) παραπλησίαν ὁσμὴν λέγεις ἀμφοῖν γλυκὴς;
 καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Δυσπράτῳ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς Σικε-
 λικοὺς μαγείρους λέγει·

Σικελῶν δὲ τέχναις ἠδυνθεῖσαι
 δαιτὸς διαθρυμματίδες.

καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Φάσματι·

ἐπισημαίνεσθ' εἴαν
 ἢ σκενασία καθάρειος ἦ καὶ ποικίλη.

Ποσειδίππος ἐν Ἀναβλέποντι·

ἐγὼ μάγειρον ἀναλαβὼν ἀκήκοα ||

¹¹⁵ add. Kaibel

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clear that the art of cooking was practiced by free people; for in the course of the play the cook is revealed to be a citizen from a good family. The cookbook-authors Heracleides and Glaucus of Locris also deny that the art of cooking is appropriate for slaves, or even for the average free person.⁴⁴⁷ Cratinus Junior in his *Giants* (fr. 1) stresses the majesty of the profession, saying:

(A.) Do you realize how sweet the earth
smells, and what delectable smoke is emerging from
it?

Apparently a frankincense-dealer lives
in the chasm—or a Sicilian cook!

(B.) You're saying they both produce a similar scent,
my sweet?

So too Antiphanes in *Hard to Sell* (fr. 90) praises Sicilian cooks, saying:

banquet-*diathrummatides*, seasoned
with Sicilian arts.

Also Menander in *The Ghost* (*Phasma* 73–4):

Indicate whether
your style of cooking's decent or elaborate.

Posidippus in *The Man Who Tried To Recover His Sight* (fr. 1):

In the course of hiring a cook, I've heard

⁴⁴⁷ Dindorf interpreted these words as fragments of two anonymous comic iambic trimeters (not accepted among the adespota by Kassel–Austin).

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τὰ τῶν μαγείρων πάνθ' ἅ καθ' ἑκάστων κακὰ
 ἀντερρολαβοῦντος ἔλεγον· ὁ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἔχει
 ῥίνα κριτικὴν πρὸς τοῦψον, ὁ δ' ὅτι <τὸ> στόμα
 πονηρόν, ὁ δὲ τὴν γλώτταν εἰς ἀσχήμονας
 ἐπιθυμίας ἔνιά τε τῶν ἡδυσμάτων,
 κάθαλος, κάτοξος, χναυστικός, προσκαυστικός,
 καπνὸν οὐ φέρων, πῦρ οὐ φέρων. ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς
 εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας ἤλθον· ὧν εἷς οὔτοσι |
 b διὰ τῶν μαχαιρῶν τοῦ πυρός τ' ἐλήλυθεν.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Φιλώτιδι τὴν σοφίαν τῶν μαγείρων
 ἐμφανίζων φησίν·

(A.) οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν γλαυκίδιον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε,
 ἔψειν ἐν ἄλμῃ φημί. (B.) τὸ δὲ λαβράκιον;

(A.) ὀπτᾶν ὄλον. (B.) τὸν γαλεόν; (A.) ἐν
 ὑποτρίμματι

ζέσαι. (B.) τὸ δ' ἐγγέλειον; (A.) ἄλες, ὀρίγανον,
 ὕδωρ. (B.) ὁ γόγγρος; (A.) ταυτόν. (B.) ἡ βατίς;

(A.) χλόη.

(B.) πρόσεστι θύννον τέμαχος. (A.) ὀπτήσεις.

(B.) κρέας

ἐρίφειον; (A.) ὀπτόν. (B.) θάτερον; (A.) τὰναντία. |

c (B.) ὁ σπλήν; (A.) σεσάχθω. (B.) νῆστις; (B.)
 ἀπολεῖ μ' οὔτοσί.

⁴⁴⁸ Clearly proverbial, like the English "Out of the frying pan, into the fire!"

⁴⁴⁹ Quoted also, in slightly less complete form, at 7.295d.

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all the abusive remarks the cooks made against
 each competitor—how one guy doesn't have
 a discriminating nose, when it comes to fish; and
 another one's mouth
 is no good; and as for a third, that he's ruined his
 tastebuds,
 so that he prefers overly heavy seasonings,
 or uses too much salt or vinegar, or nibbles the food,
 or burns it,
 or can't stand the smoke or the fire. I've gone
 from the fire to the butchers' knives!⁴⁴⁸ But this one
 here
 made his way through the knives and the fire.

Antiphanes in *Philotis* (fr. 221)⁴⁴⁹ brings out how clever
 cooks are, when he says:

- (A.) So then, as for the *glaukidion*, I'm ordering you
 to stew it
 in brine, like the other times. (B.) What about the
 little sea-bass?
 (A.) Roast it whole. (B.) The thresher shark?
 (A.) Stew it
 in a sauce. (B.) The eel? (A.) Salt, marjoram,
 and water. (B.) The conger eel? (A.) Ditto! (B.) The
 ray? (A.) Green herbs.
 (B.) There's a tuna steak. (A.) Roast it.
 (B.) The kid-meat?
 (A.) Roasted. (B.) The other meat? (A.) The opposite.
 (B.) The spleen? (A.) Let's have it stuffed. (B.) The
 jejunum? (A.) This guy's gonna be the death of
 me!

ἀοιδίμων δ' ὀψαρτυτῶν ὀνόματα καταλέγει Βάτων ἐν
Εὐεργέταις οὕτως·

- (A.) εὖ γ', ὦ Σιβύνη, τὰς νύκτας οὐ καθεύδομεν
οὐδ' ἀνατετράμμεθ', ἀλλὰ καίεται λύχνος,
καὶ βιβλί' <ἐν> ταῖς χερσί, καὶ φροντίζομεν
τί Σόφων καταλέλοιπ' ἢ τί Σημωνακτίδης |
d ὁ Χίος ἢ Τυνδάριχος ὁ Σικυώνιος
ἢ Ζωπυρίνος. (B.) αὐτὸς εὔρηκας δὲ τί;
(A.) τὰ μέγιστα. (B.) ποῖα ταῦτα;
(A.) τοὺς τεθνηκότας.

- ἐγὼ δὲ τοιουτοῖ βρῶμα ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ μῦμα
φέρω. περὶ οὗ Ἄρτεμίδωρος μὲν ὁ Ἄριστοφάνειος ἐν
Ὀψαρτυτικαῖς Γλώσσαις φησὶν ὅτι σκευάζεται ἐκ
κρεῶν καὶ αἵματος, πολλῶν ἀρτυμάτων συνεμβαλλο-
μένων. Ἐπαίνετος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ λέγει ταῦτα·
μῦμα δὲ παντὸς ἱερείου, καὶ ὄρνιθος δὲ χρὴ ποιεῖν τὰ |
e ἀπαλὰ τῶν κρεῶν μικρὰ συντεμόντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα
καὶ τὸ ἔντερον καὶ τὸ αἷμα διαθρύψαντα καὶ ἀρτύ-
σαντα ὄξει, τυρῷ ὀπτῷ, σιλφίῳ, κυμίνῳ, θύμῳ χλωρῷ
καὶ ξηρῷ, θύμβρα, κοριάννῳ χλωρῷ τε καὶ ξηρῷ καὶ
γητίῳ καὶ κρομμύῳ καθαριῷ¹¹⁶ πεφωσμένῳ ἢ μήκωνι
καὶ σταφίδι ἢ μέλιτι καὶ ῥόας ὀξείας κόκκοις. εἶναι δὲ
σοι τὸ αὐτὸ μῦμα καὶ ὄψου.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ καθαριῷ Olson: καθαρῷ A

¹¹⁷ ὄψου Schweighäuser: ὄψον A

⁴⁵⁰ Presumably a reference to the Sophon of Acarnania men-

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Bato in *Benefactors* (fr. 4) lists the names of well-known chefs, as follows:

- (A.) Good for us, Sibyne, that we don't sleep at night or even lie down. Instead, a lamp stays lit, and there are books in our hands, and we puzzle over what Sophon's⁴⁵⁰ left behind, or Semonactides of Chios, or Tyndarichus of Sicyon, or Zopyrinus. (B.) Have you invented anything yourself?
- (A.) The greatest invention ever. (B.) What's that?
- (A.) Dead people!⁴⁵¹

As for me, my friends, the type of food I am serving you here is a *muma*.⁴⁵² Aristophanes' student Artemidorus⁴⁵³ in *Culinary Vocabulary* claims that the dish is made of bits of meat and blood, with numerous spices added. But Epaenetus in *The Chef's Art* says the following: A *muma* of any sort of meat, including chicken, should be made by dicing up the soft portions of the meat; stirring them in with the entrails, the guts, and the blood; and seasoning the dish with vinegar, roasted cheese, silphium, cumin, fresh and dried coriander, a bulb-less onion,⁴⁵⁴ some nice toasted onion or poppy-seeds, raisins or honey, and seeds from an acidic pomegranate. You can make the same *muma* from fish as well.

tioned in Anaxipp. fr. 1.1 (quoted at 9.403e); cf. 14.622e n.; Poll. 6.70-1 (probably drawing *inter alia* on this passage).

⁴⁵¹ Doubtless what Speaker B actually said was "I bring dead people back to life with it!" (cf. Philem. fr. 82.25-6, quoted at 7.290a).
⁴⁵² Cf. 14.658e (before the extended digression on cooks).
⁴⁵³ Cf. 1.5b with n.

⁴⁵⁴ See Arnott, *Alexis*, p. 388 n. 2.

Τοσαῦτα καὶ τούτου κατακόψαντος οὐ μόνον τὰ
 προειρημένα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἄλλος ἐπεισῆλθεν τὴν
 f ματτύην | κομίζων. ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ ζητήσεως γενομένης
 καὶ τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ εἰπόντος τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ὀψαρτυτικῶν
 Γλωσσῶν τοῦ προειρημένου Ἀρτεμιδώρου, Αἰμιλι-
 ανὸς Δωροθέω ἔφη τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ σύγγραμμα ἐκδε-
 δόσθαι ἐπιγραφόμενον Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Περὶ τῆς
 Παρὰ τοῖς Νεωτέροις Κωμικοῖς Ματτύης· ἣν Θεττα-
 λῶν φησιν εἶναι εὖρημα, ἐπιχωριάσαι δὲ καὶ ταῖς
 663 Ἀθήναις κατὰ τὴν Μακεδόνων || ἐπικράτειαν. ὁμολο-
 γοῦνται δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τε τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὴν δίαιταν· ὅπερ
 αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐζηλωκόσι τὴν τούτων τρυ-
 φὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ τῆς πολυτελείας
 αὐτῶν καὶ Κριτίας ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν. ὠνομάσθη
 δὲ ἡ ματτύη, ὡς μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν
 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑτυμολογουμένων, ἀπὸ τοῦ μα-
 b σᾶσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ μαστίχη καὶ ἡ μάσταξ· | ἡμεῖς
 δὲ φαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μάττειν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ μᾶζα αὐτὴ
 ὠνομάσθη καὶ ἡ παρὰ Κυπρίοις καλουμένη μαγίς, καὶ
 τὸ τρυφᾶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερμαζᾶν. κατ' ἀρχὰς

455 I.e. in the aftermath of the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE.

456 Sc. in 480–479 BCE.

457 Cited also at 12.527a–b (which makes it clear that the material immediately before this was drawn direct from Critias rather than from some anonymous source).

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After this fellow reduced not just the topics mentioned above but us as well to hash with these extended remarks, another cook came in after him, bringing us a *mattuê*. There was some discussion of it, and after Ulpian quoted the relevant passage from the *Culinary Vocabulary* of the Artemidorus referred to above (14.662d), Aemilianus noted that Dorotheus of Ascalon had published a treatise entitled *On Antiphanes and On the Mattuê Mentioned by the New Comic Poets* (= Antiph. test. 7); Dorotheus claims that the Thessalians invented the dish, which was a local delicacy in Athens during the period when the Macedonians were in control.⁴⁵⁵ The Thessalians are generally agreed to have been the most extravagant Greeks when it came to their clothing and their life-style. This is why they convinced the Persians to invade Greece,⁴⁵⁶ because they were eager to adopt their luxurious and expensive habits. Critias in his *Constitution of the Thessalians* (88 B 31 D–K)⁴⁵⁷ describes their extravagance. According to Apollodorus of Athens in Book I of his *Etymologies* (FGrH 244 F 222), the word *mattuê* is derived from *masasthai* (“to chew”), just as *mastichê* (“mastich”) and *mastax* (“jaw; mouthful”) are.⁴⁵⁸ In my judgment, however, it comes from *mattein* (“to knead”), which is also the source of the word *maza*⁴⁵⁹ (“barley-cake”) and the Cyprian term *magis*,⁴⁶⁰ as well as of *hypermazan*, meaning “to live in ex-

⁴⁵⁸ *mastax* is in fact derived from *masasthai*, and *mastichê* may be as well. But *mattuê* is more likely a Macedonian loan-word (e.g. Hsch. μ 412; Poll. 6.70, where it is given in the form *matullê*).

⁴⁵⁹ A correct etymology.

⁴⁶⁰ Glossed *mazai* (“barley-cakes”) by Phot. μ 9, citing Ar. fr. 851 (cf. S. fr. 734).

μὲν οὖν τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ κοινὴν ταύτην τροφήν τὴν
 ἐκ τῶν ἀλφίτων μᾶζαν ὠνόμαζον καὶ μάττειν τὸ παρα-
 σκευάζειν αὐτήν. ὕστερον δὲ ποικίλλοντες τὴν ἀναγ-
 καίαν τροφήν ἀκολάστως καὶ περιέργως μικρὸν παρ-
 αγαγόντες τοῦνομα τῆς μάζης ματτῆν ὠνόμαζον πᾶν
 c τὸ πολυτελὲς ἔδεσμα, τὸ δὲ ματτυάζειν | τὸ παρα-
 σκευάζειν αὐτά, εἴτε ἰχθὺς εἴη εἴτε ὄρνις εἴτε λάχανον
 εἴτε ἱερείον εἴτε πεμμάτιον. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ
 καὶ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος παρέθετο μαρτυρίον Ἀλέξιδος·
 συνεμφῆναι γὰρ βουλόμενος ὁ Ἄλεξις τὴν ἀκολασίαν
 τῆς παρασκευῆς προσέθηκε τὸ λέπεσθαι. ἔχει δ'
 <οὔτως>¹¹⁸ ἢ σύμπασα ἐκλογὴ οὔσα ἐκ τοῦ διεσκευ-
 ασμένου δράματος ὃ ἐπιγράφεται Δημήτριος·

τοῦψον λαβοῦσαι τοῦτο τὰπεσταλμένον
 σκευάζετ', εὐωχείσθε, προπόσεις πίνετε, |
 d λέπεσθε, ματτυάζετε.

τῷ δὲ λέπεσθαι χρώνται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἀσελγούς καὶ
 φορτικῆς δι' ἀφροδισίων ἡδονῆς. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος
 ἐν ταῖς Ὀψαρτυτικαῖς Γλώσσαις τὴν ματτῆν ἀπο-
 φαίνει κοινὸν εἶναι πάντων ὄνομα τῶν πολυτελῶν
 ἔδεσμάτων, γράφων οὔτως· ἔστι τις ὄρνιθος ματτῆς.
 ἐσφάχθω μὲν διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἔστω

118 add. Kaibel

461 Properly "to be peeled"; cf. Latin *glubo*.

462 The discussion above suggests that this means "make a *mattuê*." But that would be a flat and unsatisfying final element in

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traordinary luxury." They referred originally to this ordinary food eaten by average people and made of barley groats as a *maza*, and to the process of preparing it as *mattein*. But later they began to make their most basic food more elaborate in a reckless, fussy manner, and they lengthened the word *maza* slightly and began to refer to expensive food of any kind as a *mattuê*, and to preparing it, whether it was a fish, a bird, a vegetable, an animal, or a pastry, as *mattuazein*. This is apparent from the evidence Artemidorus cited from Alexis; for when Alexis wanted to emphasize the excessive character of the preparations, he appended the verb *lepesthai*.⁴⁶¹ The complete excerpt, which is drawn from the revised version of the play entitled *Demetrius*, runs as follows (fr. 50):

After you get this fish we've been sent,
prepare it; have a feast; drink toasts;
act dirty (*lepesthe*); and *mattuazete*.⁴⁶²

The Athenians use *lepesthai* to refer to crude, low-class sexual pleasure.⁴⁶³ Artemidorus in his *Culinary Vocabulary* makes it clear that *mattuê* is a general term for expensive food of all kinds. He writes as follows: There is a type of *mattuês*⁴⁶⁴ made with chicken. The bird should be slaughtered by thrusting the knife through its mouth into

this catalogue of increasingly wild behavior, and Arnott *ad loc.* suggests that the word may have had a colloquial sense (unknown to the lexicographer quoted here) that referred to debauchery of some sort.

⁴⁶³ Cf. Mnesim. fr. 4.18 (quoted at 9.403a).

⁴⁶⁴ A variant (masculine first-declension) form of the word, used again below.

δὲ ἔωλος καθάπερ ὁ πέρδιξ· εἰ δὲ θέλῃς, ὡς ἔχει
 αὐτοῖς πτεροῖς εἶναι <μῆ>¹¹⁹ τετιλμένην. εἶτα τὸν τρό-
 e πον ἐκθεῖς τῆς ἀρτύσεως καὶ | τῆς ἐψήσεως ἐπιφέρει
 εὐθύς· καὶ νομάδα παχείαν ἔψε καὶ νεοσσούς τῶν ἤδη
 κοκκυζόντων, εἰάν θέλῃς παρὰ πότον χρῆσθαι. εἰτ'
 ἐξελὼν τὰ λάχανα εἰς τρυβλίον καὶ τῆς ὄρνιθος τῶν
 κρεῶν ἐπιθεῖς παρατίθει, τοῦ θέρουσ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄξους
 τῆς ὄμφακος ἐμβάλων εἰς τὸν ζωμὸν ὡς ἔχει τοὺς
 βότρυς. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐφθῆ γένηται, ἔξελε μετὰ τοῦ
 βοτρυδίου πρὸ τοῦ τὸ γίγαρτον ἐξαφεῖναι, εἰθ' οὕτως
 τὸ λάγανον κατάθρυπτε. οὗτος <ὁ>¹²⁰ μαπτύης ἐν τοῖς
 ἠδίστοις. ὅτι μὲν οὖν κοινὸν ἦν τοῦνομα τῶν πολυτε-
 λεστάτων ἐδεσμάτων φανερόν, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς |
 f τοιαύτης εὐωχίας ὁμοίως ἐλέγετο Φιλήμων φησὶν ἐν
 Ἄρπαζομένῳ·

γυμνῶ φυλακὴν ἐπίταπτε < . . . > καὶ διὰ τριῶν
 ποτηρίων με μαπτύης εὐφραίνεται.

καὶ ἐν Ἀνδροφόνῳ·

πιεῖν τις ἡμῖν ἐγχεάτω καὶ μαπτύην
 ποιεῖτε θάπτον.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Πυραύνῳ ἀμφιβόλως εἴρηκεν ||

¹¹⁹ add. Dalechamp

¹²⁰ add. Kaibel

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its head, and allowed to sit for a day, just as a partridge is; if you like, leave it as is, feathers and all, unplucked. After describing next how it should be seasoned and stewed, he continues immediately thereafter: Also stew a plump guinea-hen or some young roosters, if you want to eat them while you're drinking. Then remove the vegetables and put them in a bowl; set the chicken meat on top; and serve the dish. In the summer, add unripe grapes, just as they are, to the broth in place of the vinegar. Once the chicken is stewed, remove it (from the broth), along with the grapes, before the grape-seeds dissolve, and then at this point crumble up the wafer-bread⁴⁶⁵ (over it). This is one of the most delicious *mattuai*. That the word was commonly used to refer to the most expensive foods is apparent; that the same term was applied to the manner in which a feast of this kind was celebrated is asserted by Philemon in *The Man Who Was Kidnapped* (fr. 11):

“Put an unarmed man on guard”⁴⁶⁶—and let a
mattuês
 cheer me up along with every three cups!

And in *The Murderer* (Philem. fr. 8):

Somebody pour us a drink! Hurry up
 and make us a *mattuês*!

Alexis uses the word ambiguously in *The Pan of Coals* (fr. 208):

⁴⁶⁵ *lagonon*; cf. 3.110a; 8.363a.

⁴⁶⁶ A proverb that referred to giving a person orders he would obviously be unable to carry out (*Zenob.* 2.98).

664 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπειδὴν ἀσχολουμένους λάβω,
ἀνέκραγον "οὐ δώσει τις ἡμῖν ματτῆν";,

ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸ δείπνον ἔλεγεν· πιθανὸν δὲ καὶ ἰδίως ἐπὶ <τι>¹²¹ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἀναφέρειν. Μάχων δ' ὁ Σικυώνιος τῶν μὲν κατὰ Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Καρύστιον κωμωδιοποιῶν εἰς ἔστι καὶ αὐτός· οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν δ' Ἀθήνησι τὰς κωμωδίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. ἦν δ' ἀγαθὸς ποιητῆς εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ· διόπερ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀριστοφάνης
b ἐσπούδασε συσχολάσαι αὐτῷ νέος ὢν. | ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν δράματι Ἀγνοία ταυτί·

ἥδιον οὐδέν ἐστὶ μοι τῆς ματτῆς.
τοῦτ' εἴτε πρῶτοι Μακεδόνες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
κατέδειξαν ἡμῖν, εἴτε πάντες οἱ θεοί,
οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν † ἐστίν γε μουσικωτάτου τινός †.

ὅτι δὲ ὕστατον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἰσεφέρετο Νικόστρατός φησιν ἐν Ἀπελαυνομένῳ. μάγειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ διηγούμενος ὡς λαμπρὰν καὶ εὐτακτον παρεσκεύασεν εὐωχίαν· προδιηγησάμενός τε οἶον ἦν τὸ ἄριστον καὶ
c τὸ δείπνον καὶ τρίτης μνησθεὶς παραθέσεως | ἐπιφέρει·

¹²¹ add. Kaibel

⁴⁶⁷ It is unclear whether Alexis used the feminine form *mattuē* or the masculine *mattuēs* (like Artemidorus and Philemon in fr. 11, and thus presumably in fr. 8 as well), since both would yield the accusative singular *mattuēn*.

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As for me, whenever I caught them busy,
I started shouting "Somebody give us a *mattuês!*"⁴⁶⁷

as if he were referring to the dinner, although it is possible that he is referring specifically to an individual dish. Macho of Sicyon (test. 1) is also one of the comic poets contemporary with Apollodorus of Carystus (test. 1);⁴⁶⁸ he did not stage his comedies in Athens but in Alexandria. He was as good a poet as anyone outside of the Seven,⁴⁶⁹ which is why the grammarian Aristophanes (Ar. Byz. test. 13B Slater) was eager to study with him as a young man.⁴⁷⁰ He wrote the following in his play *Ignorance* (fr. 1):

I don't think there's anything more delicious than a
mattuê.

Whether it was the Macedonians who introduced it
to us in Attica, or all the gods,
all I know † it is in fact of someone extremely
ingenious †.

That it was served last, after everything else, is asserted by Nicostratus in *The Man Who Was Being Driven Away* (fr. 7). A cook is describing what a brilliant, well-organized feast he prepared. He first offers a description of what the lunch and the dinner were like, and then continues, giving an account of the third course:

⁴⁶⁸ Macho and Apollodorus both belong to the middle of the 3rd century BCE.

⁴⁶⁹ I.e. the Alexandrian Pleiad of tragic poets, although eight names rather than seven are generally given: Alexander Aetolus, Homerus of Byzantium, Sosiphanes of Syracuse, Sositheus of Alexandria Troas, Lycophron, Philicus, Dionysiades of Tarsus, and Aeantides.

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. 6.241f.

ATHENAEUS

εὖ γ', ἄνδρες, εὖ σφόδρ'· ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ ματτῷ
οὕτω διαθήσω τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὥστ', οἴομαι,
οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἡμῖν τοῦτον ἀντερεῖν ἔτι.

καὶ ἐν Μαγείρῳ·

θρῖον δὲ καὶ κἀνδαυλον ἢ τούτων τι τῶν
εἰς ματτῷ οὐδέτερον εἶδε πώποτε.

ἄλλος δὲ τίς φησιν·

d περιφέρειν ματτῷ <καὶ> ποδάριον, |
καὶ γαστριὸν τακερόν τι καὶ μήτρας ἴσως.

Διονύσιος δ' ἐν Ἀκοντιζομένῳ· μάγειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ
λέγων·

ὥστ' ἐνίοτ' ἂν τούτοισι ποιῶν ματτῷ
σπεύδων ἅμ' εἰσῆνεγκα διαμαρτῶν μίαν
ἄκων περιφορὰν τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς τὸν νεκρόν.

Φιλήμων ἐν Πτωχῇ·

ἐξὸν ἀποσάττεσθαι δ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν,
ποιοῦντα καὶ διδόντα ματτῷ ἐκεῖ.

e Μόλπις δ' ὁ Λάκων τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις |
ἐπαίκλεια, <ἄ> σημαίνει τὰς ἐπιδειπνίδας, ματτῷ

⁴⁷¹ The first verse and part of the second are quoted at 12.517a. ⁴⁷² The sense of the final two verses is obscure.

⁴⁷³ Called *The Beggar-Woman* or *The Girl from Rhodes* at 14.645a. ⁴⁷⁴ Cf. 4.141d-e.

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Excellent, gentlemen, really excellent! But I'll
arrange what
comes next with the *mattuê* in a way that, I imagine,
will keep even this guy himself from arguing with us
any more.

And in *The Cook* (fr. 16.2–3):⁴⁷¹

but as for a fig-leaf pastry or a *kandaulos*, or any of
these ingredients
that go into a *mattuê*—he's never seen a single one!

And someone else says (adesp. com. fr. 125):

to serve a *mattuê* and a pig's foot,
and perhaps a tender little stomach-sausage and sows'
wombs.

Dionysius in *The Man Who Was Hit by a Javelin* (fr. 1); a
cook is speaking:

So that sometimes, if I was making a *mattuê* for these
guys
and was in a hurry, I made a mistake and
unintentionally served
the dead man a single course of corpses at the same
time.⁴⁷²

Philemon in *The Beggar-Woman*⁴⁷³ (fr. 71):

when he could have kept stuffing himself all day long,
producing and handing out *mattuai* there.

Molpis of Sparta (*FGrH* 590 F *2a)⁴⁷⁴ claims that other
people refer to what the Spartans call *epaikleia*—that is to

φησὶ λέγεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὁ δὲ κυνικὸς Μένιππος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ γράφει οὕτως· πότος ἦν ἐπικωμασάντων τινῶν καὶ ματτύην ἐκέλευσεν εἰσφέρειν Λάκαινάν τις· καὶ εὐθέως περιεφέρετο περδίκεια ὀλίγα καὶ χήνεια ὀπτά καὶ τρύφη πλακούντων. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον δείπνον οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ προσηγόρευον ἐπιδόρπισμα, οἱ δὲ Δωριεῖς ἐπαῖκλον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ πλείστοι ἐπιδειπνίδα.

f Τοσοῦτων καὶ περὶ | τῆς ματτύης λεχθέντων ἔδοξεν ἀπιέναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρα ἦν ἤδη. διελύθημεν οὖν οὕτως.

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say, *epideipnides*⁴⁷⁵—as *mattuai*. Menippus the Cynic in his work entitled *Arcesilaus* (fr. II, p. 245 Riese) writes as follows: There was a party that included some people who had barged in already drunk, and someone called for a Spartan *mattuê* to be served. Immediately a few small partridges were brought around, along with roasted geese and some fancy cakes. The Athenians referred to a dinner like this as an *epidorpisma*, whereas the Dorians called it an *epaiklon*,⁴⁷⁶ and most other Greeks called it an *epideipnis*.

After these lengthy remarks had been made about the *mattuê*, we decided to leave; for it was now evening. So at this point we went our separate ways.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. 14.658e with n.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. 14.642d–e.



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