



THEOPHRASTUS  
CHARACTERS

JAMES DIGGLE

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COMMENTARIES*

41

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CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL TEXTS  
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THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

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## PREFACE

I owe an especial debt to three scholars. Jeffrey Fish transcribed for me in the most minute detail the section of *P. Herc.* 1457 containing sketch no. V. I am deeply grateful to him for selflessly undertaking and so meticulously executing this long and demanding task. How much it has benefited me will be apparent to readers of the commentary. Ioannis Stefanis generously supplied information about the readings of the later manuscripts, loaned me his photographs of A and B, and sent me a copy of an unpublished text and apparatus criticus of his own. I found that in a few places he and I had independently hit upon the same conjecture. I should have assigned sole credit to Professor Stefanis, had he not requested that I publish these conjectures under our joint names. Paul Millett, from whom (as the commentary attests) I had already learned so much, read the whole typescript, saved me from several slips, and at other points sharpened my argument.

I am grateful to Martin Ruehl for procuring photocopies of more than a score of older books and pamphlets from libraries in Germany; and, for a similar service in Greece, to Dimitrios Beroutsos, Georgios Christodoulou, Daniel Jakob, and Antonios Rengakos. Nigel Wilson kindly lent me his photographs of V and sent me some comments on its script. Geoffrey Arnott answered questions on pheasants and monkeys, Sir James Beament on botany and entomology, and Paul Cartledge on historical problems. I am also indebted, for advice or help of various kinds, to John Dillery, Bruce Fraser, Nikolaos Gonis, Ioannis Konstantakos, Luigi Lehnus, Marianne McDonald, Stephen Oakley, Dirk Obbink, Michael Reeve, Jeffrey Rusten, and Anne Thompson; to Muriel Hall, copy-editor, for her care and vigilance; and for generously undertaking to read the proofs, to Stephen Oakley and Frederick Williams.

Two matters of numeration. First, 'fr. 100 Fortenbaugh' is shorthand for fr. 100 in W. W. Fortenbaugh, P. M. Huby, R. W.

## PREFACE

Sharples, D. Gutas (edd.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence* (Leiden etc. 1992–). Second, I have numbered the sections of the Greek text afresh. Section-numbers were first added by the Leipzig editors (1897), and these were modified by Diels (1909). My numbering reflects what I take to be the main divisions within the text.

*Cambridge*

*September 2003*

# INTRODUCTION

## I THEOPHRASTUS AND HIS TIMES

The sources for the life of Theophrastus are collected in W. W. Fortenbaugh, P. M. Huby, R. W. Sharples, D. Gutas, *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence* (Leiden 1992) frs. 1–36. The primary source is D.L. 5.36–57 (fr. 1). Some modern discussions: O. Regenbogen, ‘Theophrastos’, *RE Suppl.* VII (1940) 1355–61 (II.1 ‘Vita. Lebensumstände’), M. G. Sollenberger, ‘The Lives of the Peripatetics: An analysis of the contents and structure of Diogenes Laertius’ “Vitae Philosophorum” Book 5’, *ANRW* II.36.6 (1992) 3793–3879, J. Mejer, ‘A Life in fragments: the *Vita Theophrasti*’, in J. M. van Ophuijsen and M. van Raalte (edd.), *Theophrastus: Reappraising the Sources* (New Brunswick and London 1998) 1–28.

Theophrastus was born at Eresos on Lesbos (D.L. 5.36 = fr. 1.2) in 372/1 or 371/0.<sup>1</sup> His name, originally Τύρταμος, was changed by Aristotle to Θεόφραστος, in recognition (so later writers believed) of his divine eloquence (D.L. 5.38 = fr. 1.30–1 διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον, Suda Θ 199 = fr. 2.4 διὰ τὸ θείως φράζειν).<sup>2</sup> His association with Aristotle will have begun at Athens, if we accept that he studied with Plato (D.L. 5.36 = fr.

<sup>1</sup> Regenbogen 1357, Sollenberger 3843.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Str. 13.2.4 = fr. 5A.3 τὸν τῆς φράσεως αὐτοῦ ζῆλον ἐπισημαίνόμενος, ‘setting his seal of approval on his style of speech’ (LSJ ζῆλος III.2; ἐπισημαίνω IV.3, as in *Char.* II.4), not ‘signifying the fervour of his speech’ (H. L. Jones, Loeb ed. 1929) nor ‘signifying his keenness for speech’ (Fortenbaugh *et al.*), Cic. *Orat.* 62 = fr. 5B.2 <a> *diuinitate loquendi nomen inuenit*, Plin. *Nat. praef.* 29 *hominem in eloquentia tantum ut nomen diuinum inde inuenit*, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.83 *in Theophrasto tam est loquendi nitor ille diuinus ut ex eo nomen quoque traxisse dicatur*. Anecdotal tradition (Cic. *Brut.* 172, Quint. *Inst.* 8.1.2 = fr. 7A–B; cf. Mejer 15–16) suggests that he was proud of his command of Attic but that others regarded it as over-correct. The name Θεόφραστος is common in Attica (*LGPV* 2.223) and is attested elsewhere (*LGPV* 1.219, 3A.206–7). Cf. Regenbogen 1357, J. H. M. A. Indemans, *Studiën over Theophrastus* (Nijmegen 1953) 3–6, Sollenberger 3833–5.



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1.4; cf. D.L. 3.46).<sup>3</sup> Otherwise it will have begun at Assos (on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Lesbos), where Hermias, ruler of Atarneus, former fellow-student of Aristotle in the Academy, gathered together a group of philosophers after the death of Plato in 348/7. The association continued in Macedonia, where Aristotle was invited by Philip II in 343/2,<sup>4</sup> and in Athens, when Aristotle returned there in 335/4 and founded the Lyceum.

The vicissitudes of the period which follows, and some of its leading figures, are reflected in the *Characters*.<sup>5</sup> Lycurgus, during whose period of political influence Athens had retained a democratic constitution and a measure of independence from Macedon, died *c.* 325/4. Alexander (XXIII.3) died in 323. During the uprising against Macedon which followed, Aristotle left Athens for Euboea, where he died in 322/1, and Theophrastus became head of the Lyceum (D.L. 5.36 = fr. 1.5–7). Antipater (XXIII.4), regent of Macedonia, defeated the Athenians and their allies in 322, placed Athens under the control of Phocion, and imposed an oligarchic constitution and a Macedonian garrison. He designated Polyperchon (VIII.6), general of Alexander, to succeed him in preference to his own son Cassander (VIII.6, 9), with whom Theophrastus was on friendly terms (D.L. 5.37 = fr. 1.13, Suda  $\Theta$  199 = fr. 2.8–9). Antipater died in 319. A struggle ensued between Polyperchon and Cassander. Polyperchon offered the Greek cities autonomy in return for their support. Athens rallied to him and executed Phocion. Cassander defeated Polyperchon and captured Athens in 317 and placed it under the control of Demetrius of Phaleron, pupil of Theophrastus (D.L. 5.75).<sup>6</sup> Through his influence Theophrastus, though a metic (like Aristotle), was allowed to own land (D.L. 5.39 = fr. 1.38–40), and so

<sup>3</sup> Regenbogen 1357–8, W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* 6 (Cambridge 1981) 34–5, K. Gaiser, *Theophrast in Assos: zur Entwicklung der Naturwissenschaft zwischen Akademie und Peripatos* (Heidelberg 1985) 24–7, Sollenberger 3806–7, Mejer 17–19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ael. *VH* 4.19 = fr. 28.

<sup>5</sup> For fuller discussion of historical allusions see the section on Date (pp. 27–37).

<sup>6</sup> W. W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf (edd.), *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion* (New Brunswick and London 2000) 39 (no. 8).

to establish the Lyceum in buildings of its own.<sup>7</sup> Demetrius was expelled in 307. The restored democracy passed a law requiring heads of philosophical schools to obtain a licence from the state, and Theophrastus (along with other philosophers) briefly withdrew from Athens (D.L. 5.38 = fr. 1.22–9).<sup>8</sup> On his return (the law was soon repealed) he remained head of the Lyceum until his death at the age of 85 (D.L. 5.40 = fr. 1.46) in 288/7 or 287/6.

He is reputed to have had some 2,000 students (D.L. 5.37 = fr. 1.16, Suda Θ 199 = fr. 2.7).<sup>9</sup> He bequeathed his books to his pupil Neleus of Scepsis (D.L. 5.52 = fr. 1.310–11). The narrative of their subsequent history should be treated with reserve: together with the books of Aristotle, which Theophrastus had inherited, they were stored underground, suffered damage, and were sold to Apellicon of Teos, who issued unreliable copies; the library of Apellicon was carried off to Rome when Sulla captured Athens, and acquired by Tyrannion the grammarian, who, with Andronicus of Rhodes, put further unsatisfactory copies into circulation (Str. 13.1.54, Plu. *Sull.* 26.1–3 = fr. 37–8).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School* (Berkeley etc. 1972) 97–105, Guthrie 39–40, Sollenberger 3822–3, C. Habicht, 'Hellenistic Athens and her philosophers', in *Athen in Hellenistischer Zeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Munich 1994) 231–47 (at 236), Mejer 20, L. O'Sullivan, 'The law of Sophocles and the beginning of permanent philosophical schools in Athens', *RhM* 145 (2002) 251–62.

<sup>8</sup> Lynch 103–4, Sollenberger 3821–2, Habicht 236–7, W. G. Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments* (Cambridge 1996) Appendix II, H. B. Gottschalk in J. M. van Ophuijsen and M. van Raalte (edd.), *Theophrastus: Reappraising the Sources* (New Brunswick and London 1998) 282–3, O'Sullivan (n. 7 above).

<sup>9</sup> Probably during his whole career (Regenbogen 1358, Habicht 233–4, Mejer 21, Gottschalk 283) rather than at any one time (advocates of this view are listed by Sollenberger 3828; add Lane Fox 134 and n. 69, misrepresenting Habicht).

<sup>10</sup> Guthrie 59–65 is less sceptical of this story than H. B. Gottschalk, *Hermes* 100 (1972) 335–42. For its possible relevance to the early distribution of the philosophical works of Aristotle and Theophrastus see Regenbogen 1375–9, Mejer 25–7. It is unwise to found on it any theory concerning the early history of the text of the *Characters* (as does Navarre (1931) 22–4; *contra*, Ussher (1960) 14–15, Rusten 33). See p. 38 below.

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### II THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE *CHARACTERS*

#### (i) Title

ABV entitle the work *Χαρακτῆρες*. Diogenes Laertius, in his catalogue of Theophrastus' writings,<sup>11</sup> lists it twice, first as ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες α', second as *Χαρακτῆρες ἠθικοί* (5.47–8 = fr. 1.201, 241 = fr. 436.4a).<sup>12</sup>

The history of the noun *χαρακτήρ* is discussed by A. Körte, *Hermes* 64 (1929) 69–86 and B. A. van Groningen, *Mnemosyne* 58 (1930) 45–53. It describes the 'stamp' or 'imprint' on a coin, a distinguishing mark of type or value (Arist. *Pol.* 1257<sup>a</sup>41 ὁ γὰρ χαρακτήρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ σημεῖον; cf. E. *El.* 558–9 τί μ' ἐεδέδορκεν ὥσπερ ἀργύρου σκοπῶν | λαμπρὸν χαρακτῆρ'; ἢ προσεικάζει μέ τωι;).<sup>13</sup> It is also used figuratively, to describe the 'stamp' of facial or bodily features, by which kinship or race are distinguished (Hdt. 1.116.1 ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἄκτυάγεα ἐςτῆε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ὁ . . . χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἐωυτόν, Hyg. fr. 196 Jensen *χαρακτήρ οὐδεὶς ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*; cf. A. *Su.* 282, E. *Med.* 516–19, *Hec.* 379, *El.* 572),<sup>14</sup> and the 'stamp' of speech, as marked by local dialect (*χαρακτήρ γλώσσης* Hdt. 1.57.3, 1.142.4; cf. S. fr. 176) or by a style of speech (Ar. *Pax* 220 ὁ γοῦν χαρακτήρ ἡμεδαπὸς τῶν ῥημάτων) or (in later literary criticism) by a style of writing (LSJ II.5, Körte 79–83). Into this pattern fits Men. fr. 72 ἀνδρὸς *χαρακτήρ* ἐκ

<sup>11</sup> On the nature and sources of this catalogue see H. Usener, *Analecta Theophrastea* (Leipzig 1858), Regenbogen 1363–70, Sollenberger 3854–5, Mejer 22–4.

<sup>12</sup> Two late manuscripts which have the title *Χαρακτῆρες ἠθικοί* are copied from printed editions (Torraca (1994a) xii n. 8). For the suggestion (unacceptable) that the repeated title refers to a second book of *Characters* see p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> R. Seaford, *JHS* 118 (1998) 137–9; also F. Will, 'The concept of *χαρακτήρ* in Euripides', *Glotta* 39 (1960) 233–8.

<sup>14</sup> Similarly Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* II.3.98–9 'although the print be little, the whole matter / and copy of the father'.

λόγου γνωρίζεται, ‘the stamp of a man is recognised from his speech’: speech typifies him, makes him a distinct and recognisable individual.

A work entitled *Χαρακτῆρες* advertises nothing more specific than ‘types’, ‘marks’, ‘distinctive features’, or ‘styles’. This is not an adequate advertisement of Theophrastus’ work. Definition is needed, and is provided by ἠθικοί, which the manuscripts have lost, but Diogenes Laertius has preserved. The title *Characters*, hallowed by usage, is both misleading and incomplete. The true title means something like *Behavioural Types* or *Distinctive Marks of Character*.<sup>15</sup>

We hear of a few other works which may have been entitled, in whole or part, *Χαρακτῆρες*: (i) *Περὶ λέξεως ἢ περὶ χαρακτήρων* by Antisthenes (D.L. 6.15);<sup>16</sup> (ii) *Χαρακτῆρες α’* by Heraclides Ponticus (D.L. 5.88 = fr. 165 Wehrli), perhaps on style;<sup>17</sup> (iii) *Χαρακτῆρες ἢ Φιλοκώμωιδοι* by an unknown tragic poet Dionysiades of Mallos (*TrGF* 105), ἐν ᾧ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας (styles?) ἀπαγγέλλει τῶν ποιητῶν (Suda Δ 1169);<sup>18</sup> (iv) *Κάτυρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ χαρακτήρων* (Ath. 168C = *FHG* 3.164 fr. 20), discussed below (p. 11).

## (ii) Antecedents and relations

The *Characters*, in conception and design, is a novel work: nothing like it, so far as we know, had been attempted before. But antecedents and relations can be recognised.

Descriptions of character-types had appeared sporadically in other genres. Homer describes the δειλός and the ἄλκιμος in

<sup>15</sup> Addition of ἠθικοί is commended by Körte 77 n. 3, P. Steinmetz, *AUS* 8 (1959) 224–6 = *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart 2000) 130–2 (and his commentary, 2 (1962) 7–8), W. W. Fortenbaugh, *RhM* 118 (1975) 81–2, id. *Quellen zur Ethik Theophrasts* (Amsterdam 1984) 93–4. *Contra* van Groningen 52–3.

<sup>16</sup> The nature of the work and the authenticity of the title are disputed: G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* 4 (Naples 1990) 240–1.

<sup>17</sup> F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, VII: *Herakleides Pontikos* (Basel<sup>2</sup> 1969) 119.

<sup>18</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship, from the Beginnings to the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 160.

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ambush, the former pale and fidgety, his heart thumping and his teeth chattering, the latter never blanching, eager for the fight to start (*Il.* 13.278–86). Eustathius recognised in this a foreshadowing of Theophrastus: διασκευάσαντος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀρχετυπικῶς ὡς ἐν τύπῳ χαρακτῆρας, ὁποίους δὴ τινὰς ὕστερον καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐξετυπώσατο, οἷος μὲν ὁ ἄλκιμος ἐν καιρῶι λόχου, οἷος δὲ ὁ δειλός (931.22–3 = 3.469.3–5 van der Valk).<sup>19</sup> Semonides describes ten types of women (fr. 7).<sup>20</sup> Herodotus (through the mouth of a Persian) describes the μόναρχος (3.80.3–6), and Plato describes the τιμοκρατικός (*R.* 548D–550B), the ὀλιγαρχικός (553A–555A), the δημοκρατικός (558C–562A), and the τυραννικός (571A–576B). Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* describes at length the characters (ἦθη) of νέοι, πρεσβύτεροι, and ἀκμάζοντες (1389<sup>a</sup>3–1390<sup>b</sup>13), and more briefly of εὐγενεῖς, πλούσιοι, and δυνάμενοι (1390<sup>b</sup>16–1391<sup>a</sup>29).

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle distinguishes and analyses moral virtues and vices, ἠθικαί (as opposed to λογικαί) ἀρεταί and κακίαι. Virtue is a mean between two opposing vices, one of deficiency, the other of excess, in emotions and actions (1106<sup>b</sup>16–18). First he lists 13 pairs of vices, with their mean (1107<sup>a</sup>32–1108<sup>b</sup>6).<sup>21</sup> Theophrastus has 9 (here asterisked) of the 26 vices.

Deficiency	Mean	Excess
*δειλία	ἀνδρεία	θράσος
*ἀναισθησία	σωφροσύνη	ἀκολασία
*ἀνελευθερία	ἐλευθεριότης	ἀσωτία
*εἰρωνεία	ἀληθεία	*ἄλαζονεία
*ἀγροικία	εὐτραπεία	βωμολοχία

<sup>19</sup> For a modern misunderstanding which has been built on the passage see p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species: Semonides on Women* (London 1975) 29 ('he may be considered an ancestor of Theophrastus'), 32–3.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *EE* 1220<sup>b</sup>21–1221<sup>b</sup>3 (a rather different list), W. F. R. Hardie, *Aristotle's Ethical Theory* (Oxford 1980) 129–51, R. Bosley, R. A. Shiner, J. D. Sisson (edd.), *Aristotle, Virtue and the Mean* (Edmonton 1995).

δυσεριτία	φιλία	*ἀρέσκεια
δυσκολία	φιλία	*κολακεία
*ἀναισχυντία	αἰδημοσύνη	κατάπληξις

Aristotle develops the analysis of individual virtues and vices later (1115<sup>a</sup>4–1128<sup>b</sup>33).<sup>22</sup> Although he personalises their bearers (exemplifying the δειλός and the ἀνδρείος, and so on, just as in the *Rhetoric* he exemplifies νέοι and πρεσβύτεροι), his persons exist, for the most part, out of time and space, moral paradigms, not flesh and blood. And so it is with the μόναρχος of Herodotus and the political characters drawn by Plato.

But Aristotle provides the seed from which Theophrastus's descriptions grow. He often indicates, in abstract and general terms, the circumstances or behaviour which are associated with each virtue and vice. For example, *Rh.* 1379<sup>b</sup>17–19 τοῖς ἐπιχαίρουσι ταῖς ἀτυχίαις καὶ ὄλωσ' εὐθυμουμένοις ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀτυχίαις· ἢ γὰρ ἐχθροῦ ἢ ὀλιγωροῦντος σημεῖον (taking pleasure in the discomforts of others is the σημεῖον, i.e. χαρακτήρ, of a hostile or scornful man), 1383<sup>b</sup>19–20 οἷον τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν ἀσπίδα ἢ φυγεῖν· ἀπὸ δειλίας γάρ· καὶ τὸ ἀποστερῆσαι παρακαταθήκην· ἀπὸ ἀδικίας γάρ, 1383<sup>b</sup>22–5 τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἢ αἰσχυρῶν ἢ ἀπὸ ἀδυνάτων . . . ἀπὸ αἰσχροκερδείας γὰρ καὶ ἀνελευθερίας.

Instead of an abstract circumstance Theophrastus gives us a real occasion, and instead of an anonymous agent, a real individual. So, while Aristotle says that τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντα λέγειν καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι is typical of ἀλαζονεία (1384<sup>a</sup>4–6), Theophrastus lets us hear an Ἀλαζών making just such grand claims for himself before visitors in the Piraeus (XXIII). The ἀνδρείος, according to Aristotle, will best display his fearlessness at sea or in war (*EN* 1115<sup>a</sup>34<sup>b</sup>1). Theophrastus shows us the Δειλός on a ship and on the battlefield (XXV). Aristotle is even capable of anticipating Theophrastus's technique. The βάναικος (Vulgar Man) makes a tasteless display of his wealth on unimportant

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *EE* 1228<sup>a</sup>23–1234<sup>b</sup>13, *MM* 1190<sup>b</sup>9–1193<sup>a</sup>38.

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occasions, for example by entertaining his dining club on the scale of a wedding banquet or, when acting as choregus for a comedy, bringing on the chorus in purple (*EN* 1123<sup>a</sup>22–3 οἷον ἔρανιστὰς γαμικῶς ἔστιῶν καὶ κωμωιδοῖς χορηγῶν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ πορφύραν εἰσφέρων). With a minimum of change (οἷος ἔρανιστὰς γαμικῶς ἔστιᾶν καὶ . . . εἰσφέρειν) this becomes indistinguishable from Theophrastus in content and style.

Like Homer, in his description of the δειλός and the ἄλκιμος, Theophrastus locates his characters in a specific time and place. The time is the late fourth century. The place is Athens. And it is an Athens whose daily life he recreates for us in dozens of dramatic pictures and incidents. If we look elsewhere for such scenes and such people, we shall not find them (until we come to the *Mimes* of Herodas)<sup>23</sup> except on the comic stage. ‘Plurima inuenias in his breuibus reliquiis’, observed Casaubon, ‘quae ueluti tabulae e naufragio superstites utcunque remanserunt, ex quibus huius operis cum poetis, scenicis maxime et comicis, quos esse optimos exprimendorum morum artifices scimus, affinitas percipi queat’.<sup>24</sup> Comedy furnishes much the same cast of players. Five characters of Theophrastus give their names to plays: the Ἀγροϊκος (Antiphanes, Menander, Philemon and others), Ἀπιστος (Menander), Δεισιδαίμων (Menander), Κόλαξ (Menander and others), Μεμψίμοιρος (Antidotus). Another, the Ἀλαζών, appears regularly on stage.<sup>25</sup> A late and dubious source (Pamphile, *FHG* 3.522 fr. 10 ap. D.L. 5.36 = T. fr. 1.11–12 = Men. Test. 8) claims Menander as a pupil of Theophrastus.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. L. A. Llera Fueyo, ‘Teofrasto y Herodas’, *Minerva* 12 (1998) 91–102, and n. 77 below.

<sup>24</sup> 3rd edn. (1612) 88.      <sup>25</sup> See the Introductory Note to XXIII.

<sup>26</sup> For suggested affinities with Old Comedy see R. G. Ussher, *G&R* 24 (1977) 75–9; with later Comedy and Menander, J. van Ijzeren, ‘Theophrastus en de nieuwe comédie’, *NPh* 8 (1923) 208–20, P. Steinmetz, ‘Menander und Theophrast: Folgerungen aus dem Dyskolos’, *RhM* 103 (1960) 185–91 = *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart 2000) 152–8, A. Barigazzi, *La Formazione spirituale di Menandro* (Turin 1965) 69–86. The subject is handled judiciously by K. Gaiser, ‘Menander und der Peripatos’, *AA* 13 (1967) 8–40 (esp. 15 n. 36), R. L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge 1985) 148–9,

And so a new type of work came into existence, owing something to the ethical theorising of the Lyceum and something to the comic stage.

(iii) Later Peripatetics

Later Peripatetics attempted character-drawing of this kind, but to what extent and for what purpose is unclear. Lycon, who succeeded Theophrastus's successor Straton as head of the Lyceum *c.* 269 BC, wrote a description of a drunkard, preserved in the Latin translation of Rutilius Lupus (Lycon fr. 26 Wehrli ap. Rut. Lup. 2.7, 1st cent. AD). Rutilius adduces it as an example of *characterismos*, the *schema* by which an orator depicts virtues and vices, and he compares it to a painter's use of colours. The opening (*Quid in hoc arbitrer bonae spei reliquum residere, qui omne uitae tempus una ac despicalissima consuetudine producit?*) betrays a moralising purpose. The sketch is composed not of illustrations loosely linked but as a coherent narrative, which follows the drunkard through the day, a technique used only once by Theophrastus (the exploits of the Δειλόσ in XXV). In style, it is far from Theophrastus: colours garish, rhetoric over-dressed, cleverness unremitting.<sup>27</sup>

A papyrus of Philodemus preserves parts of a series of character-sketches, perhaps from a work Περὶ τοῦ κουφίζειν ὑπερηφανίας, 'On Relief from Arrogance',<sup>28</sup> by Ariston of Keos, who was probably Lycon's successor (*c.* 225 BC). The characters depicted in the parts we have (they represent aspects of ὑπερηφανία) are the Αὐθάδης, Αὐθέκαστος, Παντειδήμων, and Εἴρων, of whom the first and fourth are also depicted by Theophrastus; and perhaps also the Σεμνοκόπος, Εὐτελιστής, and

H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische mittlere Komödie* (Berlin 1990) esp. 150–1, Lane Fox 139–40. See also W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'Theophrast über den komischen Charakter', *RhM* 124 (1981) 245–60. For suggested affinities with mime see H. Reich, *Der Mimos* (Berlin 1903) 307–20.

<sup>27</sup> There is a good appreciation of the piece by G. Pasquali, *RLC* 1 (1918) 143–4 = *Scritti Filologici* (Florence 1986) 56–8.

<sup>28</sup> For this translation of the title see M. Gigante, *CErc* 26 (1966) 132 n. 16 (cf. 27 (1997) 153–4).



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Οὐδενωτής.<sup>29</sup> Although the form of the original sketches has been obscured by introductory matter, commentary, and paraphrase from Philodemus, it is clear that Ariston follows Theophrastus closely in style, technique, and content. He uses the introductory formula τοιοῦτος . . . οἷος or something like it,<sup>30</sup> builds his sentences around infinitives constructed with that formula, makes much use of participles, and normally links clauses and sentences with a simple καί. And he uses the same kind of illustrative vignettes from everyday life: a man asks for hot or cold water without consulting his fellow-bather (fr. 14, I p. 36.17–19 ἐν τῇ μάκραι θερμ[ὸ]ν [ἢ ψυ]χρὸν αἰτεῖν μ[ὴ π]ροανακρ[ί]ν)αζ τὸν συμβεβηκότ' (cu<ve>μβ- Kassel and Austin on Eur. 490) εἰ κάκει[νω]ι συναρέκει) and does not reciprocate a rub with oil (fr. 14, II p. 36.21–2 τὸν συναλείψαντα μὴ ἀντισυναλείφειν) or is deficient in epistolary courtesies (fr. 14, II p. 36.25–6 γρά[φ]ων ἐπιστολὴν τὸ χαίρειν μὴ προγράψαι (Diggle: προσ-Π) μηδ' ἐρρῶσθαι τελευταῖον)<sup>31</sup> or postures Socratically (fr. 14, VII p. 39.13–14 “Ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τί πλ[ὴν γε] τούτου, ὅτι [οὐ]δὲν οἶδα;”). In style and wit there is nothing to distinguish these from Theophrastus.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Text in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, VI: *Lykon und Ariston von Keos* (Basel<sup>2</sup> 1968) frs. 14–16, also in Rusten 182–95. Wehrli's view that the character-sketches belong to a separate work, not the work on ὑπερηφανία, is contested by M. Gigante, *Keos e Peripatos* (Naples 1999) 123–33. See also W. Knögel, *Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem* (Leipzig 1933), Regenbogen 1508–9. Further bibliography in E. Kondo, *CErc* 1 (1971) 87 n. 9.

<sup>30</sup> See the commentary on I.2.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Pl. *Bac.* 1000 *non priu' salutem scripsit?*, Plu. 1035 B-C (Chrysipp. *SVF* 2 fr. 30) εἰ μὴ, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ ψηφίσματα ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσφέροντες προγράφουσιν Ἀγαθὴν Τύχην, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς προγράψει τὸν Δία κτλ., Luc. *Laps.* 5 οὔτε τὸ χαίρειν οὔτε τὸ εὖ πράττειν προύγραφεν. The prefix προ- is (i) apt with τὸ χαίρειν, (ii) needed to provide a temporal contrast with τελευταῖον. There is a mild zeugma: with μηδ' ἐρρῶσθαι τελευταῖον understand ὑπογράψαι (Luc. *Laps.* 10 ἐπι τέλει . . . ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι ὑπογράψας τὸ χαίρειν). See also XXIV.13.

<sup>32</sup> A good appreciation of his style by Pasquali, *RLC* 1 (1918) 144–7 = *Scritti Filologici* (1986) 59–62.

A single sentence is preserved from a work, possibly but not certainly entitled *Περὶ χαρακτήρων*,<sup>33</sup> by Satyrus (Ath. 168c = *FHG* 3.164 fr. 20), presumably the Peripatetic biographer (3rd/2nd cent.).<sup>34</sup> It describes the behaviour of ἄσωτοι, in a series of asyndetic participial clauses: πολέμιοι τῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχοντες, ὡς Κάτυρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ χαρακτήρων εἴρηκεν, κατατρέχοντες τὸν ἄγρον, διαρπάζοντες τὴν οἰκίαν, λαφυροπωλοῦντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, σκοποῦντες οὐ τί δεδαπάνηται ἀλλὰ τί δαπανηθήσεται, οὐδὲ τί περιέεται ἀλλὰ τί οὐ περιέεται, ἐν τῇ νεότητι τὰ τοῦ γήρωσ ἐφόδια προκαταναλίσκοντες, χαίροντες τῇ ἐταίρῃ, οὐ τοῖς ἐταίροις, καὶ τῶι οἴνωι, οὐ τοῖς συμπόταις. The style, all rhetorical balance and antithesis, is unlike Theophrastus, but is not unlike some of the spurious accretions (VI.7, VIII.11, X.14).<sup>35</sup>

#### (iv) Other developments

The Stoic Posidonius (fr. 176 Edelstein-Kidd ap. Sen. *Ep.* 95.65–7) proclaims the utility of ἠθολογία, his term for χαρακτηρισμός: to display a model of virtue is to invite its imitation. We have already seen Lycon, with his model of vice, serving the same moral purpose (p. 9).

In the Roman period character-drawing becomes firmly associated with rhetoric. The author (1st cent. BC) of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* illustrates the technique of what he calls *notatio* (i.e. χαρακτηρισμός) with a richly textured sketch (4.63–4), for delivery in court, of The Man Who Shows Off Pretended Wealth (*ostentatorem pecuniae gloriosum*),<sup>36</sup> at first in the manner

<sup>33</sup> See p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Gudeman, 'Satyros' (16 and 17), *RE* II.1A (1921) 228–35.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Pasquali (1918) 144 = (1986) 58–9.

<sup>36</sup> I adopt *pecuni<ae glori>osum* (Kayser) for *pecuniosi* (u.l. *-sum*), since the construction *ostentatorem pecuniosi* (endorsed by *TLL* and *OLD*) is unbelievable. Cf. 4.65 *huiusmodi notationes . . . totam . . . naturam cuiuspiam ponunt ante oculos, aut gloriosi, ut nos exempli causa coeperamus, aut inuidi* etc., Cic. *Flac.* 52 *gloriosa ostentatio ciuitatis*.

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of Theophrastus, but soon developing into anecdotal narrative more in the manner of Lycon (p. 9).<sup>37</sup> Cicero uses the term *descriptio* (*Top.* 83 *descriptio, quam χαρακτῆρα Graeci uocant . . . qualis sit auarus, qualis adentator ceteraque eiusdem generis, in quibus et natura et uita describitur*). Such character-drawing was practised in the schools of rhetoric (Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.17 *illa in scholis ἤθη . . . quibus plerumque rusticos superstitiosos auaros timidos secundum condicionem positionum effingimus*).

And character-types are sketched by the satirists: the bore (Hor. *S.* 1.9), the *bellus homo* (Mart. 3.63), the miser (Juv. 14.109–34).

### (v) The purpose of the *Characters*

The work has been tailored, by more than one hand, to serve an ethical purpose. The *prooemium* introduces it as a work of moral guidance for the young. The epilogues advise or moralise. The definitions have links with ethical theorising.<sup>38</sup> When we are rid of these accretions, the work lacks all ethical dimension. Nothing is analysed, no moral is drawn, no motive is sought.<sup>39</sup> If the work has a purpose, that purpose must be sought elsewhere. But purpose cannot be separated from form. And we do not know whether what remains, after the ethical accretions are removed, has the form which Theophrastus gave it.

It has been suggested that the *Characters* are a collection of extracts from one or more works of Theophrastus. But the coherence and stylistic unity of the collection prove that its parts are not derived from unconnected works. And, if they are derived

<sup>37</sup> He is comparable to Theophrastus's Ἀλαζών (XXIII). There is another shared motif at XXI.4.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> For these as features which fundamentally distinguish the work from Aristotle's ethical writings see D. J. Furley, 'The purpose of Theophrastus' *Characters*', *SO* 30 (1953) 56–60, W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'Die Charaktere Theophrasts: Verhaltensregelmäßigkeiten und aristotelische Laster', *RhM* 118 (1975) 62–82.

from a single work, it still remains to explain what the purpose of that other work might have been.<sup>40</sup>

It has been suggested that the *Characters* were conceived with a rhetorical purpose.<sup>41</sup> They are models for orators, a paintbox out of which an orator may draw the shades to suit him.<sup>42</sup>

Or that they have connections with the theoretical writings of Theophrastus and others on comedy, such as Theophrastus's *Περὶ γελοίου* and *Περὶ κωμωιδίας* (D.L. 5.46, 47 = fr. 1.184, 208 = fr. 666 nos. 23 and 22), or the 'Tractatus Coislinianus', which has Peripatetic associations and has even been taken to

<sup>40</sup> Extracts from a variety of works were first suggested by K. G. Sonntag, *In prooemium Characterum Theophrasti* (Leipzig 1787); extracts from a work on ethics by Schneider (1799) xxv, H. Sauppe, *Philodemi de Vitii Liber Decimus* (Leipzig 1853) 8–9, Petersen (1859) 56–118, R. Schreiner, *De genuina Characterum Theophrasteorum Forma Commentatio* (Znaim 1879). Jebb (1870) 21–37 = (1909) 9–16 argues effectively against Petersen; with equal effect, against the whole theory of extracts, T. Gomperz, 'Ueber die Charaktere Theophrast's', *SAWW* 117 (1889) x. Abh., 1–9. See also Gomperz, *Griechische Denker* 3 (Leipzig 1909) 375–83 = *Greek Thinkers* 4 (London 1912) 480–9. But the theory has recently been revived: 'a Hellenistic compilation in which Theophrastean material was redistributed under single headings' (M. L. West, *HSPH* 73 (1969) 121 n. 29).

<sup>41</sup> O. Immisch, 'Ueber Theophrasts *Charaktere*', *Philologus* 57 (1898) 193–212. Others who see a rhetorical purpose are Furley (n. 39 above), S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period* (Cambridge 1958) 147–54 (her claim that T.'s source was not real life so much as an existing tradition of 'narrative ἠθολογία', i.e. character-anecdotes, is not established by the detection of parallel motifs in later Greek and Latin humorists), B. Stevanović, 'Contribution au problème des modèles de quelques caractères de Théophraste (IX et XXX)', *ζAnt* 10 (1960) 75–80, V. V. Valchenko, 'To what literary family do the "Characters" of Theophrastus belong?', *VDI* 177 (1986) 162 (summary; article in Russian 156–62), Fortenbaugh, 'Theophrastus, the *Characters* and Rhetoric', in W. W. Fortenbaugh and D. C. Mirhady (edd.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle* (New Brunswick and London 1994) 15–35. Further documentation in E. Matelli, *SE&C* 13 (1989) 329–35, 377–86. Pertinent criticism by Lane Fox 139; more ponderously (against Immisch) C. Hoffmann, *Das Zweckproblem von Theophrasts Charakteren* (Breslau 1920) 9–28.

<sup>42</sup> 'eine Motivsammlung, . . . ein Farbenkasten' (Immisch 207). This argument owes too much to their later history. They survive because, in the Byzantine period, they were incorporated with the treatises of Hermogenes and Athonius, whose discussions of ἦθος and ἠθοποιία they were taken to illustrate. See below, p. 38.

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derive from Aristotle's lost work on comedy.<sup>43</sup> They are 'a mere appendix at the end of a work on the theory of drama', 'an aid for the playwrights of contemporary drama, a handbook of characterization for Menander . . . and his fellows'.<sup>44</sup>

Or the work is an ὑπόμνημα, 'wie das Skizzenbuch eines Malers zu seinen ausgeführten Gemälden', like a painter's sketchbook to his finished paintings – a preparatory sketch for the Ἠθικά or Περί ἠθῶν, to which it bears the same relationship as the various Aristotelian *Constitutions* to the *Politics* and the *Homeric Problems* to the *Poetics*.<sup>45</sup>

Any attempt to interpret the work as a serious treatise comes up against an objection neatly formulated by Jebb. 'The difficulty is, not that the descriptions are amusing, but that they are written as if their principal aim was to amuse.'<sup>46</sup>

Jebb's answer is that Theophrastus wrote the *Characters* for his own amusement and that of his friends, who put them together after his death and issued them in collections of various sizes

<sup>43</sup> A. Rostagni, 'Sui "Caratteri" di Teofrasto', *RFIC* 48 (1920) 417–43 = *Scritti Minori* (Turin 1955) 327–55, followed by P. van de Woestyne, 'Notes sur la nature des Caractères de Théophraste', *RBP* 8 (1929) 1099–1107, Ussher (1960) 5–6, 23, id. 'Old Comedy and "Character"', *G&R* 24 (1977) 71–9, A. Dosi, 'Sulle tracce della Poetica di Teofrasto', *RIL* 94 (1960) 599–672 (esp. 635–6). For the Tractatus Coislinianus see R. Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy* (London 1984), Nesselrath (n. 26 above) 102–62.

<sup>44</sup> Ussher (1960) 23, (1977) 75. Much the same words in van de Woestyne 1107, Dosi 635–6. Pertinent comment in Lane Fox 139–40.

<sup>45</sup> Gomperz, *SAWW* 117 (1889) x. Abh., 10–13. The argument that the work is an 'empirische Materialsammlung zu seinem ethologischen Hauptwerke Περί ἠθῶν' (Hoffmann (n. 41 above) 32) is founded on the false assumption that the ethical dimension which the work now has was given to it by Theophrastus (see p. 12 above). I say nothing of the curious argument of P. Steinmetz, 'Der Zweck der Charaktere Theophrasts', *AUS* 8 (1959) 209–46 = *Kleine Schriften* (Stuttgart 2000) 115–52, that T. is cocking a snook at Dicaearchus, Zeno, and Epicurus.

<sup>46</sup> Jebb (1870) 29 = (1909) 13. Comparable, in this respect, is the extract from T.'s essay on Marriage, translated or paraphrased by Jerome (fr. 486 Fortenbaugh; also Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* L 46, with commentary 207–12). Casaubon's often cited description of the *Characters* as 'aureolus libellus' is an echo of Jerome's 'aureolus Theophrasti liber De Nuptiis'.

and shapes.<sup>47</sup> In evidence of this he adduces their lack of symmetry, the capriciousness of their order, and the multiformity of the manuscript tradition. The manuscript tradition licenses no such inference.<sup>48</sup> With regard to symmetry, some sketches are incomplete, and others may be.<sup>49</sup> As for order, accidents of transmission may have disturbed a less capricious design; or what seems caprice may be designed to avoid the appearance of a textbook.

There is another possibility, which meets Jebb's objection, and gives at least as plausible an account of the origins of the sketches. Pasquali suggested that they were conceived as illustrative show-pieces for a course of lectures on ethics, a few moments' light entertainment amid more serious matter, and for that reason composed in a simple style which suits oral delivery, and not designed for publication by Theophrastus himself.<sup>50</sup>

According to a reputable source, Theophrastus was a lively lecturer:

Ἑρμιππος δέ φησι Θεόφραστον παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τὸν περίπατον καθ' ὥραν λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐξηκκημένον, εἶτα καθίσαντα διατίθεσθαι τὸν λόγον οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχόμενον κινήσεως οὐδὲ σχήματος ἑνός. καὶ ποτε ὀψόφαγον μιμούμενον ἐξείραντα τὴν γλῶσσαν περιλείχειν τὰ χεῖλη (Ath. 21 B = Hermipp. fr. 51 Wehrli = T. fr. 12).

Hermippus [3rd cent. BC] says that Theophrastus would arrive at the Peripatos punctually, smart and well dressed, then sit down and deliver his lecture, in the course of which he would use all kinds of movements and gestures. Once, when he was imitating a gourmet, he stuck out his tongue and licked his lips.

<sup>47</sup> Jebb 18–21, 37–40 = 8–9, 16–17. Lane Fox 141 detects much the same purpose (see below, p. 37).

<sup>48</sup> See the section on Transmission (pp. 37–51).

<sup>49</sup> V and XIX each consist of two parts, which come from separate sketches; in V both parts, in XIX one or both, are incomplete.

<sup>50</sup> 'elaborazione dei punti salienti di un corso di lezioni di "fenomenologia de' costumi"' (*RLC* 1 (1918) 77 = *Scritti Filologici* (1986) 53), 'parte . . . di un corso di etica descrittiva' (ed. 1919, vi = 1956, x). See also (from his later review of Navarre) *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 86–8 = *Scritti Filologici* 844–7.

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I can believe it. And I can picture him picking a speck of straw from another's beard (II.3), stuffing his cloak into his mouth to stop himself from laughing (II.4), officiously arranging cushions (II.11), grabbing a dog's snout (IV.9), staggering forward as if burdened by a jar, his hands plucking at documents which threaten to elude his grasp (VI.8), dousing himself with a ladleful of water (IX.8), rummaging through the rubbish for a lost coin (X.6), wiping his nose on his hand while pretending to eat and scratching himself while purporting to sacrifice (XIX.5), sponging a wound and swatting flies (XXV.5), and twisting his buttocks for a wrestling throw (XXVII.14), while reciting his sketches in the lecture hall.

There was a famous Professor in Oxford who would introduce into his seminars, as if on impulse, carefully designed sketches of past scholars, one for each occasion. I heard him once: he sketched Pasquali.

### (vi) Authenticity and integrity

Doubts have arisen from time to time that Theophrastus is the author of the *Characters*. Doubters include Victorius,<sup>51</sup> Valckenaer,<sup>52</sup> Porson,<sup>53</sup> and Haupt.<sup>54</sup>

The *prooemium* used to be a stumbling-block: its author is ninety-nine years old, and Theophrastus, according to Diogenes Laertius, died at eighty-five. Casaubon emended one or other number. But now we know better. The *prooemium* is spurious, a very late addition.

When we have deleted the *prooemium*, what remains is not, as it stands, the work of Theophrastus. Several sketches (I, II,

<sup>51</sup> *Variae Lectiones* 1 (Lyon 1554) 302, 326, 2 (Florence 1569) 210 = ed. 2 (Florence 1582) 196, 211, 434.

<sup>52</sup> On Theoc. 15.33 (Leiden 1773, 333).

<sup>53</sup> 'Putabat scilicet, nisi me uehementer fallit memoria, falso tribui Theophrasto Characteras, antiquos tamen esse concedens', Dobree on Ar. *Pl.* 1021 (in P. P. Dobree (ed.), *Ricardi Porsoni Notae ad Aristophanem*, Cambridge 1820).

<sup>54</sup> *Opuscula* 3 (Leipzig 1876) 434, 498, 592.

III, VI, VIII, X, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX) have epilogues, which betray themselves as later (perhaps much later) additions by their language, style, and moralising tone.

And there are the introductory definitions. Some reflect the pseudo-Platonic *Definitions*,<sup>55</sup> others the phraseology of Aristotle or pseudo-Aristotle; some describe a form of behaviour which has little or nothing to do with the behaviour described in the sketch itself; even those which are unobjectionable are no better than banal. They were added before the time of Philodemus, who quotes def. II. They first came under suspicion early in the nineteenth century.<sup>56</sup> Nearly everyone continued to defend them.<sup>57</sup> That they are spurious and must be deleted *en bloc* has been established beyond all doubt by Markus Stein.<sup>58</sup> It may be objected that Stein has proved only that some, not all, definitions are spurious; and that there are some whose spuriousness cannot be proved, nor does Stein claim to have proved it. In that spirit, a recent editor has deleted some but not all of them. This is wrong. We cannot pick and choose. The definitions have the same stamp. They come from the same workshop. They stand and fall together.

When we have stripped the work of its *prooemium*, its epilogues, and its definitions, we still have not unwrapped the genuine article. Numerous further additions are embedded in the sketches, ranging in extent from single words to brief phrases (IV.4, VIII.7, XVIII.6, XIX.4, XX.9, XXI.11, XXII.7, XXX.10), whole

<sup>55</sup> For which see H. G. Ingenkamp, *Untersuchungen zu den pseudoplatonischen Definitionen* (Wiesbaden 1967); also Stein (n. 58 below) esp. 283–5.

<sup>56</sup> Priority is usually assigned to F. Hanow, *De Theophrasti Characterum Libello* (Leipzig 1858). He was anticipated by Bloch (1814), who stigmatised ‘some’ or ‘most’ (‘quaedam’ xii, xiii, 85, ‘pleraeque’ 79) but explicitly condemned only XIII and XXVIII, and by Darvaris (1815), who condemned them all.

<sup>57</sup> Exceptions are Petersen (1859), Ussing (1868), and Gomperz (*SAWW* 117 (1889) x. Abh., 2–4, *ibid.* 139 (1898) I. Abh., 11–13).

<sup>58</sup> *Definition und Schilderung in Theophrasts Charakteren* (Stuttgart 1992). See below, p. 57. H. Escola, ‘Le statut des définitions dans les *Caractères*: de Théophraste à La Bruyère’, *Lalies* 17 (1997) 175–86, contributes nothing pertinent.



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sentences (II.9, VI.2, VII.5, VIII.5, XVI.13) and even a sentence of paragraph length (VI.7).

Here is a simple proof that interpolation is a real phenomenon, not a fiction designed to save Theophrastus's credit. In V.10 a show-off hires out his little wrestling-school to τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τοῖς σοφισταῖς τοῖς ὄπλομάχοις τοῖς ἄρμονικοῖς, for them to perform in. This quartet of philosophers, sophists, drill-sergeants, and music lecturers, listed in asyndeton, ought to worry us. Theophrastus has several trios of nouns or verbs in asyndeton, but no quartets. Furthermore, philosophers and sophists are too much alike, when compared with the pair which follows, drill-sergeants and music lecturers. If we are to reduce the list to three, by getting rid of either the sophists or the philosophers, we must get rid of the philosophers, because sophists are more likely than philosophers to wish to hire a place for public displays. And the Herculaneum papyrus omits the philosophers. There is an important lesson here. Anything that is anomalous should be regarded with suspicion. Nothing is genuine merely because it is in the manuscripts and cannot be proved to be spurious.

Much, then, has been added; and probably much has been lost.<sup>59</sup> It has even been argued that a whole second book, describing virtuous characters, once existed.<sup>60</sup> This rests on three suppositions, all false: (i) That the author of the *prooemium*, when he says that he will describe τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς as well as τοὺς φαύλους, knew of a book of ἀγαθοί. The author makes several statements which show him to be a bungler and a fraud. (ii) That Diogenes Laertius, when he lists Χαρακτῆρες twice,<sup>61</sup> refers to two separate books. His catalogue is made up of four or five different lists,<sup>62</sup> so that several titles appear more than

<sup>59</sup> There are many lacunae. And there were once more than thirty sketches (n. 49 above).

<sup>60</sup> For example, Rostagni (1920) 439-40 = (1955) 350-1, Edmonds (1929) 7-8, Ussher (1960) xi, 3-4, (1993) 301-2, Torraca (1994a) xxx-xxxii.

<sup>61</sup> See p. 4. <sup>62</sup> See n. 11 above.

once.<sup>63</sup> (iii) That Eustathius, when he says (in the passage quoted above, p. 6) that Homer created archetypal characters, as Theophrastus was later to do, οἷος μὲν ὁ ἄλκιμος ἐν καιρῶι λόχου, οἷος δὲ ὁ δειλός, ascribes to Theophrastus a description of the ἄλκιμος as well as the δειλός. The words ἐν καιρῶι λόχου show that Eustathius is citing these characters from Homer, not from Theophrastus.<sup>64</sup>

(vii) Integrity and style

Antiquity believed that Theophrastus was aptly named, because his speech was divine.<sup>65</sup> Quintilian praised its brightness (*Inst.* 10.1.83 *loquendi nitor ille diuinus*), Cicero its sweetness (*Ac.* 1.33 *oratione suavis*, *Brut.* 121 *quis . . . Theophrasto dulcior?*),<sup>66</sup> and he was accustomed to call Theophrastus his ἰδίᾳ τρυφή, 'own special delight' (*Plu. Cic.* 24.6).

Some modern judges have looked in vain for sweetness and brightness in the *Characters*. 'The Greek is not Greek at its most limpid';<sup>67</sup> 'sometimes obscure or inelegant . . . unvaried and abrupt', 'notes for lectures . . . they can hardly have been written for separate publication as a literary work'.<sup>68</sup>

Let us take another lesson from the Herculaneum papyrus. The Greek for that 'little wrestling-school' is, according to the manuscripts, ἀλίδιον παλαιστριαῖον. The noun ἀλίδιον is attested once, as diminutive of ἀλός, in the sense 'small tube'. LSJ invents a sense for it to have here, 'place of athletic exercises, ring'. The adjective παλαιστριαῖος is attested only here.

<sup>63</sup> Περὶ διαβολῆς α' (fr. 1.189, 252, 275), Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α' (fr. 1.227, 266), Προτρεπτικὸς α' (fr. 1.262, 284). Several other titles appear to be variants of each other.

<sup>64</sup> For a further flawed attempt to find traces of a lost sketch in Eustathius see the Introductory Note to II.

<sup>65</sup> See p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> For *suavis* and *dulcis* as terms of stylistic criticism see D. C. Innes in W. W. Fortenbaugh, P. M. Huby, A. A. Long (edd.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: On his Life and Work* (New Brunswick and Oxford 1985) 251.

<sup>67</sup> R. G. Ussher (1960) 3. <sup>68</sup> P. Vellacott (1967) 8.

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LSJ takes it to mean ‘suited for a παλαίστρα’. Cobet replaced ἀυλίδιον παλαιστριαῖον with παλαιστρίδιον. The papyrus confirms his conjecture. But, if the papyrus did not exist, editors would be as blind to its merits as LSJ. The lesson is the same as before. Anomalies ought to provoke suspicion. Nothing is right merely because it is in the manuscripts and cannot be proved to be wrong.

And the application of that lesson is this: we must not call Theophrastus ‘obscure’ and ‘inelegant’ and ‘not limpid’, simply because much of what we read in our printed texts is obscure and inelegant and unlimpid. Our printed texts are nothing more than the best that editors have been able to make of what is probably the corruptest manuscript tradition in all of Greek literature.

Let us now see that Theophrastus can, and often does, write Greek that is the reverse of obscure and inelegant and unlimpid.

The Ἄγροικος is a countryman who comes to town and shows his country manners. Here is the first sentence of the sketch:

ὁ δὲ ἄγροικος τοιοῦτός τις οἶος κυκεῶνα πιῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μύρον φάσκειν οὐδὲν τοῦ θύμου ἥδιον ὄζειν, καὶ μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν, καὶ μεγάλην τῆι φωνῇ λαλεῖν.

The Country Bumpkin is the sort of man who drinks a bowl of gruel before going to the Assembly and claims that garlic smells as sweetly as perfume, wears shoes too large for his feet and talks at the top of his voice (IV.2).

What could be more limpid than that? The Greek is simplicity itself, and conveys, in a very few words, a range of telling impressions, which develop logically the one from the other. First, he drinks for breakfast a κυκεῶν, highly flavoured broth or gruel. His breath will now be pungent. He goes to the Assembly, where he will meet townsmen, on whom he will pungently breathe. And he says that garlic smells as sweetly as perfume. There was (we infer) garlic in his gruel, and so there is garlic on his breath. In the town they smell not of garlic but of perfume. But perfume and garlic are all one to him. And he clomps his

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way to town in boots too big for him, and talks too loud. Sound, sight, smell: a slovenly carefree inconsiderate yokel. All that in twenty-six words. Lecture notes, never intended for publication? Or *loquendi nitor ille diuinus?*

Another illustration from the same sketch:

τῆι θύραι (τὴν θύραν AB) ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτός, καὶ τὸν κύνα προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ ῥύγγου εἶπεῖν “Οὗτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν”.

He answers the door himself, calls his dog, grabs it by the snout, and says ‘This guards my estate and home’ (IV.9).

First, he answers the door himself. Why? Normally, you would have a slave to answer the door for you. Is he too poor to keep a slave for that purpose? On the contrary, he has an ample household, as we learn elsewhere in the sketch. What follows suggests a different answer. A knock at the door alarms him, and so he investigates for himself who his visitor is. Perhaps he does not have many visitors, and anyone who knocks at his door is an object of suspicion. Next, he muzzles the dog by taking hold of its snout. Again, why? Again, Theophrastus has prompted a question, and again we have to supply the answer. By muzzling the dog he shows his visitor that it can bark and bite, and will do so if he lets go of its snout. If the visitor intends harm, he will take the man’s action to mean ‘Beware of the dog’. If he intends no harm, he may suppose that the dog has been muzzled as a courtesy to him. Then the Ἄγροικος grandly describes the dog as guardian of his estate and home. If the visitor is innocent, this is an expression of pride in the animal. Otherwise, it means ‘This dog has got the measure of you.’ The words χωρίον and οἰκία, simple and prosaic on their own, when paired sound pompous and affected. There is something very similar in Petronius. Trimalchio summons his dog Scylax into the dining room and calls him, with affectation and pomposity, *praesidium domus familiaeque* (64.7), ‘the protection of my house and household’. The lesson is this. By the simplicity and economy of his language

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Theophrastus can prompt us to think, to ask questions, to fill in the details for ourselves and supply the thoughts at which he only hints.

Next, see how much he can hint at in the careful placing of a single word. The Ὀψιμαθής, The Late Learner, is a man who pursues activities for which he is too old:

ἔρῶν ἑταίρας καὶ κριός (-οὺς V) προσβάλλων ταῖς θύραις πληγὰς εἰληφῶς ὑπ' ἀντεραστοῦ δικάζεσθαι.

He falls for a courtesan and rams her door, and when her other lover beats him up he goes to court (XXVII.9).

This is a masterly sentence, short and simple, with the most telling detail reserved for the final word.<sup>69</sup> A man past his prime has fallen for a hetaira. He behaves like the typical infatuated young lover from comedy, elegy, and mime: he tries to batter her door down. Along comes her other lover, a young man we assume, to claim not only the girl but also the role (as batterer) which the old man has usurped from him. So battery (but of a different kind) follows: he beats the old man up. And now comes the real punch. Because we have not yet had an infinitive, we know that the story is not over. What conclusion might we expect? Any sensible man will now retire chastened, to lick his wounds in silence and hush up his humiliation. But not our Late Learner. He takes the young man to court on a charge of assault and battery. He steps out of comedy, elegy, and mime, and steps back into real life, to become an ordinary litigious Athenian. But at the same time he remains the man he was, insensitive to his own absurdity, impervious to the ridicule of others: ridiculous then as the elderly lover, now to be ridiculous again when his past behaviour is exposed in court. What an ancient biographer said of Sophocles could equally be said of Theophrastus, that

<sup>69</sup> I leave for the commentary discussion of the conjecture κριός, which adds yet more vigour to the picture.

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he can create a whole personality out of half a line or a single word.<sup>70</sup>

Now look at a couple of nouns. The Ἀπονενοσημένος, The Man Who Has Lost All Sense, comes into court

ἔχων ἐχθίνον ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ καὶ ὄρμαθούς γραμματειδίων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν

with a boxful of evidence in his coat pocket and strings of little documents in his hands (VI.8).

This translation does not get the full flavour of the nouns. The ἐχθίνος is a sealed jar in which a plaintiff or defendant places all the evidence relating to an impending court case. The προκόλπιον is a sort of pouch, such as kangaroos have. You make this pouch by pulling your χιτῶν up through your belt and letting it hang out in a capacious fold. Why he needs to carry the jar in this pouch is shown by the next phrase. His hands are full of ὄρμαθούς γραμματειδίων, ‘strings *or* chains of little documents’. Some take this in a literal sense, to mean that the documents are tied together in a bundle. But a word exists for a bundle of documents tied together. That word is not ὄρμαθος but δέσμη. The ‘strings’ or ‘chains’ are probably metaphorical. And so the man, as he enters the courtroom, cuts a ridiculous and ungainly figure by carrying a bulky jar in the front fold of his cloak, while his hands are full of an endless chain of little documents. This is the kind of picture that Dickens loves to draw, where farce and exaggeration teeter on the borders of the credible.

Now see how a style of speech can characterise a man. The Μικροφιλότημος, The Man of Petty Ambition, while serving as a member of the Council, secures for himself the task of announcing in the Assembly the outcome of official sacrifices performed by himself and his colleagues at the festival called *Galaxia*.

<sup>70</sup> *TrGF* 4 Test. A 1.90–1 ἐκ μικροῦ ἡμιστιχίου ἢ λέξεως μιᾶς ὅλον ἠθοποιεῖν πρόσωπον. The same was said of Homer: ΣD *Il.* 8.85 δεινός ἐστιν Ὀμηρος καὶ διὰ μιᾶς λέξεως ὅλον τὸν ἄνδρα σημαίνειν.

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παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἰμάτιον καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος παρελθὼν εἶπεῖν “ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύσαμεν οἱ πρυτάνεις [τὰ ἱερά] τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια (γὰρ ἄξια V), καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλὰ, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθά.”

He steps forward wearing a smart white cloak, with a crown on his head, and says ‘Men of Athens, my colleagues and I celebrated the Milk-Feast with sacrifices to the Mother of the Gods. The sacrifices were propitious. We beg you to accept your blessings’ (XXI.11).

He asks for this task because it gives him his brief moment of lime-light, a solo performance, garlanded and brightly robed, with a solemn and impressive script. It was not a demanding speech to make, since it was composed entirely of traditional phrases, as we can see from a similar announcement in Demosthenes:

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐθύσαμεν τῷ Διὶ τῷ σωτήρι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τῇ Νίκῃ, καὶ γέγονεν καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν τὰ ἱερά. ἐθύσαμεν δὲ καὶ τῇ Πειθοῖ καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, καὶ ἐκαλλιεροῦμεν καὶ ταῦτα. ἦν δ’ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς τυθένθ’ ἱέρ’ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βέβαια καὶ καλὰ καὶ σωτήρια. δέχεσθ’ οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν διδόντων τὰγαθά.

Men of Athens . . . we sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and Athena and Victory, and these sacrifices were propitious and salvatory for you. And we sacrificed to Persuasion and the Mother of the Gods and Apollo, and we had propitious sacrifices here too. And the sacrifices made to the other gods were safe and secure and propitious and salvatory for you. Therefore we beg you to accept the blessings which the gods give (*Proem.* 54).

For all the community of phrases, the speeches are different in style. The speaker in Demosthenes has sacrificed to a multitude of gods: to so many that he divides his list into three parts, whose language and structure he varies. The *Μικροφιλότιμος* has only a single sacrifice to report, and his report is accordingly barer. This sacrifice was held for the *Galaxia*, which ‘seems to have been a tranquil and somewhat unimportant affair’.<sup>71</sup> We may

<sup>71</sup> R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996) 192.

suspect that the occasion which he chooses to report is not the one which would best have served his wish to be impressive, and that the mention of the *Galaxia*, which takes its name from a noun meaning a barley porridge cooked in milk, deflates the solemnity of the traditional phrases. The man himself, however, is satisfied with his performance. For the sketch has a wonderful last sentence:

καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας ἀπελθὼν (ἀπιῶν V) οἰκάδε διηγῆσθαι (δοῖ- V) τῆι ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡήμερει (εὔημερεῖν V).

After making this report he goes home and tells his wife that he had an extremely successful day (XXI.11).

This brings to mind the deluded Harpagus in Herodotus: 'He went home . . . in his delight he told his wife what had happened' (I.119.1–2). It was a stroke of genius on the part of each author to bring in the wife to listen to her husband's naiveté.

Here is the essence of the problem. We often find that our text of Theophrastus exhibits qualities of language and style very different from those which he is capable of achieving, that it really is obscure and inelegant, that it is not Greek at its most limpid. Let us concede that a writer may be inelegant at one moment, elegant at another, at one moment obscure, at another limpid. But I should not expect that a writer who is capable of writing with consummate elegance and limpidity will readily be satisfied with inelegance and obscurity. And so, when our text exhibits these faults, we have a right to be dissatisfied and suspicious.

(viii) Literary influence

The *Characters* were imitated by Ariston of Keos in the late third century BC.<sup>72</sup> In the first century BC Philodemus quotes V and def. II, and a papyrus attests parts of VII and VIII.<sup>73</sup> Thereafter, until they reappear in the medieval manuscripts, the only trace

<sup>72</sup> See pp. 9–10.

<sup>73</sup> See pp. 37–8, 50, and on def. II.



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of them is a papyrus of the third century AD, which attests an abbreviated version of parts of XXV and XXVI.<sup>74</sup> It has been claimed that they are imitated by Petronius<sup>75</sup> and Lucian.<sup>76</sup> These claims cannot be substantiated.<sup>77</sup> And when Diogenes Laertius lists them in the third century, he is merely reproducing an entry from a much earlier catalogue.<sup>78</sup> They are next mentioned by Eustathius<sup>79</sup> and Tzetzes (*Chil.* 9.934–5) in the twelfth century, after the date of our earliest manuscripts.<sup>80</sup>

It is not until the seventeenth century, in England and France, that the name of Theophrastus becomes inseparable from the genre of character writing. Some account of the impulse which he gave to the genre may be found in Jebb (Introduction § II), R. G. Ussher, 'Some Characters of Athens, Rome, and England', *G&R* 13 (1966) 64–78, W. Anderson, *Theophrastus, The Character Sketches, translated, with Notes and Introductory Essays* (Kent State 1970) xxi–xxxii, 133–53, Rusten 34–41. For further study the following are especially valuable: G. S. Gordon, 'Theophrastus and his imitators', in Gordon (ed.), *English Literature and the Classics* (Oxford 1912) 49–86, R. Aldington, *A Book of 'Characters', from Theophrastus; Joseph Hall, Sir Thomas Overbury, Nicolas Breton, John Earle, Thomas Fuller, and other English Authors; Jean de La Bruyère, Vauvenargues, and other French Authors* (London 1924), B. Boyce, *The*

<sup>74</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>75</sup> M. Rosenblüth, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren* (Berlin 1909) 56–62, O. Raith, *Petronius ein Epikureer* (Nuremberg 1963) 20–7, P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge 1970) 133–4, D. F. Leão, 'Trimalquião à luz dos Caracteres de Teofrasto', *Humanitas* 49 (1997) 147–67. But J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study* (London 1968) 138–9, is suitably sceptical.

<sup>76</sup> M. D. Macleod, 'Lucian's knowledge of Theophrastus', *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974) 75–6, B. Baldwin, 'Lucian and Theophrastus', *Mnemosyne* 30 (1977) 174–6.

<sup>77</sup> See on III.3, IV.9, VII.3, def. XXVII. Llera Fueyo (n. 23 above) prudently stops short of concluding that Herodas was acquainted with them. F. Titchener, 'Plutarch, Aristotle and the *Characters* of Theophrastus', in A. Pérez Jiménez et al. (edd.), *Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles* (Madrid 1999) 675–82, fails to establish that Plutarch was acquainted with them.

<sup>78</sup> See n. 11 above.      <sup>79</sup> See pp. 6, 19.

<sup>80</sup> Lane Fox 127–8, in claiming that they were read by St. John Climacus (6th–7th cent.), misunderstands (and misdates) Immisch (1923) 2.

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*Theophrastan Character in England to 1642* (Harvard 1947), J. W. Smeed, *The Theophrastan 'Character': The History of a Literary Genre* (Oxford 1985).

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The main contributions: C. Cichorius in Bechert *et al.* (1897) lvii–lxii; F. Rühl, 'Die Abfassungszeit von Theophrasts Charakteren', *RhM* 53 (1898) 324–7; A. L. Boegehold, 'The date of Theophrastus' *Characters*', *TAPhA* 90 (1959) 15–19; Stein 21–45; R. J. Lane Fox, *PCPhS* 42 (1996) 134–9. Three dates are in question: dramatic date, date of composition, date of publication.

I begin with two sketches, VIII and XXIII, which allude to historical persons and events.

In XXIII the Ἀλαζών claims that he campaigned with Alexander (§3), that he has received three invitations from Antipater to visit him in Macedonia, and that he has declined the offer of permission to export Macedonian timber duty-free through fear of attack by sycophants (§4). He also claims that he made voluntary contributions to needy citizens 'in the grain-shortage' (§5).

Antipater was appointed by Alexander as his military deputy in Macedonia in 334, and his appointment was confirmed after Alexander's death (June 323). His victory over the Greek states in the Lamian war (autumn 323 to autumn 322) left him master of Athens, on which he imposed Phocion, an oligarchic constitution, and a Macedonian garrison. He died in early autumn 319.<sup>81</sup> Serious shortages of grain are attested in 330/29, 328/7, 323/2, and there may have been others in the decade 330–20. The shortage in 328/7 appears to have been particularly serious.<sup>82</sup> The dramatic date therefore falls between 330 and 319.

Cichorius asserted without argument that Alexander is dead. He then argued that the only occasion when Antipater stayed

<sup>81</sup> For the date see R. M. Errington, *Hermes* 105 (1977) 488, A. B. Bosworth, *Chiron* 22 (1992) 59.

<sup>82</sup> See the commentary for fuller discussion.

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long enough in Macedonia to be imagined as issuing three invitations was between early 320, when he returned from Asia (where the dynastic intrigues of Perdiccas had called him), and his death in 319.

The Ἀλαζών does not explicitly say that Alexander is dead. And Stein argued that, even while Alexander was alive, Antipater, as his deputy in Europe, was a figure of such standing that an invitation from him makes a suitable object of boasting. Stein suggested three possible dramatic dates: (i) between the end of the grain-shortage (he dated this 326) and the beginning of the Lamian war (autumn 323); (ii) between the end of the Lamian war (autumn 322) and the beginning of the Aetolian war (he dated this summer 321)<sup>83</sup>; (iii) between his return from Asia (he dated this early 319)<sup>84</sup> and his death (early autumn 319).

Lane Fox argued for a dramatic date in Alexander's lifetime, because 'friends of Macedon were politically safe from 322 to 320', whereas, before that time, 'acceptance of them [*sc.* letters of invitation from Antipater] risked attack by sycophants'. This is mistaken. The Ἀλαζών fears attack not for accepting letters of invitation to visit Macedonia but for accepting a more compromising invitation, to export Macedonian timber duty-free. The importation of goods from an enemy state was an offence inviting prosecution.<sup>85</sup> If Macedonia were the enemy, the issue would be clear-cut: he would be a legitimate object of attack. In 322–319, when Macedonia is not an enemy but an ally, he would be free to accept the invitation. He declines it ὅπως μηδ'

<sup>83</sup> Stein 37, following R. M. Errington, *JHS* 90 (1970) 76; similarly J. D. Grainger, *The League of the Aitolians* (Leiden etc. 1999) 62–5. The conventional date is late 322: Hammond in N. G. L. Hammond and F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia* 3 (Oxford 1988) 115, 120 n. 1, A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 43 (1993) 426 n. 34.

<sup>84</sup> Stein 37–9, following B. Gullath and L. Schober in H. Kalcyk, B. Gullath and A. Graeber (edd.), *Studien zur Alten Geschichte, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag . . . dargebracht* 1 (Rome 1986) 336. Alternative dates: autumn 320 (Errington (1977) 487), spring 320 (Hammond 128–9, 618, Bosworth (1992) 59–60, (1993) 255).

<sup>85</sup> See the commentary on XXIII.4.

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ὕψ' ἐνὸς κυκοφαντηθῆι, 'so that not even one person can bring a trumped up charge against him'. It suits him to suppose that there is still the risk of a prosecution prompted by malice and jealousy. He is living in a fantasy world, and he has to find some reason for declining an offer that was never made.

On the most natural reading, Alexander is dead and Antipater is the most important man in the world. And this is what Antipater was to become, when, with Perdiccas dead, he returned from Asia in 320 or 319. A dramatic date of 319 is therefore more likely than any other. And since familiarity with Antipater ceases to be a topical subject for boasting as soon as he is dead (early autumn 319), the date of composition is unlikely to be much later than 319.

In VIII the Λογοποιός claims that Polyperchon and the king have recently defeated Cassander, who has been captured.

Antipater designated Polyperchon, a general of Alexander, to succeed him as military commander in Greece, in preference to his own son Cassander. The ensuing struggle between Polyperchon and Cassander continued until 309. Polyperchon offered the Greek cities autonomy in return for their support. The Athenians executed Phocion and briefly returned to democracy in 318. Cassander captured Athens and placed it under the control of Demetrius of Phaleron in 317. He invaded Macedonia, perhaps in 316, and defeated Polyperchon. Polyperchon invaded Macedonia in 309, but made peace with Cassander.

There are three candidates for the title of king during this period (319–309):

(i) Philip III Arrhidaeus,<sup>86</sup> mentally impaired half-brother of Alexander, proclaimed Alexander's successor by the army at Babylon, a cipher in the hands successively of Perdiccas, Antipater and Polyperchon, by whom he was murdered in 317.

<sup>86</sup> H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 2 (Munich 1926) no. 781.

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(ii) Alexander IV,<sup>87</sup> posthumous son of Alexander and Roxane, elevated by Perdikkas to be joint ruler with Philip III, captured by Cassander in 317/16 or 316/15<sup>88</sup> and murdered by him in 310 or 309.<sup>89</sup>

(iii) Heracles,<sup>90</sup> bastard son of Alexander and Barsine, proclaimed king by Polyperchon in 310 but murdered by him at the prompting of Cassander in 309.<sup>91</sup>

The purported defeat of Cassander distresses the ruling party at Athens (§8). Therefore the ruling party are pro-Macedonian: the oligarchs either under Phocion or under Demetrius of Phaleron. The outer chronological limits are therefore: (i) autumn/winter 319/18 (when Polyperchon opened hostilities with Cassander, by offering autonomy to the Greek cities)<sup>92</sup> to spring 318 (fall of Phocion);<sup>93</sup> (ii) early 317/summer 317 (beginning of the oligarchy of Demetrius of Phaleron)<sup>94</sup> to 309. The place of the battle is not specified. Since the news was brought to the ruling party four days ago, but is not yet generally known (§8), it must have taken place a good distance away; since the messenger came from Macedonia, it must have taken place in or near Macedonia.

If the battle took place during the oligarchy of Phocion, the king may be either Philip (favoured by Cichorius) or Alexander. Both kings were in the charge of Polyperchon (D.S. 18.48.4, 49.4, 55.1). Alexander, a mere infant, is less likely than Philip to be described as sharing a military victory with him. But it may be doubted whether Philip, any more than Alexander, would be

<sup>87</sup> Kaerst, 'Alexandros (11)', *RE* 1.1 (1893) 1434–5. <sup>88</sup> See n. 99.

<sup>89</sup> For 309, Hammond 165–7; for 310 (the traditional date), Stein, *Prometheus* 19 (1993) 150–3, Bosworth in A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (edd.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford 2000) 214 n. 32.

<sup>90</sup> Berve no. 353. <sup>91</sup> Stein (1993) 150–3.

<sup>92</sup> J. M. Williams, *Hermes* 112 (1984) 303, Gullath and Schober 338–47, Bosworth (1992) 67.

<sup>93</sup> Williams 300–5, Gullath and Schober 338–47, Bosworth (1992) 68–70; not summer/autumn 318 (Errington (1977) 489–92).

<sup>94</sup> Errington (1977) 494 (July/August), Gullath and Schober 376 (August), Bosworth (1992) 71 ('early months of 317').

designated as ‘the king’, at a time when he is only one king of two. The duality of the kings is widely and consistently recognised in both inscriptions and literary texts.<sup>95</sup> Stein claimed that it was in the name of Philip alone that Polyperchon offered autonomy to the Greek cities, on the evidence of D.S. 18.56.2 Φίλιππος ὁ ἡμέτερος πατήρ, 7 Φίλιππος . . . ὁ πατήρ, i.e. Philip II. This is mistaken. The offer was made in the name of both kings (18.55.4 τῶν βασιλέων, 56.2 τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἡμᾶς καθηκούσης). The designation Φίλιππος ὁ πατήρ embraces not only the father of the one but also the grandfather of the other.<sup>96</sup> Lane Fox, as well as emphasising the duality of the kings, questioned whether Cassander could have fought a battle in Macedonia during this period. Soon after the death of Antipater (early autumn 319) Cassander left for the Hellespont, and ‘people in Athens would know that Cassander was no longer in Macedonia’. If we need to circumvent this argument, we can simply locate the battle in Thrace.

If the battle took place during the oligarchy of Demetrius of Phaleron, there are three options:

(i) It is possible (but it has been disputed) that Cassander invaded Macedonia in 317.<sup>97</sup> If he did, and the battle took place during this invasion, we have the same difficulty over ‘the king’, at least in the earlier part of the year. Philip was murdered by Polyperchon in autumn 317,<sup>98</sup> after his wife Eurydice, usurping his authority, aligned herself with Cassander. After his death, Alexander remains the sole candidate for king.

<sup>95</sup> C. Habicht, ‘Literarische und epigraphische Überlieferung zur Geschichte Alexanders und seiner ersten Nachfolger’, in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (*Vestigia* 17, Munich 1973) 367–77, Hammond 138 n. 2, Bosworth (1993) 420–7, Lane Fox 137.

<sup>96</sup> For a more sophisticated explanation see Habicht 375–7.

<sup>97</sup> In favour, Errington (1977) 483, 494 (late autumn 317), Hammond 137–8, Bosworth (1992) 64, 71–3, (2000) 210 n. 12 (early 317); against, Gullath and Schober 359–76; sceptical, Stein 23–30. A dramatic date during this invasion is contemplated by Hammond 138 n. 1, Bosworth (1992) 72 n. 84.

<sup>98</sup> Errington (1977) 402, Gullath and Schober 336–8, Hammond 140, Bosworth (1992) 56.

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(ii) Cassander invaded Macedonia, defeated Polyperchon, and captured the remaining king, Alexander IV, in either 317/16 or 316/15.<sup>99</sup> During the one or other period, a victory by Polyperchon and ‘the king’ would be a plausible fiction. The objection of Cichorius that the king is too young, at the age of six or seven, to be linked with Polyperchon as winner of a military victory is very weak. It is uncertain how strong is the objection that a boy of that age would not be referred to baldly as ‘the king’.<sup>100</sup>

(iii) In 310/9 Polyperchon summoned the seventeen-year old Heracles from Pergamum and proclaimed him king (D.S. 20.20.1–2). He confronted Cassander in Macedonia, came to terms with him, and murdered Heracles (D.S. 20.28.1–3). Cichorius objected that in an Athens governed by Cassander’s ally Demetrius of Phaleron the pretender would not be referred to as ‘the king’. But Cassander himself refers to him as ‘the king’ (D.S. 20.28.2).<sup>101</sup>

Of these options the third, advocated by Lane Fox, is the most attractive.<sup>102</sup> But I do not rule out the second (317/16 or 316/15). Date of composition would be soon after the dramatic date, since interest would fade as topicality faded. Against the earliest date, in the oligarchy of Phocion, the anomaly of a reference to ‘the king’, when there were two joint kings, is a serious obstacle.<sup>103</sup>

By contrast with VIII, the dramatic date of XXVI (the Ὀλιγαρχικός) falls in a period of democracy. The theoretical

<sup>99</sup> For 317/16, Hammond 141–2, Bosworth (1992) 61–2; for 316/15, Errington (1977) 488, 495, Gullath and Schober 377, Stein 31–4.

<sup>100</sup> See Stein 21. <sup>101</sup> Cf. Rühl 325, Stein 21.

<sup>102</sup> The argument which he builds on §9 (‘In 319 his era of strength was still in the future’, ‘By 310/9, Cassander had indeed grown strong’) is precarious, since the text is incurably corrupt at the vital point. See also Stein 22 n. 4.

<sup>103</sup> The false report (D.S. 19.23) of the death of Cassander and the triumph of Polyperchon issued by Eumenes, Cassander’s adversary in Asia Minor, in 317 or 316 (Errington (1977) 483, Hammond 141, Bosworth (1992) 62–4, (2000) 210, Stein (1993) 146–50, Lane Fox 136), comparable though it is, has no bearing on the date of VIII.

possibilities are: (i) before 322 (advent of Phocion); (ii) 318/17 (between Phocion and Demetrius of Phaleron); (iii) after 307 (fall of Demetrius). The last of these is excluded by the mention of liturgies in §5. These were abolished by Demetrius and never reinstated.<sup>104</sup>

In §2 the people are debating τίνας τῶι ἄρχοντι προαιρήσονται (προ- V) τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους, ‘whom they will appoint in addition to help the archon with the procession’. The eponymous archon organised the annual procession at the Great Dionysia with the help of ten ἐπιμεληταί. According to [Arist.] *Ath.* 56.4 these were originally elected by a show of hands in the Assembly and contributed to the expenses of the procession from their own pockets, but afterwards were chosen by lot, one from each tribe, and received an allowance. The change from election to lot occurred after 349/8, the date of D. 21.15 κελεύων ἑαυτὸν εἰς Διονύσια χειροτονεῖν ἐπιμελητήν.<sup>105</sup> Rhodes has suggested that the change was ‘a part of the reorganisation of Athens’ festivals in the Lycurgan period’ and ‘will have been very recent indeed when *A.P.* was written’,<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 55–8, 99, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 91–3, Stein 40 n. 2, P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia* (Cambridge 2000) 270–2, S. V. Tracy in Fortenbaugh and Schürumpf (n. 6 above) 342, H. B. Gottschalk, *ibid.* 371. See the commentary on XXIII.6.

<sup>105</sup> MacDowell *ad loc.* suggests that the change occurred before 328/7, on the evidence of *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 354.15–16 οἱ λαχόντες ἐπιμελητ[α]ὶ τῆς εὐκομίας τῆς περ[ι] τὸ θέατρον. That these overseers of good order in the theatre are identical with the officials who are responsible for the procession (an assumption shared by Wilson 24, but not by Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 70) is unlikely. Perhaps the overseers of good order are the ἐπιμελούμενοι of the Dionysia mentioned by D. 4.35 (351 BC). These, who are described as appointed by lot, cannot be the ἐπιμεληταί of the procession, who were still being elected at this time. We even hear of elected ἐπιμεληταί who were responsible for keeping dramatic choruses in order (Suda E 2466, *DEA* 91). Wilson 159–60, again failing to distinguish these from the others, is wrong to accuse D. 21.17 of misrepresentation.

<sup>106</sup> P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 2006) 628.



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that it occurred ‘perhaps in the mid 330’s’.<sup>107</sup> The date of *Ath.* 56.4 is uncertain. Rhodes has suggested that an ‘original version’ of *Ath.* was composed in the late 330s, and that additions were incorporated in the mid 320s (with 322 as the latest possible date).<sup>108</sup> There is nothing to indicate that *Ath.* 56.4 was among the later additions.<sup>109</sup>

Since Theophrastus specifies election, either (i) he refers to a time before the procedure changed, or (ii) he refers to a time when there had been a change back to the original procedure, or (iii) he ignores the change.

Of these alternatives, (i) implies a date not later than *c.* 335, if *Ath.* 56.4 is dated in the late 330s; if *Ath.* 56.4 was added in the mid 320s, and the change occurred in the early 320s, a date *c.* 330 becomes possible. For (ii), there is inscriptional evidence that a change back to election did occur: certainly by 186/5 BC (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 896.34–5), possibly by 282/1 BC (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 668 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 388.13–15, 23).<sup>110</sup> Boegehold suggested that it occurred during the oligarchy of 322–318: lot is democratic, and oligarchs prefer election.<sup>111</sup> If this were right, the dramatic date would be 318/17. Stein favoured (iii): Theophrastus ignores the change through oversight (historical accuracy was not crucial in a matter of this kind). In this case, the dramatic date might fall either before 322 or in 318/17.

The treatment of *Ath.* 56.4 by Lane Fox is unconvincing. He argues: (i) That the procession to which Theophrastus refers need not be the Dionysiac procession. This requires us to believe that there was another procession, again organised by the archon with ten ἐπιμεληταί, about which *Ath.* is silent. This is improbable, since *Ath.* goes on to mention two further processions for which he was responsible, and appears to be giving us a complete list. (ii) That προσαίρῃσονται means ‘choose’ not

<sup>107</sup> Rhodes 52.      <sup>108</sup> Rhodes 51–8.      <sup>109</sup> Rhodes 52, 628.

<sup>110</sup> As Dittenberger observes (621 n. 3), not one per tribe, so possibly elected.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Stein 41 n. 3.

‘elect’, and the question is how many will be chosen, without specification of method, election or lot. This is impossible, since τίνων indicates identity not quantity. (iii) That there is ‘no evidence that the procedure changed back’. One, at least, of the inscriptions cited above provides that evidence. (iv) That ten ἐπιμεληταί, the right number for the overseers of the Dionysiac procession, ‘reinforce respect for his eye for Athenian detail’. This is a strange argument to use in support of the argument that Theophrastus is not referring to the Dionysiac procession.

Lane Fox argues more persuasively that the manner in which the Ὀλιγαρχικός is depicted does not suit the two later periods. ‘He is given no Macedonian connections and no words about recent political upheavals.’ In 318/17 and after 307 oligarchs ‘had just had power, could look back to Macedonian support and would grumble at the harsh reprisals of a period when democratic fervour ran extremely high’. In any case, we may add, the period after 307 is ruled out by the reference to liturgies.<sup>112</sup> The manner of his depiction, Lane Fox observes, suits the earlier period. ‘Our Oligarchic Man belongs in a stabler world, in a democracy against which the grumbles are those which might have been heard way back in the age of Alcibiades.’

A dramatic date before 322 is very plausible. Date of composition is indeterminable. Lane Fox places date of composition, no less than dramatic date, before 322. ‘If Theophrastus wrote him up any later, he would have been characterizing his man against a setting which had passed.’ Perhaps this is to take the Ὀλιγαρχικός too seriously. His vices are conventional and his targets traditional. Even in the 320s he cuts a comic figure. Men such as he, upper-crust out-of-touch reactionaries, are material for caricature, whatever the current political climate.<sup>113</sup> Like Stein, I do not exclude the possibility of a later date of

<sup>112</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>113</sup> For further comment on his type see the Introductory Note to XXVI.

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composition, even during a period of oligarchy. I do not even exclude composition in the 330s, for a reason which I shall give at the conclusion to this section.

A date before 322 has been suggested for other sketches too. Boegehold observed that Theophrastus regularly refers to judicial activity as an ordinary feature of everyday life (I.2, VI.8, VII.8, XI.7, XII.4, 5, XIII.11, XIV.3, XVII.8, XXVI.4, XXVII.9, XXIX.2, 5, 6). During the oligarchy of Phocion the qualification for citizenship (and so for attendance at the Assembly and service on juries) was 2,000 drachmas, under Demetrius 1,000. Boegehold inferred that these sketches were written during a period of stable democracy. By the same token one might infer that those sketches which casually refer to meetings of the Assembly (IV.2, VII.7, XIII.2, XXI.11, XXII.3, XXIV.5, XXVI.2, 4, XXIX.5) were also written before 322.<sup>114</sup> But caution is needed. There were some 21,000 qualified citizens under Demetrius of Phaleron,<sup>115</sup> and the courts and the Assembly continued to function.<sup>116</sup> We cannot say that the dramatic date of any of these sketches is incompatible with this period. Much less can we say that they could not have been written during it. Again, the allusions to liturgies (XXII.2, 5, XXIII.6, XXVI.5) set the dramatic date before their abolition by Demetrius.<sup>117</sup> But they say nothing about date of composition.<sup>118</sup>

My conclusions are these. (i) There is no consistent dramatic date. One sketch (VIII) is set during a period of oligarchy; many of the others are set during a period of democracy. (ii) It is

<sup>114</sup> Other passages which imply a democratic setting are XXVIII.6 (δημοκρατία as a soubriquet for slander) and XXIX.5 ('watchdog of the δήμος'), as Rühl observed.

<sup>115</sup> Hammond 137.

<sup>116</sup> A. L. Boegehold, *The Athenian Agora*, xxviii: *The Lawcourts at Athens* (Princeton 1995) 41, S. V. Tracy in Fortenbaugh and Schürtrumpf (n. 6 above) 338–9. M. Gagarin, *ibid.* 359–61, arguing that there was a significant decline in the use of the courts under Demetrius, relies heavily on the unargued assumption that Theophrastus's courts belong to the 320s.

<sup>117</sup> See p. 33. <sup>118</sup> See Stein 42–3.

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impossible to assign a single date of composition to the whole collection. (iii) Date of publication is indeterminable.

The question when Theophrastus wrote the sketches and the question when (if ever) he published them are inseparable from the question why he wrote them. If (as suggested above, pp. 15–16) he wrote them as incidental material to illustrate his lectures, he may have written them over a long period, potentially throughout the whole of his career as teacher. Their uniformity of style and structure suggests that he may have reworked them for publication. Lane Fox (141) puts it well: ‘Written for like-minded readers, the sketches were meant to amuse, not teach. If they were first shared with friends and pupils, they could easily grow up piecemeal, being increased as the years passed. We do not know what publication meant, but survival from a personal collection after Theophrastus’ death is an obvious possibility.’<sup>119</sup>

## IV TRANSMISSION

### (i) Preliminaries

Theophrastus composed the sketches in the later part of the fourth century. In what form and at what date they were published we do not know.<sup>120</sup> A century later they were imitated by Ariston of Keos.<sup>121</sup> They were quoted by Philodemus in the first century BC.<sup>122</sup> Before the time of Philodemus they had already suffered interpolation: the definitions at least had been added.<sup>123</sup> They had also suffered serious corruption. For Theophrastus cannot have designed V.6–10 to follow V.1–5. Yet the papyrus

<sup>119</sup> Others who have contemplated an extended period of composition are Rühl 327, H. Reich, *Der Mimos* (Berlin 1903) 309 n. 1, Regenbogen 1510–11, M. Brozek, ‘De Theophrasti *Characterum* ueritate ac fide obseruatiuncula’, in K. F. Kumaniecki (ed.), *Charisteria Thaddaeo Sinko . . . oblata* (Warsaw 1951) 67–70.

<sup>120</sup> See the section on Date (pp. 27–37, esp. 36–7). <sup>121</sup> See pp. 9–10.

<sup>122</sup> See p. 50. <sup>123</sup> See p. 17.

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of Philodemus ( $\Pi^1$ ), like the medieval manuscripts, presents V.1–10 as a continuous text.

The general fabric of the text transmitted by the papyrus of Philodemus, and of the shorter portions of VII and VIII transmitted by another papyrus of the first century BC ( $\Pi^2$ ), is not essentially different from that of the medieval manuscripts. The *prooemium* and the epilogues appended to nine sketches were added much later. But, those additions (and other interpolations) apart, our collection as it stands reflects a version of the text which had come into existence by the first century BC.<sup>124</sup> It is no longer possible to argue, as was argued before the papyri were known, that it owes its form to large-scale editorial activity in the imperial or Byzantine period.<sup>125</sup>

The archetype of the medieval manuscripts, containing 30 sketches, was divided for copying, by chance or design, at a date unknown (not later than the eleventh century), into two halves. One half (containing I–XV) is represented by our oldest manuscripts, AB (tenth or eleventh century); the other (XVI–XXX), by V (thirteenth century). These manuscripts are corpora of rhetorical treatises. The text of Theophrastus will have been added to the prototype of the corpus in the early Byzantine period.<sup>126</sup> It may have become divided because an ancestor of AB lacked space for the whole, or because a half was felt sufficient; or through accident.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> For a misguided attempt to link the early history of the text to the alleged fate of the 'lost' philosophical works of Theophrastus and Aristotle see n. 10 above.

<sup>125</sup> So Diels, *Theophrastea* (1883) and his edition (1909) v–viii.

<sup>126</sup> Immisch (1897) xxviii–xxxvi, id. *Philologus* 57 (1898) 204–6, H. Rabe, 'Rhetoren-Corpora', *RhM* 67 (1912) 321–57, E. Matelli, 'Libro e testo nella tradizione dei Caratteri di Teofrasto', *S&C* 13 (1989) 329–86, Fortenbaugh in W. W. Fortenbaugh and D. C. Mirhady (edd.), *Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle* (New Brunswick and London 1994) 18. See n. 42 above.

<sup>127</sup> Another rhetorical corpus, Par. gr. 1741 (10th cent.), is said by its index (14th cent.) to have once had the *Characters*, on pages now missing. How many it had and when they were lost are questions which cannot be answered.

In addition to these three, 68 later manuscripts are recorded.<sup>128</sup> The majority contain I–XV; a few contain either I–XXIII or I–XXVIII.<sup>129</sup> Immisch (1897) classified these (or such as were known to him) into three groups, according to numerical content: C = manuscripts with I–XXVIII, D I–XXIII, E I–XV.

Whether CDE preserve any trace of a tradition independent of ABV has long been debated. Cobet pronounced an uncompromising verdict: ‘omnem crisin Characterum Theophrasti tribus tantum Codicibus niti: omne enim emendandi praesidium et fundamentum in capitibus XV prioribus esse in duobus vetustissimis Codicibus Parisinis [AB], in posterioribus capitibus XV crisin pendere totam a Codice Palatino-Vaticano [V]: reliquos autem libros ad unum omnes flocci non esse faciendos et criticam rem impedire tantum et quisquiliis nil profuturis onerare.’<sup>130</sup> Diels argued vigorously in his support: true or plausible readings were lucky slips or medieval conjectures.<sup>131</sup> Many have remained unconvinced.<sup>132</sup> What scribe, protested Pasquali,

For a conspectus of views on the former question see Matelli 367 n. 110, who suggests that it had room for all 30. The lost text has been claimed as a possible source of E (P. Wendland, *Philologus* 57 (1898) 104–5), of CD (Immisch, *ibid.* 205 n. 26), of Marc. gr. 513 (no. 64 Wilson) (Matelli 364 n. 101), and of V (Matelli 378). Appropriate caution is expressed by C. Landi, *SIFC* 8 (1900) 97–8, and Diels (1909) xxv (‘Sed ecce terret nos in ABV solis confisos ex inferis citata umbra codicis celeberrimi et vetustissimi Parisini’, with splendid facetiousness).

<sup>128</sup> N. G. Wilson, ‘The Manuscripts of Theophrastus’, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 96–102.

<sup>129</sup> For brevity, here and in what follows, ‘T’ stands for ‘I plus prooemium’.

<sup>130</sup> *Mnemosyne* 8 (1859) 311. Similarly, *Mnemosyne* 2 (1874) 34.

<sup>131</sup> Diels (1883) 11–15, (1909) ix–xiv. Similarly Wendland (1898) 103–12.

<sup>132</sup> For example, Immisch (1897) xl–xlvii, (1923) iii–iv; Pasquali (1919) 16–17 = (1986) 90–1, (1926) 91–2 = (1986) 850–2, id. *Storia della Tradizione e Critica del Testo* (Florence <sup>2</sup>1952) 29–30; Edmonds (1929) 11–30; Navarre (1931) 7–9, 30–1 (*contra* (1920) 1–2, (1924) xxxv–xli); De Falco (1956) xvii–xxii; Steinmetz (1960) 23–38 (arguing only for the independence of CD from V in XVI–XXVIII); Torraca (1974) 71, (1990) 20–2, (1994b) 614–16.

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would have the wit to replace τίμιε with the slave-name Τίβιε at IX.3, or an unexceptionable φαίνεσθαι with the more subtly suggestive ὑποφαίνεσθαι at IV.4?

In 1992 Markus Stein sketched a plausible picture of the medieval tradition, using only the piecemeal evidence already published.<sup>133</sup> Two years later I. E. Stefanis published his investigation of the later manuscripts, which he had collated almost in their entirety.<sup>134</sup> His investigation confirms that the picture sketched by Stein is in all essentials right. Now that we can see the relationships of the later manuscripts to each other and to ABV, and the precise distribution of variants, we can establish (what Cobet and Diels inferred but could not prove) that no later manuscript or group of manuscripts had access to a tradition independent of ABV.

The medieval tradition provides plentiful evidence of scribal interference. For example, the version of XVI–XXVIII in C and of XVI–XXIII in D is an abridged version of what is in V, and the abridgement did not happen by accident.<sup>135</sup> A reading like ὑποφαίνεσθαι, if it is not an idle blunder, is an idle embellishment.<sup>136</sup> A reading like Τίβιε is evidence that scribes existed who thought about what they wrote and remembered what they had read.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Stein (1992) 3–20. The lengthy survey by Steinmetz (1960) 1–59 marked no advance.

<sup>134</sup> ‘Οἱ recentiores των Χαρακτήρων του Θεοφράστου’, *EEThess* 4 (1994) 63–121.

<sup>135</sup> For the abbreviator’s method see Ilberg (1897) xlvii–li, Stein 10–11.

<sup>136</sup> Cf., above all, XI.2 δειξαι τὸ αἰδοῖον] ὑποδεικνύειν τὰ αἰδοῖα M. Other intruded compounds: VII.10 <προς>λάβητι two descendants of A (Torraca (1974) 90); XVI.11 <προς>εύχεσθαι CD; XVIII.2 <ἐπι>πέμπ- M; XX.1 <περι>λαβεῖν CD; XX.2 <κυλ>λαλήτι M; XXI.3 <ἀπ>αγαγών CD; XXII.8 <ἐκ>πλῦναι V; XXV.5 <ἀπο>κοβεῖν some members of C (Torraca (1994b) 611); XXVII.10 <κατ>οχοῦμενος V; XXX.19 <προ>πέμψητι V.

<sup>137</sup> See Diels (1883) 18–19, (1909) xxii, Stein 8–9. For a list of true or plausible readings in CDE in I–XV see Stefanis 118–19.

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### (ii) The tradition in a nutshell (See the stemma, p. 51)

When the archetype ( $\Omega$ ) became divided (by way of  $\omega$ ) into two halves, the half which contained I–XV generated two lines, issuing in A and B,<sup>138</sup> which generated (by way of a and b) a few descendants of their own; the half which contained XVI–XXX issued in V.

A and B have, in addition to I–XV, an abridged version of XXX. 5–16 (10, 14, 15 are lacking) appended to XI.<sup>139</sup> We may surmise that a detached page from an abridged version of I–XXX ( $\epsilon$ ) was incorporated among the pages of the ancestor ( $\psi$ ) of AB, whether by accident or by design.<sup>140</sup> That the work was prone to abridgement, even in antiquity, is shown by  $\Pi^3$ .

B, by way of b, generated a further line, issuing in  $\delta$ , the source of CDE (which henceforth I shall re-designate as cde)<sup>141</sup> in

<sup>138</sup> When A and B disagree, B is far more often right than wrong. Most of B's errors (against A) are trifling: I.5  $\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu$ - A:  $\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ - B; II.10  $\delta\iota\alpha\psi\iota\theta\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\iota\nu$  A:  $\psi\iota\theta$ - B; III.3  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$  A:  $-\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$  B; IV.11  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  A:  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  B; VI.3  $\kappa\omega\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$  A:  $\kappa\omicron\mu$ - B; VI.5  $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\nu\omicron\sigma\kappa\eta\iota$  A:  $-\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  B; VI.8  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  A:  $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  B; VI.9  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\eta\varsigma$  A:  $\delta\rho\alpha\gamma$ - B; VI.9  $\epsilon\mu\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  A:  $-\pi\omega\lambda$ - B; VIII.4  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  A:  $-\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  B; X.3  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$  A:  $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda$ - B; XI.2  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  A:  $-\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  B; XI.8  $\acute{\omicron}\psi\omega\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  A:  $\acute{\omicron}\psi$ - B; XIV.12  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\nu$  A:  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omega$  B; XV.6  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  A:  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - B; XV.8  $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  A:  $-\acute{\omicron}\nu$  B; XV.9  $-\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota$  A:  $-\mu\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  B; XXX.16  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$  A:  $-\lambda\iota\pi$ - B. But some are more serious: IV.11  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  om. B; VII.7  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$  A:  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$  B; IX.5  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  om. B; X.8  $\kappa\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon$  A (unless  $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ : Stefanis 66 n. 3):  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  B; XIII.9  $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\iota$  A:  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\pi\iota\zeta$ - B. These last prove that A is not a copy of B.

<sup>139</sup> The papyri show that in I–XV (where V is absent) the text of AB is not abridged.

<sup>140</sup> Stein 16–18 (accident), Stefanis 105 n. 80 (design). AB and V often disagree in XXX. 5–16. Diels (1909) xix–xx and Stein 16, 263 claim that AB are generally superior to V. I find them more evenly balanced in good and bad.

<sup>141</sup> E is not a homogeneous group, since it includes the direct descendants of A and B; e designates a group which *is* homogeneous. I use cde indifferently to indicate the groups or their archetypes, avoiding unnecessary duplication of symbols (Stefanis uses CDE for the groups,  $\kappa\eta\eta$  for their archetypes).



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I–XV.<sup>142</sup> c also acquired XVI–XXVIII from a slightly abridged version (ζ) of V.<sup>143</sup> d acquired I–XV from e<sup>144</sup> and XVI–XXIII from c.<sup>145</sup>

One manuscript is unique in content and derivation. M (the Munich Epitome), a radically abridged version of I–XXI, is

<sup>142</sup> That δ is derived from the same source as the direct descendants of B is proved by III.4, where cde, like b, omit πλεῖον. The scribe of B wrote πλεῖον in the margin after the last word of the page, having omitted to write it as he turned the page. b, like at least one future collator (Cobet (1874) 36), failed to notice it. See Diels (1883) 14, (1909) xv, Stein 8. A few readings of A also found their way into δ or e: X.8 κήπου Ade (see n. 138); σκοποῦ Bc; XIII.9 μαλακιζομένωι Acde: καλλωπιζ- Be; XIV.10 κόπτουc εἰμβάλλειν Ade: κόπτον εἰμβάλλειν Bc (Stein 9–10, Stefanis 106, 108).

<sup>143</sup> Stein 10–15, Stefanis 111–15. Stein (17 n. 4) rightly denies, against M. Sicherl, *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 20–1, that ζ has any connection with the abridgement ε. It has been suggested that the abridgement ζ, and even the e-tradition, should be credited to Planudes, who reworked the rhetorical corpus (p. 38 above), with which Theophrastus continued to be transmitted (Immisch (1897) xxxii–iii, Rabe 332–7, Steinmetz (1960) 38–41, Matelli 357–8; cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983) 235). That Planudes had any hand in the shaping of the tradition is unproven. I treat with even greater scepticism the claim (Steinmetz 41, Wilson (1962) 99, *Scholars of Byzantium* 235) that Planudes wrote a commentary on the *Characters*. This is based on C. Gesner, *Bibliotheca Vniuersalis* (Zurich 1545) 508 verso (*s.u.* Maximus Planudes): *Scripsit (sc. Planudes) commentarios in rhetoricam Hermogenis. In Theophrasti characteres, & scholia in Diophanti Arithmeticom. Quae omnia seruantur in Italia*. But in the preface to his *Ioannis Stobaei Sententiae* (Basel <sup>2</sup>1549) Gesner makes clear that he had not actually seen such a commentary: *Audio et alios autores Graecos in Bibliothecis quibusdam, praesertim apud Italos, reperiri*, as an example of which he cites *Maximi Planudis in Theophrasti characteres expositio*. What Gesner may have heard of is nothing more remarkable than a manuscript (like those listed by Matelli 357) which contained the *Characters* alongside the commentary on Hermogenes.

<sup>144</sup> Stefanis 112–13. This is preferable to derivation of d directly from δ (Stein 12–15). d is particularly close to Vat. gr. 102 (60 Wilson), a typical representative of e.

<sup>145</sup> d cannot be derived from c in I–XV (Stein 12–14, Stefanis 107), but is so close to c in XVI–XXIII that it is derived either from c (Stefanis 111–15) or from ζ, the source of c (Stein 12, 15). The distinction is merely theoretical: in XVI–XXVIII, c is in effect identical with ζ.

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derived from an ancestor ( $\mu$ ) which acquired I–XV from a descendant of B and XVI–XXI from a descendant of V.<sup>146</sup> M has some links with c.<sup>147</sup>

### (iii) The manuscripts<sup>148</sup>

#### (i) *ABV*

The three manuscripts from which all later manuscripts descend are:

**AB** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 2977 (no. 44 Wilson) and gr. 1983 (no. 40 Wilson). Probably 11th rather than 10th cent.<sup>149</sup> They contain I–XV, XXX.5–16. W. Studemund, *JClPh* 31 (1885) 757–72, Rabe 323–32, Matelli 339–48. New

<sup>146</sup> Diels (1883) 16–19, (1909) xxi–xxv, Stein 18–20, Stefanis 109–11. M has the scholia in B (see immediately below, under AB). That it has  $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\iota$  (A) at XIII.9 is unsurprising. This reading was widely disseminated: it was acquired by  $\delta$  (see n. 142), and will have been acquired by an ancestor of  $\mu$ . To mark a link between A and  $\mu$  on the stemma (Stefanis 117) is superfluous. – Ineffectual claims continue to be made that M had access to an independent tradition (K. Latte, *Glotta* 34 (1955) 200–2 = *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1968) 698–9, on VI.6). It almost passes belief that it could ever have been suggested that M has the authentic text, of which the other manuscripts have a later enlargement (C. Wurm and F. Thiersch, ‘Theophrasti Characteres . . . nunc primum genuina forma publicati, e Codice quondam Augustano’, *Acta Philologorum Monacensium* 3.3 (1822) 363–88, demolished by Foss 1834).

<sup>147</sup> I.1 <τὸ> χεῖρον Mc; V.8 αὐτὸν μὲν] μὲν αὐτὸν Mc; V.8 <πέμπειν> ante εἰς Κύζικον M, post εἰς K- c; IX. 3 τίμιε Bde, Marc. 513 (64 Wilson), Rehd. 22 (71 Wilson): τιμῶτατε A: Τίβιε M et schol. M, Pal. 149 (57 Wilson) (γρ. τίμιε marg.), τίμιε Τίβιε Mut. (26 Wilson); X.1 μικρολογία ABde, Rehd., Marc.<sup>pc</sup>, Mut.<sup>pc</sup>: μακρο- M, Marc., <Mut.>, Pal.; XIII.6 τὴν ὁδὸν καταλιπόντα post ἠγάγισθαι M: <καταλιπεῖν> post πορεύεται add. Marc., Mut., Pal. (om. ABde, Rehd.). See Stein 19–20, Stefanis 109–10.

<sup>148</sup> I do not repeat the bibliographical references in Wilson (1962), but I add some which are new. By *Arist. Gr.* I refer to *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles, untersucht und beschrieben von P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner. 1: Alexandrien-London* (Berlin and New York 1976).

<sup>149</sup> Wilson ap. Stein 3 n. 4.

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collation in Torraca (1974). A feature unique to B and some of its descendants is a set of four scholia, all on the same page: V.9 on τίτυρον and Θουριακάς, VI.3 on κόρδακα, VI.8 on ἐχῖνον.<sup>150</sup> Both collated from photographs.

- V** Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 110 (no. 61 Wilson). Late 13th cent. (N. G. Wilson, in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Colloqu. Internat. du C.N.R.S., no 559, Paris 1977) 264). Contains XVI–XXX. Matelli 348–59. Collated from photographs.<sup>151</sup>

### (ii) a (descendants of A)

A has several direct descendants, derived from a common source, a, which has two branches, a<sup>1</sup> and a<sup>2</sup>. From here onwards I prefix Wilson's numbers.

a<sup>1</sup>:

- 21** Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 119 sup. (= gr. 319). 15th cent. D. Bassi, *RFIC* 26 (1898) 493–8, Stefanis 83–6.
- 46** Paris, Bibl. Nat., supp. gr. 450. 15th cent. Stefanis 83–6. Collation in Torraca (1974).<sup>152</sup>

a<sup>2</sup>:

- 10** Florence, Bibl. Laur., plut. 86.3. 14th cent. Landi (1900), *Arist. Gr.* 282–6, Stefanis 82–6. Collation in Torraca (1974).  
**7** Florence, Bibl. Laur., plut. 60.18. Dated 1427. XI–XV are derived from 10 (I–X from a manuscript of group e). Landi (1900), *Arist. Gr.* 219–20, Stefanis 102–4. Collation in Torraca (1974).

<sup>150</sup> They are reproduced by Diels (1909). For the decipherment of the two former see Torraca (1990) 31–41.

<sup>151</sup> V did not come to light until 1743. Its text of XXIX–XXX (which it alone preserves) was not published until 1786, of XVI–XXVIII not until 1798 (see p. 55). These earliest collations were grossly inaccurate. A collation by Badham is reported by Sheppard (1852), Foss (1858), and Petersen (1859). There is an elaborate collation by Cobet (*Mnemosyne* 8 (1859) 310–38).

<sup>152</sup> a<sup>1</sup> has also picked up some readings of e (Stefanis 86 n. 37).

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**19** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, N.58 (= 4687). *c.* 1462. I–X are derived from 7 (XI–XV from a different manuscript of group e). G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid 1987) 244, Stefanis 102–4.

**50** Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 2 (C.4.23). 1450–1500. I–X. Derived from 19. Stefanis 96, 102–4.

Also derived from A, but preserving only I, is:

**11** Florence, Bibl. Laur., plut. 87.14. Late 13th cent. Landi (1900), *Arist. Gr.* 307–10, Stefanis 83 n. 33. Collation in Torraca (1974).

(iii) *b* (descendants of *B*)

*B* has several direct descendants, derived from a common source, *b*, which has two branches, *b*<sup>1</sup> and *b*<sup>2</sup>.

*b*<sup>1</sup>:

**35** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.V.6. Early 14th cent. Torraca (1990), Stefanis 86–93.

**32** Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.E.5 (= gr. 140). Early(?) 14th cent. Stefanis 86–93. Collation in Torraca (1974).

**42** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 2916. 13th cent. Stefanis 86–93. Collation in Torraca (1974). Shares a common source (*b*<sup>3</sup>) with 32. Derived from 42 is:

**33** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Baroccianus 194. 15th cent. Stefanis 87–93. Collation in Torraca (1974).

*b*<sup>2</sup>:

**55** Vatican, Pal. gr. 23. 1250–1300. Stefanis 86–93, 110–11. Derived from 55 is:

**23** Milan, Bibl. Ambros., P 34 sup. (= gr. 617). *c.* 1497. D. Bassi, *RFIC* 26 (1898) 493–8, Stefanis 87.

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(iv) *c* (I–XXVIII)<sup>153</sup>

*c* has two branches, *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup>.

*c*<sup>1</sup>:

**71** Wrocław, Rehdiger<sup>154</sup> 22. 1450–1500. Stein 6, Stefanis 74–8. Collation in Diels (1883). From 71 is derived:

**54** Vatican, Barberinianus gr. 97. 15th (not 14th) cent. Wendland 105–9, Stein 5–6, 12 n. 4, Stefanis 75–6. From 54 are derived:

**27** Montpellier, Bibl. de la Faculté de Médecine, 127. Dated 1540. It has picked up some readings from *c*. Stein 6, Stefanis 76–7.

**18** Leiden, B.P.G. 67B (= 107). 1500–1550. I–XXIV (not I–XIV). K. A. De Meyier and E. Hulshoff Pol, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices manuscripti. VIII: Codices Bibliothecae publicae Graeci* (Leiden 1965) 106–9, Stein 6, Stefanis 75–6.

*c*<sup>2</sup>:

**26** Modena, Bibl. Estense, α.U.9.10 (= III.B.7, or gr. 59). *c.* 1420. Stein 6, Stefanis 72–3.

**64** Venice, Bibl. Marciana, gr. 513. 15th cent. E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum II* (Rome 1985) 375–6, Matelli 363–4, Stein 6, Stefanis 71–2. Collation in Diels (1883).

**57** Vatican, Pal. gr. 149. Late 15th cent. Used by Casaubon for XXIV–XXVIII. Immisch (1897) ix–xi, Stein 6, Stefanis 73–4.

(v) *d* (I–XXIII)

**29** Munich, gr. 327. Early 14th cent. Diels (1909) ix n. 1, Rabe 343–5, Stein 6–7, Stefanis 79–82, 111–15. From 29 are derived, wholly or in part:

<sup>153</sup> Collation of XXIV–XXVIII in Torraca (1994b).

<sup>154</sup> Not (as nearly everyone spells it) Rhediger.

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**4** Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.18–19 (Cichorius, Wilson, and Stein wrongly give R.14.1). Late 15th or early 16th cent. Stein 7, 14, Stefanis 79–82. Collated from the original.

**70** Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus gr. 26. 15th cent. XVI–XXIII are derived from 29, I–XV from 22. Stein 7, Stefanis 79–82. Used by Camotius (Torraca (1994a) xxxvii).

**13** Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, gr. 41. 16th cent. Landi (1900), Stein 7, 14, Stefanis 79–82. As 70, XVI–XXIII are derived from 29, I–XV from 22.

(vi) e (I–XV)

I list these in roughly chronological order, with descendants subjoined to their probable sources.

**43** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 2918. Early 14th cent. Stefanis 95, 98–101.

**5** Darmstadt, 2773. 14th cent. *Arist. Gr.* 122–4, Stefanis 94, 98–101.

**63** Vatican, Vat. gr. 1500. 14th cent. Stefanis 96, 98–101.

**1** Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 3561. 14th rather than 15th cent.? Stefanis 94, 97–8.

**66** Venice, Bibl. Marciana, App. gr. cl. xi.2. 14th (not 15th) cent. E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum* III (Rome 1972) 78–80, Stefanis 97–8. Collated by Diels (1883). Derived from 1 (Stefanis)?

**67** Vienna, phil. gr. 238. 1450–1500. Stefanis 97, with n. 71.

**8** Florence, Bibl. Laur., plut. 60.25. 14th cent. Landi (1900), Stefanis 94, 98–101.

**58** Vatican, Pal. gr. 254. 15th cent. Stefanis 97, 99.

**39** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1744. 1450–1500. Stefanis 95, 99.

**16** Leiden, Vossianus gr. Q.55. 15th–16th cent. Stefanis 94, 99.

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- 2** Bucarest, gr. 602. 1500–1550. *Arist. Gr.* 90–7, Stefanis 94, 99. Collation in T. Costa, *LF* 90 (1967) 1–8.
- 59** Vatican, Urbinas gr. 119. 14th cent. Stefanis 97, 98–101.
- 45** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 2986. 14th cent. Only I–XI. Stefanis 95, 98–101.
- 22** Milan, Bibl. Ambros., O 52 sup. (= gr. 589). 15th cent. D. Bassi, *RFIC* 26 (1898) 493–8, Stefanis 94, 101.
- 51** Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 6. 15th–16th cent. Stefanis 96, 101.
- 60** Vatican, Vat. gr. 102. 14th cent. Stefanis 96, 98–101, 112–13.
- 20** Milan, Bibl. Ambros., C 82 sup. (= gr. 186). Dated 1426. D. Bassi, *RFIC* 27 (1899) 280–23, Stefanis 93, 100.
- 30** Munich, gr. 490. 15th cent. Stefanis 95, 100.
- 62** Vatican, Vat. gr. 1327. 15th cent. Stefanis 96, 99.
- 68** Vienna, supp. gr. 32. 15th cent. Stefanis 97, 101.
- 12** Florence, Bibl. Laur., Conv. Soppr. 110. 15th cent. Landi (1900), Stefanis 94, 101.
- 14** Athens, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Istanbul, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, 431). 15th cent. Stefanis 94, 101.<sup>155</sup>
- 25** Milan, Bibl. Ambros., I 111 inf. (= gr. 1060). 16th cent. D. Bassi, *RFIC* 26 (1898) 493–8, Stefanis 94, 101. Also indebted to an early printed edition?
- 49** Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 1231 (= gr. 8). 15th cent. Stefanis 96, 101.
- 34** Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Auct. G.120. 15th cent. Stefanis 95, 101.
- 17** Leiden, B.P.G. 59. 1500–1550. De Meyier and Hulshoff Pol (see on 18 above) 81–2, Stefanis 94, 101. The so-called ‘Vulcanianus’ of Casaubon (31612).<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Stefanis calls this simply ‘Atheniensis’. For an explanation see *Arist. Gr.* 12–13.

<sup>156</sup> Torraca (1994a) xxxviii–ix. Stefanis 101 n. 74 reports that many variants or conjectures are accompanied by *p*, and speculates that this may stand for ‘Palatinus’. This use of *p* calls to mind the practice of Livineius (H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford 1990) 269–75, who speculate on what it may stand for). L. Battezzato, ‘Livineius’ unpublished Euripidean

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- 6** Escorial Ψ.IV.1. 15th cent. G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* 3 (Madrid 1967) no. 475, Stefanis 96, 101. Related to 53.
- 38** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1639. Dated 1475. Stefanis 95, 100.
- 9** Florence, Bibl. Laur., plut. 80.23. 15th–16th cent. Landi (1900), Stefanis 94, 100.
- 48** Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin 377. 1450–1500. Stefanis 96, 100.
- 36** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1045. Dated 1501. Stefanis 95, 101.
- 56** Vatican, Pal. gr. 126. Early 16th cent. It does not lack IV, VI, XIV. Stefanis 96, 100.
- 41** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 2830. Dated 1534–5. Stefanis 95, 100.
- 53** Vatican, Barberinianus gr. 76. 1500–1550. T. Hadot, *RHT* 8 (1978) 103–4, Stefanis 96, 101. Related to 6.
- 24** Milan, Bibl. Ambros., C 6 inf. (= gr. 843). Late 16th cent. Stefanis 94, 100.
- 37** Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1389. Late 16th cent. Stefanis 95, 100.<sup>157</sup>

(vii) *The ‘Epitome Monacensis’*

- M** Munich, gr. 505 (no. 31 Wilson). Late 14th cent. Rabe 345–57, Stein 18–20, Stefanis 109–10. An epitome of I–XXI. Text in Diels (1883 and 1909).

Marginalia’, *RHT* 30 (2000) 323–48, shows that Livineius used *p* for *p(uto)*, to commend a reading or conjecture.

<sup>157</sup> See also **7**, **19**, **50**, under (ii) above (descendants of A). I ignore the following: **3** Bucarest, gr. 645. Dated 1771. I–XXVIII. Costa, *LF* 90 (1967) 1–8, Stein 3 n. 6. – **15** Jerusalem, Stavrou 64. Dated 1862. I–XV. – **28** Munich, gr. 8. 15th–16th cent. I–XV(?). Stefanis 70 n. 11. – **47** Paris, Bibl. Nat., supp. gr. 457. 18th cent. XXIX–XXX. Copy of Amadutius (Torraca (1990) 25 n. 21). – **52** Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 420. 16th cent. I–XXIII. From a printed edition. Wendland (1898) 106–9, 192, Stein 7, 14 n. 3, Stefanis 79, Torraca (1994a) xii n. 8, 94. – **65** Venice, Bibl. Marciana, App. gr. cl. iv.43 (= Nanianus 266). 16th cent. I–XXIII. Mioni (see on 64 and 66 above) 1.ii (1972) 231–2, Stein 8, 14, Stefanis 79. From a printed edition (Morel, according to Torraca (1994a) xii n. 8, 94). – **69** Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus gr. 21. 13th cent.(?). I–XV. Lost. (Stefanis 70 n. 11 gives this as Gud. gr. 26 (70 Wilson), by oversight.)

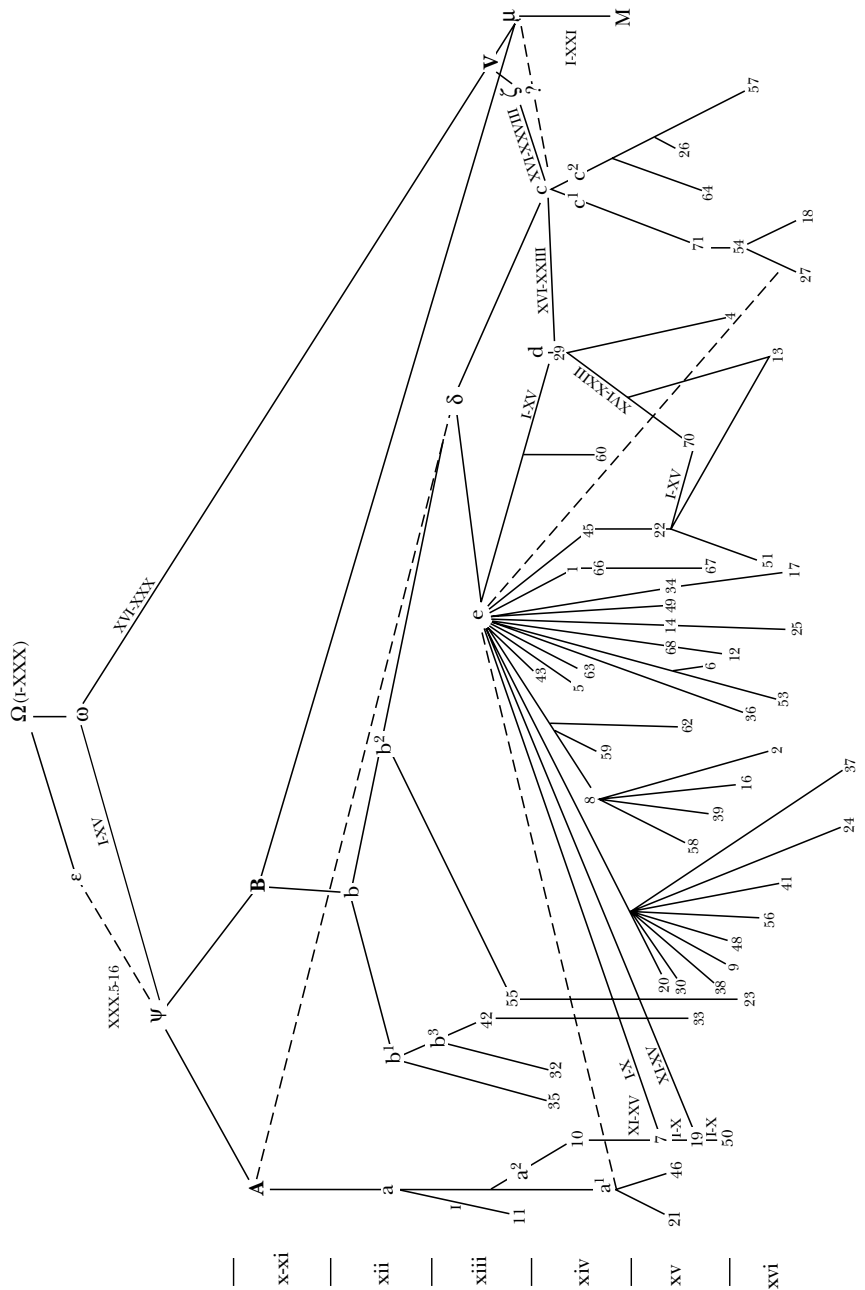


*(viii) Papyri*

- Π<sup>1</sup> *P. Herc.* 1457. 1st cent. BC. Part of V. From Philodemus, Περὶ κακιῶν, probably Book 7 Περὶ κολακείας (T. Dorandi, *ANRW* II 36.4 (1990) 2345–8). Main contributions: W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Leipzig 1906) 182, D. Bassi, ‘Il testo più antico dell’ Ἀρέσκεια di Teofrasto in un papiro ercolanese’, *RFIC* 37 (1909) 397–405, J. M. Edmonds, *CQ* 4 (1910) 134–5, D. Bassi, *Herculensium Voluminum quae supersunt Collectio Tertia* I (Milan 1914) 13–15, E. Kondo, ‘I “Caratteri” di Teofrasto nei papiri ercolanesi’, *CErc* 1 (1971) 73–87, T. Dorandi and M. Stein, ‘Der älteste Textzeuge für den ἄρεσκος des Theophrast’, *ŽPE* 100 (1994) 1–16, I. E. Stefanis, ‘Ο Ἄρεσκος του Θεοφράστου’, *EEThess* 4 (1994) 123–36. Extensive bibliographies in Kondo and in M. Gigante, *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (Naples 1979) 332–4. The papyrus has progressively deteriorated; not everything reported by Bassi or Kondo is now visible. Examined for me by Jeffrey Fish (see p. vii).
- Π<sup>2</sup> *P. Hamb.* 143 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 2816). 1st cent. BC. Parts of VII–VIII. M. Gronewald, *ŽPE* 35 (1979) 21–2.
- Π<sup>3</sup> *P. Oxy.* 699 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 1500; Trinity College, Dublin, Pap. F 11 a).<sup>158</sup> 3rd cent. AD. Epitome of parts of XXV–XXVI. F. Blass, *APF* 3 (1906) 496–7, J. M. Edmonds, *CQ* 4 (1910) 133–4. Collated from the original. [Addendum: Π<sup>2</sup> and Π<sup>3</sup> are re-edited by A. Guida in *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini (CPF)* I.1 \*\*\* (Florence 1999) no. 103.1–2; see also *CPF* IV.2 (2002) figs. 81, 134.]

The accompanying stemma follows in its main lines, but not in all details, that of Stefanis 117. I have added the manuscripts of the e class: such relationships among them as are shown (very tentatively) follow indications offered by Stefanis, who includes only a few from this class in his own stemma. Individual manuscripts are designated with Wilson’s numbers and may be identified by reference to the preceding list.

<sup>158</sup> Not (as given by Pack) F 11, which is Pack<sup>2</sup> 1905.



— x-xi — xii — xiii — xiv — xv — xvi

## INTRODUCTION

### V SOME TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

*Characters* I–XV were published at Nuremberg in 1527, with a Latin translation, by Bilibaldus Pirckeymerus (Willibald Pirckheimer), from a transcription of a manuscript (not identifiable) of class e which had been presented to him by Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola. The book, which shows little evidence of editorial activity, is dedicated not inaptly to Albrecht Dürer (*quoniam pingendi arte praecellis, ut cerneres etiam, quam affabre senex ille et sapiens Theophrastus humanas affectiones depingere nouisset*).<sup>159</sup>

The *editio princeps* was soon followed by two editions, differing from it little, published in Basel, without name of editor, under the imprints of A. Cratander (1531) and J. Oporinus (1541). The former is accompanied by a Latin translation made a century earlier (from a source unknown) by Lapus Castellionculus (Lapoda Castiglionchio),<sup>160</sup> not (as was once believed) by Politian. C. Gesner printed I–XV in his portmanteau volume *Ioannis Stobaei Sententiae ex Thesauris Graecorum Delectae* etc., thrice published between 1543 and 1559.<sup>161</sup>

J. B. Camotius (Camozzi) printed the surviving works of Theophrastus in the sixth volume of his edition of Aristotle

<sup>159</sup> For Pirckheimer (there are many spellings of his name, in both German and Latin) see F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum* (Leipzig 1871) 439, W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon* (Leipzig 1882) 209–10, C. Bur-sian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland* 1 (Munich and Leipzig 1883) 160–4, J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 2 (Cambridge 1908) 259–60, R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford 1976) 62, W. P. Eckert and C. von Imhoff, *Willibald Pirckheimer, Dürers Freund* (Cologne 1971), C. B. Schmitt in P. O. Kristeller, *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries* 2 (Washington 1971) 255–6. The translation and dedicatory letter are reprinted in his *Opera* (Frankfurt 1610) 212–18. For Pico see Eckstein 377, Pökel 177–8, Sandys 2.113.

<sup>160</sup> Eckstein 319, F. P. Luiso, *SIFC* 7 (1899) 285–8, K. Müllner, *WS* 24 (1902) 216–30, N. G. Wilson, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 99, Schmitt 253–5.

<sup>161</sup> Eckstein 190–1, Pökel 93, Sandys 2.269–70. Beware of confusing him with J. M. Gesner (Eckstein 191, Pökel 93–4, Sandys 3 (1908) 5–9), who published I–V, VII–X, XII, XIV, XVI–XVIII, XXI, XXV in his *Chrestomathia Graeca* (Leipzig 1734).

in 1552, and added XVI–XXIII from a manuscript of class d.<sup>162</sup> No fewer than seven editions of I–XXIII followed in the next half-century. H. Stephanus (1557), the first editor equipped with an adequate knowledge of Greek, effected many improvements. Whether he really took XVI–XXIII ‘ex antiquo libro’, as he claimed, is uncertain.<sup>163</sup> L. Lycius (1561),<sup>164</sup> C. Auberius (1582),<sup>165</sup> and F. Sylburg (1584),<sup>166</sup> who achieved much less, all show a high order of critical acumen. F. Morel (1583)<sup>167</sup> contributes little or nothing. D. Furlanus (1605)<sup>168</sup> deserves credit (which he has not yet received) for calling into doubt the authenticity of the *prooemium*.

And then there is Isaac Casaubon, βιβλιοθήκη τις ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουεῖον,<sup>169</sup> who tops them all, both those before and those to come. His first edition, containing I–XXIII, with his own translation, was published in 1592 at Lyon.<sup>170</sup> In the second and third editions (1599, 1612) he added XXIV–XXVIII, from a manuscript of class c in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. Of the wonders worked by his first-hand learning take this

<sup>162</sup> See p. 47 (on 70).

<sup>163</sup> ‘Qui liber antiquus est editio Camotiana’ J. F. Fischer (1763) Praef. [14] (pages unnumbered). He was often accused of such deceptions (Sandys 2.176–7). The argument of Immisch (1897) lii, endorsed by Torraca (1994a) 101, that he would not have attempted to deceive Victorius, to whom he dedicated the edition, is naive (cf. A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger* 1 (Oxford 1983) 86–7).

<sup>164</sup> Leonhard Wolf (obit 1570) (Eckstein 624, Schmitt 256–7, 263–4).

<sup>165</sup> Claude Aubery or Auberi (c. 1545–1596) (Schmitt 258–9), not (as editors call him) Auber.

<sup>166</sup> Eckstein 557, Pökel 270, Sandys 2.270–1, Pfeiffer 141.

<sup>167</sup> Pökel 180, Sandys 2.207, Schmitt 259–60.

<sup>168</sup> Δανιήλ ὁ Φουρλᾶνος, Cretan (obit c. 1600) (Schmitt 263, 265).

<sup>169</sup> Eun. *VS* 4.1.3 (456B). Observe Casaubon’s own account of how he composed the commentary: ‘ista recensemus non per otium in museo, sed ὁδοῦ πάρεργον ἐν ἀποδημίαι, omnibus studiorum praesidiis destituti’ (note on the *prooemium*); ‘quem locum ne pluribus nunc exponam non solum librorum, sed et otii inopia facit. raptim enim ista, et in itinere scribebamus’ (on XXX (his XI)).

<sup>170</sup> Not Leiden (Immisch (1897) liii, Navarre (1924) xvi, O. Regenbogen, *RE* Suppl. vii (1940) 1501), which is to confuse Lugdunum with Lugdunum Bataurorum. Cf. Schmitt 260–2, 264–5.

## INTRODUCTION

in illustration: at XXIII.2, δαίγμᾱτι (the market in the Piraeus) for διαζεύγμᾱτι, prompted by a scholium to Aristophanes. The modified rapture of Mark Pattison ('It is not till we reach the Theophrastus, 1592, that we meet with Casaubon's characteristic merit – that we have an interpreter speaking from the fulness of knowledge') falls far short of justice.<sup>171</sup> For an appropriate transport of delirium turn to Scaliger: 'Quum primum mihi saluam mouissent Theophrastei Characteres tui, dicam serio, de potestate mea exiui'.<sup>172</sup>

We must wait nearly two centuries for XXIX–XXX. Meanwhile AB, the twin sources (as we now know) of I–XV, were found in Paris, and used for the first time by Peter Needham (1712), who reprints Casaubon's commentary, and throws in for bad measure an interminable commentary on I–IV, VI, IX–XVI, which Bentley had identified as the lectures of James Duport, delivered at Cambridge in the mid-17th century.<sup>173</sup> The text saw gradual improvement during this period: less from its editors, T. Gale (1670–1, 1688),<sup>174</sup> J. C. de Pauw (1737),<sup>175</sup> and

<sup>171</sup> *Isaac Casaubon 1559–1614* (Oxford 2 1892) 433.

<sup>172</sup> *Ep. xxxv (Epistolae* (Leiden 1627) 145). – The Bodleian Library has Casaubon's working notes (Casaubon ms. 7). Elsewhere among his papers (Casaubon ms. 11) I have found the notes of a scholar whom he cites at II.10 (ἐστιᾱς, 'quod inuenimus e docti cuiusdam coniectura adnotatum') and def. VI (ὑπερβολή, 'ut uir doctus coniiiciebat, cuius nomen ignoro'). Here is a puzzle: this same scholar proposed a conjecture at XIII.9 ('lego meo periculo κομᾱτιζομένωι') which Casaubon does not ascribe to him but cites instead from the margin 'unius e Palatinis codicibus'. In fact it appears in the margin of Leiden, B. P. G. 59 (17 Wilson). Casaubon's confusion over the identity of the ms. is plausibly explained by Torraca (1994a) xxxviii–ix; but I do not know why he fails to mention the anonymous scholar. – The British Library has copies of the 1592 and 1599 editions with copious annotations and unpublished conjectures added by Casaubon in the margins. I report some conjectures from the 1599 edition (the most notable is at XIV.12).

<sup>173</sup> There is an excellent treatment of them by G. V. M. Heap, 'James Duport's Cambridge lectures on Theophrastus', in H. W. Stubbs (ed.), *Pegasus: Critical Essays from the University of Exeter* (Exeter 1981) 84–97.

<sup>174</sup> Sandys 2.354–5, C. O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge 1986) 17–18.

<sup>175</sup> Pökel 203, E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* 1 (Oxford 1950) 44.

J. C. Schwartz (1739),<sup>176</sup> than from the notes of J. J. Reiske and J. S. Bernhard.<sup>177</sup> The edition by J. F. Fischer (1763) exhaustively assembles earlier scholarship.<sup>178</sup>

In 1743 Prospero Petroni announced the discovery in the Vatican Library of V (which has XVI–XXX), and promised, but failed, to publish its text.<sup>179</sup> J. C. Amadutius<sup>180</sup> published XXIX and XXX (carelessly) in a sumptuous volume in 1786. J. P. Siebenkees<sup>181</sup> then copied (no less carelessly) all of XVI–XXX from V, for inclusion in his *Anecdota Graeca*, which were published after his death by J. A. Goetz in 1798.<sup>182</sup> It emerged that V has a fuller text of XVI–XXVIII than the manuscripts hitherto reported, and that XXX is a fuller version of what is appended to XI in AB and their descendants. The authenticity of these ‘additamenta Vaticana’ was to be debated for the next fifty years.

Second to Casaubon, the two scholars who have contributed most to the amendment and elucidation of the text are Coray<sup>183</sup> and J. G. Schneider, whose editions both appeared in 1799.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Pökel 253. On the title-page he calls himself Schwartz, not (as editors call him) Schwarz.

<sup>177</sup> Johann Stephan Bernhard (1718–93), a doctor in Amsterdam, friend and correspondent of Reiske (Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung* (Leipzig 1783) 112–13, E. Mehler, *Mnemosyne* 1 (1852) 50–68, 330–54, Eckstein 42, Pökel 21, Sandys 2.451). Nearly everyone calls him Bernard.

<sup>178</sup> Eckstein 159, Pökel 79, Sandys 3.14.

<sup>179</sup> See Amadutius (1786) 14.

<sup>180</sup> Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi (Eckstein 9, Pökel 5, Sandys 2.384, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 2 (Rome 1960) 612–15).

<sup>181</sup> Eckstein 534, Pökel 257.

<sup>182</sup> Goetz (Eckstein 200, Pökel 97) published his own edition of I–XXX in the same year. His allegation (ap. Siebenkees 107–8, his own edition xi–xiii, endorsed by Schneider (1799) x–xiv) that Amadutius had not seen V, but had passed off Petroni’s transcription as his own, appears to be founded on nothing but malice.

<sup>183</sup> Adamantios Corais (Κοραΐς). For the alternative spellings of his name see Sandys 3.364 n. 1. Coray (without initial) is what he called himself in France. I. di Salvo, *Korais e i Caratteri di Teofrasto* (Palermo 1986), is useful.

<sup>184</sup> Coray’s came first, since Schneider refers to it in his addenda (di Salvo 51 n. 37 is muddled). Coray published further conjectures in 1819, in a

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They were friends, but over V they were divided, for Coray hastily damned the ‘additamenta’, while Schneider defended them at length. Schneider re-edited the text, with brief notes, in his complete edition of Theophrastus (1818–21). D. N. Darvaris (Δάρβαρις), who published a brief commentary in Greek (1815), deserves credit for condemning the definitions as spurious.<sup>185</sup> The commentary of F. Ast (1816),<sup>186</sup> who sides with Coray against V, contains much of value. The case for V was effectively settled by H. E. Foss<sup>187</sup> in three pamphlets published in 1834–6 (an edition followed in 1858) and by E. Petersen (1859).<sup>188</sup>

The polished commentary of R. C. Jebb (1870, revised by J. E. Sandys in 1909) can still be read with pleasure. To see its merits, compare it with its immediate English predecessor, that of J. G. Sheppard (1852), which is pedestrian and prolix. In 1897 a consortium of eight scholars at Leipzig published an edition far more elaborate and professional than Jebb’s, based on a wide survey of manuscripts. It remains indispensable.<sup>189</sup> H. Diels (who had published a notable pamphlet on the manuscript tradition in 1883) edited an Oxford Text in 1909, worthy for its time. His lengthy Preface is distinguished by good sense and good Latin. His apparatus criticus presents the evidence solely of the primary witnesses ABV, uncluttered by the recentiores. The Herculaneum papyrus, published in 1909, containing parts of the fifth sketch, was a notable accession, for this reason not least: ‘Der Papyrus kann uns wohl Vertrauen zur

review in a Viennese newspaper of vols i–iv (1818) of Schneider’s complete Theophrastus (di Salvo 10 and n. 38). Schneider reports them in vol. v (1821) 177–80.

<sup>185</sup> See n. 56 above. <sup>186</sup> Eckstein 17–18, Pökel 8–9, Sandys 3.112–13.

<sup>187</sup> Eckstein 164–5, Pökel 81. <sup>188</sup> Eckstein 433, Pökel 206.

<sup>189</sup> They issued separately a text of XXXI (the Φιλόλογος), from a papyrus in the Egyptian museum at Plagwitz. It is a gem. It is reprinted in *ζAnt* 24 (1974) 132, and by K. Bartels, *Klassische Parodien* (Zurich 1968) 26–9 (with German translation) and W. W. Fortenbaugh, *CW* 71 (1978) 333–9 (with English translation and commentary). A modern exercise on this theme by M. Marcovich, ‘The genuine text of Theophrastus’ thirty-first Character. Papyrus Lychnopolitana: editio princeps’, *ζAnt* 26 (1976) 51–2, falls flat.

Kraft der Konjekturealkritik geben.<sup>190</sup> The conjectures Πέρραα ἐνυφααμένην (Herwerden) for ἔχουααν Πέρραα ἐνυφααμένουα and παλαιαατρίδιον (Cobet) for ἀλίδιον παλαιαατρίαϊον at V.9 are bold and brilliant. But, without the papyrus, who would have had the courage to accept them?<sup>191</sup>

O. Navarre (Budé edition 1920, 1931, commentary 1924) and J. M. Edmonds (Loeb edition 1929, 1946) merit a passing but muted mention. And so do two scholars better known for other things: Wilamowitz, who included II, III, XIV, XVII, XXI, XXIII, XXV, and XXX, with brief notes, in his *Griechisches Lesebuch* (1902), and G. Pasquali, author of a stimulating pair of articles (1918–19) and of an elegant but lightweight edition (1919, revised by V. De Falco in 1979). The Teubner text of O. Immisch (1923), who had contributed so much of value to the Leipzig edition of 1897, disappoints. The edition of P. Steinmetz (1960–2) is very dull. That of R. G. Ussher (1960, 1993) assembles much useful information. The Loeb edition of J. Rusten (1993, 2002) offers the best text and translation currently available.

The most noteworthy contribution since the Leipzig edition is a book by Markus Stein, *Definition und Schilderung in Theophrasts Charakteren* (1992). Stein's aim is to demonstrate that the definitions are spurious, and he achieves this aim with complete success. He offers a commentary on substantial sections of the text. It is commentary of high quality. I often disagree with him, and where I do so I have generally registered my disagreement, in token less of criticism than of respect.

<sup>190</sup> M. Sicherl, *Gnomon* 36 (1964) 22, perhaps echoing Pasquali (1919) 16 = (1986) 90 ('Io non esito a giudicar questa una piena riabilitazione della critica congetturale, se pure questa di riabilitazioni aveva bisogno').

<sup>191</sup> See pp. 19–20.





# TEXT AND TRANSLATION

# TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## SIGLA

<b>A</b>	Par. gr. 2977 (I–XV, XXX.5–16)	saec. xi
<b>B</b>	Par. gr. 1983 (I–XV, XXX.5–16)	saec. xi
<b>V</b>	Vat. gr. 110 (XVI–XXX)	saec. xiii

his siglis nominantur codd. unus uel plures:

<b>a</b> ( <b>a<sup>1</sup></b> , <b>a<sup>2</sup></b> )	ab <b>A</b> deriuati	
<b>b</b>	a <b>B</b> deriuati	
<b>c</b> ( <b>c<sup>1</sup></b> , <b>c<sup>2</sup></b> )	a <b>B</b> (I–XV) et <b>V</b> (XVI–XXVIII) deriuati	
<b>d</b>	a <b>B</b> (I–XV) et <b>V</b> (XVI–XXIII) deriuati	
<b>e</b>	a <b>b</b> deriuati	
<b>δ</b>	fons codd. <b>cde</b> (I–XV)	
<b>M</b>	Monac. gr. 505 (I–XXI)	saec. xiv

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ ΗΘΙΚΟΙ

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ ΗΘΙΚΟΙ

	εἰρωνείας α΄	δεισιδαιμονίας ις΄
	κολακείας β΄	μεμψιμοιρίας ιζ΄
	ἀδολεσχίας γ΄	ἀπιστίας ιη΄
	ἀγροικίας δ΄	δυσχερείας ιθ΄
5	ἀρεσκείας ε΄	ἀηδίας κ΄
	ἀπονοίας ς΄	μικροφιλοτιμίας κα΄
	λαλιᾶς ζ΄	ἀνελευθερίας κβ΄
	λογοποιίας η΄	ἀλαζονείας κγ΄
	ἀναισχυντίας θ΄	ὑπερηφανίας κδ΄
10	μικρολογίας ι΄	δειλίας κέ΄
	βδελυρίας ια΄	ὀλιγαρχίας κς΄
	ἀκαιρίας ιβ΄	ὀψιμαθίας κζ΄
	περιεργίας ιγ΄	κακολογίας κη΄
	ἀναισθησίας ιδ΄	φιλοπονηρίας κθ΄
15	αὐθαδείας ιε΄	αἰσχροκερδείας λ΄

Tit. χαρακτήρες ἠθικοὶ D.L. 5.48, ἠθ- χ- 5.47: θεοφράστου χ- AB, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοφράστου χαρακτήρων V ad XVI

Indicem I-XXX M et post prooemium cd: I-XV AB: om. V genetios (εἰρωνείας κτλ.) ABcd: nom. (εἰρωνεία κτλ.) M 10 μακρο- A 11 βδελλ- A

## PROOEMIUM

1 [Ἦδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν  
 ἐθαύμασα, ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ παύσομαι θαυμάζων· τί γὰρ δήποτε,  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄερα κειμένης καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως παιδευομένων, συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν οὐ τὴν  
 2 αὐτὴν τάξιν τῶν τρόπων ἔχειν; ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Πολύκλειε, 5  
 συνθεωρήσας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν καὶ  
 βεβιωκῶς ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα, ἔτι δὲ ὠμιληκῶς πολλαῖς  
 τε καὶ παντοδαπαῖς φύσει καὶ παρατεθεαμένος ἐξ ἀκριβείας  
 πολλῆς τοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς φαύλους  
 ὑπέλαβον δεῖν συγγράψαι ἃ ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐν 10  
 3 τῷ βίῳ. ἐκθήσω δὲ σοι κατὰ γένος ὅσα τε τυγχάνει γένη  
 τρόπων τούτοις προσκείμενα καὶ ὃν τρόπον τῆι οἰκονομίαι  
 χρῶνται. ὑπέλαβον γάρ, ὦ Πολύκλειε, τοὺς υἱεῖς ἡμῶν  
 βελτίους ἕσεσθαι καταλειφθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπομημάτων  
 τοιούτων οἷς παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι αἰρήσονται τοῖς εὐχ- 15  
 ημονεστάτοις συνεῖναί τε καὶ ὀμιλεῖν, ὅπως μὴ καταδεέ-  
 4 τεροι ὦσιν αὐτῶν. τρέψομαι δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον· σὸν δὲ  
 παρακολουθησαί τε ὀρθῶς καὶ εἰδῆσαι εἰ ὀρθῶς λέγω.  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἴποιήσομαι ἰ τῶν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐζηλωκότων,  
 ἀφείς τὸ προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ πράγματος 20  
 5 λέγειν. καὶ ἄρξομαι πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας καὶ ὀριοῦμαι  
 αὐτῆν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸν εἰρωνα διέξειμι ποῖός τις ἔστι καὶ εἰς  
 τίνα τρόπον κατενήεκται. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὴ τῶν παθημάτων  
 ὥσπερ ὑπεθέμην πειράσομαι κατὰ γένος φανερὰ καθιστάναι.]

Prooemium a Theophrasto abiudicavit Furlanus Tit. προοίμιον a (προ-  
 θεωρία e): om. AB 4 τῶν om. A 12 προσκείμενα ae, Stephanus:  
 προκ- AB 20 πέρα Needham: περὶ AB 21 καὶ (ante ἄρξ-) om. A  
 24 καθιστάναι a (-ᾱ-), Fischer: -εστάναι AB (-ᾱ- A)

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

### PREFACE

[I have often in the past applied my thoughts to a puzzling question – one which I think will never cease to puzzle me. Why, when Greece lies under the same sky and all Greeks are educated in the same way, do we not have a uniform system of manners? I have long been a student of human nature, Polyycles, and during my ninety-nine years I have met all varieties of character and I have subjected good people and bad to minute observation and comparison. And so I thought that I ought to write a book describing how both sorts of person behave in their daily lives. I shall set out for you, type by type, the different kinds of character which relate to them and how they manage. For I think that our sons will be better, Polyycles, if we bequeath them such records as these, which will, if they use them as examples, prompt them to converse and associate with the most decent sort of people, in the hope that they may not fall short of them. And now I shall turn to my narrative. You must follow it correctly and see if what I say is correct. First then I shall \* \* \* \* people who have affected dissembling, dispensing with preamble and superfluous talk. I shall begin with dissembling and I shall define it, and then I shall proceed without more ado to describe what sort of person the dissembler is and to what behaviour he is inclined. And then I shall attempt to clarify the other emotions, type by type, as I proposed.]

## I

## ΕΙΡΩΝ

1 [Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρωνεία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι, ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν,  
 προσποιήσας ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ λόγων.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ εἰρων τοιοῦτός τις οἷος προσελθὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐθέλειν  
 λαλεῖν ἰοῦ μισεῖν<sup>†</sup>· καὶ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας οἷς ἐπέθετο λάθραι  
 καὶ τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττημένοις· καὶ συγγνώμην δὲ ἔχειν 5  
 τοῖς αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις  
 3 <γελᾶν>. καὶ ἰπρὸς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας<sup>†</sup>  
 4 πράως διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν  
 βουλομένοις προστάξει ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ μηδὲν ὦν πράττει  
 ὁμολογῆσαι ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλευέσθαι καὶ προσποιήσασθαι 10  
 ἄρτι παραγεγονέναι καὶ ὁψὲ γίγνεσθαι [αὐτὸν] καὶ μαλακί-  
 5 θῆναι. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας < >  
 ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ καὶ μὴ πωλῶν φῆσαι πωλεῖν. καὶ ἀκούσας τι μὴ  
 προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἰδὼν φῆσαι μὴ ἑορακέναι καὶ ὁμολογήσας  
 μὴ μεμνησθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέψασθαι φάσκειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι, 15  
 τὰ δὲ θαυμάζειν, τὰ δ' ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω διαλογί-  
 6 κασθαι. καὶ τὸ ὄλον δεινὸς τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου  
 χρῆσθαι. “Οὐ πιστεύω”, “Οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω”, “Ἐκπλήττομαι”,  
 καὶ ἰλέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι<sup>†</sup>, “Καὶ μὴν οὐ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήγει”, “Παράδοξόν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα”, “Ἄλλωι 20  
 τινὶ λέγε”, “Ὀπότερον δὲ σοὶ ἀπιστήσω ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνῶ  
 ἀποροῦμαι”, “Ἄλλ' ὄρα μὴ εὐθάρτητον πιστεύεις”.

Tit. εἰρωνείας α' B, εἰρ- πρῶτος A 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 ὡς B: ἐν  
 A 3 τις B: ἐστιν A οἷος B: οἷον A (ἐθέλ)ει ut uid. A<sup>18</sup> 4  
 λαλεῖν B: λαβεῖν A 5 ἡττημένοις Schwartz: ἡττωμ- AB 6 αὐτὸν  
 Diels: αὐ- AB 7 <γελᾶν> Darvaris 11 γίγνεσθαι Diggle: γενέσθαι  
 AB αὐτὸν del. Hottinger 12 ἐρανίζοντας B lac. indic. Salmasius  
 13 φῆσαι Schneider siue Bloch: φῆσει AB 14 φῆσαι c: φῆσει AB ἑορ-  
 Herwerden: ἑορ- AB 15 σκέψασθαι Casaubon: -ασθαι AB 16 οὕτω de:  
 -ως AB 21 Ὀπότερον Cobet: ὅπως AB 22 πιστεύεις B: -ης A

## I

## THE DISSEMBLER

[Dissembling, to define it in outline, would seem to be a pretence for the worse in action and speech.]

The Dissembler is the sort of man who is ready to accost his enemies and chat with them \* \* \* \*. When he has attacked people behind their back he praises them to their face, and he commiserates with them when they have lost a lawsuit. He forgives those who speak abusively about him and <laughs at> their abuse. He talks mildly to \* \* \* \* \* \*. When people want an urgent meeting he tells them to call back later and never admits what he is doing but says that he has the matter under consideration and pretends that he has just arrived home or that it is too late or that he fell ill. To applicants for a loan or a contribution < > that he has nothing for sale, and when he has nothing for sale he says that he has. He pretends not to have heard, claims not to have seen, and says that he does not remember agreeing. Sometimes he says that he will think about it, at other times that he has no idea, or that he is surprised, or that he once had the same thought himself. In general he is a great one for using expressions like 'I don't believe it', 'I can't imagine it', 'I am amazed', and \* \* \* \* \* \*, 'But *that* was not the account he gave me', 'It beggars belief', 'Tell that to someone else', 'I don't know whether I should disbelieve *you* or condemn *him*', 'Are you sure you are not being too credulous?'



7 [τοιαύτας φωνὰς καὶ πλοκάς καὶ παλιλλογίας εὐρεῖν ἔστι τοῦ εἴρωνος. τὰ δὴ τῶν ἡθῶν μὴ ἀπλᾶ ἀλλ' ἐπίβουλα φυλάττεσθαι μᾶλλον δεῖ ἢ τοὺς ἔχεις.]

25

23–5 del. Bloch      23 παλιλλ- aδ: παλλιλ- AB      23–4 ἔστι τοῦ εἴρωνος  
 Ussing: ἔστιν οὐ χεῖρον ὄν AB      24 ἀλλὰ AB      25 τοὺς B<sup>2</sup>: ους B (incertum quo accentu et spiritu): οὔς A

THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

[Such are the remarks, tricks and repetitions which the Dissembler will invent. One should be more wary of disingenuous and designing characters than of vipers.]

## II

## ΚΟΛΑΞ

- 1 [Τὴν δὲ κολακειάν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις ὁμιλίαν αἰσχροῦ εἶναι, συμφέρουσαν δὲ τῷ κολακεύοντι.]
- 2 ὁ δὲ κόλαξ τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ἅμα πορευομένῳ εἰπεῖν “Ἐνθυμῆ ὡς ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι; τοῦτο δὲ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεταί πλὴν ἢ σοί”, <καὶ> 5  
 “Ἡὺδοκίμεις χθὲς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ”. πλείονων γὰρ ἢ τριάκοντα ἀνθρώπων καθημένων καὶ ἐμπυρόντος λόγου τίς εἶη βέλτιστος ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενε-  
 3 χθῆναι. καὶ ἅμα τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου ἀφελεῖν κροκύδα, καὶ ἕαν τι πρὸς τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ πνεύμα- 10  
 τος προσενεχθῆ ἄχυρον καρφολογῆσαι, καὶ ἐπιγελάσας δὲ εἰπεῖν “Ὅρᾱις; ὅτι δυοῖν σοι ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα πολιῶν ἔσχηκας τὸν πῶγωνα μετόν, καίπερ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἔχων  
 4 πρὸς τὰ ἔτη μέλαιναν τὴν τρίχα”. καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾶν κελεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπαινέσθαι δὲ ἀκούοντα καὶ 15  
 ἐπισημῆνασθαι δέ, ἐπὶ παύσεται, “Ὅρθῶς”, καὶ σκώψαντι ψυχρῶς ἐπιγελάσας τὸ τε ἱμάτιον ὥσπερ εἰς τὸ στόμα ὡς δὴ  
 5 οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλῳτα. καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐπισημῆναι κελεῖσθαι ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς παρέλθῃ. καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις  
 6 μῆλα καὶ ἀπίους πριάμενος εἰσενέγκας δοῦναι ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ, 20

Tit. κολακειάς β' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 ὁ δὲ κόλαξ τοιοῦτός τις οἷος Darvaris: τὸν δὲ κόλακα τοιοῦτόν τινα ὥστε AB πορευομένῳ Diggle: -όμενον AB 5 δὲ B<sup>18</sup>: om. AB οὐθενὶ B: οὐδ- A γίνεταί AB ἢ om. B <καὶ> Herwerden 6 -κήμεις A<sup>ac</sup> 7 ἐμπυρόντος λόγου B: -πεσῶν λόγος A 8 ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ Ribbeck: ἀπ’ αὐ- AB 9 ἅμα Schneider: ἄλλα AB λέγων c, Lycius: -ειν AB 10 ὑπὸ Auberius: ἀπὸ AB 11 προσενεχθῆ e: -ηνέχθη AB 12 δυεῖν A 13 ἔσχεσθαι A ἔχων Par. 2986 s.l., Herwerden: ἔχεις AB 14 πρὸς τὰ ἔτη hoc loco B: post ἄλλος A μέλαινα A 15 ἀκούοντα a<sup>1</sup>, Casaubon: -τος AB 16 ἐπισημῆνασθαι A ἐπὶ παύσεται Foss: εἰ παύσεται AB σκώψαντι ed. Basil.<sup>a</sup>: σκώψας τί AB (-ῶ- A) 17 ὥσπερ A δὴ δ: δεῖ B: μὴ A 19 παιδίοις A

## II

## THE TOADY

[Toadying may be interpreted as a degrading association, but one which is advantageous to the toadier.]

The Toady is the sort of man who says to a person walking with him 'Are you aware of the admiring looks you are getting? This doesn't happen to anyone else in the city except you', and 'The esteem in which you are held was publicly acknowledged in the stoa yesterday' – thirty or more people were sitting there and the question cropped up who was the best man in the city, and his was the name they all arrived at, starting with the Toady. While he is going on like this he removes a flock of wool from the man's cloak, or picks from his hair a bit of straw blown there by the wind, adding with a laugh 'See? Because I haven't run into you for two days you've got a beard full of grey hairs, though nobody has darker hair for his years than you'. When the man is speaking he tells the company to be quiet and praises him so that he can hear and at every pause adds an approving 'Well said', and bursts out laughing at a feeble joke and stuffs his cloak into his mouth as if he can't control his laughter. He tells any who come their way to stop until the great man has gone past. He buys apples and pears and brings them to his house and presents them to the children while their father is watching and gives them a kiss and

7 καὶ φιλήσας δὲ εἶπεῖν “Χρηστοῦ πατρὸς νεόττια”. καὶ συνω-  
 νούμενος Ἰφικρατίδας τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον  
 8 τοῦ ὑποδήματος. καὶ πορευομένου πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων  
 προδραμῶν εἶπεῖν ὅτι “Πρὸς σὲ ἔρχεται”, καὶ ἀναστρέψας  
 9 ὅτι “Προήγγελκά σε”. [ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς 25  
 10 διακονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί.] καὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων πρῶτος  
 ἐπαινέσαι τὸν οἶνον καὶ παρακειμένωι εἶπεῖν “Ὡς μαλακῶς  
 ἐστιᾶις”, καὶ ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης φῆσαι “Τουτὶ ἄρα  
 ὡς χρηστόν ἐστι”. καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι μὴ ῥιγοῖ καὶ εἰ ἐπιβαλέσθαι  
 βούλεται καὶ ἔτι ταῦτα λέγων περιστεῖλαι αὐτόν· καὶ ἅμα 30  
 πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσκύπτων διαψιθυρίζειν· καὶ εἰς ἐκείνον ἀπο-  
 11 βλέπων τοῖς ἄλλοις λαλεῖν. καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρωι  
 12 ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια αὐτὸς ὑποστρῶσαι. καὶ τὴν  
 οἰκίαν φῆσαι εὖ ἡρχιτεκτονῆσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν εὖ πεφυτεῦ-  
 σθαι καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὁμοίαν εἶναι. 35  
 13 [καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸν κόλακα ἔστι θεάσασθαι πάντα καὶ  
 λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα ὧι χαριεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει.]

21 δὲ B<sup>1c</sup>: καὶ B: om. A νεοττία B 22 Ἰφικρατίδας M.  
 Schmidt: ἐπικρηπίδας A: ἐπὶ κρ- B 22 εἶναι φῆσαι A 24  
 προσδραμῶν A 25 Προ- Auberius: προσ- AB -ἠγγελκά σε tamquam  
 u.l. falso referunt: -ἠγγελκας AB 25-6 del. Diels 25 δὲ om.  
 A 27 παρακειμένωι (-ων c) Gronovius: παραμένων AB 28 ἐστιᾶις  
 nescioquis ap. Casaubon: ἐσθίεις AB<sup>1c</sup>, αἰς- B 29 ἐπιβαλέσθαι de:  
 -βάλλ- AB 30 ἔτι B<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα λέγων hoc loco Schneider: ante πρὸς  
 τὸ (31) AB (λέγων et -ειν duplici compendio A) περιστεῖλαι c<sup>1</sup> de: -στεῖλη  
 AB 30 ἅμα Diels: μὴ AB 31 προσκύπτων Valckenaer: προσπίπτων  
 A<sup>15</sup>B, διαπ- A διαψιθυρίζειν A: ψιθ- B εἰς B: ὡς A 34 -ῆσθαι  
 A<sup>c</sup>B<sup>c</sup>: -εῖσθαι AB 36-7 del. Bloch

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calls them 'Chicks of a noble sire'. When he joins him in shopping for 'Iphicratids' he says that his foot is shapelier than the shoe. When the man is on the way to a friend he runs ahead and says 'He is coming to visit you', and then goes back and says 'I have warned him of your arrival'. [He is certainly capable of doing errands in the women's market without stopping for breath.] At dinner he is first to praise the wine, and he says to his host, next to whom he is sitting, 'How luxuriously you entertain', and then he takes something from the table and says 'How exquisite'. And he asks him if he is chilly and wants to put something on, and before the words are out of his mouth he wraps him up. And he leans forward and whispers in his ear; and while conversing with the other guests he keeps looking at him. In the theatre he takes the cushions from the slave and spreads them on the seat with his own hands. He says that his house is a masterly example of architecture, his farm is planted superbly, and his portrait hits him off perfectly.

[In short, you can see the Toady saying and doing everything he can think of to curry favour.]

III

ΑΔΟΛΕΣΧΗΣ

- 1 [Ἡ δὲ ἀδολεσχία ἐστὶ μὲν διήγησις λόγων μακρῶν καὶ ἀπρο-  
βουλεύτων.]
- 2 ὁ δὲ ἀδολέσχης τοιοῦτός τις οἶος, ὃν μὴ γιγνώσκει, τούτῳ  
παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον πρῶτον μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς  
εἰπεῖν ἐγκώμιον· εἶτα, ὃ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδεν ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτο 5  
διηγέσασθαι· εἶθ' ὧν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα  
3 διεξελεῖν. εἶτα δὴ προχωροῦντος τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν ὡς  
πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀρχαίων, καὶ ὡς  
ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ ἐπι-  
δημοῦσι ξένοι, καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώμιον 10  
εἶναι, καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλεῖον τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆι βελτίω  
ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὃν ἀγρὸν εἰς νέωτα γεωργήσει, καὶ ὡς χαλεπὸν  
ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν, καὶ ὡς Δάμιππος μυστηρίοις μεγίστην δαίδα  
ἔστησεν, καὶ πόσοι εἰς κίονες τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ “Χθὲς ἡμεῶς”,  
καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἡμέρα τήμερον, καὶ ὡς Βοηδρομιῶνος μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ 15  
μυστήρια, Πυανοσιῶνος δὲ <τὰ> Ἄπατούρια, Ποσιδεῶνος δὲ  
<τὰ> κατ' ἀγρούς Διονύσια· κἄν ὑπομένη τις αὐτόν, μὴ  
ἀφίστασθαι.
- 4 [παρασεύσαντα δὴ δεῖ τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
<φεύγειν> καὶ <τὸ ἀκάτειον> δ' ἀράμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, 20  
ὅστις ἀπύρετος βούλεται εἶναι· ἔργον γὰρ συναρέσκεσθαι τοῖς  
μήτε σχολὴν μήτε σπουδὴν διαγιγνώσκουσιν.]

Tit. ἀδολεσχίας γ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 τις Hanow: ἐστιν AB ὃν  
δ: ὧν A: ὧν B<sup>2</sup> γιν- AB 4 αὐτοῦ Pauw (ἑαυτοῦ de): αὐ- AB 5  
ἐγκώμιον A 6 τὸ δεῖπνον A 7 δὴ AB<sup>1c</sup>: δεῖ B 10 θάλασσαν A  
πλώμιον a<sup>2</sup>c<sup>2</sup>de: πλό- AB<sup>1c</sup>, πνό- B 12 ὃν ἀγρὸν Diels: ὁ ἀγρὸς AB  
ἐς A 13 δάμιπος B μεγίστην B: -οις AB<sup>1s</sup> (del. B<sup>1</sup>) 15 ἐστιν A<sup>c</sup>B:  
ἡ A τήμερον e, Herwerden: σή- AB 15-17 καὶ ὡς . . . Διονύσια hoc  
loco Hottinger, praemonente Pauw: post ἀφίστασθαι (18) AB 16 Πυανοσι-  
ῶνος Bechert: -νεψ- AB <τὰ> M, Darvaris Ποσιδεῶνος Bechert:  
Casaubon 17 <τὰ> Casaubon 19-22 del. Bloch 20 <φεύγειν>  
Casaubon <τὸ ἀκάτειον> δ' ἀράμενον Jackson: διαράμενος AB (-ον δ)  
ἀπαλά- A 21 ἀπύρετος ed. pr.: -εutos AB, -εκτος de συναρέσκεσθαι  
Duport: συναρκείσθαι AB 22 σχολὴν . . . σπουδὴν B: σπουδὴν . . . σχολὴν  
A

III

THE CHATTERBOX

[Chatter is the narration of long and ill-considered speeches.]

The Chatterbox is the sort of person who sits next to a complete stranger and first sings his own wife's praises, then recounts the dream he had last night, then describes in every detail what he had for dinner. Then, as things are going well, he continues with talk like this: people nowadays are far less well-behaved than in the old days; wheat is selling in the market at a bargain price; the city is full of foreigners; the festival of Dionysus heralds the start of the sailing season; more rain would be good for the crops; what land he will cultivate next year; life is hard; Damippos set up a very large torch at the mysteries; how many pillars there are in the Odeion; 'I threw up yesterday'; what day of the month it is; the Mysteries are in September, the Apatouria in October, the Rural Dionysia in December. If you let him go on he will never stop.

[Show a clean pair of heels, full steam ahead, avoid such people like the plague. It is hard to be happy with people who don't care whether you are free or busy.]



## IV

## ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΣ

1 [Ἡ δὲ ἀγροικία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ἀμαθία ἀσχήμων.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἄγροικος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος κυκεῶνα πιὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ μύρον φάσκειν οὐδὲν τοῦ θύμου ἡδίων ὄζειν,  
 καὶ μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν, καὶ μεγάλη τῆι  
 3 φωνῇ λαλεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις ἀπιστεῖν, πρὸς δὲ 5  
 τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας ἀνακοινοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, καὶ  
 τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶι ἐργαζομένοις μισθωτοῖς ἐν ἀγρῶι πάντα τὰ  
 4 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ  
 5 γόνατος καθιζάνειν [ὥστε τὰ γυμνά αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι]. καὶ  
 ἐπ' ἄλλωι μὲν μηδενὶ <μήτε εὐφραίνεσθαι> μήτε ἐκπλήτ- 10  
 τεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ βουῖν ἢ ὄνον ἢ τράγον  
 6 ἐστηκῶς θεωρεῖν. καὶ προαιρῶν δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου δεινὸς  
 7 φαγεῖν, καὶ ζωρότερον πιεῖν. καὶ τὴν κιτοποιὸν πειρῶν  
 λαθεῖν, καὶτ' ἄλεσας μετ' αὐτῆς <μετρηῆσαι> τοῖς ἔνδον πᾶσι  
 8 καὶ αὐτῶι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ ἀριστῶν δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις 15  
 9 ἐμβαλεῖν <τὸν χόρτον. καὶ> τῆι θύρῃ ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτός, καὶ  
 τὸν κύνα προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ ῥύγχους  
 10 εἶπεῖν “Οὗτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν”. καὶ  
 [τὸ] ἀργύριον δὲ παρά του λαβῶν ἀποδοκιμάζειν, λίαν  
 11 <γὰρ> μολυβρὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἕτερον ἀνταλλάττεσθαι. καὶ ἑάν 20  
 τωι ἄροτρον χρήσῃ ἢ κόφινον ἢ δρέπανον ἢ θύλακον,

Tit. ἀγροικίας δ' 1 del. Darvaris 2 ἀγροῖκος A τις om. A  
 οἷον A 3 θυμοῦ A 6 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- AB 7 αὐτῶι  
 Schwartz: αὐ- AB 9 del. Darvaris 10 μὲν om. A suppl. Kassel  
 11 ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς B: ἐν (postea deletum) A ἴδη B<sup>1c</sup>, εἰ- B 12 προαιρῶν  
 Sylburg: προαίρων AB ταμείου e, Meineke: ταμείου AB δεινῶς  
<sup>s</sup>B<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> 14 suppl. (post Casaubon) Diggle 15 αὐτῶι Needham: αὐτῶ  
 B, -οῖς A 16 ἐμβαλεῖν AB<sup>c</sup>: -ὦν uel -ὦν B suppl. ed. pr. 12 τῆι θύρῃ  
 Diggle: τὴν θύραν AB ὑπακοῦσαι Casaubon: ἐπ- AB 19 del. ed. pr.  
 του B: τούτου A 20 <γὰρ> Eberhard μολυβρὸν Diels: μὲν λυπρὸν  
 AB ἀνταλλάττεσθαι Nauck: ἅμα ἄλλ- AB 20-1 ἑάν . . . χρήσῃ Foss:  
 εἰ (om. B) . . . ἔχρησεν AB 21 τωι Needham: τὸ AB

## THE COUNTRY BUMPKIN

[Country-bumpkin Behaviour would seem to be ignorance of good form.]

The Country Bumpkin is the sort of man who drinks a bowl of gruel before going to the Assembly and claims that garlic smells as sweetly as perfume, wears shoes too large for his feet and talks at the top of his voice. He distrusts friends and family, preferring to discuss important business with his slaves, and he reports the proceedings of the Assembly to the hired labourers working on his farm. He sits with his cloak hitched up above his knees [thereby revealing his nakedness]. In the street the only sight in which he takes any <pleasure> or interest is an ox or a donkey or a goat, at which he will stop and stare. He is apt to raid the larder and drink his wine neat. He makes secret advances to the girl who does the baking, then helps her to grind the corn <before measuring out> the daily ration for the household and himself. He gives the plough-animals <their fodder> while eating his breakfast. He answers the door himself, calls his dog, grabs it by the snout, and says 'This guards my estate and home'. He rejects a silver coin that he is offered, because it looks too leaden, and demands a replacement. If he is lying awake in the middle of the night and remembers lending someone a plough,

ταῦτα τῆς νυκτός κατὰ ἀγρυπνίαν ἀναμιμνησκόμενος  
 12 < >. καὶ ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ αἶσαι, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ  
 13 ἦλους ἐγκροῦσαι. καὶ εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνων ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν  
 ἀπαντῶντα πόσου ἦσαν αἱ διφθέραι καὶ τὸ τάριχος καὶ εἰ 25  
 τήμερον ὁ ἄρχων νομηνίαν ἄγει, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται  
 εὐθύς καταβὰς ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ περιῶν  
 κομίεσθαι παρ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ταρίχου.

22 τῆς A: τοῦ B    23-4 καὶ . . . ἐγκροῦσαι hoc loco Diggle: post  
 ὑποκείρασθαι (27) AB    26 τήμερον Herwerden: cή- AB    ἄρχων Reiske:  
 ἄγων AB    26-7 ὅτι β- εὐθύς Casaubon: εὐθύς ὅτι β- AB    27  
 ἀποκείρασθαι δ: ὑπο- AB    περιῶν Diggle: παρ- AB    28 τοῦ Sylburg:  
 τοῦς AB

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basket, sickle or sack, he < >. He sings at the baths and hammers nails into his shoes. On his way to town he asks a man he meets what the price of hides and kippers was and whether it is officially the first of the month, and says that as soon as he gets to town he means to have a haircut and, while he is about it, go round the shops and pick up some kippers from Archias's.

V

ΑΡΕΣΚΟΣ

- 1 [Ἦ δὲ ἀρέσκειά ἐστι μὲν, ὡς ὄρωι περιλαβεῖν, ἔντευξις οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 τῷ βελτίστῳ ἡδονῆς παρασκευαστική.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἄρεσκος [ἀμέλει] τοιοῦτός τις οἷος πόρρωθεν προσα-  
 γορευῆσαι καὶ ἄνδρα κράτιστον εἶπας καὶ θαυμάσας ἱκανῶς  
 ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ περιβαλὼν μὴ ἀφίεναί καὶ μικρὸν 5  
 προπέμψας καὶ ἐρωτήσας πότε αὐτὸν ὄψεται ἐπαινῶν  
 3 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. καὶ παρακληθεὶς δὲ πρὸς δίαιταν μὴ μόνον  
 ὦι πάρεστι βούλεσθαι ἀρέσκειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ, ἵνα  
 4 κοινός τις εἶναι δοκῆι. καὶ <πρὸς> τοὺς ξένους δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς  
 5 δικαιότερα λέγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν. καὶ κεκλημένος δὲ ἐπὶ 10  
 δεῖπνον κελευῆσαι καλέσαι τὰ παιδιὰ τὸν ἐστιῶντα, καὶ εἰσιόντα  
 φῆσαι κύκου ὁμοιότερα εἶναι τῷ πατρί, καὶ προσαγαγόμενος  
 φιλῆσαι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν καθίσασθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν συμπαίξειν  
 αὐτὸς λέγων “Ἄσκος, πέλεκυς”, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἔαν  
 15 καθεύδειν ἅμα θλιβόμενος.

- 6 <. . . .> καὶ πλειστάκις δὲ ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας  
 λευκοὺς ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια δὲ χρηστὰ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ

Tit. ἀρεσκειάς ἐ' (ἐ' om. A) 1-2 del. Darvaris (incertum an habuerit Π)  
 2 παρασκευή A 3 ] ἀρεσκ[ος |. . .] . [.] . ε [ xi-xiii ] | πω[ρρωθεν Π  
 ἀμέλει del. Diggle τις B: ἐστιν A 3 προσαγ- B: προσαγ- A: [Π] 4 ]ευσαι  
 Π: -εύσας AB εἶπας[ε] Π: εἰπῶν AB θαυ[μ]αζῶν π[ Π 5 χερσὶν  
 Π π[ερ]ι[β]αλ[ω]ν Π, conī. Herwerden: om. AB 6 [α]προπρο[πεμψας  
 in Π suppl. Stein ἐπαινων Π, conī. Needham: ἐτι αἰνῶν AB 7-8  
 διαιτα[ν μη μονον τουτωι ωι] in Π suppl. Schmidt 8 παρεστιν  
 olim Π (nunc παρεστ[ ] 9 τις olim Π (nunc τ[ ]), conī. Pauw:  
 εἶς AB <πρὸς> Casaubon δὲ AB: δ Π 10 κεκλημένος B:  
 -οι A: [Π] δὲ AB: δ Π 11 κελευσαι Π, -εὔσαι δ: -εὔσει  
 AB εἰ[σε]λ[θον]τα Π 12 προσ[αγαγο]με[νος] Π, ce: προσαγόμενος  
 AB 13 αὐτὸν e: αυ[τ]ο[ν] Π: αὐ- AB καθι[σας]θαι Π, conī. Cobet:  
 καθίστασθαι AB 15 ἅμα om. ut uid. Π 16 sqq. (quae nullo post  
 15 interuallo continuant ΠAB) ad caput alienum rettulit Casaubon 16  
 πλειστου olim Π (nunc πλειστο[ ])

## THE OBSEQUIOUS MAN

[Obsequiousness, to encapsulate it in a definition, is contact which aims at giving pleasure, but not for the best motive.]

The Obsequious Man is [decidedly] the sort who greets you from a distance, calls you 'My dear Sir', and when he has sufficiently expressed his admiration embraces you with both arms and won't let you go, then comes a little way with you and asks when he will see you again, before taking his leave with a compliment on his lips. When called in to an arbitration he wants to gratify not only the man whose side he is on but also his opponent, so that he may be thought impartial. He assures foreigners that they have a better case than his fellow-citizens. When invited to dinner he asks his host to call in his children, and as they enter he declares that they are as like their father as two figs. Then he draws them to him and kisses them and sits them down beside him. He plays with some of them, joining in the cry of 'Wineskin' and 'Axe'; and he lets others fall asleep on his stomach even though they are crushing him.

*(from a different sketch)*

. . . He has frequent haircuts, keeps his teeth white, persistently changes his clothes, and anoints himself with unguents.

7 χρίματι ἀλείφεσθαι. καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπέζας  
 προσφοιτᾶν, τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις διατρίβειν οὗ ἂν οἱ  
 ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται, τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ἦι θεά, 20  
 8 πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ ἀγοράζειν αὐτῶι μὲν μηδέν,  
 ξένοις δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἱέπισταλάματα<sup>†</sup> καὶ Λακωνικὰς κύνας  
 εἰς Κύζικον καὶ μέλι Ὑμήττιον εἰς Ῥόδον, καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν  
 9 τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει διηγείσθαι. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ πίθηκον θρέψαι  
 δεινὸς καὶ τίτυρον κτήσασθαι καὶ Σικελικὰς περιστερὰς καὶ 25  
 δορκαδεῖους ἀστραγάλους καὶ Θουριακὰς τῶν τρογγύλων  
 ληκύθους καὶ βακτηρίας τῶν σκολιῶν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ  
 αὐλαίαν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένην καὶ παλαιστρίδιον κονίστραν  
 10 ἔχον καὶ σφαιριστήριον. καὶ τοῦτο περιῶν χρηννύναι τοῖς  
 σοφισταῖς, τοῖς ὄπλομάχοις, τοῖς ἀρμονικοῖς ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι 30  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν ὕστερον ἐπεισιέναι ἐπειδὴν ἤδη  
 συγκαθῶνται, ἵν' ὁ ἕτερος εἴπηι τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον  
 ὅτι “Τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ παλαιστρα”.

18 χρι|ματι olim Π (nunc ]ματι), conit. Herwerden: χρίματι AB 19  
 προσερχεσθ[αι Π οἱ olim Π (nunc deest): om. AB 20 γυμνάζωνται  
 (Π)B<sup>1c</sup>: -ζονται AB ἦι c: ἦ AB: [Π] 21 αὐτῶι post Stephanum (αὐ-)  
 Sylburg: αὐτὸν AB: [Π] 22-3 ξεγ[ c. xviii λ]ακω[νικας Π (quae usque ad  
 24 τη]ι π[ολε]ι deest) 24 θρέψαι δ: δρ- AB: [Π] 28 αὐλαίαν AB:  
 -ας Π 28 Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένην Herwerden: περσας ενυ[φας]μενους Π:  
 ἔχουσαν π- ἐνυφασμένους AB παλαιστρ[ι]διον Π, conit. Cobet: αὐλίδιον  
 παλαιστριαῖον AB κονίστραν Diggle: κόνιν (Π)AB 29 χρηνυ[ν]υ[ν]αι  
 Π, conit. Foss: χρή νῦν ἀεὶ AB [τ]οις σο[φιστα]ις Π: τοῖς φιλοσόφοις  
 τοῖς σοφ- AB 30 εν[επιδεικν]υσθα[ι Π, conit. Cobet: ἐπιδ- AB 31  
 ἐπιδείξεσιν δ: ἀποδ- AB: [Π] 31-2 ὕστερον ἐπεισιέναι ἐπειδὴν ἤδη  
 συγκαθῶνται ἵν' ὁ ἕτερος εἴπηι τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον post com-  
 plures Diggle: εις[ιεναι] επει[δαν ηδ]η συγκαθων[τα ι]ν[α τις ει]π[ηι] τῶν  
 θ[ε]ω[μ]ενω[ν in Π fere suppl. Dorandi et Stein: ὕστερον ἐπεισιν (ἐπεισιέναι  
 Foss) ἐπὶ (ἵν' εἴπηι τις Madvig) τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον AB

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He haunts the banks in the market-place, dallies in the gymnasia in which the ephebes are exercising, and sits near the generals when there is a show at the theatre. He buys nothing for himself, but for foreign friends \* \* \* \* to Byzantium, Spartan dogs to Cyzicus, and Hymettian honey to Rhodes, and he tells everybody in the city what he is doing. He is prone to keep a pet ape, and to acquire an oriental pheasant, Sicilian pigeons, gazelle-horn knucklebones, Thurian oil-flasks of the spherical sort, twisted walking-sticks from Sparta, a tapestry embroidered with Persians, and a little palaestra with a sanded area for wrestling and a room for boxing practice. He goes around offering this arena to sophists, drill-sergeants and music lecturers for them to perform in. And he arrives at these performances after the spectators are already seated, so that they will say to each other 'This is the owner of the palaestra.'



## VI

## ΑΠΟΝΕΝΟΗΜΕΝΟΣ

- 1 [Ἡ δὲ ἀπόνοιά ἐστιν ὑπομονὴ αἰσχροῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἀπονεννημένος τοιοῦτός τις οἶος [δόμοσαι ταχύ, κακῶς  
 ἀκοῦσαι, λοιδορηθῆναι δυναμένοις, τῷ ἦθει ἀγοραῖός τις καὶ  
 3 ἀνασευρμένος καὶ παντοποιός. ἀμέλει δυνατός καὶ] ὀρχεῖσθαι  
 νήφων τὸν κόρδακα<sup>†</sup> καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῶι χορῶι<sup>†</sup>. 5  
 4 καὶ ἐν θαύμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἐκλέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον περιῶν  
 καὶ μάχεσθαι τούτων τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι καὶ προῖκα  
 5 θεωρεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πανδοκεῦσαι καὶ πορνοβοσκῆσαι  
 καὶ τελωνῆσαι καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι,  
 6 ἀλλὰ κηρύττειν, μαγειρεύειν, κυβεύειν. <καὶ> τὴν μητέρα μὴ 10  
 τρέφειν, ἀπάγεσθαι κλοπῆς, τὸ δεσμωτήριον πλείω χρόνον  
 7 οἰκεῖν ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν. [καὶ οὔτος δ' ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν τῶν  
 περιισταμένων τοὺς ὄχλους καὶ προσκαλούντων, μεγάλη τῆι  
 φωνῆι καὶ παρερρωγυῖαι λοιδορουμένων καὶ διαλεγομένων  
 πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ μεταξὺ οἱ μὲν προσίασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπίασιν 15  
 πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ <οὐδὲ>  
 συλλαβήν, τοῖς δὲ μέρος τοῦ πράγματος λέγει, οὐκ ἄλλως  
 θεωρεῖσθαι ἀξίων τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅταν ἦι πανηγυρις.]  
 8 ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ δίκας τὰς μὲν φεύγειν, τὰς δὲ διώκειν, τὰς δὲ  
 ἐξόμνυσθαι, ταῖς δὲ παρεῖναι ἔχων ἐχθῖνον ἐν τῷ προκολπῶι 20

Tit. ἀπονοίας ζ' (ζ' om. A) 1 del. Darvaris καὶ λόγων a<sup>1</sup>, ed.  
 Basil.<sup>a</sup>; δικαιολόγων AB 2 τις B: ἐστιν A 2-4 del. Diels 3  
 δυναμένοις Foss: δυνάμενος AB 5 κομικῶ B (χ)ω(ρῶι) A<sup>s</sup>  
 6 χαλκοῦς AB περιῶν post Needham (περιῶν) Navarre: παρ- AB  
 7 τούτων Petersen: τούτοις AB 8 πορνοβοσκεῦσαι B 9 καὶ (prius)  
 A<sup>c</sup>B: ἢ A<sup>2</sup> ἐργασίαν αἰσχρὰν A 10 <καὶ> Herwerden 12 αὐτοῦ  
 d, Stephanus: αὐ- AB 12-18 praeunte Meister del. Diels 12 οὔτος  
 C. Gesner: τοῦτο AB 16 τὴν ἀρχήν A <οὐδὲ> Diggle 17 λέγει  
 e: -ειν AB οὐ καλῶς A 18 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- AB 19-20 ταῖς δὲ  
 ἐξ- B

## THE MAN WHO HAS LOST ALL SENSE

[Loss of Sense is a tolerance of disgraceful action and speech.]

The Man Who Has Lost All Sense is the sort who [swears an oath pat, gets a bad reputation, slanders men of influence, is vulgar in character, defiant of decency, and ready for anything and everything. And he is just the sort who] dances the cordax while sober and \* \* \* \* \*. He will go round the audience at fairs and ask everyone for their entrance fee and argue with ticket-holders who claim there is nothing to pay. He is apt to keep an inn or a brothel or be a tax collector; he regards no occupation as beneath his dignity, but is ready to work as an auctioneer, hired cook, or gambler. He lets his mother starve, gets arrested for theft, and spends more time in gaol than at home. [He would seem to be one of those who call on crowds to gather round, then rail at them and hold forth in a loud cracked voice. Meanwhile some come along to hear, and others go away before they can hear him; so that some get the beginning, others <not> a syllable, others a section of his message. He is only satisfied when showing off his loss of sense to a public meeting.] In court he can play the plaintiff as well as the defendant; and sometimes he will swear that he deserves to be excused attendance, or arrive with a boxful of evidence in his coat pocket and strings of little documents in

- 9 καὶ ὄρμαθους γραμματειδίων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. <καὶ> οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν δὲ οὐδ' ἅμα πολλῶν ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν καὶ εὐθὺς τούτοις δανείζειν καὶ τῆς δραχμῆς τόκον τρία ἡμιωβέλια τῆς ἡμέρας πράττεσθαι, καὶ ἐφοδεύειν τὰ μαγειρεῖα, τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια, τὰ ταριχοπώλια, καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ 25 ἐμπολήματος εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν.
- 10 [ἔργώδεις δὲ εἶσιν οἱ <τοιοῦτοι>, τὸ στόμα εὐλυτον ἔχοντες πρὸς λοιδορίαν καὶ φθεγγόμενοι μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, ὡς συνηγεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια.]

21 γραμματειδίων Herwerden: -ιδίων AB <καὶ> Meier 22 ἀποδοκιμάζειν Meier: -ζων AB 23 δραχμῆς B ἡμιω- B: ἡμι- A 24 -βέλια Diels: -βόλια AB πράττεσθαι ac<sup>2</sup>de: πλ- AB 25 τὰ δὲ ἰχθ- A 26 ἐμπωλ- B 27-9 del. Bloch 27 ἐργώδες B, -εις B<sup>18</sup> <τοιοῦτοι> Diggle 28 πρὸς B: εἰς A

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his hands. He does not think it beneath him, either, to manage a mass of market-traders and lend them money on the spot and charge a daily interest of one and a half obols to the drachma, and do the rounds of the butchers, the fishmongers, and the kipper-sellers, and pop the interest from their takings straight into his mouth.

[They are tiresome, these foul-tongued loud-mouthed people, who make the marketplace and the shops echo with their noise.]

## VII

## ΛΑΛΟΣ

1 [Ἡ δὲ λαλιά, εἴ τις αὐτὴν ὀρίζεσθαι βούλοιο, εἶναι ἂν δόξειεν ἀκρασία τοῦ λόγου.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ λάλος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος τῶι ἐντυγχάνοντι εἶπειν, ἂν ὀτιοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθέγγηται, ὅτι οὐθὲν λέγει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς  
 3 πάντα οἶδε καί, ἂν ἀκούη αὐτοῦ, μαθήσεται. καὶ μεταξύ δὲ 5  
 ἀποκρινομένω ἐπιβαλεῖν εἶπας “Ὀὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ ὁ μέλλεις λέγειν” καὶ “Ἐὖ γε ὅτι με ὑπέμνησας” καὶ “Τὸ λαλεῖν ὡς χρ-  
 ήσιμόν που” καὶ “Ὁ παρέλιπον” καὶ “Ταχύ γε συνήκας τὸ πρᾶγμα” καὶ “Πάλαι σε παρετήρουν, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔμοι  
 κατενεχθήσῃ”, καὶ ἑτέρας ταραχὰς τοιαύτας πορίσασθαι, 10  
 4 ὥστε μὴδὲ ἀναπνεῦσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα. καὶ ὅταν γε τοὺς καθ’ ἕνα ἀπογυιώσῃ, δεινὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀθρούς [καί]  
 συνεστηκὸς πορευθῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ποιῆσαι μεταξύ χρημα-  
 5 τίζοντας. καὶ εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς παλαίστρας εἰσιῶν κωλύειν τοὺς παῖδας προμανθάνειν. [τοσαῦτα καὶ 15  
 6 προσλαλεῖ τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις καὶ διδασκάλοις.] καὶ τοὺς ἀπιέναι φάσκοντας δεινὸς προπέμψαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι  
 7 εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. καὶ πυθόμενοις <τὰ ἀπὸ> τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγγέλλειν, προσδιηγῆσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφῶν-  
 τὸς ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην καὶ τὴν <ἐν> Λακε- 20  
 δαιμονίῳ ἐπὶ Λυκάνδρου καὶ οὐς ποτε λόγους αὐτὸς εἶπας ἠὺδοκίμησεν ἐν τῶι δήμῳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν πληθῶν

Tit. λαλίας ζ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 τις B: ἐστι τις A 4 οὐδὲν A  
 5 οἶδεν AB αὐτοῦ Edmonds: αὐ- AB 6 ἀποκρινομένω δ: -ναμένω(ι)  
 AB ἐπιβαλεῖν a: -βάλλειν AB εἶπας e: εἶπας AB 9 ἔμοι om. A  
 10 ταραχὰς Diels: ἀρχὰς AB 12 ἀπογυιώσῃ Pauw: -γυμνώσῃ(ι) AB  
 καὶ del. Meineke 15 εἰσιῶν B 15-16 del. Diels 16 προσλαλεῖ  
 Sheppard: -λαλεῖν AB 18 εἰς τὰς οἰκίας Ribbeck (εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν cd): ἐκ τῆς  
 οἰκίας AB πυθόμενοις Foss: πυθόμενος AB <τὰ ἀπὸ> τῆς Dobree:  
 τὰς AB 19 προσδιηγῆσασθαι de: προδ- AB 20 ποτε de: τότε AB  
 <ἐν> Weil 21 ἐπὶ de: ὑπὸ AB 22 εἶπας Needham: εἶπας A: εἶπεν B  
 ἠὺ- Needham: εὐ- AB -δοκίμησεν c: -δοκίμησαν AB

## VII

## THE TALKER

[Talkativeness, if one wished to define it, would seem to be failure to keep speech under control.]

The Talker is the sort who says to a person he meets, no matter what that person tells him, that he is speaking nonsense and that *he* knows the whole truth and if he listens to him he will learn it. In the middle of the other's reply he throws in 'Don't forget what you are leading up to', 'Thanks for reminding me', 'I think it's useful to talk', 'Yes, I left that out', 'You're quick to grasp the point', and 'I was waiting all along to see if you would reach the same conclusion as me'. He has such a variety of disruptive tactics in his repertoire that his victim cannot even get a breather before the next assault. When he has worn down a few lone stragglers he will march against whole bodies of men and put them to rout with their business unfinished. He enters schools and palaestras and stops the children's lessons. [He talks so much to the trainers and teachers.] When people say they must go, he keeps them company and delivers them home. When asked for the latest news from the assembly he gives a report of it, then adds an account of the fight which once occurred in the time of the orator Aristophon and the one among the Lacedaimonians in Lysander's time, and the public speeches for which he himself received acclaim in the past, and interjects

γε ἅμα διηγούμενος κατηγορίαν παρεμβalaεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς  
 ἀκούοντας ἦτοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἢ νυστάσαι ἢ μεταξὺ καταλεί-  
 8 ποντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. καὶ συνδικάζων δὲ κωλύσαι κρῖναι 25  
 9 καὶ συνθεωρῶν θεάσασθαι καὶ συνδειπνῶν φαγεῖν. καὶ λέγειν  
 ὅτι “Χαλεπὸν μοί ἐστι ϰιωπᾶν” καὶ ὡς ἐν ὕγρῳ ἐστιν ἡ  
 γλῶττα καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ϰιωπήσειεν οὐδ’ εἰ τῶν χελιδόνων  
 10 δόξειεν εἶναι λαλίστερος. καὶ κωπτόμενος ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἤδη καθεύδειν βουλόμενον 30  
 κωλύη λέγοντα “Πάππα, λάλει τι ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὕπνος  
 λάβη”.

24 ἐπιλαβέσθαι Casaubon: -λαθέσθαι AB: ]αι Π νυστασαι Π: -άξαι  
 AB καταλείποντας Stein: -λιπόντας ΠAB 26 και λε]γειν Π (suppl.  
 Gronewald): λέγων AB 27 χαλε[πον μοι εστ]ιν Π (suppl. Kassel): χ- τῶ(ι)  
 λάλω(ι) ἐστὶ AB 29 δόξειεν ἂν A 30 αὐτοῦ e: αὐ- AB 30 βουλό-  
 μενον a<sup>1</sup> c<sup>2</sup>(d): -μενα AB 31 κωλύη Hartung: κελεύη(ι) AB Πάππα  
 Sylburg: ταῦτα AB λάλει Auberius: λαλεῖν AB ὕμας A

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into his narrative abuse of the masses, until his listeners either cut him short or doze off or desert him in mid speech and drift away. On a jury he prevents others from reaching a verdict, at the theatre from watching the play, at dinner from getting on with their meal. He says 'It's hard for me to keep quiet'; that he has a well-oiled tongue; and that, even if he might appear to twitter more than a swallow, he will still not shut up. He does not even mind being the butt of his children's jokes. They will not let him go to bed when he wants to. 'Talk to us, daddy,' they say, 'and send us to sleep'.



## VIII

## ΛΟΓΟΠΟΙΟΣ

- 1 [Ἦ δὲ λογοποιία ἐστὶ σύνθεσις ψευδῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων,  
ὦν < > βούλεται ὁ λογοποιῶν.]
- 2 ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς τοιοῦτός τις οἶος εὐθύς ἀπαντήσας τῶι  
φίλωι ἰ καταβαλὼν τὸ ἦθος<sup>†</sup> καὶ μειδιάσας ἐρωτῆσαι “Πόθεν  
αὐ;” καὶ “Λέγεις τι;” καὶ “Πῶς ἔχει;”, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκείνον 5  
“Καλῶς” ἐπιβαλεῖν “Ἐρωτᾶις μὴ λέγεται τι καινότερον; καὶ  
3 μὴ ἀγαθὰ γέ ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα”. καὶ οὐκ ἔσας ἀποκρίνασθαι  
εἰπεῖν “Τί λέγεις; οὐθὲν ἀκήκοας; δοκῶ μοί σε εὐωχῆσαι καινῶν  
4 λόγων”. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶι ἡ στρατιώτης ἡ παῖς Ἀστείου τοῦ  
αὐλητοῦ ἡ Λύκων ὁ ἐργολάβος παραγεγονώς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς 10  
5 μάχης, οὗ φησιν ἀκηκοέναι [αἶ μὲν οὖν ἀναφοραὶ τῶν λόγων  
6 τοιαῦταί εἰσιν αὐτοῦ, ὦν οὐθεὶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι. διηγεί-  
ται δὲ τούτους φάσκων λέγειν] ὡς Πολυτέρχων καὶ ὁ  
7 βασιλεὺς μάχηι νενίκηκε καὶ Κάσσανδρος ἐζώγρηται. καὶ ἂν  
εἴπηι τις αὐτῶι “Κὺ δὲ ταῦτα πιστεύεις;”, φῆσαι· [τὸ πρᾶγμα] 15  
βοᾶσθαι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπεντείνειν καὶ πάντας  
συμφωνεῖν [ταῦτὰ γὰρ λέγειν περὶ τῆς μάχης]· καὶ πολὺν τὸν  
8 ζωμὸν γεγονέναι. εἶναι δ’ ἑαυτῶι καὶ σημεῖον τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν  
ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὄραν γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντων μεταβεβληκότα.  
<καὶ> λέγειν δ’ ὡς καὶ παρακῆκε παρὰ τούτοις κρυπτόμενόν 20

Tit. λογοποιίας ἡ 1–2 del. Darvaris 2 lac. indic. Cichorius 3  
εὐθύς hoc loco Π: ante καταβαλὼν AB 5–6 προ το[υ δ(ε) εἰπειν ἐκεῖνον]  
καλως Π (suppl. Gronewald): περὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν καινόν καὶ ὡς AB 6  
ἐπιβαλεῖν Diggle, Stefanis: -ὦν AB: [Π] Ἐρωτᾶις Kassel: -τᾶν AB: [Π]  
λεγ[εται τι καινον και] Π<sup>2</sup> (suppl. Gronewald) 8 ουθε[ν Π (sicut AB)  
εὐωχῆσαι A 10 παραγεγονός B 11 οὗ δ: οὗ AB 11–13 praeeunte  
Diels del. Diggle 12 ἐπιλαβέσθαι Casaubon: -λαθ- AB 13 δὲ om. A  
πολυτέρχων A 14 μάχην A νενίκηκεν AB κάσσανδρος Furlanus:  
κάσα- AB (item 23) 15 φῆσαι Diggle: φῆσει AB τὸ πρᾶγμα del. Dig-  
gle 16 ἐπεντείνειν B: -ει AB<sup>1m</sup> πάντας Casaubon: πάντα AB 17  
del. Hottinger ταῦτὰ a<sup>2</sup>, ed. pr.: ταῦτα AB 18 δ’ ἑαυτῶι Edmonds:  
δὲ αὐτῶ(ι) AB 19 αὐτὸς Wilamowitz (noluit Foss): -τῶν B: -τὸν A 20  
<καὶ> Diggle λέγειν Blaydes: -ει AB

## THE RUMOUR-MONGER

[Rumour-mongering is the framing of false reports and events, which the rumour-monger wishes < >.]

The Rumour-Monger is the sort of person who, immediately on encountering his friend, \* \* \* \* \* and asks with a smile ‘Where have you come from?’ and ‘Anything to tell me?’ and ‘How are you?’, and before he can say ‘Very well, thank you’ adds ‘You ask whether there is any news? Yes, there is, and fine news it is too.’ Then giving him no chance to respond he says ‘You really mean to say you have heard nothing? I think I have a treat in store for you.’ He has a man just back from the actual battle – a soldier, or a slave of the piper Asteios, or the contractor Lycon – from whom he claims to have heard [He refers back his reports to sources such as nobody could challenge. He describes, as he claims these men are saying] how Polyperchon and the King have won a military victory and Cassander has been taken prisoner. And if anyone says to him ‘Do you believe this?’, he says he does, because it is the talk of the city, discussion [of the matter] is intensifying, all are of one voice [and are giving the same version of the battle]. And, he says, there was a great blood-bath, and the faces of the political leaders support his story – he has seen for himself how changed they all are. And he claims to have overheard that they have got someone hidden in a house,

τινα ἐν οἰκίαι, ἥδη πεμπτὴν ἡμέραν ἦκοντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας,  
 9 ὃς πάντα ταῦτα οἶδε, καὶ ταῦτα διεξιὼν πῶς οἶεσθε πιθανῶς  
 σχετλιάζειν λέγων “Δυστυχῆς Κάσσανδρος· ὦ ταλαίπωρος·  
 10 ἐνθυμῆι τὸ τῆς τύχης; ἔλλ’ οὖν ἰσχυρὸς γενόμενος†”. καὶ “Δεῖ  
 δ’ αὐτὸν ἐὶ μόνον εἰδέναι”. [πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει προσδε- 25  
 δράμηκε λέγων.]

11 [τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τεθαύμακα τί ποτε βούλονται  
 λογοποιοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ψεύδονται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς  
 ἀπαλλάττουςι. πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαλα-  
 νείοις περιστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι τὰ ἱμάτια ἀποβεβλήκασι, οἱ 30  
 δ’ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ πεζομαχίαι καὶ ναυμαχίαι νικῶντες ἐρήμους  
 δίκας ὠφλήκασι· εἰς δ’ οἱ καὶ πόλεις τῶι λόγῳ κατὰ κράτος  
 αἰροῦντες παρεδειπνήθησαν. πάνυ δὲ ταλαίπωρον αὐτῶν ἐστι  
 τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα· ποῖαι γὰρ ἐν στοᾷ, ποίῳ δὲ ἐργαστηρίῳ,  
 ποίῳ δὲ μέρει τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ διημερεύουσιν ἀπαυδᾶν 35  
 ποιοῦντες τοὺς ἀκούοντας; οὕτως καὶ καταπονοῦσι ταῖς  
 ψευδολογίαις.]

22 ταῦτα (alterum) Casaubon: ταῦτα πάντα A: πάντα B οἶεσθε de: -θαι  
 AB πιθανῶς om. A 25 δ’ B: τ’ A ἐδ: γε AB 25–6 del. Diels  
 προσδεδράμηκε B: -δραμηκέναι A 27–37 del. Bloch 27 ποτε om. A  
 28 γὰρ B: γὰρ καὶ A ἀλυσιτελῶς de: λυσι- AB 29 ἀπαλλάττουςι A  
 31 δ’ ἐν de: ἐδ AB 32 πόλεις τῶι Needham (πόλεις iam Casaubon):  
 πλείστοι A, -εἰ- B 34 ποῖαι AB ἐν Ast: οὐ AB στοᾷ B (utroque  
 accentu): -ά A ποίῳ . . . ἐργαστηρίῳ C. Gesner: ποῖον . . . ἐργαστήριον  
 AB

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

who arrived from Macedonia four days ago and knows the whole story. As he tells his tale he puts on ever such a convincing show of pathetic indignation: 'Unlucky Cassander! Oh you poor man! Do you see how capricious fortune can be? \* \* \* \* \*.' And he adds 'This is for your ears only.' [But he has run up to everybody in the city with the story.]

[I wonder what such people mean by their rumour-mongering. Besides telling lies they end up out of pocket. It often happens that they lose their cloaks when they have got a crowd round them at the baths, or let a lawsuit go by default while winning a land or sea battle in the stoa, or miss dinner while purporting to take a city by assault. What a wearisome activity theirs is. There is no stoa, no shop, no corner of the market-place which they do not haunt the whole day long, making their listeners faint from exhaustion, so tiring are their fictions.]

IX

ΑΝΑΙΧΧΥΝΤΟΣ

1 [Ἦ δὲ ἀναισχυντία ἐστὶ μὲν, ὥς ὄρωι λαβεῖν, καταφρόνησις  
 δόξης αἰσχρᾶς ἔνεκα κέρδους.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἀναισχυντος τοιοῦτός <τις> οἷος πρῶτον μὲν ὄν  
 ἀποστερεῖ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπανελθὼν δανείζεσθαι, εἶτα <  
 3 . καί> θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν 5  
 παρ' ἐτέρωι, τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἀλσι πάσας, καὶ προσκα-  
 λεσάμενος τὸν ἀκόλουθον δοῦναι ἄρτον καὶ κρέας ἀπὸ τῆς  
 τραπέζης ἄρας καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀκουόντων πάντων “Εὐχολοῦ,  
 4 Τίβειε”. καὶ ὀψωνῶν δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὸν κρεοπώλην εἴ τι  
 χρήσιμος αὐτῷ γέγονε, καὶ ἐστηκὼς πρὸς τῷ σταθμῷ μάλι- 10  
 στα μὲν κρέας, εἰ δὲ μὴ ὄστοῦν εἰς τὸν ζωμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ  
 ἔαν μὲν λάβηι, εὖ ἔχει, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀρπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης  
 5 χολίκιον ἅμα γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν  
 ἀγοράσασαι μὴ δοῦς τὸ μέρος <συν>θεωρεῖν, ἄγειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 6 ὕους εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν. καὶ ὅσα ἐωνημένους 15  
 7 ἄξιά τις φέρει μεταδοῦναι κελεῦσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἄλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν δανείζεσθαι κριθάς, ποτὲ <δὲ>  
 ἄχυρα, καὶ ταῦτα <τοὺς> χρήσαντας ἀναγκάσαι ἀποφέρειν  
 8 πρὸς αὐτόν. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ χαλκία τὰ ἐν τῷ βαλανείωι  
 προσελθεῖν καὶ βάψας ἀρύταιναν βοῶντος τοῦ βαλανέως 20  
 αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καταχέασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι λέλουται ἄπιων  
 κακεῖ† “Οὐδεμία σοι χάρις”.

Tit. ἀναισχυντίας θ B, περι ἀν- θ A 1-2 del. Darvaris 2 αἰσχρᾶς  
 c<sup>2</sup>: -οῦ AB κέρδους εἶνεκα A 3 <τις> Cobet οἷος δ: -ον AB  
 4 ἀποστερεῖται A ἐπανελθὼν Grübler: ἀπελθὼν AB δανείζεσθαι δ:  
 -εται AB lac. indic. Holland 5 καί> Petersen 7-8 ἄρτον καὶ κρέας  
 ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρας Diggle: ἀπὸ τῆς τρ- ἄρτον καὶ κρέας ἄρας A: ἀπὸ  
 τῆς τρ- ἄρας κρέας καὶ ἄρτον B 9 Τίβειε Diels (τίβειε Mc<sup>2</sup>, Salmasius):  
 τίμει B: τιμιώτατε A κρεο- Porson: κρεω- AB 13 αὐτοῦ Stephanus:  
 αὐ- AB 14 ἀγοράσασαι Diggle: -άσας AB <συν> Cobet 15 ὕους  
 Edmonds (iam υἱὸς Casaubon, υἱέϊς cd): ὥς A: om. B 16 αὐτῷ Auberius:  
 αὐ- AB 17 <δὲ> δ 18 <τοὺς> Reiske (τοὺς χρῶντας M) φέρειν  
 A 19 αὐτόν Needham: αὐ- AB χαλκία Meineke: χαλκεῖα AB 20  
 προσελθεῖν A: -ὼν B 21 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- AB λέλουται A 22  
 κακεῖ B οὐδὲ μία AB

## IX

## THE SHAMELESS MAN

[Shamelessness may be defined as disregard for a bad reputation for the sake of gain.]

The Shameless Man is the kind who first of all goes back to a creditor whose money he is withholding and asks for a loan, then < . And> when he has held a sacrifice to the gods he salts the meat and stores it away and dines out at another's, and then calls his slave and gives him bread and meat which he has taken from the table and says in everyone's hearing 'Enjoy your meal, Tibeios'. When he goes shopping he reminds the butcher of any favours he has done him, then stands by the scales and throws in some meat, if he can, otherwise a bone for his soup; and if he is allowed to have it, well and good; if not, he snatches up some guts from the counter and makes off with them laughing. When his guests from abroad have bought theatre seats he joins them at the performance but does not pay his part of the cost, and next day he even brings his sons and the slave who looks after them. If he finds someone taking home goods which he has bought at a bargain price he asks for a share. He goes to a neighbour's house and borrows barley or straw and makes the lender deliver it to his doorstep. He is also apt to go up to the hot-water tanks in the baths and, despite the protests of the bath attendant, dip his ladle in and give himself a shower and then say that he has had his bath \* \* \* \* 'No thanks to you'.

X

ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

1 [Ἔστι δὲ ἡ μικρολογία φειδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν  
 2 καιρόν.]  
 3 ὁ δὲ μικρολόγος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ἐν τῷ μηνὶ ἡμιωβέλιον  
 4 ἀπαιτεῖν ἔπι τὴν οἰκίαν<sup>†</sup>. καὶ [ὁ] συσσιτῶν ἀριθμεῖν τὰς κύλι- 5  
 5 κας πόσας ἕκαστος πέπωκε, καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι ἐλάχιστον τῆι  
 6 Ἀρτέμιδι τῶν συνδειπνούντων· καὶ ὅσα μικροῦ τις πριάμενος  
 7 λογίζεται πάντα < > φάσκων εἶναι. καὶ οἰκέτου  
 8 χύτραν [εἶναι] ἢ λοπάδα κατάξαντος εἰσπρᾶξαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 9 ἐπιτηδείων. καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκβαλούσης τρίχαλκον [οἷος]  
 10 μεταφέρειν τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὰς κλῖνας καὶ τὰς κιβωτοὺς καὶ 10  
 11 διφᾶν τὰ καλλύσματα. καὶ ἐάν τι πωλῆι τοσοῦτου ἀποδόσθαι  
 12 ὥστε μὴ λυσιτελεῖν τῷ πριαμένω. καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔᾶσαι οὔτε  
 13 κυκοτραγῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κήπου οὔτε διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 14 ἀγροῦ πορευθῆναι οὔτε ἐλαίαν ἢ φοῖνικα τῶν χαμαὶ πεπτ-  
 15 ωκότων ἀνελέσθαι. καὶ τοὺς ὄρους δ' ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὀσημέραι 15  
 16 εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ὑπερημερίαν πρᾶξαι  
 17 καὶ τόκον τόκου. καὶ ἐστιῶν δημότας μικρὰ τὰ κρέα κόψας  
 18 παραθεῖναι. καὶ ὄψωνῶν μῆθὲν πριάμενος εἰσελθεῖν. καὶ ἀπα-  
 19 γορεῦσαι τῆι γυναικὶ μῆτε ἄλας χρηννύειν μῆτε ἐλλύχνιον  
 20 μῆτε κύμινον μῆτε ὀρίγανον μῆτε ὄλας μῆτε στέμματα μῆτε 20  
 21 θυλήματα, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα πολλὰ ἐστι  
 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

Tit. μικρολογίας ἰ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 -βέλιον Diels: -βόλιον AB  
 4 ὁ om. δ τὰς ac: τὲ A, τε B κοίλικας B 7 lac. indic. Herwerden  
 8 εἶναι om. aδ 9 οἷος del. Blaydes 10 τοὺς κιβ- A 11 καλλύσματα  
 LSJ<sup>9</sup>: καλύματα AB τοσοῦτου δ: τοσαύτας AB 12 ἔᾶσαι e: ἔασας AB  
 13 αὐτοῦ (prius) Stephanus: αὐ- AB κήπου (nisi κόπου) A: σκοποῦ B  
 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- AB 14 πεπτωκότων B: κειμένων A 15 δὲ A  
 17 ἐστιῶντας A 18 μῆδὲν A 19 χρηννύειν Foss: χρωνν- AB 20  
 ὄλας M: οὐλάς AB 21 θυλήματα b: θυηλ- AB

## THE PENNY-PINCHER

[Penny-pinching is a sparing of expense beyond reasonable limits.]

The Penny-pincher is the kind of man who asks for repayment of twopence before the month is out. At a communal dinner he counts how many cups each guest has drunk, and makes the smallest preliminary offering to Artemis of any of the diners; and when asked to settle his account he claims that every item, however little was paid for it, was <too expensive>. When a slave breaks a pot or a dish he deducts the cost from his rations. When his wife drops a penny he shifts the kitchenware and the couches and the chests and rummages through the rubbish. If he has something for sale he puts such a high price on it that the buyer loses by the transaction. He won't let you eat the figs from his garden or walk over his land or pick up a fallen olive or date. He inspects his boundaries every day to see if they have been altered. He is also liable to pursue overdue debtors and charge compound interest. When he entertains demesmen he gives them small cuts of meat. When he goes shopping for food he returns home without buying anything. He forbids his wife to lend salt or a lamp-wick or cummin or marjoram or barley meal or fillets or sacrificial grain, because he claims that little items like these add up to a tidy sum in the course of a year.



14 [καὶ τὸ ὅλον δὲ τῶν μικρολόγων καὶ τὰς ἀργυροθήκας  
 ἔστιν ἰδεῖν εὐρωτιώσας καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἰουμένας καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ  
 φοροῦντας ἐλάττω τῶν μηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἐκ ληκυθίων 25  
 μικρῶν πάνυ ἀλειφομένους καὶ ἐν χρωῖ κειρομένους καὶ τὸ  
 μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπολυομένους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γναφεῖς  
 διατεινομένους ὅπως τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῖς ἕξει πολλήν γῆν, ἵνα  
 μὴ ῥυπαίνηται ταχύ.]

23–9 del. Edmonds  
 Stephanus: μικρῶν AB  
 ῥυπαίνητε A

24 ἰουμένας Blaydes: ἰουμ- AB 25 μηρῶν  
 27 ὑπολυομένους δ: -δουμ- A<sup>18</sup>B: -δομ- A 29

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

[In general, you can see the penny-pinchers' money-boxes mouldering and their keys growing rusty, and you can see them wearing cloaks that don't cover their thighs, rubbing themselves down with oil from tiny jars, with their heads shaved, barefoot in the middle of the day, and insisting to the fullers that their cloaks should have plenty of earth, so that they don't get dirty too soon.]

XI

ΒΔΕΛΥΡΟΣ

1 [Οὐ χαλεπὸν δέ ἐστι τὴν βδελυρίαν διορίσασθαι· ἔστι γὰρ  
 2 παιδιὰ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἐπινειδιστός.]  
 3 ὁ δὲ βδελυρὸς τοιοῦτός <τις> οἷος ἀπαντήσας γυναιξίν  
 4 ἔλευθέραις ἀνακυράμενος δεῖξαι τὸ αἰδοῖον. καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ  
 5 κροτεῖν ὅταν οἱ ἄλλοι παύονται καὶ κυρίττειν οὐκ ἠδέως  
 6 θεωροῦσιν οἱ πολλοί· καὶ ὅταν σιωπήσῃ τὸ θέατρον ἀνα-  
 7 κύψας ἐρυγεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς καθημένους ποιήσῃ μεταστραφῆναι.  
 8 καὶ πληθούσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ κάρυα ἢ τὰ  
 9 μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα ἐστηκῶς τραγηματίζεσθαι, ἅμα τῷ  
 10 πωλοῦντι προσλαλῶν. καὶ καλέσαι δὲ τῶν παριόντων  
 11 ὄνομαστί τινα ὧι μὴ συνήθης ἐστί. καὶ σπεύδοντας δὲ ποι  
 12 ὄρων < >. καὶ ἡττημένῳ δὲ μεγάλην δίκην  
 13 ἀπιόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθεῖν καὶ συνησθῆναι.  
 14 καὶ ὄψωνεῖν ἑαυτῷ καὶ αὐλητρίδας μισθοῦσθαι καὶ δεικνύειν  
 15 δὲ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τὰ ὄψωνημένα καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτα.  
 16 καὶ διηγέεσθαι προσστὰς πρὸς κουρεῖον ἢ μυροπώλιον ὅτι  
 17 μεθύσκεσθαι μέλλει.

Tit. βδελυρίας 1α' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 <τις> Herwerden 4 ἀνα-  
 κυρόμενος B 5 παύονται A 6 πολλοί B: λοιποὶ AB<sup>28</sup> 7 μετα-  
 στραφῆναι ποιήσῃ A 8 ἢ B: καὶ A 10 παριόντων de: παρόν-  
 των AB 11 ποι Casaubon: που AB 12 lac. indic. δ ἡττημένῳ  
 Schneider: ἡττωμ- AB 14 ἑαυτῷ Casaubon: -τόν AB 15 ὄψ- B  
 16 προσστὰς Schneider: προστὰς AB 17 post μέλλει habent XXX.5-16  
 AB

## THE REPULSIVE MAN

[It is not difficult to define Repulsiveness. It is conspicuous and reprehensible tomfoolery.]

The Repulsive Man is the kind who lifts up his clothes and exposes himself in front of ladies. At the theatre he applauds when no one else is applauding and hisses actors whose performance the audience is enjoying, and when silence has fallen he raises his head and burps to make spectators turn round. When the market is at its busiest he goes to the shops which sell nuts, myrtleberries or fruit, and stands munching away while chatting idly to the shopkeeper. He will call out the name of a passer-by who is a complete stranger to him. And when he sees people hurrying somewhere on urgent business < >. He will go up to a man who is leaving court after losing an important case and offer his congratulations. He buys a meal for himself and hires music-girls, then shows his shopping to people he meets and invites them to join him. And he stops in front of the hair-dresser's or the perfumer's and explains that he intends to get drunk.

XII

ΑΚΑΙΡΟΣ

1 [Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκαιρία ἐστὶν ἐπίτευξις <χρόνου> λυποῦσα τοὺς  
 ἐντυγχάνοντας.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἀκαιρος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ἀσχολουμένῳ προσελθῶν  
 3 ἀνακοινοῦσθαι. καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένην κωμάζειν  
 4 πυρέττουςαν. καὶ δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης προσελθῶν 5  
 5 κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι. καὶ μαρτυρήσων παρεῖναι τοῦ  
 6 πράγματος ἤδη κεκριμένου. καὶ κεκλημένος εἰς γάμους τοῦ  
 7 γυναικείου γένους κατηγορεῖν. καὶ ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ ἦκοντα  
 8 ἄρτι παρακαλεῖν εἰς περίπατον. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ προσάγειν  
 9 ὠνητὴν πλείω διδόντα ἤδη πεπρακότεν. καὶ ἀκηκότας καὶ 10  
 10 μεμαθηκότας ἀνίστασθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διδάξων. καὶ προθύμως δὲ  
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἃ μὴ βούλεται τις γενέσθαι αἰσχύνεται δὲ  
 11 ἀπείρασθαι. καὶ θύοντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ἦκειν τόκον  
 12 ἀπαιτήσων. καὶ μαστιγούμενου οἰκέτου παρεστῶς διηγείσθαι  
 ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ποτε παῖς οὕτω πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπήγξατο. 15  
 13 καὶ παρῶν διαίτητι συγκρούειν ἀμφοτέρων βουλομένων δια-  
 14 λύεσθαι. καὶ ὀρχηρόμενος ἄψασθαι ἑτέρου μηδέπω μεθύοντος.

Tit. ἀκαιρίας 1β' (β' A) 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 <χρόνου> Ruge,  
 Holland 4 αὐτοῦ Needham: αὐ- AB 6 αὐτὸν Casaubon: αὐ- AB  
 11 post μεμαθηκότας primitus add. tum del. καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας (e 13) A  
 διδάξων Coray: διδάσκων AB προθύμως Blaydes: πρόθυμος AB 13  
 ἦκειν Auberius: ἦκων AB 15 αὐτοῦ Needham: αὐ- AB οὕτω ed. pr.:  
 -ως AB 17 ὀρχηρόμενος Lycius: -κάμενος AB

XII

THE TACTLESS MAN

[Tactlessness is choosing a time which annoys the people one meets.]

The Tactless Man is the kind who comes for a discussion when you are busy. He serenades his girlfriend when she is feverish. He approaches a man who has just forfeited a security deposit and asks him to stand bail. He arrives to give evidence after a case is closed. As a guest at a wedding he delivers a tirade against the female sex. When you have just returned home after a long journey he invites you to go for a walk. He is liable to bring along a higher bidder when you have already completed a sale. When the audience has taken the point he gets up to explain it all over again. He will enthusiastically try to secure what you don't want but haven't the heart to refuse. When people are engaged in a sacrifice and incurring heavy expense he arrives with a request for payment of interest. He stands watching while a slave is being whipped and announces that a boy of his own once hanged himself after such a beating. When he assists at an arbitration he puts the parties at loggerheads, though they are both eager for a reconciliation. When he wants to dance he takes hold of a partner who is still sober.

## XIII

## ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΟΣ

1 [Ἄμελει <ή> περιεργία δόξει<εν ἄν> εἶναι προσποίησις τις  
 λόγων καὶ πράξεων μετ' εὐνοίας.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ περιεργος τοιοῦτός τις <οἶος> ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀνα-  
 3 στάς ἃ μὴ δυνήσεται. καὶ ὁμολογουμένου τοῦ πράγματος  
 4 δικαίου εἶναι ἐντείνας ἐλεγχθῆναι. καὶ πλείω δὲ ἐπαναγκάσαι 5  
 5 τὸν παῖδα κεράσαι ἢ ὅσα δύνανται οἱ παρόντες ἐκπιεῖν. καὶ  
 6 διείργειν τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ οὐς οὐ γινώσκει. καὶ ἀτραπὸν  
 7 ἠγήσασθαι, εἴτα μὴ δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν οἱ πορεύεται. καὶ τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν προσελθὼν ἐρωτῆσαι πότε μέλλει παρατάττεσθαι  
 8 καὶ τί μετὰ τὴν αὔριον παραγγελεῖ. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ 10  
 9 πατρὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ ἤδη καθέουδει ἐν τῷ δωματίω. καὶ  
 ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ ἱατροῦ ὅπως μὴ δώσει οἶνον τῷ μαλα-  
 κιζομένω φήσας βούλεσθαι διάπειραν λαμβάνειν εὖ ποτίσαι  
 10 τὸν κακῶς ἔχοντα. καὶ γυναικὸς δὲ τελευτησάσης ἐπιγράψαι  
 ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς 15  
 μητρὸς καὶ αὐτῆς <τῆς> γυναικὸς τοῦνομα καὶ ποδαπή  
 11 ἔστι καὶ προσεπιγράψαι ὅτι πάντες οὗτοι χρηστοὶ ἦσαν. καὶ  
 ὁμνῦναι μέλλων εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς περιεστηκότας ὅτι “Καὶ  
 πρότερον πολλακίς ὁμώμοκα”.

Tit. περιεργίας 1γ' 1-2 del. Bloch 1 <ή> a, Bücheler δόξειεν  
 ἄν c': δόξει AB 2 μετ' bc<sup>2</sup>: μετὰ AB 3 <οἶος> e 5 ἐντείνας  
 Immisch: ἐν τινι στάς AB 7 γινώσκει Schneider: γιν- AB  
 ἀτραπὸν Diggle: -οὔ AB 8 οἱ Casaubon: οὐ AB 10 παραγγελεῖ  
 tamquam u.l. Lycius (-έλει c' e): -έλλει AB 12 μαλακιζομένω A: καλλω-  
 πιζομένω B 13 εὖ ποτίσαι Foss: εὐτρεπίσαι AB 16 αὐτῆς <τῆς> δ:  
 αὐτῆς AB ποδαπή Fischer: ποταπή AB 18 περι- B: παρ- A

## THE OVERZEALOUS MAN

[Overzealousness, you can be sure, would seem to be a well-meaning appropriation of words and actions.]

The Overzealous Man is the kind who stands up and promises more than he can deliver. When it is agreed that his case is a fair one he presses on and loses it. He insists on his slave mixing more wine than the company can drink. He steps between combatants, even though they are strangers to him. He leads people on a short cut, then cannot discover where he is heading. He goes to the commander-in-chief and asks him when he intends to take the field and what will be his orders for the day after next. He goes and tells his father that his mother is already asleep in their bedroom. When the doctor orders him not to give wine to the invalid he says he wants to do an experiment and gives the poor man a good drink. He inscribes on a dead woman's tombstone the names of her husband, her father, her mother, her own name and where she comes from, and adds 'They were estimable, one and all.' When he is about to swear an oath he tells the spectators 'I am an old hand at oath-taking.'



## XIV

## ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΣ

1 [Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀναισθησία, ὡς ὄρωι εἰπεῖν, βραδυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐν  
 λόγοις καὶ πράξεσιν.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἀναισθητος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος λογισάμενος ταῖς  
 ψήφοις καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσας ἐρωτᾶν τὸν παρακαθήμενον  
 3 “Τί γίνεταί;”. καὶ δίκην φεύγων καὶ ταύτην εἰσιέναι μέλλων 5  
 4 ἐπιλαθόμενος εἰς ἀγρὸν πορεύεσθαι. καὶ θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ θεά-  
 5 τρωι μόνος καταλείπεσθαι καθεύδων. καὶ πολλὰ φαγῶν τῆς  
 νυκτὸς [καί] ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀνιστάμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος  
 6 κυνὸς δηχθῆναι. καὶ λαβῶν <τι> καὶ ἀποθεῖς αὐτὸς τοῦτο  
 7 ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν. καὶ ἀπαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ὅτι 10  
 τετελεύτηκέ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, ἵνα παραγένηται, σκυθρω-  
 8 πάσας καὶ δακρύσας εἰπεῖν “Ἄγαθῆι τύχηι”. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀπο-  
 λαμβάνων ἀργύριον ὀφειλόμενον μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν.  
 9 καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος μάχεσθαι τῷ παιδί ὅτι σικύους οὐκ ἠγό-  
 10 ρασεν. καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἑαυτῷ παλαίειν ἀναγκάζων καὶ 15  
 11 τροχάζειν [καί] εἰς κόπον ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἰαυτοῖς†  
 φακῆν ἔψων δις ἄλας εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἐμβαλὼν ἄβρωτον  
 12 ποιῆσαι. καὶ ὕοντος τοῦ Διὸς εἰπεῖν “Ἡδύ γε τῶν ἄστρον  
 13 ὄζει”, ὅτε δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι λέγουσι “τῆς γῆς”. καὶ λέγοντός  
 τινος “Πόσους οἶει κατὰ τὰς Ἡρίας πύλας ἐξενηνέχθαι νεκ- 20  
 ρούς;” πρὸς τοῦτον εἰπεῖν “Ὅσοι ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ γένοιντο”.

Tit. ἀναισθησίας 1δ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 δὲ c: δὲ καὶ A: καὶ B  
 2 λόγῳ A 3 οἷον A ταῖς B: τις ταῖς A 5 γίν- AB 8 καὶ  
 del. Casaubon θᾶκον Schneider (θάκον e, Casaubon): θάκου AB  
 ἀνιστάμενος om. A τῆς τοῦ γ- κυνὸς Diggle: κυνὸς τῆς τοῦ γ- AB  
 9 <τι> e, J. M. Gesner 10 ἀπαγγελθέντος Cobet: ἀπαγγέλλοντος  
 AB 15 ἑαυτῷ Foss: -τοῦ AB 16 καὶ om. c, del. Casaubon κόπου  
 ἐμβάλλειν A 18 ἦδῦ (ἦδ in ras.) A ἄστρον B 19 ὄζει Casaubon,  
 Coray: νομίζει AB ὅτε Coray: ὅτι AB καὶ om. A τῆς γῆς Schnei-  
 der: πίκσης AB 20 Ἡρίας Meursius: ἱεράς AB ἐξενεχθῆναι A

## THE OBTUSE MAN

[Obtuseness may be defined as slowness of mind in speech and action.]

The Obtuse Man is the kind who does a calculation with his counters and after computing the total asks the person sitting next to him 'What does it come to?' When he has a lawsuit to defend and should be going to court he forgets about it and goes into the country. At the theatre he is found asleep in his seat when the audience has left. After a large supper he is bitten by his neighbour's dog when he gets up and goes to the lavatory during the night. He searches for some item which he has acquired and he is unable to find it, even though he stored it away himself. When a message arrives notifying him of the death of a friend and inviting him to the funeral, his face darkens and he bursts into tears and says 'And the best of luck to him!' He is also apt to get witnesses to support him when he is taking repayment of money which is owed him. He is annoyed with his slave for not buying cucumbers during the winter. He tires out his children by forcing them to wrestle and run races with him. In the country \* \* \* when he is boiling lentil soup he puts salt into the pan twice and makes it inedible. If it is raining he says 'How sweetly the stars smell', when everyone else says 'the earth'. When someone remarks 'You can't imagine how many bodies have been taken out to the cemetery through the Erian Gates', he answers 'I wish you and I could have such a windfall.'

1 [Ἡ δὲ αὐθάδειά ἐστιν ἀπήνεια ὁμιλία ἐν λόγοις.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ αὐθάδης τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἐρωτηθεὶς “Ὁ δεῖνα ποῦ  
 3 ἐστιν;” εἰπεῖν “Πράγματά μοι μὴ πάρεχε”. καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς  
 4 μὴ ἀντιπροσειπεῖν. <καὶ> πωλῶν τι μὴ λέγειν τοῖς ὠνουμέ-  
 5 νοις πόσου ἂν ἀποδοῖτο ἄλλ’ ἐρωτᾶν τί εὐρίσκει. καὶ †τοῖς 5  
 6 τιμῶσι καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο  
 7 διδόμενα†. καὶ οὐκ ἔχουν συγγνώμην οὔτε τῶι †ἀπώσαντι†  
 8 αὐτὸν ἀκουσίως οὔτε τῶι ὤσαντι οὔτε τῶι ἐμβάντι. καὶ φίλῳ  
 9 δὲ ἔρανον κελεύσαντι εἰσενεγκεῖν εἶπας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δοίῃ ὕστερον  
 10 ἦκειν φέρων καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἀπόλλυσι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον.  
 11 καὶ προσπταίεας ἐν τῇ ὁδῶι δεινὸς καταράσασθαι τῶι λίθῳ.  
 9/10 καὶ [ἀναμεῖναι] οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι πολὺν χρόνον οὐθένα. καὶ  
 οὔτε ἄισαι οὔτε ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὀρχήσασθαι ἂν ἐθελῆσαι.  
 11 δεινὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ ἐπεύχεσθαι.

Tit. αὐθαδείας ἰέ 1 del. Darvaris 3 μὴ om. A παρέχε A  
 4 <καὶ> δ 7 ἔχουν Lycius: ἔχων AB 8 αὐτὸν Diggle: αὐ- AB  
 ἐκουσίως B 9 εἶπας Diggle: εἰπῶν AB 11 δεινὸν B 12 ἀναμεῖναι  
 (-μῆναι B) del. Reiske 13 ἄσαι bce: ἄσαι B: ἑάσαι A ἐθελῆσαι ed. pr.  
 (θελῆσαι δ): ἠθέλησε B, -γεν A

## THE SELF-CENTRED MAN

[Self-centredness is implacability in social relations displayed in speech.]

The Self-centred Man is the kind who, when asked 'Where is so-and-so?', replies 'Don't bother me'. He will not return a greeting. When he has something for sale he will not tell customers how much he would sell it for but asks what it will fetch. When people \* \* \* \* \* for the festivals, he says that \* \* \* \* \*. He will not forgive anyone who accidentally \* \* \* \* or jostles him or treads on his toes. If a friend asks for a contribution to a loan he at first refuses, then comes along with it and says that this is more money wasted. When he stubs his toe in the street he is apt to curse the offending stone. He won't wait long for anyone. He refuses to sing or recite or dance. And he is apt to withhold credit from the gods.

XVI

ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ

- 1 [Ἄμελει ἢ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν <ἄν> εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ  
 2 δαιμόνιον.]  
 3 ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηνῶν  
 ἀπονηψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ δάφ-  
 4 νην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβῶν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν. καὶ τὴν 5  
 ὁδόν, ἐὰν παραδράμηι γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι ἕως  
 <ἄν> διεξέλθῃ τις ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλλῃ.  
 6 καὶ ἐπὶ ἴδιῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐὰν παρείαν Καβάζιον καλ-  
 7 εῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἠρώιον εὐθὺς ἰδρύσασθαι. καὶ τῶν 10  
 λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου  
 ἔλαιον καταχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλ-  
 8 λάττεσθαι. καὶ ἐὰν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διατράγῃ πρὸς τὸν  
 ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθῶν ἐρωτᾷ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· καὶ ἐὰν ἀποκρίνηται  
 αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυλοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι, μὴ προσέχειν τού-  
 9 τοις ἄλλ’ ἀποτροπαίοις ἐκθύσασθαι. καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν 15  
 καθᾶραι δεινός, Ἐκάτης φάσκων ἐπαγωγὴν γεγονέαι. κἄν  
 γλαῦκες βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ < >, ταράττεσθαι καὶ εἶπας  
 10 “Ἄθηνᾶ κρείττων” παρελθεῖν οὕτω. καὶ οὔτε ἐπιβῆναι μνή-  
 ματι οὔτ’ ἐπὶ νεκρὸν οὔτ’ ἐπὶ λεχῶ ἐλθεῖν ἐθελήσαι ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ  
 20 μιαινέσθαι συμφέρον αὐτῷ φῆσαι εἶναι. καὶ ταῖς τετράσι δὲ καὶ  
 ταῖς ἐβδόμαις προστάξας οἶνον ἔψειν τοῖς ἔνδον, ἐξελθῶν

Tit. ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Θεοφράστου χαρακτήρων, 15 χαρακτήρ δεισιδαιμονίας V  
 1–2 del. Darvaris 1 <ἄν> Schneider 3 ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηνῶν  
 Diggle: ἐπιχρωσῆν V 4 τοῦ ἱεροῦ ut uid. V<sup>ac</sup> 6 παραδράμη c<sup>1</sup>,  
 Sylburg: περι- V 7 <ἄν> Fischer διαβάλλῃ Sylburg: -λάβῃ V  
 8 ἐπὶ Diggle: ἐὰν V Καβάζιον Schneider: -άδιον V 9 ἠρώιον Dübner:  
 ἱερώιον V<sup>c</sup>, •ερ- V 12 ἀλφίτων cd: -την V διατράγῃ Hirschig:  
 -φάγῃ V 14 σκυλο- Blaydes: σκυτο- V 15 ἀποτροπαίοις Wyttenbach:  
 -τραπίει V ἐκθύσασθαι Bernhard: -λύει- V 16 δεινός Coray, Schneider:  
 δεῖν. ὡς V 17 lac. indic. Schneider ταράττεσθαι Coray, Schneider:  
 -εταί V εἶπου V<sup>c</sup> 20 μιαινέσθαι Siebenkees: μαιν- V αὐτῷ Foss  
 (ἑαυτ- Schneider): αὐ- V φῆσαι Schneider: φήσας V 21 ἐβδόμαις  
 Unger: -μάει V

## THE SUPERSTITIOUS MAN

[Superstition would simply seem to be cowardice with regard to the divine.]

The Superstitious Man is the kind who washes his hands in three springs, sprinkles himself with water from a temple font, puts a laurel leaf in his mouth, and then is ready for the day's perambulations. If a weasel runs across his path he will not proceed on his journey until someone else has covered the ground or he has thrown three stones over the road. When he sees a snake in his house he invokes Sabazios if it is the red-brown one, and if it is the holy one he sets up a hero-shrine there and then. Whenever he passes the shiny stones at the crossroads he pours oil from his flask over them and falls to his knees and kisses them before leaving. If a mouse nibbles through a bag of barley he goes to the expounder of sacred law and asks what he should do; and if the answer is that he should give it to the tanner to sew up he disregards the advice and performs an apotropaic sacrifice. He is apt to purify his house frequently, claiming that it is haunted by Hekate. If owls < > while he is walking he becomes agitated and says 'Athena is quite a power' before going on. He refuses to step on a tombstone or go near a dead body or a woman in childbirth, saying that he cannot afford to risk contamination. On the fourth and the seventh of the month he orders his household to boil down some wine, then goes out and

ἀγοράσαι μυρρίνας, λιβανωτόν, πόπανα καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἶσω  
 11 στεφανοῦν τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ ὅταν  
 ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὄνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς  
 μάντις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκόπους ἐρωτήσων τίνοι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶ 25  
 12 εὔχεσθαι δεῖ. καὶ τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς  
 κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός (ἐὰν δὲ μὴ χολάζῃ  
 13 ἢ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης) καὶ τῶν παιδίων. [καὶ τῶν περιρ-  
 14 ραινομένων ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐπιμελῶς δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι.] κἄν ποτε  
 ἐπίδῃ σκορόδωι ἐστεμμένον τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τριόδοις < > 30  
 ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι καὶ ἱερείας καλέσας σκίλ-  
 15 ληι ἢ σκύλακι κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν περικαθᾶραι. <καὶ> μαινόμενον  
 δὲ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον φρίζας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι.

22 μυρρίνας Diels: μυρσ- V λιβανωτόν Foss: -τῶν V πόπανα  
 Foss: πίνακα V 23 στεφανοῦν Siebenkees: -ῶν V 28 παιδίων (non  
 παίδων) uoluit V 28-9 del. Bloch 30 ἐστεμμένον Foss: -ων V lac.  
 indic. Casaubon 31 ἀπελθὼν cd: ἐπελθόντων V, ἀπ- V<sup>c</sup> 32 αὐτὸν  
 Stephanus: αὐ- V <καὶ> Darvaris 33 δὲ Blaydes: τε V

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

buys myrtle-wreaths, frankincense and cakes, and on his return spends the whole day garlanding the Hermaphrodites. When he has a dream he visits not only dream-analysts but also seers and bird-watchers to ask which god or goddess he should pray to. He makes a monthly visit to the Orphic ritualists to take the sacrament, accompanied by his wife (or if she is busy, the nurse) and his children. [He would seem to be one of the people who scrupulously sprinkle themselves at the seashore.] If ever he observes a man wreathed with garlic < > the offerings at the crossroads, he goes away and washes from head to toe, then calls for priestesses and tells them to purify him with a squill or a puppy. If he sees a madman or an epileptic he shudders and spits into his chest.



XVII

ΜΕΜΨΙΜΟΙΡΟΣ

1 [Ἔστιν ἡ μεμψιμοιρία ἐπιτίμησις παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τῶν  
 δεδομένων.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ μεμψίμοιρος τοιόσδε τις οἶος ἀποστείλαντος μερίδα  
 τοῦ φίλου εἶπεῖν πρὸς τὸν φέροντα “Ἐφθόνησέ μοι τοῦ ζωμοῦ  
 3 καὶ τοῦ οἴναριου οὐκ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσας”. καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐταί- 5  
 ρας καταφιλούμενος εἶπεῖν “Θαυμάζω εἰ σύ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς  
 4 ὄντως με φιλεῖς”. καὶ τῶι Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν οὐ διότι ὕει ἀλλὰ  
 5 διότι ὕστερον. καὶ εὐρών ἐν τῇ ὁδῶι βαλλάντιον εἶπεῖν “Ἄλλ’  
 6 οὐ θησαυρὸν ἠῦρηκα οὐδέποτε”. καὶ πριάμενος ἀνδράποδον  
 ἄξιον καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς τοῦ πωλοῦντος “Θαυμάζω” εἶπεῖν “εἴ 10  
 7 τι ὑγιᾶς οὕτως ἄξιον ἐώνημαι”. καὶ πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιζόμε-  
 ενον ὅτι “Υἴος σοι γέγονεν” εἶπεῖν ὅτι “Ἄν προσθῆις ‘Καὶ τῆς  
 8 οὐσίας τὸ ἦμισυ ἄπεστιν’ ἀληθῆ ἔρεῖς”. καὶ δίκην νικήσας καὶ  
 λαβῶν πάσας τὰς ψήφους ἐγκαλεῖν τῶι γράψαντι τὸν λόγον  
 9 ὡς πολλὰ παραλελοιπότι τῶν δικαίων. καὶ ἐράνου εἰσενε- 15  
 χθέντος παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ φήσαντός τινος “Ἰλαρὸς ἴσθι”,  
 “Καὶ πῶς” εἶπεῖν “ὅτε δεῖ τὰργύριον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστωι καὶ  
 χωρὶς τούτων χάριν ὀφείλεις ὡς ἠῦεργετημένον;”.

Tit. μεμψιμοιρίας ιζ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 τὸ προσῆκον (cd) τῶν Ast:  
 τῶν προσῆ (de litt. suprascriptis non liquet) V 4 ἐφθόνησε Pauw: -cas V  
 6 καταφιλούμενος V<sup>1c</sup>: φιλ- V 7 ὄντως Blaydes: οὕτω V 9 ἠῦρηκα  
 Wilamowitz: εὔ- V 10-11 εἴ τι Auberius: ὅτι V 11 οὕτω V 12 ὕος  
 Diggle: υἴος V 13 ἀπεστιν cd: ἀπέστην V δίκην  
 Sylburg: νίκην V 14 ἐγκαλεῖν Cantabr.<sup>a.c.</sup>, Stephanus: -εἴ V 17 ὅτε  
 Casaubon: ὅτι V 18 ἠῦ- Diggle: εὔ- V

## THE UNGRATEFUL GRUMBLER

[Ungrateful Grumbling is unsuitable criticism of what you have been given.]

The Ungrateful Grumbler is the kind of man who says to someone bringing him a piece of food sent by a friend 'He did me out of the soup and wine by not inviting me to dinner.' When the woman he keeps is kissing him he says 'I wonder if your affection really comes from the heart.' He complains to Zeus not because it is raining but because it did not rain sooner. If he finds a purse in the street he says 'But I have never found a treasure.' When he has bought a slave at a bargain price after long haggling he says 'I wonder how healthy it can be if I got it so cheap.' To the person who brings him the good news 'You have a son' he says 'If you add "And you have lost half your fortune" you will not be far wrong.' When he wins a unanimous verdict in court he finds fault with his speech-writer for leaving out many of the arguments in his favour. When his friends have got together a loan and one of them says 'Cheer up', he answers 'How do you mean? When I have to refund every one of you and on top of that be grateful for the favour?'

## XVIII

## ΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ

1 [Ἔστιν ἀμέλει <ή> ἀπιστία ὑπόληψίς τις ἀδικίας κατὰ πάντων.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσονται ἕτερον παῖδα πέμπειν [τὸν] πευσόμενον πόσου  
 3 ἐπρίατο. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ κατὰ στάδιον καθί- 5  
 4 ζων ἀριθμεῖν πόσον ἔστί. καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωτᾶν  
 κατακείμενος εἰ κέκλεικε τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ εἰ σεσήμανται τὸ  
 κυλικεῖον καὶ εἰ ὁ μοχλὸς εἰς τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλείαν ἐμβέβλη-  
 ται· καὶ ἂν ἐκείνη φῆι, μηδὲν ἦττον αὐτὸς ἀναστὰς γυμνὸς ἐκ  
 τῶν στρωμάτων καὶ ἀνυπόδητος τὸν λύχνον ἄψας ταῦτα 10  
 πάντα περιδραμῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ οὕτω μόλις ὕπνου τυγ-  
 5 χάνειν. καὶ τοὺς ὀφείλοντας αὐτῷ ἀργύριον μετὰ μαρτύρων  
 ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς τόκους, ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται ξεαρνοὶ γενέσθαι.  
 6 καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον δὲ ἐκδοῦναι δεινὸς οὐχ ὅς <ἂν> βέλτιστα  
 7 ἐργάσεται ἀλλ' οὐ ἂν ἦ ἄξιος ἐγγυητής [τοῦ κναφέως]. καὶ 15  
 ὅταν ἦκηι τις αἰτησόμενος ἐκπώματα μάλιστα μὲν μὴ δοῦναι,  
 ἂν δ' ἄρα τις οἰκεῖος ἦι καὶ ἀναγκαῖος μόνον οὐ πυρώσας καὶ  
 8 στήσας καὶ σχεδὸν ἐγγυητὴν λαβῶν χρῆσαι. καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ  
 ἀκολουθοῦντα κελεύειν αὐτοῦ ὄπισθεν μὴ βαδίζειν ἀλλ' ἔμ-  
 9 προσθεν, ἵνα φυλάττη αὐτὸν μὴ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποδρᾶι. καὶ τοῖς 20  
 εἰληφόσι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουσι “Πόσου; κατὰθου· οὐ γὰρ  
 σχολάζω πω” εἰπεῖν “Μηδὲν πραγματεύου· ἐγὼ γάρ, <ἔω>  
 ἂν σὺ σχολάσης, συνακολουθήσω”.

Tit. ἡ ἀπιστίας 1–2 del. Darvaris 1 <ή> c<sup>2</sup>, Darvaris 4 ὀψ-  
 ωνήσονται c<sup>1</sup>d: -σαντα V 4 τὸν om. cd, del. Camotius 5 φέρειν  
 Coray: φέρων V 6 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- V 8 κυλικεῖον Gale:  
 κυλιούχιον V 12 αὐτῷ Stephanus: αὐ- V 13 δύνωνται Cantabr.:  
 δύναντο V 14 (ἐκδ)οῦναι V<sup>m</sup>: ἐκδῦναι V ὅς Salmasius: ὡς V  
 <ἂν> Darvaris 15 ἐργάσεται V<sup>c</sup>: -εται V<sup>2</sup> οὐ ἂν Ast: ὅταν V  
 τοῦ κναφέως del. Pauw 18 χρῆσαι Schneider: χρήσει V 19 αὐτοῦ  
 Stephanus: αὐ- V 20 φυλάττη Hirschig: -ηται V αὐτὸν Needham:  
 -τῷ V ἀποδρᾶι Hirschig: -δράσει V 21 αὐτοῦ Diels: αὐ- V 22  
 εἰπεῖν Madvig: πέμπειν V <ἔω> Madvig

## THE DISTRUSTFUL MAN

[Distrust really is a presumption of wrongdoing directed against everyone.]

The Distrustful Man is the kind who despatches his slave to do the shopping and then sends another to find out how much he paid. He carries his own money with him and sits down every two hundred yards to count it. While lying in bed he asks his wife whether she has closed the chest and sealed the sideboard and whether the front door has been bolted, and if she says yes he throws off the bedclothes anyway and gets up with nothing on and lights the lamp and runs around in his bare feet to inspect everything in person, and so he hardly gets any sleep. When he asks his debtors for interest payments he has his witnesses present, so that they cannot deny the debt. When his cloak needs attention he will not give it to the person who does the best job but to the one who is suitably insured. When somebody comes asking for the loan of cups, he would rather say no altogether, but if he has to oblige a member of the family or a close relative he will lend them only after he has all but checked the quality and weight of the metal and practically got someone to guarantee the cost of replacement. He tells the slave accompanying him to walk in front and not behind, so that he can watch that he doesn't run off on the way. When people who have bought something from him say 'How much? Put it on account. I'm not free just yet', he replies 'Don't trouble yourself. I'll keep you company until you are.'

XIX

ΔΥΣΧΕΡΗΣ

- 1 [Ἔστιν ἡ δυσχερεία ἀθεραπευσία σώματος λύπης παρασκευαστική.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ δυσχερῆς τοιοῦτός τις οἷος λέπραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μέλανας περιπατεῖν καὶ φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ  
 3 συγγενικὰ ἀρρωστήματα· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ 5  
 τὸν πάππον καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ῥαίδιον ὑὸν εἰς τὸ γένος ὑποβάλ-  
 4 λεσθαι. ἀμέλει δὲ δεινὸς καὶ ἔλκη ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀντικνημίοις καὶ  
 5 προσπταίσματα ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις καὶ μὴ θεραπεῦσαι ἀλλ’  
 6 ἔᾶσαι θηριωθῆναι. καὶ τὰς μασχάλας δὲ φθειρώδεις καὶ δασείας 10  
 ἔχειν ἄχρι ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας μέλανας  
 καὶ ἐσθιομένους [ὥστε δυσέντευκτος εἶναι καὶ ἀηδής. καὶ τὰ  
 5 τοιαῦτα.] <καὶ> ἐσθίων ἀπομύττεσθαι, θύων ἅμ’ ἀδαξᾶσθαι,  
 προσλαῶν <σίαλον> ἀπορρίπτειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, ἅμα  
 πίνων προσερυγάνειν, ἀναπόνιπτος ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι μετὰ  
 τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ κοιμᾶσθαι, ἐλαίωι σαπρῶι ἐν βαλανείωι 15  
 6 χρώμενος συφεοῦ ὀζεσθαι. καὶ χιτωνίσκον παχὺν καὶ ἱμάτιον  
 σφόδρα λεπτὸν καὶ κηλίδων μεστὸν ἀναβαλόμενος εἰς ἀγορὰν  
 ἐξελθεῖν.

Tit. 1θ δυσχερείας 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 οἷος cd: οἷον V 4 μέ-  
 λανας Herwerden: μεγάλ(ου) V αὐτῷ Stephanus: αὐ- V 5 αὐτὰ  
 Meier: -τὸν V 6 ὑὸν Diggle (υἷὸν Diels): αὐτὸν V 9 φθειρώδεις  
 Diggle: θηριώδεις V 11 ὥστε . . . ἀηδής del. Immisch 11-12 καὶ  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα del. Schneider 12 <καὶ> Foss ἅμ’ ἀδαξᾶσθαι Diels:  
 ἅμα δ’ ἄρξασθαι V 13 <σίαλον> Diggle 14 πίνων Casaubon: πίων  
 V ἀναπόνιπτος Badham: ἀναπίπτοντος V 15 αὐτοῦ Foss: αὐ- V  
 16 συφεοῦ ὀζεσθαι Diggle: σφύζεσθαι V 17 ἀναβαλόμενος Stephanus:  
 -βαλλ- V

## THE OFFENSIVE MAN

[Offensiveness is a distressing neglect of the person.]

The Offensive Man is the kind who parades about with scaly and blanched skin and black nails and claims that these are congenital ailments; his father and grandfather had them, and it makes it difficult to palm off an illegitimate son on the family. He is quite apt to have sores on his shins and lesions on his toes, and instead of treating them he lets them fester. His armpits are infested with lice and their hair extends over much of his sides, and his teeth are black and rotten [so that he is no pleasure to meet. And so on.] He wipes his nose while eating, scratches himself while sacrificing, discharges <spit> from his mouth while talking, belches at you while drinking, does not wash before going to bed with his wife, and uses rancid oil at the baths so that he reeks of the pig-sty. He goes out to the market wearing thick underwear and a thin cloak full of stains.

7 < . . . . . > καὶ εἰς ὀρνιθοσκόπου τῆς μητρὸς ἐξελθούσης βλασ-  
 8 φημῆσαι. καὶ εὐχομένων καὶ σπενδόντων ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ ποτήρ- 20  
 9 ἰον καὶ γελάσαι ὥσπερ ἀστεῖόν τι πεποηκῶς. καὶ αὐλούμενος  
 δὲ κροτεῖν ταῖς χερσὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων καὶ συντερετίζειν καὶ  
 10 ἐπιτιμᾶν τῇι αὐλητρίδι ὅτι οὕτω ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο. καὶ ἀπο-  
 πτύσαι δὲ βουλόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς τραπέζης προσπτύσαι τῷ  
 οἰνοχόωι. 25

19–25 ad caput alienum rettulit Pauw 19 εἰς cd: εἰς ἐξ V 20 ἐκβαλεῖν  
 Casaubon (noluit Sylburg): ἐμβ- V 21 ὥσπερ ἀστεῖον Bernhard: ὡς  
 τεράστιον V 22 συντερετίζειν V<sup>c</sup>: -τερμίζειν V<sup>2</sup> 23 ὅτι Coray: τί V  
 οὕτω Coray: οὐ V ἐπαύσατο Kayser: παύσαιτο V

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

*(from a different sketch)*

. . . He blasphemes when his mother has gone out to the augur's. During a prayer and the pouring of a libation he drops his cup and laughs as if he had done something clever. When a girl is playing the pipes he claps and hums in solo accompaniment, and then he blames her for stopping prematurely. When he is minded to spit he spits across the table and hits the wine-waiter.



## XX

## ΑΗΔΗΣ

1 [Ἔστιν ἡ ἀηδία, ὡς ὄρωι λαβεῖν, ἔντευξις λύπης ποιητικὴ  
 ἀνευ βλάβης.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ ἀηδὴς τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἐγειρεῖν ἄρτι καθεύδοντα εἰς-  
 3 ἐλθῶν ἵνα αὐτῷ λαλήῃ. καὶ ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη μέλλοντας κωλύειν.  
 4/5 καὶ προσελθόντων δεῖσθαι ἐπιχεῖν ἕως ἂν περιπατήσῃ. καὶ 5  
 τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίθης ἀφελόμενος, μαρώμενος κιτίζειν αὐτὸς  
 καὶ ὑποκορίζεσθαι ποππύζων καὶ ποπανουργίαν τοῦ πάπ-  
 6 που καλῶν. καὶ ἐσθίων δὲ ἅμα διηγεῖσθαι ὡς ἐλλέβορον πίων  
 ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐκαθάρθη καὶ <τοῦ> ζωμοῦ τοῦ παρακειμένου  
 7 ἐν τοῖς ὑποχωρήμασιν αὐτῷ μελαντέρα ἢ χολή. καὶ ἐρωτῆ- 10  
 ραι δὲ δεινὸς ἐναντίον τῶν οἰκετῶν “Εἶπ’, ὦ μάμμη, ὅτ’ ὠδινες  
 8 καὶ ἔτικτές με, τίς ἡμέρα†;” καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὲ λέγειν ὡς ἡδύ  
 ἔστι καὶ < >, ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα οὐ ράδιον ἀνθρ-  
 9 ωπον λαβεῖν. < > καὶ ὅτι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐστὶ παρ’  
 αὐτῷ λακκαῖον καὶ [ὡς] κῆπος λάχανα πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ 15  
 ἀπαλὰ [ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρὸν] καὶ μάγειρος εὔ τὸ ὄψον σκευά-  
 ζων, καὶ ὅτι ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ πανδοκεῖόν ἐστι· μεστήν γὰρ ἀεί·  
 καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸν τετρημένον πίθον· εὔ ποιῶν  
 10 γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι ἐμπλήσασθαι. καὶ ξενίζων δὲ δεῖξαι  
 τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ ποῖός τις ἐστὶ τῷ συνδειπνοῦντι· καὶ 20  
 † παρακαλῶν† δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ τέρψον τοὺς  
 παρόντας παρεσκεύασται καὶ ὅτι ταύτην, ἐὰν κελεύσωσιν, ὁ  
 παῖς μέτεισι παρὰ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ ἤδη, “ὅπως πάντες ὑπ’  
 αὐτῆς αὐλώμεθα καὶ εὐφραίνώμεθα.”

Tit. ἀηδίας κ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 οἶος cd: οἶον V 4 ἤδη  
 Schneider: δὴ V 5 προσελθόντων Immisch, Holland: προσελθῶν V  
 7 ποπανουργίαν Diggle: πανουργιῶν V 8 ἐλλέβορον V<sup>c</sup>: ἐλέ- V  
 9 ἐκαθάρθη Navarre: καθαρθείη V <τοῦ> Aubertius 10 -μασι V  
 αὐτῷ Needham: αὐ- V 11 οἰκετῶν Courier: οἰκειῶν V Εἶπ' ὦ Diels:  
 εἶπου V, (εἶπ)ερ V<sup>s</sup> 13 lac. (ante καί) indic. Hartung 14 lac. indic. Hot-  
 tinger 15 αὐτῷ Needham: αὐ- V ὡς del. Diggle, Stefanis 16 del.  
 Bloch 17 αὐτοῦ Cantabr.: αὐ- V μεστήν γὰρ ἀεί Foss: μεστή γὰρ ἐστὶ  
 V 18 αὐτοῦ Foss: αὐ- V 20 αὐτοῦ Casaubon: αὐ- V 22 ταύτην  
 Diggle: αὐτήν V 23 ὅπως Schneider: πῶς V

## THE DISAGREEABLE MAN

[Disagreeableness may be defined as contact which gives pain without causing harm.]

The Disagreeable Man is the kind who comes in and wakes you up for a chat when you have just gone to sleep. He detains people who are ready to set sail. He asks visitors to wait until he has gone for a stroll. He takes his baby from the nurse and feeds it food which he has chewed himself, and mouths 'pop-o-pop-o-pop' to it and calls it 'Pop's bun in the oven'. At dinner he tells how he was cleaned out top and bottom after drinking hellebore, and the bile from his faeces was blacker than the broth on the table. He is prone to ask in front of the slaves 'Mummy, tell me, when you were in labour and bringing me into the world, what \* \* \* \*?'. And he says of her that it is pleasant < >, and it is not easy to find a person who does not have both. <He says > and that he has cold water in a cistern at home and a garden with plenty of succulent vegetables and a cook who prepares a good dish, and that his house is an inn (it is always full) and his friends are a leaking jar (however many good turns he does them he can't fill them up). He shows off the qualities of his parasite to the guest at dinner. And \* \* \* \* over the wine he says that there is something available to amuse the company, and, if they give the order, the slave will go and fetch her right away from the brothel-keeper, 'so that she can play for us and give us all a good time'.

## XXI

## ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΣ

1 [Ἦ δὲ μικροφιλοτιμία δόξει <εν ἄν> εἶναι ὄρεξις τιμῆς ἀνελεύ-  
 θερος.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ μικροφιλότιμος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος σπουδάσαι ἐπὶ δεῖ-  
 πνον κληθεὶς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνῆ-  
 3/4 ραι. καὶ τὸν ὑὸν ἀποκεῖραι ἀγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς. καὶ ἐπιμελη- 5  
 5 θῆναι δὲ ὅπως αὐτῶν ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται. καὶ ἀποδιδούς  
 6 μῶν ἄργυρίου καινὸν †ποιῆσαι† ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ κολοῖω δὲ  
 ἔνδον τρεφομένω δεινὸς κλιμάκιον πρίασθαι καὶ ἀσπίδιον  
 χαλκοῦν ποιῆσαι ὃ ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιμακίου ὁ κολοῖος πηδή-  
 7 ρεται. καὶ βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς 10  
 εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι στέμμασι μέγалоις περιδήσας,  
 8 ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε. καὶ πομπεύσας μετὰ  
 τῶν ἵππέων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα δοῦναι τῷ παιδί ἀπενεγκεῖν  
 οἴκαδε, ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ θοῖμάτιον ἐν τοῖς μύωσι κατὰ τὴν  
 9 ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν. καὶ κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαν- 15  
 τος αὐτῶν μνήμα ποιῆσαι καὶ στηλίδιον στήσας ἐπιγράψαι  
 10 “†Κλάδος† Μελιταῖος”. καὶ ἀναθεὶς δάκτυλον χαλκοῦν ἐν  
 τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν στεφανοῦν ἀλείφειν ὁσημέ-  
 11 ραι. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ συνδιοικήσασθαι μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ὅπως  
 ἀπαγγεῖλη τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπ- 20  
 ρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ ἔστεφανωμένος παρελθὼν εἰπεῖν “ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις [τὰ ἱερά] τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν  
 τὰ Γαλάξια, καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθά”.  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγεῖλας ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε διηγῆσασθαι τῇ  
 αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἠῆμέρει. 25

Tit. μικροφιλοτιμίας κα' 1–2 del. Darvaris 1 δόξειεν ἄν c': δόξει V  
 5 ὑὸν Diggle: υἰὸν V 6 αὐτῶν Needham: αὐ- V 7 μῶν V<sup>c</sup>: μ•ἄν  
 V ἄργυρίου V<sup>c</sup>: ἄργύριον V<sup>2</sup> 11 προσπατταλεῦσαι cd: -ῶσαι V  
 14 ἀναβαλόμενος Stephanus: -βαλλ- V 16 στήσας Triller: ποιήσας V  
 17 δάκτυλον Nast, Naber: δακτύλιον V 18 στεφανοῦν Meier: -οῦντα  
 V 19 συνδιοικήσασθαι cd: -ίσαθαι V μετὰ Diggle, Stefanis: παρὰ V  
 22 τὰ ἱερά del. Schneider 23 Γαλάξια Wilamowitz: γὰρ ἄξια V 24  
 ἀπελθὼν Diggle: ἀπιὼν V οἴκαδε διηγ- Reiske: διηγ- οἴκαδε V 25  
 αὐτοῦ Foss (ἐαυ- cd): αὐ- V ἠῆμέρει post Needham (εὐ-) Diggle: εὐμε-  
 ρεῖν V

## THE MAN OF PETTY AMBITION

[Petty Ambition would seem to be a mean desire for prestige.]

The Man of Petty Ambition is the kind who, when he gets an invitation to dinner, is eager to sit next to the host. He takes his son to Delphi to have his hair cut. He goes to the trouble of acquiring an Aethiopian attendant. When he pays back a *mina* of silver he pays it back in new coin. He is apt to buy a little ladder for his domestic jackdaw and make a little bronze shield for it to carry when it hops onto the ladder. When he has sacrificed an ox he nails up the skull opposite the entrance to his house and fastens long ribbons around it, so that his visitors can see that he has sacrificed an ox. After parading with the cavalry he gives his slave the rest of his equipment to take home, then throws back his cloak and strolls through the marketplace in his spurs. On the death of his Maltese dog he builds a funeral monument and sets up a little slab with the inscription ' \* \* from Malta'. He dedicates a bronze finger in the sanctuary of Asclepius and does not let a day pass without polishing, garlanding, and oiling it. And you can be sure that he will arrange with the executive committee of the Council that he should be the one to make the public report on the conduct of religious business, and will step forward wearing a smart white cloak, with a crown on his head, and say 'Men of Athens, my colleagues and I celebrated the Milk-Feast with sacrifices to the Mother of the Gods. The sacrifices were propitious. We beg you to accept your blessings.' After making this report he goes home and tells his wife that he had an extremely successful day.

## XXII

## ΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ

1 [Ἡ δὲ ἀνελευθερία ἐστὶ ἰπεριουσία τις ἀπὸ φιλοτιμίας  
 2 δαπάνην ἔχουσα<sup>†</sup>.]  
 3 ὁ δὲ ἀνελεύθερος τοιοῦτός τις οἶος νικήσας τραγωιδῶν  
 4 ταινίαν ξυλίην ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐπιγράψας μέλανι  
 5 αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ ἐπιδόσεων γιγνομένων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ  
 6 ἀναστὰς κιωπῆν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ἐκδιδούς αὐτοῦ  
 7 θυγατέρα τοῦ μὲν ἱερείου πλὴν τῶν ἱερεωσύνων τὰ κρέα  
 8 ἀποδόσθαι, τοὺς δὲ διακονοῦντας ἐν τοῖς γάμοις οἰκοσίτους  
 9 μισθῶσθαι. καὶ τριηρα<χῶν τὰ μὲν τοῦ> κυβερνήτου  
 10 στρώματα αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὑποστόρνυσθαι,  
 11 τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποτιθέναι. καὶ τὰ παιδία δὲ δεινὸς μὴ πέμψαι  
 εἰς διδασκάλου, ὅταν ἦι [τοῦ ἀποτιθέναι καὶ τὰ παιδία]  
 12 Μουσεῖα, ἀλλὰ φῆσαι κακῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα μὴ συμβάλωνται. καὶ ἐξ  
 13 ἀγορᾶς δὲ ὀψωνήσας [τὰ κρέα] αὐτὸς φέρειν τὰ λάχανα ἐν  
 14 τῷ προκοιλίῳ. καὶ ἔνδον μένειν ὅταν ἐκδῶι θοίματιον  
 15 πλῦναι. καὶ φίλου ἔρανον συλλέγοντος καὶ διηγγελμένου  
 16 αὐτῷ, προσιόντα προιδόμενος ἀποκάμψας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν  
 17 κύκλῳ οἴκαδε πορευθῆναι. καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ  
 18 προῖκα εἰσενεγκαμένην μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπαιναν ἀλλὰ  
 19 μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικειᾶς παιδάριον τὸ  
 20 συνακολουθῆσον. καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα

Tit. ἀνελευθερίας κβ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 3 νικήσας Lycius: νικήσαι V  
 τραγωιδῶν Casaubon: -ωδούς V 4 ἐπιγράψας V<sup>c</sup>: -ψ●● V μέλανι  
 Madvig: μὲν V 5 αὐτοῦ Stephanus: αὐ- V γιν- V ἐν τῷ δήμῳ  
 Meier: ἐκ τοῦ δήμου V 6 κιωπῆν Needham: κιωπᾶν ἢ V αὐτοῦ  
 Stephanus: αὐ- V 7 ἱερεωσύνων Meier: ἱερέων V 9 lacunae signum  
 V<sup>m</sup> χῶν τὰ τοῦ suppl. cd, μὲν Diels 10 στρώματα αὐτῷ Meier:  
 στρώμα ταυτὸν V ὑποστόρνυσθαι Blaydes: -ρένυσθαι V 11 αὐτοῦ  
 d, Stephanus: αὐ- V 12 del. Meier 13 Μουσεῖα Schneider: -σία  
 V 14 del. Diels 16 πλῦναι Hirschig: ἐκπλ- V διηγγελμένου Hol-  
 land: διειλεγμένου V 18 ἑαυτοῦ V<sup>c</sup>: αὐ- V 19 θεράπαιναν cd: θερ-  
 αῖπαινα V 20 παιδάριον Diggle: παιδίον V 21 συνακολουθῆσον  
 fere Siebenkees: -σαν V παλιμπήξει Schneider: πάλιν πήξει V

## THE ILLIBERAL MAN

[Illiberality is \* \* \* \* ambition \* \* \* \* expense.]

The Illiberal Man is one who dedicates a strip of wood to Dionysus after winning the prize for the best tragic chorus and inscribes his own name on it in ink. When emergency donations are being promised in the Assembly he gets up and slips quietly out. At his daughter's wedding he sells the meat from the sacrifice (all but the priest's share) and tells the hired waiters to bring their own food. When he is serving as commander of a trireme he spreads the helmsman's mattress on the deck for himself and stows his own away. He will not send his children to school when there is a festival of the Muses, but will claim that they are ill, so that they do not have to take a contribution. When he has been shopping in the market he carries the vegetables himself in his front pocket. He stays in the house when he sends out his cloak to the laundry. If word has reached him that a friend is raising a subscription, he cuts down a side-street on seeing him approach and takes a roundabout way home. Even though his wife brought him a dowry he will not buy her a maid, but instead hires a girl from the women's market to keep her company on her outings. He wears shoes whose soles have been stitched back

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ ΗΘΙΚΟΙ

<sup>12</sup> φορεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι κέρατος οὐδὲν διαφέρει. καὶ ἀναστὰς τὴν  
<sup>13</sup> οἰκίαν καλλῦναι καὶ τὰς κλῖνας ἐκκορίσαι. καὶ καθεζόμενος  
παραστρέψαι τὸν τρίβωνα, ὃν αὐτὸν φορεῖ.

<sup>23</sup> ἐκκορίσαι Casaubon: -ῆσαι V     καθεζόμενος cd: -ον V     <sup>24</sup> αὐτὸν  
Münsterberg: -ὸς V

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

on and claims that they are as strong as horn. When he gets up in the morning he sweeps the house and debugs the couches. When he sits down he turns up his tunic, which is all that he is wearing.



## XXIII

## ΑΛΑΖΩΝ

- 1 [Ἄμελει δὲ ἡ ἀλαζονεία δόξει <εν ἄν> εἶναι προσποίησίς τις ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων.]
- 2 ὁ δὲ ἀλαζῶν τοιοῦτός τις οἶος ἐν τῷ δείγματι ἐστηκώς διηγείσθαι ξένοις ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δανειστικῆς διεξίεναι 5 ἡλικία, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα εἴληφε καὶ ἀπολώλεκε· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα πλεθρίζων πέμπειν τὸ παιδάριον εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, <μηδὲ
- 3 μῖα> δραχμῆς αὐτῷ κειμένης. καὶ συνοδοιπόρου δὲ ἀπολαῦσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δεινὸς λέγων ὡς μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ <οἰκεί> ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε καὶ ὅσα λιθοκόλλητα 10 ποτήρια ἐκομίσατο· καὶ περὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὅτι βελτίους εἰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀμφιβητῆσαι· καὶ
- 4 ταῦτα φῆσαι οὐδαμοῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδημηκώς. καὶ γράμματα δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς πάρεστι παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου τριττὰ δὴ λέγοντα παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ διδομένης 15 αὐτῷ ἐξαγωγῆς ξύλων ἀτελοῦς ὅτι ἀπήρνηται, ὅπως μὴδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς συκοφαντηθῆι ἰπεραιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν προσῆκε
- 5 Μακεδόσι<sup>†</sup>. καὶ ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δὲ <εἰπεῖν> ὡς πλείω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀναλώματα διδόντι τοῖς ἀπόροις
- 6 τῶν πολιτῶν· ἀνανεῦειν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθαι. καὶ ἀγνώτων δὲ 20 παρακαθημένων κελεῦσαι θεῖναι τὰς ψήφους ἕνα αὐτῶν καὶ

Tit. ἀλαζονείας κγ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 δόξειεν ἄν c': δόξει V προσποίησις Auberius: προσδοκία V 3 δείγματι Casaubon: διαζεύγματι V 4 διηγείσθαι cd: -εἶτο V αὐτῷ Morel (αὐ- iam Lycius): αὐτοῖς V 5 θαλάττῃ cd: -cc- V 7-8 <μηδὲ μῖα> Diggle 9 μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου Auberius: μετὰ εὐάνδρου V 10 οἰκείως Cobet: ὡς V 11 ἐκομίσατο Reiske: ἐκόμισε V 13 φῆσαι Coray: ψηφῆσαι V οὐδαμοῖ Cobet: -οὐ V 15 παραγενέσθαι cd: -γίνεσθαι V αὐτὸν Gale: αὐ- V μακεδονίαν cd: μακε<sup>δν</sup> V 16 αὐτῷ Needham: αὐ- V ἀπήρνηται Cobet: ἀπείρηται V 18 σιτοδείᾳ Casaubon: σποδιᾷ V <εἰπεῖν> Diggle πλείω cd: -ους V 19 αὐτῷ Needham: αὐ- V ἐγένετο Hanow: γένοιτο V

## THE BOASTFUL MAN

[Boastfulness would really seem to be a pretension to non-existent advantages.]

The Boastful Man will stand in the market at the Piraeus and tell foreigners that he has a good deal of money invested at sea; he will explain how vast is the money-lending business and how much he has personally gained and lost; and while he is exaggerating this beyond all proportion he will send his slave to the bank, although there is <not even a single> drachma in his account. He is apt to gull the person he is walking with by telling how he served with Alexander and was on familiar terms with him and what a number of jewelled cups he brought home; and he will maintain that the craftsmen in Asia are better than those in Europe – all this even though he has never been anywhere outside the city. He will say that he has had no fewer than three letters from Antipater telling him to come to Macedonia, and that he has been offered the right to export timber duty-free, but has declined, so that not a soul can bring a trumped up charge against him \*\*\*\*\*. And he will claim that during the food shortage he spent more than five talents on handouts to destitute citizens – he just could not say no. When he finds himself sitting next to complete strangers he will ask one of them to work the calculator, and then he does an addition,

ποσῶν κατὰ χιλίας καὶ κατὰ μίαν καὶ προστιθεὶς πιθανῶς  
 ἑκάστοις τούτων ὀνόματα ποιῆσαι καὶ δέκα τάλαντα· καὶ  
 ταῦτα φῆσαι εἰσενηνέχθαι εἰς ἑράνους αὐτῶν· καὶ τὰς τρι-  
 ηραρχίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ τίθησιν οὐδὲ τὰς λειτουργίας ὅσας 25  
 7 λελειούργηκε. καὶ προσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς  
 8 τοῖς πωλοῦσι προσποιήσασθαι ὠνητιᾶν. καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηναὶς  
 ἔλθων ἱματικμὸν ζητῆσαι εἰς δύο τάλαντα καὶ τῷ παιδι  
 9 μάχεσθαι ὅτι τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔχων αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖ. καὶ ἐν  
 μισθωτῇ οἰκίᾳ οἰκῶν φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πατρώϊαν 30  
 πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα καὶ ὅτι μέλλει πωλεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ  
 ἐλάττω εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ξενοδοκίας.

22 ποσῶν Siebenkees: πόσων V κατὰ χιλίας Wilamowitz:  
 καθ' ἑξακοσίας V 24 ταῦτα Schneider: τοῦτο V φῆσαι Lycius:  
 φήσας V αὐτῶν Foss: αὐτῶν V 26 δὲ Jebb: δ' εἰς V 27 σκηναὶς  
 Casaubon: κλίνας V 29 αὐτῶν Schwartz: αὐ- V 31 ὅτι Lycius: διότι  
 V 32 αὐτῶν Edmonds: αὐ- V ξενοδοκίας Cobet: -χίας V

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

counting from the thousand-drachma to the one-drachma column, and putting a plausible name to each item, and reaches as much as ten talents, and says that these are the sums he has contributed towards loans for friends – and he has not included the trierarchies and all his other compulsory public services. He will approach people selling horses of quality and pretend that he is a customer. He will visit the clothes stalls and look for a wardrobe amounting to two talents, then vent his annoyance on his slave for coming without the money. Although the house he lives in is rented he will tell the innocent listener that it belonged to his father and he proposes to sell it because it is too small for the scale of his hospitality.

## XXIV

## ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΟΣ

1 [Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὑπερήφανία καταφρόνησίς τις πλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν  
 ἄλλων.]  
 2 Ὁ δὲ ὑπερήφανος τοιόσδε τις οἶος τῷ σπεύδοντι ἀπὸ  
 3 δείπνου ἐντεύξεσθαι φάσκειν ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν. καὶ εὖ ποιήσας  
 4 μεμνήσθαι φάσκειν. καὶ βαδίζων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὰς διαίτας 5  
 5 κρίνειν [ἐν] τοῖς ἐπιτρέψασι. καὶ χειροτονούμενος ἐξόμνυσθαι  
 6 τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐ φάσκων χολοάζειν. καὶ προσελθεῖν πρότερος  
 7 οὐδενὶ ἐθέλησαι. καὶ τοὺς πωλοῦντάς τι ἢ μισθουμένους δεινὸς  
 8 κελεῦσαι ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμ' ἡμέραι. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς  
 πορευόμενος μὴ λαλεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι κάτω κεκυφώς, 10  
 9 ὅταν δὲ αὐτῷ δόξῃ ἄνω πάλιν. καὶ ἐστιῶν τοὺς φίλους  
 αὐτὸς μὴ συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν τινι συντάξαι  
 10 αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ προαποστέλλειν δέ, ἐπὶ πορεύηται,  
 11 τὸν ἐροῦντα ὅτι προσέρχεται. καὶ οὔτε ἐπ' ἀλειφόμενον  
 12 αὐτὸν οὔτε λούμενον οὔτε ἐσθιοντα ἔῃσαι ἂν εἰσελθεῖν. ἀμέλει 15  
 δὲ καὶ λογιζόμενος πρὸς τινὰ τῷ παιδὶ συντάξαι τὰς ψήφους  
 διαθεῖναι καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσαντι γράψαι αὐτῷ εἰς λόγον.  
 13 καὶ ἐπιστέλλων μὴ γράφειν ὅτι “Χαρίζοιο ἂν μοι” ἀλλ’ ὅτι  
 “Βούλομαι γενέσθαι” καὶ “Ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς σὲ ληψόμενος”  
 καὶ “Ὅπως ἄλλως μὴ ἔσται” καὶ “Τὴν ταχίστην”. 20

Tit. ὑπερήφανίας κδ' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 αὐτοῦ Needham:  
 αὐ- V 5 βαδίζων Schweighäuser: βιάζειν V 6 ἐν del. Coray,  
 Schneider χειροτονούμενος Coray, Schneider: -μένοισι V 8  
 ἐθέλησαι Diggle (θέλησαι Casaubon): θέλησας V μισθουμένους Coray:  
 μεικθωμένους V 9 αὐτὸν Pasquali: αὐ- V 12 αὐτὸν Needham: αὐ-  
 V 14 προσέρχεται Schneider: προ- V 15 αὐτὸν Needham: αὐ- V  
 λούμενον Meineke: λουόμ- V ἔῃσαι Needham: ἔῃσας V 17 διαθεῖναι  
 Sheppard: διωθεῖν V 18 γράφειν Schneider: γράψειν V ὅτι (alterum)  
 Vc: ὅ•• V

## THE ARROGANT MAN

[Arrogance is a contempt for everyone other than oneself.]

The Arrogant Man is the sort who tells someone who is in a hurry that he will meet him after dinner while he is taking his stroll. He says that he never forgets a good turn that he has done. When called in to arbitrate he delivers his judgement while walking down the street. When voted into office he protests that he cannot accept, pleading lack of time. He will never be the one to make the first approach. People who wish to sell or hire something are told to present themselves at his house at daybreak. As he walks in the street he does not speak to passers-by but keeps his head down and looks up only when it suits him. When he gives a dinner for his friends he does not dine with them but tells one of his employees to look after them. When he travels he sends someone ahead to say that he is coming. He refuses visitors while he is putting on oil or bathing or eating. And you may be sure that when he is reckoning someone's account he instructs his slave to do the calculations, work out a total, and write him out an invoice for that amount. When he sends a written request it is not his style to say 'I should be obliged', but rather 'I expressly desire' and 'My agent is on the way' and 'No alternative' and 'Without delay'.

## XXV

## ΔΕΙΛΟΣ

- 1 [Ἀμέλει δὲ ἡ δειλία δόξειεν <ἄν> εἶναι ὑπειξίς τις ψυχῆς  
ἔμφοβος.]
- 2 Ὁ δὲ δειλὸς <τοιοῦτός> τις οἶος πλέων τὰς ἄκρας φάσκειν  
ἡμιολίας εἶναι· καὶ κλύδωνος γενομένου ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις μὴ  
μεμύηται τῶν πλεόντων· καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἀνακύπτων 5  
ἅμα πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ μεσοπορεῖ καὶ τί αὐτῶι δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ·  
καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακαθήμενον λέγειν ὅτι φοβεῖται ἀπὸ ἐνυπ-  
νίου τινός· καὶ ἐκδύς διδόναι τῶι παιδί τὸν χιτωνίσκον· καὶ  
3 δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσάγειν αὐτόν. καὶ στρατευόμενος  
δὲ <τοῦ> πεζοῦ ἐκβοηθούντος ἴτεῖ προσκαλεῖν, κελεύων 10  
πρὸς αὐτὸν στάντας πρῶτον περιιδεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἔργον  
4 διαγνῶναι [ἔστι] πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ ἀκούων κραυ-  
γῆς καὶ ὄρων πίπτοντας εἴπας πρὸς τοὺς παρεστηκότας  
ὅτι τὴν σπάθην λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ἐπελάθετο τρέχειν  
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν, τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας προσκο- 15  
πεῖσθαι ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἀποκρύψαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὸ  
5 προσκεφάλαιον, εἶτα διατρίβειν πολὺν χρόνον ὡς ζητῶν. καὶ  
ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ὄρων τραυματίαν τινὰ προσφερόμενον τῶν  
φίλων προσδραμών καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας ὑπολαβὼν φέρειν·  
καὶ τοῦτον θεραπεύειν καὶ περισπογγίζειν καὶ παρακαθήμενος 20  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλκουσ τὰς μυίας σοβεῖν καὶ πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχε-  
6 σθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ τοῦ καλπικτοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν  
σημήναντος καθήμενος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ <εἰπεῖν> “Ἄπαγ’ ἐς  
κόρακας· οὐκ ἔάσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπνου λαχεῖν πυκνὰ

Tit. δειλίας κε' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 <ἄν> c<sup>1</sup> 3 <τοιοῦτός> c  
6 ἅμα Diggle: μὲν V 9 αὐτόν Needham: αὐ- V 10 <τοῦ>  
Wilamowitz πεζοῦ V, ἢ s.l. 11 αὐτόν Needham: αὐ- V 12 ἐστι  
del. Diggle πότεροι Schwartz: -ον V 13 εἴπας Ilberg: εἶπε V, ου s.l.  
16 ὑπὸ c<sup>2</sup>, Casaubon: πρὸς V 17 ζητῶν Schneider: -εῖν V 18 τινὰ  
V<sup>1c</sup>: om. V 22 καλπικτοῦ Herwerden: -ιστοῦ V 23 <εἰπεῖν> Pauw  
24 ἔάσεις Casaubon: -ει V λαχεῖν Abresch, Reiske: λαβεῖν V

## THE COWARD

Cowardice would simply seem to be a terrified giving-way of the mind.]

The Coward, when he is at sea, claims that promontories are pirate ships. If a swell gets up, he asks if there is a non-initiate on board. Looking anxiously up at the sky he wants to know from the helmsman if he is half-way and how the heavens look to him. He tells the man sitting next to him that he is alarmed because of some dream, takes off his underclothes and gives them to his slave, and begs to be put ashore. When he is on military service and the infantry are going into action, he calls to \* \* \* \* and tells them to come and stand by him and wait and see before they commit themselves, claiming that it is difficult to make out which side are the enemy. Hearing cries and seeing men falling he says to his neighbours that he was in such a hurry that he forgot to bring his sword, and he runs to his tent, sends his slave outside with instructions to see where the enemy are, and hides it under the pillow, then spends a long time pretending to look for it. While he is in the tent he sees one of his friends being brought back wounded, and so he runs up to him and tells him to be brave and lends a supporting hand. Then he gives him medical attention and sponges him down and sits beside him and keeps the flies off the wound – anything rather than fight the enemy. When the trumpeter sounds the attack he says, as he sits there in the tent, ‘To hell with you! You’ll stop the man getting any



7 σημαίνων”. καὶ αἵματος δὲ ἀνάπλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου <sup>25</sup>  
 τραύματος ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανιοῦσι καὶ  
 8 διηγεῖσθαι ὡς κινδυνεύσας “Ἐνα ἐέσωκα τῶν φίλων”. καὶ  
 εἰσάγειν πρὸς τὸν κατακείμενον σκεφομένους τοὺς δημότας,  
 <τοὺς φράτερας>, τοὺς φυλέτας καὶ τούτων ἅμ’ ἐκάστῳ  
 διηγεῖσθαι ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ κληνῆν <sup>30</sup>  
 ἐκόμισεν.

27 <τοὺς φράτερας> Diggle  
 v κλην]ήν Π

30-1 ].. λέγειν π[ c. ix α]ὐτὸν ὡς[ c.

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

sleep with this continual trumpeting.’ Spattered with blood from the other’s wound he meets the troops returning from battle and announces, with the look of one who has risked his life, ‘I saved one of our men’. Then he invites his fellow demesmen, <clansmen> and tribesmen to come in and look at the patient, and as they enter he explains to each one of them how he carried him to the tent with his own bare hands.

## XXVI

## ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ

- 1 [Δόξειεν δ' ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία <προαίρεσίς> τις ἰσχύος  
καὶ κέρδους γλιχομένη.]
- 2 Ὁ δὲ ὀλιγαρχικὸς τοιοῦτός <τις> οἷος τοῦ δήμου βου-  
λευομένου τίνας τῶι ἄρχοντι προσαιρήσονται τῆς πομπῆς  
τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους παρελθὼν ἀποφήνασθαι ὡς δεῖ 5  
αὐτοκράτορας τούτους εἶναι, κἄν ἄλλοι προβάλλωνται δέκα  
λέγειν ὅτι “Ἰκανὸς εἷς ἔστι, τοῦτον δὲ δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι”, καὶ  
τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν τοῦτο ἐν μόνον κατέχειν, ὅτι “Οὐκ ἀγα-  
θὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω”, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδὲν  
3 ἐπίστασθαι. ἀμέλει δὲ δεινὸς τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς τῶν λόγων χρῆς- 10  
ασθαι ὅτι “Δεῖ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς συνεθόντας περὶ τούτων βου-  
λεύσασθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι  
καὶ παύσασθαι ἀρχαῖς πλησιάζοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτως  
ὑβριζομένους ἢ τιμωμένους” <καὶ> ὅτι “Ἡ τούτους δεῖ ἢ  
4 ἡμᾶς οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν”. καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιῶν [καὶ] 15  
τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀναβεβλημένον καὶ μέσῃν κουρὰν κεκαρμένον καὶ  
ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένον σοβεῖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους τρα-  
γωιδῶν “Διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐκ οἰκητόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ  
πόλει” καὶ ὡς “Ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις δεινὰ πάσχομεν ὑπὸ

Tit. ὀλιγαρχίας κς' 1-2 del. Darvaris 1 δόξειεν δ' ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία <προαίρεσίς> τις V (suppl. Diggle): ἡ (δὲ) ὀλ]γ[αρχ]ία ἐστ[ί] τις προαίρε]σις Π' ἰσχυος κ[α]ι Π: ἰσχυρῶς V 2 γλιχ- c: χλιχ- V: ]λιχ- Π 3 ὀλιγαρχικὸς Casaubon: ὀλίγαρχος V: ]ος Π <τις> c<sup>2</sup>, Ast 3-9 τοιοῦτος ἰδία[ c.v ]μ. v λέγων οὐκ [ἀγαθὸν πο]λυκοιρανίη· εἷ[ς κοίρα]νος ἔστω, [εἷ]ς βασιλ[εύς]. καὶ τοῦ δήμου χε[ιροτο]νο[υ] τ[ο]ς πολ- λους [ c.x ]ων ἀρκέσει[ι(v)] Π 3 βουλευομένου Casaubon: βουλομ- V 4 προσαιρήσονται Schneider: προ- V 5 ἀποφήνασθαι Reiske: ἀποφήνας ἔχει V 7 ὅτι hoc loco Sitzler: ante δεῖ V 10 ἀμέλει... χρέσασθαι bis scr. V λόγων Casaubon: ὀλίγων utrobique V 11 incertum τοῦτ(ων) an τούτ(ου) V 13 οὕτως Navarre: αὐτοὺς V 14 <καὶ> Hanow δεῖ V<sup>1s</sup>, om. V 15 ἡμᾶς V<sup>c</sup>: ὑμ- V καὶ del. Darvaris 17 τραγωιδῶν Herwerden: τὴν τοῦ ὠδίου V 18 (οἰκήτ)ωρ V<sup>s</sup>

## THE OLIGARCHIC MAN

[Oligarchy would seem to be a <policy> covetous of power and profit.]

The Oligarchic Man is the kind who steps forward, when the people are considering whom they will appoint in addition to help the archon with the procession, and gives as his opinion that those appointed should have plenary powers, and says, if others propose ten, 'One is enough; but he must be a real man.' The only verse of Homer which he knows is 'Multiple rule is not good: so let there be one single ruler', and he is completely ignorant of the rest. He is quite liable to say things like 'We must meet and discuss this on our own and be rid of the mob and the marketplace, and we must stop courting office, and so remove their licence to dispense affronts or favours' and 'It's either them or us: we can't both live in this city.' He goes out at midday and struts about dressed in his cloak, with his hair trimmed and his nails carefully pared, declaiming melodramatically: 'The sycophants make life in the city unbearable' and 'Judicial corruption is a

τῶν δεκαζομένων” καὶ ὡς “Θαυμάζω τῶν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ 20  
 προσιόντων τί βούλονται” καὶ ὡς “Ἀχάριστόν ἐστι <τὸ  
 πλῆθος καὶ ἀμνημον> τοῦ νέμοντος καὶ διδόντος” καὶ ὡς  
 αἰσχύνεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίαι ὅταν παρακαθῆταί τις αὐτῷ  
 5 λεπτός καὶ αὐχμῶν. καὶ εἶπεῖν “Πότε παυσόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 λειτουργιῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν ἀπολλύμενοι;” καὶ ὡς 25  
 “Μισητὸν τὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν γένος”, τὸν Θεσέα πρῶτον  
 φήσας τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει γεγονέναι αἴτιον· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐκ  
 δώδεκα πόλεων εἰς μίαν ἔκαταγαγόντα λυθείσας βασιλείας†·  
 καὶ δίκαια αὐτὸν παθεῖν· πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι  
 30 ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.

6 [καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα πρὸς τοὺς ξένους καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν  
 τοὺς ὁμοτρόπους καὶ ταῦτ’ αὖ προαιρουμένους.]

20 δεκαζομένων Meier: δικ- V θαυμάζω Coray, Schneider: -ων V  
 21-2 τὸ πλῆθος suppl. Schneider, καὶ ἀμνημον Diggle 23 αὐτῷ  
 Edmonds: αὐ- V 28 βασιλ’ V, sc. βασιλ(είας) ut uid. 31-2 del. Bloch

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dire affliction' and 'I cannot imagine why people go into politics' and 'You must not expect thanks from the common people: they soon forget where the handouts come from', and how ashamed he is when he finds himself sitting in the Assembly next to some scrawny fellow who has not used any oil. And he says 'Compulsory public services and trierarchies will be the death of us – will we never be rid of them?' and 'Demagogues are a detestable breed', claiming that Theseus must bear responsibility for the damage they have done the city – he amalgamated the twelve towns into one \* \* \* \* \*; and he got what he deserved, because he was their first victim.

[And more to the same effect, addressed to foreigners and to citizens of similar disposition and political persuasion.]

## XXVII

## ΟΥΪΜΑΘΗΣ

1 [Ἡ δὲ ὀψιμαθία φιλοπονία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν.]  
 2 Ὁ δὲ ὀψιμαθῆς τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ῥήσεις μανθάνειν ἐξήκον-  
 3 τα ἔτη γεγωνός καὶ ταύτας λέγων παρὰ πότον ἐπιλανθάνε-  
 4 σθαι. καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑοῦ μανθάνειν τὸ “Ἐπὶ δόρυ” καὶ “Ἐπ’  
 5 ἀσπίδα” καὶ “Ἐπ’ οὐράν”. καὶ εἰς ἡρώδια συμβάλλεσθαι τοῖς 5  
 6/7 μειρακίοις λαμπάδα τρέχων. ἀμέλει δὲ κᾶν που κληθῆι εἰς  
 8 Ἡράκλειον, ρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸν βούν ἀίρεσθαι ἵνα τραχη-  
 9 λίστη. καὶ προσανατρίβεσθαι εἰσιῶν εἰς τὰς παλαιίστρας. καὶ  
 10 ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τρία ἢ τέτταρα πληρώματα ὑπομένειν τὰ  
 11 αἷματα ἐκμανθάνων. καὶ τελούμενος τῷ Καβαζίῳ σπεῦσαι 10  
 12 ὅπως καλλιστεύσει παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ. καὶ ἐρῶν ἑταίρας καὶ  
 13 κριὸς προσβάλλων ταῖς θύ<ραϊς> πληγὰς εἰληφώς ὑπ’  
 14 ἀντεραστοῦ δικάζεσθαι. καὶ εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐφ’ ἵππου ἀλλοτρίου  
 15 ὀχούμενος ἅμα μελετᾶν ἵππάζεσθαι καὶ πεσὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 16 καταγῆναι. καὶ ἐν δεκαδικταῖς συνάγειν τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτοῦ 15  
 17 ἑαυτοῦ ἀκόλουθον. καὶ διατοξεύεσθαι καὶ διακοντίζεσθαι  
 18 τῷ τῶν παιδίων παιδαγωγῷ καὶ ἅμα <κελεύειν αὐτὰ>  
 19 μανθάνειν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐκείνου μὴ ἐπισταμένου. καὶ  
 20 παλαίων δ’ ἐν τῷ βαλανεῖῳ πυκνὰ ἔδραν στρέφειν ὅπως 20

Tit. ὀψιμαθίας κζ’ 1 del. Darvaris 2 οἷος c: οἷον V 2-3 ἐξήκοντα  
 ἔτη c: ἐξηκονταέτης V 3 ταύτας c<sup>1</sup>: ταῦτα V 4 οῦ Diggle: υἱοῦ  
 V τὸ Ἐπὶ Schneider: ἐπὶ τὸ V 4-5 ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα V 5 ἡρώδια  
 Siebenkees: ἡρωα V 6 τρέχων Schneider: -ειν V κληθῆ V<sup>c</sup>: -θεῖ V  
 7 ἀίρεσθαι Meier: αἰρεῖσθαι V 8 εἰσιῶν Ast: εἰπῶν V 11 ἑταίρας cen-  
 sor Ienensis editionis Goezianae: ἱεράς V<sup>2</sup>, -ᾶς V<sup>c2</sup> 12 κριὸς Herwerden:  
 -οὺς V θύ<ραϊς> censor Ienensis: θυ V (tum spat. c. iv litt. uac. et  
 lacunae signum) 14 ὀχούμενος c: κατοχ- V μελετᾶν V<sup>c</sup>: μαιλ- V<sup>2</sup>  
 15 καταγῆναι Palmerius: καταγένοι V ἐν δεκαδικταῖς Wilhelm: ἑνδεκα  
 λιταῖς V μεθ’ αὐτοῦ Jebb: μετ’ αὐ- V 16 παίζειν c: πῆζ- V 18  
 κελεύειν suppl. Dobree (post αὐτοῦ iam Reiske), αὐτὰ Diggle 19 αὐτοῦ  
 Foss: αὐ- V

## THE LATE LEARNER

[Late Learning would seem to be enthusiasm for exercises beyond one's years.]

The Late Learner is the kind of man who at the age of sixty memorises passages for recitation and while performing at a party forgets the words. He gets his son to teach him 'Right turn', 'Left turn', and 'About turn'. He joins the young men's torch-race team for the hero-festivals. If he is invited to a shrine of Heracles you can be sure that he will throw off his cloak and try lifting the bull to get it in a neck-lock. When he goes to the wrestling-schools he fights with no holds barred. He sits through three or four performances of a show, to get the songs by heart. At his initiation into the cult of Sabazios he is anxious that the priest should judge him the handsomest of the initiands. He falls for a courtesan and rams her door, and when her other lover beats him up he goes to court. While riding into the country on a borrowed horse he practises fancy horsemanship, falls off, and cracks his skull. At the 'Tenth Day Club' he \* \* \* \* \*. He plays his attendant at \* \* \* \* \*. He competes with his children's tutor at archery and javelin-throwing and tells them to take a lesson from him, because the tutor hasn't the know-how. When he wrestles at the baths he does frequent buttock-twists, so that



- 15 πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκῆι. καὶ ὅταν ὦσι<ν ἐγγύς> γυναῖκ<ες> 21  
 μελετᾶν ὀρχεῖσθαι αὐτὸς αὐτῷι τερετίζων.
- 16 [οὕτως ὁ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐρεθισμὸς μανικοὺς καὶ  
 ἐξεστηκότας ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἤθεσι ποιεῖ.]

21 ὦσι<ν ἐγγύς> Meister: ὦσι tum spat. c. iii litt. uac. V γυναῖκ<ες>  
 Siebenkees: γυναῖκ tum spat. c. ii litt. uac. V 22 αὐτῷι Siebenkees: αὐ-  
 V 23-4 hoc loco Boissonade: post cap. XXVIII V eadem hoc loco  
 del. Hanow (post XXVIII iam Schneider)

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he may pass for an expert. When there are women nearby, he practises dance-steps, humming his own accompaniment.

[Thus does the stimulus for instruction make people mad and deranged in personality.]

## XXVIII

## ΚΑΚΟΛΟΓΟΣ

1 [Ἔστι δὲ ἡ κακολογία ἀγωγή ψυχῆς εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐν λόγοις.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ κακολόγος τοιόσδε τις οἶος ἐρωτηθεὶς “Ὁ δεῖνα τίς  
 ἐστίν;” ἰουκοῦνδε<sup>†</sup> καθάπερ οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες “Πρῶτον ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἄρξομαι. τούτου ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 5 Ὡσίας ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις Ὡσιστρα-  
 τος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφη <Ὡσιδημος>. ἡ  
 μέντοι μήτηρ εὐγενῆς Θραϊττά ἐστὶ· καλεῖται γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ  
 κρινοκόρακα<sup>†</sup>. τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας φασὶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εὐγενεῖς  
 εἶναι. αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὡς ἐκ τοιούτων γεγὼς κακὸς καὶ  
 3 στιγματίας.” καὶ ἰκακῶν<sup>†</sup> δὲ πρὸς τινα εἶπεῖν “Ἐγὼ δῆπου 10  
<sup>†</sup>τὰ τοιαῦτα οἶδα ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ πλανᾷς πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τούτοις  
 διεξιῶν<sup>†</sup>. αὐταὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς παριόντας  
 συναρπάζουσι” καὶ “Οἰκία τις αὕτη τὰ κέλη ἠρκυῖα· οὐ γὰρ  
 οὖν λῆρὸς ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ αἱ κύνες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς  
 15 συνεχόνται” καὶ “Τὸ ὄλον ἀνδροκόβαλοι τινες” καὶ “Αὐταὶ 15  
 4 τῇ θύραι τῇ αὐλείῳ ὑπακούουσι”. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ κακῶς  
 λεγόντων ἐτέρων συνεπιλαβέσθαι εἶπας “Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν  
 ἀνθρωπον πλέον πάντων μεμίσηκα· καὶ γὰρ εἰδεχθῆς τις ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ προσώπου ἐστίν· τῇ δὲ πονηρίαὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιον· σημεῖον  
 20 δέ· τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ τάλαντον εἰσενεγκαμένην προῖκα 20

Tit. κακολογίας κη<sup>†</sup> 1 del. Bloch ἀγωγή post Casaubon (ἀγωγή  
 τῆς) Edmonds: ἀγών τῆς V 6 <Ὡσιδημος> Meier 7 θραῖττα V  
 ψυχὴ V<sup>c</sup>: χυ- V 9 κακὸς tamquam e V Siebenkees: -ὡς V 10  
 στιγματίας Diggle: μαστιγίας V 11 σὺ V<sup>c</sup>: οὐ V 14 οὖν Schneider:  
 οἶον V κύνες nescioquis ap. Ast: γυναῖκες V ταῖς V<sup>c</sup>: τ••c V 15  
 ἀνδροκόβαλοι Foss: ἀνδρόλαλοι V 16 τῇ θύραι τῇ αὐλείῳ Diggle: τὴν  
 θύραν τὴν αὐλείον V ἀμέλει Goez: μέλει V 17 λεγόντων V<sup>1m</sup>: om. V  
 συνεπιλαβέσθαι Diggle: -λαμβάνεσθαι V εἶπας tamquam e V Cobet: εἶπεν  
 (uel εἶπεν) V<sup>2</sup>, εἶπου V<sup>c</sup> 19 τῇ . . . πονηρίαὶ Schwartz: ἡ . . . πονηρία V  
 ὅμοιον c: ὁμοῖα V, -οῖα V<sup>c</sup> 20 αὐτοῦ Foss (ἔαυ- c): αὐ- V τάλαντον  
 Dübner: τάλαντα V εἰσενέγκαμεν ἢ V

## THE SLANDERER

[Slander is a bent of mind towards making the worst of things in speech.]

The Slanderer is the kind of man who when asked 'Who is so-and-so?' \*\*\* in the style of the genealogists 'I shall begin with his antecedents. His father was originally called Sosias; but in the army he became Sosistratos, and when he was enrolled in a deme, Sosidemos. His mother, however, is a Thracian of good family. At all events she is called \*\*\*, and in their own country women like her are reputed to come from a good family. He himself, with parents like these, is naturally a criminal with a tattoo.' And he says to \*\*\* 'I certainly \*\*\*\*\*. These women grab passers-by off the street' and 'This is a house with its legs in the air. In fact, what's being said isn't idle talk: they couple in the streets like dogs' and 'The only word for them is she-devils' and 'They answer their own front doors'. You can be sure that when he hears others talking slanderously he will join in with 'There's nobody I detest more than that man. He's got a repulsive face. And his depravity has no equal. I tell you: his

ἔξ οὗ παιδίον αὐτῶι γεννᾶι τρεῖς χαλκοῦς <τῆς ἡμέρας> εἰς  
 ὄψον δίδωσι καὶ [τῶι] ψυχρῶι λοῦσθαι ἀναγκάζει [τῆι] τοῦ  
 5 Ποσιδεῶνος [ἡμέραι]”. καὶ συγκαθημένοις δεινὸς περὶ τοῦ  
 ἀναστάντος εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀρχὴν γε εἰληφῶς μὴ ἀποσχέσθαι μηδὲ  
 6 τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ λοιδορῆσαι. καὶ πλείστα περὶ τῶν φίλων 25  
 καὶ οἰκείων κακὰ εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, <τὸ>  
 κακῶς λέγειν ἀποκαλῶν παρρησίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ  
 ἔλευθερίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῶι βίωι ἥδιστα τοῦτο ποιῶν.

21 οὗ Immisch: ἦς V γεννᾶ V, γέγονε V<sup>2m</sup> <τῆς ἡμέρας> Diggle  
 22 τῶι del. Herwerden λοῦσθαι Meineke: λούεσθαι V 22–3 τῆι  
 (om. c) et ἡμέραι del. Ast 23 Ποσιδεῶνος post Casaubon (Ποσειδ-)  
 Edmonds: Ποσειδῶνος V συγκαθημένοις Schwartz: -ήμενος V 24  
 εἰληφῶς Schneider: -φότος V 25 λοιδορῆσαι V<sup>c</sup>: -εἶσαι V 26 <τὸ>  
 Hanow 28 epilogum qui post ποιῶν traditur quaere post cap. XXVII

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wife brought him a dowry of a talent, but since she presented him with a child he has given her only threepence a day for food and he makes her wash in cold water during the month of Posideon.' And he is liable to talk to people in the nearby seats about the man who has got up to speak, and once he has started he will not stop before he has abused his relatives too. He will particularly speak ill of his own friends and relatives and of the dead, claiming that slander is only another word for free speech and democracy and liberty, and he is never happier than when he is engaged in it.

## XXIX

## ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ

- 1 [Ἔστι δὲ ἡ φιλοπονηρία ἐπιθυμία κακίας.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ φιλοπόνηρος [ἔστι] τοιόσδε τις οἶος ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς  
 ἠττημένοις καὶ δημοσίους ἀγῶνας ὠφληκός καὶ ὑπολαμβ-  
 3 φοβρώτερος. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς εἰπεῖν ὡς ἴγίνεται καὶ 5  
 φησὶν ἵ ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐστι χρηστὸς καὶ ὁμοίους πάντας εἶναι, καὶ  
 4 ἐπισκῶψαι δὲ “Ὡς χρηστὸς ἐστι”. καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν  
 ἐλεύθερον, ἐὰν βούληται τις εἰς π< >, καὶ τὰ μὲν  
 ἄλλα ὁμολογεῖν ἀληθῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 5 πων, ἔνια δὲ ἴαγνοεῖν ἴ φῆσαι· <εἶναι> γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐφυᾶ καὶ 10  
 φιλέταιρον καὶ ἐπιδέξιον· καὶ διατεινέσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 οὐκ ἐντετύχηκεν ἀνθρώπῳ ἰκανωτέρῳ. καὶ εὖνους δὲ εἶναι  
 5 αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίαι λέγοντι ἢ ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου κρινομένῳ. καὶ  
 πρὸς <τούς> καθημένους δὲ εἰπεῖν δεινὸς ὡς “Οὐ δεῖ τὸν  
 15 ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνεσθαι”. καὶ φῆσαι αὐτὸν κύνα 15  
 εἶναι τοῦ δήμου (ὕλακτεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας) καὶ  
 εἰπεῖν ὡς “Οὐχ ἔξομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συναχθεσθῆσο-  
 6 μένους, ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους προώμεθα”. δεινὸς δὲ καὶ προ-  
 στατῆσαι φαύλων καὶ συνεδρεῦσαι ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἐπὶ πονηροῖς  
 πράγμασι καὶ κρίσιν κρίνων ἐκδέχεσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων 20  
 λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.  
 7 [καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἡ φιλοπονηρία ἀδελφὴ ἐστὶ τῆς πονηρίας,  
 καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον  
 πορεύεσθαι.]

Tit. φιλοπονίας κθ' (item 1, 22, -πονος 2) 1 del. Darvaris 2 ἐστι del.  
 Herwerden 3 ὠφληκός Coray, Schneider: ὠφελ- V 7 ἐπισκῶψαι  
 Coray: -κῆψαι V 8 spat. c. vi litt. V 10 <εἶναι> Foss εὐφυᾶ  
 Darvaris: -ῆ V 13 αὐτῷ Meier: τῷ V δικαστηρίου Darvaris:  
 -ίω V 14 πρὸς <τούς> καθημένους Meier: προσκαθημένος V 16  
 ὕλακτεῖν Contos: φυλάττειν V 17 ἔξομεν V<sup>c</sup>: ἔομαι V<sup>uv</sup> (uix ἔχ-) 20  
 πράγμασι V<sup>1c</sup>: -civ V 22-4 del. Schweighäuser 22 ἡ del. V<sup>1c</sup>

## THE FRIEND OF VILLAINS

[Being Friendly with Villains is a desire for evil.]

The Friend of Villains is the sort of man who falls in with people who have been defeated in the law courts and have lost public cases, and supposes that if he associates with them he will learn the tricks of the trade and become a man who is not to be trifled with. He says of honest men that \* \* \* \* \* and that there is no such thing as an honest man, because people are all the same, and he will say sarcastically 'What an honest man he is.' He describes the villain as 'a man of independent character', if someone wishes <            >, and he agrees that what is said about him by people is partly true, but claims that some things \* \* \*, for in fact (so he claims) he is smart, loyal, and shrewd; and he pulls out all the stops on his behalf, insisting that he has never met an abler man. He supports him when he is speaking in the Assembly or when he is on trial in court. He is apt to say to the jury 'You must judge the case, not the man.' And he describes him as the people's guard-dog (because he barks at offenders) and claims 'We shall have nobody willing to trouble their heads on our behalf if we throw away people like this.' He is also apt to patronise riff-raff and sit with them on the jury to see that villainy is done, and his judgement is warped by a propensity to put the worst possible construction on the arguments advanced by the opposing parties.

[In sum, being friendly with villains is akin to villainy. They are, as the proverb puts it, birds of a feather.]



## ΑΙΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ

1 [Ἦ δὲ αἰχροκέρδειά ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία κέρδους αἰχροῦ.]  
 2 ὁ δὲ αἰχροκερδῆς τοιοῦτός <τις> οἶος ἐστιῶν ἄρτους  
 3 ἱκανούς μὴ παραθεῖναι. καὶ δανείσασθαι παρὰ ξένου παρ'  
 4 αὐτῷ καταλύοντος. καὶ διανέμων μερίδας φῆσαι δίκαιον  
 5 εἶναι διμοίριαν τῷ διανέμοντι δίδοσθαι καὶ εὐθύς αὐτῷ 5  
 5 νεῖμαι. καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνον τῷ φίλῳ ἀπο-  
 6 δόσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ θεῶν τηνικαῦτα πορεύεσθαι ἄγων τοὺς ὑοὺς  
 7 ἡνίκ' ἂν προῖκα εἰσφρῶσιν οἱ θεατρῶναι. καὶ ἀποδημῶν  
 8 δημοσία τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον οἶκοι καταλιπεῖν,  
 9 παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμπρεσβεύοντων δανείσασθαι· καὶ τῷ ἀκο- 10  
 10 λούθῳ μεῖζον φορτίον ἐπιθεῖναι ἢ δύναται φέρειν καὶ ἐλάχι-  
 11 στα ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἄλλων παρέχειν· καὶ <τῶν> ξενίων τὸ  
 12 μέρος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπαιτήσας ἀποδόσθαι. καὶ ἀλειφόμενος ἐν  
 13 τῷ βαλανείῳ [καὶ] εἶπας τῷ παιδαρίῳ “Ἐπιπρόν γε τὸ  
 14 ἔλαιον ἐπρίω” τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ ἀλείφεσθαι. καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν 15  
 15 οἰκετῶν εὐρισκομένων χαλκῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς δεινὸς ἀπαιτ-  
 16 ῆσαι τὸ μέρος, κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν Ἑρμῆν. καὶ θοιμάτιον  
 17 ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι καὶ χρηράμενος παρὰ γνωρίμου ἐφελκῆσαι

Tit. αἰχροκερδείας λ' 1 del. Darvaris ἐστι V ἐπιθυμία Bloch:  
 περιουσία V 2 ὁ δὲ αἰ- τοιοῦτός <τις> Hanow: ἐστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ  
 αἰ- V ἐστιῶν Coray, Schneider: ἐσθίων V 4 αὐτῷ Edmonds: αὐ- V  
 5 διμοίριαν Petersen: διμοίρῳ V αὐτῷ Amadutius: αὐ- V 6-34 καὶ  
 . . . λάβῳσι post cap. XI habent AB 6 ἀποδιδόσθαι A (~A<sup>1c</sup>) 7  
 τηνικαῦτα V: ἡνίκ' ἂν δέη(ι) AB ἄγων V, conl. Gale: ἀπιῶν AB ὑοὺς  
 Diggle: υἰοὺς V: υἰεῖς AB 8 ἡνίκ' ἂν Hanow: ἡνίκα ABV εἰσφρῶσιν  
 Diggle: ἀφιάσιν AB: φασίν V οἱ θεατρῶναι AB: ἐπὶ θεάτρων V 10  
 συμπρεσβεύοντων V: -βευτῶν AB δανείσασθαι V: -ζεσθαι AB 11  
 ἐπιθεῖναι hoc loco V: post ἀκολουθῳ AB 12 τῶν ἄλλων Coray, Schnei-  
 der: ἄλλων V: τῶν ἱκανῶν AB παρέχειν V: om. AB 12 <τῶν> δ  
 12-13 ξενίων τὸ μέρος AB (τὸ μέρος bis B): ξένον δὲ μέρος V 13 αὐτοῦ  
 Stephanus: αὐ- ABV 14 καὶ del. Lycius εἶπας Cobet: εἶπῶν AB: εἶπερ  
 V τῷ παιδαρίῳ hoc loco Auberius: τῶ(ι) π- ante τῷ ἄλλ- AB, παιδαρίῳ  
 uel παιδαρίῳ (παιδρ') ante τῷ ἄλλ- V 15 ἐπρίω AB: om. V 15-16  
 ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκ- hoc loco Diggle: post χαλκῶν V: post ὁδοῖς AB 16 οἰκετῶν  
 AB: οἰκείων V 17-19 καὶ . . . ἀπαιτηθῆι V: om. AB 17 θοιμάτιον  
 Meineke: ἰμάτιον V

## THE SHABBY PROFITEER

[Shabby Profiteering is desire for shabby profit.]

The Shabby Profiteer is the kind who does not provide enough bread when he entertains. He borrows money from a visitor who is staying with him. When he is serving out helpings he says that it is right and proper that the server should be given a double helping and so he proceeds to give himself one. When he has wine for sale he sells it to a friend watered down. He takes his sons to the theatre only when there is free admission. When he goes abroad on public service he leaves his official travel allowance at home and borrows from the other delegates, loads his attendant with more baggage than he can carry and provides him with shorter rations than anyone else, and asks for his share of the presents and then sells them. When he is oiling himself in the baths he says to his slave 'The oil you bought is rancid' and he uses someone else's. If his slaves find a few coppers in the street he is liable to demand a portion of them, saying 'Fair shares for all'. He takes his cloak to the cleaner's and borrows one from an acquaintance and puts off returning

11 πλείους ἡμέρας ἕως ἂν ἀπαιτηθῆι. [καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα.] <καὶ>  
 Φειδωνεῖωι μέτρωι τὸν πύνδακα εἰσκεκρουμένωι μετρεῖν αὐτὸς 20  
 12 τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ρφόδρα ἀποψῶν. <καὶ> ἴυποπρία-  
 ρθαι φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου πωλεῖσθαι ἐπιλαβῶν  
 13 ἀποδόσθαι†. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ χρέως ἀποδιδούς τριάκοντα μνῶν  
 14 ἔλαττον τέτταρσι δραγμαῖς ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ τῶν ὤων δὲ μῆ  
 πορευομένων εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τὸν μῆνα ὄλον διὰ τιν' 25  
 ἄρρωστίαν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ μισθοῦ κατὰ λόγον, καὶ τὸν Ἄνθεσ-  
 τηριῶνα μῆνα μῆ πέμπειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μαθήματα διὰ τὸ  
 15 θέας εἶναι πολλάς, ἵνα μῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκτίνηι. καὶ παρὰ παιδὸς  
 κομιζόμενος ἀποφορὰν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν προσ-  
 απαιτεῖν· καὶ λογισμὸν δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ χειρίζοντος 30  
 16 < >. καὶ φράτερας ἐστιῶν αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὄψον, τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης  
 ῥαφανίδων ἡμίσεια ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἴν' οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες  
 17 μῆ λάβωσι. <καὶ> συναποδημῶν δὲ μετὰ γνωρίμων χρήσασθαι  
 τοῖς ἐκείνων παισὶ, τὸν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἕξω μισθῶσαι καὶ μῆ ἀναφέ- 35  
 18 ρειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸν μισθόν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ συναγόντων παρ'  
 αὐτῶι ὑποθεῖναι <τι> τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδομένων ξύλων  
 καὶ φακῶν καὶ ὄξους καὶ ἄλῶν καὶ ἔλαιου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον.  
 19 καὶ γαμοῦντός τινος τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐκδιδομένου θυγατέρα πρὸ  
 20 χρόνου τινὸς ἀποδημῆσαι ἵνα <μῆ> πέμψηι προσφορὰν. καὶ 40  
 παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων τοιαῦτα κίχρασθαι ἅ μῆτ' ἂν ἀπαιτήσαι  
 μῆτ' ἂν ἀποδιδόντων ταχέως ἂν τις κομίσειτο.

19 καὶ τὰ (V: τὰ δὲ δὴ AB) τοιαῦτα del. Schneider <καὶ> Ast  
 20 Φειδωνεῖωι b, Cobet: -δωνίω(ι) AB: -δομένω V τὸν AB:  
 om. V πύνδακα εἰσκεκρουμένωι Casaubon: π- ἐκκεκρουμένω(ι) AB:  
 π(. . .)δακ(. . .)κεκρου(. . .)μενω V (cum spatiiis uac.) 21 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 ρφόδρα ἀποψῶν AB: ρφόδρα δὲ ὑποσπῶν τὰ ἐπ- V <καὶ> Bloch 22  
 δοκοῦντος . . . πωλεῖσθαι V: om. AB ἐπιλαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι AB: om.  
 V 23 ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ χρ- AB: καὶ χρ- δὲ V χρέως Cobet: -έος AB: -έη  
 V 24 τέτταρσι V: τέτταρσι AB δραγμῶν B (~B<sup>1c</sup>) ἀποδοῦναι V:  
 -διδόναι AB 24-30 καὶ . . . χειρίζοντος V: om. AB 24 ὤων Diggle:  
 υἰῶν V 25 τιν' Unger: τὴν V 30 χειρίζοντος V<sup>c</sup>: χ•ρ- V 31 lac.  
 indic. Schneider καὶ φρ- ἐστιῶν αἰτεῖν AB: φρ- tum spat. c. vi litt. uac. V  
 φράτερας Herwerden: -τορας ABV ἑαυτοῦ V: αὐ- AB 32 κατα-  
 λιπόμενα B 33 ῥαφανίδων ἡμίσεια V: ἡμίση τῶν ῥαφ- AB ἴν' AB: ἵνα  
 V 34 λάβοιεν A <καὶ> Foss 37 αὐτῶι Coray: ἑαυ- V <τι>  
 Diggle ἑαυτοῦ V<sup>c</sup>: -τῶ V 39 ἢ Coray, Schneider: καὶ V 40  
 <μῆ> Amadutius πέμψηι Ussing: προπ- V 41 ἀπαιτήσαι Coray,  
 Schneider: -τῆσαι V

## THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS

it for several days until it is demanded back. [And the like.] He measures out the rations for the household in person, using a measuring jar set to the old Pheidonian standard, that has had its bottom dented inwards, and rigorously levels off the top. \* \* \* \* \*. And you can be sure that when he repays a debt of thirty minae he pays it back four drachmas short. When his sons do not attend school for the full month because of illness he deducts a proportion of the fees, and he does not send them for lessons during Anthesterion, to avoid the expense, because there are so many shows. When he collects his share of a slave's earnings he charges him for the cost of exchanging the copper coin; and when he gets an account from < >. When he entertains members of his phratry he asks for food for his slaves from the communal meal, but he has an inventory made of the radish-halves left over from the table, so that the slaves waiting at the table won't get them. When he is abroad with acquaintances he uses their slaves and lets his own slave out for hire and doesn't put the proceeds towards the joint account. And, needless to say, when the dining club meets at his house he charges for the firewood, beans, vinegar, salt and lamp-oil that he is providing. When a friend is getting married or marrying off a daughter he leaves town some time before, so that he won't have to send a present. And he borrows from acquaintances the kinds of thing which nobody would demand back or be in a hurry to take back if offered.



# COMMENTARY



# COMMENTARY

## PREFACE

### Introductory note

That the Preface is spurious was first argued by C. G. Sonntag, *Dissertatio in Prooemium Characterum Theophrasti* (Leipzig 1787). But it had already been stigmatised by Furlanus in 1605 ('Praefatio indigna . . . tanto philosopho'). The writer is aged 99; Theophrastus died at 85.<sup>1</sup> The writer has sons; Theophrastus died childless.<sup>2</sup> He says that he has sketched good characters as well as bad.<sup>3</sup> He speaks crassly about the Greek climate and Greek education. His style is repetitive and banal. He is probably of late imperial or early Byzantine date, and he may be the pedant who composed the moralising epilogues. The longest of the epilogues (VIII) shares several linguistic features with the Preface: a predilection for the perfect tense (epil. VIII n.); the noun ἐπιτήδευμα; successive clauses linked by γάρ; and τεθαύμακα τί ποτε (VIII) reminiscent of ἔθαύμακα . . . θαυμάζων· τί γάρ δή ποτε.<sup>4</sup> The educative purpose which he finds in the work reminds us of Stobaeus, who compiled his anthology ἐπὶ τῷ ῥυθμίσει καὶ βελτιῶσει τῶν παιδῶν τὴν φύσιν (1.3 Wachsmuth).<sup>5</sup>

The heading προοίμιον is found only in Laur. 87.14 (11 Wilson), a descendant of A (Stefanis (1994a) 83 n. 33). More commonly προθεωρία (e); also Θεόφρατος Πολυκλείη and the like (c).

**1 πολλάκις . . . ἔθαύμακα:** a formulaic expression, reflecting the opening words of X. *Mem.* 1, Isoc. 4 (πολλάκις ἔθαύμακα), Alcidi. *Od.* (πολλάκις ἤδη ἐνεθυμήθη καὶ ἔθαύμακα); cf. Lys. 12.41, X. *Mem.* 3.13.3, *PCG* adesp. 1017.47, Plb. 18.13.1, Powell on Cic. *Sen.* 4 *saepenumero admirari soleo*.

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction, pp. 1–3, 16. The 'Aged Sage' is a recurrent literary fiction (M. L. West, *HSCPh* 73 (1969) 121–2).

<sup>2</sup> As may be inferred from his will (D.L. 5.51–7). In any case the sons of a man of 99 would be too old for moral instruction. If by υἱέϊς the writer means 'young people' or 'school-children' (Steinmetz), he has expressed himself carelessly.

<sup>3</sup> See the Introduction, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Pasquali (1918) 147–50, (1919) 1–2 = (1986) 62–9, has some useful comments on style and language.

<sup>5</sup> M. Untersteiner, 'Studi sulla sofistica. Il proemio dei "Caratteri" di Teofrasto e un probabile frammento di Ippia', *RFIC* 26 (1948) 1–25 = *Scritti Minori* (Brescia 1971) 465–88, has the bizarre notion that §§1–4 (λέγω) are from a work Περί παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς by the sophist Hippias, addressed not to Πολύκλεις but to Περίκλεις (a corruption unique to Vat. Pal. gr. 149 (57 Wilson) in §3; for its history in printed editions see Torraca (1994a) 91–2).



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**ἐπιτήσας τὴν διάνοιαν:** elsewhere with dat. (D.S. 12.1.1) or prep. (κατά + acc., Isoc. 9.69; περί + gen., Arist. *Metaph.* 987<sup>b</sup>3-4; ἐπί + acc., Polystr. *De contemptu* 30. 27-8 (p. 128 Indelli), D.H. 1.2.1, J. *Bj* 5.462); with no adjunct, as here, fr. 68 Wimmer (122A Fortenbaugh) ap. Alex.Aphr. (but this need not be a verbatim quotation). Here, without adjunct, the expression sits awkwardly. The writer may have had in mind the opening of X. *Lac.* ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας . . . ἔθαύμασα κτλ.

**οὐδέ:** 'not . . . either' (Denniston 194-5).

**τί γὰρ δὴποτε κτλ.:** this would come more naturally as an indirect question (θαυμάζειν τί δὴποτε D. 19.80, 24.6, 41.14, 51.11, *Prooem.* 14.1, Aeschin. 1.17, D.H. 5.50.4). But γὰρ must then either be omitted (Casaubon, also M) or changed to ἄρα (Madvig). To retain γὰρ and punctuate without a question mark is perverse.

**τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀέρα κειμένης:** that national character is conditioned by climate was a traditional doctrine: e.g. Hp. *Aër.* 12-23 (2.52-86 Littré), Hdt. 2.35.2, Pl. *Lg.* 747D-E, *Epin.* 987D, Arist. *Pol.* 1327<sup>b</sup>20-36, Plb. 4.20-1, Str. 2.3.7 (Posidon. fr. 49.310ff. Edelstein-Kidd), Liv. 38.17.10, Tac. *Germ.* 29, Gal. 4.798-808 Kühn; K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel 1918) 51-6, E. Kienzle, *Der Lobpreis von Städten und Ländern in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (Kallmünz 1936) 14-18, J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948) 106-9, F. W. Walbank, *C&M* 9 (1948) 178-81, id. *HSCPh* 76 (1972) 156-7 = *Selected Papers* (Cambridge 1985) 66-7, E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (Stuttgart 1959) 59-66, A. Dihle, 'Zur Hellenistischen Ethnographie', in *Grecs et Barbares* (Entretiens Hardt 8, 1962) 205-32, Pease on Cic. *Diu.* 1.79 and *Nat. Deor.* 2.17; cf. Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Effect which Climates have upon Men, and other Animals' (1760), in A. Friedman (ed.), *Collected Works* 3 (Oxford 1966) 112-14. Our writer has dimly remembered this doctrine, but is unaware that within Greece itself there was no uniformity of climate. Athens claimed a climate surpassing all others, and Athenians were cleverer than Boeotians because they breathed a purer air: E. *Med.* 827-30 φερβόμενοι κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαινοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος, Pl. *Ti.* 24c ταύτην οὖν δὴ τότε κύμπασαν τὴν διακόμησιν καὶ σύνταξιν ἢ θεὸς προτέρουσ ὑμᾶς διακομήσασα κατώικισεν ἐκλεξαμένη τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γεγένησθε, τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὠρῶν ἐν αὐτῶι κατιδοῦσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἄνδρας οἴκοι, *PCG* adesp. 155.5, 1001.14 (Men. *fab. inc.* 2.14 Arnott), Cic. *Fat.* 7 *Athenis tenuē caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici, crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et ualentes*, Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.244 *Boeotum in crasso iuuares aere natum* (cf. *Juv.* 10.50 *ueruecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci*); M. Goebel, *Ethnica, pars prima: De Graecarum Ciuitatum Proprietatibus Prouerbio notatis* (Breslau 1915) 57-8, 96. That the author lived abroad (Steinmetz) is an unsafe inference, and would not rescue his credit. <πάσης> τῆς Ἑλλάδος

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(Casaubon), giving a neat balance with πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, would be an attractive proposal in a better writer.

**πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως παιδευομένων:** this is equally far from reality, whether through ignorance or ineptitude.

**τάξις τῶν τρόπων:** cf. Gorg. *Hel.* 14, Pl. *R.* 618b τάξις (τῆς) ψυχῆς; Ph. *De Abr.* 47 (4.11 Cohn-Wendland) εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε ψυχῆς τρόπων ἐναρμόνιος ἡ τάξις.

**2 γάρ:** an illogical connective.

**ὁ Πολύκλεις:** a name common both in Attica and elsewhere (*LGPN* 1.378, 2.372–3, 3A.369).

**καὶ βεβιωκῶς ἔτι ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα:** Theophrastus lived to 85 (D.L. 5.40). Jerome, *Ep.* 52.3.5, who says that he lived to 107, has muddled him with Gorgias, from a careless recollection of Cic. *Sen.* 13.<sup>6</sup> It is idle to write ἐβδομήκοντα ἐννέα (Casaubon, *Proleg.*) or to emend D.L. (Casaubon, commentary). The clause is oddly coordinated with καὶ; but ἅτε or ἄτε καὶ (Casaubon) are implausible.

**ὠμιληκῶς πολλαῖς τε καὶ παντοδαπαῖς φύσεσι:** borrowed from Pl. *R.* 408b παντοδαπαῖς φύσειν ὠμιληκότες. The pairing πολλ- καὶ παντοδαπ- is very common (e.g. *HP* 7.9.2, Hp. *Aēr.* 9.1 (2.36 Littré), Hdt. 9.84.1, Isoc. 9.8, Pl. *Smp.* 193E, X. *An.* 6.4.5, D. 10.54, Aeschin. 1.127, Arist. *Diu.Somm.* 463<sup>b</sup>18, Plb. 1.53.13), but τε καὶ (an affectation of this writer; def. VI n.) is a very uncommon copula with this expression (X. *HG* 2.4.25, *Cyr.* 4.2.28, Aristox. *Harm.* 38 (p. 129.21 Macran), though καὶ alone 34 (p. 125.22)).

**παρατεθεαμένους:** ‘inspect side by side’, as Pl. *Ep.* 313c (the only other instance cited by LSJ), like the commoner παραθεωρεῖν; differently Ph. *Leg.* 269 (6.205 Cohn-Wendland) τοὺς ἐν κύκλωι παρεθεῖτο (of a man seeing with difficulty).

**ἐξ ἀκριβείας:** not attested before *Cyr.*Al. (v AD); commonly διὰ (LSJ ἀκριβεία 1), occasionally μετὰ (Arist. *PA* 668<sup>b</sup>29, J. *AJ* 1.214).

**συγγράψαι ἃ ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐν τῷ βίωι:** after nearly a century of observing human nature, consorting with all types, and scrupulously comparing good and bad, ‘to write what the good and the bad practise in their lives’ is disappointingly unambitious in aspiration and expression. ἕκαστοι (Edmonds 1929, from M) is rash.

**3 κατὰ γένος ὅσα . . . γένη τρόπων . . . ὃν τρόπον:** clumsy repetitions.

<sup>6</sup> Jerome borrows in this passage from *Sen.* 23, where Cicero explicitly refers back to 13. Jerome does not actually name *sapiens ille Graeciae*, but the remark which he attributes to him implies Theophrastus (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.69 = T. fr. 34A Fortenbaugh). *Themistocles* (or the like) in some manuscripts is either a crass interpolation or a corruption of an intelligent interpolation *Theophrastus*. Cf. Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 238.

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**προκειμένα:** this correction (of προκ-), first printed (without comment) by Stephanus, is found in several manuscripts, of which the earliest is Laur. 87.14 (11 Wilson), a descendant of A (Torraca (1974) 82, Stefanis (1994a) 118); others are Laur. 60.25 (8 Wilson) and Vat. Urb. 119 (59 Wilson) (Stefanis 99). For the corruption, II.8n.

**τῆι οἰκονομίαι χρώνται:** ‘conduct the management (of themselves and their affairs)’ is not a sensible expression.

**οἷς παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι:** not οἷς <ὄς> π- (Schwartz), which would be contrary to normal idiom, as exemplified by Th. 3.10.6 παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγιγνομένοις χρώμενοι, Lys. 14.12 τούτῳ παραδείγματι χρώμενοι, 32 ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀρεταῖς χρῆται παραδείγμασι, 25.23, [And.] 4.22, Pl. *Euthphr.* 6E, R. 529D, 540A, *Lg.* 794E, Isoc. 1.51, 12.16, Lycurg. 83, D. 4.3, 24.144, Aeschin. 1.92, Arist. *EE* 1216<sup>b</sup>27, *Plb.* 1.20.15, *D.S.* 1.1.4, etc.

**εὐσχημονεστάτοις:** -εστέροις (Edmonds 1929, from M) may be better, but is unwise.

**αὐτῶν:** αὐτῶν (M. Schmidt), ‘so that they should not fail *themselves*’, is too clever.

**4** **ὄν δὲ παρακολουθησαί τε ὀρθῶς καὶ εἰδῆσαι εἰ ὀρθῶς λέγω:** cf. Pl. *Phd.* 89A προύτρεψεν πρὸς τὸ παρέπεσθαί τε καὶ συσκοπεῖν τὸν λόγον. The first ὀρθῶς (om. δ) is pointless. But εὐμαθῶς (Edmonds 1929, cl. Aeschin. 1.116 παρακολουθεῖν εὐμαθῶς) does the writer too much credit. Aorist εἰδῆσαι is found in Arist. *EN* 1156<sup>b</sup>27, [Arist.] *Pt.* 921<sup>b</sup>26, *MM* 1182<sup>a</sup>5 etc., Hp. and later (LSJ εἶδω, foot of col. 483a; Veitch 217, Schwyzer 1.755, 778, E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* 1.2 (Berlin and Leipzig 1938) 145). But the verb is ineptly chosen, and the writer may have mistakenly associated it with εἶδον.

**πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἴποιήσομαι† τῶν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐξηλωκότων:** ‘I shall first . . . those who have affected (striven after) dissembling’ (LSJ ζηλώω II). In this sentence he appears to state what his first subject will be, and in the next sentence he appears to describe what his technique will be: ‘I shall first (speak of?) dissembling . . . And I shall begin with (the concept of) dissembling and define it, then describe the dissembler.’ Taken this way, the language is clumsily repetitive rather than tautologous. We need not contemplate deletion (Pauw suggested that the two sentences are alternatives; Herwerden deleted the former, Sitzler *ὄν . . . ἐξηλωκότων*) or the bold replacement of εἰρωνείαν with χεῖρονα ἀφρεῖν (Bücheler, Edmonds 1929). But no remedy for the syntax carries conviction. ποιήσομαι <τὸν λόγον ἀπό> (δ) is a crude conjecture, unacceptable without change (τὸν λόγον περὶ Herwerden, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Sitzler), all of these introducing further repetitive language (τὸν λόγον above, ἄρξομαι below, ἀπὸ below). ποιήσομαι τὸν . . . ἐξηλωκότα (Stefanis (1994a) 120) is an unlikely expression; and the plural τῶν ἐξηλωκότων (of a piece with

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the plurals in several of the epilogues) is unexceptionable. μνήκομαι (Needham) and <μνεῖαν> ποιήκομαι (Foss 1858) are unappealing.

ἀφείς τὸ προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν: he will move on to his first subject, dispensing with preamble and superfluous talk. πρᾶγματос is ‘question, matter in hand’ (LSJ πρᾶγμα II.8), and πέρα τοῦ πρ- is a blend of ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος (LSJ ἔξω I.2.b, Whitehead on Hyp. *Eux.* 31), actually proposed here by Edmonds 1929, and πέρα τοῦ δέοντος and the like (LSJ πέρα III.2). The preamble is this preface, not a preamble about dissembling. To accept περὶ τοῦ πράγματος (AB) obliges us to take ‘the matter’ to be dissembling, and the preamble to be a preamble about dissembling, with a feeble and repetitive sequence of thought, as may be seen in a typical translation: ‘I shall speak first of those who affect dissembling, dispensing with preliminaries and details about the topic. I shall begin with dissembling . . .’ (Rusten). The conjecture περιττὰ πρᾶγματα in three descendants of A (Stefanis (1994a) 84) is evidence that even a copyist sensed the feebleness. E. Mehler, *Mnemosyne* 6 (1878) 404, proposed περιττὰ (without πρᾶγματα), in ignorance of that reading.

5 οὕτως: ‘simply’, ‘at once’, ‘without more ado’ (LSJ A.IV). ὥς (Schwartz), picked up by καὶ at the beginning of the next sentence (‘ut . . . ita’), is not an improvement.

εἰς τίνα τρόπον κατενήνεκται: ‘to what manner of behaviour he is inclined’ (LSJ καταφέρω III, καταφέρῃς II); unless ‘the character into which he has drifted’ (Jebb) is better (II.2n.).

τῶν παθημάτων: ‘affections of the mind’ (Jebb), ‘emotions’ (Rusten). However translated, the word is inept. And the partitive gen. with τὰ ἄλλα is abnormal.

κατὰ γένος: another clumsy repetition (§3).

καθιστάναι: for καθεστάναι (AB), first conjectured by Fischer, anticipated (accented -ᾶναι) by two descendants of A (Torraca (1974) 82); much likelier than καταστῆσαι (δ).

## I

## THE DISSEMBLER

## Introductory note

The etymology and primary meaning of εἶρων are uncertain. O. Ribbeck, 'Ueber den Begriff des εἶρων', *RhM* 31 (1876) 381–400, remains fundamental. See also L. Schmidt, *Commentatio de εἶρωνος Notione apud Aristonem et Theophrastum* (Marburg 1873),<sup>7</sup> W. Büchner, 'Über den Begriff der Eironeia', *Hermes* 76 (1941) 339–58, Z. Pavlovskis, 'Aristotle, Horace, and the Ironic Man', *CPh* 63 (1968) 22–41, L. Bergson, 'Eiron und Eironeia', *Hermes* 99 (1971) 409–22, F. Amory, 'Eiron and Eironeia', *C&M* 33 (1981) 49–80, J. Cotter, 'The etymology and earliest significance of εἶρων', *Glotta* 70 (1992) 31–4. There is nothing new in G. Markantonatos, 'On the origin and meaning of the word εἶρωνεία', *RFIC* 103 (1975) 16–21. T. G. Rosenmeyer, 'Ironies in serious drama', in M. S. Silk (ed.), *Tragedy and the Tragic: Greek Theatre and Beyond* (Oxford 1996) 497–519, gives a useful classification of types of irony, ancient and modern, and extensive bibliography.

Before Aristotle the word and its cognates are found only in comedy, Plato and the orators, who apply them to deceitful or dissembling behaviour, pretence of ignorance or innocence, making of excuses, hypocrisy, disingenuousness. They first appear in Aristophanes: *Nu.* 449 εἶρων in a catalogue of abusive terms for trickster; *V.* 174 οἶαν πρόφασιν καθῆκεν ὡς εἶρωνικῶς of a cunning excuse; *Au.* 1211 εἶρωνεύεται of pretended ignorance. In later comedy, Philem. 93.6 εἶρων τῆι φύσει of a fox, the epitome of slyness. They are applied disparagingly to Socrates, who hoodwinks others by feigning ignorance (Pl. *Ap.* 37E, *Cra.* 384A, *Grg.* 489E, *R.* 337A, *Smp.* 216E, 218D; cf. *Euthd.* 302B, *Lg.* 908E, *Sph.* 268A–D).<sup>8</sup> When Demosthenes accuses his countrymen of εἶρωνεία, he is accusing them of shilly-shallying and inventing excuses to avoid their civic and military duties (4.7, 37; cf. 60.18, *Prooem.* 14.3, *Din.* 2.11).

Aristotle, for whom each virtue is a mean between two opposed vices, places εἶρωνεία and ἀλαζονεία on opposite sides of ἀλήθεια.<sup>9</sup> The ἀλαζών pretends to more than the truth, the εἶρων to less: *EN* 1108<sup>a</sup> 19–23 περὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἀλήθεις ὁ μὲν μέγας ἀληθῆς τις καὶ ἡ μερότης ἀλήθεια λεγέσθω, ἡ δὲ προκτοίρησις ἡ

<sup>7</sup> Future editors of *EN* should assign the conjecture εἶρων for εἶρωνεία at 1124<sup>b</sup> 30 to Schmidt (iv–v), not Susemihl (Teubner 1887), who had reviewed Schmidt in *JAW* 1 (1873) 207–9.

<sup>8</sup> G. Vlastos, 'Socratic irony', *CQ* 37 (1987) 79–96 (= *Socrates, Ironist and Moral Philosopher* (Cambridge 1991) 21–44), unconvincingly dissociates Socratic irony from deception or pretence. See P. Gottlieb, *CQ* 42 (1992) 278–9, I. Vasiliou, *CQ* 49 (1999) 456–72, 52 (2002) 220–30.

<sup>9</sup> See the Introduction, p. 6.

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μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μείζων ἀλαζονεία καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀλαζών, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εἰρωνεία καὶ εἴρων <ὁ ἔχων> (cf. *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>6, 24–5, *MM* 1186<sup>a</sup>25–6, 1193<sup>a</sup>28–35). The ἀλαζών claims creditable qualities that he does not possess or possesses to a lesser degree than he claims, while the εἴρων disclaims or depreciates qualities that he does possess: *EN* 1127<sup>a</sup>20–3 δοκεῖ δὴ ὁ μὲν ἀλαζών προσποιητικὸς τῶν ἐνδόξων εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ μειζόνων ἢ ὑπάρχει, ὁ δὲ εἴρων ἀνάπαλιν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπαρχόντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν. The εἴρων wilfully misrepresents himself for the worse, the ἀλαζών for the better: *EE* 1233<sup>b</sup>39–1234<sup>a</sup>2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω καθ' αὐτοῦ ψευδόμενος μὴ ἀγνοῶν εἴρων, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ἀλαζών. For Aristotle, then, the mark of the εἴρων is self-depreciation and self-denigration. He adds (*EN* 1127<sup>b</sup>22–32) that the εἴρων is generally a more agreeable character (χαριέστερος) than the ἀλαζών, for his motive is likely to be purer: not desire for gain but avoidance of pomposity or ostentation (τὸ ὀγκηρόν). But he can be commended only if (like Socrates) he disowns what is creditable or highly esteemed (τὰ ἔνδοξα); some manifestations of mock-humility (like extreme negligence of dress) are no better than ἀλαζονεία. See also S. Vogt, *Aristoteles, Physiognomica* (Darmstadt 1999) 381–4.

The Εἴρων of Theophrastus is very different. He does not depreciate or denigrate himself. He conceals his true feelings (§2), feigns indifference to criticism (§2), is evasive and non-committal and invents excuses (§4), capriciously misleads (§5), and is pat with professions of disbelief (§6). He is, in essence, a dissembler, and he dissembles without motive (Gomperz (1889) 15, W. W. Fortenbaugh, *Gnomon* 68 (1996) 454).<sup>10</sup> Some, indeed, have found him a motive: to avoid trouble and inconvenience (Büchner (above) 348, Gaiser 28, Bergson (above) 415, Stein 61–2, Rusten 168); even ‘a polite indifference, an unwillingness to be drawn into what, after all, does not concern him’ (Ussher). This does not square with §2 (he goes out of his way to encounter his enemies, when he could have avoided them) and §5 (to claim that you have something for sale when you have not is to invite trouble).

Ariston of Keos draws a subtler and richer portrait of the εἴρων, and offers a glimmer of a motive for his conduct.<sup>11</sup> He is clever and persuasive; in demeanour expressive and versatile, in behaviour unpredictable and sometimes dramatic. Ariston (or Philodemus) describes him as a type of ἀλαζών. In so far as his aim, in his self-denigration, is to flatter others, he resembles the Ἄρεκκος or the Κόλαξ of Theophrastus.

<sup>10</sup> See the Introduction, p. 12 n. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Text in F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, VI: *Lykon und Ariston von Keos* (Basel<sup>2</sup> 1968) fr. 14, VI–VIII, Rusten 190–4. On Ariston see the Introduction, pp. 9–10; on the εἴρων, L. Schmidt, Ribbeck 395–8 (both cited above), Pasquali (1919) 15–16 = (1986) 88–9, Knögel (cited p. 10 n. 29) 34–9, Büchner 350–3, Pavlovskis 26, Bergson 415–16 (all cited above), Gigante (p. 10 n. 29) 127.

[1] *Definition*

μὲν οὖν: at the opening of a definition, only here and def. XII; elsewhere only in two spurious passages (*pr.* 4, VIII.5). Presumably 'οὖν emphasizing a prospective μὲν' (Denniston 473 (2)). Deletion of οὖν (Sicherl) is pointless.

δόξειεν ἄν εἶναι: in definitions, transmitted in IV, VII, XXVI, XXVII, restored for δόξειεν εἶναι in XVI, XXV and for δόξει εἶναι in XIII, XXI, XXIII; also in two spurious passages (VI.7, XVI.13); δόξειεν ἄν is ubiquitous in Arist. and in T.'s other writings.

ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν: the same expression *HP* 1.1.6, *CP* 1.20.3, Arist. *Top.* 103<sup>a</sup>7 (cf. *Pl. R.* 559A ἵνα τύπῳ λάβωμεν αὐτάς); similarly ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν *HP* 2.6.12, Arist. *Top.* 101<sup>a</sup>18, 105<sup>b</sup>19, ὡς εἰπεῖν τύπῳ *HP* 1.1.6, 6.1.3, *CP* 4.9.4, ὡς τύπῳ εἰπεῖν Arist. *Cat.* 1<sup>b</sup>28, 11<sup>b</sup>20. Since ὡς ἐν τύπῳ is also found (*HP* 1.2.2, *Pl. R.* 414A, Arist. *de An.* fr. 4 (424<sup>a</sup>15), *EN* 1129<sup>a</sup>11, *Pol.* 1323<sup>a</sup>10, *Oec.* 1345<sup>b</sup>12), ὡς ἐν (ac<sup>2</sup>, combining ὡς B and ἐν A) could be right. Cf. def. IX, XX ὡς ὄρωι λαβεῖν (def. V περιλαβεῖν, XIV εἰπεῖν); Hindenlang 70.

προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ λόγων: ineptly expressed, like def. XIII προσποίησις τις λόγων καὶ πράξεων μετ' εὐνοίας. A gen. after προσποίησις should be objective ('pretence of, 'pretension to'), as in def. XXIII προσποίησις (Auberius: προσδοκία V) τις ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων (further examples in Stein). The writer appears to want 'pretence (consisting) in'. He has strung together vocabulary from *EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>21 (προσποίησις) and *EE* 1234<sup>a</sup>1 (ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω), both quoted in the *Intro.* Note, and the common Aristotelian pairing of πράξεις and λόγοι (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>11, 1127<sup>a</sup>20, 1128<sup>b</sup>5, *Rh.* 1386<sup>b</sup>3, 1400<sup>a</sup>16, *MM* 1193<sup>a</sup>2, 21; also *Pl. Sph.* 219c, [*Pl.*] *Def.* 413b). There are similar pairings of speech and action in def. VI, VIII, XIV. Perhaps ἐπὶ <τὸ> χεῖρον (Mac, conl. Casaubon), as XXIX.5 and consistently in Aristotle (*EN* 1138<sup>a</sup>1, *Metaph.* 1019<sup>a</sup>27, 1019<sup>b</sup>2, 1046<sup>a</sup>14, *Pol.* 1332<sup>b</sup>2, *Rh.* 1389<sup>b</sup>21, 1390<sup>a</sup>5, 1416<sup>b</sup>11, *MM* 1196<sup>a</sup>29, also *Diph.* 104.2; similarly, in the passages quoted in the *Intro.* Note, *EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>21–2 ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον . . . ἐπὶ τὸ ἕλαττον, *EE* 1233<sup>b</sup>39 ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω); cf. def. V ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ, XVII παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον, XXVIII εἰς τὸ χεῖρον. And perhaps προσποίησις <τις> (Orth), as in def. XIII and XXIV (τις also def. XVIII, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI).

Self-denigration (if that is what 'pretence for the worse in action and speech' is designed to express) is characteristic of the εἶρων of Aristotle, but not of Theophrastus. And the sketch exemplifies λόγοι but not πράξεις. Further discussion in Gomperz (1889) 3–4, 14–16, Stein 62–4.

2 ὁ δὲ εἶρων τοιοῦτός τις οἶος: τοιοῦτος (τις) οἶος + infin. is a common formula, introducing a generalised description of behaviour or personality (e.g. *Pl. Ap.* 31A, *Cri.* 46B, *Cra.* 395A, X, *HG* 6.5.7, *Cyr.* 1.2.3, *Mem.* 2.6.37, D. 25.39, *Antiph.* 166.6–8, 188.5–6, often in Aristotle; similarly Ariston fr. 14,

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I and VII) or a character type (e.g. [Arist.] *MM* 1203<sup>a</sup>1–2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκόλαστος τοιοῦτός τις οἶος, *VV* 1251<sup>b</sup>22 ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ μικρόψυχος οἶος). The sketches normally begin, after the spurious definition, ὁ δὲ (name of character) τοιοῦτός (or τοιόσδε) τις οἶος. The behaviour of AB and V, when examined as a whole, suggests that divergences are the product of corruption, not of a desire for variety. Here τις B, ἐστιν A. In I–XV B has τις in twelve sketches, omits τις in two (IX, XI), and has ἐστιν instead of τις in one (III). Of the twelve where B has τις, A has τις in seven (II in effect, VIII, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV), omits τις in one (IV), has ἐστιν τις in one (VII), ἐστιν(v) in three (I, V, VI); in the remaining three, A like B omits τις in two (IX, XI) and has ἐστιν instead of τις in one (III). In XVI–XXX, V has τις in twelve, omits τις in one (XXVI), has ἐστιν with τις in one (XXIX ἐστιν τοιόσδε τις), and ἐστιν with abnormal word order in one (XXX ἐστιν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ). It is reasonable to regard ἐστιν, when it occurs, as an interpolation. And it is reasonable to restore τις in the few places where it is not attested (III, IX, XI, XXVI, XXX); scribes who could omit οἶος (XIII) or τοιοῦτος (XXV) could as easily omit τις. The only variations then remaining to the pattern are II τὸν δὲ κόλακα τοιοῦτόν τινα ὥστε (where the accusatives cannot be right), V ἀμέλει added (and to be deleted) before τοιοῦτος, and the unique word order in XXX (to be remedied by ὁ δὲ . . . τοιοῦτός τις).

We do not know how Theophrastus himself began the sketch. Perhaps Ὁ εἶρων τοιοῦτός τις ἐστιν οἶος. Or Ὁ εἶρων τοιοῦτός τις οἶος, since ἐστιν is dispensable (*Pl. Cri.* 46B, *Arist. EE* 1245<sup>b</sup>14–15, and *MM* 1203<sup>a</sup>1–2 cited above).

**προσελθὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς:** contrast XXIV.6 προσελθεῖν πρότερος οὐδενὶ ἐθέλησαι. The verb denotes a deliberate encounter (XI.7, XII.2, 4, XIII.7, 8, XX.4n.), not an accidental one, such as might have been expressed by ἐντυγχάνων (VII.2, XXIV.8; but see §4n.).

**ἐθέλειν λαλεῖν ἢ οὐ μισεῖν†:** ‘He is willing to chat with his enemies, not hate them’ is unacceptable, for three reasons. (i) The sense is inept: ἐθέλειν (XV.10, XVI.9, XXIV.6, all with negative) suits λαλεῖν (Introd. Note to VII) but not μισεῖν. We may not translate ἐθέλειν as ‘pflegen’, ‘be accustomed to’ (Steinmetz), since this sense requires an inanimate subject (LSJ II.2). (ii) Asyndeton of positive and negative verbs is not in T.’s manner. His manner is negative + ἄλλὰ + positive: §4 below, VI.5, XV.4, XVI.6, 9, XVII.4, XVIII.6, 8, XIX.3, XXII.6, 10, XXIV.13, XXIX.5. (iii) The negative ought to be μή, not οὐ (VI.9n.).

Deletion of οὐ μισεῖν (Darvaris before Ussing) is gratuitous: there was no motive for addition, and the expression is too crass for a gloss on λαλεῖν. Of conjectures which retain λαλεῖν none appeals: ἐθ- λ- οὐ μισῶν Pauw, [ἐθέλειν] λ- <ὥς> οὐ μισῶν Bloch (cf. II.4 ὥς δὴ οὐ), ἐθ- λ- <ὥς> οὐ μισῶν Dobree, ἐθ- λ- <δοκῶν φιλεῖν> οὐ μισεῖν Darvaris, λ- ἐθέλων <δόξα> οὐ μισεῖν Foss 1834, ἐθ- λ- οὐ <δοκῶν> μισεῖν Herwerden, ἐθ- λ- <καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι φιλεῖν> οὐ



μιεῖν Ribbeck 1876, ἔθ- λ- <καί> ὀμιλεῖν (ἔθ- ὀμιλεῖν Pierson ap. Naber) Birt (*Kritik und Hermeneutik* 35 n. 2). Some descendants of A (Torraca (1974) 83) replace λαλεῖν with a trite conjecture φιλεῖν: hence ἔθ- φιλεῖν <δοκεῖν> οὐ μ- Reiske 1757 (ἔθ- δοκεῖν οὐ μ- Haupt), ἔθ- φιλεῖν οὐκ μιεῖ Schneider (ἔθ- λ- οὐκ μιεῖ Nauck 1863, where οὐκ μιεῖ becomes an otiose appendage after τοῖς ἐχθροῖς). Conceivably λαλεῖν (B) is no less an error than λαβεῖν (A); and we might consider λαθεῖν,<sup>12</sup> matching λάθραι immediately below. But we cannot have either ἔθ- λαθεῖν μιζῶν (Kayser) or ἔθ- λαθεῖν ὅτι μιεῖ (Navarre 1918, same construction as Pl. *Phd.* 64A-B, *Th.* 174B, *Alc.* 1 109D, *X. Mem.* 3.5.24, *Oec.* 1.19), since ἐθέλειν does not suit λαθεῖν. Moreover, concealment of hatred, passive behaviour, is a less telling detail than chatting to enemies, active dissimulation. Conventional morality dictates that enemies should be treated as enemies, and insults openly resented (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 180-4).

καὶ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας οἷς ἐπέθετο λάθραι: cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1383<sup>b</sup>30 τὸ . . . ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας κολακείας (*sc.* σημεῖόν ἐστι), Ariston fr. 14, VII (of the εἴρων) ἐπαινεῖν ὃν ψέγει[1].

καὶ τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττημένοις: defeat in law (the defeat must have a specific context, and law is the obvious one), as XI.7 ἡττημένοι (Schneider: ἡττωμ- AB) . . . μεγάλην δίκην, XXIX.2 τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ δημοσίους ἄγῶνας ὠφληκόσι. The verb, when used in this connection, is often qualified by some addition (δίκην, γραφήν, ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, or the like). But it is also found unqualified (e.g. *S. Ai.* 1242, *Pl. Lg.* 936E, *D.* 20.146, 36.25, 43.4, 7, 47.2). There is therefore no need for <μεγάλας δίκας> ἡττ- (Meier 1850/1) or <δίκην> ἡττ- (Navarre 1920). Present ἡττωμένοις (AB) should be changed to perfect (Schwartz; that M has ἡττημένοις is of no consequence, since it also has βεβουλημένοις for βουλομένοις in §3). Although, like νικᾶν 'be victorious', present ἡττᾶσθαι can mean 'be defeated', 'be in a state of defeat', particularly in military contexts (Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 1232), it would less naturally be applied to being in a state of legal defeat. A perfect part. is guaranteed by the coordinated perfect at XXIX.2 and is more appropriate than the transmitted present at XI.7, where a specific event is referred to (cf. also *S. Ai.* 1242 ἡσσημένοις, *D.* 27.25 πρὸς τίνα δίκην ἡττηνται, 45.51 παραγραφὴν ἡττημένος).

τούτοις is resumptive, referring to the persons just mentioned, as VI.4 τούτων, 9 τούτοις, XIV.3 ταύτην, XX.10 ταύτην (conj.), XXV.5 τοῦτον, 8 τούτων, XXVII.2 ταύτας. Additions have been proposed which would

<sup>12</sup> λαθ- corrupted to λαλ- *S.* fr. 83, *Ar. Th.* 419 (-λανθ- to -λαμβ- *CP* 1.5.3), λαβ- to λαθ- VII.7, VIII.5 (AB), IX.4 (d). On the other hand, λαλ- to λαβ- *Men.* fr. 129.3. There is a correction or variant in A: λε or λι above λ (Diels), λι above λ (Immisch 1923), λει 'supra versum ante λαβεῖν' (Torraca (1974) 83). This last (to judge from the photograph) is the most plausible diagnosis. I take λει to indicate not λειβεῖν for λαβεῖν (Torraca), but ἐθέλει (an attested variant, Torraca *loc.cit.*) for ἐθέλειν.

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clarify the reference: ἡττημένοις <οἷς . . . > Meier 1850/1, τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις (for τούτοις) Hartung, <καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἀντιδικεῖ> καὶ τούτοις Edmonds 1929, καὶ <οἷς (or πρὸς οὓς) δικάζεται> τούτοις Kassel ap. Stein (τούτοις picking up the relative, III.2n.). Such clarification is neither necessary nor desirable. If the dissembler sympathises with the same people, when they have lost a case, whom he praises openly and attacks covertly, they can have no reason to suspect that his sympathy and praise are insincere. With the proposed supplements he sympathises with persons against whom he has been at odds. In this case one might suppose that his earlier antagonism would afford some cause for suspecting his sincerity.

καὶ . . . δέ: ‘a natural enough combination, the former particle denoting that something is added, the latter that what is added is distinct from what precedes’ (Denniston 199). A. Rijksbaron, ‘Adverb or connector? The case of καὶ . . . δέ’, in Rijksbaron (ed.), *New Approaches to Greek Particles* (Amsterdam 1997) 187–208, argues that (in classical Greek generally) καὶ not δέ is the connector, while ‘the function of δέ is to individualize the second item’. καὶ is certainly the connector in T., whose use of δέ is severely restricted (VI.9n.). καὶ . . . δέ is attested 71 times (including spurious VI.7, epil. X bis). I restore it by conjecture in epil. III, VI.9, VIII.8, XVI.15, XXX.17, and contemplate restoring it in VII.4, 7 bis, XX.3, XXVIII.5. It usually stands at the head of a new sentence, or of a new clause after a strong break, but occasionally adds a new item in a series where there is no strong break (II.4 bis, 6, V.6, XI.8, XXIX.3). It connects only clauses or items which are part of the main infinitive structure (that is, are dependent on introductory οἷος or δεινός). No other author uses it so frequently as does Theophrastus in this work, where it conveniently introduces variety into a potentially monotonous series of infinitives linked by καὶ. For T.’s other works (where it is also common) see Müller (1874) 22. Rijksbaron 188 n. 4 gives figures for the major authors. For the orators, Wyse on Is. 9.11; the papyri, E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II.3 (Berlin and Leipzig 1934) 131–2. For the use of καὶ in passages of character drawing, S. Trenkner, *Le style καὶ dans le récit attique oral* (Assen 1960) 24–6.

συγγνώμην . . . ἔχειν τοῖς αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις <γελάω>: although συγγνώμην ἔχειν may be constructed with ἐπί + dat. (Arist. *Rh.* 1374<sup>b</sup>4), the second phrase is feebly repetitive and needs a colourful verb to give it point. There is nothing to choose between γελάω (after λεγομένοις Darvaris, after καὶ Rusten) and ἐπι-<γελάω> (Edmonds 1929; cf. II.3, 4); another possibility is μειδιᾶν (Büchner (Introd. Note); cf. VIII.2). For γελάω ἐπί, Pl. *Euthd.* 300E, *R.* 457<sup>B</sup>, 518<sup>B</sup>, X. *Oec.* 7.3, *Smp.* 2.17, 18, 23, *Cyr.* 4.5-55, *Ar. Ra.* 2, *Men. Pk.* 293–4 (LSJ γελάω II.1). Less effectively, πράως ἔχειν Fischer, ἡρεμεῖν or χαίρειν or πράως φέρειν Reiske 1757, οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖν Ast (wrong neg.: VI.9n.), μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν (after καὶ) Meier 1850/1 (after λεγ- Hartung), μὴ ἄχθεσθαι (after καὶ) Navarre 1920. It is rash to delete

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καὶ . . . λεγομένοις (Schneider (1799) 214, anticipating Bloch; also Dobree, who proposed, alternatively, deletion of καὶ alone) or to speculate that this and τοῖς . . . λέγουσι are author's variants (Stein; similar suggestions at III.3, IV.12, VI.6).

With the sentiment in general cf. Eub. 25.2–3 (α κόλαξ) τοῖς κώπτοισι . . . | ἑαυτὸν εὐόργητος, Axionic. 6.9–11 (parasite) οἶον φίλερίς τίς ἐστι καὶ μάχεταιί τί μοι | μετεβαλόμην πρὸς τοῦτον ὅσα τ' εἴρηκέ με | κακῶς ὁμολογῶν εὐθέως οὐ βλάπτομαι, Men. fr. 513 κακῶς ἀκούειν ὅστις οὐκ ὀργίζεται | πονηρίας πιστὸν τεκμήριον φέρει, Nicol.Com. 1.31 (parasite) δεῖ κωπτόμενον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶι γελαῖν.

**αὐτόν . . . καθ' ἑαυτοῦ:** if we wish to restore consistency, the choice between ἑαυτόν and αὐτοῦ (Navarre 1920) is arbitrary. The form ἑαυτ- is attested (besides here) at §6 (doubtful because of corruption), XI.8, XIV.10, XXII.10, XXV.8, XXVII.12, XXX.16 (V: αὐτ- AB), 17, 18 *bis* (but I reject one instance, for a reason given below). In the other places (about 60) where a reflexive form is needed, always αὐτ-, which I change to αὐτ- (restored here by Diels 1898), except that (with no conviction) I take VIII.8 δὲ αὐτῶι to point to δ' ἑαυτῶι rather than δὲ αὐτῶι or δ' αὐτῶι. Trace of an original αὐτ- or ἑαυτ- is preserved in XXIV.9 ὑφ' αὐτόν.

The presence of a reflexive here suggests that we may restore a reflexive in passages of similar participial structure elsewhere: IV.3 (the preceding τοῦς αὐτοῦ (αὐτ- AB) οἰκέτας would be sufficient to commend τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶι (αὐτ- AB) ἐργαζομένοις), XV.6, XVIII.5, 9, XXX.3. In addition to the many further passages where reflexive may be restored without argument, I restore it in clauses which are dependent on a verb of speech or command or the like, but not in clauses which are not so dependent (conditional, III.3 *ad fin.*, VII.2, VIII.7, XVI.6, 8; temporal, XXIV.8, XXVIII.4; gen. absol., XIV.7, XXI.9, XXII.9, XXIII.2, XXX.18). Hence such variations as VII.2 εἰπεῖν, ἄν ὀτιοῦν πρὸς αὐτόν φθέγγηται, ὅτι . . . ἄν ἀκούη αὐτοῦ, μαθήσεται, XXVIII.4, XXX.18. See in general KG 2.560–4 (contrast Schwyzer 2.194).

**3 καὶ † πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας† πράως διαλέγεσθαι:** 'talk mildly to those who are wronged and are resenting it'. If the point is that, just as he pretends to make light of criticisms of himself, so he takes too lightly the grievances of others, then the point is unclearly formulated and of doubtful aptness. I see no help in a passage often cited in illustration, X. *An.* 1.5.14 ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαιεν (Clearchus) ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως λέγοι (Polemarchus) τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος ('C. resented the fact that, when he had nearly been stoned to death, P. made light of his experience'). In other circumstances mild talk might serve the purpose of dissimulation ('He was the mildest manner'd man . . . you never could divine his real thought', Byron,

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*Don Juan*, Canto III.321–4). Aristotle actually links *πρᾶοι καὶ εἴρωνες* in *Rh.* 1382<sup>b</sup>20. But these mild dissemblers are concealing resentment at wrongs which they themselves have suffered; they are more to be feared than the sharp-tempered and outspoken, with whom you know where you stand. If the wrongs have been suffered by others, then a dissembler will feign indignation, not mildness. The thought is not much improved if *τοὺς ἀδικουμένους* is taken as ‘those who are being wronged *by him*’ (so e.g. Casaubon, Gomperz (1889) 15, Pasquali). In any case, clarity calls for *τοὺς <ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ> ἄδ-* (Meier 1850/1), or rather *<ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ>* (Hartung). There is no satisfactory conjecture: not *καὶ ἀδικούμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας* Ribbeck 1870, since he would more appropriately address mild speech to persons doing him wrong than to persons resenting his wrongs; nor *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις [καὶ] πρὸς τοὺς ἄδικ<α ἦγ>οιμένους* Ussing (*τοὺς διηγουμένους* Cobet 1874), since *ἐπὶ κτλ.* does not well cohere with what follows. For *πρᾶως διαλέγεσθαι*, *Plu.* 800c, D.C. 9.40.22, 76.4.3.

**4** I follow Ussing, and take *καὶ τοῖς . . . μαλακισθῆναι* as a single sentence. When people wish to meet him urgently he tells them to come back later. He postpones the meeting as inconvenient, claiming with a lack of candour (*μηδὲν ὦν πράττει ὁμολογῆσαι*) that: (i) he has not yet made up his mind on the question to which they seek an answer (*βουλεύεσθαι*), (ii) he has only just returned home (*ἄρτι παραγεγονέναι*), (iii) it is late (*ὄψε γίγνεσθαι*), (iv) he had fallen ill (*μαλακισθῆναι*). The traditional division is after *ἐπανελθεῖν*, so that a new train of thought, unrelated to what precedes, begins at *καὶ μηδὲν*. This is less satisfactory, for the following reasons. (a) To tell visitors to return later is not dissimulation; it becomes dissimulation when a pretence of unavailability is offered. (b) The excuses alleged in (ii), (iii) and (iv) are very appropriate examples of such a pretence, and (i), although less obviously appropriate, can be taken as an example. (c) In §2, §3 and §5 the victims of dissimulation are identified (*τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, τοῖς αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγουσι, τοὺς ἀδικουμένους* (?), *τοῖς . . . βουλομένοις, τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας*). But if a new train of thought begins at *καὶ μηδὲν*, the victims of the dissimulation practised in §4 are not identified; and no connection of thought or circumstance then links the four examples of dissimulation. The supplement *καὶ <παρακληθεὶς πρὸς δίαιταν> προσποιήσασθαι* (Kassel ap. Stein) partially answers the problem posed in (c), by supplying a new circumstance for (ii), (iii) and (iv). Stein, too, argues that *καὶ προσποιήσασθαι* must begin a new train of thought, for otherwise it would be otiose after *ἀλλὰ φῆσαι*. But the same verbs are paired in §5.

Transposition of *καὶ μηδὲν . . . βουλεύεσθαι* has been proposed: (i) after *μαλακισθῆναι* (Schneider), (ii) after *ἐορακέναι* in §5 (Hottinger), (iii) exchanged

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with *καὶ . . . ἐρανίζοντας* (Foss 1858). In (i), ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλεύεσθαι gives a weak conclusion, serving only as the antithesis to μηδὲν ὦν πράττει ὁμολογῆσαι; in (ii), it unbalances the series into which it is inserted; in (iii), we have the same weakness as in (i), and *καὶ . . . ἐρανίζοντας* is not appropriately placed.

*καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν βουλομένοις προστάξαι ἐπανελθεῖν*: he tells them to ‘come back’ (as IX.2 (conj.), XXV.7), rather than ‘go back home’ (Edmonds). For ἐντυγχάνειν used of an encounter which is not accidental (§2n.), XXIV.2 τῶι σπεύδοντι ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐντεύξεσθαι φάσκειν ἐν τῶι περιπατεῖν, *Men. Asp.* 93 ἐντυχεῖν βουλήσομαι τι . . . σοι, *Dysc.* 751, *Sic.* 183 (LSJ II.1).

*καὶ μηδὲν ὦν πράττει ὁμολογῆσαι ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλεύεσθαι*: he claims that he is *at present* occupied in thought. βουλεύεσθαι (Casaubon)<sup>13</sup> is too like κέμεσθαι in §5. <ἐτι> βουλεύεσθαι (Herwerden, from M) is unwanted.

*καὶ προσποιήσασθαι ἄρτι παραγεγονέναι καὶ ὄψε γίνεσθαι [αὐτόν]*: aorist προσποιήσασθαι (as XXIII.7) of a statement of pretence, by contrast with present προσποιεῖσθαι in §5 of a state of pretence (V.6n.). He pretends that he has just arrived and that ‘it is late’. While παραγεγονέναι refers (correctly) to present time, aorist γενέσθαι (AB), being in indirect speech, would refer (incorrectly) to past time (KG I.193–4), ‘it was late’, and must therefore be changed to present γίνεσθαι, easily corrupted by way of γίνεσθαι, the usual spelling (II.2n.). The verb in the expression ὄψε γίνεσθαι / εἶναι is impersonal (Pl. *Smp.* 217D κηπιτόμενος ὅτι ὄψε εἶη, X. *An.* 3.4.36 ὄψε ἐγίγνετο, D. 21.84 τῆς . . . ὥρας ἐγίγνετ’ ὄψε; commonly ὄψε ἦν, Th. 1.50.5, 8.61.3, Pl. *Lj.* 223A, X. *HG* 1.7.7, etc.). A personal subject αὐτόν (αὐτόν Ussing) is impossible; and ‘he’ as subject would be nominative not accusative. Deletion of αὐτόν (Hottinger before Navarre 1920) is more plausible than deletion of the whole phrase *καὶ ὄψε γενέσθαι αὐτόν* (Kassel ap. Rusten). No other proposal satisfies: αὐτοῦ Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 359), ‘ibi’, anticipating Edmonds and Austen (who translate ‘he is late for some function (lit. “is there late”)’); cf. Edmonds (1908) 119); αὐτῶν Edmonds 1929, ‘joined the company late’; αὐτῶι Foss 1858, an unexampled and unwanted dative; ἐπανιόντος Reiske 1757, apparently ‘it was late when he returned’; ὄψε γενέσθαι καὶ μαλακισθῆναι αὐτόν Nast (καὶ αὐτόν μ- Schneider), acc. where nom. is needed; hence καὶ αὐτὸς μ- Torraca 1994a, with pointless emphasis.

*καὶ μαλακισθῆναι*: of illness, as XIII.9, a sense first attested in Arist. *HA* 605<sup>a</sup>25 (LSJ 3); not cowardice, irresolution (Rusten). The aorist infin. represents an original ἐμαλακίσθην (‘I became ill’), the so-called ‘ingressive’ aorist (KG I.155–6), as Th. 2.42.4, 43.6, 5.9.10, 72.1, 7.68.3 (in all of these ‘became a coward’), Arr. *An.* 7.3.1 (indir. speech, as here) μαλακισθῆναι γὰρ τι τῶι σώματι τὸν Κάλανον . . . οὔπω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα.

<sup>13</sup> Not (as Fischer claims) Cantabr. (4 Wilson).

5 Borrowing and lending, buying and selling, are recurrent themes (Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 168, id. *Lending and Borrowing* 5–6), and illustrate a variety of traits: here caprice and obfuscation, with no implication of meanness or eye for gain.

καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας < . . . : active δανεῖζειν is 'lend' (VI.9), middle 'have oneself lent, borrow' (IX.2, 7, XXX.3, 7), usually of money lent at interest, occasionally (as IX.7) of goods (Korver, *Crediet-Wezen* 79–84, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 28–30). ἐρανίζειν is 'raise an interest-free loan from friends'. On the ἔρανος (XV.7, XVII.9, XXII.9, XXIV.6), Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit* 100–6, J. Vondeling, *Eranos* (Groningen 1961), Millett, 'Patronage' 41–3, id. 'Sale, credit and exchange' 183–4, 187, *Lending and Borrowing* 153–9, E. E. Cohen, *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (Princeton 1992) 207–15 (208 n. 112 on this passage),<sup>14</sup> MacDowell on D. 21.101, Arnott on Alex. 145.5, Lane Fox 146–7. A single article suffices with the two participles, which are equivalent to nouns ('applicants for loans and applicants for contributions'); cf. XXIV.7 τοὺς πωλοῦντάς τι ἢ μισθουμένους, also IV.3 τοῖς . . . φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις, VII.6 (spurious), XXVIII.6 (KG 1.611–12).

To complete the sense we need something like 'he says that he has no money'. There are numerous supplements: <εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀργύριον ἔχει Salmاسius (*De Usuris Liber* (Leiden 1688) 62–3),<sup>15</sup> ὡς ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔχει Jebb, δοῦς πολὺ φῆσαι ὡς οὐ πλουτεῖ Ribbeck, χαλεπῶς προσενεγκάμενος (or προσενεχθεῖς) διδόναι ἀφειδῶς Wachsmuth ap. Ilberg 1897, πενίαν προφαρίζεσθαι Fraenkel and Groeneboom (cl. Lys. 22.13), φῆσαι ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχει Diels, λέγειν δοῦς ὅτι λαθεῖν βούλεται Navarre 1920, εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ πλουτεῖ Edmonds 1929, φῆσαι ὡς ἀπορεῖται or χρημάτων ἀπορεῖ Kassel ap. Stein, λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εὐπορεῖ Stein. I add εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀργύριον οὐ τυγχάνει παρόν (or οὐ πάρεστι); cf. D. 30.11, 33.7, 53.12. ἀργύριον in similar contexts: XIV.8, XV.7, XVII.9, XVIII.5. It is less plausible to look for the missing expression in ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ, and to assume that πωλεῖ is an error of anticipation prompted by the following πωλῶν: e.g. οὐ χολή Pauw, οὐκ ἔχει or αὐτῷ δεῖ Petersen, οὐ πλουτεῖ M. Schmidt, οὐκ εὐπορεῖ Bücheler.

. . . > ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ καὶ μὴ πωλῶν φῆσαι πωλεῖν: πωλεῖν 'offer for sale' as opposed to ἀποδίδοσθαι 'sell' (X.7n.). Salmасius' supplement . . . πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὠνητιῶντας > has merit: it balances πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας, identifies the victims of dissimulation, and excuses the omission (parablepsy -οντας < . . . -ῶντας >). The verb ὠνητιᾶν is used in a similar connection at XXIII.7 τοῖς πωλοῦσι προσποιήσασθαι ὠνητιᾶν. But to supply

<sup>14</sup> He fails to substantiate his claim that an ἔρανος might attract interest.

<sup>15</sup> The ungrammatical εἶεν printed there, which editors have continued to ascribe to him, is corrected to ἔχει in the 'Emendanda' at the end.

a verb of speech (εἰπεῖν or the like) from the preceding clause, legitimate in itself (as below τὰ μὲν κέμεσθαι φάσκειν, τὰ δὲ κτλ.), creates imbalance, since the following πωλεῖν has its own verb of speech. Style would be better served by καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὠνητιῶντας δὲ φῆσαι, though this forfeits the excuse of parablepsy. For καὶ . . . δέ (§2n.) with prep., art., noun or part. interposed, IV.12, V.4, VII.5, XXIII.5, XXIX.5 (conj.). Alternatively, καὶ on its own without δέ (Herwerden), rather than δέ on its own (VI.9n.). Simpler proposals: καὶ πωλῶν (πωλῶν τι Kassel: cf. X.7, XV.4, XXIV.7) φῆσαι Ast, καὶ πωλῶν λέγειν Foss 1858, καὶ πωλῶν Edmonds 1929. The correction of φῆσαι (AB) to φῆσαι was made by Bloch 1814, Darvaris 1815, Schneider 1818,<sup>16</sup> Dobree (*obit* 1825).

καὶ ἀκούσας τι μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἰδὼν φῆσαι μὴ ἑορακέναι: this echoes a proverbial expression, used either of pretence (*h.Merc.* 92 καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας, D. 25.88 οὕτω ταῦθ' ὀρώσιν ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν ἑορακέναι, 89 οὕτως ὀρώντες . . . ὥστε, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ὀρώντας μὴ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντας μὴ ἀκούειν, Plu. 13E ἕνια τῶν πραττομένων ὀρώντας μὴ ὀρᾶν καὶ μὴ ἀκούειν ἀκούοντας, Pl. *Mil.* 572–3 *illud quod scies nesciueris | nec uideris quod uideris*, Lib. *Or.* 47.6 κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν . . . ὀρώντων καὶ οὐχ ὀρώντων; cf. A. *Th.* 246 μὴ νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἄκου' ἔγαν, [Men.] *Mon.* 48 Jäkel ἄ μὴ προσήκει μήτ' ἄκουε μήθ' ὄρα), or of incapacity (A. *Ag.* 1623 οὐχ ὀρᾶις ὀρῶν τάδε; [A.] *PV* 447–8 βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην, | κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον, S. fr. 923.2 οὐδ' ὀρώντες εἰσορῶσι τὰμφανῆ, Matt. 13.13 βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσιν); R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs* (Göteborg 1954) 15.

μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι is 'pretend not', as Th. 3.47.4 δεῖ δέ, καὶ εἰ ἠδίκησαν, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, Aeschin. 3.201 ἔαν . . . μὴ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν ἀκούειν, Σ' Ar. *Eq.* 43 ὑπόκωφον· ὅτι πολλάκις ἀκούων οὐ προσεποιεῖτο (F. Montana, *Eikasmos* 11 (2000) 89), D. 8.58, 47.10, Men. *Epit.* fr. 9 Koerte (p. 130 Sandbach, p. 520 Arnott), Philem. 23.4, Plb. 5.25.7; J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* 2 (Basel 1924) 262. For the tense see on §4 προσποιήσασθαι.

In φῆσαι μὴ ἑορακέναι the neg. μὴ at first sight surprises. When neg. follows verb of speech, οὐ is regular, μὴ rare (KG 2.193–4); so οὐκ εἶδέναι below, IV.2, XIX.2, XX.9, XXIII.5. Possible alternative word order was μὴ φ-έ-, like XXIV.5 οὐ φάσκων χολάζειν (KG 2.180–1, A. C. Moorhouse, *Studies in the Greek Negatives* (Cardiff 1959) 121–37). The choice of order was perhaps dictated by what follows. If (as seems likely) φῆσαι is to be supplied with the following μεμῆσθαι (just as, below, φάσκειν is to be supplied with τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἶδέναι κτλ.), the order φῆσαι μὴ ἑορακέναι ensures that μεμῆσθαι will have

<sup>16</sup> Ast claims that Schneider first made the correction on L. Bos, *Ellipsis Graeca* p. 325, and so anticipated Bloch. I cannot trace which edition of this much reprinted work he refers to.

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its own negative, which for clarity it needs, whereas μή φῆσαι ἑορακέναι would have entailed a potentially confusing μεμνηῆσθαι without negative.

For the spelling ἑορακέναι (ἑωρ- AB), Arnott on Alex. 274.1, id. ‘Orthographical variants’ 204.

καὶ τὰ μὲν κέψασθαι φάσκειν: cf. Men. 349.1–2 οἱ τὰς ὄφρῦς αἴροντες ὡς ἀβέλτεροι | καὶ “κέψομαι” λέγοντες. Not κέψασθαι (AB): a past tense would anticipate and enfeeble the last clause (τὰ δὲ . . . διαλογίσασθαι).

τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι: cf. [Arist.] *MM* 1193<sup>a</sup>32–3 (the εἴρων) ἃ οἶδεν μὴ φάσκων ἄλλ’ ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὸ εἰδέναι.

τὰ δ’ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω διαλογίσασθαι: it is unclear (perhaps designedly) whether ‘he once had the same thought himself’ means only that he has anticipated a particular line of thought or that, having anticipated it, he has now abandoned it. ἤδη ποτὲ refers to unspecified past time: *HP* 2.3.3, 3.1.3, *H. Il.* 1.260, *A. Eu.* 50, *S. Ai.* 1142, *E. Hi.* 375, *Ar. Nu.* 346, *Ra.* 62, 931, *Pl. Ly.* 215c, *Cra.* 386a, *Min.* 316c, *Ep.* 329e, *X. Mem.* 3.13.4, 4.3.3, *Hier.* 6.7, *Isoc.* 6.29, *D.* 24.51, *Aeschin.* 1.63, 3.193, *Arist. HA* 633<sup>a</sup>8. διαλογίσασθαι is not ‘conclude’ (Jebb, *al.*) but ‘reason, think carefully, weigh up the facts’. The verb refers to the process of reasoning, not the attainment of a conclusion, although it may be implied that a conclusion follows from the reasoning: e.g. *Pl. Philb.* 58d σφόδρα διανοηθέντες καὶ ἰκανῶς διαλογισάμενοι, *Is.* 7.45 ταῦτα πάντα σκεψάμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς, *D.* 18.98 οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύετε διαλογισάμενοι, 30.30 φήσει γ’ ἄν τις, εἰ διαλογίζεται ὀρθῶς ἕκαστ’ αὐτῶν, *Isoc.* 6.90 ἃ χρὴ διαλογισαμένους μὴ φιλοψυχεῖν, 17.9 ταῦτα διαλογιζόμενος διανοεῖτο, *Men. Epit.* 252–3 ἐν νυκτὶ βουλῆν . . . | διδοῦς ἑμαυτῶν διελογιζόμεν, 563–4 ὡς κενὰ | καὶ διαλογίζομαι ὁ κακοδαίμων, προσδοκῶν . . . For the verb combined with οὕτω, *Lycurg.* 32 οὕτω δὲ διαλογίζεσθε περὶ τούτων παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, *Aeschin.* 3.179.

**6** His sceptical mode of speech is illustrated by two separate sets of quoted remarks. The first is a trio of brief verbal expressions, general in application, not related to any specific circumstance.<sup>17</sup> The second is a series of fuller expressions, prompted (it appears) by a specific report. They are more naturally taken as independent remarks than as continuous speech.

τὸ ὄλον: ‘as a whole’, ‘speaking generally’, here introducing the final sentence, while at XXVIII.3 (where there is some corruption) it appears to introduce a summatory description. In X and XXIX it introduces the spurious epilogues (cf. *epil. II τὸ κεφάλαιον*); and Ilberg 1897 suggests that it may have been added here by the author of the epilogues. Though dispensable, it is unobjectionable. It occurs frequently in T.’s other works (e.g. *HP* 1.4.1, *CP*

<sup>17</sup> ‘He had some favourite interjections – “Monstrous!” “Incredible!” “Don’t tell me!”’ (P. Ackroyd, *Dickens* (1990) ch. 9, of John Forster).



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1.17.9, *Lap.* 19); also Pl. *Men.* 79c, *Phdr.* 261A, *Ion* 532c, e, X. *Mem.* 4. 1. 2, D. 2. 22, 44.11, 19, *Prooem.* 45.4, [Arist.] *MM* 1206<sup>a</sup>25.

**δαινός τῶι τοιοῦτῶι τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι:** cf. XXVI.3 δαινός τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς τῶν λόγων χρῆσασθαι. δαινός with infin. appears in most of the sketches, normally near the end, to introduce variety. It does not mean ‘adept at’ but something like ‘remarkably apt to’: this is proved by (above all) XIX.3 δαινός . . . ἔλκη ἔχειν. A shift from ‘adept’ towards ‘apt’ can be seen in such passages as *CP* 2.18.4 ὁ οἶνος δαινός ἐλκύσαι τὰς ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων ὀσμὰς, fr. 73 Wimmer (488 Fortenbaugh) ἄσκοπος γὰρ ἢ τύχη . . . καὶ δεινὴ παρελέσθαι τὰ προπεπονημένα, D. 2.20 αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δεινὰ συγκρῦσαι τὰ τοιαῦτ’ ὀνειδίη, 21.139 δεινοὶ τινές εἰσιν . . . φθείρεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, *Prooem.* 55.3 δεινότατοι . . . ἐστ’ ἀφελέσθαι . . . ὅς’ ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. Similarly Plu. 59D (in a character sketch) συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπεμβῆναι δαινός ἀμαρτήμασι καὶ μηδὲνα θαυμάσαι κτλ. The use is perhaps colloquial. It has an analogy in English: ‘She’s a terrible one to laugh’ (Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, ch. 11), ‘Little Charles was a terrible boy to read’ (a contemporary of Dickens, quoted by Ackroyd (n. 17), ch. 2).

**καὶ ἴλέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι<sup>1</sup>:** possibly, but not certainly, the first of the new series of quoted remarks. καὶ “Ἄλεγεις αὐτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι” (Foss), ‘You are telling me that he has become a different person’,<sup>18</sup> though much favoured, is improbable. ἕτερον γ- would be like Pl. *Phdr.* 241A ἄλλοις γεγονώς, D. 34.12 ἕτερος ἤδη ἦν καὶ οὐχ ὁ αὐτός,<sup>19</sup> *Men. Dysc.* 65 ἕτερός τίς εἰμ’ ἐνταῦθα, *Georg.* 105 οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰμ’ ἐ[τερος (cf. S. *OT* 1084–5 οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ’ ἔτι | ποτ’ ἄλλοις), Pl. *Trin.* 160–1 *uerbis paucis quam cito | alium fecisti me: alius ad te ueneram*. But λέγειν is normally constructed with ὅτι or ὡς (III.3, VIII.8, X.13, XV.7, XX.8, XXII.11, XXIII.3, XXV.2, 3; Goodwin §753), not infin. (at XXIII.4 it means ‘order’); αὐτόν is unwelcome, when no individual has yet been mentioned; and a remark of this kind does not lead very naturally into the remarks which follow. καὶ “Ἄλεγεις ἑαυτοῦ ἕ- γ-” (Immisch ap. Ilberg 1897) and [καὶ] “Ἄλεγεις <αὐτόν> ἑαυτοῦ ἕ- γ-” (Edmonds 1908) are no improvement. λέγειν (Needham), although it seems a pale duplicate of τῶι τοιοῦτῶι τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι, might nevertheless be acceptable, as an introduction to this new and rather different set of remarks.

**“Καὶ μὴν οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήγει”:** the connection of thought is uncertain, because we do not know the sense of what precedes. καὶ μὴν is perhaps adversative, introducing an objection (Denniston 357–8, Blomqvist 66). The combination is rare in T., and this instance is doubted by Müller (1874) 34. The

<sup>18</sup> Foss appears to take this first as a statement (in his edition, 1858), later as a question (1861, 26).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Th. 2.61.2 ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι, E. *Ph.* 920 ἀνὴρ ὅδ’ οὐκέθ’ αὐτός (Valckenaer: αὐτός codd.) ἐκνεύει πάλιν (Mastronarde *ad loc.*, J. Gibert, *Change of Mind in Greek Tragedy* (Göttingen 1995) 19–20).

## I: THE DISSEMBLER

other attested instances are II.10 (δ, wrongly), *Piet.* fr. 7.10 Pötscher (584A.106 Fortenbaugh); VIII.2 καὶ μὴν . . . γε; *Piet.* fr. 20.13 Pötscher (531.13 Fortenbaugh) καὶ μὴν <καί>; fr. 152 Wimmer (523.7 Fortenbaugh) καὶ μὴν καί. In negative expressions, καὶ μὴν οὐ (*Ar. Eq.* 340, *Pl. Ep.* 319D, *D.* 8.60, *Plb.* 7.8.2, 9.36.12) is less common than καὶ μὴν οὐ . . . γε or καὶ μὴν οὐδέ or (what is regular in T.) οὐ μὴν (. . . γε) (Müller 11–12, Blomqvist 50–2). ταῦτά (Needham) is perhaps more pointed than ταῦτα (cf. VIII.7 ταῦτά . . . λέγειν).

“Ἄλλωι τινὶ λέγε”: cf. *H. Il.* 1.295–6 ἄλλοισιν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ γὰρ ἐμοὶ γε | σήμαιν’, *Pl. R.* 474D Ἄλλωι, εἶπον, ἔπρεπεν, ὦ Γλαύκων, λέγειν ἃ λέγεις, ‘Tell that to someone else . . . Do I look like a fool?’ (Muriel Spark, in a short story ‘The Seraph and the Zambesi’), ‘Tell that to the marines’ (‘a colloquial expression of incredulity’, *OED*).

“Ὅπότερον δὲ σοὶ ἀπιστήσω ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνώ ἀποροῦμαι”: for the construction, *Isoc.* 8.38 ἀπορῶ τί ποιήσω, πότερα χρήσωμαι . . . ἢ κατασιωπήσω (with indic., e.g. *Arist. EN* 1168<sup>a</sup>28 ἀπορεῖται . . . πότερον δεῖ φιλεῖν ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ἢ ἄλλον τινά). Sense calls for (ὁ)πότερον (δ)πότερον/-α . . . ἢ *Ar. Nu.* 157–8, [*Pl.*] *Erx.* 396C, 399D, 405C; cf. *Hdt.* 5.119.2), not ὅπως (AB), which it is futile to change to ὅπως δ’ ἢ (Needham) or ὅπως ἢ (Ussing). For δὲ introducing quoted speech (if, indeed, these are independent remarks and not continuous speech), *VI.9n.*, Denniston 172–3. καταγιγνώσκειν with gen. of person, without acc. of charge, for which *LSJ* II.4 cite only [*Pl.*] *Demod.* 382E, is not uncommon (*Th.* 3.67.1, *Antipho* 4δ.1, *Isoc.* 17.16, *D.* 19.212, 21.47 (law), *al.*, *Aeschin.* 1.79, 2.6, 3.214, *Din.* 1.48, [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 45.2, *al.*, *Hyp. Dem.* fr. III.7, *Plb.* 1.23.5, *al.*).

“Ἄλλ’ ὄρα μὴ σὺ θᾶπτον πιστεύεις”: cf. [*Pl.*] *Demod.* 385C ἀνθρώπου τις κατηγορεῖ εὐθήθειαν ὅτι ταχέως καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις λέγουσι πιστεύοι, *Arist. Rh.* 1356<sup>a</sup>6–7 τοῖς . . . ἐπιεικέι πιστευόμεν μᾶλλον καὶ θᾶπτον, and the adj. ταχυπειθής. With ὄρα μὴ, present indic. refers to present time (*LSJ* μὴ B.8b, *KG* 2.394–5), subj. to future time (*LSJ* B.8a, *KG* 2.392). πιστεύεις (B) is more effective than πιστεύησιν (A) or -σιν (ac). He implies that the other has already given his trust prematurely. There is no call for ἐπίστευσα (*Cobet* 1874).

### [7] Epilogue

Features common to this and other epilogues are: moralising tone VI, VIII, XXVII, XXIX; τοιοῦτος III, VI (conj.), VIII, XXVI; ἔστι with infin. II, X; naming of character II, X; δὴ III, VIII (also *pr.* 5, and *u.l.* in the spurious XXX.10; for δὴ in the genuine text, XX.3n.); ἦθη XXVII (also the spurious VI.2); φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ III; proverb at end XXIX. For links between epilogues and Preface, *Introd.* Note to *pr.*

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**πλοκάς:** for the image, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 115. Add E. *Ph.* 494–5 περιπλοκάς | λόγων, *Rh.* 834 πλέκων λόγους.

**παλλιλογίας:** a technical term, defined as σύντομος ἀνάμνησις ‘concise recapitulation’ (Anaximenes. Lampsac. *Rh.* 20.1), equated with ἀναδίπλωσις and ἐπανάληψις, ‘duplication, repetition’ (Alex. *Fig.* p. 29 Spengel), glossed as ταυτολογία (Suda Π 84, Hsch. Π 178). Here the meaning is probably ‘repetitions’ (‘reprises’ Navarre), in reference to the preceding remarks, weak though that is. At all events, probably not (unattested) ‘equivocation’ (LSJ), ‘retractions’ (Jebb), ‘discorsi contraddittorii’ (Pasquali). This last sense would reflect the usage illustrated by *H. Il.* 9.56 πάλιν ἐρέει, *S. Tr.* 358 ἔμπαλιν λέγει. But he contradicts neither himself nor others. καλλιλογίας (Foss 1834) is wrong: he does not use fine or specious words. Contrast D.H. 8.32 καλλιλογεῖτε καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθε . . . ὄνομα καλὸν ἔργω περιθέντες ἀνοσίωι. The spelling of AB (παλλιλι-) offers no support: the same corruption occurs in the mss. of Suda Π 84.

**εὐρεῖν ἔστι τοῦ εἴρωνος:** this would most naturally be taken to mean ‘it is characteristic of the dissembler to discover . . .’ (KG 1.373). But the analogy of epilogues Π and (especially) X suggests that it is designed to mean ‘one may discover the dissembler’s . . .’. It is uncertain whether οὐ χεῖρον ὄν (AB) is a corruption of τοῦ εἴρωνος (Ussing) or of τῶν εἰρώνων (Diels). The analogous passages have both singular (Π) and plural (X).

**φυλάττεσθαι μᾶλλον δεῖ ἢ τοὺς ἔχει:** cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.9–10 *sanguine uiperino | cautius uitat*, *Epist.* 1.17.30–1 *cane peius et angui | uitabit*, Sen. *Con.* 7.6.20 *hanc (sc. inuidiam) sapientes uiri uelut pestiferam <uiperam> (Otto, Sprichwörter 25) uitandam esse praecipunt*.

## II

### THE TOADY

#### Introductory note

O. Ribbeck, *Kólax. Eine ethnologische Studie* (ASG 21 (1884) 1–114), remains fundamental. See also W. Kroll, ‘Kólax’, *RE* XI.1 (1921) 1069–70, H.-G. Nesselrath, *Lukians Parasitendialog* (Berlin and New York 1985) esp. 88–121, Millett, ‘Patronage’ 30–7, D. Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge 1997) 98–103. The etymology of the word is uncertain: Ribbeck 1–8, Frisk 1.896, Chantraine 554.

Κόλαξ is not adequately translated by ‘flatterer’. The word is more strongly opprobrious. This is particularly clear in passages such as Pl. *Phdr.* 240B κόλακι, δεινῶι θηρίωι καὶ βλάβηι μεγάληι, D. 18.46 κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροί, 19.201 δωροδόκος, κόλαξ, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἔνοχος, ψεύτης, τῶν φίλων προδότης; cf. Dodds on Pl. *Grg.* 463B. A κόλαξ panders and toadies for his own advantage, and not only with words. He often plays the role for which the name parasite was later devised (§10n.). He is a stock character of comedy (the plays are listed by Ribbeck 30–1; cf. *PCG* 5.381). He was discussed by philosophers: by Theophrastus himself (in his *Περὶ κολακείας*, fr. 83 Wimmel, 547–8 Fortenbaugh; cf. Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 115–18), by the Peripatetic Clearchus (fr. 19–21 Wehrli), and by Philodemus (T. Gargiulo, *CErc* 11 (1981) 103–27); and Plutarch has an essay Πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου (48E–74E). J. Kayser, ‘Theophrast und Eustathius περὶ ὑποκρισεως’, *Philologus* 69 (1910) 327–58, shows that Eustathius’ portrait of the ὑποκριτής (*De Simulatione*, in T. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula* (Frankfurt 1832) 88–98) is indebted to earlier descriptions of the κόλαξ, but fails to prove a direct debt to the Κόλαξ of Theophrastus, let alone to a lost Theophrastan sketch of an ὑποκριτής. Cf. N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983) 200–1, and the Introduction, p. 19.

Aristotle defines κολακεία in relation to a mean of φίλια (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>26–30, 1127<sup>a</sup>6–11). The true φίλος is pleasant in the proper manner or degree (ὡς δεῖ ἡδύς). The man who exceeds the mean of friendship/pleasantness is either κόλαξ or ἄρεσκος: the κόλαξ acts out of self-interest (ὠφέλεια), the ἄρεσκος has no ulterior motive (cf. Anaxandr. 43 τὸ γὰρ κολακεύειν νῦν ἄρέσκειν ὄνομ’ ἔχει). The man who falls short of the mean is quarrelsome and surly (δύσερις τις καὶ δύσκολος). Cf. *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>7, 1233<sup>b</sup>30–4, *MM* 1193<sup>a</sup>20–7.

As usual, Theophrastus ascribes no explicit motive to the Κόλαξ (Introduction, p. 12 n. 39, *Introd. Note to I ad fin.*). The distinction which he makes between the Κόλαξ and the Ἄρεσκος (V) is of a different kind from that made by Aristotle. The Κόλαξ confines his flattery to a single patron, whom he attends with a deference which borders on the servile (especially §§3, §8, §11), while yet

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displaying an artful self-advertisement (esp. §2 ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξασμένους, §4, the first-person verbs in §3, §8). The Ἄρεσκος on the other hand does not confine his attentions to a single individual but tries to please all. We may assume (for it is not made explicit) that he merely wants to be popular. See the Introd. Note to V.

### [1] Definition

The definition is alluded to twice by Philodemus: (i) *P. Herc.* 222 col. xii.1–3 (ed. T. Gargiulo, *CErc* 11 (1981) 109) τὴν ὑπό]κρισιν τὴν τοῦ φιλεῖν [εἶ]ς [κέρδις]τ' ἢ τὴν αἰσχροῦν ὁμιλία[ν συμφέρ]ουσας τῶι κολακεύον[τι]; (ii) *P. Herc.* 1082 col. viii.4–6 (ed. C. Caini, *Sui Papiri Ercolanesi* 222, 223 e 1082 (Naples 1939)) τάχα δὲ καὶ γράφοντα “τὴν δὲ κολακείαν ὑπολάβοι τις [ἄ]ν εἶναι”. See also M. Ihm, *RhM* 51 (1896) 315, E. Kondo, *CErc* 1 (1971) 87.

**ὑπολάβοι:** the verb is used thrice more in spurious passages (*pr.* 2, 3, epil. II; cf. def. XVIII ὑπόληψις), as well as I.6, XXIX.2 (and in a different sense XXV.5).

**ὁμιλίαν:** the noun recurs in def. XV, but not in the genuine text. Cf. [Pl.] *Def.* 415E κολακεία ὁμιλία ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνευ τοῦ βελτίστου (see def. V n.), Arist. *EN* 1173<sup>b</sup>33–4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ (*sc.* φίλος) πρὸς τὰγαθὸν ὁμιλεῖν δοκεῖ, ὁ δὲ (*sc.* κόλαξ) πρὸς ἡδονήν, *EE* 1233<sup>b</sup>30–2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐχερῶς ἅπαντα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμιλῶν κόλαξ, *Pol.* 1313<sup>b</sup>41 ταπεινῶς ὁμιλοῦντες, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον κολακείας.

**κυμφέρουσας δὲ τῶι κολακεύοντι:** the notion that the Κόλαξ acts out of self-interest, foreign to Theophrastus, is derived from Aristotle, cited in the Introd. Note. See further Stein 66–8.

**2 ὁ δὲ κόλαξ τοιοῦτός τις οἶος:** I.2n. So in effect Darvaris (actually ὁ δὲ κ- τοιοῦτός τις ἐστὶν οἶος). Wilamowitz 1902b (almost certainly unaware of Darvaris) silently prints the opening (without definition) as Ὁ κόλαξ τοιοῦτός τις οἶος. The transmitted opening τὸν δὲ κόλακα τοιοῦτόν τινα ὥστε (AB) continues the unique acc. and infin. construction of the definition. The genuine opening has been changed to conform with that construction. This is the only rational explanation. The alternative is to suppose that a spurious definition has replaced a genuine definition which used the same construction. In that case we have two anomalies: (i) 29 sketches beginning with ὁ δὲ . . . τοιοῦτός τις οἶος or the like (I.2n.), this beginning with a different construction; (ii) abandonment of the acc. construction when we reach the nom. participles (§3 λέγων etc.). If we restore the usual nominative phrase, it is shortsighted not to replace ὥστε with οἶος, even though τοιοῦτος ὥστε is faultless in itself (Pl. *Smp.* 175D, Arist. *EN* 1114<sup>a</sup>3, D. 39.33). ὥστε (beyond suspicion at VII.3, 7) recurs in three spurious passages (IV.4, XIX.4, XX.9).

## II: THE TOADY

ἄμα πορευομένῳ εἰπεῖν: ‘to a person walking with him’, not ἄμα πορευόμενον (AB) or -ος (Darvaris), ‘as he walks’. We expect to be told to whom he is speaking, since a second-person address follows. Cf. §8 πορευομένου, *sc.* αὐτοῦ. For the singular part. without article (when no specific person has been mentioned), XI.7, XII.2, 4, 7, 8, XVI.14, XX.2; plural, VI.2–3n.

Ἔνθυμη ὥς: cf. VIII.9 ἐνθυμη τὸ τῆς τύχης; The verb refers not so much to visual perception (‘observe’ Jebb, ‘notice’ Rusten) as to mental awareness; with ὥς (‘how’, followed by verb alone, rather than, as more commonly, adj. or adverb) X. *HG* 6.3.12 ἐνθυμήθητε ὥς φλυαροῦσι, *Eq. Mag.* 8.20, *Lys.* 1.17, *Isoc.* 12.223, 14.39, *D.* 40.39, *Cratin.* *Iun.* 1.1. There is no good reason to prefer the spelling ἐνθυμῆ (Oxford, Barocci 194 (33 Wilson), according to Torraca 1974; *coni.* Herwerden, Cobet 1874). See Threatte 2.451–2.

ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι: ‘look on you’, as opposed to ‘look at you’. The latter is more naturally expressed with εἰς (as §10 εἰς ἐκείνον ἀποβλέπων). With πρὸς, the acc. is regularly abstract (‘pay regard to *something*’), so that literal looking is precluded. When the acc. is personal, literal looking is not precluded (e.g. *Pl. Phd.* 115c, *LSJ* 1.1), but there is commonly a further or alternative implication, ‘look on as a model’, ‘look on for help’, ‘look on with admiration’, of the look from an inferior or dependant towards a superior: E. *IT* 928 τὸ δ’ Ἄργος πρὸς σὲ νῦν ἀποβλέπει, X. *Mem.* 4.2.2 πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀποβλέπειν τὴν πόλιν ὁπότε σπουδαίου ἀνδρὸς δεηθείη, 4.2.30 ὁπόθεν δὲ χρῆ ἄρξασθαι ἐπισκοπεῖν ἑαυτόν, τοῦτο πρὸς σὲ ἀποβλέπω εἰ μοι ἐθελήσαι ἂν ἐξηγήσασθαι, *Oec.* 17.2 πάντες που οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν ὁπότε βρέξας τὴν γῆν ἀφήσει αὐτοὺς σπεῖρειν, *Pl. Alc.* 119e οὐ (*sc.* ἄξιον) πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἡγεμόνας ἀποβλέπειν εἴ ποτε ἐκείνων βελτίων γέγονας, *Ep.* 320D ὥς τοὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης . . . εἰς ἓνα τόπον ἀποβλέπειν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα πρὸς σὲ. Similarly, with a clear note of admiration, *D.* 19.265 τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας . . . ἀπέβλεπον, ἐζήλουν, ἐτίμων, ἄνδρας ἡγούντο, *Ar. Ec.* 726 ἴν’ ἀποβλέπωμαι, E. *Hec.* 355 ἀπόβλεπτος. For the general idea cf. *H. Od.* 8.173 (the eloquent man) ἐρχόμενον δ’ ἀνὰ ἄστῳ θεὸν ὥς εἰσορώσιν.

τοῦτο δὲ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίγνεται πλὴν ἢ σοί: *asyndeton* (δέ *om.* A) is less natural; δέ sometimes links items in reported speech (VI.9n.). A is more prone to omission than B. A omits δέ at §6, §9, VIII.6 (other omissions, *pr.* 1, 5, IV.5, VII.3, VIII.9, 11, IX.7, XIV.12, XV.2). B omits δέ at XIV.1 (other omissions, §10, IV.11, XV.10, and perhaps ἢ after πλὴν).

We cannot tell whether T. wrote οὐθενί (B) or οὐδενί (A). Attic inscriptions attest only -δ- before 378 BC, between 378 and *c.* 325 -δ- and -θ- equally, after *c.* 325 (until the 1st cent. BC) only -θ-. See Threatte 1.472–6, 2.753, Arnott on *Alex.* 15.5, *id.* ‘Orthographical variants’ 200–1. In I–XV B has -θ- six times (II.2, VII.2, VIII.3, 5, X.12, XV.9), -δ- four (I.4, IV.2, 5, V.8), while A has -θ- only thrice (VIII.3, 5, XV.9). In XVI–XXX, V consistently has -δ- (XVIII.4,

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9, XXII.11, XXIII.3, XXIV.6, XXVI.2, XXVIII.4, XXIX.3). The papyrus (1st cent. BC) has -θ- at VIII.3. I print -θ- where it is attested, otherwise -δ-, at the cost of inconsistency.

γίϛ- (AB) is not attested in Attic inscriptions before 306/5 BC (Threatte 1.562–5, 2.770, Arnott on Alex. 37.7, id. ‘Orthographical variants’ 195–6).

πλήν ἦ is very uncommon in classical Greek: perhaps only Ar. *Nu.* 361, 734, Hdt. 2.111.3, 130.2, 4.189.1, 6.5.3, Isoc. 12.258 (*u.l.* εἶ), Pl. *Ap.* 42A (*u.ll.* εἶ, δῆ), possibly [X.] *Ath.* 3.8 (Kalinka: εἶ codd.); LSJ πλήν B.Π.2, KG 2.285 Anmerk. 5, Schwyzer 2.543.<sup>20</sup> πλήν (B) could be right, although accidental omission of ἦ is more likely than interpolation. While A is sometimes guilty of addition (VI.7 τήν, 9 δέ, VII.9 ἄν, VIII.11 καί, XIV.2 τις), B is sometimes guilty of omission (above on τοῦτο δέ).

<καί> “Ἡῦδοκίμεις χθὲς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ”: cf. VII.7 ἠῦδοκίμησεν ἐν τῶι δήμῳ, X. *HG* 1.1.31 ἐν τῶι συνηδρίῳ ἠῦδόξει. If ἠῦδοκίμεις κτλ. is taken as a continuation, without break, of the preceding speech, the asyndeton will have to be explanatory. But ‘The esteem in which you are held was publicly acknowledged in the stoa yesterday’ does not naturally explain why everyone looks on him with admiration. If it is taken as a separate speech, a connecting word is needed. Asyndeton would be unnatural, when the two speeches are as unbalanced as these, the first consisting of two elements (question and comment), the second very brief and followed by a long explanatory comment (πλείονων γὰρ κτλ.) outside the direct speech. The supplement we need is <καί>, not <ἦ> (Edmonds 1929), which is not elsewhere used by T. to connect direct speech.

Here AB spell ἠῦδοκίμεις, but at VII.7 εῦδοκίμησεν. In fifth-century Attic, verbs compounded with εῦ, no less than verbs in which εϛ- is part of the stem, have augment and reduplication in ἠϛ- (D. J. Mastronarde, *Glotta* 67 (1989) 101–5, Rijksbaron, *Grammatical Observations* 133–5, Arnott on Alex. 9.2, id. ‘Orthographical variants’ 198). Spellings in εϛ- appear in inscriptions by the end of the fourth century (Threatte 1.384–5, 2.482–3, 486–7, 741). Since scribes are prone to replace ἠϛ- with εϛ-, I attach more weight to the ἠϛ- attested here than to the εϛ- attested at VII.7, as well as at XVII.5 (εῦρηκα) and XVII.9 (εῦρηγετημένον). See also XXI.11 ἠῦήμερει (εῦήμερεῖν V).

There were three main stoas in the agora: the Stoa Basileios, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and the Stoa Poikile (Wycherley, *Agora iii* 21–45, Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora xiv* 82–103, J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford 1976) 219–22, Wycherley, *Stones of Athens* 30–2, 38–44, J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Athens* (London and New York 1986) 53–7, 66–72, 100–7). Socrates conversed in the Stoa Basileios

<sup>20</sup> πλήν <ἦ> (Wagner) is not acceptable at E. fr. 360.38 (*TGFSEL* p. 102) ap. Lycurg. 100.

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(*Euthphr.* 2A) and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Pl. *Thg.* 121A, [Pl.] *Erx.* 392A, X. *Oec.* 7.1, Aeschin.Socr. in *P. Oxy.* 2889).

πλειόνων γὰρ ἢ τριάκοντα ἀνθρώπων καθημένων: γὰρ regularly introduces an explanatory clause with infin. (IV.10n.), but only here after direct speech. συγκαθημένων (Cobet 1874), as V.10, XXVIII.5, is needless: gossips idly 'sit' (Ar. *Eq.* 1375–6 τὰ μεράκια . . . τὰν τῶι μύρωι, | ἅ στωμυλεῖται τοιαδὶ καθήμενα, *Ec.* 302 καθήντο λαλοῦντες | ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν, Pl. 337–8 λόγος . . . πολὺς | ἐπὶ τοῖσι κουρείοισι τῶν καθημένων, Eur. 194 πόλλ' ἔμαθον ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοις . . . | . . . καθίζων, *Pherecr.* 70.2–3 κατεσκευασμένον | συνέδριον τοῖς μερακίοις ἐλλαλεῖν δι' ἡμέρας, Isoc. 7.15 ἐπὶ . . . τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καθίζοντες κατηγοροῦμεν τῶν καθεστῶτων, 18.9 καθίζων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις λόγους ἐποιεῖτο, Men. *Sam.* 510–12 ὥστε μὴθ[εν εἶ]ναι μῆτε κουρεῖον κενόν, | μὴ στοάν, κ[αθη]μένους δὲ πάντας ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ | περὶ ἐμοῦ λαλ[εῖν]). Of the three stoas mentioned above, we know that the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios had seats (*Erx.* 392B, X. *Oec.*, Aeschin.Socr.)

καὶ ἐμπεδόντος λόγου τις εἶη βέλτιστος: cf. Ar. *Lys.* 858–9 κἀν περὶ ἀνδρῶν γ' ἐμπένηι | λόγος τις, Pl. *Prtg.* 314c λόγου . . . ὅς ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπέπεσε, R. 354B ἐμπεδόντος αὖ ὑστερον λόγου, *Lg.* 799D ἀτόπου . . . ἐμπεπτωκός λόγου περὶ νόμων, Antid. 2.3 περὶ τοῦ παρασιτεῖν εἴ τις ἐμπέτοι λόγος, Lib. *Decl.* 32.2 λόγος . . . τις ἐμπεδών. The similarity of Plu. *Caes.* 63.7 ἐμπεδόντος δὲ λόγου ποῖος ἄρα τῶν θανάτων ἄριστος is (I assume) fortuitous (see p. 26 n. 77). There is a comparable expression λόγον ἐμβάλλειν, e.g. Men. *Dysc.* 352, *Sam.* 64 (S. L. Radt, *Mnemosyne* 25 (1972) 139 = *Kleine Schriften* (Leiden etc. 2002) 96).

ἄφ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας: an idiomatic locution, which stresses the importance of an individual in the larger group, without necessarily implying that he acts first. So Pl. *Grg.* 471c ἴσως ἔστιν ὅστις Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρξάμενος ('yourself included' Dodds) δέξαιτ' ἂν κτλ., R. 498c τοὺς πολλοὺς . . . ἀπὸ Θρακυμάχου ἀρξαμένους, *Smph.* 173D πάντας ἀθλίους ἠγείσθαι . . . ἀπὸ καυτοῦ ἀρξάμενος, *Eph.* 317c ἐδόκει δὴ πᾶσιν ἀρξαμένοις ἀπὸ Δίωνος, X. *HG* 7.1.32 ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου . . . πάντας κλαίειν, *Vect.* 5.3 τίνες . . . οὐ προσδέονται' ἂν αὐτῆς ἀρξαμένοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων;, D. 9.22 ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, 18.297 διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, Men. *Dysc.* 32–4 ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος τῶν γειτόνων . . . μισῶν ἐφεξῆς πάντας, Isoc. 8.104; KG 2.80–1, Wankel on D. 18.297. The Κόλαξ, in declaring that all, himself included, are of one voice, simultaneously flatters his patron and gives due prominence to himself. ἄφ' αὐτοῦ was restored by Ribbeck 1870 before Cobet 1874. Those who retain ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (AB) miss the idiom and the point. 'Everyone mentioned you first, and ended by coming back to your name' (Jebb). But κατενεχθῆναι does not mean 'come back to', and it is idle to import this sense by conjecture (ἀνενεχθῆναι Hottinger, πάντας <πάλιν> Petersen).



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ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι: they ‘arrived in the end’ at his name. For the verb in this sense (LSJ III, ‘to be brought to a point’, cite only later authors), VII.3 εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔμοι κατενεχθήκη, Isoc. 8.101 ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ταύτην κατηνέχθησαν, 13.19 πάντες ἐπὶ ταύτην κατενεχθήσονται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. It appears to be a figurative application of a sense regular in Thucydides, of ships, ‘be brought to land’ by wind (1.137.2, 3.69.1, 4.26.7, 120.1, 6.2.3, 7.53.1, 71.6; LSJ II.2).

3 καὶ ἅμα τοιαῦτα λέγων: as language, καὶ ἄλλα (AB) τ-λ- is unexceptionable (Pl. *Grg.* 483E ἄλλα μυρία . . . τοιαῦτα λέγειν, *Prtg.* 348B, X. *HG* 2.4.42 εἰπὼν . . . ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα). And ἄλλα is not to be rejected because (Stein 154 n. 1) ἕτερος rather than ἄλλος stands with τοιοῦτος in VII.3 and epil. XXVI; for T. has ἄλλα τοιαῦτα elsewhere (e.g. *HP* 4.6.5). But ἄλλα draws pointless attention to the incompleteness of the preceding samples of flattery. ἅμα (Schneider, not Needham) more pointedly stresses the simultaneity of speech and action (cf. VII.7 ἅμα διηγούμενος, XI.4 ἅμα . . . προσκλαλῶν). The word order (ἅμα, part., infin.) is the same as §10 (conj.), VII.7, IX.4, XIX.5, XXIII.2 (alternative orders, V.5n. *ad fin.*, XIX.4n.). ταῦτα (Foss 1858) for τοιαῦτα is unnecessary.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου ἀφελεῖν κροκῦδα, καὶ ἕαν τι πρὸς τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ πνεύματος προσενεχθῆι ἄχυρον καρφολογῆσαι: he removes (a) a flock of wool from the man’s cloak, (b) a speck of straw from his hair and beard. For (a), Ar. fr. 689 ἴει τις κολακεύει παρῶν καὶ τὰς κροκῦδας ἀφαιρῶν, Hsch. K 4176 κροκυλεγμός· τὸ κολακευτικῶς τὰς κροκῦδας ἀπολέγειν τῶν ἱματίων, Plu. *Sim.* 35.7 (an admirer) κροκῦδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπάσασα. For (b), Ar. *Eq.* 908 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς πολιὰς γέ σου κλέγων νέον ποιήσω, fr. 416 ἀδαχεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄχυρ’ ἐκλέγει τ’ αἰεὶ | ἐκ τοῦ γενείου τὰς πολιὰς ἴ-τοῦ Διός†. For both (a) and (b), Phryn. *PS* p. 4.14–17 de Borries ἀφαιρεῖν κροκῦδας· λίαν ἠττικίται καὶ τίθεται ἐπὶ τῶν πάντα ποιοῦντων διὰ κολακειαν, ὥστε καὶ παρεπομένους ἀφαιρεῖν κροκῦδας τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἢ κάρφος τι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τοῦ γενείου. But (b) is not straightforward, in so far as the speck of straw has fallen on the man’s hair (τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς), and yet the Κόλαξ jokes that he appears to have white hair in his beard. This leaves us to infer (what is not explicitly stated) that specks of straw have also fallen onto his beard. If this is troublesome, deletion of τῆς κεφαλῆς (Herwerden before Edmonds 1929) will allow τὸ τρίχωμα to refer to the beard (cf. A. *Th.* 666). καρφολογῆσαι <καὶ ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ γενείου τὰς πολιὰς> (Stein) is too repetitive.

ἄχυρον is ‘straw’ rather than ‘chaff’ (Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 56–9). For the word order ἕαν τι . . . ἄχυρον, with enclitic τι early in its clause (Wackernagel’s Law), Diggle, *Euripidea* 170, *Eikasmos* 9 (1998) 42–4.

Ὁραῖς; ὅτι δυοῖν σοι ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα: for ὄραϊς;, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 12; ὅτι, XXIII.9n. We cannot tell whether T. preferred

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δυσὸν (B) or δυσεῖν (A). *δυσὸν* is universal in Attic inscriptions before c. 330 BC, thereafter *δυσεῖν* (Meisterhans 157, Threatte 2.415–16). The evidence of mss. counts for nothing: they regularly impute *δυσεῖν* to fifth-century authors.

καίπερ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἔχων πρὸς τὰ ἔτη μέλαιναν τὴν τρίχα: καίπερ . . . ἔχει (AB) is a construction probably unparalleled in classical Greek. LSJ cite only Pi. *N.* 4.36 καίπερ ἔχει (κεῖ περιέχει W. B. Henry)<sup>21</sup> and Pl. *Smp.* 219c ([καί] περι *P. Oxy.* 843, rightly). Blomqvist 47–8 cites three instances in Polybius (2.59.5, 4.30.2, 12.14.2). F. Scheidweiler, *Hermes* 83 (1955) 220–30, cites some later examples. Cf. Schwyzer 2.688 n. 2, Denniston 486. The alternative to ἔχων (Herwerden, anticipated by a corrector in Par. gr. 2986 (45 Wilson))<sup>22</sup> is καίτοι . . . ἔχει (Herwerden before Blaydes); for καίτοι in T., Müller (1874) 65–6, Blomqvist 35–45.

εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος: Hdt. 3.2.2, 9.27.5, Th. 1.70.1, Ar. *Nu.* 356, Pl. *Phd.* 58E, 66A (om. pars codd.), X. *An.* 1.4.15, *Cyr.* 3.3.42, 5.1.6, *Mem.* 3.6.2, *Smp.* 2.6, Hyr. *Eux.* 21 (the order εἴ καὶ τις ἄλλος Men. *Asp.* 18); without καί, S. *OT* 1118, E. *Andr.* 6, Ar. *Ec.* 81, Pl. 655, Pl. *Phd.* 63c, *La.* 179b, *Smp.* 212a, *Prt.* 352c, *R.* 501d, Men. *Sam.* 300, Call. *Del.* 164, fr. 226.

πρὸς ‘in proportion or relation to’: LSJ c.iii.4. There is no call for παρά (Nauck 1850; LSJ c.i.7).

There is nothing to choose between the variant word orders (ἔχ- πρὸς τὰ ἔτη B, πρὸς τὰ ἔτη ἔχ- A). Possibly the variation points to a more sophisticated order πρὸς τὰ ἔτη μέλαιναν ἔχ- τὴν τρίχα (ἔχ- omitted, written above the line or in the margin, then restored in different places), comparable to preceding *πολιῶν ἐσχηκας τὸν πώγωνα μεστόν*, III.3 *πονηρότεροί εἰς οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι*, . . . ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροί, . . . πολλοὶ ἐπιδημοῦσι ξένοι (on the other hand, V.6 *τοὺς ὀδόντας λευκοὺς ἔχειν*; and for an alternative order, XXX.8n.). There are further variations in order between A and B at §7, III.4, VI.5, def. IX, IX.3, XI.3, XXX.7, 9. I suggest similar transpositions at §7, IX.3, XXX.7, 9.

**4** καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους *σιωπᾶν* κελεῦσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούοντα: ‘He praises him in his hearing’ (cf. §6 ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ ‘in his sight’). Not ἀκούοντος (AB), since a gen. absolute balancing λέγοντος (the two participles standing in chiasmus at the beginning and end of their respective phrases) would suggest ‘when he is listening’ as opposed to when he is speaking. So the sense would be: when the man is speaking the Κόλαξ tells the company to be quiet and listen to him, and when he is listening (not speaking) the Κόλαξ takes the opportunity to sing his praises. But the next clause (‘when he pauses,

<sup>21</sup> In ‘A Commentary on selected Nemean Odes of Pindar’ (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 2001). This conjecture is preferable to καὶ περιέχει (Ahrens), καίπερ ἔχει (Christ), κείπερ ἔχει (Bergk).

<sup>22</sup> Stefanis (1994a) 100 (who confirms to me that what is suprascribed is *ων*).

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he adds an approving “Well said”) shows that the man has never stopped speaking, and so cannot be described as a listener as opposed to a speaker. With the acc., he does not stop speaking but hears himself praised as he speaks. The Κόλαξ, by insisting that the rest of the company keep silent, simultaneously flatters the speaker and enables his own words of praise to be heard. ἀκούοντας (proposed alongside ἀκούοντα by Casaubon)<sup>23</sup> cannot be right, whether taken as subject of ἐπαινέσαι (‘ut iubeat auditores aures suas commodare recitatori, & tacite eum laudare’ Casaubon) or as object (‘praise the company for listening to him’ Edmonds). The former is against the run of the words (καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δέ, like καὶ ἐπισημάνθαι δέ, must be coordinate with κελεύσαι, not with κωπᾶν). The latter is faulty sense: to praise the man himself is apt, to praise the company for listening to him is not. αἶδοντος (Reiske 1747, 1749 (*Briefe* 359), 1757),<sup>24</sup> suggested by Plu. 531 c μήτε λέγοντος ἐπαινείν παρὰ γνώμην μήτ’ αἶδοντος κροτεῖν μήτε κώπτοντος ἀφυῶς ἐπιγελάσαι, is maladroit: “Ὁρθῶς” is a comment on speech, not on song. Deletion of ὀρθῶς (Cobet 1874) is a reckless evasion. There are worse conjectures: ἀκουστῶς Darvaris, αὐλοῦντος Eberhard 1865, διὰ κρότου(c) Blümner; καὶ . . . ἀκούοντος post κατενεχθῆναι (§2) traî. Meier 1850/1, post ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ (§6) Foss 1858 (cf. Foss 1861, 27), post ὀρθῶς Ribbeck 1870, del. Ussing. For the general picture, Eur. 172.9–10 κᾶν τι τύχηι λέγων ὁ πλοῦταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ’ ἐπαινῶ, | καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖσι λόγοις χαίρειν, Ter. *Eu.* 251–3 *quidquid dicunt laudo; id rursus si negant, laudo id quoque; | negat quis: nego; ait: aio; postremo imperavi egomet mihi | omnia adsentari.*

καὶ ἐπισημάνθαι δέ, ἐπὶ πάνυ παύσεται, “Ὁρθῶς”: ‘He seals his approval with . . . “Well said”.’ Cf. Men. *Sic.* 244–5 ἀνέκραγον | “Ὁρθῶς γε” πάντες (cf. 257), Ter. *Eu.* 773 ‘recte’, Hor. *Ars* 428 *clamabit enim ‘pulchre, bene, recte’*. For these conversational adverbs of approval, Brink on Hor. *loc. cit.*, Arnott on Alex. 132.3. The verb is wrongly classed by LSJ: not (iv.2) ‘remark’ but (iv.3) ‘set one’s name and seal to a thing (in token of approbation)’, like Isoc. 12.2 (ιδεῶν) τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι καὶ θορυβεῖν ἀναγκαζουσῶν, Aeschin. 2.49 ἐπισημαίνόμενον . . . καὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοὺς παρ’ ἑμοῦ λόγους, Str. 13.2.4 τὸν τῆς φράσεως αὐτοῦ ζῆλον ἐπισημαίνόμενος (Introduction, p. 1 n. 2).

εἰ παύσεται (AB) is an impossible future; and εἰ παύεται (Ast), present indic. in a general condition (Goodwin §467, LSJ εἰ B.1.1.b), is unwelcome. Since the sequence is primary (a leading aorist *infinitive* does not introduce historic sequence), there is no place here for an optative (εἰ παύσαιτο Reiske 1757, ἐπεὶ

<sup>23</sup> Casaubon actually proposed ἀκούοντα(c), and yet a further conjecture ἄκοντα, in place not of ἀκούοντος but of ἄκοντος (δ), the only reading then known. ἀκούοντα is cited from Par. supp. gr. 450 (46 Wilson) by Torraca 1974. Stefanis tells me that the only other ms. which has it is its relative Ambr. E 119 sup. (21 Wilson).

<sup>24</sup> Also Klotz 1761; and a correction in Darmstadt 2773 (5 Wilson) according to Stefanis (1994a) 100 n. 73.

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παύσαιτο Schneider). With a conditional clause, the expected construction is ἐάν (or ἄν) παύσεται. So in effect Ast, who wrote ἦν παύσεται (after εἰ παύσεται C. Gesner). For ἐάν, §3, IV.11 (conj.), IX.4, X.7, XVI.3, 4 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 12, XX.10, XXIX.2, 4; ἄν VII.2 *bis*, VIII.7, XVII.7, XVIII.4, 7, XXIX.5; κἄν III.3, XVI.8, 14, XXVI.2, XXVII.5. But a temporal clause is more natural. For ἐπὶ πάν (LSJ is inadequate), XVI.4 (conj.), XXIV.10, *HP* 4.8.11, 5.7.2, fr. 174.7 Wimmer (359A.51 Fortenbaugh), X. *HG* 1.1.29, *al.*, [Arist.] *Ath.* 42.4, 56.1, *al.*, D. 2.21; cf. Müller (1874) 63. For the expression itself, Hdt. 4.111.2 ἐπεὶ . . . παύσωνται, *HP* 3.8.7 ὅταν παύσεται, and XI.3n. Lipography (virtual haplography, ἐ<πὶ πάν> παύσεται) may be the root of the corruption.

καὶ κώψαντι ψυχρῶς ἐπιγελάσαι: cf. Macho 235–6 (flatterers or parasites) τῶν ἐπιγελαῖν εἰθιμένων | ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν, Ar. *Th.* 979–81 ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως | ταῖς ἡμετέραισι | χαρέντα χορείαις (the datives should be taken equally with the infin. and with πρὸς χάριν / χαρέντα). There is no need for κώψαντος (Navarre 1920), prompted by Plu. 531C κώψαντος ἀφυῶς ἐπιγελάσαι (above on καὶ λέγοντος κτλ.). ψυχρὸς as a term of stylistic criticism ('frigid,' 'bathetic,' 'strained,' 'tasteless') covers various types of ineptitude in language or thought (LSJ II.4, N. Zink, *Griechische Ausdrucksweisen für Warm und Kalt* (Mainz 1962) 70, Russell on [Longin.] 4.1, Wankel on D. 18.256, Arnott on Alex. 184.3, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 138–40), such as a joke (Eup. 261.2–3 τὸ κῶμ' ἀεὶ γέγ' . . . καὶ κφόδρα | ψυχρὸν) or pun (Timocl. 19.6, Σ Ar. *V.* 772b, Σ E. *Tr.* 14). Another type is defined by T. himself: Demetr. *Eloc.* 114 ὀρίζεται δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν Θεόφρατος (fr. 94 Wimmer, 686 Fortenbaugh) οὕτως· ψυχρὸν ἔστι τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν, οἷον "ἀπυνδᾶκτος οὐ τραπεζοῦται κύλιξ" (S. fr. 611), ἀντὶ τοῦ "ἀπύθμενος ἐπὶ τραπέζης κύλιξ οὐ τίθεται". τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα μικρὸν ὄν οὐ δέχεται ὄγκον τοσοῦτον λέξεως. Sycophantic laughter: Antiph. 80.9 ἄν κώπτητις, γελᾷ, 142.7–9, Ter. *Eu.* 250, 426, 497, Jun. 3.100–1, Plu. 54C, 531C (above), Hegesand. ap. Ath. 249E, Ammian. *AP* 9. 573.4.

τό τε ἰμάτιον ὄκαι εἰς τὸ στόμα: single connective τε (Denniston 497–503) occurs only here in this work, though T. occasionally has it elsewhere (Müller (1874) 36). τε . . . καὶ XIII.10 (def. VI n.).

ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλωτα: cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 228C ὡς δὴ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν, *Thg.* 123A ὡς δὴ οὐκ εἰδῶς. With a participle ὡς δὴ is 'almost always ironical, sceptical, or indignant in tone' (Denniston 230). Cf. XX.3n.

5 καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐπιτιγῆναι κελεῦσαι ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς παρέλθῃ: αὐτὸς is 'the man himself,' 'the master,' as Ar. *Nu.* 219, *Th.* 66, fr. 279, Pl. *Prt.* 314D, Men. *Sam.* 256, 258, Theoc. 24.50 (LSJ 1.1).

6 καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις μῆλα καὶ ἀπίους πριάμενος εἰσενέγκας δοῦναι ὄρωντος αὐτοῦ: the Ἄρεσκος too exploits his host's children (V.5n. *imit.*).

μῆλα καὶ ἄπιους is a natural pairing (e.g. *CP* 6.16.2 ἄπιοι καὶ μῆλα, Her-  
mipp. 63.17 (Pellegrino 219–20), *Matro* 1.112, *Eub.* 74.3, *Lib. Decl.* 32.24).  
μῆλον in this context may be translated as apple, though it embraces other  
tree-fruits (Olson and Sens on *Matro loc. cit.*). ἄπιος is the cultivated pear,  
as opposed to ἀχράς the wild pear (Gow on *Theoc.* 7.120, Arnott on *Alex.*  
34.2–3, Olson and Sens *ibid.*).

καὶ φιλήσας δὲ εἰπεῖν “Χρηστοῦ πατρὸς νεόττια”: cf. *Ar. Au.* 767 τοῦ  
πατρὸς νεόττιον. This combines the cosy image of children as fledgelings,  
under the parental wing (Bond on *E. Herc.* 71–2), with the idea that birds  
produce young identical to themselves (*Eur.* 111.2 ὁμοίους τοὺς νεοττοὺς τῷ  
πατρὶ; cf. on *V.* 5 κύκου ὁμοιώτερα . . . τῷ πατρὶ). Addition of χρηστοῦ  
gauchely directs the focus towards the father. The gaucherie is deliberate:  
deletion of χρηστοῦ or addition of <χρηστά> before χρηστοῦ (Groeneboom)  
misses the point. Comparable imagery: *Ar. Pl.* 1011 νηττάριον ἄν καὶ φάττιον  
ὑπεκορίζετο, *Men. fr.* 652, *Juv.* 5.142–3 (the legacy-hunter) *loquaci | gaudebit  
nido*, Shakespeare, *Macbeth* IV.iii.218 ‘all my pretty chickens’. For the accent  
(νεόττια A, not νεοττία B), H. W. Chandler, *A Practical Introduction to Greek  
Accentuation* (Oxford 2 1881) §341, W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ION* (Weimar  
1910) 10–14. On kissing children, W. Kroll, ‘Kuß’, *RE* Suppl. v (1931) 514,  
G. Binder, ‘Kuss’, *DNP* 6 (1999) 942.

**7 καὶ συνωνόμενος Ἴφικρατίδας:** Ἴφικρατίδας are shoes named after Iphi-  
crates, a celebrated Athenian general in the first half of the fourth century, son  
of a cobbler (O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Liter-  
atur und Kunst* (Bonn 1967) 136, 177). Light and easily untied, they were designed  
for military wear (*D.S.* 15.44.4 τὰς τε ὑποδέσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐλύτους  
καὶ κούφας ἐποίησε, τὰς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἴφικρατίδας ἄπ’ ἐκείνου καλουμένας),  
but became more widely fashionable (*Σ Luc.* 80 (*DMeretr.*) 14.2 τὰ *Κικωνία*  
ὑποδήματα διεφέροντο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὡς καὶ αἱ Ἴφικρατίδες κρηπίδες,  
ἀπὸ Ἴφικράτους πολλὴν φιλοκαλίαν περὶ τὴν ὑπόδεσιν ἐπιδειγμένου, *Alci-  
phr.* 3.21.1–2 Ἴφικρατίδας μοι νεουργεῖς ἔπεμψε τῷ Δρόμῳ δούς κομίζειν  
ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις ἐβρενθύετο, *Damasc. Isid.* fr. 89 (p. 130 Zintzen) ὑπέδεδετο δ’  
οὗτος σπανιάκις, ἢ τὰς Ἀττικὰς Ἴφικρατίδας ἢ τὰ συνήθη *κανδάλια* περι-  
δεδεμένος, *Procl. ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 321 b Bekker (= A. Severyns, *Recherches sur  
la Chrestomathie de Proclus. Première partie. Le Codex 239 de Photius* (Paris 1938) 2.54;  
Severyns’ text is reproduced by R. Henry, *Photius, Bibliothèque* 5 (Budé ed. 1967)  
164) = *Σ Clem. Al. Protr.* p. 299 Stählin (the *δαφνηφόρος* in a Boeotian cult)  
τὰς μὲν κόμας καθειμένος, χρυσοῦν δὲ στέφανον φέρων καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθήτα  
ποδήρη ἐστολισμένος Ἴφικρατίδας (M, Σ: ἐπικρατίδας A) τε ὑποδεδεμένος).  
In this last passage (on which see Severyns 2.218–32, A. Schachter, *Cults of Boio-  
tia* 1 (*BICS* Suppl. 38.1, 1981) 83–5 (84 n. 6 for the point at issue), Burkert, *Greek  
Religion* 100) the variant ἐπικρατίδας has recently found undeserved favour

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(Severyns 1.222–3, with tendentious reasoning). This word recurs in Phot. I 277 Theodoridis ἴφικρατίδες· αἱ ἐπικρατίδες· ἔστι δὲ εἶδος ὑποδήματος, where Theodoridis suggests that it should be replaced with ἐπικρηπίδες, citing our passage in support. But αἱ ἐπικρατίδες looks like a corruption masquerading as a gloss, and I should delete it. It is absent from the similar definitions in Suda I 770 ἴφικρατίδες· εἶδος ὑποδήματος, Hsch. I 1123 ἴφικρατίδες (ἴφικρατηρεσ cod.)· ὑποδήματος εἶδος. The word also turns up in a late Latin-Greek glossary (G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* 2 (Leipzig 1888) 185.28), ‘socci επικρατιδες’, with *u.ll.* ἴφι- and ὑφι-, of which the former may be right. LSJ cites the word in a different sense, ‘a kind of *head-dress* . . . or *towel*’, from Hp. *Praec.* 10 (9.266 Littré) φευκτέη . . . θρύψις (Triller: τρίψις codd.) ἐπικρατίδων (ἴφικρατίδων Kühn ap. Littré, an inscrutable passage (cf. W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates* 1 (Loeb ed. 1923) 326). Add Tzetz. on Ar. *Nu.* 102 (p. 379.2 Koster), singular ἐπικρατίς, ‘headgear’. Cf. Hsch. E 4896 ἐπικρατίδιον· στημονικὸν κάλυμμα ἄχρι (Latte: χωρὶς cod.) τῆς κεφαλῆς. In our passage ἴφικρατίδας (a bold and brilliant conjecture) was perhaps corrupted to ἐπικρηπίδας by way of ἐπικρατίδας.

Neither ἐπικρηπίδας (A) nor ἐπὶ κρηπίδας (B) is acceptable. LSJ translates ἐπικρηπίδας (not elsewhere attested) as ‘goloshes’, Wilamowitz ‘Überschuhe’. This is based on Wachsmuth (ap. Ilberg), who suggested a type of κρηπίς with a more than usually elaborate upper part, comparing ὀπιθεοκρηπίς, mentioned by Poll. 7.91, 94, Hsch. O 1014. The style of the ὀπιθεοκρηπίς (a woman’s shoe, according to Poll. 7.94) can only be conjectured: ‘Schuh, der hinten an der Hacke heraufgeht’ (Wachsmuth), ‘Schuhe mit breitem Fersenschutz’ (M. Bieber, ‘Krepis’, *RE* xi.2 (1922) 1711–14, at 1712). There is no place here for goloshes and overshoes. To describe a foot as shapelier than these is no compliment. ἐπὶ κρηπίδας might be translated ‘for shoes’, if it were linked with a verb of motion (as Ar. *Ec.* 819 ἐχώρουν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐπ’ ἄλφιτα; LSJ ἐπὶ c.iii.1). But it cannot have that meaning when linked with συνωνόμενος: not ‘accompagnando a comprare le scarpe’ (Pasquali (1919) 17–18 = (1986) 91–2, vainly adducing, for lack of a verb of motion, X.2 ἀπαιτεῖν †ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν†). συνωνόμενος ἐπὶ κρηπίδας <ἐλθών> (Foss 1858), in which συνωνόμενος has to be taken as an introductory scene-setting part. (VII.8n.), ‘while jointly shopping’, creates a ponderous expression. ἐπὶ κρηπίδας cannot mean ‘to the shoe-shop’. When the name of saleable goods stands for the place where they are sold the noun always has an article: XI.4 προσελθών πρὸς τὰ κάρυα ἢ τὰ μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα, Ar. *Eq.* 1375, *Nu.* 1065, *V.* 789, *Au.* 13, 1288, *Lys.* 557, *Th.* 448, *Ra.* 1068, *Ec.* 302, etc.; law of 375/4 (*SEG* xxvi (1976–7) no. 72.18–23; cf. IV.10n.) ἐν τῶνί κίτωι; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* 2.463–4, Wycherley, ‘Market of Athens’ 5–8 (~ *Stones of Athens* 93–4), Kassel and Austin on Ar. fr. 258 and Eup. 327, Arnott on Alex. 47.8. So we should need ἐπὶ <τὰς> κρ- (Fischer), as well as a verb of motion. Similarly, ἐπὶ κρηπίδων (Diels) ‘at the shoe-shop’ calls for

<τῶν>. Other proposals: δὲ for ἐπὶ (ed. Basil.<sup>a</sup> before Fischer), ἐπὶ del. Ussing, ἔτι Needham (ἔτι after εἶναι Petersen), ἐπὶ <πιττυγίου> Edmonds 1929. But no conjecture which retains κρηπίδας is probable, since the compliment, once again, would be maladroit. For κρηπίδες are mere soles, attached to the foot by laces, and sometimes studded with nails (IV.12n.), the footwear primarily of soldiers and travellers (Gow on Macho 13ff., Lau (above) 121–3; illustration in Daremberg-Saglio 1.2 (1887) 1557–60, K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison 1985), Index s.u. ‘Krepides’). The claim that they were ‘a fine, well-fitting, close-shaped boot’ (A. A. Bryant, ‘Greek shoes in the classical period’, *HSCP* 10 (1899) 57–102, at 85), ‘gutsitzende Art der Sandale’ (Bieber 1711), is based not on any independent evidence but on a perception of the type of shoe which our passage requires.

τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος: cf. Alciphr. 4.12.3 ἡλίκοι . . . οἱ πόδες, ὡς πλατεῖς, ὡς ἄρρυθμοί, Hp. *Art.* 62 (2.214.1–2 Kühlewein) ὑποδημάτιον . . . οἷον αἱ Χῖται ῥυθμὸν ἔχον (ῥυθμός ‘shape’; Arnott on Alex. 60.4). Contrast IV.2. Possibly the alternative word orders (φῆσαι εἶναι B, εἶναι φῆσαι A; §3n.) point to an original φῆσαι εὐρυθμότερον εἶναι τοῦ ὑποδήματος, comparable (for acc. interposed between φῆσαι and εἶναι) to V.5 φῆσαι κύκου ὁμοιότερα εἶναι, XIX.2 φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι, XXIII.9 φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι, XXIX.5 φῆσαι αὐτὸν κύνα εἶναι, XXX.4 φῆσαι δίκαιον εἶναι, and (for verb interposed between εὐρυθμότερον and ὑποδήματος) to III.3 πονηρότεροί εἰσιν . . . τῶν ἀρχαίων, V.4 δικαιότερα λέγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν.

**8** καὶ πορευομένου πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων προδραμῶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “Πρὸς σὲ ἔρχεται”: cf. XXIV.10 καὶ προαποστέλλειν δέ, ἐπὶ πορεύεται, τὸν ἐροῦντα ὅτι προσέρχεται, Ter. *Ph.* 777 *abi prae, nuntia hanc uenturam*, Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.9 *nuntius a Spurinna: ‘Venio ad te.’*

ὅτι regularly introduces direct speech: LSJ II.1, KG 2.366–7, Goodwin §711, E. H. Spieker, *AJP* 5 (1884) 221–7.

καὶ ἀναστρέψας ὅτι “Προηγγελκά σε”: ‘I have announced you in advance’. This, not προσήγγελκα (δ), must replace προσήγγελκας (AB). προσήγγελκα is not adequately supported by Philod. *Vit.* col. ix.30–1 προσαγγέλλειν οὐ θέλοντες (servants who will not announce to the master of the house that someone has arrived), Luc. *DDeor.* 12.1 προσάγγελον αὐτῷ (spoken by the new arrival to the servant, ‘take him a message to say that I have arrived’). In these the verb is used like εἰσαγγέλλειν in Hdt. 3.118.2 ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι (‘he refused to allow anyone to take an announcement of his arrival inside to him’), Pl. *Prtg.* 314E εἰσαγγεῖλον οὔν. The right prefix is προ- (cf. preceding προδραμῶν, likewise corrupted to προc- in A). The reverse corruption (προc- to προ-) occurs at *pr.* 3, VII.7, XI.9, XXIV.10, XXVI.2, XXX.19. The mss. are divided between προαγγεῖλαι and προc- at X. *Cyr.* 5.3.12. See also VIII.10n., XI.9n., XXIII.7n. This verb is used with impersonal noun (fr. 174.7

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Wimmer (359A.51–2 Fortenbaugh) τὴν φθορὰν αὐτῶν προνοοῦσι καὶ προαγγέλλουσιν, Th. 7.65.1 προηγγέλθη . . . ἡ ἐπιβολή; cf. 1.137.4 προάγγελειν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως), with object clause (X. Cyr. 3.3.34, 5.3.12) or absolutely (D. 19.35). Here it calls for an object: -κά κε. Several editors have attributed this to e, probably misled by Ribbeck (1884) 112, who suggested that προκήγγελας reflects an original -κά κε, but did not say whether he believed that -κά κε is right (he probably did not, since he printed -κα).

**9 [ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς διακονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί]:** it is intolerable not to be told how his breathless activities in the women's market serve the man he is flattering. Possibly an explanation has been lost (Ilberg) or the passage has been deliberately abbreviated (Diels). As it stands, the sentence disrupts the structure (we do not want a new construction with δυνατὸς) and is best deleted.

ἀμέλει 'never mind', 'don't worry', 'rest assured', frequent in comedy and dialogue, serves as a word of general emphasis or asseveration. Its distribution (in verse, only comedy; in classical prose, absent from the historians and orators) proves it colloquial. In Aristophanes it usually stands at the head of the sentence and is followed by a verb (*Ach.* 368 ἀμέλει μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐκ ἑνασπιδώσομαι, *Eq.* 1213 κἀμέλει κρινεῖς καλῶς, *Nu.* 877 ἀμέλει διδασκε, 1111, *Lys.* 164, 842, 935, *Ec.* 800), once stands in mid-sentence at the head of the main clause (*Nu.* 422), twice stands first and alone with an adverb (*Nu.* 488, *Ra.* 532 ἀμέλει καλῶς), once is parenthetic (*Lys.* 172 ἡμεῖς ἀμέλει σοι τὰ γε παρ' ἡμῖν πείσομεν). It is parenthetic or postponed in *Men. Asp.* 388 ἔξει τιν' ἀμέλει διατριβὴν οὐκ ἄρρυθμον, *DE* 107 ἔνδον γὰρ ἀμέλει, *Μόσχες*, *Mis.* 91–2 ἀλλά σο[ι] | τὸ μικρὸν ἀμέλει[1] τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ [βλάβη], *Sam.* 223 ἐγίνετ' ἀμέλει πάνθ' ἑτοιμῶς, 371 ἔλεινὸν ἀμέλει τὸ δάκρυον, *Eup.* 222.1. Cf. *Dromo* 1.3, *Nicostr.Com.* 9.3, *Philippid.* 9.9. In dialogue it normally opens a speech, as first word (*Pl. Phd.* 82A Ἀμέλει, ἔφη ὁ Κέβητος, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα, *R.* 422c, 450A, 539E, *X. Cyr.* 5.2.13, 8.3.4, *Mem.* 1.4.7, 4.4.7, *D.* 52.11), but is once postponed (*Pl. R.* 500A Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀμέλει, ἔφη, συνοίσομαι), and once introduces a main clause in mid-speech (*Pl. Hp.Ma.* 295B καὶ ἐὰν μὲν νῦν εὐρωμεν, ἀμέλει οὐκ ὀχληρὸς ἔσομαι). Elsewhere in T., *CP* 2.11.1 φανερόν δὲ ἀμέλει, 5.1.3 οἶον ἀμέλει, 6.14.6 ὥσπερ ἀμέλει (cf. [Arist.] *Mu.* 396<sup>b</sup>9, 398<sup>b</sup>14, 400<sup>b</sup>13). Initial ἀμέλει δὲ καί is true to T.'s usage (VI.9n., XXVI.3n.); but ἀμέλει is a word which interpolators too found handy (V.2, VI.3, definitions XIII, XVI, XVIII, XXV). See also Blomqvist 103–7.

The γυναικεία ἀγορά is mentioned only twice elsewhere. (i) The Ἀνελεύθερος (XXII.10) hires a girl ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας (*sc.* ἀγορᾶς) to accompany his wife when she goes out of doors. (ii) *Poll.* 10.18 καὶ μὴν εἰ γυναικείαν ἀγορὰν τὸν τόπον οὗ τὰ κεύητα τὰ τοιαῦτα πιπράσκουσιν ἐθέλοισι καλεῖν, εὐροῖσι ἂν ἐν ταῖς Συναριστικαῖς Μενάνδρου (*fr.* 344) τὸ ὄνομα (= Wycherley, *Agora iii* no. 613; cf. nos. 667–8). The place to which Pollux refers is the place to



which he referred at the beginning of this section, called κύκλοι or κύκλος, the area where slaves were sold (Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* 2.461–2, Wycherley, ‘Market of Athens’ 9–10 ~ *Stones of Athens* 95–6, id. *Agora iii* nos. 618–21, Kassel and Austin on Diph. 55.3, Arnott on Alex. 104). Pollux’s inference that κεύη (‘utensils’) were sold there may be based (as Arnott suggests) on a misreading of Diph. 55, where κύκλος (‘ring of slaves’) is mentioned after a list of κεύη. It is possible, then, that the γυναικεία ἀγορά was the place where female slaves were bought or hired. Such an interpretation is at least compatible with both Poll. and XXII.10. Lane Fox 143–4 reaches the same conclusion, with a different argument; but his inference about the present passage (since he treats it as genuine) is unsafe. Other possibilities remain: a market which sold goods for women (Wycherley, ‘Market of Athens’ 7 ~ *Stones of Athens* 94; also P. Herfst, *Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne* (Utrecht 1922) 36–40, R. Brock, *CQ* 44 (1994) 342) or goods made by women (Wycherley *ibid.*, id. *Agora iii* 201; also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich <sup>2</sup>1931) 360). At any rate, not a market where women shopped, since women did not normally do their own shopping. There is no need for ἐκ <τῆς> (a, Casaubon); IV.2n.

δυνατός reappears elsewhere (again with ἀμέλει) only in the spurious VI.3.

**10** καὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων πρώτος ἐπαινέσαι τὸν οἶνον: here he appears in the guise of παράσιτος, a role first attested for him in the Κόλακος of Eupolis (421 BC; fr. 172 for his own account of his role). See XX.10n., Nesselrath (Introd. Note), id. ‘Parasit’, *DNP* 9 (2000) 325–6, Arnott, *Alexis* 336–7, 542–5, 731, P. G. McC. Brown, *ZPE* 92 (1992) 98–107, C. Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* (Ann Arbor 1997) 11–14, N. Fisher in D. Harvey and J. Wilkins (edd.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes* (London and Swansea 2000) 371–8.

καὶ παρακειμένωι εἰπεῖν: he addresses the man he is flattering (now his host), not a fellow-guest, since the host is the object of his questions in the second part of this sentence. He sits next to his host, like the Μικροφιλότιμος, who is eager ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δεῖπνῆσαι (XXI.2). The expression παρ’ αὐτὸν . . . κατακείμενος in that passage (cf. Men. *Epit.* 434–5 κατακείσθαι . . . παρ’ αὐτόν, and παρακαθεζόμενος III.2, παρακαθῆσθαι XIV.2, XXIV.6, XXV.2, 5, XXVI.4) commends παρακειμένωι (-ων c) for παραμένωι (AB) here. παρακειμένωι was proposed by Gronovius (*Observationum Libri Tres* (Leiden <sup>2</sup>1662) 556); <τῶι> παρακειμένωι, which has been wrongly imputed to him, would signify fellow-guest, not host. The bare participle (*sc.* αὐτῶι) is like §4 σκώψαντι, §8 πορευομένου. Alternatively παρακλινομένωι (LSJ κλίνω II.4, κατακλίνω I; cf. X. *Cyr.* 2.2.28 σύνδειπνον καὶ παρακλίτην). But not παρημένωι (Nauck), a poetic verb, nor παρακείμενος (reported by Needham from Oxford, Barocci 194 (33 Wilson), wrongly – I have checked), since we need a reference to the person addressed.

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παραμένων (AB) gives no adequate sense, whether taken literally, ‘remaining beside him’, *sc.* when the others have left (Reiske 1750 (*Briefe* 408), 1757), since the sequel shows that they are not alone, or taken figuratively, ‘standing fast’, ‘steadfastly’ (e.g. ‘in laudando) perseverans’ Pauw, ‘he . . . keeps it up by saying’ Rusten). There are many other proposals: “Παρμένων” Bernhard 1750 (ap. Reiske (1783) 399), παρατείνων Darvaris, παρακειμένων before ἄρας Meier 1850/1, παραμένειν (the wine ‘lasts well’) Petersen, “Πράμνειον” M. Schmidt, περί τῶν παρακειμένων Hanow 1860, ἡρέμα Naber, <τῶν> παρακειμένων <πρώτος> Zingerle 1893, <ἄρτι> or <εὐθύς> παρακειμένων Holland 1897, παραμείβων Bersanetti, παρακειμένων before ἀπό τῆς τραπέζης Navarre 1918, παρακαλῶν H. Bolkestein (*Mnemosyne* 18 (1965) 281–2), παρειμένων Stefanis 1997.

“Ὡς μαλακῶς ἐστιᾶις”: ‘How luxuriously you entertain’, with the verb used absolutely, as V.5, XXX.2 (ἐστιῶν Coray, Schneider: ἐσθίων V); cf. X. *Smp.* 2.2 τελέως ἡμᾶς ἐστιᾶις. For the anonymous conjecture ἐστιᾶις see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172. ἐσθίεις (AB) is inappropriate. ‘What dainty food you have’ (LSJ μαλακός 1.1) mistranslates ἐσθίεις. ‘How luxuriously you dine’ (Rusten) misses its tone: not ‘dine’ (too formal) but ‘eat’. ‘How luxuriously you eat’ might be acceptable as an address to a fellow guest, but to the host it would be crude and impolite. He must use a verb which reflects, with due formality, the role of his host.

μαλακῶς refers primarily to physical comfort. It is often used with verbs of sitting or lying: Ar. *Ach.* 70 μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι, *Eq.* 785 καθίζου μαλακῶς (on a cushion), X. *HG* 4.1.30, *Cyr.* 8.8.19, *Eub.* 107.1, *Theoromp.Com.* 65 ἐπίνομεν . . . κατακείμενοι μαλακώτατ’ ἐπὶ τρικλινίῳ, *Theoc.* 7.69 πίομαι μαλακῶς (on a comfortable couch); cf. *Prop.* 1.14.1–2 *tu licet abiectus Tiberina mollior unda | Lesbia Mentoreo uina bibas opere*; with a verb signifying provision of comfort for another (ἐστιᾶις here), *Eub.* 90.1 οὐκουν ὑποστορεῖτε μαλακῶς τῷ κννί; (cf. X. *Cyr.* 8.8.16). For the word in comparable connections, Ar. *V.* 1455 τὸ τρυφῶν καὶ μαλακόν, X. *Cyr.* 7.2.28 τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν, *Men. Phasm.* 12 Arnott (37 Sandbach) μαλακῶς ἐλούσω.

Coray interprets μαλακῶς (with ἐσθίεις) as ‘foiblement, sans appétit, comme un malade’, so that ἄρας τι αὐτῷ (his conjecture for τῶν) describes an attempt by the Κόλαξ to offer his host something to eat. Similarly G. J. de Vries, *Mnemosyne* 17 (1964) 385–7, Stefanis 1997. This is not acceptable.

καὶ ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης: for this use of ἀπό after the article, Pl. *Cra.* 410B αἶρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, KG 1.546, LSJ ἀπό 1.5. Cf. IV.3, VII.7, IX.3. We do not want ἐπὶ (Pauw).

φῆσαι “Τουτι ἄρα ὡς χρηστὸν ἐστι”: ἄρα expresses ‘a lively feeling of interest’ (Denniston 33; W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 17 (1964) 387). ὄρα (Naber before Diels) is unwanted. For χρηστός of food, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 563, Sens and Olson on *Matro* 1.63–4.

καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι μὴ ῥίγοι καὶ εἰ ἐπιβαλέσθαι βούλεται: the first question implies fear or apprehension, hence μὴ (KG 2.394–5, LSJ μὴ c.ii.1, Goodwin §369), as VIII.2; the second may be taken as a simple inquiry, and deletion of εἰ (Wilamowitz 1902b) is inadvisable. ἐπιβαλέσθαι (de) must replace ἐπιβάλλεσθαι (AB). The aorist refers to a single act of investiture, as XIX.6 and XXI.8 ἀναβαλόμενος (-βαλλ- V in both), H. *Od.* 6.178 ἀμφιβαλέσθαι, Hdt. 1.152.1, 3.139.2 περιβαλόμενος, Ar. *V.* 1132, 1135 ἀναβαλοῦ, *Lys.* 1096 ἀμβαλώμεθα, *Ec.* 276 ἐπαναβάλεσθε (-βάλλ- codd.); cf. V.6n. Perhaps εἰ <τι> ἐπιβ- (Hanow 1860). For the general idea, Hor. *S.* 2.5.93–4 *mone, si increbruit aura, | cautus uti uelet carum caput.*

καὶ ἔτι ταῦτα λέγων περιστεῖλαι αὐτόν· καὶ ἅμα κτλ.: restored for καὶ ἔτι (ἔτι B) περιστεῖλαι (-στεῖλαι c' de) αὐτόν· καὶ μὴ ταῦτα λέγων κτλ., where ἔτι is meaningless, περιστεῖλαι lame ('he asks if he wishes to put something on and he wraps him up'), ταῦτα λέγων otiose ('he whispers while he says this'), and διαψιθυρίζειν pointless (his officiousness should not be hidden in a whisper but spoken aloud for all to hear). Transposition of ταῦτα λέγων (Schneider 1799 before Ussing) restores two effective points: (i) ταῦτα λέγων, now combined with ἔτι, underlines his officiousness: he takes action even before he has received an answer to his questions; cf. Hdt. 8.90.2 ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων, X. *Cyr.* 5.5.35 ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, Plb. 1.79.14, 18.4.3, 28.23.3, 31.24.9, also §3 ἅμα τοιαῦτα λέγων, VII.3 μεταξύ . . . ἀποκρινομένω; (ii) his whispering, no longer connected with his questions, becomes an excuse for proximity and over-familiarity. It is not enough to transpose λέγων alone (Reiske 1757) or to delete it (Pasquali), since this leaves ταῦτα with διαψιθυρίζειν, and we do not want him whispering 'these things' (i.e. his officious questions). I reject εἴ τι (Petersen, with impossible opt. περιστεῖλαι) περιστεῖλαι, deliberative subjunctive in indirect question (KG 2.537(γ), Goodwin §677), because it duplicates the preceding question (the difference between 'put on' and 'put around' is too slight to justify it) and leaves ταῦτα λέγων still with διαψιθυρίζειν. I do not understand εἴ τι περιστελεῖ (Wilamowitz 1902b).

For the unwanted μὴ, I reject μὴ <v> (δ), since καὶ μὴν 'and what is more' (Denniston 351–2) would be an anomalous connective (I.6n.; Müller (1874) 34, Blomqvist 66–7). It cannot be taken as adversative ('and yet he says all this in a whisper' Rusten). Apart from the faulty sense (whispered officiousness), καὶ μὴν meaning 'and yet' is not used in this way (Denniston 357–8). μὴ may either be changed to ἅμα (see on §3 καὶ ἅμα τοιαῦτα λέγων) or deleted.

πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσκύπτων διαψιθυρίζειν: an echo of Pl. *Euthd.* 275E προσκύψας μοι μικρὸν πρὸς τὸ οὖς and 276D πάλιν μικρὸν πρὸς με ψιθυρίσας. Cf. Pl. *R.* 449B ἔλεγεν ἄττα προσκεκυφώς, Luc. *Nec.* 21 ἠρέμα προσκύψας πρὸς τὸ οὖς, XI.3 ἀνακύψας, XXIV.8 κάτω κεκυφώς, XXV.2 ἀνακύπτων; also Valckenaer on Σ E. *Ph.* 916 [911] (ed. *Ph.* (Franecker 1755) 714). διαψιθ- (A) may reasonably be preferred to ψιθ- (B): for omissions by B see on §2 τοῦτο δὲ

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κτλ. The compound is first attested here. Presumably the prefix strengthens the verb; in later examples (see LSJ), where the subject is plural, it may suggest diffusion.

καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέπων τοῖς ἄλλοις λαλεῖν: see on §2 ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς cé. For λαλεῖν, Introd. Note to VII.

**11** καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι: προσκεφάλαιον, properly ‘pillow’, is here ‘cushion’ (at XXV.4 it could be either); similarly ποτίκρανον (Theoc. 15.3); Pritchett 253–4. Aeschines alleges, as evidence of the κολακεία of Demosthenes towards the ambassadors of Philip, that εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε (3.76; cf. 2.111). See also Ar. *Eq.* 783–5, *Ov. Ars* 1.159–60.

**12** καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν φῆσαι εὖ ἤρχιτεκτονῆσθαι: cf. Luc. *Pr.Im.* 20 ἦν οἰκίαν ἐπαινῆι καλὴν καὶ ἄριστα κατεσκευασμένην, εἶποι ἄν “Ζηνὸς που τοιήδε γ’ Ὀλυμπίου ἐνδοθεν αὐλή”. ὁ δὲ κόλαξ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κἄν περὶ τῆς κυβώτου καλύβης εἶποι, εἰ μόνον τι παρὰ τοῦ κυβώτου λαβεῖν ἐλπίζειεν. For the verb, Arnott on *Alex.* 153.2.

καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν εὖ πεφυτεῦσθαι: for ἀγρός ‘farm’, ‘field’, Pritchett 262.

καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὁμοίαν εἶναι: this may refer to sculpture or painting. Naturalistic portraiture was a very recent development (M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 508–9, Lane Fox 145). Cf. Arist. *Po.* 1454<sup>b</sup>9–11 δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἰκονογράφους: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποδιδόντες τὴν ἰδίαν μορφήν ὁμοίους ποιοῦντες καλλίου γράφουσιν; for the flattery, Luc. *Pr.Im.* 6 ἀπάντων οὖν τῶν τοιούτων κατεγέλα τῶν παρεχόντων αὐτοὺς τοῖς κόλαξιν, καὶ προσετίθει δὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐν ἐπαίνοισι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς τὰ ὅμοια πολλοὶ κολακεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι θέλουσι. “Χαίρουσι γοῦν” ἔφη “τῶν γραφῶν ἐκείνοισι μάλιστα οἱ ἄν πρὸς τὸ εὐμορφότερον αὐτοὺς εἰκάσωιν”, 10 καὶ ἑαυτὴν οὖν τὸ μὲν πλάσμα σου ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν εἰκόνων, μὴ γνωρίζειν δὲ τὴν ὁμοιότητα.

### [13] Epilogue

τὸ κεφάλαιον: see on I.6 τὸ ὅλον.

τὸν κόλακα ἔστι θεάσασθαι πάντα καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα: ‘One may see the Toady saying and doing everything’ (same construction as *epil.* I εὐρεῖν ἔστι, *epil.* X ἔστιν ἰδεῖν), not ‘the flatterer is on the lookout for everything in word or deed’ (Rusten). The pairing of λέγειν and πράττειν, elsewhere common (E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* (Würzburg 1903)

## COMMENTARY

213–15, 238–40, Nesselrath on Luc. *Par.* 5), reflects the pairing of nouns for speech and action in the definitions (def. I n.).

πάντα . . . ὧι χαριεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει: πάντα . . . ὧι is comparable to the regular πάντες ὅστις or ὅς ἄν (KG 1.56–7; neuter X. *Cyr.* 8.2.25 πάντα ὅτου ἔδει), but different in so far as the relative here is ὅ (not ὅτι or ὅ ἄν). πᾶν (Cobet 1874) could be right (LSJ πᾶς D.III.2). Alternatively οἷς (de). Less plausibly πάντη Bucarest 602 (2 Wilson), coni. Diels, πᾶν τι Jebb, εἰ Ussing, δι' ὧν Ribbeck 1874 (cl. M δι' ὅτων).

### III THE CHATTERBOX

#### Introductory note

Ἄδολεσχία is talk on matters which others perceive as unimportant. The word and its cognates are commonly applied to philosophers and sophists: Ar. *Nu.* 1480, 1485, fr. 506, Eur. 386, 388, Alex. 185 (Arnott *ad loc.*); frequently in Plato, e.g. *Phd.* 70B-C (Socrates) οὐκ οἶμαι . . . εἰπεῖν τινα νῦν ἀκούσαντα, οὐδ' εἰ κωμωιδοποιὸς εἴη, ὡς ἀδολεσχῶ καὶ οὐ περὶ προσηκόντων τοὺς λόγους ποιούμαι. Aristotle defines as ἀδολέσχας those who are φιλομύθους καὶ διηγητικούς καὶ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων κατατρίβοντας τὰς ἡμέρας (*EN* 1117<sup>b</sup>34–5); and ἀδολεσχία is characteristic of the old, who like to tell of the past (*Rh.* 1390<sup>a</sup>9–11). There is an essay by Plutarch *Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας* (502B–515A).

The Ἄδολεσχης is characterised by the triviality and unconnectedness of his talk. He moves calmly from one trite subject to the next, caring little whether the second follows logically from the first. He has a single auditor, whom he detains while they are seated. He is different from the Λάλος (VII), who has various auditors in various places and discourses to each on a single subject with greater urgency and self-importance. See the *Introduct. Note* to VII.

#### [I] *Definition*

Ἥ δὲ ἀδολεσχία ἐστὶ μὲν: the particle is similarly placed in def. V and IX (Denniston 371–2).

διήγησις λόγων μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτων: an incompetent expression. We do not want a ‘narration’ of speeches: διήγησις may have been prompted by διηγῆσθαι in §2 or by διηγητικούς in Arist. *EN* 1117<sup>b</sup>34 (*Introduct. Note*). The epithets are carelessly chosen. μακροί is a standard epithet for λόγοι and usually conveys a note of disapproval or sarcasm (e.g. S. *El.* 1335, Ar. *Ach.* 303, E. *IA* 313, D. 19.11, 303, Pl. *Grg.* 465E, *Prt.* 329B, 335C, *Sph.* 268B, Plb. 11.10.6; LSJ II.2). But, while some of the man’s subjects (the encomium of his wife, the account of his dream) may have needed lengthy exposition, and the accumulation of subjects makes for a long and tedious speech, the sketch illustrates not so much long-windedness or tediousness as triviality. Emendation is otiose: ἀκαίρων H. Friesemann (*Collectanea critica* (Amsterdam 1786) 171–2), ματαίων Ast, οὐ καιρίων ἢ μακρῶν (from M) Edmonds 1908. ἀπροβουλεύτων is just as bad: the subjects would not have been more appealing if they had been better thought out in advance. See Stein 70–1.

**2 τοιοῦτός τις:** τις restored in place of ἔστιν (AB) by Hanow 1861, before Herwerden 1871 and Cobet 1874; I.2n.

**ὄν μὴ γινώσκει, τούτῳ παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον:** cf. XIII.5 οὐκ οὐ (μὴ Navarre) γινώσκει, XXIII.6 ἀγνώτων . . . παρακαθημένων, Hor. *S.* 1.9.3 (the boor) *accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum*. γιν- (AB) is not attested in Attic inscriptions before the Roman period (Threatte 1.562–5, 2.770, Arnott, ‘Orthographical variants’ 196). For ὄν . . . τούτῳ (and the following ὄ . . . τοῦτο), IX.2 ὄν . . . τοῦτον, KG 1.647 (9), Schwyzer 2.640 (1). For the pleonasm παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον, Ar. *Th.* 409 παρακάθηται πλησίον, E. *Ph.* 160 πλησίον παραστατεῖ (cf. Ar. *Ra.* 969, *Ec.* 9), Ar. *Ec.* 725 παρακολουθῶ πλησίον, Luc. *Pisc.* 12 παρακαθισαμένη πλησίον; KG 2.583–4, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 39. Deletion of πλησίον (Schneider) is misguided.

**πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα . . . εἶθ’ . . . εἶτα δῆ:** the repetition brings out his persistence and the continuousness of his talk. He begins with three self-referential narratives (his wife, then his dream, then his dinner), and then, when this strategy proves successful, he embarks on a potentially endless series of disjointed trivialities. Connective εἶτα (elsewhere IX.2, XIII.6, XXV.4, κἀτα IV.7) has something of a colloquial tone (K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968) 84–5, id. *Greek and the Greeks* (Oxford 1987) 28–9). For δῆ, XX.3n.

**ὃ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδεν ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτο διηγήσασθαι:** cf. XVI.11. Dreams are conventionally ‘seen’: G. Björck, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 306–14, Arnott on Alex. 274.1.

**ὄν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα διεξελεῖν:** ἐπὶ τῷ δ- fr. 121 Wimmer (572 Fortenbaugh), X. *Cyr.* 1.3.12, *Lac.* 15.4, Hp. *Epid.* 2.6.31 (5.138 Littré), *Mul.* 75 (8.164), 133 (8.300), Demon, *FGH* 327 F 1 (LSJ ἐπὶ B.1.1); τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα *CP* 2.3.5, *Vert.* 3, Arist. *EN* 1107<sup>a</sup> 31 (and often), D. 18.214, 49.66, Hyp. *Eux.* 4, Aeschin. 2.25, Men. *Dysc.* 45, *PCG* adesp. 1081.2. τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον (Schneider) would be anomalous (*u.l.* Aeschin. 3.217, Arist. *GC* 335<sup>a</sup> 27; τὰ (Hertlein: τὸ codd.) καθ’ ἕκαστον D.S. 1.85.5). Cf. Petr. 66.1 *quid habuistis in cena?*

**3 εἶτα δῆ προχωροῦντος τοῦ πράγματος:** not quite ‘as matters progress’ (Rusten, *al.*), but ‘as the business proceeds successfully’. The phrase expresses not so much the temporal progression of events in general as the successful development of the matter in hand. Sometimes the verb is qualified (e.g. *Th.* 1.74.4 καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἂν αὐτῷ προχώρησε τὰ πράγματα ἦ ἔβούλετο, 6.103.2 τὰλλα προχώρει αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐλπίδας), but sometimes it stands alone (*Hdt.* 8.108.3 οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, *Th.* 4.73.4 τὰ πλείω αὐτοῖς προουκεχωρήκει, 5.37.2 τούτου προχωρήσαντος, 6.90.3 εἰ . . . προχωρήσειε ταῦτα, 8.68.4 τὸ ἔργον . . . προχώρησεν). ‘ubi incaluerit’ (Casaubon), ‘warming to the work’ (Jebb),

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'getting into his stride' (Vellacott), do not quite capture the idea. Cf. *TGL s.u.*, LSJ II.1.

λέγειν ὡς πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀρχαίων: a motif as old as Homer (*Il.* 1.271–2 κείνοις δ' ἄν οὐ τις | τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰς ἐπιχθόνιοι μαχέοιτο; cf. 5.303–4), expressed most memorably by Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.46–8 *aetas parentum peior auis tulit | nos nequiores, mox daturos | progeniem uitiosiore* (cf. Arat. 123–4). See A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1935), esp. ch. 2, K. Jost, *Das Beispiel und Vorbild der Vorfahren bei den attischen Rednern und Geschichtschreibern bis Demosthenes* (Paderborn 1936) 153–4, 231–4, B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen* (Hildesheim 1967). For πονηρός, Introd. Note to XXIX.

καὶ ὡς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ: cf. Men. *Phasm.* 2 Arnott (27 Sandbach) πῶς εἰσιν οἱ πυροὶ [κατ' ἀγορὰν ὄνιοι]. For the sale of grain in the Agora, Wycherley, *Agora iii* 193–4. For πυρός, Pritchett 189, 196–8, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1144–5.

Athens was heavily dependent on imported grain, and its price, being sensitive to changes in supply, is a subject of regular remark (Wankel on D. 18.87, Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 192–3); for attested shortages of grain, XXIII.5n. But, while anyone may complain of the dearth of food (Ter. *An.* 746 *annona carast*, Petr. 44.1), it takes a Chatterbox to find its cheapness a worthwhile subject of conversation. To suppose that he is complaining that his own wheat is selling too cheaply (Steinmetz, Bodei Gigliani 88–9) is a misjudgement. ἄξιος 'good value for money, cheap' (LSJ 3.b) is regularly applied to food (wheat, as here, Pherecr. 67; grain, Lys. 22.8, 22; fish, Ar. *Eq.* 645, 672, *V.* 491; silphium stalks, Ar. *Eq.* 894–5; bread, Eub. 9.2–3), also to bronze-ware (X. *Vect.* 4.6); elsewhere at IX.6 (no specific application), XVII.6 (slave). To make the wheat expensive (<οὐκ> ἄξιοι Coray, <οὐ> γεγόνασιν Navarre 1920) is to ruin the point.

καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ ἐπιδημοῦσι ξένοι: these ξένοι are not μέτοικοι (Bodei Gigliani 101 n. 115) but foreign visitors (as V.4, XXIII.2, epil. XXVI; D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (PCPhS Suppl. 4, 1977) 40–1). They are numerous probably because (as the next clause suggests) many of them have come from overseas for the Dionysia (Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 58–9). Cf. IX.5n.

καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώμιον εἶναι: the City Dionysia was held in Elaphebolion (roughly March), the start of the sailing season (Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 63–6, J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975) 125–30, 137, L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 2 1986) 270–3, MacDowell on D. 21.10). The return of sailing weather, welcome as it was, is a subject of regular remark (Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.2). For ἐκ 'starting from', 'after', LSJ A.π.2; the form πλώμιον, C. A. Lobeck, *Phrynichi Eclogae* (Leipzig 1820) 614–16, KB 1.168, LSJ *s.u.* Similar change of construction (to acc. and infin. after ὡς with indic.) XX.9, XXIX.3,



the reverse change XXIII.9; cf. KG 2.357, J. Ros, *Die METABOLH (Variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thucydides* (Nijmegen 1938) 411–15.

καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλείον τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆι βελτίω ἔεσθαι: cf. *CP* 1.19.3 ἔάν γε δὴ πλείω ποιῆι ὕδατα, *Ar. V.* 261 ὕδωρ ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τὸν θεὸν ποιῆσαι, *D.L.* 2.36 “οὐκ ἔλεγον” εἶπεν (*sc.* *Κωκράτης*) “ὅτι Ξανθίππη βροντῶσα ὕδωρ ποιήσει;” The expression has the ring of popular speech (*XIV.12n.*).

M. D. Macleod, *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974) 75–6, finds an echo of this passage (and the preceding ὡς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροί) in *Luc. Icar.* 24 (Zeus asks πόσου νῦν ὁ πυρός ἐστιν ὦνιος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . . καὶ εἰ τὰ λάχανα δέεται πλείονος ἐπομβρίας. The resemblance is too slight to prove direct imitation (see the Introduction, p. 26).

καὶ ὃν ἀγρόν εἰς νέωτα γεωργήσει: he says what land he will cultivate next year, implying that he will leave some of his land fallow, the usual practice (West on *Hes. Op.* 462–3, Pomeroy on *X. Oec.* 16.11, 13, P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988) 93–4). There may be a hint of naive optimism: the farmer hopes to strike it rich next year, a familiar saw (*Philem.* 85 ἀεὶ γεωργός εἰς νέωτα πλούσιος, *Theodoridis* on *Phot. A* 421). ὃν ἀγρόν is the most plausible correction of ὁ ἀγρός (AB). An indirect question is regularly introduced by relative ὅς with noun in agreement: e.g. *HP* 2.6.12 ὃν τρόπον, *Hdt.* 4.53.4, *Th.* 5.9.2, 6.34.6, 8.50.5, *Aeschin.* 3.94 (KG 2.438–9). The best alternative is ὡς ἀγρούς or -όν (*Lycius*). But the sense (‘that he will farm his land’) is weaker. ὅτι τὸν ἀγρόν (*Auberius*) and ὅτι ἀγρόν (*Casaubon*) have a further weakness: since ὡς is used thrice before and thrice after in this sentence, ὅτι would be a little surprising (though there is a switch from ὡς to ὅτι at VII.9, and a less striking switch at XXIII.3). For the expression ἀγρόν . . . γεωργήσει, *Men. Georg.* 35, *PCG* adesp. 895.1, *D.H.* 6.86.4, *Plu.* 829D; ἀγρός, *II.12n.*; εἰς νέωτα, KG 1.538–40.

καὶ ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστί τὸ ζῆν: cf. *X. Mem.* 2.9.1 ὡς χαλεπὸν ὁ βίος Ἀθήνησιν εἶη ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν.

καὶ ὡς Δάμιππος μυστηρίοις μεγίτην δαίδα ἔστηεν: torches played an important part in the events at Eleusis. This torch is presumably a votive offering by a grateful initiate. Remains of one such torch of marble survive (*G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 204). μεγίτην is probably ‘very large’ rather than ‘largest’, a sense which would be more clearly expressed by μεγίτην <τῆν> δαίδα (*Edmonds* 1929), like *X. Mem.* 1.4.13 τὴν ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυε (KG 1.614–15). ‘A very large torch’ is less pointed and may be preferable for that reason. μυστηρίοις is ‘at (the time of)’, local/temporal dative (KG 1.445); cf. XXII.2 τραγωιδῶσι. The name Δάμιππος (*Δαμάσιππος* *Reiske* 1757) is well attested: *Hyp. fr.* 66 *Jensen, LGPN* 2.98, 3A.109–10, *J. S. Traill, Persons of Ancient Athens* 5 (Toronto 1996) 20–1.

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καὶ πόσοι εἰς κίονες τοῦ ᾽Ωιδείου: the Odeion of Pericles, a large concert-hall (sometimes used for other purposes), by the south-east slope of the Acropolis, adjacent to the theatre of Dionysus. Described by Plu. *Per.* 13.9 as πολύστυλον, it had (so excavation has revealed) 10 rows of 9 columns: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 387–91, R. Meinel, *Das Odeion* (Frankfurt 1980) 135–50, Stadter on Plu. *loc. cit.*, M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge 1997) 218–42; on its date (disputed), M. Hose, *Philologus* 137 (1993) 3–11. The clause is usually taken as a question in direct speech, but is more effective in its triviality if taken as a reported statement. <οί> κίονες Bodl. Auct. T.V.6 (35 Wilson), commended by Stefanis (1994a) 91, 93, 118, could be right (cf. V.7 οἱ Π: om. AB). Alternatively, τῶι ᾽Ωιδεῖωι.

καὶ “Χθὲς ἡμεῶν”: for the isolated statement in direct speech, VII.9.

καὶ τίς ἐστιν ἡμέρα τήμερον: again, like πόσοι κίονες κτλ., more effective as a statement than as a question. The Attic spelling τήμερον (κη- AB), restored by Herwerden before Diels, is also found in Munich 490 (30 Wilson), according to Stefanis (1994a) 118. See Arnott, ‘Orthographical variants’ 209–10.

καὶ ὦς . . . Διονύσια: these words are transmitted at the end of the sketch, after κἄν ὑπομένῃ τις αὐτὸν μὴ ἀφίτασθαι, which must themselves stand at the end (μὴ ἀφίτασθαι [καὶ] ὦς (Steinmetz) and κατα<λέγων> ὦς (Stark ap. Steinmetz 350) are futile tinkering). They must therefore be placed earlier; but precisely where is disputable. Hottinger (before Schneider) transposed them the minimum distance, after τήμερον (κήμερον), a transposition already contemplated but declined by Pauw. The tricolon of dates follows well enough after ‘yesterday’ and ‘today’, and rounds off the narrative with well-balanced tedium. There is no clear advantage in transposing them further: after ἔστησεν (B. A. van Groningen, *Mnemosyne* 58 (1930) 56–7), after ᾽Ωιδείου (Navarre 1931). Deletion of καὶ ὦς . . . Διονύσια (Ussing) is gratuitous: the catalogue of festivals is a fine touch.<sup>25</sup> Deletion of κἄν . . . ἀφίτασθαι (Diels) is also implausible: if an interpolator was minded to add a comment like this, he would not add it in this place. The suggestion that it is an afterthought by T. himself (Stein 50–1) is no more appealing (see on I.2 συγγνώμην κτλ.).

Βοηδρομιῶνος μὲν ἐστι τὰ μυστήρια: Boedromion was roughly September. The name of the month may stand without article (e.g. Ἐκατομβαιῶνος *HP* 3.5.2, Μουσιχῶνος Aeschin. 2.91) or with article (see on XXVIII.4 τοῦ Ποσιδεῶνος); sometimes μηνός is added (e.g. Βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός *HP* 4.11.4, Μουσιχῶνος μηνός D. 49.6, μηνός Μαιμακτηριῶνος Is. 7.14, Arist. *HA* 566<sup>a</sup>18; τοῦ Μεταγειτωνῶνος μηνός *HP* 7.1.2, Is. 3.57, D. 56.5, τοῦ Μουσιχῶνος μηνός D. 49.44; cf. XXX.14). For the genitive, KG 1.386. For the

<sup>25</sup> ‘The living religious practice of the Greeks is concentrated on the festivals . . . which interrupt and articulate everyday life’ (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 225).

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Mysteries, Mikalson (above on καὶ τὴν θάλατταν κτλ.) 54–6, 65, H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 53–72, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 285–90.

**Πυανοφιῶνος δὲ <τὰ> Ἀπατούρια:** the Apatouria is the annual festival of the phratries, lasting three days, in Pyanopsion (roughly October); L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 232–4, Mikalson 79, Parke 88–92, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 255, S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor 1993) ch. 4 (esp. 157), Parker, *Athenian Religion* 104–5, 107, 265; XXI.3n., XXX.16n. Ἀπατούρια, without article, is commoner (Hdt. I.147.2, Ar. *Ach.* 146, *Th.* 558, And. I.126, Pl. *Ti.* 21B, X. *HG* 1.7.8), but the article is included at D. 39.4, and is desirable here in view of the preceding τὰ μυστήρια and the following <τὰ> . . . Διονύσια (where its addition is inescapable). M has it; Stefanis (1994a) 101, 118, reports it from Ambros. I 111 inf. (25 Wilson), which cannot (as he suggests) have derived it from a printed edition, since the first editor to add it was Darvaris, anticipating Petersen, Herwerden (who took it from M), and Naber (who wrongly imputed it to A). For the form Πυανοψ- (Πυανψ- AB), Meisterhans 23.

**Ποσιδεῶνος δὲ <τὰ> κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονύσια:** the Rural Dionysia (τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς Δ- Ar. *Ach.* 202, 250, Aeschin. I.157) in Posideon (roughly December); Deubner 134–8, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 42–56, Mikalson 97, Parke 100–3, Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 212–22, Csapo and Slater 124. For the form Ποσιδ- (Ποσειδ- AB), Meisterhans 54, Threatte 1.200, 2.126, 129–30, 705. Cf. XXVIII.4.

κἂν ὑπομένῃ τις αὐτόν, μὴ ἀφίστασθαι: cf. Plu. 503A–B (of Aristotle) ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπ' ἀδολέσχου καὶ κοπτόμενος ἀτόποις τιεὶ διηγῆμασι, πολυλάκις αὐτοῦ λέγοντος “οὐ θαυμαστόν, Ἀριστότελες;”, “οὐ τοῦτο” φησί “θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' εἴ τις πόδας ἔχων ἐὺ υπομένει”, and XV.9n. For ἀφίστασθαι ‘desist’, E. *El.* 66, Pl. *Lg.* 960E μὴ τοῖνον ἀφιστώμεθα μηδενὶ τρόπῳ πρὶν ἂν κτλ.

### [4] *Epilogue*

**παραείσαντα δῆ:** ‘swinging the arms’, in running, with χεῖρας sometimes expressed (*Lass.* 13 ~ [Arist.] *Pr.* 881<sup>b</sup><sub>4</sub> ὁ θεῶν παραείων [[πρὸς del. Schneider]] τὰς χεῖρας, Arist. *LA* 705<sup>a</sup><sub>17–18</sub> οἱ θεόντες θᾶττον θεοῦσι παραείοντες τὰς χεῖρας), sometimes not (*Lass.* 13 ~ 881<sup>b</sup><sub>6</sub> θᾶττον θεῖ παραείων ἢ μὴ παραείων, Arist. *EN* 1123<sup>b</sup><sub>31</sub> οὐδαμῶς . . . ἂν ἀρμόζοι μεγαλοψύχῳ φεύγειν παραείσαντι (παραείοντι H. Richards, *Aristotelica* (London 1915) 10), Macho 15 παραείων). A present part. παραείοντα is expected here, no less than in Arist. *EN*, which may be the writer’s model. For δῆ, epil. I n.

**τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων <φεύγειν>:** subject changes to plural, as in epilogues VI, VIII, X. The commoner structure would be τοὺς τοιοῦτους

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ἀνθρώπους (epil. VIII, XXVI.4). But the partitive gen. (which has been taken as a sign of late composition or of corruption) is regular: XXVI.3 τοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς τῶν λόγων, Th. 3.42.4 τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Pl. *Alc.* 117E, Isoc. 5.12, 7.76, 11.49, 20.21, D. 24.215, Lycurg. 133, Arist. *EN* 1168<sup>b</sup>12, *SE* 161<sup>a</sup>26, 173<sup>b</sup>1, 175<sup>a</sup>3, 182<sup>b</sup>3, Din. 3.13; cf. on V.7 τῶν . . . γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις. For τοιοῦτος in other epilogues, epil. I n. An infin. is needed to govern τοὺς τοιοῦτους, and φεύγειν is the verb which appears in similar contexts (Arist. *EN* 1123<sup>b</sup>31 cited above; Epic. fr. 163, Plu. 15D, 1094D, cited below); cf. epil. I φυλάττεσθαι . . . δεῖ. Casaubon's alternative proposal, in the copy of his 1599 edition in the British Library (see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172), to delete τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, does not appeal.

καὶ <τὸ ἀκάτειον> δ' ἀράμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: the ἀκάτειον was a small sail used by warships to escape danger, when the main sail had been taken down: C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge 1895) 86, L. Casson, 'The emergency rig of ancient warships', *TAPhA* 98 (1967) 43–8, id. *Ships and Seamanship* (§3n.) 236–7, 241–2, J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322 BC* (Cambridge 1968) 298–9. Jackson's superlative conjecture (*Marginalia Scaenica* 233–4) for διαράμενος (AB) restores the idiomatic locution found in Ar. *Lys.* 64 τὰ κάτειον (van Leeuwen: τὰ κάτιον R) ἤριετο, Epic. fr. 163 Usener (ap. D.L. 10.6) παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεύγε τὸ ἀκάτειον ἀράμενος (φευγετε καταδιαραμεν *uel sim.* codd.), Plu. 15D τὸ Ἐπικούρειον ἀκάτειον ἀραμένους ποιητικὴν φεύγειν καὶ παρεξελάνειν, 1094D τοὺς μὲν ἐπαραμένους τὰ ἀκάτεια φεύγειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κελεύουσιν. The old interpretation of διαράμενον, '(sc. τοὺς πόδας) with long strides' (LSJ), must be abandoned. καὶ . . . δεῖ is found thrice elsewhere in spurious passages (VI.7, epil. X *bis*; I.2n.). Although δ' is dispensable, the transmitted διαρ- commends it.

ὄστις ἀπύρετος βούλεται εἶναι: ἀπύρετος (AB), unattested, would mean 'unburned' (from πυρεύω). Better 'unfevered', either ἀπύρετος or ἀπύρεκτος (for both of which see LSJ), even though boring talk normally threatens not fever but death (Theoc. 5.78–9, Pl. *Mil.* 1084, Hor. *S.* 1.9.31–4).

ἔργον γὰρ: 'It is difficult'. To the single instance with infin. cited by LSJ iv.1.c ('Men. 76', i.e. *Asp.* 21) may be added XXV.3, *HP* 4.10.5, X. *Cyr.* 1.1.5, 3.3.27, 6.3.27, *HG* 6.1.19, 7.1.31, D. 15.34, 25.47, 59.91, Arist. *EN* 1109<sup>a</sup>25, *al.*, Men. *Dysc.* 905, *Karch.* 7, *Sic.* 410, fr. 9, 767, 807, Apollod.Com. 2, Diph. 100, Posidipp. 21, 35. As here, ἔστι is commonly omitted (XXV.3n.). There is a similar idiom in English: 'It is quite a task to be civil to her' (Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, ch. 27), 'it is a job to' (*OED* Suppl. 'job' 4.b).

συναρέσκεσθαι: the passive ('be content with', 'approve of'), first in [Arist.] *Ath.* 33.2 οὐ συναρεσκόμενοι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων γιγνομένοις, is common in later Greek, e.g. J. *Vit.* 34 τῆι γνώμῃ . . . οὐ συνηρέσκετο Πίστος (cf. 185, 315), Heliod. ap. Orib. 49.9.39 τούτῳ ἐγὼ τῷ καταρτισμῷ οὐ συναρέσκομαι, Porph. *Abst.* 2.27 (T. *Piet.* fr. 13.40–2 Pötscher, 584A.302–4

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Fortenbaugh) τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἢ τε φύσις καὶ πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητικῶς δρωμένοις συνηρέσκετο, with personal dat. Severianus (4th cent. AD) p. 215 Staab τοῖς πράττουσιν αὐτὰ συναρέσκονται. Although ἀρκεῖσθαι has the sense 'be satisfied with' (LSJ IV.1), συναρκεῖσθαι (AB) ('acquiesce in, put up with' LSJ) is not elsewhere attested. Other conjectures: συναίρεσθαι Dupont, συναρτᾶσθαι or συνηρτῆσθαι Needham, συνέρχεσθαι Newton, ἔστιν ἀρκέσαι or ἀρέσκεσθαι Darvaris (the latter also Herwerden), οὖν ἀρκεῖσθαι Meineke, συνείργεσθαι Sheppard.

τοῖς μήτε χολὴν μήτε σπουδὴν διαγινώσκουσιν: there is nothing to choose between χολὴν . . . σπουδὴν (B) and σπουδὴν . . . χολὴν (A); II.3n.

## IV THE COUNTRY BUMPKIN

### Introductory note

O. Ribbeck, *Agroikos. Eine ethologische Studie* (ASG 23 (1888) 1–68), remains fundamental. See also V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1951) 73–94, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 112–14.

Ἄγροικία is rustic behaviour seen through the eyes of the townsman. The Stoics (*SVF* 3 fr. 677) defined it as ἀπειρία τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἔθῶν καὶ νόμων; similarly Men. *Georg.* fr. 3 Koerte (5 Sandbach, Arnott) εἰμὶ μὲν ἄγροικος . . . | καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἄκτυ πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς | ἔμπειρος, Ov. *Am.* 3.4.37–8 *rusticus est nimium . . . et notos mores non satis Urbis habet*. Rusticity may embrace rudeness of mind as well as of manner: Alc. 16 Page οὐκ ἦς ἀνὴρ ἀγρεῖος οὐδὲ σκαιός, Ar. *Nu.* 135–8 ἀμαθῆς γε νῆ Δί’ . . . :: σύγγνωθί μοι τηλοῦ γὰρ οἰκῶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, 492 ἄνθρωπος ἀμαθῆς οὐτοσί καὶ βάρβαρος, 628–9 οὐκ εἶδον οὕτως ἀνδρ’ ἄγροικον οὐδαμοῦ | οὐδ’ ἄπορον οὐδὲ σκαιὸν οὐδ’ ἐπιλήσιμονα, 646 ὡς ἄγροικος εἶ καὶ δυσμαθῆς, 655 ἀγρεῖος εἶ καὶ σκαιός, E. *Rh.* 266 ἢ πόλλ’ ἀγρώσταται σκαῖα πρόσκειται φρενί, Apollod. *Car.* 5.5–6 ἄγροικος . . . οὐδὲ παιδείαν ὅλως | εἰδυῖα, Ephipp. 23.1 ὡς σκαιός εἶ κ’ ἄγροικος αἰσχροπῶν, Philet. fr. 10 Powell οὐ μέ τις ἐξ ὀρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης | αἰρήσει κλήθρην, αἰρόμενος μακέλην’ | ἄλλ’ ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας | μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος. It is a handy accusation to level at a townsman: Ar. *V.* 1320–1 κῶππων ἀγροίκως καὶ προσέτι λόγου λέγων | ἀμαθέστατ’ οὐδὲν εἰκότας τῶι πράγματι. Cnemon in Men. *Dysc.* is a true ἄγροικος, but when a townsman calls him that (956 ἄγροικος εἶ) the purpose is mockery. Several poets wrote comedies entitled Ἄγροικος (listed by Kassel and Austin, *PCG* 4.17; cf. Ph.-E. Legrand, *Daos: Tableau de la comédie grecque pendant la période dite nouvelle* (Lyon and Paris 1910) 72–80, Konstantakos 18–24).<sup>26</sup> The word and its cognates are favourites of Plato, whose usage is often tinged with irony or humour: e.g. *Phdr.* 229e ἀγροίκωι τινὶ σοφία χρώμενος, 269b ὑπ’ ἀγροικίας ῥῆμά τι εἰπεῖν ἀπαιδευτον, *Tht.* 146a οὐ τί που . . . ἐγὼ ὑπὸ φιλολογίας ἀγροικίζομαι . . .;

Aristotle defines ἀγροικία in relation to εὐτραπελία ‘wit’. On a scale of ‘pleasant amusements’ (τὸ ἡδὺ τὸ . . . ἐν παιδιᾷ) the mean is εὐτραπελία, of which an excess is βωμολοχία ‘buffoonery’, a deficiency is ἀγροικία (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>23–6, *EE* 1234<sup>a</sup>3–5; cf. *MM* 1193<sup>a</sup>12–19). ἄγροικοι are insensitive (ἀναίσθητοι) in that they shun pleasures (*EN* 1104<sup>a</sup>24–5, *EE* 1230<sup>b</sup>18–20) and

<sup>26</sup> Konstantakos has now developed this treatment in two detailed articles soon to be published: ‘Antiphanes’ *Agroikos*-plays: an examination of the ancient evidence and fragments’ (*RCCM* 2004) and ‘Aspects of the figure of the Ἄγροικος in ancient comedy’ (*RhM*).

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are hard-nosed (κκληροί) in that they cannot make or take a joke (*EN* 1128<sup>a</sup>7–9; cf. *EE* 1234<sup>a</sup>8–10); being unadep in social relations they are prone to take offence (*EN* 1128<sup>b</sup>1–3); and they are apt to be inflexible (ἰσχυρογνώμονες), like the opinionated (ἰδιογνώμονες) and the stupid (ἄμαθεῖς) (*EN* 1151<sup>b</sup>12–13). This type of ἀγροικία may be translated as ‘boorishness’.

The Ἄγροικος is a countryman who comes to town and shows his country manners (cf. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 35). It is wrong to translate him as ‘boor’.

### [1] Definition

For the ἀμαθία of the countryman see the passages cited in the Introd. Note. The word often connotes not only intellectual incapacity but also a lack of moral or aesthetic judgement (‘a failure to understand what is required by decency and propriety’, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 122; cf. Denniston on *E. El.* 294–6, Bond on *Herc.* 283, 347). Here ἀσχήμων hints at this extended sense. But as a definition ‘ignorance of good form’ (I adopt the translation of Bennett and Hammond) is inadequate: it misses the essential link between ἀγροικία and the country (Stein 73).

**2** For comment on this scene see the Introduction, pp. 20–1.

κυκεῶνα πιῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πορεύεσθαι: cf. Eup. 99.81–2 ] .οc ποτ’ εἰς ἄγο[ρᾶ]ν κυκεῶ πιῶν [ . . . . κρ]ίμνων τῆ[ν] ὑπήνην ἀνάπλευσ (where the focus is on appearance, not smell). The κυκεῶν was a mixture of grain and liquid (water, wine, milk, honey, or oil) and sometimes cheese, often seasoned with herbs (here with θύμον), commonly associated with the poor or the countryman (A. Delatte, *Le Cycéon* (Paris 1955), N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 344–8, Dalby 190–1).

While εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν is normal (it was proposed here by Orth), εἰς ἔκκ- is also found (Pl. *Alc.*1 113B, *Lg.* 764A, Kassel and Austin on Eup. 192.148). The article is often omitted with prepositional phrases indicating localities (ἐν ἐκκλησίαι XXIX.5n., εἰς ἀγρόν XIV.3, XXVII.10, εἰς ἀγοράν XIX.6, ἐν ἀγρῶν §3, XIV.11, ἐν θεάτρῳ XI.3, ἐπὶ κτηνὴν XXV.8; cf. XXVII.3n., KG 1.602–3).

It was nothing out of the ordinary for a countryman to attend the Assembly (Ehrenberg (Introd. Note) 84, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 61, 126–7).

καὶ τὸ μύρον φάσκειν οὐδὲν τοῦ θύμου ἥδιον ὄζειν: μύρον is a general term for perfume, a compound of oil and aromatic fragrance (*Od.* 13–45, Hug, ‘Salben’, *RE* 1.2A (1920) 1851–66, D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 78–9, Gow on Theoc. 15.114 and Macho 187, Bulloch on Call. *Lav. Pall.* 16, M.-C. Amouretti, *Le pain et l’huile dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1986) 185–9, Olson

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and Sens on Archestr. 60.3 and Matro 1.105–6, Dalby 27–8; V.6n. χρίματι). θύμον is an ingredient in the *κυκεών* (as Ar. *Pax* 116g). The name is applied to both an aromatic shrub ('thyme', for short) and varieties of garlic (A. C. Andrews, *Osinis* 13 (1958) 150–6, Arnott on Alex. 122.2, Olson on Ar. *loc. cit.*). The entry in LSJ θύμον 2, 'mixture of thyme with honey and vinegar', is rightly deleted in the Rev. Suppl. For the contrast, Pl. *Mos.* 39–42 *oboluiști alium . . . :: . . . non omnes possunt olere unguenta exotica*. Countrymen and perfume do not mix: Eur. 222 χώμυνίας ἐκείνος ἀμέλει κλαύεται, | ὅτι <ὦν> ἄγροικος ἴσταται πρὸς τῷ μύρῳ. The Ἄνελεύθερος equivocates with similar insouciance (XXII.11). Those who suppose that something is missing (καὶ <τῶν πλησίον ἐπὶ τῇ ὀσμῇ δυσχεραίνόντων> τὸ μύρον Meister, <τῶν παρακαθεζομένων ἐπὶ τῇ ὀσμῇ δυσχεραίνόντων> Navarre 1920, who wrongly imputes a lacuna to Schneider, through misunderstanding Meister's note) ruin a passage of studied economy.

καὶ μεῖζω τοῦ ποδός τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν: oversized shoes are associated with rusticity in Ar. *Eq.* 316–21 ὑποτέμων ἐπώλεις δέρμα μοχθηροῦ βοός | τοῖς ἀγροίκοις πανούργως, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι παχύ, | καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν φορῆσαι μεῖζον ἢν δυοῖν δοχμαῖν. :: νῆ Δία κάμει τοῦτ' ἔδρασε ταυτόν, ὥστε κατάγειλον | πάμπολυν τοῖς δημόταισι καὶ φίλοις παρασχεθεῖν | πρὶν γὰρ εἶναι Περγασῆϊν ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσι (same image Ov. *Ars* 1.516 *nec uagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet*, Sid. *Ap. Ep.* 8.11.3 *laxo pes natet altus in cothurno*) and Hor. *S.* 1.3.30–2 *rideri possit eo quod | rusticus tonso toga defluit et male latus | in pede calceus haeret*; with farce in Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.174 (*aspice . . .*) *quam non astricto percurrat pulvita socco* (in Luc. *Gall.* 26 a tragic actor trips and reveals τῶν ἐμβατῶν τὴν ὑπόδεσιν ἀμορφοτάτην καὶ οὐχὶ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ποδός). Conversely, Pl. *Hr. Ma.* 294A ἐπειδὴν ἰμάτια τις λάβηι ἢ ὑποδήματα ἀρμόττοντα, κἂν ἦι γελοῖος, καλλίως φαίνεται. Hence περὶ πόδα 'fitting, appropriate' (Hsch. Π 1823 περὶ πόδα οὕτως ἐκάλουν τὸ ἀρμόζον μεταφέροντες ἀπὸ τῶν συμμέτρων τοῖς ποσὶν ὑποδημάτων. ἢ ἀκριβῶς, LSJ πούς 1.6.c, Kassel and Austin on Pl. *Com.* 221). For the turn of phrase, epil. X ἐλάττω τῶν μηρῶν. Contrast II.7.

καὶ μεγάληι τῇ φωνῇ λαλεῖν: talking too loud is associated with rusticity in Cratin. 371 ἀγροβόας ἀνήρ (Phot. A 267 ὁ ἀγροίκως φθεγγόμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀστεῖως οὐδὲ ἐμμελῶς), Pl. *Mos.* 6–7 *quid tibi, malum, hic ante aedis clamitiosus? | an ruri censes te esse?*, Cic. *de Orat.* 3.227 *a principio clamare agreste quiddam est*, and is condemned as anti-social, alongside walking too fast, in D. 37.52 Νικόβουλος δ' ἐπίφθονός ἐστι, καὶ ταχέως βαδίζει καὶ μέγα φθέγγεται, 45.77 τῷ ταχέως βαδίζειν καὶ λαλεῖν μέγα οὐ τῶν εὐτυχῶς πεφυκότων ἑμαυτὸν κρίνω· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελούμενος λυπῶ τινος κτλ.; cf. S. Halliwell in E. M. Craik (ed.), *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford 1990) 70, J. Trevett, *Apollodoros the Son of Pasion* (Oxford 1992) 170–1, S. Vogt, *Aristoteles, Physiognomica* (Darmstadt 1999) 94–5. μεγάληι τῇ φωνῇ recurs in VI.7, 10 (both passages spurious). For λαλεῖν, *Introd.* Note to VII.



3 **καὶ τοῖς μὲν φίλοις καὶ οἰκέοις ἀπιστεῖν:** ‘friends and family’, as XXVIII.6 (XVIII.7n.). For the single article see on I.5 **καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κτλ.**

**πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας ἀνακοινοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων:** conventional wisdom dictates that slaves are not to be trusted (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 114–15). In Men. *Georg.* 55–8 a farmer’s οἰκέται, who are foreign, tell him to go to hell when he falls ill. Contrast Col. 1.8.15 *in ceteris seruis haec fere praecepta seruanda sunt, quae me custodisse non paenitet, ut rusticos, qui modo non incommode se gessissent, saepius quam urbanos familiarius adloquerer . . . iam illud saepe facio, ut quasi cum peritioribus de aliquibus operibus nouis deliberem.* For ἀνακοινοῦσθαι, XII.2. For περὶ τῶν μεγίστων (a common expression) in similar connections, e.g. Th. 3.42.1 περὶ τῶν μ- βουλευέσθαι, Antipho 6.45 ἐπιψηφίζω καὶ λέγων γνώμας περὶ τῶν μ-, Aeschin. 1.188 τούτῳ περὶ τῶν μ- διαπιστεύομεν; Isoc. 8.55 περὶ τῶν μ- συμβούλοις.

**καὶ τοῖς παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐργαζομένοις μισθωτοῖς ἐν ἀργῶι:** for the word order, XXX.9n.; αὐτῷ, I.2n. Whether the hired workers are freemen or someone else’s slaves is unclear: M. H. Jameson, *CJ* 73 (1977) 122–45, id. in B. Wells (ed.), *Agriculture in Ancient Greece* (Stockholm 1992) 142–3, R. Osborne, *Demos: the Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985) 143–4, E. M. Wood, *Peasant-Citizen and Slave* (London and New York 1988) 64–80, 173–80, R. Brock, *CQ* 44 (1994) 342, Lane Fox 131.

**πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγείσθαι:** cf. VII.7; for ἀπό, II.10n.

4 **καὶ ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος καθίζανειν:** the verb ἀναβάλλεσθαι describes the method by which the ἱμάτιον or χλαῖνα was put on, ‘throw one’s cloak up or back, throw it over the shoulder, so as to let it hang in folds’ (LSJ V.11; Stone, *Costume* 155–6, Geddes 312–13, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 1567–9, MacDowell on D. 19.251). Perfect ἀναβεβλημένος means ‘clad (in an ἱμάτιον)’, as D. 19.251, and (with τὸ ἱμάτιον added) XXVI.4 (cf. Luc. *Alex.* 11 ἱμάτιον . . . λευκὸν ἀναβεβλημένος).<sup>27</sup> An ἱμάτιον of normal length reached the calves but not the ankles. An ankle-length ἱμάτιον is a mark of affectation (D. 19.314; cf. Plu. *Alc.* 1.7 = Archipp. 48, Kassel and Austin on Eup. 104.3). To wear an abnormally short ἱμάτιον is the mark of a penny-pincher (epil. X φοροῦντας ἐλάττω τῶν μηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια), a pro-Spartan (Pl. *Prtg.* 342c βραχείας ἀναβολὰς φοροῦσιν), or an ascetic philosopher (Ath. 565E τριβωνάρια περιβαλλόμενοι

<sup>27</sup> So does present ἀναβαλλομένη at Ar. *Ec.* 97. A woman dressed as a man is in danger of revealing too much if she climbs over men in the Assembly to get a seat. She is simply ‘dressed in an ἱμάτιον’, not (as usually interpreted) ‘hitching up her dress’ (for which the right verb is ἀναστῆλλεσθαι, as *Ec.* 268). The ἱμάτιον is a loose fit. If (the passage continues) the women get themselves seated before the men arrive, they can escape detection by pulling their cloaks tightly around them (συστειλόμεναι θαίματα). If the present surprises, read ἀναβαλλομένη. See XIX.6n.

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μικρά). A standing figure wearing a normal-length ἱμάτιον is illustrated by M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) figs. 161 a–b. The Ἄγροικος is not wearing too short a cloak: ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος is to be taken proleptically with καθίζανειν. When he sits, he fails to pull down his cloak below his knees. This, not a short cloak, is the mark of ἀγροικία. His deportment is illustrated by a figure on the ‘Gotha cup’ reproduced in the Leipzig ed. (1897) Abb. 2 (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 2 1963) 20, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Gotha 1* (Berlin 1964) 54 and fig. 43.1, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) fig. 51.1). This deportment incurs the charge of ἀγροικία in Philetas: 18 ἀμφιβάλου σφυροῖς (Naber: στέρνοις φᾶρος uel sim. codd.) οὐ καθήσεις, τάλαν, | μηδ’ ἀγροίκως ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει;.<sup>28</sup> Correct deportment is illustrated by the seated figures in Robertson, figs. 161 c–d. Philip of Macedon, ἀνεσταλμένωι τῶι χιτῶνι καθήμενος οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς, is admonished “μικρὸν . . . κατωτέρω τὴν χλαμύδα ποίησον· ἀσχημονεῖς γὰρ οὕτω καθήμενος” (Plu. 178D). The dying Caesar adjusted his toga: Suet. *Jul.* 82. 2 *sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte uelata* (like Polyxena, E. *Hec.* 569–70, Ov. *Met.* 13.479). Cf. Ar. *Nu.* 973–4.

καθίζανειν is rare in classical prose, seldom with humans as subject ([Arist.] *Pr.* 88<sup>b</sup> 35 (καθίζουσιν Bekker), 886<sup>a</sup> 1 (*u.l.* καθέζουσι)), elsewhere birds (Arist. *HA* 593<sup>b</sup> 10, 601<sup>a</sup> 7, 614<sup>a</sup> 28, 617<sup>b</sup> 1, 619<sup>b</sup> 8, *PA* 694<sup>a</sup> 21) or bees (Isoc. 1.52). The much commoner καθίζειν, which appears at XVIII.3, was proposed here by Edmonds 1908.

[ὥστε τὰ γυμνά αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι]: ‘so that his naked parts are revealed’ is not acceptable, since τὰ γυμνά cannot stand for τὰ αἰδοῖα. No emendation is convincing: γόνιμα Reiske 1748 (*Briefe* 316, 319), 1749 (*Briefe* 360), 1757, γυῖα Bernhard 1749 (ap. Reiske (1783) 362), γυμνά <αἰδοῖα> Schneider, τὰ <κάτω> γυμνά Meineke. The words are a pedantic gloss: ὥστε introduces comparable interpolations at XIX.4, XX.9. For ὑποφαίνεσθαι (c) see the Introduction, p. 40.

5 καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλωι μὲν μηδενὶ <μήτε εὐφραίνεσθαι> μήτε ἐκπλήττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς: it is far less effective to delete μήτε (Ussing before Pasquali) than to supply a second μήτε and infinitive. εὐφραίνεσθαι (Kassel ap. Stein) has the

<sup>28</sup> σφυροῖς gives perfect sense (Kassel and Austin obelize). I assume that the person addressed is wearing a normal-length ἱμάτιον and is seated. If he were wearing a thigh-length cloak, he could not, even seated, cover his ankles. If he were standing, he would not be told to cover them. A woman, by contrast, might incur the charge of ἀγροικία for failing to wear ankle-length dress: Sapph. 57 LP τίς δ’ ἀγροῖωτις θέλγει νόον . . . ἀγροῖωτιν ἐπεμμένα σπόλαν . . . οὐκ ἐπίσταμένα τὰ βράκε’ ἔλκη ἐπὶ τῶν σφύρων;.

edge on ἦδεσθαι (Stein), either of which is far better than θαυμάζειν (μηδενὶ <θαυμάζειν> de; μήτε <θαυμάζειν> ed. pr.; μηδενὶ <μήτε θαυμάζειν> Ast), which is too close in sense to ἐκπλήττεσθαι, and than ἐπισιτῆναι (Latte ap. Steinmetz) or ἐφίεσθαι (Steinmetz), which offer a contrast with the following ἐστηκώς but do not consort well with ἐκπλήττεσθαι. The same verbs are paired in X. *Eq. Mag.* 8.19 ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα, ἦν μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἦι, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἦν δὲ δεινὰ, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα.

ὅταν δὲ ἴδηι βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ τράγον ἐστηκώς θεωρεῖν: he is so narrow in his interests and so insensible to his surroundings that, when he goes out into the streets, nothing can capture his attention except the sight of a familiar farm animal. He is like a spectator at a show (on θεωρεῖν (VI.4, IX.5, XI.3, XIV.4) and cognates, C. P. Bill, *TAPhA* 32 (1901) 196–24, H. Koller, *Glotta* 36 (1958) 273–86). Conversely, ‘Londoners so seldom get a chance of seeing lambs that it was no wonder everyone stopped to look at them’ (Samuel Butler, *The Way of all Flesh* (1903) ch. 26).

6 καὶ προαιρῶν δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου δεινὸς φαγεῖν: he does not wait to get to the table but eats ‘while (in the process of) taking something from the store-room’. Cf. Ar. *Th.* 419–20 ταμיעῦσαι καὶ (Reiske: ταμיעεσθαι R) καὶ προαιρούσαι λαθεῖν (Scaliger: λαβεῖν R) | ὄλφιτον ἔλαιον οἶνον, Men. *Sam.* 229–30 εἰς τὸ ταμείου ἔτυχον εἰσελθών, ὄθεν | πλείω προαιρῶν κτλ., Luc. *Rh. Pr.* 17 καθάπερ ἐκ ταμείου προαιρῶν, D.L. 4.59 ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τι προέλοι τοῦ ταμείου (LSJ προαιρέω 1). The spelling ταμείου (ταμείου AB) is cited from c<sup>2</sup> (Marc. 513 (64 Wilson)) by Diels 1883 (wrongly, Stefanis tells me), from Par. Maz. 4457 (49 Wilson) by Stefanis (1994a) 101, 118.

καὶ ζωρότερον πιεῖν: strictly ‘more pure’, ‘less diluted with water’ (e.g. Antiph. 147, Ephipp. 10), but in effect ‘neat’ (in Hdt. 6.84.3 ζωρότερον πιεῖν is synonymous with ἀκρητοποσίη). The positive adj. is attested first in Emp. B 35.15, the comparative earlier at H. *Il.* 9.203 ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, where the sense was disputed by ancient critics, surprised by a request for stronger wine. According to Ath. 423E–424A, T. in his *Περὶ μέθης* (fr. 116 Wimmer, 574 Fortenbaugh) explained it not as ἄκρατον but as κεκραμένον, comparing a version of the text of Emp. B 35.15 in which the words ζωρὰ and ἀκρητα are opposed. See also Arist. *Po.* 1461<sup>a</sup>14–25 (with a different text of Emp.), Plu. 677C–E; Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 328–9. We may imagine that he drinks straight from the wine-jar, just as he eats straight from the store-room. To drink wine neat was regarded as characteristic of barbarians (Hdt. *loc. cit.*, Pl. *Lg.* 637E, Arnott on Alex. 9.3–4, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 73–5, Dalby 353–4). Varying proportions of water and wine are prescribed: Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 308, West on Hes. *Op.* 596, Arnott on Alex. 228.2, Wilkins, *Boastful Chef* 216–18, J. H. Hordern, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford 2002) 113.

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**7** καὶ τὴν κιτοποιοῖον πειρῶν λαθεῖν: he makes a sexual assault on the bread-maker (LSJ πειράω A.IV.2), when his wife is not looking. λαθεῖν has point with the wife as object (cf. Ar. *Pax* 1138–9 τὴν Θραῖτταν κυνῶν | τῆς γυναικὸς λουμένης, Lys. 1.12), little or none with (the usual interpretation) the other slaves. Aorist λαθεῖν may stand with present part. (KG 2.63–5), which will represent a conative imperfect indic. (KG 1.141, 200, Goodwin §36, §140; XIV.5n.). The text has been much emended, to no good effect: πεινῶν Darvaris, <μῆ> λαθεῖν Meineke, πειρᾶν [λαθεῖν] Naber, πληγὰς λαβεῖν Fraenkel and Groeneboom, περιλαβεῖν Diels. Conjectures which remove the inoffensive κᾶιτα, so that λαθεῖν may be taken not with πειρῶν but with a following participle, produce nonsense: λαθεῖν καταλέεας ε (Hottinger), κατολέεας Madvig, καταλίεας Immisch 1923, κατακυλίεας Navarre 1931, καθαλίεας Sicherl. For breadmakers, P. Herfst, *Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne* (Utrecht 1922) 28, L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1958) 35.

κᾶιτ' ἄλέεας μετ' αὐτῆς <μετρήεαι> τοῖς ἔνδον πᾶσι καὶ αὐτῶι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: although T. uses εἶτα six times in this work to link verbs (III.2n.), κᾶιτα is elsewhere regular enough (e.g. Pl. *La.* 179E, *Ly.* 223A, *Lg.* 905B, Antipho 5.38, D. 1.21, X. *Cyr.* 2.2.4), and there is no good reason to suspect it here. The supplement <μετρήεαι> (<μετρεῖν> Casaubon, but aorist is desirable amid this series of aorists) is commended by XXX.11 μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. It is far better than the change of ἄλέεας to ἄλέεαι (also Casaubon), since τὰ ἐπιτήδεια is a less natural object for this verb and the datives are less naturally constructed with it. At XXX.11 personal measurement of rations is a mark of αἰχροκέρδεια. Here it is a further sign of what the man will get up to when his wife is out of sight. It was the wife's job, not his, to supervise the breadmaker and to help the housekeeper measure out the rations (X. *Oec.* 10.10 συνεβούλευον αὐτῆι . . . ἐπικέψασθαι . . . <τὴν> κιτοποιοῖον, παραστῆναι δὲ καὶ ἀπομετρούσῃ τῆι ταμίαι). F. Dirlmeier, *Gnomon* 26 (1954) 511, detects an obscene joke in ἄλέεας (*OLD* 'molo' b), implausibly.

τοῖς ἔνδον recurs in XVI.10, XXX.11.

**8** καὶ ἄριετων δὲ ἄμα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐμβαλεῖν <τὸν χόρτον: there must be a lacuna, because (i) ἐμβαλεῖν needs an object (Meier 1830 and Diels 1883 vainly understand ἄριετον as object), and (ii) the following sentence needs at least a copula. ἐμβαλεῖν is 'throw into the manger': X. *Cyr.* 8.1.38 ἵπποισι . . . εἶτον ἐνέβαλλε, 8.6.12 ἵπποισι . . . χόρτον ἐμβάλλετε, Alex. 241.4 τούτοις . . . τὰπιτήδεα' ἐμβαλεῖν, Plu. *Eum.* 9.7 τοῖς ἵπποισι χιλὸν ἐμβάλλοντας. The most suitable object is χόρτον: X. *Cyr.* 8.6.12 (cited above), Hdt. 5.16.4 τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθῦς, 9.41.2 εἰσενηεῖσθαι . . . χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, Plu. 178A (= 790B) χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοισι. I prefer τὸν χόρτον (ed. pr.) to χόρτον (Navarre

## COMMENTARY

1920): ‘their fodder’, as e.g. Arist. *HA* 605<sup>a</sup>28–9 τὸν χόρτον εἰς μέλι βάπτοντες διδόασιν ἐσθίειν, Hp. *Aēr.* 18.4 (2.68 Littré) ὄσων (*sc.* χρόνον) ἄν ἀποχρηῆ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι κτήνεσιν ὁ χόρτος. What the ed. pr. actually has is ἐμβαλεῖν τὸν χόρτον καὶ κόψαντος τὴν θύραν, which is based on ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν θύραν καὶ κόψαντος τὴν θύραν (δ). So that τὸν χόρτον is a (surprisingly good) conjecture for τὴν θύραν. No other supplement appeals: τὴν ὄλυραν (an abnormal singular, based on τὴν θύραν in the *recc.*) M. Schmidt before Unger 1884, πυρόν or τὸν πυρόν Zingerle 1888, χιλόν Navarre 1924.

**9** For comment on this scene see the Introduction, pp. 21–2. With the situation in general contrast Apollod.Com. 15.1–5 εἰς οἰκίαν ὅταν τις εἰσίη φίλου, | ἔστιν θεωρεῖν, Νικοφῶν, τὴν τοῦ φίλου | εὖνοιαν εὐθὺς εἰσιόντα τὰς θύρας. | ὁ θυρωρὸς ἰλαρὸς πρῶτόν ἐστιν, ἢ κυῶν | ἔζηνε καὶ προσήλθε.

καί > τῆι θύραι ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτός: the door would normally be answered by a slave (Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 395–6). For the construction, Men. *Dysc.* 493–4 τῆι θύραι | ὑπακίκο(ε) and (dat. of person) Ar. *Ach.* 405 (cf. *V.* 273), Pl. *Crī.* 43A. Acc. τὴν θύραν (AB) is incredible (LSJ ὑπακούω II.1), even though it is attested again (and again I change it to dat.) at XXVIII.3 αὐταὶ τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλείου ὑπακούουσι. The alternative is to add something in the lacuna to govern τὴν θύραν: not simply < . . . καὶ κόψαντος > (δ), since gen. absolute with indefinite subject unexpressed would be anomalous (XIV.7n.), but possibly < . . . καὶ του κόψαντος > or better < . . . καὶ κόψαντός τινος > (like XIV.13 λέγοντός τινος, XVII.9 φήσαντός τινος), both proposed by Herwerden before Cobet 1874, or < . . . καὶ κόψαντι > (see on II.2 ἄμα πορευομένωι) or < . . . κἄν κόψη τις >. Less likely < . . . παρὰ > (Diels). For the corruption (ἐπ- for ὑπ-AB), VII.7n.

καὶ τὸν κύνα προσκαλεσάμενος: Hes. *Op.* 604–5 advises the farmer to keep a dog for security; similarly Var. *R.* 1.19.3, Cato *Agr.* 124, Verg. *G.* 3.404–8, Col. 7.12.1–7. Other domestic guard-dogs: H. *Il.* 22.69, *Od.* 7.91–4, A. *Ag.* 607, 896, Ar. *V.* 957, *Lys.* 1213–15, *Th.* 416–17, Theoc. 15.43, 21.15, Antip.Sid. *AP* 5.30.4 (Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* 106); cf. XIV.5, XXIX.5, S. Lilja, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Helsinki 1976), Index *s.u.* ‘Watchdogs’, C. Mainoldi, *L’image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1984) 152–4. For κυῶν *masc.*, V.8n.

καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ ῥύγχου: this is still a recognised way of preventing a dog from barking and biting. Here it is a crudely dramatic gesture, designed to make a point (Introduction, p. 21). ῥύγχος, of a dog, only Theoc. 6.30; properly of swine (Ath. 95D, Σ Ar. *Ach.* 744, *Au.* 347), but applied to other beasts and even birds (Headlam on Herod. 5.41).

εἰπεῖν “Οὔτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν”: there is something of the same proudly defiant tone in Clytemnestra’s λέγοιμ’ ἄν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα (A. *Ag.* 896). Trimalchio, with equal bombast, *Scylacem iussit adduci ‘praesidium domus familiaeque’* (Petr. 64.7). This passage is often assumed

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to be a deliberate imitation of T. (Introduction, p. 26). For all the similarity of language, the situation is different: the dog is summoned not to the door but to the dinner table. I warn against Edmonds 1908, who adds <ἐστιῶν> (absolute; Π.10n.) before τὸν κύνα, and supposes that the man makes an unseemly show of the dog while giving a dinner party. This was prompted by the epitome M (καὶ ἐθίοντα ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ ῥύγχου κυνός). I assume that ἐθίοντα reflects ἀριστῶν: M ignores everything else between πιεῖν and καὶ τὸν κύνα.

χωρίον is 'land', 'landed property', 'estate' (Pritchett 268–9).

**10** His fault lies not in testing the coin but in the reason which he gives for rejecting it. Silver coinage was regularly tested by professionals: ἀργυρογνώμονες or δοκιμασταί ([Pl.] *Virt.* 378E, Arist. *Rh.* 1375<sup>b</sup>5, Moer. α 114 (p. 80 Hansen), *AB* 89.7). Banks offered this service: Men. fr. 804.7–8 ἐπὶ τράπεζαν . . . φέρειν τὴν προῖχ' ἵνα | εἰ τάργυριον καλὸν ἐστὶ δοκιμαστῆς ἴδῃ; Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers* 45–6, id., 'L'essai des monnaies dans l'antiquité', *RBN* 122 (1976) 5–34, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 216. A law of 375/4 (*SEG* 26 (1976–7) no. 72) provided for public slaves as δοκιμασταί in the agora and Piraeus. Under this law, refusal to accept a silver coin verified by the tester became a punishable offence. See R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 157–88 (the ed. pr.); for subsequent bibliography, K. M. W. Shipton, *CQ* 47 (1997) 408.

καὶ [τὸ] ἀργύριον δὲ παρὰ τοῦ λαβῶν ἀποδοκιμάζειν: ἀργύριον is 'a silver coin' (LSJ 1.1) rather than collectively 'coinage, money' (LSJ 1.2, as XIV.8, XVII.9, XVIII.3, 5, XXI.5). In either case the article is impossible (τὸ ἀργύριον XVII.9, XVIII.3 is 'his/their money'; similarly τὸ χρυσιόν XXIII.8). Its omission by the ed. pr. (which also omits καὶ) is probably fortuitous. Other interpolated articles at X.3, XVI.2 (V<sup>ac2</sup>), XVIII.2, XXVIII.4, perhaps VI.7 (A). ἀργυρίδιον (Cobet 1874) is needless.

λαμβάνων (c) is not supported by XIV.8 ἀπολαμβάνων ἀργύριον. There a present part. is needed (witnesses are summoned *in the course of* the transaction); here he takes possession of the money before rejecting it. For ἀποδοκιμάζειν, X. *Oec.* 19.16 ἄρ' οὖν . . . περὶ ἀργυρίου ἐρωτῶν ἂν σε, πότερον καλὸν ἢ οὐ, δυνάμην ἂν σε πείσαι ὡς ἐπίστασαι διαδοκιμάζειν τὰ κατὰ καὶ τὰ κίβδηλα ἀργύρια; Arist. *HA* 491<sup>a</sup>20–1 τὰ νομίσματα πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι γνωριμώτατον δοκιμάζουσιν, D. 35.24 δόκιμον (of ἀργύριον), Pl. *Lg.* 742A ἄδοκιμον (of νόμισμα), and (in the coinage law cited above) δοκιμαστής. Further, on δοκιμάζειν and cognates, T. V. Buttrey in O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner (edd.), *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren 1979) 38, id. *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 10 (1981) 84–8, 94, L. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton 1999) 309–16.

λίαν <γάρ> μολυβρὸν εἶναι: he rejects the coin because, having less experience of traffic in silver than city-dwellers, he expects silver to look like

silver. He is concerned about the colour of his money, like the Μικροφιλότιμος (XXI.5), but for a different reason: naïveté, not vanity. He does not know that discoloured silver may look like lead. Silver, in fact, is produced from lead ore by smelting: C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall (edd.), *A History of Technology* 1 (Oxford 1954) 582–5, R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 8 (Leiden 1964) 193–259, J. Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique des Anciens* (Coll. Latomus 153, Brussels 1977) 145–58, J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978) 157–8, C. E. Conophagos, *Le Laurium antique et la technique grecque de la production de l'argent* (Athens 1980). The coin looks like lead: he demands a coin that looks like silver. This is the simplest explanation. Alternatively, he suspects that the coin is a silver-lead alloy (D. 24.214 ἄργυρίωι . . . καὶ φανερώς πρὸς χαλκόν καὶ μόλυβδον κεκραμένωι, never a genuine issue at Athens; *Lap.* 46 κατάχαλκον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, gold-bronze and silver-bronze alloys) or lead with silver-plating (what the law of 375/4 calls ὑπομόλυβδον). Such a silver-plated coin might be a forgery (Hdt. 3.56.2 gold-plated lead; Stroud 172) or (in theory, at least) a genuine issue, analogous to the silver-plated bronze issued when silver was scarce in 406/5 (Stroud 171, J. H. Kroll, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 329–41). But suspicion of forgery or adulteration is too rational: the law of 375/4 shows that rational suspicion must have been voiced frequently. We want an unreasonable quibble, not the kind of thinking which would prompt an Athenian to consult the δοκιμαστής.

μόλυβρόν (an adj. attested only by Hsch. M 1591 μόλυβρόν· τὸ μόλυβοειδές) gives plausible sense, and is a plausible change for μέν λυπρόν (AB), in which μέν is no less faulty than λυπρόν. Solitary μέν is not supported by XXII.2 and XXV.2, which are corrupt (see D. E. Eichholz, *CR* 2 (1952) 144–5, on μέν at *Lap.* 55 and 69). <γάρ> (Eberhard 1865) introducing an explanatory clause with infin. is a regular structure (II.2, VIII.7, 8, XIX.2, XX.9, XXIII.5, XXVI.5, XXIX.4, 5; KG 2.544 Anmerk. 1). λέγων (Casaubon, for λίαν μέν or μέν alone) with infin. would be anomalous (I.6n.). No other adj. appeals: not λεπτόν (Morel), improperly interpreted as ‘underweight’, either ‘par suite d’usure’ (Navarre) or because it is silver-plated bronze (G. Stégen, *Latomus* 25 (1966) 310),<sup>29</sup> λεπρόν Casaubon (in the copy of his 1599 edition in the British Library: Introduction, p. 54 n. 172) before Duport (‘scaly’ is an odd condition for a coin), λέγων μὴ (διὰ τὸ μὴ Petersen) λαμπρόν Darvaris, ἀμυδρόν Hartung, λευρόν Jebb, ῥυπαρόν Cichorius (a countryman, of all people, has no cause to reject a ‘dirty’ coin), λίςπρον Fraenkel and Groeneboom.

καὶ ἕτερον ἀνταλλάττεσθαι: present infin. (‘he tries to get in exchange’) reflecting conative present or imperfect indic. (KG 1.140–1, 193, Goodwin

<sup>29</sup> This adj. (and noun λεπτόν) came to be used of ‘small’ coins (LSJ 1.6, III.2, E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* 1 (Paris 1901) 465–7). Juv. 9.31 *tenue argentum* (silver plate) is irrelevant.

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§25, §36, §119). ἀντ- for ἀμ- (AB) Nauck 1863, before Herwerden 1871 (ἀμ' ἀντ-) and Cobet 1874.

**11** καὶ ἐάν τωι ἄροτρον χρήσῃ ἢ κόφινον ἢ δρέπανον ἢ θύλακον: loan of domestic objects, a frequent theme in the sketches, was commonplace in Athenian society (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* ch. 2, esp. 37–9, with 258 n. 23). εἰ (om. B) . . . ἔχρησεν (AB) would be a highly irregular use of aor. indicative in a conditional protasis. There are 24 instances of the expected ἐάν (or ἄν) with subjunctive (II.4n). τὸ ἄρ- (AB) is acceptable in itself ('his plough'), but the article unbalances the series of nouns, as does τι (M); τωι restores balance. For θύλακος, XVI.6n.

ταῦτα τῆς νυκτός κατὰ ἀγρυπνίαν ἀναμιμνησκόμενος < . . . : τοῦτο (Edmonds 1929) is plausible, since the items are more naturally regarded individually than *en bloc* (contrast IX.7). It is usually assumed that a verb meaning 'he demands back' is required. So <ἀπαιτεῖν> (before ταῦτα) Casaubon, (after νυκτός) Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 360), 1757, (after ταῦτα) Blaydes, <ἀπαιτῆσαι> (before ταῦτα) Steinmetz, <ἐξαιτεῖν> (after νυκτός) Foss 1834, <ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν> (after ἀνα-) Pasquali, <ἀναστὰς ἀπαιτεῖν> (after ἀνα-) Navarre 1920, <ἀναστὰς ἐξιέναι ζητῶν> (after ἀνα-) Edmonds 1929 (based vainly on εἰ τι ἔχρησεν ζητεῖν παράκαιρον M), αἰτεῖν for ταῦτα Ast, ἀπαιτεῖν (or κραυγάζει or κρᾶξαι) for ταῦτα Birt (*Kritik und Hermeneutik* 145). But to demand back a borrowed object in the middle of the night is uncharacteristically troublesome behaviour. <ζητεῖν> after νυκτός (Edmonds and Austen), a nocturnal search for the borrowed object, to see if it has been returned, is strangely obsessive. ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι (Lycius before Pauw) and <κεῖσθαι> (Ussher) have insufficient point. ταῦτ' <ἀλγῆσαι> (Gaiser) has more.

**12** καὶ ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ αἶσαι, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ ἦλου ἐγκροῦσαι: these two clauses cannot stand where transmitted, after ἀποκείρασθαι. They interrupt the narrative: τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ refers to καταβάς and must follow directly after it. Further, they would have to be constructed with βούλεται: and 'he says that *he wishes* to sing in the baths' is unacceptable. Since the two clauses are inseparable, they must both be either deleted (Diels) or transposed. Deletion is unwelcome: these traits suit the man. Schneider placed them at the end of the sketch. But in style and content (brief coordinated clauses, expressing two separate traits) they are an unwelcome appendage to the leisurely and coherent narrative of the visit to town, which is a far more satisfying conclusion. Meier 1850/1 placed them in the opening sentence (§2 μείζω τοῦ ποδός τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν <καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ ἦλου ἐγκροῦσαι> καὶ μεγάλη τῆι φωνῇ λαλεῖν <καὶ ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ αἶσαι>), ruinously. Stein endorses a suggestion of Kassel that the words began life as a marginal addition by



T. himself. This I cannot believe (I.2n.). I have placed them before the visit to town. The dislocation may be connected with the loss of an infin. at the end of the preceding sentence: the infin. and these words accidentally omitted, then added in the margin, then the infin. lost when the words were restored in the wrong place. For successive clauses beginning with καὶ . . . δέ, II.4, XI.5-7, XX.10, XXIX.4-5.

Singing in the public baths is anti-social: Artem. 1.76 αἰδεῖν ἐν βαλανείῳ οὐκ ἀγαθόν, Hor. S. 1.4.74-6 *in medio qui | scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lauantes*: | *suaue locus uoci resonat conclusus*, Sen. Ep. 56.2 *cui uox sua in balineo placet*, Petr. 73.3 *inuitatus balnei sono diduxit usque ad cameram os ebrium et coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare*.

ἦλος ἐγκρούσαι evokes the κρηπίς, studded with nails (II.7n., Gow on Macho 13ff., O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst* (Bonn 1967) 91-4). Examples of such hobnailed sandals have been found in graves (K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison 1985) 195 n. 14). Theophrastus required his students to wear shoes, and these 'unstitched and without nails', ὑπόδημα ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀκάττυτον, ἦλος οὐκ ἔχον (Teles ap. Stob. 4.33.31 = p. 40 Hense<sup>2</sup>);<sup>30</sup> Introd. Note to XXII *ad fin.* Persons who demonstrate αὐτάρκεια and εὐτέλεια by ἦλων ἐμπιπλάντες τὰ καττύματα elicit scorn (Ath. 565E). Cf. XXII.11.

**13** καὶ εἰς ἄκτυ καταβαίνων: cf. Hdt. 5.29.2, Pl. *Thg.* 121D, Isoc. 7.52, [Arist.] *Ath.* 16.5. The prefix κατα- indicates that Athens stands between his home and the sea (LSJ καταβαίνω 1.2).

ἔρωτησαι τὸν ἀπαντῶντα πόσου ἦσαν αἱ διφθέραι καὶ τὸ τάριχος: 'what the price *was* (when he was in the market)'. But εἰς (Cobet 1874), 'what the price *is* (currently)', would be more natural (for the confusion, Diggle, *Euripidea* 455-6). Prices of certain commodities may fluctuate with supply (Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 193). διφθέραι are hides of goatskin, worn by rustics (Ar. *Nu.* 72, Men. *Dysc.* 415, *Epit.* 229-30, 328; R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes* (Göttingen 1975) 69, Stone, *Costume* 166-7). τάριχος is fish preserved by drying, smoking, or pickling, generally tunny or mackerel, a byword for cheapness (Ar. *V.* 491), its vendor held in disrespect (Pl. *Chrm.* 163B, R. I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta* (Leiden 1991) 153); Orth, 'Kochkunst', *RE* x1.1 (1921) 951-2, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 563, Olson and Sens on Matro 1.17 and Arcestr. 39.1-2, Pellegrino 208, Dalby 95-6. Cf. VI.9.

καὶ εἰ τῆμερον ὁ ἀρχων νομηθίαν ἀγει: the first of the month (νομηθία) was a holiday, celebrated with religious rites (Ar. *V.* 96, D. 25.99, Theopomp.Com. 48, Theopomp. *FGH* 115 F 344 (quoted on XVI.10

<sup>30</sup> I see no cause to delete ἦλος οὐκ ἔχον (Diels, *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1901) 212), followed by Hense.

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ἀγοράσαι κτλ.); Hdt. 6.57.2 (Sparta); ἱερωτάτη ἡμερῶν Plu. 828A) and festivities of various kinds (Ar. *Ach.* 999, Antipho fr. 57 Thalheim (cf. Ael. *NA* 5.21), Lys. fr. 53.2 Thalheim (XXVII.11 n.)), and it was a market-day (Ar. *Eq.* 43-4, *V.* 169-71, Alciph. 3.25.2); M. P. Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders* (Lund 1918) 36-7, id. 'Νουμηνία', *RE* xvii.2 (1937) 1292-4, J. D. Mikalson, *HThR* 65 (1972) 291-6. Since the Athenian year consisted of only 354 days, with six months of 29 days and six of 30, the 'new-moon day' would not always coincide with the appearance of a new moon, even if the months were reckoned by the lunar calendar alone. But Athenian life was articulated by its festivals, and there was a separate 'festival' calendar, regulated by the archons. The lunar and festival calendars were sometimes discrepant. Discrepancies were inconvenient, and we hear complaints: Ar. *Nu.* 615-26, *Pax* 414-15. On these and related issues see W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge Mass. 1947), B. P. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961) esp. ch. 2 ('The First of the Month'), Pritchett, *Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963) esp. 313-14, 344-8, A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 3 (Oxford 1956) 713-15, 4 (1970) 264-5, A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972) esp. 52-5, 57-8, J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975) esp. 14-15, A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge<sup>2</sup> 1981) 117-22, Pritchett, *Athenian Calendars and Ekklesias* (Amsterdam 2001) esp. ch. 4. The official νουμηνία was determined by the archons, and private citizens would need notice of the date (Gow on Macho 121 ff., Pritchett (1963) 347, (2001) 35-6). In Th. 2.28 an event is dated νουμηνία κατὰ ἐελήνην: evidence not that the official first of the month was out of line with the moon at the time, but evidence that all knew that it might be.

ἄρχων (Reiske 1747, 1749, 1753 (*Briefe* 360, 481) before Darvaris)<sup>31</sup> for ἀγών (AB) restores sense economically: an anticipatory error (ἄρχων . . . ἄγει = ἄγών . . . ἄγει), like epil. X μηρῶν (μικρῶν AB) . . . μικρῶν (for further illustration see on περιῶν below, H. Richards, *Notes on Xenophon and Others* (London 1907) 307-11, Diggle, *Euripidea* 288, 428, 469-70). ἄγειν can mean 'hold or celebrate' a festival and 'keep' a date (LSJ A.IV.1-2, West on Hes. *Op.* 768). The archon, who fixes the date and presumably presides over public ceremonies (D. 25.99), can reasonably be said νουμηνίαν ἄγειν. There are many other conjectures, none plausible: e.g. ἄλκων or Θαμῶς (names of the barber) Reiske 1757, ἀπαντῶν (as a gloss) or ἄγων Coray, ἡ ἀγορά Werle (with this question transposed before the preceding one), ἀγορανομῶν Holland 1897, ὁ ἀγών, <καὶ εἶ> Diels (it is not clear what the ἄγορικός would mean

<sup>31</sup> The conjecture is sometimes ascribed to Bloch, through misreading of Ussing, who ascribes it to 'Blachius nostras, olim rector Aarhusiensis scholae', i.e. H. H. Blache.

## COMMENTARY

by 'the agon'). Ast deleted ὁ ἀγών, understanding ὁ ἀπαντῶν as subject of ἄγει. Edmonds 1929 and Rusten also delete, taking ἄγει as impersonal, a construction which gains no support from the corrupt Archil. 255 West. In any case, there was no motive for so meaningless an interpolation. For the spelling τήμερον (cή- AB), III.3n.

καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλεται εὐθύς καταβάς ἀποκείρασθαι: 'immediately on arrival', like VIII.2 εὐθύς ἀπαντήσας, and (εὐθύς before the part.) *HP* 3.5.1, *CP* 1.9.3, 3.22.2, 4.6.5, *Sens.* 48, *Vent.* 5, *Sud.* 1 (KG 2.82 Anmerk. 4, LSJ εὐθύς B.II.1). εὐθύς with εἰπεῖν (AB) has no point (καὶ <ἄν φῆι>, εἰπεῖν εὐθύς (Edmonds 1929) barely gives it one); and it has less point before βούλεται (Meier 1850/1) than before καταβάς (Casaubon before Foss 1858, Cobet 1874). In VIII.2 the evidence of Π suggests that AB have again misplaced the word. For ἀποκείρασθαι, V.6n.; for the corruption (ἀπο- δ: ὑπο- AB), II.3, XXX.11. I doubt whether the timing of his haircut has any connection with the later superstitious belief that hair should be cut at the turn of the month (W. H. Roscher, *Philologus* 57 (1898) 213–19).

καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ περιών: for τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ, Ar. *Pax* 1155, Antipho 1.16, Nicostr.Com. 20.1, *PCG* adesp. 1093.185, Aristid. 2.373 Jebb (2.502 Dindorf), Lib. *Ep.* 652.2, 1282.2 (KG 1.384–5, Schwyzer 2.112). περιών is 'going round (the shops in the ἀγορά)', as D. 19.229 πόρνας ἠγόραζε καὶ ἰχθὺς περιών (*u.l.* περιών), Antiph. 275 νῦν δεῖ περιόντα πέπερι καὶ καρπὸν βλίτου | ζητεῖν, Pl.Com. 211 καὶ περιών (Meineke: περιών codd.: παριών Casaubon) γ' ἄμα | τιλτὸν τάριχος ἐπριάμην τοῖς οἰκέταις, Pherecr. 13 καὶ τὰς βαλάνους καὶ τὰς ἀκύλους καὶ τὰς ἀχράδας περιόντας; similarly Ar. *Lys.* 557–8 κὰν ταῖς χύτρας κὰν τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως | περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, Eur. 327.2 περιῆλθον (*u.l.* παρ-) ἐς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμμυα κτλ., Timocl. 11.8; see on XXI.8 κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν περιπατεῖν. I substitute περιών for παριών (AB), which would most naturally mean 'as he goes by' (Jebb), 'im Vorbeigehn' (Meister), like XVI.5 ('going by', *sc.* the crossroads). But 'to get from Archias as he goes by (Archias's shop)' reads oddly. Casaubon (followed by Cobet 1874) deleted παριών as superfluous; but there was no motive for interpolation. περιών is corrupted to παριών at VI.4; cf. XIII.11 (περι- B: παρ- A), XVI.3. The following παρ' would make corruption even easier: παριών . . . παρ' like XXV.4 ὑπὸ (πρὸς V) τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, XXVII.10 ὀχούμενος (κατοχ- V) . . . καταγῆναι. See on ἄρχων above. For the spelling περιών (attested at V.10 by Π), LSJ περιέμι (*imit.*).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The same change is needed in Chariton 2.1.6 παριών (περιών Abresch, περιών Naber) δὲ τοὺς Μιλιεῖων λιμένας ἀπαντας καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην. W. E. Blake (Oxford 1938) defends παριών by reference to 8.1.6 παριόντι . . . τὴν ἀγοράν (quite different); G. P. Goold (Loeb ed. 1995) translates it as if it were περι(ι)ών ('though he went round').

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κομίσασθαι παρ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ταρίχου: Archias is a common name in Attica (*LGN* 2.70, J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* 3 (Toronto 1995) 369–79). Use of the name implies a certain familiarity between customer and shopkeeper (Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 191). Although τοὺς ταρίχους (AB) is possible (masc. pl. Hdt. 9.120.1–2, Crates Com. 19.2, Cratin. 44.1, Philippid. 34, Pl.Com. 4, Timocl. 16.5; cf. Kassel and Austin on Chionid. 5), neut. sing. (as above) is far commoner, and the partitive gen. is apt (KG 1.345, Schwyzer 2.102–3). τοὺς ἀρρίχους (Stefanis 1997) has an unwanted article, which should in any case be feminine.

## V

### THE OBSEQUIIOUS MAN

#### Introductory note

Aristotle defines ἀρέσκεια in relation to a mean of φιλία (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>26–30, 1127<sup>a</sup>6–10). The man who exceeds it is either κόλαξ or ἄρεσκος. The κόλαξ bases his friendship on self-interest; the ἄρεσκος does not. See the *Introd. Note to II*. At *EN* 1126<sup>b</sup>12–14 ἄρεσκοι are described as πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ οὐθὲν ἀντιτείνοντες ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἄλυτοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι ('complacently approving of everything and never raising objections, but thinking it a duty to avoid giving pain to those with whom they come into contact'); at 1171<sup>a</sup>15–17 πολύφιλοι καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείως ἐντυγχάνοντες οὐδενὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι φίλοι πλὴν πολιτικῶς ('they are promiscuous in friendship and on familiar terms with all and real friends to no-one except on the political level'). Aristotle also defines ἀρέσκεια in relation to a mean of σεμνότης 'dignity' (*EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>8, 27–8, 1233<sup>b</sup>34–8; cf. *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>30–9, quoted in part below under Definition). An excess of σεμνότης is ἀρέσκεια, a deficiency is αὐθάδεια 'self-centredness'. The αὐθάδης has no regard for others, on whom he looks down; the ἄρεσκος devotes all his attention to another, and is inferior to all. See the *Introd. Note to XV*.

The distinction which Theophrastus makes between the ἄρεσκος and the Κόλαξ is true to Aristotle, in so far as the Κόλαξ confines his flattery to a single patron, from whom he may expect to derive some benefit, while the ἄρεσκος tries to please all, for no other motive than desire for popularity.

§§6–10 follow without a break, in the papyrus as well as in AB, but they describe a different character, as Casaubon was first to see.<sup>33</sup> He is a show-off and spendthrift. He is obsessively preoccupied with his appearance (§6). He frequents popular places where he may be seen (§7). He sends expensive presents abroad and makes sure that everyone knows it (§8). He buys exotic animals and eye-catching *objets* (§9). His private palaestra is a further excuse for self-advertisement (§10). He resembles two types described by Aristotle: the vulgar man (βάνουκος), who makes a tasteless display of his wealth, spending too much on inappropriate occasions (*EN* 1123<sup>a</sup>19–27), and the vain man (χαῦνος), who is ostentatious in dress and manner and wants others to see and hear how well-off he is (1125<sup>a</sup>27–32). For an exhaustive discussion of the differences between §§1–5 and §§6–10 see Stein 117–21.

It is likely that §§6–10 are the latter part of a sketch whose beginning has been lost. A similar accident accounts for the present state of XIX. Suggested

<sup>33</sup> When Steinmetz and Stein claim that Casaubon was anticipated by C. Gesner, they confuse him with J. M. Gesner (1734); *Introduction*, p. 52 n. 161.

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subjects are: Ἀπειρόκαλος or Βάναυκος (Casaubon), Μεγαλοπρεπής (Schneider 1799 before Bloch), Φιλότημος (Schneider 1799 before Darvaris). Ansoldo Cebà (in his Italian translation, Genova 1620) suggested that §§6–10 belong to XXI (the Μικροφιλότιμος); and several editors have placed them either within or at the end of that sketch. But there is nothing petty about this man's ambitions. See Stein 120.

For *P.Herc.* 1457 and bibliography see p. 50. The papyrus has been examined most recently by T. Dorandi and M. Stein, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 1–16, and on my behalf by Jeffrey Fish (see p. vii). By N I designate the (very unreliable) transcription made by F. Casanova in 1812, when the papyrus was less damaged.

### [I] Definition

The definition is based on [Pl.] *Def.* 415E κολακεία ὁμιλία ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄνευ τοῦ βελτίστου, which in turn is based on Pl. *Grg.* 464E κολακείαν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ καλῶ . . . ὅτι τοῦ ἡδέος στοχάζεται ἄνευ τοῦ βελτίστου (H. G. Ingenkamp, *Untersuchungen zu den pseudoplatonischen Definitionen* (Wiesbaden 1967) 98). It is inconceivable that Theophrastus should have based a definition of ἀρέσκεια on a definition of κολακεία. For this and other arguments against authenticity see Stein 121–3. It is uncertain whether the definition was in Π. The few and doubtful traces in col. vi lines 1–4 which Kondo saw and believed compatible with it are no longer visible.

ἔστι μὲν: def. III n.

ὡς ὄρωι περιλαβεῖν: def. I n.

ἔντευξις: again in def. XX (in def. XII ἔντευξις M for ἐπίτευξις is wrong); cf. XIX.4 (spurious) δυθέντευκτος. Not ‘manners, behaviour’ (LSJ 2.b) but ‘manner of encounter or converse’ (Rev. Suppl.), ‘contact’, somewhat like ὁμιλία (def. II n.). Cf. [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>30–5 σεμνότης δὲ ἔστιν αὐθαδείας ἀνὰ μέσον τε καὶ ἀρεσκείας, ἔστιν δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις. ὃ τε γὰρ αὐθάδης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος μηθεὶ ἐντυχεῖν μηδὲ διαλεγῆναι . . . ὁ δὲ ἄρεσκος τοιοῦτος οἷος πᾶσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ πάντως καὶ πανταχῆ; also ἐντυγχάνειν in the passages of Aristotle cited in the Introd. Note.

ἐπὶ τῶι βελτίστῳ: cf. [Isoc.] *Ep.* 4.6, *Arr. An.* 7.29.1, D.C. 38.25.2; KG 1.502–3, and on def. I προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον.

ἡδονῆς παρασκευαστική: cf. def. XIX λύπης παρασκευαστική, XX (ἔντευξις) λύπης ποιητική.

**2 [ἀμέλει] τοιοῦτός τις:** I.2n., II.9n. It is uncertain whether Π had ἀμέλει. The supplement ] ἀρεσκ[ος | ἀμελει τοιουτος τις οιοσ] | (Dorandi-Stein) is the right length. But at the beginning of the second line Fish read . . .] . [ . . .] , the first trace ‘small part of a vertical stroke’, then (after the gap) ‘a vertical

stroke followed by ζ or ξ, followed by two traces at the top of the line, possibly part of a single horizontal stroke'. This is not compatible with ἀμέλει. There may have been a different introductory formula here, perhaps including ἔστι.

**πόρρωθεν προσαγορεύσαι:** cf. Pl. *Chrm.* 153A-B καὶ με ὡς εἶδον . . . εὐθύς πόρρωθεν ἠσπάζοντο ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, Men. *Dysc.* 104–6 ἐπορευομένη πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πάνυ | πόρρωθεν, εἶναι τις φιλάνθρωπος σφόδρα | ἐπιδέξιός τε βουλόμενος, προσεῖπα, Timocl. 23.5–7 παριόντα Φεῖδιππον πάνυ | . . . πόρρωθεν ἀπιδῶν . . . | ἐπόππυς, Plu. 62c ὁ . . . κόλαξ τρέχει καταδιώκει δεξιούται πόρρωθεν, ἄν (κᾶν Hercher) προσαγορευθῆι πρότερον ὄφθεις ἀπολογεῖται μετὰ μαρτύρων καὶ ὄρκων πολλάκις, XV.3, XXIV.6. There is little to choose between infin. προσαγορεύσαι (Π) and part. προσαγορεύσας (AB). Aorist is the appropriate tense for this infin. ('greet, address'), whereas present is appropriate for those which follow (μὴ ἀφιέναι 'be reluctant to release'; ἀπαλλάττεσθαι 'begin to depart', as VII.7, IX.4, XVI.5). For the distinction between present and aorist infin. see on §6 πλειστάκις . . . ἀποκείρασθαι. On the other hand, a series of participles is not out of place (cf. VIII.2, XIV.3, XVI.2, XVIII.4, 7, XXI.11, XXV.5, XXVI.4, XXVII.9).

**καὶ ἄνδρα κράτιστον εἶπας:** For the accusative predicate, XXIX.4 τὸν πονηρὸν . . . εἰπεῖν ἐλεύθερον, LSJ εἶπον II.3. 'Calling him ἀνὴρ κράτιστος' perhaps implies that he addressed him as (ῶ) κράτιτε or (ῶ) κράτιτε ἀνδρῶν (Pl. *Grg.* 515A ῶ βέλτιτε ἀνδρῶν, KG 1.338–9). LSJ κράτιστος 2.a misleadingly labels the phraseology here as 'colloquial'. The word κράτιστος retained its Homeric association with gods and heroes: Pi. *O.* 14.14, *Pae.* 7b.50 (Zeus), *N.* 7.27 (Ajax), *S. Ph.* 3, *E. Hel.* 41 (Achilles), *Gorg. Hel.* 3 (Tyndareos) ἀνδρῶν κράτιστος, *Pal.* 3 (Odysseus) κράτιστος . . . ἀνὴρ. So too did the vocative address: Ar. *Pl.* 230 ῶ κράτιτε Πλοῦτε πάντων δαιμόνων, *PCG* adesp. 1093.357 ῶ κράτιτε τῶν θ[εῶν], *S. OT* 40 ῶ κράτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίου κάρα (cf. 1525 κράτιστος ἦν ἀνὴρ, which however is spurious). When a man is so addressed, the tone is elevated: Arist. fr. 44 Rose (p. 18 Ross) ῶ κράτιτε πάντων καὶ μακαριστότατε (Silenus to Midas), *Hegesipp.Com.* 2.4 ῶ κράτιστ' ἀνθρωπε καὶ σοφώτατε, *TrGF* 128 Ezechiel 243 κράτιτε Μωσῆ. The voc. became formulaic only in the Christian era: LSJ 2.b cites Luke 1.3 κράτιτε Θεόφιλε, to which add e.g. *D.H. Orat. Vett.* 1, *Dem.* 58, *J. Ap.* 1.1, *Vit.* 430, Gal. 10.34 Kühn, [Longin.] 39.1, *Eus. PE* 5.20.6. See Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 143, 281–2, Lane Fox 143, 165 n. 168.

The form εἶπας (Π) is attested (or all but attested) at VII.3 (ε: εἶπας AB), VII.7 (Needham: εἶπας A, εἶπεν B), XVI.8 (εἶπας V, εἶπου V<sup>c</sup>), and is plausibly restored at XXV.4 (Ilberg: εἶπε V, ου s.l.), XXVIII.4 (Cobet: εἶπεν V<sup>2</sup>, εἶπου V<sup>c</sup>); εἶπῶν (AB here) is attested (but should probably be changed to εἶπας) at XV.7 (AB), XXX.8 (AB: εἶπερ V). Common in Arist., εἶπας is otherwise rare in Attic before Theophrastus: Veitch 233–4, O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Göttingen 1911) 112–13, KB 2.422–3, Schwyzer

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1.745, Threatte 2.548–9, Kassel and Austin on *Dionys.Com.* 2.2. Add [D.] (Apollod.) 59.5 (*u.l.* -ών). Note also XII.10 ἀπείπασθαι.

**καὶ θαυμάσιας ἱκανῶς:** in Π Dorandi-Stein read θαυ[μ]αζας.π[ (‘im unteren Bereich der Zeile zwei punktförmige Reste eines Buchstabens, danach ein π’) and suggested ξπ[ι πολὺ as a banalisation of ἱκανῶς. If ξπ[ were rightly read, ξπ[αρκῶς (Stefanis 1994b) would be more likely. But Fish’s diagnosis and transcript suggest rather θαυ[μ]αζων π[. After ]α, ‘apparently horizontal stroke at the top of the line, not very compatible with c’ (transcript suggests it is compatible with top of Z). ‘After mutilated papyrus, part of a vertical and other ink to the right, then a rather clear π, though the right vertical is faint.’ The ‘other ink’ shown on the transcript is the two ‘punktförmige Reste’, and above the left of them the top of a stroke descending to the right: the traces perfectly suit N. The preceding ‘part of a vertical’ appears (from the transcript) compatible with the middle arm of ω. Then e.g. π[ολὺ (Th. 7.56.2 πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι), but giving rather a short line (18 letters, against a norm of 19–21), or π[άνυ πολὺ (Pl. *Alc.* 1 119c), π[ολλά, π[λείεστα, π[ερισσῶς. At all events, aorist part. is preferable, and ἱκανῶς unexceptionable (cf. Gal. 14.197 Kühn καὶ τοῦτο δ’ ἱκανῶς παρ’ ἐνίοις θαυμάζεται, Philostr. *VA* 3.58 θαυμαζόμενον ἱκανῶς; H. Thesleff, *Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek* (Helsingfors 1954) §238, §409).

**ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ περιβαλὼν μὴ ἀφίεναί:** Π confirms, what was first suspected by Schneider, that AB have omitted a participle. Before Π was known, the following additions were proposed: λαβὼν or ἐπιλαβόμενος Schneider 1799, λαβόμενος Schneider 1818, καταψήχων Darvaris, περιβαλὼν Herwerden. In Π Bassi read χε[ρ]ζ[ι | λαβ]ο[μ]ε[ν]ο[ς] ([εχ]ο[μ]ε[ν]ο[ς] Navarre 1918), K. F. W. Schmidt χε[ρ]ζ[ι]ν ἐπι[λ]α[β]ο[μ]ε[ν]ο[ς], Kondo χε[ρ]ζ[ι]ν ἐπι[λ]α[β]ο[μ]ε[ν]ο[ς], Hammerstaedt and Dorandi (ap. Stein) χε[ρ]ζ[ι]ν | [ . . . ]μ[ . . . ], whence Stein proposed [αφα]μ[ενος], comparing XII.14 ὀρχηζόμενος ἀψασθαι ἐτέρου μηδέπω μεθύοντος. Dorandi-Stein read χε[ρ]ζ[ι] | [ . . . . . ]λ[ . . . ] (or ]μ, ]δ, but not ]α, ]ν), and diffidently proposed the unappealing αὐτὸν ἐ]λ[ών] or λαβὼν δ]λ[ωσ]. On the basis of Dorandi-Stein’s reading Stefanis 1994b proposed περιβ]α]λ[ων] (already proposed as a supplement by Herwerden). Fish read χε[ρ]ζ[ι]ν[ | (for ]ν, only ‘a speck mid-line, then vertical’). The final ν, if rightly identified, need not entail a following initial vowel, in view of §3 πάρεστιν β-. Fish then saw traces of several letters before ]λ[. On the basis of his description and transcript I identify πξρ[ι]β[ι]β[α]λ[ων]. ‘The first letter may have had a crossbar, and there is a speck of ink in the lower left corner’ (π compatible with this). ‘The second letter may have had a curved bottom, though this, too, is uncertain’ (ε compatible). ‘This is followed by the left side of an apparently (but not certainly) curved letter before a crack in the papyrus’ (transcript shows what appears compatible with loop of ρ). ‘A space may intervene before the next trace, clearly the bottom right part of a curved



letter. It is possible that the trace before the crack is the left half of this curved letter. Whether it is or not, this letter, apparently the fourth of the line, will be ο, ε, θ, or ω.' (The transcript shows that it is compatible with the bottom right curve of β, and that there is room before it for a lost ι.) After a gap, 'probably λ, but perhaps one of the humps of μ. This λ (or μ) will have been about the seventh letter of the line. Others seem to have mistaken this stroke for ν, a reading certainly mistaken.' For the expression cf. E. *Or.* 371–2 Ὀρέετην . . . φίλαισι χερσὶ περιβαλεῖν, perhaps *IT* 796, *TrGF* adesp. 416 (Diggle, *Euripidea* 465), Pl. *Phdr.* 256A περιβάλλει τὸν ἑρακτῆν, X. *An.* 4.7.25 περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους, Men. *Mis.* 622 Arnott (221 Sandbach) τίνα περιβάλλειν καὶ φιλεῖν οὗτος [δοκεῖς;], *Pk.* 156, 301, *PCG* adesp. 1014.44, 1017.27, D.H. 8.45.1 περιβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἤσπαζέτο, Plu. *Eum.* 10.8 ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ περιβαλὼν, Gell. 20.1.20 *amplexus utraque manu*.

This is not an ordinary handshake given as an initial greeting (e.g. Pl. *Chrm.* 153B καὶ μου λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός, ὦ Κώκρατες, ἦ δ' ὅς κτλ.). Nor is it the sycophantic or overfamiliar hand-clasping of [X.] *Ath.* 1.18 ἀντιβολῆσαι ἀναγκάζεται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ εἰσιόντος τοῦ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς χειρός, Pl. *Aul.* 114–16 *et me benignius | omnes salutant quam salutabant prius; | ad-eunt, consistunt, copulantur dexteras*, Hor. *S.* 1.9.3–4 *accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum, | arreptaque manu 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'* (what follows at 15–16 *'usque tenebo; | persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi'* may be compared with the following μὴ ἀφιέναι καὶ μικρὸν προπέμψας), nor the warmly sympathetic double-handed clasping of Plb. 31.24.9 λαβόμενος ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιέσας ἐμπασῶς. He uses both hands, a sign of overfamiliarity indeed, but also of disordered dress, for a man soberly wearing a ἱμάτιον must keep one hand inside it (*IV.4n.*, Aeschin. 1.25, Plu. *Phoc.* 4.3; Geddes 312–13, MacDowell on D. 19.251). He embraces his victim with both arms, and will not release him (LSJ ἀφήμι A.Π.1.b), because he wishes to delay his departure. Cf. Sittl, *Gebärden* 27–32, Hug, 'Salutatio', *RE* 1.2A (1920) 2062–3.

καὶ μικρὸν προπέμψας: μικ[ρ]ον [ . ] . . προ[πεμψας Π. Bassi read ]πε or ]χε. Kondo read the last letter as ε, ο, c, or ω. Hammerstaedt (ap. Stein) identified two verticals (π rather than η) followed by ο or c, possibly ε, not ω, and Fish concurs. [ἄ]πρρρο- (Stein) suits the traces. But such an unattested and undesirable compound would have to be ascribed to Philodemus, not Theophrastus, as Stein acknowledges; likewise [ύ]πρρρο- (Dorandi-Stein). Contrast VII.5 τοὺς ἀπιέναι φάσκοντας . . . προπέμψαι. We can rule out, as incompatible with the traces, all other proposals: [ἄ]μα Edmonds 1910, [τῆ] γε Navarre 1920, [ἔ]πιπρ- Immisch 1923, [ἔ]τι Holland 1923 before Stark, [οὔ]τω Kondo.

καὶ ἐρωτήσας πότε αὐτὸν ὄσεται ἐπαινῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: in Π, Dorandi-Stein read πο[, Fish πο[ .(,) / αυ ('αυ is found on a fragment now detached, but I am confident about its placement, thanks partly to the photograph in

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Bassi's edition which was made when the fragment was still attached'). But ποτεαυς[ N (the 1812 transcript), whence αὔθις Stefanis 1994b, like E. *IA* 1026 ποῦ c' αὔθις ὀφόμεθα; ὄφεται is virtually 'meet' (LSJ εἶδω A.1.b, Handley on Men. *Dysc.* 305 (add *Asp.* 212, *Pk.* 159), Introd. Note to VII *ad fin.*). ἐπαινῶν (Π, conl. Needham) is the obvious replacement for ἔτι αἰνῶν (AB); and ἔτι ἐπαινῶν (de), while pointed enough ('with compliments *still* on his lips'), is unlikely to be right.

**3** καὶ παρακληθεῖς δὲ πρὸς δίαιταν μὴ μόνον ὦι πάρεστι: καὶ παρα[κλ]ηθει[  
(δε) προσ] | διαιτα[ν c. vii] . . . [ c. iii-v ] | παρεστ[ Π. Perhaps δέ was omitted; otherwise col. vi line 14 (24 letters) would be much longer than the preceding lines (19–21 letters). But there was more than μὴ μόνον ὦι in Π. N shows a detached fragment (now lost) which came from the gap in col. vi lines 12–17. In this line it has ]ορ[, in the next ]ιβουλε[. The ο of ορ stands above the ε.<sup>34</sup> If P is a misreading of N (as Dorandi-Stein suggest), the line may have begun (like AB) διαιτα[ν μη μον\_ον\_]. After this, Fish saw traces of 2 or 3 letters, the last compatible with ν. K. F. W. Schmidt claimed to read (from a photograph) διαιτα[ν μη] μ[ονο]ν ] τῶν τῶι ὦι παρεστ[ιν. But τούτῳ, even if written, is unlikely to be right. Theophrastus either omits the demonstrative pronoun with the relative (I.4, XI.3, XII.10, XIII.2, XVIII.6; XIII.5, cited by Stein, is different) or places it after the relative (III.2n.).

The verb παρῆναι is regularly used of supporters at law or of witnesses (XII.5, LSJ 1.4); in connection with arbitration, XII.13 παρῶν διαίτηι, [D.] (Apollod.) 59.48 οἱ παρόντες ἑκατέρῳ ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτηι.

ἵνα κοινός τις εἶναι δοκῆι: 'an impartial arbitrator'. For a private arbitration the disputants might choose an equal number of arbitrators separately, and jointly a further arbitrator 'common' to them both: D. 33.14 ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐνὶ μὲν διαιτητῇ κοινῶι . . . , ἕνα δ' ἑκάτερος παρεκαθίσατο, [D.] (Apollod.) 59.45 ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Φρυνίωνος διαιτητῆς ἑκαθέζετο Κάτυρος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν . . . ὑπὲρ δὲ Στεφάνου τουτουὶ Καυρίας Λαμπρεύς: κοινὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς προσαιροῦνται Διογείτονα Ἀχαρνέα (Kapparis *ad loc.*, B. Hubert, *De Arbitris Atticis et privatis et publicis* (Leipzig 1885) 9–10, MacDowell, *Law* 203–6). He does not wish to seem to be the agreed 'common' arbitrator. He wishes to be seen to be impartial, behaviour appropriate for the common arbitrator but not for him. For κοινός 'impartial' see also *Lys.* 15.1 περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀστρατείας γραφῶν κοινούς εἶναι τῶι τε διώκοντι καὶ τῶι φεύγοντι, D. 18.7 ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατῆν (Wankel *ad loc.*), 41.14 τῶν κοινῶν ἀμφοτέροις καὶ φίλων ὄντων, 55.35 ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς εἰδόσιν, <τοῖς> ἴσοις καὶ κοινοῖς; LSJ *Λ. IV.* 3. κοινός

<sup>34</sup> And below ]λη[ in the line above. Dorandi-Stein relate this to παρακλῆθεις. But ]γθε in the transcript of the non-detached portion perhaps represents ]ηθεις; in this case ]δη[ will be a misreading of ]κλ[.

## COMMENTARY

εἶς (AB) is not an acceptable expression. κοινὸς without εἶς (δ) is acceptable. But τις must be right: conjectured by Pauw, it was once visible in Π (τις N, τ[ις Bassi; Dorandi-Stein saw no trace, but Fish's transcript shows a high dot, seemingly more compatible with the left tip of τ than the top of ε); cf. VI.2, XXVIII.4, KG 1.663, Schwyzer 2.215, LSJ τις A.II.7, Hindenlang 63.

**4** καὶ <πρὸς> τοὺς ξένους δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαιότερα λέγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν: to be obsequious and sensible he must address the compliment to the foreigners (III.3n.), and to them alone. In spite of the agreement of Π (τ[. . .]c[. . .]uc Dorandi-Stein) with AB (below, p. 231), we need either <πρὸς> τοὺς ξένους (Casaubon) or τοῖς ξένοις (Schwartz before Coray) or πρὸς (for τοὺς) ξένους. To say (to unspecified persons, presumably citizens) that foreigners speak more justly than citizens is not obsequious but foolish, since it is likely to alienate the citizens. For λέγειν or εἰπεῖν with πρὸς, I.5, XIII.11, XIV.13, XVII.2, 7, XXV.2, 4, epil. XXVI, XXIX.5; with dative, I.6, II.2, 10, VII.2, VIII.7, XV.4, 5, 7, XVIII.9, XXVIII.5. For the word order καὶ <πρὸς> τοὺς ξένους δὲ see on I.5 (ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ κτλ.). He courts foreigners because they increase the circle of his friends. They are not pleading a case at law (Jebb). The article, which designates 'the foreigners' as a class (cf. epil. XXVI), precludes this. Even with πρὸς ξένους (art. omitted, as XXIII.2), τῶν πολιτῶν still suggests the whole citizen body, not individuals.

**5** Compare the behaviour of the Κόλαξ (II.6). He too kisses the children and addresses them in terms gratifying to their father. But he gains their favour by buying them presents and makes sure that their father sees his generosity. The Ἄρεσκος plays with the children and seems as eager to please them as their father. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 83 *talīs aut ocellatīs nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis, quos facie et garrulitate amabiles undique conquirebat*, R. Kassel, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin and New York 1991) 30.

καὶ εἰσιόντα φῆσαι κύκου ὁμοίτερα εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ: εἰσελθόντα (Π) could be right (I propose ἀπελθόν for ἀπιών V at XXI.11). But the present appropriately suggests that he loses no time. Similar comparisons: Herod. 6.60–1 οὐδ' ἂν κύκον εἰκάσαι κύκωι | ἔχοις ἂν οὕτω, *PCG* adesp. 128 κύκωι . . . κύκον οὐδὲ ἔν | οὕτως ὁμοιον γέγονεν, Plu. 1077c εἰ μήτε φάττα φάττηι μήτε μελίττηι μέλιττα μήτε πυρῶνι πυρὸς ἢ κύκωι, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κύκον ἐν παντὶ χρόνωι γέγονεν ἀπαράλλακτον, Eust. *Od.* 1964.1 ὁμοίτερος κύκου· ἐπὶ τῶν πάντηι παρεοικόντων κατ' ὄψιν, *Diogenian.* vii.37 (*CPG* 1.293), *Apostol.* xii.73 (*CPG* 2.560) ὁμοίτερος κύκου· τοῦτο παραπαίζει διὰ τὴν ἐμφέρειαν τῶν κύκων, Shakespeare, *Henry VIII* V.i.170–1 'Tis as like you / As cherry is to cherry'. We might expect ἢ κύκον κύκωι (Gale) or κύκου <κύκωι> (Navarre 1920); but ὁμοίτερος κύκου in Eust. and the paroemiographers suggests that the brachylogy is acceptable (for related types of brachylogy, KG 2.310 (3), 566 (i)).

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Resemblance to the father, besides being (if the children are good-looking) a tribute to his looks, is an indication of legitimacy (Gow on Theoc. 17.44, West on Hes. *Op.* 235).

καὶ προσαγαγόμενος φιλήσαι: ‘draws to himself and kisses’ (LSJ προσάγω B.I.2). The aorist part. (Π, ce, Cobet 1874) should be preferred to the present (AB) in the light of X. *Cyr.* 8.4.26 Χρυσάνταν . . . ἐφίλησε προσαγαγόμενος, Plu. 160B τοῦ Περιάνδρου προσαγαγομένου καὶ φιλήσαντος, as it should at Chariton 2.7.7 προσαγ<αγ>όμενος (Cobet) αὐτὴν κατεφίλησεν. Cf. also Ar. *Au.* 141 οὐκ ἔκυσας, οὐ προσείπας, οὐ προσηγάγου.

καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν καθίσασθαι: καθι|σας|θαι Π (coni. Cobet 1874),<sup>35</sup> not καθι|σ|τας|θαι (Bassi, Kondo, Dorandi-Stein), contrary to the principle of syllable-division observed in this papyrus: απαλλ|αττε|ς|θαι, α|προ|κειρα|ς|θαι, χ|ρη|ς|τα, κτη|σα|ς|θαι (KB 1.350.3, E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2 1987 = *BICS* Suppl. 46) 17, R. Janko, *Philodemus, On Poems, Book 1* (Oxford 2000) 76 n. 3). καθίστασθαι (AB), supposedly ‘place’, would give inferior sense, even if this sense could be established by adequate parallels, which it cannot (see Stein 87), and aorist infin. is desirable, like the preceding φιλήσαι (see on §6 πλειστάκις . . . ἀποκείρασθαι). In the transitive use active καθίσει (δ) is more regular, and a transitive middle καθίζεσθαι is attested only in the senses ‘settle (colonists)’, A.R. 2.947, 4.278, and ‘set up (temple, altar, statue)’, Call. *Dian.* 233, A.R. 4.1219, [Anacreon] *AP* 6.143.3 (Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* 520); cf. E. *Hi.* 31.<sup>36</sup> But adequate support is provided by compounds: D. 28.15 συμπαρακαθιστάμενος Δήμωννα, 33.14 (cited on §3 ἵνα κοινός κτλ.), Lycurg. 141 παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας παρακαθισταμένους ἑαυτοῖς, Luc. *Pisc.* 12 τοὺς πλουσιωτέρους . . . παρακαθισταμένη πλησίον.

καὶ τοῖς μὲν συμπαιζεῖν αὐτὸς λέγων “Ἄσκός, πέλεκυς”: so AB, and probably Π (only the final | κυς now visible; κ|αι . . . ] πυ[ . . . ] . α|[ αυ[τος c. xv ] | δυς N). Presumably ἄσκός and πέλεκυς are words called out by the man as he plays with the children. But we do not know what he means by using these words. The game (if game it is) is as unfathomable as that played by the Ὀψιμαθής in XXVII.12. There is a further uncertainty: whether αὐτὸς belongs with συμπαιζεῖν (αὐτὸς stands after the infin. at IV.9, XVIII.3, XX.5, XXX.11) or with λέγων. Stein argues that, since τοῖς μὲν συμπαιζεῖν is contrasted with τὰ δὲ . . . ἔἴην καθέυδειν, then συμπαιζεῖν αὐτὸς will create an expectation that something contrasted with αὐτὸς is to follow. This is perhaps too strict. Possibly αὐτὸς merely emphasises that he participates personally in

<sup>35</sup> Also reported from Par. supp. gr. 450 (46 Wilson) by Torraca (1974) 87, and from Ambros. E 119 sup. (21 Wilson) by Stefanis (1994b) 130. αὐτόν is reported (whether rightly I do not know) from Rehdig. 22 (71 Wilson) by Diels 1883; Stefanis tells me that it is in Vind. supp. gr. 32 (68 Wilson) and its descendant Laur. Conv. Sopp. 110 (12 Wilson).

<sup>36</sup> In E. *Hel.* 1534 read καθις<τ>ατο; in Th. 4.130.7 ἐπικαθίσταντο for ἐπεκαθίσαντο.

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the game, or that he ‘übernimmt das Amt der Kinderwärterin’ (Bechert); cf. IV.9, IX.3, XXIV.9, XXX.11. If αὐτός is taken with λέγων, then ‘he *himself* says’ appears to imply that what he says is also being said by the children or would as naturally or more naturally be said by them. This would make sense if the words were recognisable as baby-talk or play-talk. At all events, αὐτῶν (Fraenkel and Groeneboom) is otiose.

There are many unconvincing explanations of why he uses the words ἄκκος and πέλεκυς: he is referring to toys or amulets (Casaubon; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2 (Cambridge 1925) 698–9), giving a spelling lesson (Ἄκ-κος ἄκκος, Πέ-λε-κυς πέλεκυς Fraenkel and Groeneboom; cf. Edmonds and Austen), telling a story (‘uerba initialia alicuius fabellae’ Pauw) or riddle (P. Graindor, *RIB* 48 (1905) 167–8, adducing Ath. 456B–E, followed by Stefanis 1994b; on riddle-games see S. Mendner, *RLAC* 10 (1978) 857, Arnott on Alex. 242, Konstantakos 153–4, 162–3), lifting up and lowering the children, whom he designates by terms representing lightness and heaviness (S. Koujeas, *Hermes* 41 (1906) 478–80, id. 1915; Edmonds 1929),<sup>37</sup> using baby-talk, with ἄκκος (so accented) for ἀρτίκκος and πέλεκυς for πέλυξ (J. D. Meerwaldt, *Mnemosyne* 53 (1925) 340, 55 (1927) 44–53). Or he is playing a game, such as modern children play, with a clenched fist and extended fingers, which are termed ἄκκος and πέλεκυς. So (with variations) Jebb, Zingerle 1893, W. E. J. Kuiper, *Mnemosyne* 53 (1925) 350, U. Rüdiger, *MDAI(R)* 73–4 (1966–7) 248–50. The game described by Rüdiger is known in England as ‘Paper, Scissors, Stone’ (I. and P. Opie, *Children’s Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford 1969) 26–7). I reject this not so much because (as Stein asserts) it calls for gestures rather than spoken words (the Opies show that words may be used) but because the identifications are fanciful and arbitrary. A suggestion by G. C. Papacharalampous, *Λαογραφία* 17 (1957–8) 405–8, that ἄκκος stands for empty hand, πέλεκυς for a coin concealed in the other hand, is vulnerable to the same criticism.

For πέλεκυς Lycius proposed θύλακος, a conjecture of unrecognised merit. I shall make the best case I can for it, before concluding that it cannot safely be accepted. ἄκκος and θύλακος (XVI.6n.) are natural partners (X. *An.* 6.4.23 ἄκκοις καὶ θυλάκοις), and the personal application of their partnership is described as ‘proverbial’ by Alex. 88.3–5 κατὰ τε τὴν παροιμίαν | ἀεὶ ποτ’ εὖ μὲν ἄκκος, εὖ δὲ θύλακος | ἀνθρώπος ἔστιν; cf. Theophylact. *Sim. Ep.* 79 ἔτι τὸν θύλακον ἔχεις δερμάτινον . . . τί δήτα τὸ κενὸν τοῦτο καὶ κοῦφον δοξάριον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸν πῆλινον ἄκκον διεφύσῃς; Eust. *Il.* 1303.38 (4.739.21–2 van der Valk) καθὰ θύλακος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα οὕτω κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἄκκος. The word ἄκκος is applied to the physical body by Epich. 166 αὐτα φύσις ἀνθρώπων, ἄκκοι πεφουσημένοι, Timo Phlias. *SH* 785 ἀνθρώποι κενεῆς

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. Thumb, *CQ* 8 (1914) 191, H. G. Viljoen, *CQ* 31 (1937) 53, whose conjecture ἄκκον τε καὶ πέλεκυν in Hermipp. 24.3 is an irresponsible shot in the dark.

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οἰήσιος ἔμπλεοι ἄκκοι (cf. Petr. 42.4 *utres inflati ambulamus*, Sen. *Ep.* 77.16 *saccus es*; E. Norden, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1966) 23). It may connote simply belly (Archil. 119 West, E. *Med.* 679, oracle ap. Plu. *Thes.* 3.5) or more specifically a drinker's pot-belly and a pot-bellied drinker: Ar. *Ach.* 1002 ἄκκον Κτησιφῶντος 'a skinful of Ctesiphon' (ὡς παχὺς καὶ προγάττωρ ὁ Κτησιφῶν κώπτεται Σ'), Antiph. 20 τοῦτον οὔν | δι' οἰνοφλυγίαν καὶ πάχος τοῦ σώματος | ἄκκον καλοῦσι. The word *μολγός* (Tarentine for ἄκκός) was also applied personally (Ar. fr. 308). Falstaff is 'a tun [wine-barrel] of man' (Shakespeare, *I Henry IV*, II.iv.499). See also O. Crusius, *Philologus* 46 (1888) 619. The word *θύλακος* is applied to the physical body by Anaxarch. 72 A 1 (II.235.18 DK), A 13 (II.239.2) πτίττε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, and figuratively to a person by Pl. *Th.* 161 A λόγων τινὰ . . . θύλακον. The two are combined in the word *ἄκκοθύλακος* (Ar. fr. 180, Archipp. 4, Diocl.Com. 3). So, engaging in verbal banter with the children, he calls out two words which are proverbially applied to men with fat paunches, 'wineskin' and 'sack'. This paves the way for what follows: he lets some of the children use his paunch as a couch to sleep on, even though they weigh heavily on him. Self-deprecation is followed by self-imposed discomfort. And the unflattering terms which he applies to himself contrast well with the flattering terms in which he has described the children and, by implication, their father.

I should like to believe this. But two doubts stand in the way. First, *θύλακος* was not in Π. This is not, in itself, decisive. The text suffered loss or dislocation before the time of Philodemus (Introduction, pp. 37–8). AB share that loss or dislocation with Π (Philodemus). Therefore AB and Π are derived from the same faulty ancestor. That ancestor may well have been further corrupted; if so, its corruptions will be common to Π and AB. There are (I believe) such common corruptions in §4 (omission of *πρός*) and §9 (*ἐνυφασμένους* and *κόνιν*). The second doubt weighs more heavily: 'saying "Wineskin" and "Sack"' is not a very natural way to describe how he plays with the children and draws attention to his paunch.

Casaubon (unaware of Lycius) suggested that ἄκκός and *πέλεκυς* are terms by which he designates not himself but the children. But 'Wineskin' and 'Sack' suit a child less well than a man. And 'Axe', in allusion to a child, remains unexplained. Casaubon toyed with three possible explanations: (i) 'oxycephalic' (*φοξός*), (ii) 'sharp-witted' (Luc. *Smp.* 6 τὸν τρωμύλον, τὸν ἔλεγκτικόν· Ἐίφος αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ Κοπίδα καλοῦσιν), (iii) like *πόςθων* and *κάθων*, hypocoristic for 'boy'.

Casaubon suggested yet another approach: ἄκκός for ἄκκός, on the strength of Hsch. A 2435 ἄκκός ('quanquam ibi fortasse ἄκκώ legendum'): *παράμωρος*. λέγεται δὲ παιδίοις, ὡς μωροῖς ('. . . "silly", spoken to children because they are being silly'). Why the word ἄκκός or ἄκκώ (or Ἄκκώ) was spoken is clarified by Plu. 1040B (Chrysipp. *SVF* 3 fr. 313) τῆς Ἀκκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτους, δι' ὧν

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τὰ παιδάρια τοῦ κακοςχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείργουσιν ('the names Akko and Alphito, by which women rouse children from laziness'). Akko was a foolish and lazy woman of folk-tale and comedy, cited by nurses as a warning to idle infants (J. J. Winkler, 'Akko', *CPh* 77 (1982) 137–8, refuting the suggestions (i) that she was a bogey-woman like Mormo, (ii) that she has some connection with the proverb mentioned below). This does not appear to suit the situation, and it throws no light on πέλεκυς.

A possible link between ἄκκός and a children's game is suggested by the proverbial expression ἄκκῶι (or ἄκκίωι) μορμολύττεσθαι 'play bogey with a wineskin': Hsch. O 1658 "οὐκ ἄκκίωι μεντάρ' ἐμορμολύττετο | αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ τὰδ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ" (Crates Com. 10) 'παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ τὰ κενὰ δεδοικόντων ἐπεὶ κενὸς ὁ ἄκκός. The proverb is quoted by Suda A 4177, M 1251, Diogenian. II.65, Macar. II.52, Apostol. IV.10 (*CPG* 1.206, 2.148, 311); cf. Phot. A 2975, Hsch. A 7725, Eust. *Od.* 1552.25, Diogenian. II.100. The ἄκκός cannot be a bag into which a bogey-woman threatens to put children (as suggested by Roscher, *Lex.Myth.* I (1884–90) 210–11, s.u. 'Akko'; cf. Crusius, 'Akko', *RE* I.1 (1893) 1171–3). This does not square with the ancient explanations of the proverb, in which ἄκκός stands for a threat which is empty or unreal. More likely, the threat is that something will be let out of the wineskin, which is empty, or is the wineskin itself, inflated to look like the bogey's head. But if the man is pretending that a wineskin is a bogey-woman, what is the role of the axe? I conclude that the passage is inexplicable, possibly corrupt. Other (hopeless) conjectures: Καλός, Γλυκύς Darvaris, Κακός ('Little finger') M. Schmidt.

τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἔαν καθέυδειν ἄμα θλιβόμενος: καθευ[ Π, but καθευδειηθλ[... ]μ[.]λ[.] | N. Apparently Π omitted ἄμα. That it stood after θλιβόμενος cannot be excluded, in spite of N. But then the line would be longer than normal (24 letters against a norm of 19–21). And this word order would not be acceptable. For the order infinitive + ἄμα + participle at end of sentence, XI.4; for alternative orders, II.3n. Emendation is ineffectual: καταβλυζόμενος Naber, καταθλιβόμενος Fraenkel and Groeneboom, ἀναθλ- Edmonds 1929.

**6 καὶ πλειστάκις δὲ ἀποκείρασθαι:** Π (according to N) had πλειστον; but the notion that he had 'very expensive' haircuts is not to be entertained. πλείστα (Navarre 1920) has no appeal. And present infin. ἀποκείρεσθαι (Koujeas) is not needed. The aorist is appropriate, because having a haircut is viewed as a completed act, as IV.13 βούλεται . . . ἀποκείρασθαι, XXI.3 τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκείραι ἀγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς. The aorist is used even when an act, complete on its own, is repeated: *HP* 6.7.2 ξηρᾶναι πολλάκις καὶ ἀποτρίψαι καὶ σπείραι, [X.] *Ath.* I.19 ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἄνθρωπον πολλάκις πλέοντα κώπην λαβεῖν. The present infin. is used when an act is viewed from an aspect other than its completeness, such as its inception, development, or continuance. Here ἔχειν (because he continues to have) and ἀλείφεσθαι (because he continues to be

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oiled). But perhaps μεταβάλλεσθαι should be μεταβαλέσθαι, since a change of clothes is most naturally viewed as a completed act. See KG 1.192–3, Schwyzer 2.257–8, Goodwin §§96–101, Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 181–2, 207–9.

Constant haircuts ensure that his hair is never too short or too long. Long hair, while it might suggest parsimony or indifference to personal appearance (Ar. *Nu.* 835–6 ὦν ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας | ἀπεκείρατ' οὐδεὶς πώποτ' οὐδ' ἠλείψατο), was also characteristic of rich young dandies, cavalrymen, and Spartan-sympathisers (Bremer, 'Haartracht und Haarschmuck', *RE* vii.2 (1912) 2118–19, Neil on Ar. *Eq.* 580, Dover on Ar. *Nu.* 14, MacDowell on Ar. *V.* 466, Geddes 309). For types of haircut, K. F. Hermann and H. Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer* (Freiburg and Tübingen 1882) 204–7, Daremberg-Saglio I (1887) 1360, F. W. Nicolson, 'Greek and Roman barbers', *HSCPh* 2 (1891) 41–56; cf. epil. X n., XXVI.4n.

καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λευκοὺς ἔχειν: cf. Ar. *Pax* 1309–10 οὐδὲν γάρ, ὦ πόνηροι, | λευκῶν ὀδόντων ἔργον ἔστ', ἦν μή τι καὶ μακῶνται, Cat. 39.1–2 *Egnatius*, *quod candidos habet dentes*, | *renidet usque quaque*. By contrast, the Δυσχερής has τοὺς ὀδόντας μέλανας (XIX.4). The Greeks whitened their teeth by chewing a gum obtained from the stem of the mastic shrub, *pistacia lentiscus*: *HP* 9.1.2, Steier, 'Mastix', *RE* xiv.2 (1930) 2168–75, M. Grieve (ed. C. F. Leyel), *A Modern Herbal* (London 1931) 522 (for 'Scio' read 'Chios'), O. Polunin and A. Huxley, *Flowers of the Mediterranean* (London 1965) 119, K. Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1970) 38–41, A. Huxley and W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean* (London 1977) 100–1, H. Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* (transl. W. T. and E. R. Stearn, London 1993) 159 and (the gum) Pl. 335. Thus Hsch. C 3025 (*PCG* adesp. 429) *σχίνον διατρῶγων· εἰῶθαι τὴν σχίνον τρῶγειν οἱ καλλωπιζόμενοι ἔνεκα τοῦ λευκοῦν τοὺς ὀδόντας*, Luc. *Lex.* 12 *σχισοτρῶκταν νεανίσκων*, Iamb. *VP* 28.154 *σχινίζειν τοὺς ὀδόντας*. The Romans had numerous recipes for toothpowders: Daremberg-Saglio II.1 (1892) 102, Mau, 'Dentifricium', *RE* v.I (1903) 221.

καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια δὲ χρηστὰ μεταβάλλεσθαι: the Ἀνελεύθερος and the Αἰσχροκερδής have only one cloak, for, when it is at the laundry, the former stays at home, the latter borrows a replacement (XXII.8, XXX.10). The husband in Ar. *Ec.* 314–19 has only one. But we may assume that they have one for summer and another for winter. This is what distinguishes the Athenians from the Spartans, and Socrates from the Athenians: the Athenians change their cloaks according to the season, Socrates and the Spartans wear the same cloak in summer and winter alike (X. *Mem.* 1.6.2–6, *Lac.* 2.1–4). When a κόλαξ boasts of two smart cloaks in Eup. 172.5–7 ἱματίω δέ μοι δύο ἔστων χαρίεντε τούτω, | οἶν (Porson: τούτοιον | codd.) μεταλαμβάνων ἀεὶ θάτερον ἐξελαύνω | εἰς ἀγοράν, he may be making one do double duty by turning it inside out (Kassel and Austin *ad loc.*). The luxurious Phaeacians have εἴματα . . . ἐξημοιβὰ (H. *Od.* 8.249); but not Eumaeus (14.513–14 οὐ γάρ



πολλὰι χλαῖναι ἐπημοιβοὶ τε χιτῶνες | ἐνθάδε ἔννυσθαι, μία δ' οἷη φωτὶ ἐκάστῳ). While the Δυσχερής is faulted for wearing a dirty cloak (XIX.6), a man who changes a cloak which is still fit for wear is extravagant or affected, an Athenian Lord Goring, who 'changes his clothes at least five times a day' (Oscar Wilde, *An Ideal Husband*, Act I). For the verb, X. *Mem.* 1.6.6 τὰ γε μὴν ἱμάτια οἷσθ' ὅτι οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι ψύχους καὶ θάλπους ἔνεκα μεταβάλλονται (*Lac.* 2.1 ἱματίων μεταβολαῖς). For χρηστά 'serviceable', Hdt. 1.94.6 ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστά ἐπίπλοα, LSJ 1.1. <ἔτι> χρηστά (Schneider before Fraenkel and Groeneboom), though clearer, is unnecessary. See also Geddes 314.

καὶ χρίματι ἀλείφεσθαι: χρίμα is a general word for unguent (whether olive oil or oil from another fruit), and should not be translated (as it often is) 'perfumed oil', which is normally expressed by μύρον (IV.2n.). The two words are sometimes explicitly distinguished: *Od.* 8 παντὸς . . . μύρου καὶ χρίματος, 15–16 πολλὰ δὲ (*sc.* ἀμύγδαλα πικρά) γίνεται περὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν χρίμα. φασί δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ σπουδαῖα τῶν μύρων ἀρμόττειν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου (*sc.* ἔλαιον) καὶ τοῦτο (αὐτό Schneider), X. *An.* 4.4.13 πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἠύρισκετο χρίμα, ὧ ἐχρῶντο ἄντ' ἔλαιον, κύειον καὶ σκηάμιον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερμίνθινον· ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον ἠύρισκετο. In X. *Smp.* 2.4 Socrates says that grown men should not smell of μύρον but of καλοκαγαθία, which is a χρίμα not obtainable from the μυροπῶλαι: the more general χρίμα embraces the more specific μύρον. Sometimes χρίμα is used in place of μύρον, when the context makes the equation clear: either the χρίμα is described as an artificially scented or compound product (Xenoph. 3.6 West ἀκητοῖς ὁδμήν χρίμασι δευόμενοι, Call. *Lau.Pall.* 15–17 μὴ μύρα . . . (οὐ γὰρ Ἄθαναία χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ) | οἷσετε) or an epithet hints at or specifies its scent (*TrGF* 20 Achaeus 5.2 χριμάτων . . . Αἰγυπτίων (glossed as Αἰγυπτίου μύρου by Ath. 689b; Gow on Theoc. 15.114), Philox. *PMG* 836(b).43 χρίματα . . . ἀμβροσίῳδμα). See further Bulloch on Call. *Lau.Pall.* 16, S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Helsinki 1972) 73–4. Where, as here, the bare χρίμα is used, there is no cause to equate it with μύρον. We may imagine an unguent more exotic than the plain olive oil which was used in the baths and gymnasia. But (contrary to Stein) what is at issue here is not the man's extravagance. Frequent haircuts, white teeth, and clean clothes are a sign not of extravagance but of obsessive preoccupation with personal appearance. And the expression χρίματι ἀλείφεσθαι puts the emphasis on appearance, not on smell. We are to picture the man as sleekly oiled rather than fragrantly scented. For the reverse picture, XXVI.4n. (αὐχμῶν) and Ar. *Nu.* 835–6 (above on καὶ πλειστάκις κτλ.).

The original spelling is χρίμα, and there is no good evidence that χρίμα had yet supplanted it. χρίμα is preserved by the papyrus at Call. fr. 194.45, 76, by the mss. at Call. *Lau.Pall.* 16, 26, by M at A. *Ag.* 94 (χρήμ- V, χρίμ- FTTr), by A at Ath. 409E (Philox. *loc. cit.*), and is indicated by the mss.

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at Xenoph. 3.6 (χρήμ- Ath. A), Achaeus 5.2 (χρήμ- Ath. A). The mss. offer χρίμα (χρίμα) at *Od.* 8, 15 *bis*, 28 and (the only other occurrences before Theophrastus, if we ignore the Hippocratic corpus) Achaeus 19.2 (χρήμ- Ath. A, χρίμ- E), *X. Smp.* 2.4, *An.* 4.4.13. Π (now ] | ματι, but χ]ρι[ ] ματι N) will have had χ]ρι|ματι not χρι[ε]|ματι (Bassi, Kondo, Dorandi-Stein), which is counter to the normal principles of syllable-division (see on §5 καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν καθίκασθαι).

7 καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπέζας προσφοιτᾶν: the bankers' tables, located in the Agora (Wycherley, 'Market of Athens' 16 = *Stones of Athens* 99, id. *Agora iii* 192–3, 206, Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers* 37–9, 62, 375–6, R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 167, Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 190 n. 50, id. *Lending and Borrowing* 211), are a place to meet and talk (*Pl. Ap.* 17c, *Hp.Mi.* 368b, *Lys.* 9.5, *Plu.* 70E, 513A). τῆς ἀγορᾶς is partitive gen., comparable to that which is used with place-names, e.g. *Hdt.* 3.136.1 τῆς Ἰταλῆς ἐς Τάραντα, *X. HG* 1.2.14 τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, *Men. Dysc.* 1–2, *Sic.* 6; *KG* 1.338, Schwyzer 2.113–14. προσφοιτᾶν is 'visit frequently'; προέρχεσθαι (Π) 'visit' is a trivialisation.

τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις διατρίβειν οὗ ἂν οἱ ἐφηβοὶ γυμνάζωνται: τῶν γυμνασίων is another partitive gen. (*KG* 1.338–9, Schwyzer 2.115–16; cf. III epil. τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, VI.4, XXIII.5), chosen to balance the preceding phrase. The meaning is not 'in the gymnasium he will haunt those places where . . .' (Jebb). That would be τῶν . . . γυμνασίων (without ἐν τούτοις) διατρίβειν οὗ ἂν κτλ. (*KG* 1.340–1, Schwyzer 2.114). The reference is to specific gymnasia. During the first of their two years of service the epebes underwent gymnastic training, supervised by official παιδοτρίβα, and did garrison duty at the Piraeus ([Arist.] *Ath.* 42.3), where, if an inscription is rightly supplemented, they had their own gymnasium (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 478.30, 305/4 BC (= O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century BC* (Leiden 1971) no. 17) ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῶν ἐφήβων). But they may have exercised in the official gymnasia in the city too. Three such gymnasia are known at this period, Akademeia, Lykeion, Kynosarges: K. Schneider, *Die griechischen Gymnasien und Palästren* (diss. Freiburg 1908) 50–1, J. Oehler, 'Gymnasium', *RE* VII.2 (1912) 2011, J. Delorme, *Gymnasion, Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce* (Paris 1960) 51–9, Wycherley, *Stones of Athens* ch. ix, D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 71–92. [X.] *Ath.* 2.10 mentions private γυμνάσια owned by the rich (Schneider 31–2, Delorme 258, S. L. Glass in W. J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics* (Madison 1988) 162). The article with ἐφηβοὶ (only in Π) specifies the epebes as a class; cf. D. 19.303, [Arist.] *Ath.* 42.2, 3, 43.1, 53.4, *Din.* 3.15, [Pl.] *Ax.* 366E. For detailed discussion of the evidence for the epebate, C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1962), Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 42; for a summary of current knowledge

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and speculation, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 253–5, H.-J. Gehrke, ‘Ephēbeia’, *DNP* 3 (1997) 1071–5, J. Dillery, *CQ* 52 (2002) 462–70.

Loiterers in gymnasia are usually suspected of looking for boys to pick up: Ar. *V.* 1023–5, *Pax* 762–3, *Au.* 139–42, Aeschin. 1.135; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978) 54–5, N. Fisher in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. von Reden (edd.), *Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1998) 94–104, T. E. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford 2002) 218–19.

τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ἦι θέα, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν: τοῦ θεάτρου is a loose partitive gen., by analogy with τῆς ἀγορᾶς and τῶν γυμνασίων, rather than gen. of place, which is poetic (KG 1.384–5, Schwyzer 2.112). θέα ‘spectacle, performance’ (LSJ II.2) is a sense first attested here and XXX.6, 14. We do not want (nor has Π room for) ἦι <ῆ> θέα (Ast before Immisch, but with οὐ ἄν for ὅταν). Cf. VI.7 (spurious) ὅταν ἦι πανήγυρις, XXII.6 ὅταν ἦι Μουσεῖα. In the time of Theophrastus the generals appear to have been allotted front seats *ex officio* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 500.35–6 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 345, 302/1 BC); contrast Ar. *Eq.* 573–6 (if they are not allotted front seats they will go on strike). See Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 268, Csapo and Slater 299, M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Munich 1972) 87, 90–1, A. S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Hildesheim etc. 1983) 291–4. The behaviour reported here chimes in with Ath. 354D–E Θεόφρατος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ κολακείας (fr. 83 Wimmer, 547 Fortenbaugh; cf. Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 303–4) φησὶν ὡς Μύρτις ὁ Ἀργεῖος Κλεώνυμον τὸν χορευτὴν ἄμα καὶ κόλακα προσκαθίζοντα πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς συνδικάζουσι, βουλόμενον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόξων ὀραῖσθαι κτλ.

**8** καὶ ἀγοράζειν αὐτῷ μὲν μηδέν, ξένοις δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἑπιπτάλαματ’  
καί: αγο||ρ . [ c. xviii ]|ξε . . [ (Dorandi-Stein, ξει[ Fish] c.xiii καί] Π,  
αγο | ατε[ c. vii ]ο[.]εν[.]ηεν | ξε[ . (.) ]η[ c. xii καί] N, i.e. probably αγο|  
ραζε[iv αυτ]ω[i μ]εν [μη]δεν (as AB) | ξεινοις [ c.xi καί].

The placing of ἀγοράζειν before αὐτῷ μὲν μηδέν might suggest that this infin. belongs equally to the second part of the sentence, and that only an accusative noun is needed in place of ἐπιπτάλαματ’. But the word order, though it suggests that, does not require it (def. III n., Denniston 371–2). And the prepositional phrases (εἰς Βυζάντιον etc.) preclude it, unless we are prepared to take ἀγοράζειν . . . εἰς Βυζάντιον as a ‘pregnant’ construction (Stein compares X.2, which I regard as corrupt). So in the second clause we probably need a verb of motion (πέμπειν is added after Κύζικον by c, before εἰς K- by M). For ἀγοράζειν see Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 35–9. For dat. αὐτῷ (Syllburg, imputing it, as does everyone else, to Stephanus, who wrote αὐτῷ) and corruption to acc., XI.8 ὄψωνεῖν ἑαυτῷ (Casaubon: -τόν AB).

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The noun ἐπιτάλαμα is not attested before the second century AD, is confined to non-literary texts, and has no meaning that would be appropriate here. See LSJ (which, like Jebb, proposes the unwarranted sense ‘commission’) and the Revised Supplement. Add Hsch. E 5250 and numerous attestations in papyri (F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* 1 (Berlin 1925) 572–3). The following nouns (some, marked by asterisk, unattested) have been proposed : ἀποστάματα Casaubon (only EM 176.4 in the sense ἄφεμα; Casaubon assumes for it one of the senses of ἀποστολή, ‘parting gift’, LSJ 1), ἐπιτάγματα Furlanus before Schwartz, \*ἐπιπέματα Pauw, \*ἐπιτάγματα Reiske 1749 (in a letter of Bernhard ap. Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung* 362; cf. *Briefe* 360), \*ἐπιτάγματα Reiske 1757, ἐπιτάματα Bernhard 1748 (ap. Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung* 297–8; cf. *Briefe* 263, 294), ἀγάματα Darvaris before Meineke, πέματα Ast, ἀλάδας Foss 1858, ἰμάτια Petersen, \*ἐπιτάγματα Ussing, οἶνον Naber,<sup>38</sup> ἐπιτήματα Bersanetti, ἄλα or ἄλας Edmonds 1910, \*ἐπιπέματα W. E. J. Kuiper (according to a review in *Museum* 45 (1938) 142), ἀλείματα Perrotta, ἔλας Stark, μύρα Dorandi-Stein. For the infinitive, ἀποστ<έλλειν> (Foss 1858) would serve (cf. XVII.2, Alex. 278.3–4 εἰς ἑτέραν . . . ἀποστέλλων πόλιν | . . . κύαθον); but not ἐπιστ<έλλειν> (Darvaris before Meiser and Perrotta; ἐπιπέλαι Petersen), suited only to messages. But none of these suggestions satisfies. ‘Hymettian honey’ and ‘Laconian dogs’ are luxury items, whose excellence is associated with their place of origin. A third noun coupled with these must have a similar geographical epithet or must be an item of such excellence in its own right that it does not need one. Neither κύκα Ἀττικά (Herwerden) nor Ἀττικά δαιδάματα (Meiser) appeals; and ‘Attic’ gives insufficient variety, since ‘Hymettian’ honey (see *ad loc.*) was often called ‘Attic’. In Π ξηνοῖς [ c. xi καὶ | λ]ακω[ leaves insufficient space for δ(ἐ) εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐπιτάματα, let alone for an additional infinitive. Possibly a line has been omitted, which would have accommodated a noun (perhaps with epithet) and infin.: i.e. ξηνοῖς [δ’ εἰς Βυζάντιον †ἐπι | τάματα† c. ix καὶ] or ξηνοῖς [δ’ εἰς Βυζάντιον c. ii | c. vi †ἐπιτάματα† καὶ].

Byzantium, founded in the first half of the seventh century, occupied a strategic position at the mouth of the Black Sea. Allied after the Persian wars for the most part to Athens, it had recently sustained a long siege by Philip II of Macedon (340–339). See Kubitschek, ‘Byzantium’, *RE* III.1 (1897) 1115–58, W. L. MacDonald in R. Stillwell (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 177–9, B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 215–37, J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1999) 241–2, 246.

<sup>38</sup> Wine would do nicely, since Byzantines were notorious drinkers (Kassel and Austin on Men. fr. 66).

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**Λακωνικάς κύνας εἰς Κύζικον:** Laconian dogs are hunting dogs, proverbial for speed and keenness of scent (Pi. fr. 106, 107a Snell, S. *Ai.* 8, Pl. *Prm.* 128c, X. *Cyn.* 10.1, 4, Call. *Dian.* 93–7, Var. *R.* 2.9.5, Hor. *Epod.* 6.5, Verg. *G.* 3.405, Ov. *Met.* 3.208, 223, Gratt. 212, Plin. *Nat.* 10.177–8, Luc. 4.441, Sen. *Phaed.* 35–6, Arr. *Cyn.* 3.6, Opp. *Cyn.* 1.372, Nemes. *Cyn.* 107, Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* IV.i.111–33). See O. Keller, *ἸΩΑΙ* 8 (1905) 251–8, id. *Die antike Tierwelt* 1 (Leipzig 1909) 118–23, Orth, 'Hund', *RE* VIII.2 (1913) 2550–1, J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951) 254–7, D. B. Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1964) 31–3, S. Lilja, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Helsinki 1976) 49–51, 61, 96, A. Sakellariou, 'Οἱ Λάκωνες κύνες στήν ἀρχαία Γραμματεία', *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* 13 (1996) 357–72, 14 (1998) 71–6. On the gender of κύων, the conventional doctrine, 'when of hounds, mostly in fem.' (LSJ κύων 1), is called into question by F. Williams, *Eikasmos* 10 (1999) 137–42. 'Laconian hounds', at all events, are fem. in classical Greek (Pi., S., Pl., X., Call., cited above), presumably because αἱ Λάκαιναι κύνες αἱ θήλειαι εὐφύστεραι τῶν ἀρρένων (Arist. *HA* 608<sup>a</sup>27–8). Elsewhere, dog (not hound) masc. IV.9, fem. XIV.5.

Cyzicus, founded, perhaps as early as the eighth century, on an island, now a peninsula, in the southern Propontis, commanded the trade route between the Black Sea and the Aegean, and achieved a commercial importance which rivalled Byzantium. See Str. 12.11, F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910), Ruge, 'Kyzikos', *RE* XII.1 (1924) 228–33, E. Akurgal in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* 473–4, Isaac 198–9, Boardman 240–1, 245–6.

Observe the rasping alliteration **Λακωνικάς κύνας εἰς Κύζικον**, followed by the mellifluous μέλι Ὑμήττιον εἰς Ῥόδον. See on XVI.14 κκύλλιη ἢ κκύλακι.

**καὶ μέλι Ὑμήττιον εἰς Ῥόδον:** honey from Hymettus was proverbially excellent (Macho 428, Nic. *Alex.* 446, Eryc. *AP* 7.36.4 (Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* 2265), Cic. *Fin.* 2.112, Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.14–15, S. 2.2.15, Str. 9.1.23, Plin. *Nat.* 11.32, Val. Fl. 1.397, Mart. 7.88.8, 11.42.3, 13.104, Luc. *Merc.Cond.* 35). Similarly 'Attic' honey: Ar. *Pax* 252, *Th.* 1192, Archestr. fr. 60.17–18 Olson and Sens (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 192), Antiph. 177.3, Phoenicid. 2.1, [Men.] *Comp.* 1.227–8 Jäkel, Ov. *Tr.* 1.4.29–30, Dsc. 2.82, Petr. 38.3, Plin. *Nat.* 21.57, Mart. 5.37.10, Plu. *Dio* 58.2; Otto, *Sprichwörter* 169, *Nachträge zu A. Otto* . . . (ed. R. Häussler, Darmstadt 1968) 106, 172, Frazer on Paus. 1.32.1, Keller, *Tierwelt* 2 (Leipzig 1913) 422, Schuster, 'Mel', *RE* xv.1 (1931) 367–8.

**καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει διηγείσθαι:** cf. VIII.10, XVII.9, XXIII.2.

**9 ἀμέλει δὲ καί:** II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

**πίθηκον θρέψαι δεινός:** πίθηκος is 'ape' in general, or specifically the Barbary ape (W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1938) 36,

104, *al.*, T. Haltenorth and H. Diller, *A Field Guide to the Mammals of Africa including Madagascar* (transl. R. W. Hayman, London 1980) 267–8 and Pl. 51). The Barbary ape and the Ethiopian monkey (*Cercopithecus Aethiops* or Grivet: Haltenorth and Diller 292–4 and Pl. 53) were commonly kept as pets: Din. fr. vi.7 *Conomis οἱ τοὺς καλλίας ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τρέφοντες, τουτέστι πιθήκους*, Eub. 114 *τρέφειν . . . πίθηκον*, and e.g. Herod. 3.40–1, Plu. *Per.* 1.1, Cic. *Diu.* 1.76, Mart. 7.87.4; McDermott 131–40, J. C. M. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 55–60, S. Lilja, ‘The Ape in Ancient Comedy’, *Arctos* 14 (1980) 31–8. For *τρέφειν* ‘keep’ animals, XXI.6, LSJ A.II.2 (add Anaxandr. 29.1).

**καὶ τίτυρον κτήσασθαι:** B has the scholium *Δωριεῖς τὸν Κάτυρον. καὶ ἔστι δὲ ὁ μικρὰν ἔχων οὐρὰν πίθηκος. Ταραντῖνοις δὲ ὄρνις τις, ἢ ὁ κάλαμος* (Torraca (1990) 31–41; see the Introduction, p. 44), which I should emend to *Ταραντῖνοις δὲ ὁ κάλαμος, ἢ ὄρνις τις*, for conformity with Eust. *Il.* 1157.38–9 = Ath. 182D (cited below). This derives, ultimately, from the scholia to Theocritus: Σ 3.2a Wendel *τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι ἴτις Cειληνός, οὐ Cικελιώτης*<sup>39</sup> *ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγους, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς Κατύρους . . . τινὲς δὲ καὶ κάλαμον, 2c τοὺς τράγους* (Reinesius: ἀργοὺς codd.) *τιτύρους λέγουσι, 2d . . . οἱ δὲ Κάτυρον εἶναι φασιν* (Σ rec. 3.2 Dübner, Ahrens, has in addition *τίτυρος δὲ ὁ πίθηκος ὁ μικρὰν ἔχων οὐρὰν . . . ἢ τίτυρος ὁ πίθηκος, τουτέστιν ὁ τράγος ὁ μικρὰν ἔχων οὐρὰν*), Σ 7.72c Wendel *τινὲς δὲ παρὰ Δωριεῦσι τοὺς Κατύρους <οὕτως>* (add. Geel) *ἀποδεδώκασι λέγεσθαι, 72d . . . ἢ ὁ Κάτυρος*. Echoes of this debate are found elsewhere: Hsch. T 996 *τίτυρος: κάτυρος, κάλαμος ἢ ὄρνις*, Eust. *Il.* 1157.38–9 (4.233.2–3 van der Valk) (*κάλαμος*) *καλούμενος τιτύρινος τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλία Δωριεῦσιν (= Ath. 182D ὁ δὲ καλάμιος αὐλὸς τιτύρινος καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλία Δωριεῦσιν, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος . . . ἱστορεῖ ἐν β' περὶ Δωρίδος) εἶτ' οὖν σατυρικός. τίτυροι γὰρ Δωρικῶς οἱ κάτυροι*. See also E. Wüst, ‘Tityroi’, *RE* VI.2A (1937) 1609–10.

LSJ reflects this variety and offers four meanings. (i) ‘short-tailed ape’ (LSJ II.1, the meaning it favours here), from Σ<sup>b</sup>, Σ rec. Theoc. 3.2. This is connected with the ‘Doric’ use of *τίτυρος* for *κάτυρος* (LSJ I.1, from Σ<sup>b</sup>, Σ Theoc. 3.2, 7.72, Hsch., Eust.; cf. Str. 10.3.15, Ael. *VH* 3.40), and the further use of *κάτυρος* for a tailed ape or ape-man (LSJ *κάτυρος* 1.3, *OLD* ‘satyrus’ 2).<sup>40</sup> (ii) ‘goat’ (LSJ II.2), from Σ Theoc. 3.2 (cf. the Virgilian scholia cited by Wendel *ad loc.*); also

<sup>39</sup> *ὅτι τοὺς Cειληνοὺς οὐ <τως> οἱ Cικελιώται: ἄλλοι δὲ Wendel (ed. 1914), ὅτι τις Cειληνός: οἱ Cικελιώται [ἄλλοι] δὲ Wendel, Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien (Berlin 1920) 67. For further discussion see Wendel, De Nominibus Bucolicis (Leipzig 1900) 20 n. 46, 22–3, Überlieferung 67–8, 152.*

<sup>40</sup> On satyr-apes and ape-men see McDermott 71–2, 77–84, H. A. G. Brijder, ‘Apish performances in the 6th cent. BC’, in J. Christiansen & T. Melander (edd.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen 1988) 62–70.

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Phot. 2.217 Naber τιτυρίδες καὶ τίτυροι· τράγου εἶδος. (iii) ‘a kind of bird’ (LSJ II.3), from Σ<sup>b</sup>, Hsch. (iv) ‘reed or pipe’ (LSJ II.4), from Σ<sup>b</sup>, Σ Theoc. 3.2, Hsch., more commonly called τιτύρινος ἀλόος (Eust. = Ath., LSJ τιτύρινος, M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 92–3). We may rule out three of these: an ape duplicates πίθηκος, a goat does not make a fashionable pet, and there is nothing showy about a reed pipe.

This leaves ‘a kind of bird’. And this bird will be the pheasant, φασιανός, *Phasianus colchicus*, named after its place of origin, the river Phasis in Colchis (D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity* (Oxford 1994) 57). Its native name appears in at least two guises, not far removed from τίτυρος. (i) τέταρος, explicitly identified with φασιανός, imported from Media to Alexandria, where it was bred both for show and as expensive fare for the table (Ptol. *Euergetes*, *FGrH* 234 F 2a, b, ap. Ath. 387E, 654C; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.515, 2.743 n. 181, E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983) 95). (ii) τατύρας, explicitly identified with φασιανός (Artemidorus and Pamphilus, on the authority of Epaeetus, ap. Ath. 387E; Hsch. T 242 τατύρας· ὁ φασιανός ὄρνις); cf. T 579 τετάργη· φασιάνων εἶδη (τέταροι· φασιανῶν εἶδος Schmidt), T 995 τιτύρας· ὄρνις ποιός ἢ τιτυροῦ<sup>δ</sup> (τιτυρώδης Musurus, τίτυρος Schmidt). For these names see Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 281–2. The pheasant had been introduced into Greece, and was bred in captivity, by the end of the fifth century. This, and the value placed on it, is indicated by Ar. *Nu.* 108–9 (‘I would not give up horses’) εἰ δόισι γέ μοι | τοὺς φασιανοὺς οὐκ τρέφει Λεωγόρας. See Keller, *Tierwelt* 2.145–6, M. Wellmann, ‘Fasan’, *RE* VI.2 (1909) 2001–2, V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (Berlin<sup>8</sup> 1911) 367–9, Thompson 298–300, C. W. Hünemörder, ‘*Phasianus*’: *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Fasans* (Bonn 1970), Toynebee (above on πίθηκον) 254–5, J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977) 93–4, S. Cramp *et al.* (edd.), *Handbook of the Birds of Europe and the Middle East and North Africa: The Birds of the Western Palearctic* 2 (Oxford 1980) 504–14, Hünemörder, ‘Fasan’, *DNP* 4 (1998) 433. Darvaris proposed τατύραν here, Ribbeck 1870 both this and τέταρον. Nothing of this line (col. VII line 3) is now visible in Π. Bassi claimed to read τιτυ[ρον]. N has . . .]c[. . .]πυτ[. . .]υ[. . .]α[. . .], which Dorandi-Stein treat (very speculatively) as a misreading of ψα[ι] [δεινος και τιτυ]υ[ρον κτη]α[. . .]. However we spell the name (for all we know, τίτυρος is an acceptable spelling), an oriental pheasant fits the bill perfectly.

I am unmoved by Hünemörder (1970) 38–9, who claims that τιτύρας and τίτυρος in Hsch. T 995, 996 (defined by non-specific ὄρνις) will be a different bird from τέταρος and τατύρας (specifically defined as φασιανός), and that τιτυ- will be onomatopoeic, reflecting the cry of a bird such as the partridge (πέρδιξ), whose cry Theophrastus described with the verb τιτυβίζειν (fr. 181 Wimmer, 355B Fortenbaugh, on which see R. W. Sharples in W. W. Fortenbaugh *et al.*, *Sources* 5 (1995) 57–8). Hünemörder overlooks our passage. In this list

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of exotic items there is no place for the familiar partridge, a native of Attica (W. G. Arnott, *CQ* 27 (1977) 336–7, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 235–6). See also Stein 105.

To transpose κτήσασθαι after δορκαδεῖους or ἀτραγάλους (Bloch) or before δορκαδεῖους (Ast), so that the birds too might be constructed with θρέψαι, was a sensible idea, not supported by Π.

**καὶ Σικελικὰς περιστεράς:** the domestic pigeon or dove (Thompson 238–47, Arnott on Alex. 217.1). The excellence of Sicilian pigeons is noted by Ath. 395b, who cites Alex. 58 περιστεράς | ἔνδον τρέφω τῶν Σικελικῶν τούτων πάντων | κομψάς, and Nic. fr. 73; also by an interpolated gloss in Philem. 79 τυρὸς Σικελικὸς ὅτι κράστιτος ἦν αἱ τε περιστεραὶ Σικελικαί. For another pet bird see XXI.6.

**καὶ δορκαδεῖους ἀτραγάλους:** knucklebones of gazelle-horn, evidently a luxury material, are mentioned in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1533.23–4 (inventory of the temple of Asclepius, 339/8 BC; S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, their Dedications, and their Inventories* (Amsterdam 1989) 154) ἀτραγάλοι δορκάδει ἀργυρίῳ δεδεμέ(νοι), Plb. 26.1.8 (presents given by Antiochus Epiphanes in 176 BC), Call. fr. 676 ζορκὸς τοι, φίλε κοῦρε, Λιβυκτίδος αὐτίκα δώσω | πέντε νεοσμήκτους ἄστριας, Herod. 3.19 αἱ δορκαλίδες (= 7 αἱ ἀτραγάλοι), 63 τῆσι δορκάκιν, [Luc.] *Am.* 16 τέτταρας ἀτραγάλους Λιβυκῆς δορκός; also δορκάδει alone (without ἀτραγάλοι) *PCair.Zen.* 59009 b, 59019.2, 59069.7, *PSI* 331.2, 7, 444.2 (all iii BC), perhaps Hsch. Δ 2246 δορχελοὶ (δορκάδει Latte)· ἀτραγάλοι. They were normally made from the ankle-bone of calf, sheep, or goat, but sometimes from other (including precious) materials: P. Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 9 (1984) 347–78, F. Poplin *ibid.* 381–93, S. Laser, ‘Sport und Spiel’, *Archaeologia Homerica* T (Göttingen 1987) 117, G. H. Gilmour, *OJA* 16 (1997) 167–75. On the game of knucklebones (mentioned as early as H. *Il.* 23.88), Lamer, *RE* XIII.2 (1927) 1933–5, 2020–1, S. Mendner in T. Klauser *et al.* (edd.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 10 (Stuttgart 1978) 849–50, Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2.60, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.18, Laser 117–22. ἀτραγάλοι, unlike κύβοι (VI.5n.), are respectable (L. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: the Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton 1999) 283–95).

**καὶ Θουριακὰς τῶν στρογγύλων ληκύθους:** ‘spherical’ (as distinct from cylindrical) suggests a vessel like the so-called ‘squat lekythos’ or the aryballos (H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* (London 1905) 1.195–8, G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) 14–16, B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora, xii: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (Princeton 1970) 153–4 with Pl. 38, R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 3 1997) 221–2). Examples of squat lekythoi from the neighbourhood of Thurii may be seen in A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* 2 (Oxford 1967), e.g. Plates 2.1,



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65.5, 76.4–6, 77.4 and 7. What feature further distinguished the Thurian type remains unknown. If (as suggested by Studniczka ap. Bechert)<sup>41</sup> it was made of precious metal (Timae. *FGH* 566 F 26c ap. D.S. 13.82.8 mentions silver λήκυθοι at Acragas, Theoc. 18.45 a silver ὄλιπις, another word for oil flask), I should have expected this to be stated explicitly. For geographical names attached to vessels as indication of shape or type see Gow on Theoc. 2.156; τρογγύλος applied to a vessel, Men. fr. 229.1 (κάδος), anon. *AP* 5.135.1 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 3902) τρογγύλη (sc. λάγυνος). For the genitive (like τῶν σκολιῶν below), X.8 ἐλαίαν ἢ φοίνικα τῶν χαμαὶ πεπτωκότων, Ar. *Pax* 1154 μυρρίνας . . . τῶν καρπίμων, *Ec.* 883 μελύδριον . . . τι τῶν Ἰωνικῶν, fr. 18.2 προσκεφάλαιον τῶν λινῶν, fr. 143 κοπίδι τῶν μαγειρικῶν, Pherecr. 74.1–2 ἰσχάδας . . . τῶν πεφωγμένων | . . . ἰσχάδας . . . τῶν μελαινῶν, Cephisod. 4 κανδάλια . . . τῶν λεπτοσχιδῶν, Stratt. 25 ὑποδήματα . . . τῶν ἀπλῶν, Pl. *Hp.Mi.* 368c αἱ Περσικαὶ (sc. ζῶναι) τῶν πολυτελῶν, X. *Smp.* 7.2 τροχὸς τῶν κεραμεικῶν, An. 4.1.14 γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν, Alex. 58 περιστερὰς . . . τῶν Σικελικῶν, 211 λάρκον . . . τῶν ἀνθρακῆρῶν, Eub.18.4 θύμον . . . τῶν Ὑμηττίων, 110 καρίδας . . . τῶν κυφῶν, Theophil. 2.1–2 κύλικα κεραμεῖν τινα | τῶν Θηρικλείων, Hipparch.Com. 1.3–5 δαπίδιον . . . τῶν Περσικῶν (n. 42 below), Nicostr.Com. 4.5 ὄρνιθάρια . . . τῶν ἀγρίων, Asclep. *AP* 5.181.2 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 921) στεφάνους τῶν ῥοδίνων, *PCair.Zen.* 59110.25–6 (257 BC) τυροὺς Κυνθίους τῶν μεγάλων, Luc. *DMort.* 20.9 πέλεκυν τῶν ναυπηγικῶν; KG 1.338, Schwyzler 2.118.

Thurii (modern Sibari) was founded by Athens in 444/3 on the site of Sybaris in S. Italy: H. Philipp, ‘Thurioi’, *RE* vi.1 A (1937) 646–52, K. Freeman, ‘Thourioi’, *G&R* 10 (1941) 49–64, O. H. Bullitt, *The Search for Sybaris* (London 1971) ch. 13, W. D. E. Coulson in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 919, O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (Oxford 1993) 14–16, A. Muggia, ‘Thurioi’, *DNP* 12.1 (2002) 515–16.

καὶ βακτηρία τῶν σκολιῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων: we know nothing about Spartan walking-sticks, whether ‘crooked’ or of any other kind. Unwarranted inferences must not be drawn from Ar. *Au.* 1281–3 ἐλακωνομάνουν . . . ἐκκυταλιοφόρου (Porson: κκυτάλι ἐφόρου codd.), where the carrying of κκυτάλια exemplifies a craze for Laconian manners. This alludes to the Spartan κκυτάλη, the official dispatch-staff (F. Kelly, ‘The Spartan Scytale’, in J. W. Eadie and J. Ober (edd.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham etc. 1985) 141–69). To carry a κκυτάλη is to be, or to look like, a Spartan. An Athenian carrying a walking-stick (βακτηρία) is likened to a Spartan carrying a κκυτάλη. This does not mean that the κκυτάλη was used as a walking-stick. When the Sicilians recognised

<sup>41</sup> Also by Boardman ap. Lane Fox 168 n. 248, whose citation of Ath. 228c–e, as evidence whether for precious metals or for λήκυθοι at Thurii, is a red herring.

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‘the symbol and ethos of Sparta’ in the staff and dress of Gylippus (Plu. *Nic.* 19.6 ἐν . . . τῇ βακτηρία καὶ τῷ τρίβωνι τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης καθορῶντες), Gylippus was carrying a σκυτάλη, not a walking-stick. At Ar. *Lys.* 991 σκυτάλα Λακωνικά does not mean ‘Spartan walking-stick’ (Sommerstein *ad loc.*, with an imaginative description of what it looked like; rightly Henderson *ad loc.*). Nor need we entertain the notion that the word κύταλον (‘cudgel, club’ LSJ) might describe a Spartan walking-stick (Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 1281–3). If κύταλον at Ar. *Ec.* 78 refers to βακτηρία at 74, it does so because the walking-stick looks like a cudgel.

A curved or bent stick (βακτηρία καμπύλη) was characteristic of countrymen, a straight stick (ὀρθή or εὐθεία) of the rich (*EM* 185.56–8). The curved stick is mentioned by Ar. fr. 142, and Sophocles claimed to have invented it, that is (I assume) to have introduced it onto the stage (Test. A 1.26 Radt). This was probably a straight stick with a curved handle. By contrast, σκολιός probably signifies ‘crooked’, that is, with a series of irregular bends, such as may be seen in Daremberg-Saglio 1 (1877) 641 fig. 730, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) figs. 253, 259, 260, id. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London 1989) fig. 178. E. *Hec.* 65–6 σκολιῶν κίπωνι χερὸς | διεριδομένη does not help us to elucidate the shape: Hecuba, ‘leaning on a crooked arm-staff’, supports herself by (presumably) clasping a chorus-woman’s arm, bent at the elbow. For the circumstances in which Athenians carried walking-sticks see MacDowell on Ar. *V.* 33. To carry a walking-stick all the time might excite disapproval, like walking too quickly or talking too loudly (D. 37.52). See also de Waele, ‘Stab’, *RE* III.2A (1929) 1896–1901, Stone, *Costume* 246–7. The gen. τῶν σκολιῶν is like τῶν τρογγύλων above.

καὶ αὐλαίαν Πέρσας ἐνσφραμμένην: same construction as XXX.11 Φειδωνεῖωι μέτρωι τὸν πύνδακα εἰσσεκρουμένωι, S. *Tr.* 157–8 δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην | ξυσθήματα (KG 1.125, Schwyzer 2.241, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 81). This splendid conjecture (Herwerden 1871, Cobet 1874), restoring taut and idiomatic style, is vindicated by Π, which omits ἔχουσαν. The plural α]υλαίας was prompted by the ending of Πέρσας, an error of anticipatory assimilation, like VI.4 τούτων (Petersen: -τοῖς AB) τοῖς, VI.8 τὰς (A: ταῖς B) . . . ταῖς, VIII.8 αὐτὸς (Wilamowitz: -τῶν B, -τὸν A) πάντων, X.6 τὰς (B: τοὺς A) κιβωτοῦς, X.11 ἐστιῶν (B: -ῶντας A) δημότας, XXIX.5 δικαστηρίου (Darvaris: -ίω V) κρινομένωι. And Πέρσας then prompted another error of assimilation, -ουσι for -ην, shared by Π with AB (above, p. 231), comparable to III.3 μυκτηριοῖς μεγίστην (B: -οῖς A), IV.7 τοῖς ἔνδον πᾶσι καὶ αὐτῶι (B: -οῖς A). It is unwise to found on α]υλαίας the conjecture αὐλαίας Πέρσας ἐνσφραμμένας (Stein). The homoioteleuta are unwelcome; and one embroidered tapestry is a sufficient luxury to make the point. In itself, αὐλαίαν ἔχουσαν Πέρσας ἐνσφραμμένους (AB) is acceptable: like Hipparch.Com. 1.3–5

δαπίδιον ἐν ἀγαπητὸν ποικίλον, | Πέρσας ἔχον καὶ γρυῦπας ἐξώλεις τινάς, | τῶν Περσικῶν,<sup>42</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1514.8–9 = 1515.3 (349/8 BC) (α χιτωνίσκος) γράμματα ἔχει ἐνυφασμένα, *Callix. FGrH* 627 F 2 (Ath. 196E–F) ἐφαπτίδες . . . εἰκόνας ἔχουσαι τῶν βασιλέων ἐνυφασμένας, *D.L.* 6.102 πῖλος . . . ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα. But ἔχουσαν followed so soon by ἔχον is displeasing, and will have been interpolated (at the prompting of ἔχον) to provide a construction, after the corruption (the earlier corruption, as Π shows) of ἐνυφασμένην το -μένους.

The tapestry is embroidered with Persians, probably not because it shows ‘a victory of Greeks over Persians’ (Jebb, comparing the fresco of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile (II.2n.) and *Verg. G.* 3.25 *purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*, defeated Britons embroidered on a theatre curtain), but because it comes from Persia. ‘Persian’ or ‘barbarian’ textiles, often elaborately patterned with exotic scenes, made luxurious drapes: *E. Ion* 1159–62 βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα depicting εὐηρέτους ναῦς ἀντίας Ἑλληνίσιν etc., *Ar. Ra.* 938 παραπετάσμαιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς (cf. fr. 624), *Men. Dysc.* 923 παραπέτασμα βαρβαρικὸν ὑφαντὸν, *Hipparch.Com.* 1.3–5 (cited above; embroidered, like this, with Persians); *Gow on Theoc.* 15.78, *F. v. Lorentz*, ‘BAPBARΩΝ ΥΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ’, *MDAI(R)* 52 (1937) 166–222 (esp. 198–212), *Pritchett* 248–50, *T. B. L. Webster, BRL* 45 (1962) 262–4. The tapestry will have been hung where visitors might see it, perhaps in a dining room: *Hyp.* fr. 139 *Jensen* οἱ . . . ἐννέα ἄρχοντες εἰσιτῶντο ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, περιφραξάμενοι τι μέρος αὐτῆς αὐλαίαι, *Hor. Carm.* 3.29.14–15 *pauperum | cenae sine aulaeis*, *S.* 2.8.54; *Reisch*, ‘Aulaeum’, *RE* II.2 (1896) 2398–9, *Webster* 264–7.

καὶ παλαιστρίδιον κονίστραν ἔχον καὶ σφαιριστήριον: since τοῦτο at the beginning of the next sentence refers to παλαιστρίδιον (this is proved by the final words τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ παλαίστρα), it follows that σφαιριστήριον is governed not (like παλαιστρίδιον) by κτήσασθαι but (like κονίστραν) by ἔχον (same word order as *XIX.2* λέπτραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφόν, *XX.9* κῆπος λάχανα πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ ἀπαλά; cf. *IV.11*, *X.10*, 13, *XIV.10*, *XXVIII.6*).

παλαιστρίδιον (Π, *coni. Cobet* 1874) is attested only in *PSI* 418.7 (iii BC) and *Call. Dieg.* VIII.35 (1.196 *Pfeiffer*). *AB* have αὐλίδιον παλαιστριαῖον, the former word attested once as diminutive of αὐλόος (*LSJ* II ‘small tube’), unexampled in the sense ascribed to it here (*LSJ* I ‘place of athletic exercises, ring’), the latter unattested. The preceding αὐλαίαν prompted αὐλίδιον παλαιστριαῖον. Similarly *VI.5* πανδοκεῦσαι καὶ πορνοβοσκῆσαι (-κεῦσαι B), *XIX.3–4* θηριωθῆναι . . . φθειρώδεις (θηριώδεις V), *XXI.9* ποιῆσαι . . .

<sup>42</sup> So the lines should be punctuated (*Blaydes*, as reported, but not followed, by *Kassel* and *Austin*). A Persian-style rug is likelier than a Persian-style griffin. See above on καὶ Θουριακάς τῶν ετρογγύλων ληκύθους.

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στήσας (ποιήσας V), XXII.8 ἐκδῶι . . . πλύναι (ἐκπλύναι V), XXVII.8–9 ἱερεῖ . . . ἑταίρας (ἱεράς V), XXVIII.3 γυναικες . . . κύνες (γυναικες V). See also XXIII.8n., Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* 223–7, Diggle, *Euripidea* 496.<sup>43</sup> By contrast with the gymnasium, which was normally a public establishment (§7n.), the palaestra was often a private establishment (K. Schneider 30–2, Oehler 2010–11, Delorme 261, Kyle 66–7, Glass 162, all cited on §7).

κονίστρα is an area or room for wrestling, derived from κόνις, the fine sand which covered the floor and with which wrestlers sprinkled themselves before fighting to give a hold on their bodies (LSJ κόνις II, κονίω I.4, Eust. *Il.* 382.32 (1.604.15–16 van der Valk) κονιέσθαι γὰρ τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ κονίστρα, ἢ κατὰ τὴν παλαίστραν). It is the term used in literary texts (Call. fr. 328 ἦχι κονίστραι | ἄξεινοι λύθρωι τε καὶ εἶαρι πεπλήθαισι, Lyc. 867 πάλης κονίστρας, Plu. 638c (wrestling requires) πηλοῦ καὶ κονίστρας καὶ κηρώματος, Ael. *NA* 6.15 τοὺς δρόμους καὶ τὰς κονίστρας, II.10 δρόμοι καὶ κονίστραι καὶ γυμνάσια; LSJ 2), in preference to κονιστήριον (*IGRom.* IV 293a col. 1.19, Pergamum II BC), κόνιμα (T. Homolle, *BCH* 23 (1899) 565–7, J. Jannoray, *Le gymnase (Fouilles de Delphes, II: Topographie et architecture*, Paris 1953) 88, J. Pouilloux, *BCH Suppl.* 4 (1977) 103–23, Delphi III BC, associated with one or more σφαιριστήρια), κόνιμα (*IG* v.1(1) 938, Cythera, date uncertain), ἐγκόνιμα (*IG* IX.2 31, Hypata, Hellenistic?). On these see Delorme 276–81. Since σφαιριστήριον designates an area or room where a sport was played, κόνιν (AB) makes an odd partner for it (‘a little wrestling-school which has sand and a σφαιριστήριον’). Delorme suggested that κόνιν is here used synonymously with the nouns listed above (κονίστρα, κονιστήριον etc.). This is an unlikely use. Stein suggested that it implies a contrast with πηλόσ, so that κόνιν ἔχον specifically excludes the alternative mode of wrestling, in mud. This does not reduce the oddity of the pairing. Meier 1850/1 conjectured κονι<στήριον>V. This word is not found in a literary text before Vitruvius (*conisterium* 5.11.2). So I write κονι<στρα>V. Even though Π agrees with AB, emendation is legitimate (above, p. 231).

σφαιριστήριον is attested as a component of gymnasia at Delphi (III BC, cited above), Delos (*IG* IX 199 A. 110, III BC), Pergamum (II BC, cited above), and during the Roman period (Delorme 281–2); also called σφαιρίστρα at Delos (*Inscr. Delos* 1412 a 20, 1417 A I 140, II BC; Delorme 282, J. Audiat, *Exploration archéologique de Delos, XXVIII: Le gymnase* (Paris 1970) 96–7). Pliny had a *sphaeristerium* in both of his country-houses: one (*Ep.* 5.6.27) ‘accommodates several kinds of exercise and several groups of spectators’ (*plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capi*); of the other (*Ep.* 2.17.12) no details are given. Another is mentioned by Suet. *Vés.* 20, but its use is not specified. Cf. I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The*

<sup>43</sup> Add Gorg. *Hel.* 18 ώματι . . . ὄμμα (X: ώμα A).

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*Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Aarhus 1990) 1.165, M. Weber, *Antike Badekultur* (Munich 1996) 33. Latin *sphaeristerium* will be derived from *sphaera* 'ball'. But for the Greeks ball games were diversions, no part of athletic training. They held 'about the same position as bowls or billiards with us' (H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964) 24). On ball games, in general, E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1930) ch. xviii, W. S. Hett, *G&R* 1 (1931) 26–9, H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London 1972) ch. 3, Mendner (above, p. 241) 852–4, I. Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der alten Welt* (Darmstadt 1981) 209–14, S. Laser, *Archaeologia Homerica* T (Göttingen 1987) 90–3. It would therefore be surprising to find an area especially designated for ball games in the palaestra. A sport immeasurably more important than ball-playing, and one which was practised in gymnasia, was boxing. In partnership with κονίςτραν, which designates the wrestling area, φαιριστήριον will be an area or room for boxing practice (first suggested, and admirably argued, by Delorme 281–6; argued again by Delorme, *BCH* 106 (1982) 53–73, in answer to the objections of G. Roux, *BCH* 104 (1980) 134–9), from φαῖρα, a glove used by boxers in practice (Pl. *Lg* 830B, Plu. 80B, Phryn. ap. *AB* I.62,<sup>44</sup> Poll. 3.150; LSJ Rev. Suppl., correcting LSJ φαῖρα 4) instead of the ἰμάντες used in real contests; similarly ἐπίσφαιρον or -σφαῖρα (Plu. 825E τῶν . . . ἐν ταῖς παλαίστρας διαμαχομένων ἐπίσφαιροῖς (*u.l.* -αις) περιδέουσι τὰς χεῖρας). Hence φαιρομαχεῖν 'spar' (Pl. *Lg* 830E, Men. *Dysc.* 517) and φαιρομαχία (Aristomen. 13). See further H. Frère in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout* (Paris 1940) 141–58, S. Mendner, 'Boxhandschuhe im Altertum', *Gymnasium* 60 (1953) 20–6, Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* 98–9, Gomme and Sandbach on Men. *Dysc.* 517, M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of Greek Combat Sports* (Meisenheim 1982) 88–100, T. F. Scanlon, 'Greek boxing gloves: terminology and evolution', *Stadion* 8–9 (1982–3) 31–45.

I am not impressed by the objections to Delorme's interpretation raised by Poliakoff 100 n. 9 and Stein 110. Poliakoff cites Gal. vi (a mistake for v) 902–3 Kühn (Roman and irrelevant). Stein observes (i) that a φαιρίστρα τῶν Ἀρρηφόρων on the Acropolis ([Plu.] 839C) must be a place for ball games<sup>45</sup> (what the word meant to a writer in the Roman period cannot prescribe what it meant on Delos several centuries earlier), (ii) that Pliny's *sphaeristeria* were not used for boxing (nor were they in a gymnasium; nor did the Romans have boxing gloves called *sphaerae*).

<sup>44</sup> In Phryn. read τὸ τὰς σφαῖρας περιδούμενον (-δονούμενον cod.) διαμάχεσθαι. The correction is certain: see Pl. *Lg* 830B, Plu. 825E (cited below). I do not know who first proposed it: it is accepted (or proposed) by Frère, adopted (without attribution) by Mendner, ignored by Poliakoff (all cited below).

<sup>45</sup> It was not 'a kind of indoor football hall' (Wilson, *Khoregia* 42). The girls will have played handball, not football.

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**10** καὶ τοῦτο περιῶν χρηνηύται: for περιῶν, IV.13n. The form χρηνηύται, restored by Foss for χρη νῦν αἰεί (AB), was possibly in Π (... [...])αι Dorandi-Stein, [...]ν[...]ναι Fish; earlier [χρ]ω[ννυ]ναι Bassi (coni. Needham), [χ]ρη[ν]ν[υ]ναι K. F. W. Schmidt, [χρ]η[ννυ]ναι Kondo). It presupposes a present χρήννυμι, while at X.13 χρηνηύειν (χρωνν- AB) presupposes χρηνηύω. The expected present is κίχρημι (D. 53.12, non-Attic inscriptions cited by LSJ χράω (B) B), with which accords XXX.20 κίχρασθαι. Though unattested, χρήννυμι is a legitimate form, bearing the same relationship to κίχρημι as κεράννυμι to κίρνημι, κρεμάννυμι to κρίμνημι, πετάννυμι to πίτνημι. Thematic forms (-ύω for -νυμι) appear early in literary texts (e.g. ὀμύω H. II. 19.175, Πι. Ν. 7.70, δεικνύω Hes. Op. 451, ὀλλύω Archil. 26.6, ὀρνύω Πι. O. 13.12, σβεννύω Πι. P. 1.5). Though rarely attested in Attic inscriptions before the end of the fourth cent. (Meisterhans 191, Threatte 2.619–25), they proliferate in the κοινή. See further on XI.8 δεικνύειν. The development κίχρημι > χρήννυμι > χρηνηύω is paralleled by κίρνημι > κεράννυμι > κεραννύω (Alc.Com. 15), κρίμνημι > κρεμάννυμι > κρεμαννύω (κρεμαννύουσι CP 4.3.3). And χρηνηύω is attested by PCair.Zen. 59304.4 (250 BC) χρηνηύομεθα. See Schwyzer 1.698–9, P. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec* (Paris 1964) 218–20. Since -ύναι is supported here by Π, it is prudent to accept it and to suppose that -ύειν at X.13 is either a legitimate alternative or a mistake. There is no good reason to substitute κίχράναι (Needham) or χρηῖναι (Ussing, already χρηῖναι αἰεί Petersen). For the sense of the verb, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 29.

**τοῖς σοφισταῖς, τοῖς ὄπλομάχοις, τοῖς ἄρμονικοῖς:** other asyndetic tricola of nouns at VI.9, XVI.10, 11, XXV.8 (conj.); infinitives VI.5, XXI.10; clauses VI.6 (XXV.4n.). Gymnasia and palaestras were regularly used, from the fourth cent. onwards, for public displays by sophists, musicians, and the like (Oehler 2014, Delorme 316–36).

τοῖς σοφισταῖς (Π) is preferable to τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τοῖς σοφισταῖς (AB), because (i) T. has several asyndetic tricola (listed above), no tetracolon; (ii) interpolation is more likely than accidental or deliberate omission (the notion of Immisch 1923 and Edmonds 1929 that an uncomplimentary reference to philosophers was suppressed by Philodemus, himself a philosopher, is far-fetched), especially since AB have another interpolation (ἐξουσαν) and a quasi-interpolation (αὐλίδιον) just above; (iii) philosophers and sophists are an insufficiently varied pair, when compared with the pair which follows; (iv) public displays suit sophists more than philosophers. Bloch had already proposed to delete τοῖς σοφισταῖς as a gloss on τοῖς φιλοσόφοις.

ὄπλομάχοι ('drill-sergeant' LSJ, 'instructor in fighting with weapons' Rev. Suppl.; also ὄπλομάχη Πι. *Euthd.* 299c) taught the art of fighting in heavy armour: attack and defence, drill, manoeuvres, possibly tactics. Like sophists, they were itinerant fee-taking professional teachers, who promoted business by public displays of their techniques (ἐπιδείκνυσθαι Πι. *La.* 179E, 183c). We hear

their typical commands in XXVII.3. Such instruction was later institutionalised as part of the ephebate ([Arist.] *Ath.* 42.3). See J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) 86–7, E. L. Wheeler, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 223–33, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 1–20.<sup>46</sup>

ἄρμονικοί are ‘musical theorists’ (first in Arist., then T. fr. 89.2 Wimmer, 716.17 Fortenbaugh). Some of them lectured or gave demonstrations in public. For exemplification of the term (LSJ is inadequate) and of specific theorists, M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* 218, 367–8.

ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι\* καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν: the double compound (Π, coni. Cobet 1858) is more effective than ἐπιδ- (AB). A transitive use is attested earlier (but uncertainly) in Isoc. 19.24 ἐν αὐτοῖς γὰρ τούτοις . . . ἐνεπεδειξάμην (Priscian. 17.169; ἐπεδ- Isoc. codd.: ἐνεδ- Coray) τὴν εὐνοίαν; absolute, as here, Ph. *De Abr.* 190 (4.42 Cohn-Wendland) ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι καὶ ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι (sc. ἐν ἔρημίαι), *Lib. Decl.* 16.28 ὠκοδόμηται τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς πονηροῖς μὲν ἐναλίκεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀγαθοῖς ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι. Compounds with ἐν- are regularly used as ‘final-consecutive’ (see on XVI.6 ἐπιρράψαι) infinitives: Hdt. 2.178.1, 6.102, 7.59.2, 9.2.1, 9.7β.2, Th. 2.20.4, 2.44.1, 2.74.2, S. *OC* 790, E. *Hl.* 1096, Ph. 727, Ba. 508, Ar. *Eq.* 782, *Pax* 1228, *Au.* 38, 122, *Eup.* 70.3, 269.1, *Pherecr.* 70.3, *And.* 3.27, *Pl. Phd.* 84A, *Phdr.* 228E, X. *Mem.* 3.8.8, *Smp.* 2.18, 3.8, D. 18.198, *Aeschin.* 3.150, *Arist. Pol.* 1331<sup>b</sup>12; KG 2.14 Anmerk. 12, J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* 2 (Basel 1924) 177–8, Cope on *Arist. Rh.* 2.4.12 (1381<sup>a</sup>29). For ἐπιδείκνυσθαι of displays by sophists and the like see LSJ 1.2.b, and on ὄπλομάχοι above. For the noun ἐπίδειξις, LSJ 1.2–3, Delorme 317 n. 4.; the corruption (ἀπο- AB), XVI.2, 14, Diggle, *Euripidea* 290.

ὑστερον ἐπειεῖναι ἐπειδὴν ἤδη συγκαθῶνται, ἴν' ὁ ἕτερος εἴπηι τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον: this is a makeshift text, combining elements from Π and AB. Consistent with the traces in Π is εἰς[ιέναι] ἐπει[δὴν ἤδη] | συνκαθῶν[ται] ἴν[α τις εἴ]π[η] τῶν θ[ε]ω[μ]ένων. At the beginning, ε. [Dorandi-Stein, ε. . . [Fish ('base of a vertical followed by the bottom of a curved letter'). Not ἐπ[ειεῖναι], which is incompatible with Fish's diagnosis, and in any case too long. And probably not ἔτ[ο]μος (Dorandi-Stein). For then ἐπει[ ] (Bassi, Fish; ἐπε[ ] Dorandi-Stein) will have to be ἐπει[ ] (ciέναι, leaving insufficient room for a temporal conjunction: ἐπει[ ] (ciέναι ἐπ'άν) (Edmonds 1910) is too long; ἐπει[ ] (ciέναι ἄν) (contemplated by Dorandi-Stein) might fit, but ἄν is unsuitable, as they acknowledge. Better therefore εἰς[ιέναι] ἐπει[δὴν ἤδη] (Dorandi-Stein, who describe the final trace as compatible with ι or the right vertical of η, μ, ν, π). ἤδη had already been proposed by Edmonds 1910 (ἐπει[ ] (ciέναι ἤδη) συ[ ] καθ[ ] (μέ)ν[ ] (ων). ἐπειδὴν, although unique in this

<sup>46</sup> The ὄπλομάχοι in the inscription cited by Stein are not instructors but youths who have won prizes for skill with arms at a festival in the second century. This is a different matter.

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work (ὅταν is regular), is very common elsewhere (several instances in T.); cf. ἐπὶ Π.4n., ἐπειδὴ XXVIII.2, and, for ἐπειδὴν ἤδη, VII.10 ὅταν . . . ἤδη. Alternatively, εἰς[ιέναι] ἐπει[τα ὅτα]ν (Stefanis 1994b), where ὅταν is welcome enough, but ἐπειτα (so placed) is unstylish. Then, where Dorandi-Stein read ἴν[α . . . .] | [. . .] (| π[. . .] N), either ἴν[α εἴπη] | τ[ι] [c] (Dorandi-Stein) or ἴν[α τις εἴ] | π[η] (ἴν[α] εἴπη τις) Edmonds 1910; ἴν[α] [ἐτέρωι τις εἴ] | π[η] Kondo; ἐπιέναι ἴν[α] εἴπη τις for ἐπεικιν ἐπί (AB) Madvig 1868). For τις with following gen., XXVIII.3n. ἴν[α] [ἄλλοι ἄλλωι εἴ] | π[η] (Stein formerly) is too long, and so is ἴν[α] [ἕκαστος εἴ] | π[η] (Stefanis). ἴν[α] ἕκασ[τ] | τ[ος] τῶν θεωμένων[ν εἴπη] τ[ούτου] (Stefanis) would give false division at ἕκασ[τ]ος (see on §5 καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν καθίστασθαι), and there is not enough room for εἴπη in place of ὅτι.

AB had a fuller text than Π at the end: there is no room in Π for πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον. But Π had a fuller text than AB in the middle, where AB are incoherent and probably lacunose. We may accommodate the extra matter from Π in a lacuna in AB, except that (in view of τὸν ἕτερον) the missing subject in AB was more likely ὁ ἕτερος than τις. Although ὁ ἕτερος could have been separately omitted later in the clause (<ὁ ἕτερος> πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον Edmonds 1929), we need posit only a single lacuna if we write < . . . ὁ ἕτερος> εἴπη (H.-G. Nesselrath ap. Stein). The expression ὁ ἕτερος . . . πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, where we might expect ἕτερος . . . πρὸς ἕτερον (many, beginning with Pauw, have deleted τόν), does not here limit the numbers to two, as it normally would, but singles out two as representative of a larger number, as X. *Cyr.* 8.2.28 οἱ πλείονες ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλοντο ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον γενέσθαι, *HG* 2.2.3 ὁ ἕτερος τῶι ἐτέρωι παραγγέλλων, *An.* 6.1.5 ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν Θραῖκες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις . . . τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει. The pleonastic ὑστερον ἐπ- is idiomatic (KG 2.583–4). We do not want ὑστερῶν (Coray before Fraenkel and Groeneboom; ὑστερεῖν Pauw). For συγκαθῶνται, XXVIII.5n. For the idea, Luc. *Rh.Pr.* 22 ἐν ταῖς ἀκροάσει μετὰ πάντας εἰσίναι χρή, ἐπίσημον γάρ.

We may explain (a) the text of Π by assuming that Philodemus simplified at both beginning (εἰσίναι for ὑστερον ἐπεικιν) and end (τις for ὁ ἕτερος . . . πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον) and (b) the text of AB by assuming a *saut du même au même* (ὑστερον ἐπεικιν (Foss 1858: ἐπεικιν AB) ἐπει<δὴν ἤδη συγκαθῶνται ἴν[α] ὁ ἕτερος εἴπη> τῶν θεωμένων).

ὅτι “Τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ παλαιότερα”: II.8n.



## VI

### THE MAN WHO HAS LOST ALL SENSE

#### Introductory note

Ἀπόνοια is 'loss of sense' (as distinct from ἄνοια 'lack of sense', and παράνοια 'madness'), manifested in behaviour which, to a hostile observer, appears irrational or irresponsible. The concept has no place in Aristotle's ethical system but belongs rather to the polemical vocabulary of the orators: D. 18.249 οὐτ' ἀπόνοια ᾤκεικλέους οὔτε κυκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ, 25.32 οὐχ ὀρθῶθ' ὅτι τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ πολιτείας οὐ λογισμὸς οὐδ' αἰδῶς οὐδεμία ἄλλ' ἀπόνοι' ἠγεῖται, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλον ἔστ' ἀπόνοι' ἢ τούτου πολιτείας;, 33 (contrasted with νοῦς, φρένες ἀγαθαί, and πρόνοια), 34 (coupled with ἀναίδεια), 26.19, 44.15, 58 (coupled with προπέτεια), 61.4, Hyp. *Lyc.* 6, *Dem.* 7, Din. 1.82, 104. Speakers in Thucydides use it to describe the reckless daring to which an army is reduced by desperation (1.82.4, 7.67.4). No adjectival form is attested (E. *Hel.* 1321 ἀπόνουσι coni. Verrall), and the participle ἀπονενοημένος is used in its stead: Th. 7.81.5, X. *HG* 7.5.12, Isoc. 8.93 (quoted on §6), D. 19.69, 25.32, 43.41; adverbial ἀπονενοημένως X. *HG* 7.2.8, Isoc. 6.75. Menander has the verb once: *Pk.* 375 ἀπονενόησθε, πρὸς θεῶν; (for forcibly detaining a free woman). In Nicol.Com. 1.43 ἀπόνοια is listed among the ills of the parasite.

The ἀπόνοια described by Theophrastus is not 'recklessness' (Jebb), 'wilful disreputableness' (Edmonds), 'shamelessness' (Rusten), 'lack of constraint, impropriety' (LSJ Rev. Suppl.), translations warped by the spurious definition. Nor is it anything so dramatic as 'the shameless inconsequentiality which on a sufficiently spectacular scale labels the agent a psychopath' (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 149 n. 2). The sketch exemplifies loss of sense or good judgement, manifested in unsuitable or reprehensible behaviour. If we ignore the interpolations and an uncured corruption, this (in bald summary) is how the man behaves: he dances an obscene dance while sober (§3), demands an entrance fee from ticket-holders (§4), engages in opprobrious trades (§5), leaves his mother uncared for, is arrested for theft and spends much of his time in gaol (§6), is constantly in court as defendant or plaintiff (§8), and sets himself up as a patron of low tradesmen, whom he funds at exorbitant interest (§9). These are the actions of a man who has lost all sense of how to behave. The suicide of Hedda Gabler was ἀπόνοια in the eyes of Judge Brack: 'One doesn't do that kind of thing.'

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### [I] *Definition*

The definition is inadequate and inept. It was possibly known to Philodemus (Περὶ κολακείας), *P. Herc.* 223 fr. 8. 1–5 (M. Gigante and G. Indelli, *CErc* 8 (1978) 130) ἀπονενοημένον . . . ὑπομέν[ο]ντα πορνοβοσ[κοῖς] καὶ τελώναις καὶ παντ[ροπώ]λαις διὰ βίου ζυγομαχεῖν, where ὑπομέν[ο]ντα may have been suggested by ὑπομονή (the rest alludes to §5).

ὑπομονή αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων: this ought to mean ‘tolerance or endurance of disgraceful action and speech’ (LSJ II, as e.g. [Pl.] *Def.* 412C καρτερία ὑπομονή λύπης, for which see Ingenkamp 42–3). While ‘endurance of disgraceful speech’ would suit, and may have been prompted by, the spurious κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι in §2, the expression as a whole must be designed to mean ‘tolerance of [doing] . . . and [speaking] . . .’ (LSJ III, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 309; see also Stein 125–6). This is nonsense. And the pairing of action and speech, typical of the definitions (def. I n.), is faulty, since the sketch does not illustrate speech. ὑπερβολή, a conjecture reported by Casaubon (see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172), does not appeal. As a correction of δικαιολόγων (AB) there is little to choose between καὶ λόγων (ed. Basil.<sup>a</sup> before Stephanus)<sup>47</sup> and τε καὶ λόγων (Gale). Definitions I, VIII, XIII, XIV have καὶ alone in similar phrases; and T. has only one instance of τε . . . καὶ in this work (XIII.10), although he uses it commonly elsewhere (Müller (1874) 36–40). But the author of the *prooemium* affects τε (. . .) καὶ (five instances), and there is no reason why the author of the definitions should not have used it.

**2 τοιοῦτός τις:** τις (B) not ἔστιν (A); I.2n.

**2–3 [ὁμόσαι . . . ἀμέλει δυνατός καί]:** sense and style condemn these words. Clear indications of interpolation are the generalising adjectival style (in place of specific exemplification by infinitives) of τῶι ἦθει ἀγοραῖός τις καὶ ἀναεσυρμένος καὶ παντοποιός (there is another interpolation of generalising adjectives at XIX.4), and the clumsy resumption of the infinitive construction with ἀμέλει δυνατός καί (§8n. *imit.*, VII.6n.) and its abnormal asyndeton (ἀμέλει δέ is invariable: see on §9 <καί> . . . δέ, II.9n.).

ὁμόσαι ταχύ, κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι, λοιδορηθῆναι δυναμένοις: if δυνάμενος (AB) is retained, it is unclear whether κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι is to be constructed with οἷος or with δυνάμενος. If with οἷος, the participial phrase λοιδορηθῆναι δυνάμενος is appended feebly (deleted by Pasquali before Edmonds 1929); if with δυνάμενος, the asyndeton is intolerable (ἀκοῦσαι <καί> λοιδορηθῆναι ed.

<sup>47</sup> This (or a variant of it) also appears in descendants of A (Torraca (1974) 88, Stefanis (1994a) 85, 118).

pr.; λοιδορηθῆναι del. Darvaris before Cobet 1854). It is also unclear whether λοιδορηθῆναι is to be taken as passive in sense, duplicating κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι (cf. J. Vahlen, *Opuscula Academica* 2 (Leipzig 1908) 383–7), or as active (LSJ II). Deletion of δυνάμενος (Meier 1850/1) clarifies the construction of κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι. But δυναμένοις (Foss 1858) also clarifies λοιδορηθῆναι (by showing that it is active in sense), and effects so great an improvement so economically that it deserves to be accepted, even if the sentence is an interpolation. Stein's claim that δυναμένοις would need the article cannot be upheld, even if the sentence is genuine (see VII.7 (conj.), XI.6, XII.9, II, XX.3, 4 (conj.), XXV.4, XXVIII.5 (conj.), KG 1.608–9; singular part. without article, II.2n.); much less, if it is not. If we retain δυνάμενος, we must conclude at once that δυνάμενος and anything which we link to it are interpolated, since this participial style is alien to Theophrastus. If we accept δυναμένοις, we must conclude that κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι at least is interpolated. For while 'to swear an oath pat' and 'to abuse the powerful' might exemplify 'loss of sense', the intervening 'to get a bad reputation' does not. In Plu. *Alc.* 13.5 the ἀναισχυντία and ἀπόνοια of Hyperbolus are exemplified by his indifference to what people said against him (ἄτρεπτος . . . πρὸς τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν καὶ ἀπαθῆς ὧν ὀλιγωρία δόξης). But the expression ἄτρεπτος . . . πρὸς τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν shows how inadequate is the bare οἶος . . . κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι (cf. S. Halliwell, *CQ* 41 (1991) 287, who is suitably cautious). Something more would be needed, like <ἐκῶν> κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι (Herwerden). It would be possible to retain the two other infin. phrases (writing ὁμόσαι ταχύ, λοιδορηθῆναι δυναμένοις, ὀρχεῖσθαι κτλ.). But both ὁμόσαι ταχύ and λοιδορηθῆναι δυναμένοις are displeasingly curt, and ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων κτλ. is a better opening illustration.

τῶι ἦθει ἀγοραῖός τις καὶ ἀνασευρμένος καὶ παντοποῖός: the noun ἦθος appears in epilogues I and XXVII, and at VIII.2 (where text and meaning are uncertain). For its use in general see O. Thimme, *Φύσις Τρόπος ἦθος* (diss. Göttingen 1935). For ἀγοραῖός ('belonging to the agora', hence 'common, vulgar'), Ar. *Eq.* 181 (πונהρὸς κἀξ ἀγοραῖς), 218, *Ra.* 1015, Pl. *Prt.* 347c, Arist. *EN* 1158<sup>a</sup>21, *Pol.* 1319<sup>a</sup>28; LSJ II, Kassel and Austin on Ar. fr. 488.2, Whitehead on Hyp. *Ath.* 3, Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 185, id. 'Encounters in the Agora' 218–19, also on §9 ἀγοραίων; similarly *forensis* (Brink on Hor. *Ars* 245). For τις, V.3n. The figurative use of ἀνασευρμένος (literal at XI.2) is attested for Anacr. 5 Page (Phot. A 1687 Theodoridis). παντοποῖός is not attested again before II ad (LSJ, Stein 127). No need for παντοδαπός (Darvaris before Usener) or παντοῖος (Navarre 1924).

3 ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα: a sober man does not dance (Cic. *Mur.* 13 *nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit*; cf. XII.14, XV.10, Arnott on Alex. 102.1–2). Least of all does he dance the κόρδαξ, which only drunkenness can excuse. The κόρδαξ was an obscene dance, associated with the

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comic stage, performed by drunkards: Ar. *Nu.* 555 προσθείς αὐτῶι γραῦν μεθύσθη τῷ κόρδακος οὔνεκα, D. 2.18 τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακιμούς (cf. 19 περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι . . . τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους οἷους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα οἷα ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι), Mnesim. 4.18 πρόποσις χωρεῖ, λέπεται κόρδαξ, Alciphr. 2.15.2 πιόμεθα εἰς μέθην . . . καὶ ὅστις ἐπιτήδειος κορδακίζειν κτλ., Jul. *Mis.* 350B οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ κορδακίζειν. The verb is applied figuratively to vulgar and unsuitable behaviour by Hyg. *Phil.* 7 εἰ δ' οἴ[ει] κορδακίζων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν, ὅπερ ποιεῖν εἴωθας, ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀποφεύξεσθαι, εἰρήθ]ησ εἶ. See H. Schnabel, *Kordax* (Munich 1910), Warnecke, 'Kordax', *RE* x1.2 (1922) 1382–5, E. Roos, *Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie* (Lund 1951) 153–66, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 2<sup>nd</sup> 1962) 167–9.

The scholium in B εἶδος αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀπρεποῦς ὀρχήσεως (see the Introduction, p. 44) is identical, save for word-order, with Σ D. 2.18 (1.71 Dilts) and Σ Luc. *Bacch.* 1 (p. 9 Rabe); cf. Σ Tzetz. Ar. *Pl.* 279 (p. 80 Koster).

†καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῶι χορῶι<sup>1</sup>: to dance the κόρδαξ 'while sober and wearing a mask in a comic chorus' is nonsense. Introduction of a negative (<οὐκ> ἔχων Casaubon, κού for καί Pauw, <μη> ἔχων Schneider)<sup>48</sup> can be at best only a partial solution. Failure to wear a mask might be deemed ἀπόνοια, if the mask is regarded as a disguise and therefore a guarantee of anonymity. But 'sober and not wearing a mask in a comic chorus' is an odd pairing and not a natural way of saying 'sober and not in a comic chorus (where the wearing of a mask excuses participation in the dance)'. Dover's paraphrase (on Ar. *Nu.* 540) 'dancing the κόρδαξ when neither drunk nor a member of a comic chorus is a product of ἀπόνοια' highlights the problem, by failing to take notice of the mask: 'wearing a mask in a comic chorus' says much more than 'being a member of a comic chorus'. Replacement of καί with ὥς (Unger before Sitzler), ὥσπερ (Naber), ὥς <τις> (Groeneboom) avails nothing. Better (but still not good enough) <οἶον> ἐν ('without a mask <such as one might wear> in a comic chorus'). Wachsmuth (ap. Meister) proposed κού προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμαστικῶι χορῶι, on the strength of D. 19.287, where an individual is vilified who ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου (*u.l.* προσωπεῖου) κωμάζει (revels in the procession at the Dionysia without a mask). What propriety he is transgressing is unclear: perhaps he is behaving with the indecency of a satyr, without wearing a satyr mask (see MacDowell *ad loc.*, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *DHA* 18.1 (1992) 245–56, Wilson, *Khoregia* 345 n. 213). At all events, a 'comastic chorus' is otherwise unknown, and this passage of D. gives no support to it. Navarre 1918 implausibly suggests that the words are

<sup>48</sup> The latter is reported from Laur. 60.18 (7 Wilson) by Torraca (1974) 88, Stefanis (1994a) 103, 118.

## COMMENTARY

a relic of Σ<sup>b</sup> (quoted above), which originally ran εἶδος αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀπρεποῦς ὀρχήσεως <ὁ ὠρχεῖτό τις> πρ- κτλ. Perhaps the text is lacunose.

4 καὶ ἐν θαύμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἐκλέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον περιῶν: the word θαύματα embraces puppet-shows, juggling, circuses and other kinds of popular entertainment (songs at XXVII.7); LSJ I.2, Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* 2.494–5, G. Lafaye, 'Praestigiator', in Daremberg-Saglio IV.1 (1904–7) 628, W. Kroll, 'Θαυματοποιοί', *RE Suppl.* VI (1935) 1278–82, B. Huß, *ICS* 22 (1997) 43–4,<sup>49</sup> Olson and Sens on Matro I.121. χαλκοῖ are coins worth as little as an eighth of an obol (M. N. Tod, *NC* 6 (1946) 47–62, V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (Berlin 1968) 43–5). Cf. X.6 τρίχαλκον, XXVIII.4, XXX.9. ἐκλέγειν is the technical term for levying payments of various kinds (LSJ II); cf. §9. For περιῶν (Needham spelled περιῶν) and the corruption, IV.13n.

καὶ μάχεσθαι τούτων τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι καὶ προῖκα θεωρεῖν ἀξιοῦσι: 'quarrel with' (as XIV.9, XXIII.8, Men. *DE* 62, *Dysc.* 355, LSJ II; figurative μάχην VII.7) 'those of them who . . .' (for the construction see on V.7 τῶν . . . γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις). τούτοις τοῖς (AB) is impossible: it does not mean 'those who' (Rusten), which is τοῖς alone (so δ), but 'these, who'. For the corruption see on V.9 καὶ αὐλαίαν κτλ. For the resumptive use of the pronoun see on I.2 καὶ τούτοις. For θεωρεῖν, IV.5n.

The σύμβολον was probably some kind of admission ticket (Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 270–2; cf. A. L. Boegehold, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 393–401, M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, x: Weights, Measures and Tokens* (Princeton 1964) 76–8, P. Gauthier, *Symbola* (Nancy 1972) 73–6, W. Müri, 'SYM-BOLON', in *Griechische Studien: Ausgewählte wort- und sachsengeschichtliche Forschungen zur Antike* (Basel 1976) 1–44 (p. 7 for this passage), R. Hurschmann, 'Eintritts- und Erkennungsmarken', *DNP* 3 (1997) 917–18); less likely a 'receipt' given by the collector on his first round, which he repudiates on his second, claiming that it has changed hands in the meantime (Meister). The second participial phrase probably amplifies the first ('those who are in possession of a ticket and so expect to get a free seat'), as XII.9 ἀκηκότας καὶ μεμαθηκότας, II θύοντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας, XVIII.9 τοῖς εἰληφόσι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουσι, XXIX.2 τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ δημοσίους ἀγῶνας ὠφληκόσι. Rusten (translating καὶ as 'or') supposes a distinction between those who possess a σύμβολον (which they have paid for) and those who regard themselves as entitled to a free seat (and so have not paid for a σύμβολον). As often in this work (e.g., the next sentence), καὶ links *alternatives*' (Rusten 171, referring to Denniston 292). Denniston offers nothing comparable; and in the next sentence καὶ links items which may (in practical reality) be alternatives, but whose alternative status is not at issue. If

<sup>49</sup> His very plausible conjecture θαύμασιν for θαύμασι at X. *Smp.* 2.1 was anticipated by A. Meineke, *Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae* (Leipzig 1853) 132.

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the activities mentioned here are to be seen as clear alternatives, I should expect ἦ for καί (giving a structure like XXIV.7 τοὺς πωλοῦντάς τι ἢ μισθουμένους). For ἦ in other verbal disjunctions, VII.7, XVI.3, XXVI.3, XXX.19 (conj.). Conjectures such as <οὐ> φέρουσι (Coray), <μη> φ- (Navarre 1920), τοῖς <δις> (Diels), τοῖς <δις> . . . φαίνουσι (Pasquali) are misguided: if the speculators are cheating, the collector's behaviour is not reprehensible.

### 5 δεινός δὲ καί: §9n.

πανδοκεῦσαι καὶ πορνοβοσκῆσαι καὶ τελωνῆσαι: these three roles (πανδοκεύς, πορνοβοσκός, τελώνης) and the first of the following three (κῆρυξ) appear on a list of disreputable professions (βίοι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις ὄνειδικθῆι) in Poll. 6.128. The innkeeper is disreputable because he takes in all-comers, transient and by implication low-class, who cannot find lodging with respectable hosts; cf. XX.9, Pl. *Lg.* 918d πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν καπηλείαν καὶ ἐμπορίαν καὶ πανδοκείαν γένη διαβέβληταί τε καὶ ἐν αἰσχροῖς γέγονεν ὄνειδεσιν. Brothel-keepers are linked with 'usurers lending small sums at high interest' (like this man, §9) by Arist. *EN* 1121<sup>b</sup>32–1122<sup>a</sup>3; cf. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 182, Whitehead on Hyp. *Ath.* 3. The tax-collector is a regular object of abuse: Ar. *Eq.* 248 (Cleon) τελώνην καὶ φάραγγα καὶ Χάρυβδιν ἄρπαγῆς, Philonid. 5 πορνοτελῶναι, Apollod.Com. 13.12–13 ψεύδεται ἐπιορκεῖ μαρτυρεῖ δικορραφεῖ | κλέπτει τελωνεῖ ραϊδιουργεῖ, Xen. 1 πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἄρπαγες, Luc. *Pseudol.* 30 εἰ τις ἀναισχύντως αἰτεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ προσαιτεῖ καὶ λωποδυτεῖ καὶ τελωνεῖ. The right to collect a tax was often sold by auction to the highest bidder, and the purchaser hoped to collect more in taxes than he had paid (W. Schwahn, 'Τελῶναι', *RE* v.1A (1934) 418–21, H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1940) 356–7, MacDowell on And. 1.73 ὠνάς, W. Eder, 'Telonai', *DNP* 12.1 (2002) 103).

καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι, ἀλλὰ κηρύττειν, μαγειρεῦειν, κυβεῦειν: 'and not reject . . . but (be ready) to . . .'. The infinitives in the second clause are constructed not with δεινός but with a positive notion mentally supplied in opposition to the negative ἀποδοκιμάσαι, as e.g. E. *Ph.* 1217–18 οὐκ εἶσας . . . ἀπελθεῖν ἀλλὰ (*sc.* ἐκέλευσας) μηνῦσαι (KG 2.566–7). Between the alternative word orders (αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν B, ἐρ- αἰ- A) there is nothing to choose (II.3n.). For the asyndetic tricolon, V.10n.

κηρύττειν is 'be an auctioneer' (LSJ 1.1.b, III.1), as D. 44.4 διατελεῖ γὰρ ἐν Πειραιεῖ κηρύττων· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν . . . ἀπορίας ἀνθρώποις τεκμήριον, not 'herald' (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 41, whose citations from tragedy are not to the point). Similarly κῆρυξ fr. 97.1 Wimmer (650.2 Fortenbaugh), not 'herald' (Fortenbaugh *et al.*) but 'auctioneer' (LSJ 1.3; add Ar. *Ec.* 757, fr. 339, D. 51.22); transitive (ἀπο)κηρύττειν (συναπο- Men. *Sam.* 509) is regularly 'sell (or offer for sale) by auction' (Konstantakos 134). Cf. *Juv.* 7.5–6 (*cum*) *nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent* | *praecones fieri*, Oehler, 'Keryx', *RE* XI.1 (1921) 350–2.

μάγειρος in the fourth century normally described a man who was hired in the Agora to butcher and cook sacrificial animals. Comedy portrays him as conceited, garrulous, rapacious, and consorting with slaves. Bibliography in Arnott on Alex. 24, Olson and Sens on Matro 1.11; add J. Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef: The Discourse of Food in Greek Comedy* (Oxford 2000).

κυβεύειν ‘dicing’ is routinely damned by comic poets (Ar. *V.* 75, *Ec.* 672, *Pl.* 243), orators (Lys. 14.27, 16.11, Isoc. 7.48, 15.287, Aeschin. 1.42, 53, 75, 95), historians (Theopomp. *FGHist* 115 F 49), and philosophers (Socrates in X. *Mem.* 1.2.57, *Oec.* 1.20, Arist. *EN* 1122<sup>a</sup>7–11). See on V.9 δορκαδείους ἀτραγάλους.

**6 <καί>:** something must have dropped out, because there is a clear break between the three preceding infinitives (not constructed with δεινός), which round off the list of disreputable occupations, and the three following (constructed with δεινός), which refer to criminal behaviour and its consequences. Asyndeton is impossible. The obvious remedy is <καί> (Herwerden). Not <δεινός δὲ καί> (Meier 1850/1), which opened the previous sentence and is never repeated in the same sketch (VII.6n.); nor <δυνατός δὲ καί> (also Meier), an adjective unwanted here (II.9n.) even after it has been eliminated in §3. I am not attracted by the notion (Kassel ap. Stein 124 n. 1; see I.2n.) that the sentence τὴν μητέρα κτλ. began life as a marginal addition by Theophrastus, which a copyist incorporated without a connective. For the following asyndetic trio of clauses, V.10n.

τὴν μητέρα μὴ τρέφειν: a law attributed to Solon required sons to look after elderly parents (D.L. 1.55 ἕάν τις μὴ τρέφῃ τοὺς γονέας, ἄτιμος ἔστω); Harrison 1.78, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 273–5, MacDowell, *Law* 92, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 56.6. Neglect of parents is a manifestation of ἀπνομία in Isoc. 8.93 εἴ τις παντάπασιν ἀπνονημένος ἐστὶ καὶ μήθ’ ἱερῶν μήτε γονέων μήτε παιδῶν μήτ’ ἄλλου μηδενός φροντίζει.

ἀπάγεσθαι κλοπήs: the procedure known as ἀπαγωγή (LSJ III), whereby certain types of criminal caught in the act might be arrested and carried off to the authorities. See Harrison 2.222–9, M. H. Hansen, *Apagoge, Endeixis and Ephegesis against Kakourgoi, Atimoi and Pheugontes* (Odense 1976) 36–53, MacDowell 148–9, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 52.1, D. Cohen, *Theft in Athenian Law* (Munich 1983) ch. 2, Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 117–18.

τὸ δεσμωτήριον πλείω χρόνον οἰκεῖν ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν: cf. Din. 2.2 ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ πλείω χρόνον ἢ ἔξω διατέτριψε, Pl. *Ps.* 1172 *carcerem, patriam tuam (uestram domum* Serv. A. 1.140), Cic. *Agr.* 2.101 *in carcere habitandum, Ver.* 5.143, Liv. 3.57.4. The prison was reserved primarily for persons awaiting trial or execution, or with outstanding fines or debts to the state: Harrison 2.177, 241–4, MacDowell 166–7, 256–7, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 52.1, D. Allen, ‘Imprisonment in classical Athens’, *CQ* 47 (1997) 121–35, ead. *The World of Prometheus: The Politics of Punishing in Democratic Athens* (Princeton 2000)

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226–30, V. Hunter, ‘The prison of Athens’, *Phoenix* 51 (1997) 296–326. To replace δεσμωτήριον with κέραμον (M) is perverse (see the Introduction, p. 43 n. 146). αὐτοῦ (Stephanus: αὐ- AB) is also found in d (Stefanis tells me) and as a correction by the first hand in Cantabr. (4 Wilson).

[7] This sentence describes a tiresome loud-mouthed haranguer of crowds, and is clumsy in expression and trite in content. The finite verbs, characteristic of the epilogues, interrupt the infinitive structure. Meister suspected too little (καὶ μεταξύ κτλ.), Diels too much (all of §§7–10). Ussher wrongly imputes deletion of §7 to Ast, who suspected the whole sketch.

καὶ οὗτος δ’ ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν τῶν κτλ.: The phrase ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν is characteristic of the definitions (def. I n.), and the clause has the same structure as the sentence interpolated at XVI.12 καὶ τῶν περιρραϊνομένων ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐπιμελῶς δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι. The subject of δόξειεν cannot be τοῦτο (AB); unless the subject is personal, the following αὐτοῦ has nothing to refer to, and even an interpolator should do better than this. οὗτος (C. Gesner 1559, before Casaubon) is far preferable to τούτων (Needham) and τοιοῦτος (Foss 1858). For the genitive, KG 1.372.

περισταμένων τοὺς ὄχλους: ‘gathering crowds round them’, a rare use (X. *Cyr.* 7.5.41, LSJ A.11); cf. epil. VIII περιστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι. The remarkable claim that ‘to gather a crowd . . . was, at Athens, a capital offence’ (Ussher 72, citing no evidence) derives from Casaubon (on epil. VIII), who cites Sen. *Con.* 3.8. In default of other evidence, disbelief is advisable.

καὶ προσκαλούντων, μεγάλη τῆι φωνῆι καὶ παρερρωγίαι λοιδορουμένων καὶ διαλεγομένων πρὸς αὐτοῦς: the accumulation of insufficiently varied participles is displeasing. The last is an anticlimax, which should not be disguised by over-translation (‘argue with’, Edmonds, Rusten). διατεινομένων (Naber) would be an improvement (X.14n.); less so προσκαλούντων (Naber). Petersen deleted λοιδορουμένων (which recurs in the spurious §2 and epil.). There is no need for προσκαλούντων <καί> μ- (Coray before Darvaris and Hartung). For μεγάλη τῆι φωνῆι (repeated in the epilogue), IV.2n. For παρερρωγίαι ‘broken (by passion)’, Plu. *TG* 2.6 τραχυνόμενον . . . τῆι φωνῆι καὶ παραρρηγνύμενον δι’ ὄργην (LSJ II.2, De Martino in F. De Martino and A. H. Sommerstein (edd.), *Lo Spettacolo delle Voci* (Bari 1995) 1.54).

καὶ μεταξύ οἱ μὲν προσίαισι, οἱ δὲ ἀπίαισι πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ: while all this is going on (μεταξύ) some people approach, in response to the noise, but others do not stay to listen. If πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ could mean ‘before hearing him out’ (Jebb, *al.*), rather than simply ‘before hearing him’, the point would be different: nobody hears the whole speech, because the audience comes and goes. But that is not the natural sense of the words (contrast VII.7, where a similar point, that people leave in the middle of a speech, is made clearly),



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and it is unwise to impose this sense by emendation (<δι> ακοῦσαι Unger 1886, αὐτοῦ <τὸ πᾶν> Diels, τοῦ ὅλου Meiser). It is in the next clause that emendation is needed; and there I shall suggest an emendation which justifies the most natural rendering of πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ. With the verbal antithesis cf. Hdt. 1.199.2 αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. The transposition οἱ μὲν μεταξύ (Edmonds 1929) is neat.

ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ <οὐδὲ> συλλαβήν, τοῖς δὲ μέρος τοῦ πράγματος λέγει: after οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ in the preceding clause, this carries antithesis to excess; cf. epil. VIII. Either ἀρχήν (B) or τὴν ἀρχήν (A) could be right: the art. interpolated (IV.10n.) or accidentally omitted (II.2n.). Those who hear ‘not even a syllable’ are those who ἀπίσκειν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ. A better rhetorician might have placed this clause not in second place but third. Without the negative συλλαβήν is inept: ‘epitome’ (Jebb), ‘summing-up’ (Edmonds), ‘Zusammenfassung’ (Steinmetz) are not attested meanings. None of the proposed substitutes are plausible: συναφήν (with τέλος for μέρος) Naber, συλλογήν Wachsmuth ap. Meister (see Stein 4 n. 7), τελευταίην Diels, μεσολαβήν Meiser. λέγει (-ειν AB) is reported from Laur. 60.18 (7 Wilson) by Torraca (1974) 89, Stefanis (1994a) 118.

οὐκ ἄλλως θεωρεῖσθαι ἀξιῶν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅταν ἦι πανήγυρις: surprising in sentiment (he deliberately advertises his ἀπόνοια), banal in expression. With ὅταν ἦι πανήγυρις cf. V.7, XXII.6.

### 8 ἱκανὸς δὲ καί: §9n.

ἱκανός of a person XXIX.4 ἀνθρώπων ἱκανωτέρωι, but not elsewhere in this work with infin. (for which, LSJ 1). Elsewhere the infinitives depend on οἶος or δεινός (I reject πρόθυμος with infin. at XII.10). ἱκανὸς δὲ should perhaps be deleted, since the infinitives can be constructed with δεινός in §5, once §7 has been removed; the motive for the interpolation would be the same as for ἀμέλει δυνατὸς καί in §3.

δίκας τὰς μὲν φεύγειν, τὰς δὲ διώκειν, τὰς δὲ ἐξόμνυσθαι, ταῖς δὲ παρῆναι: the accumulation of infinitives indicates how constantly and in what varied capacities he is involved with the law. Just as the first two offer a natural contrast (he is sometimes a defendant, sometimes a plaintiff), so also the last two seem to balance each other (sometimes he finds an excuse for not appearing in court, but when he does appear he is overburdened with preparatory documentation). <καί> τὰς μὲν ἐξόμνυσθαι (Casaubon) expresses this balance more clearly, but is unnecessary. Ussher, who finds much of the sentence ‘mere padding’, deletes τὰς δὲ διώκειν (so that τὰς δὲ ἐξόμνυσθαι may be contrasted with τὰς μὲν φεύγειν) and ἔχων . . . χερσίν (which contains two of T.’s most engaging images). The sentence as a whole continues the theme of §6. There we learned that he is frequently convicted of criminal offences. Now we learn that he is equally at home in court as a plaintiff. A

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convicted criminal, he does not scruple, in the little time that he is out of prison, to prosecute others, and he is punctilious in his preparation to an obsessive degree.

δικας . . . ἐξόμνυθαι is ‘swear off (attending) cases’, perhaps by pleading ill-health or some other excuse, an extension of such expressions as XXIV.5 ἐξόμνυθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐ φάσκων χολάζειν (‘take an oath to avoid office, pleading lack of time’), Aeschin. 2.94 πρεσβείαν ἐξομοκάμενος (cf. D. 19.122–9, 171–2, Arist. *Pol.* 1297<sup>a</sup>20, *Ath.* 49.2). The nature of this oath is defined by Poll. 8.55 ἐξωμοσία . . . ὅταν τις ἢ πρεσβευτῆς αἰρεθείς ἢ ἐπ’ ἄλλην τινὰ δημοσίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἀρρωστεῖν ἢ ἀδυνατεῖν φάσκων ἐξομνύηται αὐτὸς ἢ δι’ ἑτέρου. See LSJ ἐξόμνυμι II.2, ἐξωμοσία II, J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig 1905–15) 407, R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle 2* (Chicago 1938) 163, J. Plescia, *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece* (Tallahassee 1970) 31–2. If we may believe Suda E 1841, the same oath was used in a legal context (such as we have here) as a plea that a case should not be admitted: ἐξωμοσία, ὅταν τις φάσκηι ἢ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ὑπὲρ ἑτέρου ἐγκαλούμενος μὴ δεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι δίκην· εἶτα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι’ ἣν οὐκ εἰσαγωγίμος ἡ δίκη (Bonner and Smith 164). The verb is often used in a different legal context, of witnesses who decline to give evidence, in the sense ‘take an oath disclaiming knowledge’ (Poll. continues ἐξώμνυτο δὲ καὶ οἱ κληθέντες μάρτυρες, εἰ φάσκοιεν μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι τούτων ἐφ’ ᾧ ἔκαλοῦντο). See Wyse on Is. 9.18, E. Leisi, *Der Zeuge im attischen Recht* (Frauenfeld 1908) 67–70, Lipsius 878–9, Plescia 56, Harrison 2.143–5, MacDowell, *Law* 243 (and on D. 19.176), Todd in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. Todd (edd.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990) 24–5, C. Carey, *CQ* 35 (1995) 114–19. This sense has been alleged here (Jebb, Edmonds, Bonner and Smith 164, Lane Fox 144–5). But in this sense the verb is normally absolute and is often contrasted explicitly with μαρτυρεῖν (e.g. D. 19.176 ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξόμνυθαι), and a direct object would not be δικας but the knowledge or testimony disclaimed (Aeschin. 1.47 ἐξόμνυθαι τὰς ἀληθείας, ὡς κτλ., the reverse of 46 τὰ ληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν, [Arist.] *Ath.* 55.5 ἐξόμνυνται τὰς μαρτυρίας). He is not a witness: the cases which he swears off attending are cases in which he is a defendant. I see no justification for the claim that ἐξόμνυθαι is here indistinguishable from ὑπόμνυθαι (actually conjectured by Meier 1850/1), ‘take an oath for a postponement’ (Lipsius 902 n. 3, followed by Stein and Rusten). For this oath, Harrison 2.155, MacDowell 208, Plescia 50–2, Whitehead on *Hyg. Eux.* 7. And ‘clear himself on oath’ (Ussher) is compatible with neither the language nor the law.

παρεῖναι is ‘attend’, but not ‘as witness’ (Jebb). For this sense to be clear we should need an explicit reference to witnessing (as XII.5 μαρτυρήσων παρεῖναι), or a personal dative instead of δίκαις (V.3 n.). In any case, a witness would not bring an ἔχθρος.

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**ἔχων ἔχῖνον ἐν τῷ προκολπῖωι:** on the comedy of this scene see the Introduction, p. 23. The ἔχῖνος is a 'jar in which were sealed various documents relating to impending court cases' (LSJ Rev. Suppl.): Ar. fr. 274, Eup. 453, D. 39.17, 45.8, 17, 57-8, 47.16, 48.48, 49.65, 54.27, [Arist.] *Ath.* 53.2-3, Men. *Epit.* fr. 4 Sandbach, Philem. 46. A litigant might appeal against the judgement of a public arbitrator and choose to have a trial by jury. Plaintiff and defendant placed all evidence produced at the arbitration in separate jars, and these were sealed up until the day of the trial. The procedure is described in [Arist.] *Ath.* 53.2-3. See Rhodes *ad loc.* (with Addenda p. 780), MacDowell, *Law* 209, A. L. Boegehold, *The Athenian Agora, xxviii: The Lawcourts at Athens* (Princeton 1995) 79-81. The lexicographers imply that the use of the jar was not restricted to cases of public arbitration: Harp. p. 143 Dindorf (E 177 Keaney) (= Suda E 4012, Phot. E 2502 Theodoridis) ἄγγος τι εἰς ὃ τὰ γραμματεῖα τὰ πρὸς τὰς δίκας ἐτίθεντο, Phot. E 2503 καδίκκος τίς ἐστι χαλκοῦς εἰς ὃν αἱ τε μαρτυραὶ καὶ αἱ προκλήσεις ἐγγραφοὶ ἐνεβάλλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικαζομένων καὶ κατεσημαίνοντο ἵνα μηδεὶς κακουργήσῃ περὶ τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα. An inscription on the lid of a clay ἔχῖνος possibly attests its use in an ἀνάκρισις, 'preliminary examination' (Boegehold, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982) 1-6, id. *Agora xxviii* 79; Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 128-9 is sceptical). The present text is proof enough of wider use. This is not a process of public arbitration, such as is described in [Arist.] *Ath.* 53.2-3 (mentioned above). For there the jars are brought in by 'the four judges who acted for the defendant's tribe'. Here the jar is brought in by the litigant himself. Boegehold, *Agora xxviii* 79-80, suggests that the jar may have been used as a depository for legal documents which might be needed later, and that here 'the point may be that he regularly let himself act as a person with whom others would deposit sealed documents, especially wills, and that he took on the sort of custodial responsibility that led almost inevitably to days in court'. This does not explain why he is also carrying strings of documents in his hands. More likely the documents in the jar and in his hands relate to a case in which he is personally involved.

The προκόλπιον is a front pocket, a bag-like fold made by drawing up the chiton through the belt (Gow on Theoc. 16.16, Gomme and Sandbach on Men. *Epit.* 382), used by the Ἀνελεύθερος to carry home his vegetables (XXII.7). The ἔχῖνος was a bulky object to put in such a pocket. Erot. E 79 describes it as χύτρας εἶδος μεγαλοστόμου καὶ μεγάλης, 'a type of large *chytra* with a large mouth'. The lid mentioned above was c. 19 centimetres in diameter.

καὶ ὄρμαθους γραμματειδίων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν: 'strings (chains) of little documents', perhaps figurative, implying an almost interminably repetitive series (as Ar. *Ra.* 914-15 ὁ δὲ χορός γ' ἤρειδεν ὄρμαθους ἄν | μελῶν ἐφεξῆς τέτταρας ξυνεχῶς ἄν, X. *Cyr.* 6.3.2 πολλοὺς ὄρμαθους ποιοῦμενος τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων; cf. Ar. fr. 226 ψηφισμάτων . . . θωμοὺς ('heaps') φέροντες), rather than literal, implying that the documents are tied together. If they *are*

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tied together, how they are tied is unclear. They are not tied together in a bundle, like the lawyers' briefs in *Juv. 7.107 magno comites in fasce libelli* (illustrated by T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig 1907) 256), since the noun for bundles is not ὄρμαθοί but δέσμαι (D.H. *Isoc.* 18 δέσμας πάνυ πολλάς δικανικῶν λόγων Ἰσοκρατείων περιφέρεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 140 Rose), LSJ δέσμη 1, Pritchett 309–10). And they are not writing-tablets with multiple leaves (E. *IT* 727 δέλτου . . . πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί, *Men.* fr. 238 γραμματείδιον . . . δίθυρον, *Poll.* 10.57 γραμματείδιον δίθυρον ἢ τρίπτυχον ἢ καὶ πλείονων πτυχῶν), since leaves do not form a string or chain but are folded together. For discussion and illustration see V. Gardthausen, *Das Buchwesen* (Leipzig 2 1911) 126–30, E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912) 14–17, W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Heidelberg 3 1962) 29–30, D. Diringer, *The Book before Printing* (New York 1982) 29–33. An example of tablets linked together by their edges in a chain (Gardthausen 129), adduced in explanation of our text by Birt (*Kritik und Hermeneutik* 261–2), is a late Roman product. For the general picture, *Mart.* 5.51.1 *hic qui libellis praeagrauem gerit laeuam* (a lawyer with a handful of documents). The 'little documents' will not be notes for a speech (M. R. Christ, *The Litigious Athenian* (Baltimore and London 1998) 38, 271 n. 38) but documents relevant to the case. On the proliferation of written evidence and legal documents in the fourth century, W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass. and London 1989) 69–72, R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Records in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989) 42–5, Lane Fox 144–5.

The diminutive γραμματείδιον has a belittling tone in *D.* 56.1 ἐν γραμματείδιω δυοῖν χαλκοῖν ἑωνημένωι καὶ βυβλιδίωι μικρῶι πάνυ (hendiyads, which shows that the word does not refer exclusively to a tablet, as LSJ imply), perhaps also *Isoc.* 17.34, *D.* 54.37 (less obviously *Antipho* 5.53–6), and so perhaps here. The correct spelling is γραμματείδιον (Herwerden before Blaydes and Diels), dimin. of γραμματεῖον, not -ιδίων (AB), an unexpected dimin. of late and rare dimin. γραμμάτιον. The doctrine of *Hdn.* 2.488 *Lentz* prescribes that εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμμάτιον, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ μικρὸν γράμμα, διὰ τοῦ ἰ γράφεται, ὡς ὄψαριον ὄψαρίδιον, λαχάνιον λαχανίδιον· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμματεῖον γέγονε, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν μικρὰν δέλτον, διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου, ὡς περ ἀγγεῖον ἀγγεῖδιον, γραφεῖον γραφείδιον. This requires qualification: (i) λαχανίδιον is not dimin. of λαχάνιον but is an alternative dimin. of λάχανον; (ii) ὄψαρίδιον is an acceptable dimin. of ὄψαριον, because the latter has come to be no longer felt as dimin. (W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ION* (Weimar 1910) 206). We may therefore register surprise over γραμματείδιον as dimin. of γραμμάτιον. G. Dore, *RF* 92 (1964) 309–10, to whom Stein appeals in support of -ιδίων, misses the point. For the distinction between γραμματεῖον and γραμμάτιον, W. Bühler, *Zenobii Aethi Proverbia* 5 (Göttingen 1999) 314–15. For the form γραμματείδιον in comedy, Gomme and Sandbach

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on Men. *Sic.* 141, Kassel and Austin on Men. fr. 238. An analogous form is Men. *Sam.* 233 ταμειδίου (Croenert: ταμειῖου Π), from ταμειῖον.

**9** He makes short-term loans at exorbitant interest to small-tradesmen. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 179–88, has a valuable discussion of this section, and shows that the picture of his money-lending activities is realistic and not overdrawn. Lane Fox 130 does not persuade me to the contrary. See also G. Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses im griechisch-römischen Altertum bis auf Justinian* (Leipzig 1898) 44–5.

<καί> . . . **δέ:** the added καί (Meier 1850/1) restores normality (I.2n.). δέ on its own (without preceding καί or μέν) is used in these circumstances: (i) in clauses where the infin. depends on οἷος or δεινός, (a) to introduce an antithesis, as if μέν had preceded (IX.7, XII.10, XVI.4, 12, XXIV.8, XXVI.2 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, XXX.16, 17; cf. Müller (1874) 23–4), (b) to introduce a second clause which supplies as much an addition as an antithesis to the first (VII.7 ἀπαγγέλλειν, προσδιηγῆσθαι δὲ καί, VIII.2 ἐρωτῆσαι . . . πρὸ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν (text not fully secure), IX.5 θεωρεῖν, ἄγειν δὲ καί);<sup>50</sup> (ii) in clauses other than these it is used as a connective, (a) introducing formulaic phrases (ἀμέλει δὲ καί II.9 (spurious), V.9, XXI.11, XXIV.12, XXVII.5, XXVIII.4, XXX.13, 18, ἀμέλει δὲ δεινός XIX.3, XXVI.3, δεινός δὲ καί VI.5, IX.8, X.10, XII.8, XIV.8, XV.11, XXIX.6, ἱκανός δὲ καί §8 *s.u.l.*), (b) introducing quoted speech (I.6, VIII.7, 10, XXVIII.4), (c) linking clauses in quoted speech (II.2, XXVI.2, XXVIII.2, 4) or reported speech (VIII.8 εἶναι δὲ . . . καί (n. 50 above), possibly XX.8).

So, in clauses where (as here) the infinitive depends on οἷος or δεινός, the regular connective (both between separate sentences and between clauses within the same sentence) is καί . . . δέ (68 instances: I.2n.); but δέ sometimes introduces a second element or antithesis within the same sentence (11 instances: i(a) and i(b) above). There are three passages (beside this), in which δέ (and not καί . . . δέ) is attested as a connective between separate sentences, and I judge that it is reasonable to add καί in these too: VIII.8 <καί> . . . λέγει <v> δέ, XVI.15 <καί> μαινόμενον δέ (Blaydes: τε V), XXX.17 <καί> συναποδημῶν δέ. I judge spurious two passages (VIII.6, 10) where δέ appears with an anomalous indicative.

**οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν:** the normal negative with infinitives dependent on οἷος or δεινός is μή (about 30 instances). But there are a few instances of οὐ. In five the infin. has another infin. dependent on it, and οὐ + infin. may be taken as a single unit (KG 2.182 (3)), and in three of these ἄν is present too: X.8 καὶ οὐκ ἄν ἔῃσαι . . . κυκοτραγῆσαι, XV.10 καὶ οὐτε ἄϊσαι . . . ἄν ἔθελῆσαι, XVI.9 καὶ οὐτε

<sup>50</sup> In VII.7, IX.5, and VIII.8 (listed under category ii(c)), δέ καί seems to have much the same function as καί . . . δέ, which it would be possible (but rash) to restore.

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ἐπιβῆναι . . . ἐθελῆσαι, XXIV.6 καὶ προσελθεῖν πρότερος οὐδενὶ <ἐ>θελῆσαι, 11 καὶ οὕτε . . . ἔᾶσαι ἄν εἰσελθεῖν. In two others there is no such dependent infin., but ἄν is present in one: XV.6 καὶ οὐκ ἔχειν, 9 καὶ . . . οὐκ ἄν ὑπομεῖναι. Here οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν (like οὐκ ἔᾶσαι, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι) forms a single unit, with a second infin. dependent on it. Perhaps we should write οὐκ <ἄν> ἀποδοκιμάζειν, and XV.6 οὐκ <ἄν> ἔχειν, XVI.9 <ἄν> ἐθελῆσαι, XXIV.6 <ἄν ἐ>θελῆσαι. For accidental omission of ἄν, XVI.3n. ἀποδοκιμάζειν is used with direct object at §5, IV.10; not elsewhere with bare infin. in classical Greek, but with articular infin. X. *Cyr.* 8.1.47, *Isoc.* 5.75, *Men. Dysc.* 186–7.

οὐδ' ἅμα πολλῶν ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν καὶ εὐθὺς τούτοις δανείζειν: οὐδέ is 'not . . . either' (Denniston 194–7), and οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν . . . οὐδέ picks up §5 μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι. It cannot mean 'not even', because 'it is absurd to say that he does not disdain to be captain *even of many* ἀγοραῖοι *at once*, as if a more modest person would have been στρατηγός of one at a time' (Jebb). ἅμα with πολλῶν aptly brings out the multiplicity and promiscuousness of his clientele. The words are regularly combined: e.g. Th. 5.17.2 ξυνόδων ἅμα πολλὰς δικαιοῦσις προενεγκότων, X. *Mem.* 3.14.5 ὁ ἅμα πολλὰ ἐσθίων, *Arist. EN* 1158<sup>a</sup>11 ἐρῶν πολλῶν ἅμα, *Men. Epit.* 166. Others (e.g. Meister and Stein) take ἅμα with καὶ (for this structure, KG 2.231, LSJ ἅμα A.3, Rijksbaron, *Grammatical Observations* 143–4), which would indicate the simultaneity of his patronage and his offer to lend money. But ἅμα does not harmonise well with καὶ εὐθὺς (for which cf. XXX.4). Rather, he acts as if he is in charge of the ἀγοραῖοι (this, not 'takes charge of', is the force of στρατηγεῖν) and at once, as soon as asked, lends them money. οὐδέ might, indeed, convey a stronger point if it could be taken with a following noun (as XXVIII.5 μὴ ἀποσχέσθαι μηδὲ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ λοιδορῆσαι) denoting the low status of the market-traders ('he does not scruple to manage *even . . .*'). Any such noun must be general enough to include butchers and fishmongers, whose shops he visits to collect his interest: οὐδέ καπήλων (Jebb) would serve, but the change is implausible; οὐδ' ἄλλαντοπωλῶν (Diels), a plausible change, is too exclusive. Not οὐδέ παμπόλλων (Ast), οὐδέ ἄρα (Blaydes). ἀλλ' οὐδέ (Edmonds 1929) is inappropriate (Denniston 23–4).

The ἀγοραῖοι are 'market-traders': X. *Cyr.* 1.2.3, *Vect.* 3.13, [*Arist.*] *Oec.* 1347<sup>a</sup>34, 1350<sup>a</sup>26; cf. §2 ἀγοραῖος. With ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν cf. XXIX.6 προστατῆσαι φαύλων. Comic cooks are apt to picture themselves as στρατηγοί (*Dionys. Com.* 2.11–12, *Posidipp.* 29, *Sosip.* 1.44–56); likewise Plautine slaves (E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922) 231–40 = *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960) 223–31). For δανείζειν, I.5n.

καὶ τῆς δραχμῆς τόκον τρία ἡμιοβέλια τῆς ἡμέρας πράττεσθαι: there being six obols to the drachma, the interest is 25% daily, an exorbitant rate. For lending by the day see Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 183; on the etymology and connotations of τόκος, *ibid.* 45–6. For the spelling -βέλια (Diels, *Index s.u.*:

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-βόλια AB), M. N. Tod, *NC* 7 (1947) 22–3, Threatte 1.215–16. For τῆς ἡμέρας, XXVIII.4 (conj.), Th. 3.17.4, *al.*, Ar. *Ach.* 66, Lys. 32.20, 28, Pl. *Lg.* 766D, X. *Vect.* 3.9, *al.*, D. 20.115, 42.7, Aeschin. 1.97, Hyp. *Lyc.* 2, [Arist.] *Ath.* 29.5, *al.*, Men. *Epit.* 137, 140, fr. 258; see on X.13 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, KG 1.387, Schwyzer 2.113. For the confusion of ρ and λ (πλάττεσθαι AB), XXI.11, Diggle, *Euripidea* 469.

καὶ ἐφοδεύειν τὰ μαγειρεῖα, τὰ ἰχθυοπωλία, τὰ ταριχοπωλία: ἐφοδεύειν is ‘do the rounds of, inspect’, regular in military contexts (Ar. *Au.* 1160, X. *HG* 2.4.24, 5.3.22, *Cyr.* 8.6.16), here picking up the figurative use of στρατηγεῖν. μαγειρεῖα is taken as ‘butchers’ or cooks’ quarter of Athens’ by LSJ 3, citing Antiph. 201. More precisely, according to Poll. 9.48, Antiph. so described the place where cooks might be hired (εἴη δ’ ἂν καὶ μαγειρεῖα τῶν πόλεως μερῶν, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς τέχναις ἐργαστηρίων, ἀλλ’ ὁ τόπος ὅθεν μισθοῦνται τοὺς μαγείρους· ὡς Ἀντιφάνης (201) “ἐκ τῶν μαγειρείων βαδίζων . . .”). This is the *forum coquinum* of Pl. *Ps.* 790. But, alongside fish-shops, μαγειρεῖα will be butchers’ shops or stalls (LSJ 1, E. M. Rankin, *The Rôle of the ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ in the Life of the Ancient Greeks* (Chicago 1907) 43–5, Konstantakos 253–4; cf. Wycherley, *Agora iii* 205). For μάγειρος equivalent to κρεοπώλης (IX.4), ‘butcher’ rather than ‘cook’ (§5n.), see Rankin 64–6, G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du μάγειρος* (Leiden 1982) 62–3, Arnott on Alex. 103.22–5. For fishmongers in the Agora, Wycherley, *Agora iii* 195–6; their low repute, IV.13n., Arnott on Alex. 16. As to spelling, not ἰχθυοπωλεῖα and ταριχοπωλεῖα (c). Metre guarantees ἀρτοπώλιον at Ar. *Ra.* 112, fr. 1; cf. XI.9 μυροπώλιον, attested by the papyrus (ii bc) at Hyp. *Ath.* 6, 9, 12, 19. For the asyndetic tricolon, V.10n.

καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν: it was the practice, for lack of suitable pockets, to carry small coins in the mouth (Ar. *V.* 609, 791, *Au.* 503, *Ec.* 818, fr. 3, 48, Alex. 133.7).<sup>51</sup> εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν (the verb, §4) is the ‘pregnant’ construction, ‘collect <and put> into the cheek’ (KG 1.543–4). The verb which might be expected here is ἐγκάπτειν (‘take a mouthful of’, LSJ Rev. Suppl., used in this connection by Ar. *V.* 791, Alex. 133.7 ἐγκάψατο τὸ κέρμ’ εἰς τὴν γνάθον; cf. E. *Cycl.* 629 ἐγκάψαντες αἰθέρα γνάθοις). We might consider ἐγκάπτειν for ἐκλέγειν (rather than <ἐγκάπτων> ἐκλέγειν Navarre 1918); but the less obvious expression has a certain directness (he ‘takes no chances, grabbing his interest direct from the traders’ tills and stuffing it into his mouth’, in Millett’s vigorous paraphrase). It is pedantic to object that money, not interest, is put into the mouth (χαλκοῦς for τόκους Casaubon). With the expression τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος cf. XXX.7 τὸ . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον. There is no need for τοὺς τόκους <τοῦς> ἀπὸ (Edmonds and Austen before Navarre 1918); KG 1.615–16. It is unclear whether τοῦ

<sup>51</sup> A practice shared by the Victorian poor (Dickens, *Little Dorrit*, ch. 16, antepenultimate paragraph).

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ἐμπολήματος is *his* business venture, money-lending (e.g. Meister, Rusten), or theirs (e.g. Jebb, Edmonds); perhaps it may be allowed to comprehend both.

### [10] Epilogue

οἱ <τοιοῦτοι>, τὸ στόμα εὐλυτον ἔχοντες: a plural subject is introduced (epil. III n.). The supplement restores a word characteristic of epilogues (epil. I n.) and used also in the spurious VIII.5 (cf. genuine XXVIII.2, XXIX.5); omission was easy in the sequence οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὸ. Earlier proposals: οἱ om. δ, οὔτω or οἱ οὔτω (for οἱ τὸ) Schwartz. Cf. Critias 6.8–9 γλώσσας . . . λύουσιν | εἰς αἰσχρὸς μύθους, LSJ λύω 1.1.b.

πρὸς λοιδορίαν καὶ φθεγγόμενοι μεγάληι τῆι φωνῆι: see on §7 καὶ προσκαλούντων κτλ.

τὰ ἐργαστήρια: the word embraces both ‘workshop’ (Wyse on Is. 3.22, Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit* 65–71) and ‘shop’ (here, epil. VIII, Ar. *Eq.* 744, Isoc. 7.15, 18.9, D. 25.52, Hyp. *Ath.* 6, 10, Antiph. 251), a traditional place of idleness and talk (XI.9n.); cf. Wycherley, ‘Market of Athens’ 4 (= *Stones of Athens* 92), id. *Agora iii* no. 615, Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora xiv* 170.



## VII THE TALKER

### Introductory note

Λαλεῖν often connotes ‘what we mean by pronouncing the word “talk” in a contemptuous or impatient way: talking too much, or talking when action would be more appropriate . . . , or talking out of turn when prompt and silent compliance is needed’ (K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes, Frogs* (Oxford 1993) 22). This is a fault for which Aristophanes blamed the sophists or Euripides (*Nu.* 931, 1053, 1394, *Ra.* 91, 917, 954, 1069, 1492), and some blamed Pericles (Pl. *Grg.* 515E). But often the verb has a neutral sense, ‘talk’, ‘engage in conversation’ (e.g. Men. *Epit.* 886, *Pk.* 470); and it is in this neutral sense that Theophrastus uses it outside this sketch (I.2, II.10, IV.2, XX.2, XXIV.8, προσλαλεῖν XI.4, XIX.5). See further Arnott on Alex. 200.4, S. Vogt, *Aristoteles, Physiognomica* (Darmstadt 1999) 320–2.

The Λάλος receives a more subtle and lively portrait than the Ἀδολέσχηρ (III), and his talk has a different stamp. The Ἀδολέσχηρ inflicts his company on a single silent victim and detains him where they sit. The Λάλος finds a varied audience: a passer-by (§2), a crowd (§4), occupants of school and palaestra (§5), fellow jurors, theatre-goers, diners (§8); he follows his victims home (§5). The Ἀδολέσχηρ delivers disconnected commonplaces and does not know that he is a bore. The Λάλος is a know-all, and proud of it. He is not always first to speak: but, if others start, he will interrupt, discourteous, patronising and self-important (§3), or, if they want the latest news from the Assembly, he will give it, then add what they do not want, reports of old debates from home and abroad, his own famous speeches, and his political opinions (§7). He is aware of his failing, but with no shame, for he jokes about it (§9) and does not mind if others do so (§10).

Theophrastus is alleged to have put down a λάλος with a deft turn of wit: fr. 452 Fortenbaugh (*Gnomol. Vat.* 331 Sternbach) ὁ αὐτὸς (*sc.* Theophrastus) λάλωι περιπεσῶν εἶπεν “αὐρίον σε ποῦ ἔσται μὴ ἰδεῖν;” (Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 176–8).

### [1] Definition

The definition is almost identical with [Pl.] *Def.* 416A λαλιά ἀκρασία λόγου ἄλογος (Ingenkamp 103). It says nothing which would distinguish λαλιά from ἀδολεσχία. Cf. Stein 129.

εἴ τις αὐτὴν ὀρίζεσθαι βούλοιο: cf. def. XI οὐ χαλεπὸν δέ ἐστι . . . διορίσασθαι; more commonly ὡς ὄρωι λαβεῖν and the like (def. I n.).

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εἶναι ἂν δόξειεν: def. I n.

ἀκρασία τοῦ λόγου: cf. [A.] *PV* 884 γλώσσης . . . ἀκρατής, *Ar. Ra.* 838 ἀκρατὲς . . . στόμα, *Plu. Lyc.* 19.3 ἢ πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν ἀκρασία κενὸν τὸν λόγον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀνόητον. The article is unwelcome; perhaps τις (def. I n.).

**2** τοιοῦτός τις: not ἐστὶ τις (A); I.2n.

τῶι ἐντυγχάνοντι εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὅτιοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθέγγηται, ὅτι οὐθὲν λέγει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς πάντα οἶδε καί, ἂν ἀκούη αὐτοῦ, μαθήσεται: for αὐτὸν . . . αὐτοῦ (*Edmonds* 1908: αὐ- AB), I.2n. *ad fin.* With οὐθὲν λέγει cf. *Pl. Lg.* 862A σκοπεῖσθε δὲ εἴτε τι λέγω . . . εἴτε καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν (*LSJ* λέγω III.6); for οὐθὲν (οὐδὲν A), II.2n. With αὐτὸς πάντα οἶδε cf. *Semon.* 7.13 ἢ πάντ' ἀκούσαι, πάντα δ' εἰδέναι θέλει, *Theoc.* 15.64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι. Other talkative know-alls: *Pl. Trin.* 199–211, *Mart.* 9.35, *Juv.* 6.402–12.

**3** καὶ μεταξύ δὲ ἀποκρινομένω ἐπιβαλεῖν εἶπας: cf. VIII.3 οὐκ ἔασας ἀποκρίνασθαι. If ἐπιβαλεῖν is right, it probably has the same sense here which it has in VIII.2 and in two passages classified under separate headings by *LSJ*: *Σ Pi. P.* 4.28 ἐπιβάλλων φησί (*LSJ* I.4, transitive 'add, contribute', hence of speech 'throw in, mention') and *Plb.* 1.80.1 ἐφ' ὃν . . . ἐπιβαλὼν . . . ἔφη (intrans. 'follow, come next' *LSJ* II.5, 'speaking next in succession' *Walbank ad loc.*). *LSJ* associates our passage with this last and arbitrarily translates 'interrupt'. *Stein* (on VIII.2) adds two further passages: *Plb.* 22.3.8 γενομένης . . . μνήμης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιβαλὼν ('interjecting' *Walbank*) ὁ πρεσβευτῆς πολλοὺς τινὰς διετίθετο λόγους ἐγκωμιάζων τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, *D.S.* 13.28.4–5 πολλοὶ . . . τῶν καθημένων ἐθορύβησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπιβαλὼν "ὄρᾳς" φησί "τοῦ τῶι θορύβῳ τὴν συμφορὰν ἐμφανίζοντας;" What appears to be common to all five passages is the notion of throwing in an additional (verbal) contribution. That contribution may be, in effect, an interruption; but 'interrupt' need not be the primary implication of the verb. That would be more clearly expressed by ὑπο- (δ); *LSJ* ὑποβάλλω III, *MacDowell* on *D.* 21.204. Not, however, ὑπολαβεῖν (*Koujeas*), which is 'take over' from another speaker (*LSJ* 1.3.a), and this is the primary implication in the two passages of X. which *LSJ* 1.3.b cite for the sense 'interrupt'.

-βάλλειν (AB) must be changed to -βαλεῖν (either ἐπιβαλεῖν a (*Torraca* (1974) 90), or ὑποβαλεῖν *Edmonds* 1929), not because of preceding εἰπεῖν and following πορίσασθαι, but because εἶπας must be coincident in time with the infin. and cannot be coincident with a present. Present infin. -βάλλειν would require present part., as VIII.9 *χετλιάζειν λέγων*. For aorist part. of a verb of speaking coincident with aor. infin., XXVI.5 εἰπεῖν . . . φήσας (*s.u.l.*), XXX.9 ἀπαιτῆσαι . . . φήσας (similarly, with aor. indic., §7 εἶπας *ἡδδοκίμησεν*), *Pl. Men.* 77A ἀποδοῦναι . . . εἰπὼν, *Smp.* 214C εἰπὼν . . . ἐπιτάξαι, *Lg.* 712C ἀποκρίνασθαι . . . εἰπὼν, *D.* 20.76, 29.25, 60.23, *Arist. EN* 1179<sup>a</sup>14

(KG 1.197–200, Schwyzer 2.300–1, Barrett on E. *Hi.* 289–92). The mss. do, in fact, offer two instances of aorist part. coincident with present infin. (§7 καταλιπόντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, VIII.2 ἐπιβαλὼν ἐρωτᾶν), and a third has been introduced by conjecture at XXVIII.4 συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι εἶπας (Cobet: εἶπεν V<sup>2</sup>, εἶπου V<sup>c</sup>). All three can be set right very simply. The form εἶπας (V.2n.) is reported from Ambros. E 119 sup. (21 Wilson) by Stefanis (1994a) 107.

“**὘ μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ δὲ μέλλεις λέγειν**”: ‘Do not forget what you are leading up to’, perhaps implying ‘do not allow yourself to be distracted from your train of thought by my interruption, but, when I have finished, resume where you left off. For emphatic *κύ*, I.6, VIII.2, 7, XVII.3, XVIII.9, XXVIII.3 (ὕμεισ with imperative XXI.11). *κύ μὴ* with imperative or equivalent is elsewhere very common: e.g. H. *Il.* 9.600, Thgn. 1240, A. *Th.* 698, *Eum.* 227, [A.] *PV* 807, S. *El.* 1309, *Ph.* 922, *OC* 282, E. *IT* 1474, *Or.* 1027, *IA* 1135, fr. 1064.5, Pl. *Cra.* 420E, X. *Cyr.* 7.1.17, D. 22.29. Many prefer the articulation “Εἶπας *κύ*; μὴ κτλ.” (AB), from which coherent sense (‘You astonish me: take care that you do not involve yourself in self-contradiction’ Jebb) can be extracted only with difficulty. The same is true of the punctuation “Εἶπας *κύ* (μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ) δὲ μέλλεις λέγειν” (Ussher). In “εἶπας *κύ*”; <καὶ> “μὴ κτλ.” (Foss 1858 before Pasquali) the disconnected question has little point. Cf. Radermacher 203–4, Stein 129–30.

“**Εὖ γε ὅτι με ὑπέμνησας**”: cf. Luc. *JTr.* 42 εὖ γε, ὦ Τιμόκλειε, ὅτι (*u.l.* ὅτι με) ὑπέμνησας τῶν κτλ., *Nau.* 3 εὖ γε . . . ὅτι ἡμᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκεις.<sup>52</sup> The expression combines (i) εὖ γε ὅτι (Ar. *Nu.* 866, Pl. *La.* 181A, 200A, Luc. *Lex.* 3, *Deor.Conc.* 4, *Tox.* 35, *Herm.* 77, *DMort.* 6.6, 24.2, *DMar.* 5.1) and (ii) εὖ γε ὑπέμνησας (Luc. *Icar.* 13, *Philops.* 38, *Nec.* 19, *Nau.* 35 (conj.), *DDeor.* 11.4, D.C. *exc. Salmas.* (3.764 Boissevain), *Heliod.* 7.10.5). Alternatives to εὖ γε in (ii) are καλῶς (Pl. *Lg.* 832A, Luc. *DMetr.* 13.2), καλῶς γε (Pl. *Phdr.* 266D), εἰς καλόν (Pl. *Hpr.Ma.* 286C), ὀρθῶς (Pl. *Th.* 187E, 208C, Plu. 932D).

“**Ὁ παρέλιπον**”: Auberius proposed the neat transposition Εὖ γε ὅτι με ὑπέμνησας [καὶ] ὁ παρέλιπον; cf. Luc. *Icar.* 13 εὖ γε ὑπέμνησας· ὁ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως παρέλιπον.

“**Ταχύ γε συνῆκας τὸ πρᾶγμα**”: cf. Ariston fr. 14, VIII (p. 40 Wehrli) ὡς [τ]αχὺ συνῆκας.

“**Πάλαι σε παρετήρουν, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐμοὶ κατενεχθήκη**”: see on II.2 ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι.

καὶ ἑτέρας ταραχὰς τοιαύτας πορίσασθαι: ταραχὰς is an admirable conjecture for ἀρχὰς (AB). The interruptions do not create beginnings (‘cues’ Jebb, ‘openings’ Edmonds, Rusten); they sow confusion, disturb the flow of speech,

<sup>52</sup> These similarities are not evidence that Lucian was familiar with T. (Introduction, p. 26). Both authors are using a colloquial form of expression, which was widespread, as the following passages show.

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put the speaker off his stride. Plural *ταραχαί* is very common. There is no likelihood in *ἀφορμάς* (d<sup>e</sup>e, vainly advocated by Terzaghi) or *ἔριδας* (Navarre 1918).

**ὥστε μηδὲ ἀναπνεῦσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα:** he does not even recover (draw breath, get a breathing space) from the last verbal assault before another begins. So *H. Il.* 11.799–801 αἶ κε . . . ἀπόσχονται πολέμοιο | Τῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι υἴες Ἀχαιῶν | τεірόμενοι ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσι πολέμοιο, *X. HG* 6.4.24 εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι . . . βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοισι οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι, *D.* 18.195 στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεύσαι ('stand, rally, recover breath', before the next attack), *E. Andr.* 1137 οὐ διδόντες ἀμπνοάς. Commonly, in this sense, *respirare* (*OLD s.u.* 2). No need for ἀναπνεύσαι <ἔᾱσαι> (Coray) or μηδ' <ᾶν> ἀναπνεύσαι (Herwerden).

**4 καὶ ὅταν γε τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ἀπογυιώσῃ:** καὶ . . . γε is attested again at §7 and XXVIII.5, and is acceptable in itself (Denniston 157–8), but may be a mistake (in all three places) for the more regular καὶ . . . δέ (*I.2n.*, *VI.9n.*). Here Darvaris proposed [καὶ] . . . δέ (impossibly).

τοὺς καθ' ἓνα 'people individually' is not a regular use of καθ' ἓνα with the article, but is linguistically unexceptionable (καθ' ἓνα is in effect adverbial, so the expression is of the same stamp as οἱ νῦν: cf. Müller (1878) 12, *KG* 1.269 (c)) and comparable to τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα (*III.2n.*). Normally καθ' ἓνα stands in apposition to subject or object. I quote examples where it is opposed (as here) to a part of ἄθροος: *HP* 4.2.7 (καρπὸν) οὐχ ἄθροον . . . ἀλλὰ κεχωρισμένον καθ' ἓνα, *Pl. Alc.* 1 114D ὁ μὲν ἄθροος πείθει τὰ αὐτά, ὁ δὲ καθ' ἓνα, *X. An.* 4.7.8 ἀπῆλθον . . . ἀνθρώποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐχ ἄθροοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, *Hyr. Eux.* 33 τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντούμενους . . . ἢ καθ' ἓνα ἢ ἄθροος, *Men. Asp.* 75–8 καθ' ἓνα μὲν | κείνι (*Kassel: κλαιειν B*) ἐκώλυεν . . . συναγαγὼν | πάντας δ' ἄθροος ἔκαυσε; similarly *Hdt.* 7.104.4 Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχόμενοι . . . ἀλέες δὲ κτλ. See *LSJ* κατὰ *v.ii.3*, *KG* 1.480, *Schwyzler* 2.477.

ἀπογυιώσῃ 'enfeeble, unnerve' (*LSJ*) is an admirable conjecture, far superior in aptness and interest to ἀπογυμνώσῃ (*AB*) 'strip bare', which is not elsewhere attested in a metaphorical sense ('vanquish' *LSJ*). That *T.* is consciously alluding to *H. Il.* 6.265 μὴ μ' ἀπογυιώσῃς μένεος is suggested by (i) the use of the same part of the verb (-ώσῃς/-ώσῃ), (ii) an earlier use of the same passage by *Pl. Cra.* 415A μὴ λίαν, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ἀκριβολογοῦ, μὴ μ' ἀπογυιώσῃς μένεος. No other conjecture need detain us: ἀποκναίσῃ *c<sup>o</sup>de*, ἀποτρυχώσῃ *Eberhard* 1865, ἀποπνίξῃ *Bersanetti*, ἀποτυμπανίσῃ *Meiser*, ἀπογυμνάσῃ *Navarre* 1918.

δεινὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄθροος [καὶ] συνεστηκός τας πορευθῆναι: that deletion of καὶ (*Meineke*) is preferable to deletion of καὶ συνεστηκός (*Cobet* 1874) is shown by *Pl. Lj.* 203A ἄθροος συνεστῶσι, *X. An.* 7.3.47 συστάντες ἄθροοι, *Posidon. fr.* 69 *Edelstein-Kidd* ἄθροος . . . ἀνθρώπους συνεστῶτας.

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Other instances of interpolated *καί*: VIII.11 (A), XIV.5, 10, XXVI.4, XXX.8. The language has a military note (observed by Jebb, whose translation I have adopted in part); cf. §3 ἀναπνεῦσαι, §7 μάχην.

**5** *καί εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς παλαιστράς εἰσιών*: the διδασκαλεῖον was a primary school (Ziebarth, ‘Schulen’, *RE* II.1 A (1921) 758–9, H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris<sup>6</sup> 1965) 83, 221–2); cf. XXII.6, XXX.14. A law attributed to Solon (Aeschin. 1.12) forbidding adults access to schools, on pain of death, had evidently fallen into abeyance. With *εἰς τὰς παλαιστράς εἰσιών* cf. XXVII.6.

*κωλύειν τοὺς παῖδας προμανθάνειν*: for τοὺς παῖδας, XVI.12n. For προμανθάνειν, *Ar. Nu.* 966 προμαθεῖν ἄισμ' ἐδίδασκεν (Dover *ad loc.*), *E. fr.* 912.10 ἄθλους προμαθεῖν, *Pl. Lg.* 643c τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι προμανθάνειν. Similarly προδιδάσκειν (e.g. *Ar. Nu.* 476, Dover *ad loc.*). No need for *προσ-* (Auberius before Casaubon) or *πέρα μ-* (Foss 1858).

**[τοσαῦτα καὶ προσλαλεῖ τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις καὶ διδασκάλοις]**: προσλαλεῖν (AB) must be replaced by προσλαλεῖ (προσλαλεῖ καὶ Sheppard, καὶ προσλαλεῖ Diels), since an infin. constructed with *δεινός* could not be introduced by *τοσαῦτα καί*. This explanatory comment is otiose. The formulation is comparable to *epil. VIII* οὕτως καὶ καταπονοῦσι ταῖς ψευδολογίαις. Attempts to integrate the clause into the sentence are ineffectual: (with προσλαλεῖν) τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 360), τὰ γυμνάσματα καὶ Reiske 1757, τῶι αὐτοῖς τε . . . καὶ Schwartz, τὸ αἷμα καὶ Ribbeck 1870, τὰ ἐαυτῶν καὶ Ussing; (with προσλαλῶν Needham) τοσαῦτα [καί] Needham, *τηνικαῦτα Darvaris*, *τοιαῦτα καὶ Ast*, *τοσαῦτα καὶ <τοιαῦτα>* Foss 1858, *τοσαῦτα δὴ Petersen* (before Navarre 1920, but with προσλαλεῖ), *τοσαῦτα . . . καὶ Blyades*. <τοῖς> διδασκάλοις (Schneider) is needless; for the single article see on I.5 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κτλ.

**6** *καὶ τοὺς ἀπιέναι φάσκοντας δεινὸς προπέμψαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας*: Edmonds 1910 deleted *δεινός*, perhaps rightly. Its reappearance (after *δεινός* §4) is unnecessary and abnormal (at XV.8, 11 and XXIX.5, 6 *δεινός* is followed not by *καὶ . . . δεινός* but by *δεινός δὲ καί*). Since the preceding interpolated sentence (with *indic.*) interrupts the *infin.* construction, *δεινός* may have been added to clarify the resumed construction. I have suggested that *δυνατός* at VI.3 and *ἱκανός* at VI.8 (both after interpolated *indic.*) may owe their origin to the same cause. For *προπέμψαι* cf. V.2; for *ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας*, *Plb.* 8.27.6 ἀποκατέστησαν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον.

**7** *καὶ πυθομένοις <τὰ ἀπὸ> τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγγέλλειν*: *πυθομένοις* without art., ‘to people when they have enquired’ (VI.2–3n.). *πυθόμενος* (AB) has much less point: ἀπαγγέλλειν calls for a dat. specifying the recipients of the

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report (cf. XIV.7, XXI.11). The Λάλος, unlike the Ἄδολέσχης, sometimes waits for the prompting of others (Introd. Note). The phrase <τὰ ἀπὸ> τῆς ἐκκλησίας goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with πυθόμενοις and ἀπαγγέλλειν. The supplement <τὰ ἀπὸ> (Dobree before Kayser) is commended by IV.3 τοῖς . . . μισθωτοῖς . . . πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγείσθαι, in preference to <τὰ> (Bloch before Petersen) or <τάκ> (also Dobree, before Eberhard 1865 and Fraenkel and Groeneboom). There is no allusion here (as Jebb supposes) to a period of widespread disfranchisement under Antipater. At the best of times the Assembly was attended by only a fraction of the citizens (Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 130–2); the rest would have to learn its proceedings at second hand.

προδιηγῆσθαι δὲ καί: we might have expected καί προδιηγῆσθαι δὲ (VI.9n).<sup>53</sup> The compound verb is rare: Philo *Leg.* 299 (Cohn-Wendland 6.210), Luc. *Per.* 43.

τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφῶντος ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην καὶ τὴν <ἐν> Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου: he narrates ‘the battle which once occurred in the time of the orator Aristophon and the one among the Lacedaemonians in the time of Lysander’. These are not literal battles but (in keeping with the military imagery observed in §4) figurative battles of words (Pl. *Ti.* 88A μάχας ἐν λόγοις ποιουμένη; cf. figurative μάχεσθαι VI.4n.). He is preoccupied not with military history but with public speeches, his own and those of others; the reference to his *own* oratorical success (οὗς ποτε λόγους αὐτὸς κτλ.) suggests (even if it does not demand) that a reference to the oratory of others has preceded. He reports the latest speeches from the Assembly, and then proceeds, by a loose association of ideas, to mention a dispute, involving the orator/politician Aristophon, which took place in Athens a generation earlier, and then an even remoter debate which took place in Sparta a generation before that. Then he mentions the public speeches for which he once won credit himself. His first allusion is perhaps to the prosecution by Aristophon in 356/5 of the generals Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Timotheos, for their failure in the Social War, and his second to the public debate in 400 between Agesilaus and Leotychidas, claimants to the kingship at Sparta, when the citizen body decided in favour of Agesilaus, in whose support Lysander had spoken decisively (X. *HG* 3.3.1–3). So (cleverly, but unheeded) H. Weil, ‘Deux allusions à des faits historiques dans les *Caractères de Théophraste*’, *RPh* 14 (1890) 106–7.

Three simple changes are called for. First, ποτε (de) for τότε. Sense forbids (what would be most natural) that τότε should refer to the time indicated in the preceding clause. If we refer it to some definite time (‘on that former occasion’), it is otiose after ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφῶντος. It does not normally refer to indefinite time (‘sometime in the past’) unless it is coupled with a contrasting reference to present time (Diggle, *Euripidea* 491–2). For ποτε (this is the only

<sup>53</sup> Some descendants of A have <καί> προδιηγῆσθαι δὲ καί (Torraca (1974) 90).

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instance of τότε in this work), §7 (immediately below), I.5, XII.12, XVI.14. Second, <ἐν> (Weil) Λακεδαιμονίοις (as Arist. *Rh.* 1415<sup>b</sup>32). Third, ἐπί (de) for ὑπό, two prepositions regularly confused (IV.9; Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 40, N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge 1984) 115 n. 1).

On Aristophon (c.435–c.335) see, for the ancient evidence, J. Miller, ‘Aristophon (3)’, *RE* II.1 (1895) 1005–7, J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* 1 (Berlin 1901) 144–5; for modern scholarship, D. Whitehead, *Hypereides, The Forensic Speeches* (Oxford 2000) 232. According to Hyp. *Eux.* 28 he became ἰσχυρότατος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Demosthenes lists him among his most distinguished predecessors (18.219 πολλοὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκείνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι). His prosecution of Iphicrates was long remembered; for Iphicrates replied to the charge with some neat quips, in a speech which was attributed to Lysias (Lys. fr. 45–9 Thalheim; its authorship is discussed by D.H. *Lys.* 12). The evidence for this trial (and those of the two other generals) is presented by M. H. Hansen, *Eisangelia: The Sovereignty of the People’s Court in Athens in the Fourth Century BC and the Impeachment of Generals and Politicians* (Odense 1975) 100–2.

The term ῥήτωρ connotes, in effect, ‘politician’: Hansen, ‘The Athenian “Politicians” 403–322’, *GRBS* 24 (1983) 33–55 (= *The Athenian Ecclesia II: A Collection of Articles 1983–1989* (Copenhagen 1989) 1–24), id. *Athenian Democracy* 143–5, 268–71. The designation ‘X. ὁ ῥήτωρ’ is conventional (D. 42.21 Φιλοστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος, Hyp. fr. 97 Jensen, Din. 1.38, Arist. *Rh.* 1398<sup>b</sup>2, Plb. 28.19.7, D.S. 16.54.2, 16.87.1). Similarly VIII.4 Ἀκτείου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ and Λύκων ὁ ἐργολάβος. For the word order (participle between Ἀριστοφῶντος and τοῦ ῥήτορος), XXV.5 τραυματίαν τινὰ προσφερόμενον τῶν φίλων (XXX.9n.).

Many prefer a different Aristophon, the archon of 330/329 (v. Schoeffer, ‘Aristophon (1)’, *RE* II.1 (1895) 1005), and refer the first battle to one which fell in that year. Casaubon suggested the victory of Alexander at Arbela (Gaugamela). The battle itself fell in the preceding year; news of it reached Athens during Aristophon’s archonship (D.S. 17.62.1; H. Wankel, *Demosthenes, Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz* (Heidelberg 1976) 26–8). Needham suggested the victory of Antipater over the Spartans at Megalopolis. Again, this battle is normally dated in the preceding year (Wankel 23 n. 46, Lane Fox 158 n. 14). More important, the reference to Spartans in connection with the next battle implies that they were not involved in the former battle. And, whether we choose Arbela or Megalopolis, it will be necessary to delete τοῦ ῥήτορος (Fischer; Casaubon had mistakenly supposed that the archon and the politician were one and the same). As an alternative, Casaubon proposed to refer μάχην to the contest between Demosthenes and Aeschines over the crown (the ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα of

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D. 18.226), which fell in the archonship of Aristophon (D.H. *Amm.* 1.12, Plu. *Dem.* 24.2). In this case, τοῦ ῥήτορος must be emended (since it was not a single orator's fight) to τῶν ῥητόρων (Casaubon) or τοῖν ῥητόροις (Diels); not τοῖς ῥήτορσι (Holland 1897, for conformity with the following dative, which is faulty). But 'the (two) orators' is not an acceptable designation of Demosthenes and Aeschines (rightly Wankel 29). In any case, ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος means 'in the time of A.', not 'in the archonship of A.', which is ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος ἄρχοντος (D.S. 17.62.1, D.H. *Amm.* 1.12, Plu. *Dem.* 24.2, Arr. *An.* 3.22.2). So Aristophon is not the archon. He is the politician – as the transmitted text tells us.

Once it is accepted that the battle in Aristophon's time is a verbal battle, it follows that the battle with which Lysander is associated must be a verbal battle too. Transition from a figurative to a literal battle (the favoured candidate is Lysander's victory at Aigospotamoi in 405) is unthinkable. The dispute surrounding the election of Agesilaus, and Lysander's role in that election, were widely known: Plu. *Ages.* 3.3–5, *Lys.* 22.5–6, *Nep. Ag.* 1.5, J.-F. Bommelaer, *Lysandre de Sparte, Histoire et traditions* (Paris 1981) 174, 180–1, P. Cartledge, *Agesilaus and the Crisis of Sparta* (London 1987) 110–15, C. D. Hamilton, *Agesilaus and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony* (Ithaca and London 1991) 26–9.

The only alternative worth considering is that the text is lacunose (Reiske 1757, Cobet 1874) and that τὴν κτλ. refers to something other than μάχην. Nothing is gained by a change like τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων (de) ὑπὸ Λυκάνδρῳι (Ussing), hardly acceptable for 'the (battle) of the Spartans under Lysander'; for that I should expect <τῶν> Λακεδαιμονίων (KG 1.615–16). And deletion of καὶ τὴν . . . Λυκάνδρου (Hottinger) is implausible, since there was no motive for addition (interpolation on a wider scale had already been contemplated by Reiske 1757). Further implausibilities in G. F. Unger, 'Die Großthat des Aristophon', *Philologus* 47 (1889) 644–52, and Naber.

καὶ οὐκ ποτε λόγους αὐτὸς εἶπας ἠὺδοκίμησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ: For εἶπας (Needham, not Casaubon), V.2n. For ἠὺδ- (Needham, before Edmonds and Austen, Navarre 1920), II.2n. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ is 'in the Assembly', as XXII.3 (conj.), perhaps XXI.11 (conj.), a very common expression. M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 130 n. 14 (= *The Athenian Ecclesia: A Collection of Articles 1976–1983* (Copenhagen 1983) 142 n. 14), cites more than 60 instances from the orators. Add from the orators *Lys.* 13.33, 65, D. 19.182, 297 (law in D. 24.20, 50), from other authors *Ar. V.* 594, *Nu.* 432, *Lys.* 514, *Th.* 4.118.11, 14, 5.45.2, 8.53.1, 8.68.1, *Pl. Alc.* 1 114c, *Euthd.* 284b, *Grg.* 500c, 515d, *R.* 565b, *X. Mem.* 1.1.18, *HG* 1.7.20, 7.4.4, [X.] *Ath.* 1.18, [Arist.] *Ath.* 25.4. See also XXI.11 n., XXII.3n., Whitehead on *Hyp. Eux.* 24.

καὶ κατὰ τῶν πληθῶν γε ἅμα διηγούμενος κατηγορίαν παρεμβαλεῖν: for plural πληθῶν, LSJ 1.2.b *ad fin.* In place of γε perhaps δέ (Darvaris before Hartung); §4n.



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ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἦτοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἢ νυστάσαι ἢ μεταξὺ καταλείποντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: ἐπιλαβέσθαι connotes a verbal assault, ‘protest’, ‘object’, implying ‘interrupt’, as VIII.5 (spurious), Pl. *Grg.* 469c ἐμοῦ δὴ λέγοντος [[τῶι λόγῳι del. Hirschig]] ἐπιλαβοῦ, 506b ἐμοῦ γε ἀκούων ἐπιλαμβάνου, ἐάν τί σοι δοκῶ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν, *Smp.* 214E ἐάν τι μὴ ἀληθὲς λέγω, μεταξὺ ἐπιλαβοῦ (LSJ III.8). For the corruption (-λαθ- AB), I.2n. Not <τῶν πρώτων> ἐπιλαθ- (Immisch 1897), <πάντων> ἐπιλαθ- (Fraenkel and Groeneboom).

The form νυστάσαι (Π) is attested in Dionys.Com. 2.43 and Asclep. *AP* 12.135.3 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 896), -άζαι (AB) in the Septuagint and later (non-Attic) writers.

Present infin. ἀπαλλάττεσθαι signifies ‘begin to depart’ (see on V.2 πρόρωθεν προσαγορεύσαι). Aorist part. καταλιπόντας (AB) would have to be anterior in time to present infin., and must therefore be changed to present καταλείποντας (Stein 130). See on §3 ἐπιβαλεῖν εἶπας. For μεταξὺ without part., as VI.7 (spurious), LSJ I.2a. No need for μεταξὺ <λέγοντα> or <λαλοῦντα> (Herwerden), for conformity with §3 and §4.

**8** καὶ συνδικάζων δὲ κωλύσαι κρῖναι καὶ συνθεωρῶν θεάσασθαι καὶ συνδειπνῶν φαγεῖν: a bare present participle often sets the scene or indicates the type of activity on which the subject is engaged: IX.4 ὄψωνῶν, X.3 συσσιτῶν, 12 ὄψωνῶν, XIV.4 θεωρῶν, XX.6 ἐσθίων, 10 ξενίζων, XXII.5 τριηραρχῶν, XXIV.13 ἐπιπέλλων, XXV.2 πλέων, 3 στρατευόμενος, XXX.2 ἐστιῶν, 5 οἰνοπωλῶν.

**9** καὶ λέγειν ὅτι “Χαλεπόν μοί ἐστι κιωπαῶν”: καὶ λέγειν (Π) is preferable to λέγων (AB), which suggests that the explanations which follow account for (or are in some way associated with) the behaviour just described. καὶ λέγειν (or εἰπεῖν) begins a new clause at IV.13, IX.8, XV.7, XXII.11, XXV.3, XXVI.5, XXIX.5. Schwartz had already proposed λέγειν (without καὶ) for λέγων. For ὅτι introducing direct speech, II.8n. The supplement μοι (Kassel ap. Stein 132), not αὐτῶι (Gronewald), suits the space in Π. τῶι λόγῳι (AB) reads less naturally, and had already come under suspicion (τὸ ἄλλο Nauck 1850). For the transition from direct speech (with first person reference) to reported speech, III.3, XXVI.4.

καὶ ὡς ἐν ὑγρῶι ἐστιν ἡ γλωττα: ἐν ὑγρῶι (*HP* I.4.2, I.14.3, of plants which live ‘in wetness, moisture’) here combines the figurative notion of verbal fluency (as, in a different image, *E. Ba.* 268 εὔτροχον . . . γλωτταν) with a hint of something more literal. Cf. Pers. 1.104–5 *summa delumbe saliuā | hoc nata in labris et in udo est Maenas et Attis*, Gell. 1.15.1 *uerbis uiuidis* (Salmasius: *ubi dis uel (h)umidis codd.*) et *lapsantibus diffluunt*, *ibid.* 17 *quorum lingua tam prodiga infrenisque*

## VII: THE TALKER

*sit ut fluat semper et aestuet conluuione uerborum taeterrima.* For ὑγρός, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 297–303.

καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν σιωπήσειεν οὐδ' εἰ τῶν χελιδόνων δόξειεν εἶναι λαλίτερος: the swallow is traditionally talkative (Ar. *Ra.* 679, Nicostr.Com. 28, Philem. 154, Phil. *AP* 6.247 (Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* 2781), Arr. *An.* 1.25.8, Babr. 131.15; κωτίλη Anacr. 108, Simon. 101; *garrula* . . . *hirundo* Verg. *G.* 4.307). But he does himself no credit with this comparison, since the swallow is also a barbarous twitterer (e.g. A. *Ag.* 1050–1, Ar. *Au.* 1680–1, *Ra.* 93; Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 320–1). Cf. (proverbial) τρυγόνος λαλίτερος (Leutsch on Macar. v.49 (*CPG* 2.183–4), Kassel and Austin on Men. fr. 309, Arnott on Alex. 96), ῥαχίας λαλίτερος (Suda P 60, Diogenian. vii.99 (*CPG* 1.304)); Ar. *Ra.* 89–91 μειρακύλλια . . . Εὐριπίδου . . . λαλίτερα. For this style of hyperbolic comparison, W. Bühler, *Zenobii Aethoi Proverbia* 5 (Göttingen 1999) 231–5.

**10** καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπομῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἦδη καθεύδειν βουλομένον κωλύη: his children naughtily propose that he should talk them to sleep, at the one time when he does not wish to talk, because he wishes to go to sleep himself. The tables are turned: the man who has prevented others from doing what they should be doing (κωλύειν §5 and §8) is now prevented from doing what he wants to do. We need βουλόμενον (a few mss.)<sup>54</sup> κωλύη (Hartung). βουλόμενα κελεύη (AB) is much less effective: λέγοντα alongside κελεύη is otiose, and, if it is the children who are described as wishing to go to sleep, their naughtiness (keeping their father awake) is lost, and the joke (which comes in ὅπως κτλ.) is anticipated. αὐτὰ . . . βουλόμενον κωλύη (Rusten), ‘when he wants them to go to bed right now, and they stop him by saying . . .’, also spoils the joke and enfeebles κωλύη. And αὐτὸς . . . βουλόμενος κελεύη λεγόντων (Edmonds 1929), ‘who when it is late and he would fain be sleeping and bids them do likewise, cry . . .’, is clumsy.

λέγοντα “Πάππα, λάλει τι ἡμῖν: cf. XX.5 τοῦ πάππου, 7 ὦ μάμη. Not ταῦτα (AB, om. c<sup>1</sup>, del. Auberius) with λέγοντα, since T. does not add the demonstrative to a verb of speaking before direct speech; λέγοντα must stand alone, before the direct speech, like λέγων at VIII.9. The obvious vocative is πάππα, an affectionate address, particularly suited to a coaxing request (H. *Od.* 6.57 Πάππα φίλ', οὐκ ἂν δὴ μοι . . .; Ar. *Pax* 120 ἦνικ' ἂν αἰτίζητ' ἄρτον πάππαν με καλοῦσαι). To the instances of the voc. cited by LSJ add Men. *Mis.* 614 Arnott (213 Sandbach), 649 (248), 969 (439), perhaps

<sup>54</sup> Par. supp. gr. 450 (46 Wilson), according to Torraca 1974; also Marc. 513 (64 Wilson) and Cantabr. (4 Wilson), which both have -ον with α s.l. In the preceding clause, αὐτοῦ (for αὐτοῦ) is in Cantabr. and (Stefanis tells me) in Ambros. O 52 sup. (22 Wilson) before correction and in two very late mss. (25, 65 Wilson).

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Theoc. 15.16 (conj.). See also Frisk 2.471–2, Chantraine 855–6, D. Bain, *Antichthon* 18 (1984) 37–8, M. Golden, ‘Baby talk and child language in ancient Greece’, in F. De Martino and A. H. Sommerstein (edd.), *Lo Spettacolo delle Voci* (Bari 1995) 2.11–34 (esp. 21, 24–5, 31), Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 81, 221, 223. For the spelling (πάππια / πάπια), Arnott, ‘Orthographical variants’ 204. Homeric ἄττα (Casaubon) and τέττα (Needham) deserve no consideration. Nor do recondite τατᾶ (Ribbeck, according to Becher; only Myrin. *AP* 11.67.4 (Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* 2577)), or unattested τάττα (Reiske 1747, 1749 (*Briefe* 360), 1757) and τᾶττα (Edmonds 1910); cf. Headlam on Herod. 1.60, V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (Berlin 1968) 116–17, Frisk 2.860, Chantraine 1096, Golden 21–2.

It is rational to change λαλεῖν (AB) to imperative (Auberius, who printed λαλεῖ but intended it as imperative, before Sylburg). Infin. for imper., mainly poetical though occasionally found in prose (Goodwin §784, *KG* 2.20–2, Schwyzer 2.380–2, V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (New Haven and London 1984) ch. 6), is unwelcome in a style which is structured around infinitives. Their ubiquity (or the influence of κελεύη/κωλύη) will have prompted the corruption.

ὅπως ἄν ἡμᾶς ὕπνος λάβῃ: ὅπως alone (without ἄν) introduces a subjunctive in a final clause at XVIII.5 (conj.), XX.10, XXI.7, 11, XXIII.4, XXVII.8, 14, and regularly in Attic prose and verse. But ὅπως ἄν is also well attested (Goodwin §328, *KG* 2.385–6, Schwyzer 2.665, 671), and is almost invariable in Attic inscriptions before the time of Theophrastus (Meisterhans 253–4, S. Amigues, *Les subordinées finales par ΟΠΩΣ en attique classique* (Paris 1977) 95–197 (cf. Bers 164–5), K. J. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1997) 82). Deletion of ἄν (contemplated by Edmonds and Austen) could be right but is unsafe.

ὕπνος τινὰ λαμβάνει is the normal expression: *S. Ph.* 766–7, *E. Ion* 315, *Hp. Epid.* 5.2 (5.204 Littré), [*Arist. Pr.* 886<sup>a</sup>18, 916<sup>b</sup>2, 917<sup>a</sup>18, *Alex.* 279.2, *Lyc.* 766. So too *Pl. Smp.* 223<sup>b</sup> εἰ . . . ὕπνον λαβεῖν, where the subject of λαβεῖν is ὕπνος (Cobet (1858) 558) not εἰ (LSJ ὕπνος 1.1), since ὕπνον τις λαμβάνει would be abnormal (*D.C.* 71.24.4 οὔτε τροφήν ἄλυτον οὔθ' ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος is exceptional). ὕπνον τις αἰρεῖται would be normal (*h. Merc.* 449, *Th.* 2.75.3, 3.49.3, *D.H.* 6.29.5, 14.8.1, *Longus* 2.7.4, 4.36.3), as would ὕπνου τις τυγχάνει (XVIII.4n.) and λαγχάνει (XXV.6n.).

## VIII THE RUMOUR-MONGER

### Introductory note

The verb λογοποιεῖν, in its specialised sense 'fabricate tales' (LSJ 1.2), belongs to the polemical vocabulary of the orators: Th. 6.38.1 (the speaker denounces alarmist opponents) οὔτε ὄντα οὔτε ἄν γενόμενα λογοποιοῦσιν, And. 1.54 ἃ ἐλογοποιοῦν οἱ ἐχθροὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ βουλόμενοι διαβάλλειν με (also 3.35), Lys. 16.11 λογοποιοῦντας καὶ ψευδομένους, 22.14 οὕτω δ' ἄεμνοι τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὀρῶσιν ὥστε τὰς μὲν πρότεροι τῶν ἄλλων πυνθάνονται, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ λογοποιοῦσιν, Isoc. 5.75 ταῦτα φλυαροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες ἀκριβῶς εἶδέναι . . . πολλοὺς πείθουσι καὶ μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὥνπερ οἱ λογοποιοῦντες, D. 4.49, 6.14, 21.198, Din. 1.32. Hence λογοποιός D. 24.15, Din. 1.35. See S. Lewis, *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (London 1996) 4–5, 75–96.

The Λογοποιός is a very different character from the Ἀδολέσχηρ (III) and the Λάλος (VII). He is an impostor, who spreads news of his own invention and uses a variety of artifices to lend it credibility. On meeting a friend he greets him with a smile and politely inquires after his health and his news (§2). But these are empty courtesies. Impatient to tell his own fictions, he will not wait for an answer, and affects to believe that his friend has disclaimed any news of his own and has asked to hear his (§2). He assures him that his news is tasty (§3) and flatters him that he has singled him out to share a secret (§10). He quotes unverifiable authorities (§4, §8) and pretends to be moved by the misfortunes he narrates (§9). His news is entirely centred on a single (allegedly historical) event; and in that respect the sketch is unique. But he appears to present his news about this event on more than one occasion, citing different sources to different listeners (§2n. τῶι φίλῳ). For the persons alluded to and the historical circumstances around which this fiction may have been fabricated see the Introduction, pp. 29–32.

The text as transmitted by AB presents a stylistic anomaly (several instances of indicatives where we expect infinitives), and may have suffered extensive corruption, rewriting, or interpolation.

### [1] Definition

The pairing λόγων καὶ πράξεων is characteristic of the definitions (def. I n.). But πράξεις, elsewhere actions of the character himself, are here actions which he invents. Something has probably dropped out (ῶν <πιστεύεσθαι>

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βούλεται Diels, ὧν <διασπείρων σεμνύνεσθαι> β- Navarre 1924), although it is just possible that the writer meant ‘actions which he wishes (to happen)’. There is little point in replacing ὧν with ὅσων (Herwerden) or ὡς (E. Orth, *PhW* 45 (1925) 1053–5).

**2 εὐθύς ἀπαντήσας τῷ φίλῳ:** εὐθύς is more effective with ἀπαντήσας (Π), ‘immediately on meeting’ (IV.13n.), showing how quick off the mark he is, than with the following participles (AB). τῷ φίλῳ is ‘his friend’. The article is dispensable (XV.7, XXII.9, XXX.12), but is supported by XVII.2, XXX.5. The friend is soon replaced by ‘someone’ (§7 τικ). Since the meeting described here will have been recurrent (the authorities cited in §4 are alternatives and will not all have been cited at once), the identity of the friend will change from meeting to meeting; so τικ may stand for τικ φίλων. It is needless to delete τῷ (which, to judge by the space available, was present in Π) or write τῶι (Eberhard, Cobet).<sup>55</sup>

†**καταβαλὼν τὸ ἦθος†:** and so probably Π (κ[αταβαλων το] ηθος suits the space). It is hard to believe in this expression. ἦθος is found in three other passages, all spurious (VI.2n.). I rule out (what is linguistically most straightforward) ‘dropping his usual manner’. For the verb in this sense, Luc. *Tim.* 35 τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ καταβαλὼν, *Lex.* 1 τὸν μὲν εἰρῶνα πεδοῖ κατάβαλε (‘drop the role of εἰρῶν’), Alciphr. 4.7.8 κατάβαλλε τὴν μωρίαν ταύτην καὶ ἀηδίαν. It is unclear what his ‘usual manner’ would be. If a solemn one (‘abiecta grauitate’ Ussing, with ἦθος ‘mores . . . ingenuum hominem decentes’), we need to be told this explicitly; we cannot be left to infer it from the smile which follows. Münsterberg (1894) takes his ‘usual manner’ to be λογοποία, which he drops temporarily while he asks his initial questions. A distinction between rumour-mongering (normal manner) and questioning (abnormal manner) is captious.

The verb is used of lowering the eyes (*h. Ven.* 156, *h. Cer.* 194, Ach. Tat. 6.6.3; but not A. *Ch.* 574, adduced by LSJ II.1). A literal lowering is not in question, since a downward look is at odds with a smile, and ἦθος does not refer to the eyes. But a figurative lowering might be possible. Jebb translates ‘giving a demure, subdued air to his whole bearing’. ἦθος can mean a visible ‘bearing’ or ‘manner’ (X. *Smp.* 8.3 οὐχ ὄρατε ὡς . . . αὐτοῦ . . . ἰλαρὸν . . . τὸ ἦθος, *Hyp.* 3.2 ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν σπουδάζουσα . . . τῷ ἦθει, LSJ II.2b). But ‘cast down the bearing/manner’ is no way to say ‘assume a subdued air’; and, again, this does not suit the smile. To translate ‘uultu demisso’ (Ast), in the sense ‘relaxing his expression’ (Rusten), is to impute to ἦθος a sense which it does not strictly have. [Arist.] *Phgn.* 805<sup>b</sup>2 τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ἦθη (and similar expressions

<sup>55</sup> Eberhard 1876 claims to have made the proposal before Cobet 1874, but does not say where. It is not in his *Observationes Babrianae* (1865).

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in 805<sup>b</sup>8, 806<sup>a</sup>30, 807<sup>b</sup>11, 27, 808<sup>a</sup>6; cf. S. Vogt, *Aristoteles, Physiognomica* (Darmstadt 1999) 298–9) refer to traits of character as revealed in facial expressions; and Philostr. *Gym.* 25 ὀφθαλμῶν ἦθη ('of facial expression', LSJ II.2b) must be interpreted in the light of the preceding γιγνωσκέτω δὴ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἠθικὴν πᾶσαν ('the expression of character by the eyes', LSJ ἠθικός II.1). In E. *Cycl.* 167 καταβαλῶν . . . τὰς ὀφρῦς the verb is literal, 'lower the eyebrows' (cf. *PCG* adesp. 680 ὑποκαθεῖναι τὰς ὀφρῦς), in relaxation (Quint. *Inst.* II.3.79 *ira* . . . *contractis* [sc. *superciliis*], *tristitia deductis*, *hilaritas remissis ostenditur*), a humorous inversion of the normal 'raise the eyebrows' (Pearson on S. fr. 902, Arnott on Alex. 16.1–2, 6–7). Stein suggests that καταβαλῶν τὸ ἦθος, where the verb has a less literally appropriate object, is comparable to X. *Smp.* 3.10 ἀνασπᾶσας τὸ πρόσωπον (where the more literally appropriate object, as shown by Ar. *Eq.* 631, is μέτωπον, conjectured by Dindorf, perhaps rightly; for the corruption see Arnott on Alex. 275.4). I decline to equate ἦθος with πρόσωπον.

Conjecture has failed: μεταβαλῶν (Casaubon, comparing [Arist.] *Phgn.* 805<sup>b</sup>8 τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου μεταβαλεῖν) is implausible, because there is nothing here to explain a change of manner or expression (contrast §8 πρόσωπα . . . μεταβεβληκότα, where it is clear how and why expressions have changed); καταλαβῶν Gale (κ- τὸ στήθος Herwerden), μεταβαλῶν τὸ εἶδος Darvaris, μεταλαβῶν Hartung, καταλαβεῖν [τὸ ἦθος] Mey, ἀναλαβῶν Meiser, καταβαλῶν τὸν μῦθον or τοὺς μύθους Sitzler, καταβαλόντι Ussher.<sup>56</sup>

καὶ μειδιάσας ἐρωτήσῃ “Πόθεν σύ;”: a unique reference to the facial expression of the subject of the sketch (in §8 the faces belong to others); E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (*TAPhS* n.s. 59.5, 1969) 38–9, Fortenbaugh in W. W. Fortenbaugh *et al.* (1985) 274, Vogt (above) 97–8. For the elliptical question, Pl. *Mx.* 234A Ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος;, *Phdr.* 227A, ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν;, *Hor. S.* 2.4.1 *unde et quo Catius?*

καὶ “Λέγεις τι;” καὶ “Πῶς ἔχεις;”, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον “Καλῶς;”: in the latter part, προ το[υ δ(ε) εἰπειν ἐκεῖνον] καλῶς [Π, suppl. Gronewald] finally solves the problem of how to articulate or emend περὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν καινὸν καὶ ὦς (AB). Previous suggestions, all wide of the mark, need not be rehearsed. For πρὸ τοῦ with acc. and infin., *HP* 9.17.3 πρὸ τοῦ δειλὴν γενέσθαι (Müller (1878) 3, Hindenlang 68), D. 18.33, 60, 19.73, 75, 236, 21.110, 25.8, Aeschin. 1.128, Lycurg 99, Arist. *Cat.* 8<sup>a</sup>10, [Arist.] *Ath.* 4.3, *Mir.* 837<sup>a</sup>16, *Pr.* 866<sup>a</sup>26.

In the earlier part, it is possible but not certain that Π had the same text as AB: καὶ | λέγεις [τι καὶ πῶς εχεις] | προ το[υ δ(ε) (suppl. Gronewald). This text raises two doubts. We might have expected καὶ . . . δέ rather than δέ alone (VI.9n.); and, for all we know, Π may have had καὶ | προ το[υ δ(ε)]. Second, the

<sup>56</sup> ὑπολαβῶν (Hanow) is not for καταβαλῶν (as Cichorius claims) but for ἐπιβαλῶν below.

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meaning of “Λέγεις τι;” is unclear. Perhaps ‘Have you anything to say?’, ‘Do you wish to say anything?’. But the expression, in this sense, is unexampled (S. *Ant.* 757 βούλητι λέγειν τι . . .; is only a partial parallel); it would more naturally mean ‘Is there anything in what you say?’ (VII.2n.). Stein contemplates λέγεις τι <καινόν>; and suggests that Π may have had room for [τι καινον και πως εχεις]. This expression would be uncomfortably like the following μη λέγεται τι καινότερον; (where Π may have had καινόν, and if this is right there, it rules out καινόν here). And it is most unlikely that Π had καινόν, since the line would then be much longer than any other in this column. Some prefer “Λέγεις τί;”. The order is acceptable (LSJ τικ β.1 b, J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1952) 48; in verse, E. *Ph.* 1338 λέγεις δὲ τί; , G. Thomson, *CQ* 33 (1939) 147–52), but the sense (‘You are saying what?’ = ‘What is it that you are saying?’) is not, since he has said nothing (contrast τί λέγεις; used differently in §3).

ἐπιβαλεῖν “Ἐρωτᾷς μὴ λέγεται τι καινότερον; καὶ μὴν ἀγαθὰ γέ ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα”: not ἐπιβαλῶν ἐρωτᾶν “Μὴ . . .;” (AB). There is no offence in a direct question introduced by μή. Such a question need not expect a negative answer, but may imply only apprehension or hesitation on the part of the questioner (F. C. Babbitt, *HSCPh* 12 (1901) 307–17, Denniston 47–8, Barrett on E. *Hi.* 794). But a question whether there is any news cannot be followed by a statement that the news is good. No distinction is being made here between fresh news and current news (‘Is there any *further* news? The news that I have is in fact good’); if there were, γέ would stand not with ἀγαθὰ (‘The current news is *good*’) but with τὰ λεγόμενα (‘The *current* news is good’). Thus far, I am in agreement with Stein 136–9. I add that (a) with ἐρωτᾶν the part. must be changed to ἐπιβάλλων (Edmonds 1929), coincident in time with the infin. (VII.3n.), but (b) ἐρωτᾶν preceded by aorist ἐρωτῆσαι and followed by aor. εἰπεῖν ought to be ἐρωτῆσαι (aor. II.10, IV.13, XIII.7, XX.7; pres. XIV.2, XV.4, XVI.6, XVIII.4, XXV.2, always in company with other presents). With “Ἐρωτᾷς μὴ . . .;” (Kassel ap. Stein) the speaker anticipates the question which (in his eagerness to tell his news) he pretends that his friend wishes to put to him. The comment now follows logically: ‘You ask whether there is any news? Yes, there is in fact good news.’ For ἐρωτᾷς μὴ . . . , II.10n.

The change of ἐρωτᾶν to ἐρωτᾷς requires the further change of ἐπιβαλῶν (AB) to ἐπιβαλεῖν (Stefanis and I independently). Stein believes that we can dispense with an infin. before the direct speech. Ellipse of a verb of speech is easy and natural when it occurs in a simple introductory clause, as [Pl.] *Erx.* 395ε ἔτι δ’ αὐτοῦ τι βουλομένου λέγειν ὑποκρούσας ὁ Κριτίας “Cὺ γὰρ εἶπέ μοι κτλ.” This is the pattern in the examples (mostly from later writers) cited by Stein and by E. Kieckers, *IF* 36 (1916) 23–6. These would justify §10 καὶ “Δεῖ δ’ αὐτὸν εὖ μόνον εἰδέναι”, but not the two other examples from Theophrastus cited by Stein: XVIII.9 καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσι τι παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουσι “Πόσου; κατὰθου οὐ γὰρ χολάζω πω πέμπειν”, “Μηδὲν πραγματεῦσαι κτλ.”

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(“. . . πω”, εἰπεῖν “Μηδὲν πραγματεύου κτλ.” Madvig), XXV.6 καὶ τοῦ αλπιπτικοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημήναντος καθημένος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ “Ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας κτλ.” (σκηνῆι <εἰπεῖν> Ραυω). Our passage has an even less straightforward sequence (. . . ἐρωτήσαι . . . πρὸ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον “Καλῶς” ἐπιβαλὼν “Ἐρωτῆαι κτλ.”). Such omission of the infin., in a clause which is linked by δέ to a clause which has an infin., produces an unnatural imbalance. For the sense of ἐπιβαλεῖν, VII.3n. Here (as there) ὑπο- has been proposed (ὑποβαλὼν Foss 1858, ὑπολαβὼν Hanow 1860).

With μὴ λέγεται τι καινότερον; cf. D. 4.10 βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι “Λέγεται τι καινόν;”, 11.17 πυνθανόμενοι . . . εἴ τι λέγεται νεώτερον, Acts 17.21 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠκαίρου ἢ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν τι καινότερον, Plu. 519A μὴ τι καινόν;, 594F ἐρομένου . . . μὴ τι καινότερον, also Pl. *Prt.* 310B cited below. For the comparative, XVI.8n., KG 2.306, E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 2 1923) 333–5. In Π, as Gronewald observes, μὴ λεγ[εται τι καινοτερον και] | would be much longer than any other line in this column, while μὴ λεγ[εται τι καινον και] would be the same length as the neighbouring lines. καινόν is just as good (λέγειν τι καινόν Ar. *Nu.* 1032, *V.* 527, 1053, X. *Mem.* 4.4.7), but not obviously better. Stein’s claim that καινότερον is not attested *in a question* until after Hellenistic times overlooks [D.] 12.5 (Anaximenes. Lampsac. *FGH* 72 F 41) ἀπορῶ τί ποτ’ ἔσται καινότερον.

With καὶ μὴν ἀγαθὰ γέ ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα cf. Pl. *Prt.* 310B “Ἰπποκράτης” ἔφην “οὗτος· μὴ τι νεώτερον ἀγγέλλεις;” “Οὐδέν γ’” ἢ δ’ ὅς “εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὰ γέ”. The news is good because the speaker welcomes it, not because (Stein) it makes a good story. For καὶ μὴν . . . γε in answers, Denniston 353–5.

**3 καὶ οὐκ ἕκαστος ἀποκρίνασθαι εἰπεῖν “Τί λέγεις; οὐθὲν ἀκήκοας; cf. VII.3 μεταξὺ . . . ἀποκρινομένοι.** ‘What do you mean? Have you heard nothing?’ amounts to ‘Do you mean to tell me that you have heard nothing?’. In his eagerness to tell his own tale, he behaves as if his friend has indicated that he has nothing to say. τί λέγεις; was a conventionally aggressive opening: Ar. *Nu.* 1172–4 νῦν μὲν γ’ ἰδεῖν εἴ πρῶτον ἐξαρνητικὸς | κἀντιλογικὸς, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτιπχώριον | ἀτεχνῶς ἐπανθεῖ, τὸ “τί λέγεις κύ;” (Σ’ ὅτε γὰρ τοὺς ἐναντίους καταπλήξαι βουλοίμεθα τῇ τοιαύτῃ φωνῇ χρώμεθα). A second question often follows: Ar. *Ach.* 768, *Nu.* 367, *V.* 1378, *Au.* 57, 1233, *Pl.* 143, 388, *Pl. Prt.* 309D, D. 19.124, 21.195, 23.35, 32.15, 58.25, Strattis 13.2. For the form οὐθὲν, Π.2n.

**δοκῶ μοί σε εὐωχῆσειν καινῶν λόγων:** cf. IX.3 εὐωχοῦ, Pl. *R.* 352B εὐωχοῦ τοῦ λόγου, 571D ἐστίασας λόγων καλῶν, *Phdr.* 227B τῶν λόγων ὑμᾶς Λυκίας εἰστία, *Ti.* 27B τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐστίασιν, Ar. fr. 162 χόρταζε τῶν μονωιδιῶν (Kassel and Austin on fr. 347.1), Men. *Georg.* 43–5 βούλομαι σ’ ἀγαθῶν λόγων . . . γ[εῦ]σαι, Metag. 15, Luc. *Smp.* 2, *Lex.* 1, Shakespeare,



*Macbeth* I.iv.55–6 ‘And in his commendations I am fed; / It is a banquet to me’, *Much Ado about Nothing* II.iii.20 ‘His words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes’. For the genitive, KG 1.355–6.

4 He invents eye-witnesses, lending them plausibility by giving them names, as Aeschines charged Demosthenes with doing (2.153, 3.99). Cf. XXIII.6 προσιθεῖς πιθανῶς ἐκάστοις τούτων ὀνόματα.

καὶ ἔστιν . . . οὐ φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι: this is very abnormal style, and I suspect corruption or rewriting. Normality can be restored only by substantial change, such as καὶ <φῆσαι ὡς> ἔστιν . . . οὐ [φησὶν] ἀκήκοεν[αι]. Below, too, other verbs of speech in the indic. appear to have been interpolated (§6 διηγείται) or to have ousted infinitives (§7 φῆσει for φῆσαι, §8 λέγει for λέγειν).

ἔστιν αὐτῷ . . . παραγεγονῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς μάχης: ‘He has (a soldier etc.) arrived’, as e.g. Hdt. 1.193.4 εἰς δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, not periphrastic perfect ‘(a soldier etc.) has arrived’. See KG 1.38–40, W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam 1965) 36–51, C. H. Kahn, *The Verb ‘Be’ in Ancient Greek* (Dordrecht and Boston 1973) 126–44, Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 205–6, Rijksbaron, *Grammatical Observations* 73–4.

ἡ στρατιώτης: ‘a soldier’, the noun unqualified, as e.g. IV.6 βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ τράγον, XII.12 παῖς, XVI.4 ὄφιν, 6 μῦς, XVII.5 βαλλάντιον, XX.9 κῆπος and μάγειρος. No need for στρατιώτης <τις> (Edmonds 1929).

ἡ παῖς Ἀστείου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ: a slave regularly accompanied a hoplite on campaign (XXV.4, W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* 1 (Berkeley etc. 1971) 49–51, M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris<sup>2</sup> 1987) 780–5). The αὐλητής might play (i) to troops on the march or going into battle (M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 29–30, Pritchett 105–8), (ii) at sacrifices before battle (P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1920) 111 n. 15, Pritchett 109–15), (iii) to entertain the commanders (H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* 1 (Munich 1926) 73–6, lists the entertainers in Alexander’s camp). The name Asteios is attested in Attica (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* 1 (Berlin 1901) 176, *LGPN* 2.76, J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* 3 (Toronto 1995) 465) and elsewhere (*LGPN* 1.92, 3A.81). Astias (Ἀστίου Reiske 1757) is no commoner in Attica (Kirchner 176, *LGPN* 2.76, Traill 465–6) but is a little commoner elsewhere (*LGPN* 1.92, 3A.81). Another possibility is Asteas (Ἀστέου), attested in Attica (Kirchner 176, *LGPN* 1.76, Traill 464), and as the name of foreign residents (Osborne and Byrne 76) and elsewhere (*LGPN* 1.92, 3A.81).

ἡ Λύκων ὁ ἐργολάβος: Lycon is a ‘contractor’, supplying the army with unspecified equipment or services. For illustration of the range of contracted work which this noun and its cognates can denote see Stein 142–3. The name Lycon is widespread (Kirchner 2.29, *LGPN* 1.291, 2.288, 3A.280–1, Osborne and Byrne 54, 87, 160, 309, 342).

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5 [αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναφοραὶ τῶν λόγων τοιαῦται εἰσιν αὐτοῦ, ὧν οὐθεὶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι]: this feeble comment in the indicative is insufferable. The language is typical of an interpolator: ἀναφοραὶ τῶν λόγων (abstract phraseology reminiscent of the definitions), μὲν οὖν (def. I n.), τοιαῦται (epil. I n.). ἀναφοραὶ are not ‘sources’ (authorities), but ‘references back (to sources or authorities)’; LSJ II.1, Stein 145–6. For the form οὐθεὶς, II.2n. ἐπιλαβέσθαι is ‘attack, object to’ (VII.7n.), here with a non-personal object, as Pl. *Th.* 184c ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἦν ἀποκρίνηι, ἧι οὐκ ὀρθή, X. *HG* 2.1.32 ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ . . . ψηφίσματος. In place of αὐτοῦ I should accept αὐτῶι (ascribed by Cichorius to e; Stefanis confirms that he is right), advocated by Stein (who compares XXI.4, XXIII.5), if I believed that this sentence was genuine.

6 [διηγείται δὲ τούτους φάσκων λέγειν] ὧς: if this is genuine, we must choose between (i) ‘He relates (his news), claiming that these men say that . . .’, an intolerably feeble use of διηγείται without object, and (ii) ‘He relates, claiming that these men say (it), that . . .’, a flaccid parenthesis unnaturally separating διηγείται from its object. The alternatives are discussed by Stein, who concludes that (ii) is the lesser evil. But there are further indications that the words are not genuine: abnormal indicative (§4n.) and abnormal connective δέ (VI.9n.). διηγείσθαι (Schneider) removes only a part of the offence. Diels condemned αἱ μὲν οὖν κτλ., but did not say where he thought the genuine text resumed. Ussher condemned (as well as the previous sentence) διηγείται δέ. But οὗ φησιν ἀκηκοέναι, τούτους φάσκων λέγειν is long-winded. I delete all five words, since οὗ φησιν ἀκηκοέναι ὧς gives a tauter construction (ἀκούειν ὧς *HP* 9.1.4, with genitive too e.g. Pl. *Cri.* 53D, *Phd.* 61E, X. *Mem.* 2.4.1, D. 1.22). I assume that the words were added to give a construction for ὧς κτλ., after the preceding interpolation had separated this clause from its governing verb ἀκηκοέναι. For this type of resumptive addition, VI.2–3n. *init.*

Πολυπέρχων καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχηι νενίκηκε καὶ Κάσσανδρος ἐξώρηται: see the Introduction, pp. 29–32. For the career of Polyperchon, in outline, see Berve (§4n.) 2.325–6, W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander’s Empire* (London and New York 1992) 188–204. For Cassander, Berve 2.201–2. The correct spellings are Πολυπέρχων (B: Πολυσπ- A) (W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* I (Leipzig 1903) 12 n. 14, O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Göttingen 1906) 156, Meisterhans 91, Threatte 1.507) and Κάσσανδρος (Dittenberger no. 5 (311 BC), Hoffmann 208–9, Threatte 1.525). AB have Κάσσανδρος here and §9, and there is no better reason to accept this than there is to accept the regular misspelling Κακάνδρα (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1035). Stein argues that Κάσσανδρος may be an acceptable Attic spelling, because (in words other than this) Attic inscriptions tend to

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simplify -cc- to -c- (Meisterhans 94, Threatte, 1.513–16). This tells against, not for, accepting -c- in a literary text.

Both μάχηι (B) and μάχην (A) are possible, but the dative is likelier. μάχηι νικᾶν, very common with acc. object, is used absolutely at E. *Ph.* 1143, 1416, 1472, X. *HG* 7.1.35, *An.* 2.6.5, Isoc. 4.87, 12.254 (with the noun qualified, Hdt. 4.110.1 τῆι ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχηι). μάχην νικᾶν is less common, and the noun is generally qualified: Pl. *La.* 191c τὴν ἐκεῖ, X. *Cyr.* 7.5.53 τὴν μεγάλην, Isoc. 5.53 καλλίστην, 8.58 τὴν μάχην ἣν ἐνίκησαν Θηβαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίους, Aeschin. 3.181 τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, [Arist.] *Ath.* 15.3 τὴν ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι, 22.3 τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, Din. 1.73 τὴν ἐν Λευκτροῖς, Chron. *Oxyrh.* *FCrHF* 255.5 τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνίαι ἐπιφανεστάτην μάχην Ἀθηναίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἐνίκησεν. Possible examples of μάχην νικᾶν used absolutely are X. *An.* 2.1.4 (*u.l.* μάχηι), Aeschin. 3.87 (*u.l.* μάχηι gives hiatus). In Aeschin. 2.80 οὐ τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπαγγεῖλαισιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὴν μάχην (*u.l.* τὰς μάχας) νικήσασιν the acc. was chosen to balance the preceding τὴν εἰρήνην. See also on §11 πεζομαχίαι καὶ ναυμαχίαι νικῶντες.

7 καὶ ἄν εἴπηι τις αὐτῶι “Cὺ δὲ ταῦτα πιστεύεις;”, φῆσαι: for κύ, VII.3n. For δέ introducing quoted speech, §10, I.6n., VI.9n.; introducing questions, Denniston 173–7. φῆσαι is ‘say yes’, as XVIII.4 (LSJ III). The infin. (for φῆσει AB) restores normality (§4n.). If indic. is retained, a present (ναί, φησί Darvaris, φησί Hanow 1860) is needless (Headlam on Herod. 4.57, Stein 149).

[τὸ πρᾶγμα] βοᾶσθαι γὰρ ἐν τῆι πόλει: cf. Hdt. 3.39.3 τὰ πρήγματα . . . ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα (LSJ βοάω II.4). But the postponement of γὰρ is highly abnormal (Denniston 97–8). Blomqvist 121 (followed by K. J. Dover, *CQ* 35 (1985) 342 = *Greek and the Greeks* (Oxford 1987) 66) cites *HP* 4.6.1 οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι καὶ ταῖς λίμναις καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς γὰρ (γὰρ om. UM, rightly followed by S. Amigues, Budé ed.; cf. Hindenlang 84–6) and *CP* 3.11.3 ὁ ἥλιος ἐξάγει γὰρ (γὰρ is merely an unsignalled supplement in Wimmer’s text; better ὁ <γὰρ> ἥλιος ἐξάγει Einarson). I take τὸ πρᾶγμα to be the addition of a reader who did not see that ταῦτα (in the preceding sentence) can be understood as subject of βοᾶσθαι. Alternative remedies exist: τὸ πρᾶγμα γὰρ β- (Darvaris) or β- γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα (Fraenkel and Groeneboom), postulating an improbable transposition from regular order to irregular; <φανερὸν> τὸ πρᾶγμα β- κτλ. (Navarre 1920), improving on <φανερὸν> φῆσει <εἶναι> τὸ κτλ. (Cobet 1874); <γεγονέναι> φησί τὸ πρᾶγμα β- κτλ. (Edmonds 1929), based on an interpolation in c (<γεγονέναι>, probably designed to go with ταῦτα πιστεύεις). For γὰρ introducing an explanatory clause with infin., IV.10n.

καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπεντεύειν: the compound is rare, elsewhere intrans. only at Ar. *Pax* 515 (with personal subject); cf. intrans. τείνειν (LSJ B.II), ἐντεύειν (XIII.3n.), ἐπιτεύειν (LSJ I.2cd), and other compounds (KG 1.94).

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καὶ πάντας συμφωνεῖν [ταῦτά γὰρ λέγειν περὶ τῆς μάχης]: the clauses are tautologous; and a further explanatory γὰρ-clause is an unwelcome appendage to a sentence introduced by explanatory γὰρ. Alternatively συμφωνεῖν [ταῦτά γὰρ λέγειν] περὶ τῆς μάχης (συμφωνεῖν with περὶ *HP* 9.4.3, LSJ συμφωνέω π.1). Hottinger proposed the larger deletion, not (as some have claimed) the lesser. ταῦτά (for ταῦτα AB) is reported from Laur. 86.3 (10 Wilson) by Torraca (1974) 91, Stefanis (1994a) 119.

καὶ πολὺν τὸν ζωμὸν γεγονέαι: the graphic metaphor, 'broth', 'soup', for 'bloodbath', occurs only here. R. Münsterberg, *WS* 17 (1895) 318, adduces *J. Aḡ* 13.243 τὸν νεῶν . . . τῷ ζωμῷ τούτων (cattle sacrificed on the altar in Jerusalem) περιέριπαινε συγγέας τὰ Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐέβειαν. But this is based on D.S. 34/35.1.4, where ζωμός is a literal broth made from the flesh of a sacrificed sow. The soup, sometimes made from fatty animals like horse and pig (Arist. *HA* 520<sup>a</sup>8–10), might contain bones (IX.4) and meat (IX.4n., Ar. *Eq.* 1178, fr. 606, Pl. *Lj.* 209D, Telecl. 1.8, Nicopho 21.3; cf. V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 85–6, Pellegrino 131, Wilkins, *Boastful Chef* 149 n. 225), and so is an apt metaphor for carnage on the battlefield. A variety called ζωμός μέλας (XX.6n.) was also called αίματία 'blood broth' (Poll. 6.57, Phot. Z 70 Theodoridis, Suda Z 136). For a similar image (a bloodbath) cf. E. *Rh.* 430 αίματηρός πελανός; for culinary images similarly applied, Ar. *Eq.* 372 περικόμματ' ἐκ κοῦ σκευάω (Men. *Sam.* 292–3 κατακόπτεις γέ με | . . . εἰς περικόμματα), Nu. 455–6 ἐκ μου χορδὴν | τοῖς φροντισταῖς παραθέντων, Pl. *Mil.* 8 *farmen* (s.u.l.) *facere ex hostibus*, *Truc.* 613 *te hic hac offatim conficiam* (Lipsius: *officiam* codd.: *offigam* Schoell; cf. 621, 626). Emendation is ruinous: φόνον ed. pr., ψωμόν Pauw, ζωρόν Darvaris, διωγμόν Blaydes before Münsterberg 1894.

The infin. γεγονέαι is not coordinate with preceding βοᾶσθαι, ἐπεντείνειν, and συμφωνεῖν. Those infinitives explain why he answers 'yes' (φῆσαι), while καὶ . . . γεγονέαι is a factual statement about the battle. Therefore γεγονέαι (like the following εἶναι) is constructed with φῆσαι. Münsterberg 1894, deleting καὶ as well as ταῦτά . . . μάχης, constructs it with συμφωνεῖν. But LSJ (συμφωνέω π.1) attests the infin. only with the passive verb. If ταῦτά . . . μάχης were retained, it would be possible (but not preferable) to take ταῦτά and πολὺν . . . γεγονέαι as joint objects of λέγειν ('they say the same things about the battle and that . . .').

8 εἶναι δ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ σημεῖον τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι: for δὲ . . . καί, VI.9n. No need for σημεῖον καὶ (Blaydes). For ἑαυτῷ (Edmonds 1908, who in 1929 attributes it to Diels 1909), 1.2n. For the identity of τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι 'those in office, political leaders' (LSJ π.2, Wankel on D. 18.45) see the Introduction, p. 30.

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ὄρᾶν γὰρ αὐτός πάντων μεταβεβληκότα: the present ὄρᾶν expresses the continued effect of his (past) seeing, as commonly with verbs denoting perception (KG 1.135, Schwyzer 2.274; IX.2n.). αὐτῶν (B: -όν A) must be replaced by αὐτός (Wilamowitz ap. Diels 1909; declined by Foss 1861). αὐτός has point; its position after the verb (Foss claimed that the order αὐτός γὰρ ὄρᾶν would be correct) is unexceptionable (IV.9, XIV.6, XVIII.3, XX.5, XXX.11). For the type of error (anticipatory assimilation) see on V.9 καὶ αὐλαίαν κτλ. By contrast, αὐτῶν is misplaced: the natural order would be πάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄρᾶν, as shown by the passages cited (in defence of αὐτῶν) by Stein. αὐτ<ὸς τ>ῶν (Edmonds 1929) is less suitable; αὐτά (Reiske 1757 before Kayser) is not naturally followed by πάντων.

<καί> λέγειν δ': addition of καί (VI.gn.) and change of λέγει (AB) to infin. (§4n.) restore normality at small cost.

ἤδη πεμπτὴν ἡμέραν ἦκοντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας, δς πάντα ταῦτα οἶδε: 'who has been here four days since his arrival', a regular use of the acc. with a perfect (ἦκοντα is perf. in sense), as Th. 8.23.1 τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἦκοντος, Pl. *Prt.* 309d Πρωταγόρας ἐπιδηδήμηκεν; :: Τρίτην γε ἤδη ἡμέραν, Lys. 24.6 πέπταμαι τρέφων τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, X. *An.* 4.5.24 τὴν θυγατέρα . . . ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην, Aeschin. 3.77 ἐβδόμην . . . ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶι τετελευτηκυίας, *PCG* adesp. 1084.3 (Men. *fab. inc.* 6.3 Arnott) πεμπτ[ὸ]ν γεγάμηκα μῆνα (KG 1.314 (b), Barrett on E. *Hi.* 907–8). With πάντα ταῦτα οἶδε cf. VII.2 πάντα οἶδε. Not εἶδε (d, Darvaris, Nauck 1863), less suitable after preceding ὄρᾶν . . . αὐτός. Deletion of ταῦτα (Schneider) is arbitrary.

9 καὶ ταῦτα διεξιῶν: the demonstrative (Casaubon) provides a suitable object for διεξιῶν, while πάντα (B) does not, and ταῦτα πάντα (A; cf. XVIII.4) is too close to preceding πάντα ταῦτα. Since ταῦτα and πάντα are easily confused (Diggle, *Euripidea* 494), perhaps they were variants, A carrying both, B only the corrupt variant. Less plausibly ταῦθ' ἅμα c, ἅμα Ussing before Navarre 1920, ἅμα τοιαῦτα Stein.

πῶς οἶεσθε: a colloquial parenthesis, like Ar. *Ra.* 54 πῶς οἶει (V.1428 conii. Starkie), more commonly πῶς δοκεῖ (E. *Hi.* 446, *Hec.* 1160, Ar. *Ach.* 12, 24, *Nu.* 881, *Pl.* 742, Arar. 13, *Diph.* 96.1, *Theophil.* 2.2; cf. πόσον δοκεῖ Ar. *Ec.* 399, S. fr. 373.5 conii. Herwerden). Similarly parenthetical, Pl. *Smp.* 216d πόσος οἶεσθε γέμει . . . ωφροσύνης, Eub. 80.8–9 πηλίκον τινὰ | οἶεσθε μέγεθος. Not parenthetical but accommodated to the syntax, Ar. *Nu.* 1368 κἀνταῦθα πῶς οἶεσθέ μου τὴν καρδίαν ὀρεχθεῖν; X. *Mem.* 4.2.23 νῦν δὲ πῶς οἶει με ἀθύμως ἔχειν . . .; D. 6.20 "Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθε," ἔφην, "ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνῖοι, δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους . . ."; much like XIV.13 πόσους οἶει . . . ἐξηγηνέχθαι νεκρούς;. See further KG 2.353–4, J. Vahlen, *Hermes* 24 (1889) 473–4, Pasquali (1926) 247–9 = (1986) 855–7, P. T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (Wiesbaden 1976) 39, K. J. Dover, *Greek and the Greeks* (Oxford 1987) 230. Stein

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objects that a second person verb implies an auditor; but a stereotyped colloquialism ('in fact merely the lively equivalent of an adverb', Barrett on E. *Hi.* 446) is not answerable to such logic. οἶεσθαι (AB) cannot be saved by writing πως (Diels), which does not effectively qualify διεξιῶν (as Diels acknowledged; he imputed the sentence to an interpolator) and is in the wrong place to qualify οἶεσθαι ('he somehow believes' Rusten); and οἶεσθαι, taken with χετλιάζειν, is weak. ὡς οἶόν τε (Navarre 1918; for the construction, G. W. Butterworth, *CR* 33 (1919) 15–17) is lame.

**πιθανῶς χετλιάζειν:** this is the rhetorical technique of χετλιασμός or *conquestio* ('ea pars orationis, qua conquerimur, et commoti sumus ex iniuria uel aduersa fortuna', J. C. G. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae* (Leipzig 1795) 338), illustrated by Aps. p. 333 Hammer *εχρήματι . . . χρήρηι χετλιαστικῶς ὅταν λέγηις* "ὦ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀδοκῆτου (ἀπροσδοκῆτου Bake) τύχης", and Cic. *Inu.* 1.106–7 *conquestio est oratio auditorum misericordiam captans. . . id locis communibus efficere oportebit, per quos fortunae uis in omnes et hominum infirmitas ostenditur. . . primus locus est misericordiae per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc quibus in malis sint ostenditur*, and practised by him at *Att.* 3.10.2. Cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1386<sup>a</sup> 4–16 (pity is excited by disasters attributable to τύχη). For πιθανῶς, XXIII.6.

**Δυστυχῆς Κάσσανδρος· ὦ ταλαίπωρος:** nom. of exclamation (KG 1.46, Schwyzler 2.65–6). For the adjectives, Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 163–5, 286–7. The commiseration is here a rhetorical τόπος and is not at variance with the earlier statement (§2) that the news (which proves to be news of Cassander's defeat) is good.

**ἐνθυμηῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης;** addressed to the friend, not Cassander (an exclamation is not an address). For ἐνθυμηῖ . . ., II.2n. No need for ἐνθυμοῦ (Schwartz).<sup>57</sup> For τὸ τῆς τύχης, Th. 4.18.3, 7.61.3, E. *Alc.* 785, *IA* 1403, Pl. *Alc.* 2 147A, D. 4.45, Men. *Asp.* 248, fr. 311, Dem. Phal. fr. 81 Wehrli (below), Ariston fr. 13, II Wehrli. Also (proposed here by Schwartz) τὰ τῆς τύχης: Th. 4.55.3, S. *OT* 977, E. *Ph.* 1202, D. 4.12 (*u.l.* τὸ), *Proem.* 39.2, Plb. 2.49.8, 2.50.12, 15.8.3, 25.3.9). For the periphrasis, XXV.2 τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Various remarks on τύχη attributed to Theophrastus are collected in fr. 487–501 Fortenbaugh (commentary by Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 212–28). Demetrius of Phaleron wrote a work on τύχη (fr. 79–81 Wehrli = 82A–B Stork *et al.* ap. W. W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf (edd.), *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion* (New Brunswick and London 2000)), adducing the overthrow of the Persian empire by the Macedonian to illustrate how τὸ τῆς τύχης χαλεπὸν (*sc.* ἐστι); Walbank on Plb. 29.21, Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 242, 259 n. 37, Bodei Gigliotti 92.

†**ἄλλ' οὖν ἰχυρὸς γενόμενος†:** the lack of a finite verb is unbelievable. If ἄλλ' οὖν is right, <γ> γενόμενος (Casaubon) is plausible (Denniston 441–5).

<sup>57</sup> Not Casaubon, who says only 'interpretes uidentur ἐνθυμοῦ legisse' ('uide' Lycius, 'considera' Auberius).

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ἰχυρός, if right, will mean ‘powerful’, ‘strong in fighting power’ (Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 166–7). There may simply be a lacuna: e.g. . . . γενόμενος <ὕν ὡς ἀσθενής ἐστι> Foss 1858 (feebly expressed, but the general idea may be right: cf. Cic. *Inu.* 1.106–7, quoted above), <ἀπόλωλεν> Jebb. ἄλλως οὔν (Holland and Ilberg 1897) does not help the syntactical structure; nor do ἰχυρῶς μαχόμενος (Coray) or ἰχυρῶς γ’ ἀμυνάμενος (Wilamowitz ap. Diels). The syntax, at least, is amended by ὦ ταλαίπωρος, ἄλλως ἰχυρός γενόμενος, ἐνθυμῆι . . .; (Auberius), more economically by ὦ ταλαίπωρος (ἐνθυμῆι τὸ τῆς τύχης); ἄλλως ἰχυρός γενόμενος (Herwerden before Edmonds 1908).

**10** καὶ “Δεῖ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν μόνον εἶδέναι”: for δέ introducing quoted speech, §7, I.6n. It is possible to understand an introductory verb of speech (see on §2 ἐπιβαλεῖν), and so there is no compelling reason to mark a lacuna after καί (Cichorius). But the text cannot be considered secure, in view of the corruption or lacuna which precedes. καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν γε μόνον εἶδέναι λέγειν . . . προσδεδραμηκέναι (Fraenkel and Groeneboom) is heavy-handed.

Not αὐτὸν ἐν, for (as μόνον indicates) the pronoun is emphatic. Cf. Pl. *Grg.* 472b ἂν μὴ ἐν αὐτὸν ἕνα ὄντα μάρτυρα παράσχωμαι, *Phd.* 91a ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐμοὶ ὅτι μάλιστα δόξει οὕτως ἔχειν; contrast *Smp.* 198c μὴ . . . αὐτὸν με λίθον . . . ποιήσειεν, *R.* 378b οὐδὲ αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ. See Arnott on Alex. 112.3–4. For μόνον in combination with the pronouns, Pl. *Lj.* 211c ὑμεῖς . . . αὐτῷ μόνω. There is no advantage in αὐτό (printed without comment by Stephanus and Casaubon).

[πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει προσδεδράμηκε λέγων]: cf. V.8 τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει διηγείσθαι. Indicative προσδεδράμηκε (B) must be preferred to -κέναι (A), since such a perfect infin. is not naturally constructed with οἶος, and, if it were so constructed, we should expect <καί> πᾶσι δέ (VI.9n.). But the indic. prompts suspicion that the sentence may be inauthentic (Diels 1883), a pedantic addition making explicit what may be better left inexplicit in the preceding remark; and the perfect may betray the hand of the composer of the lines which follow. Whoever is the author, we might consider changing προσ- (προσδραμών recurs at XXV.5) to προ- (Coray; II.8 προδραμών B, προσ- A; cf. II.8n., XI.9n., XXIII.7n.) or even περι- (XVIII.4; §2 προ Π, περί AB). προυδεδραμήκει (προδ- Schneider) is a less apt tense. πᾶσι δ’ <ἤδη> (Herwerden) is uncalled for.

### [11] Epilogue

The persons described here are public speakers, unlike the man described above. The feeble moralising is typical of the epilogues. The rhetoric is more than usually overwrought. Several features of vocabulary or style are shared

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with the Preface (see Introd. Note to Preface) or with other spurious passages (plural subject, epil. III n.; τοιούτων epil. I n.; οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ VI.7; περιττάσεις ποιοῦμενοι VI.7; πᾶνυ epil. X; ἐργαστήριον epil. VI; οὕτως καὶ VII. 5, epil. XXVII).

The use of the perfects ἀποβεβλήκασι and ὠφλήκασι with no difference in aspect from the aorist παρεδειπνήθησαν is a sign of post-classical Greek: E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II.1 (Berlin and Leipzig 1926) 176–207, P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris 1927) 235–45, Schwyzer 2.287–8, F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (transl. and rev. R. W. Funk, Cambridge and Chicago 1961) 175–7.

**ἀλυσιτελῶς ἀπαλλάττους:** ἀλυσιτελῶς (fr. 154 Wimmer (526 Fortenbaugh), X. *Mem.* 1.7.2, D. 61.3) is a likelier correction of λυσιτελῶς (AB) than is <τοῦ> λυσιτελοῦς (Wachsmuth ap. Cichorius). For the verb, LSJ A.ii. πλάττους (Nauck 1850) and ἀλυσιτελεῖ πλάττους (Edmonds 1929) are no improvement.

**τὰ ἱμάτια ἀποβεβλήκασι:** the verb perhaps hints that they are guilty of contributory negligence. It was a capital offence to steal cloaks from gymnasia (D. 24.113), and to steal (presumably cloaks) from baths ([Arist.] *P.* 952<sup>a</sup>17–20); MacDowell, *Law* 148, D. Cohen, *Theft in Athenian Law* (Munich 1983) 69–83. Cf. Pl. *Rud.* 382–4, Cat. 33.1, Petr. 30.7–11, Sen. *Ep.* 56.2, D.L. 6.52; Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 215, Gow on Macho 100f., Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 497.

**πεζομαχίαι καὶ ναυμαχίαι νικῶντες:** a conventional pairing of nouns (Hdt. 8.15.1, Th. 1.23.1, 1.100.1, 2.89.8, Plb. 5.69.7, D.S. 13.51.7), as with verbs (Th. 1.112.4 ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν, Lys. 2.47, Isoc. 7.75, X. *HG* 1.1.14, Lycurg. 72); cf. Cic. *Sen.* 13 *nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes* [cf. the following πόλεις . . . κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦντες], *ut pedestres naualesque pugnas . . . recordentur*. For the dative, Hdt. 7.10β.2 νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ, X. *HG* 1.6.2, and on §6 μάχηι νενίκηκε. But πεζομαχίαι καὶ ναυμαχίαι (Münsterberg 1895) is an appealing plural and an acceptable acc. (e.g. D. 21.169 ναυμαχίαι νενικηκότες). By a common rhetorical device the speakers are represented as doing what they are describing: Isoc. 5.75 (of λογοποιοί, quoted in the Introd. Note) ταχέως ἅπαντα τῶι λόγῳ καταστρεφόμενοι ('overthrowing the whole world'), Liv. 44.22.8 *in omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conuiujs sunt qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant*. The device is commonly applied to writers (R. Kassel, *RhM* 109 (1966) 8–10 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin and New York 1991) 366–8, McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 2.18.2).

**ἐρήμους δίκας ὠφλήκασι:** by default, through failure to attend (LSJ ἐρήμος III.1).

**πόλεις τῶι λόγῳ κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦντες παρεδειπνήθησαν:** cf. Pl. *Ba.* 966 *urbis uerbis qui inermus capit*. The verb παραδειπνεῖν is attested only in Amphis 31.



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ποῖαι γὰρ ἐν στοᾷ, ποῖωι δὲ ἐργατηρίωι, ποῖωι δὲ μέρει τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ διημερεύουσιν . . . ;: not (with datives) ποῖαι γὰρ οὐ (AB) στοᾷ . . . οὐκ ἐνδιημερεύουσιν (Schneider, οὐκ ἐνημ- Diels), since we do not want two negatives in this sentence; nor (with nom.) ποῖα γὰρ οὐ στοά, ποῖον δὲ ἐργατήριον (AB), ποῖον δὲ μέρος . . . οὔ (Foss 1858, <οὔ> οὐ Nauck 1863 before Blaydes and Cichorius) διημερεύουσιν, since ποῖα γὰρ οὐ . . . <οὔ> (or <οὔ> οὐ) should properly be ποῖα γὰρ . . . <οὔ> οὐ. The simple remedy is to replace the first οὐ with ἐν (Ast, unaware that Darvaris had proposed ἐν ποῖαι γὰρ the year before). For omission of ἐν with the two following nouns, XXIV.11 n., KG 1.548–9, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 23–4.

# IX

## THE SHAMELESS MAN

### Introductory note

Aristotle (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>31–5, *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>1; cf. *MM* 1193<sup>a</sup>1) defines ἀναισχυντία in relation to a mean of αἰδώς (modesty): excess of αἰδώς is κατὰπληξικ (bashfulness), deficiency is ἀναισχυντία (shamelessness). At *EE* 1233<sup>b</sup>26–9 the modest man is described as heeding the opinion of those who appear reasonable (τῶν φαινομένων ἐπιεικῶν), the bashful man every opinion, the shameless man none (ὁ . . . μηδεμιᾶς φροντίζων δόξης ἀναισχυντος). Elsewhere (*Rh.* 1383<sup>b</sup>13–15) Aristotle defines ἀναισχυντία as ‘contempt and indifference (ὀλιγωρία τις καὶ ἀπάθεια) with regard to misdeeds which seem to lead to dishonour (ἀδοξία)’. Indifference to reputation or to the opinion of others is characteristic of the ἀναισχυντος: *EN* 1115<sup>a</sup>13–14 ὁ μὲν γὰρ φοβούμενος (*sc.* ἀδοξίαν) ἐπιεικῆς καὶ αἰδήμων, ὁ δὲ μὴ φοβούμενος ἀναισχυντος, *Rh.* 1368<sup>b</sup>22–3 ὁ δ’ ἀναισχυντος (*sc.* ἄδικός ἐστι) δι’ ὀλιγωρίαν δόξης, *Pl. Lg.* 701A τὸ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ βελτίονος δόξαν μὴ φοβεῖσθαι διὰ θράσος, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ ἐστὶν χρεδὸν ἢ πονηρὰ ἀναισχυντία. Cf. *Plu. Alc.* 13.5 (quoted on VI.2–3).

The Ἀναισχυντος of Theophrastus takes advantage of others (creditors, neighbours, tradesmen, guests) and carries off his petty sharp practices with brazen jocularly. He manifests his shamelessness solely in greed and stinginess. The association between shamelessness and greed is traditional: *Pl. N.* 9.33 αἰδώς γὰρ ὑπὸ κρύφα κέρδει κλέπτεται, *Pl. Hipparch.* 225B φιλοκερδεῖν δι’ ἀναισχυντίαν, *Lg.* 941B κλοπὴ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον, ἄρπαγὴ δὲ ἀναισχυντον, *Isoc.* 17.8 τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρήματα πόλλ’ εἶναι τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶι κείμενα καὶ ἄξι’ ἀναισχυντίας, *X. Cyn.* 2.2.25 πρὸς . . . τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδροὶ καὶ ἀναισχυντοὶ, *Is.* 1.8 τὴν μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν, *D.* 27.38 ταῦτ’ οὐ μεγάλη καὶ περιφανὴς ἀναισχυντία; ταῦτ’ οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ δεινῆς αἰσχροκερδείας; Arist. *Rh.* 1383<sup>b</sup>22–30 (ἀναισχυντία manifested in αἰσχροκέρδεια and ἀνελευθερία). See the *Introd. Notes to XXII* (Ἀνελεύθερος) and *XXX* (Αἰσχροκερδής).

### [1] Definition

For Aristotle ἀναισχυντία is necessarily associated with indifference to reputation; for him and for others it may be, but need not be, associated with κέρδος (*Introd. Note*). The definition makes κέρδος a necessary associate, as does [*Pl.*] *Def.* 416A ἀναισχυντία ἕξις ψυχῆς ὑπομενητικῆ ἀδοξίας ἕνεκα κέρδους (*Ingenkamp* 102). The two definitions are related to each other. Ours could be based on the sketch, where all the actions of the Ἀναισχυντος may

be said to be prompted by κέρδος. If so, ours was the model for [Pl.] *Def.* If, conversely, ours is based on [Pl.] *Def.* (as others appear to be), then either [Pl.] *Def.* is based on the sketch or both [Pl.] *Def.* and the sketch focus on κέρδος independently of each other. See Stein 168–70.

ὄν ὄρωι λαβεῖν: def. I n.

καταφρόνησις: cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1380<sup>a</sup>20–1 ἡ δ' ἀναισχυντία ὀλιγωρία καὶ καταφρόνησις ὧν γοῦν πολὺ καταφρονοῦμεν οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθα. For similar terminology see the passages cited in the *Introd. Note*.

δόξης αἰσχρᾶς ἕνεκα κέρδους: equivalent to ἄδοξιας ἕνεκα κέρδους in [Pl.] *Def.* (quoted above). αἰσχρᾶς (ascribed to c<sup>2</sup> by Stefanis (1994a) 70) with δόξης (as D. 20.10, LSJ δόξα III.3) is preferable to αἰσχροῦ (AB) with κέρδους, since the epithet is less suitable here than in the definition of αἰσχροκέρδεια (XXX); and ἕνεκα κέρδους (B) to κέρδους εἵνεκα (A), less likely word order (in view of [Pl.] *Def.*), and εἵνεκα (a regular variant) belongs to later prose (Barrett on E. *Hi.* 453–6). For variations in word order between A and B, II.3n.

2 τοιοῦτός <τις>: for <τις> (added by Cobet 1874 before Diels), I.2n.

πρῶτον μὲν ὄν ἀποτερεῖ πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπανελθῶν δανειζέσθαι: ‘whom he is defrauding’, by withholding money which he owes, probably a small-scale loan, such as was regularly made between neighbours (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 145). The verb ἀποτερεῖν embraces a variety of transactions which involve another in financial loss (D. Cohen, *Theft in Athenian Law* (Munich 1983) 13–33). It commonly denotes failure or refusal to repay a loan: e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 1305–6 ἀποτερῆσαι βούλεται | τὰ χρήμαθ' ὀδανείατο, Ec. 449 καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποφέρειν πάντα κοῦκ ἀποτερεῖν, D. 35.42 δανειζέσθαι . . . ναυτικὰ χρήματα καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποτερεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδίδονα (Cohen 18–22). The present tense (very common with this verb) indicates the continued effect of an action performed or begun in the past (VIII.8n., KG 1.135–7, Rijksbaron, *Grammatical Observations* 1–4). The conjectures ἀποτερῆσαι (Schneider) and ἀπετέρησε or ἀπετέρηκε (Hanow 1860) are ill-conceived. For the acc. of person (only), LSJ 1.3, KG 1.328 (add Is. 9.31, 10.17, 34.27, 49.61). Aristotle includes, among shameworthy actions, withholding a deposit (*Rh.* 1383<sup>b</sup>20 τὸ ἀποτερῆσαι παρακαταθήκην) and asking for a loan from a man who wants his money back (1383<sup>b</sup>27).

He ‘returns’ (ἐπανελθῶν, as I.4, XXV.7) to the man he is defrauding. This conjecture makes explicit an important detail, and does so more convincingly than πάλιν ἐλθῶν (Herwerden). ἀπελθῶν (AB) ‘departing’ is wrong, since there is no indication where he departs from; in XI.7, XXII.3 departure is from a specified place; in VII.6, XVI.14 (conj.), XXI.11 it is from the place of the activity previously described or implied; and so it is in X. *Cyr.* 3.2.2, *An.* 4.8.6, which Stein cites to support his translation of ἀπελθῶν as ‘returning’. If (what is not specified) he departs from home, that is of no interest; in any

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case that would be ἐξελθών (XVI.10, XIX.6, 7, XXVI.4). ἐπελθών (Feraboli) is mistaken: Theophrastus says προελθών (I.2 etc.). For ὄν . . . πρὸς τοῦτον, III.2n.

**2-3** εἶτα < και> θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς: there is likely to be a lacuna, because θύσας κτλ. brings a change of scene, and Theophrastus links new scenes with a bare και or και . . . δέ. At III.2 πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα introduce activities of which the second not only follows next in time the activity which precedes but is also a logical sequel to it (similarly εἶτα alone, XIII.6, XXV.4; κᾶιτα IV.7). Stein claims that the picture is complete in itself, and that word order (πρῶτον μὲν standing at the head of the clause instead of before πρὸς τοῦτον or δαυείζεσθαι) precludes elaboration. But the missing clause may have described a subsequent act of financial malpractice at the expense of a different party. Petersen, who (before Steinmetz) added the necessary και, transposed εἶτα before πρὸς τοῦτον, where it is not appropriate.

**3** αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν παρ' ἑτέρωι: cf. Men. fr. 225.4 ἵνα . . . δειπνῆι παρ' ἑτέροις. A sacrifice is followed by a feast (P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1920) 106, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 6-7, J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill and London 1983) 89-90, R. A. Seaford, *Ritual and Reciprocity* (Oxford 1994) 42-53, V.J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 2-3, 9-10). It is customary to invite friends and relations (Ar. Pl. 223-8, Antipho 1.16, X. Mem. 2.3.11, 2.9.4, Isoc. 19.10, Is. 1.31, 8.15-16, Men. Dysc. 613-14; XXII.4n.) or send them presents of food (XV.5n.). Not to share the meal is inhospitable (Luc. Tim. 43); to dine out is shameless (X. HG 3.1.24 αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ).

τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἄλις πάσας: cf. H. Il. 9.214 πάσσε δ' ἄλος, Ar. Pax 1074 τοῖςδ' ἄλις γε παστέα ταυτί, Crates Com. 16.10, Alc.Com. 17.2, Archestr. 14.7, 37.8, 57.4 Olson and Sens (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, SH 144.7, 167.8, 188.4); for ἀποτιθέναι, XIV.6, XXII.5. Salt is a preservative: Blümner, 'Salz', RE 1.2A (1920) 2090, K. F. Kiple and K. C. Ornelas (edd.), *The Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge 2000) 848, Dalby 290-1. For salt in general, Olson and Sens on Archestr. 14.7. F. Frost, 'Sausage and meat preservation in antiquity', GRBS 40 (1999) 241-52, misinterprets this passage (at 244) through failing to recognise the syntactical relationship of this clause to its context (next note).

και προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ἀκόλουθον: this resumes the narrative which began at αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν παρ' ἑτέρωι and was interrupted by the quasi-parenthetic τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἄλις πάσας. The 'parenthesis' might have been expressed with subordination (αὐτὸς δειπνεῖν παρ' ἑτέρωι τὰ κρέα ἀποθεῖς ἄλις πάσας), but instead is coordinated, to neater effect. There is no

lacuna between *καί* and *προκαλεσάμενος* (Edmonds 1910). Nor do these words begin a new scene (Edmonds, Stein). There is similar behaviour at XXX.16 (the *Αἰσχροκερδής*) φράτερας ἐστιῶν αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὄψον. But the *Αἰσχροκερδής* asks; the *Ἐναίχυντος* takes without asking, and adds to his offence by telling the slave, in everyone's hearing, to enjoy his meal. He means what he says. The Roman custom of handing food to a slave for later consumption by the master at home (Mart. 2.37.8, 3.23, Luc. *Symph.* 11, *Herm.* 11) has no bearing on this scene. Nor has the behaviour of the *φιλάργυρος* in Lib. *Decl.* 32.26, who tells his slave to eat, then signals to him to keep the food for home. Contrast Ath. 128D–E.

For τὸν ἀκόλουθον, the slave who accompanies his master out of doors, XVIII.8, XXI.4, XXIII.8, XXVII.12, XXX.7; Wyse on Is. 5.11, V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1951) 177.

δοῦναι ἄρτον καὶ κρέας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρας: cf. II.10 ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης. The order which I have restored is more natural than that of either A (δοῦναι ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρτον καὶ κρέας ἄρας) or B (δοῦναι ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρας κρέας καὶ ἄρτον). The pair of nouns is badly placed, alike in A (separating ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης from ἄρας) and B (parenthesising ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρας). I assume that these words were omitted in an ancestor, written in the margin or above the line, and then incorporated in different places in A and B (II.3n.). During this process the order of the nouns became reversed in B: the order ἄρτον καὶ κρέας (A), not κρέας καὶ ἄρτον (B), is the norm (Ar. *Eq.* 282, *Pl.* 320, X. *Cyr.* 1.3.4, D.S. 33.7.2, Hp. *VM* 8, *Int.* 12 (1.586, 7.196 Littré), Gal. 1.633, 6.571, 8.566 Kühn, Luc. *Sat.* 7; with words interposed between the nouns, H. *Od.* 17.343–4, Ar. *Pl.* 1136, and often). ἄρτος (ἄρτοι XXX.2) is baked wheat-bread (Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1, 119–21, Olson and Sens on *Matro* 1.4–5 and *Archestr.* 5.15–16, Pellegrino 51–2, Dalby 58–61).

καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀκούοντων πάντων “Εὐώχοῦ, Τίβειε”: Tibeios is an ethnic name of slaves (Men. *Her.* 21, 28, *Mess.* (PCG VI.2 p. 159), *Per.* 3, fr. 172, 241, Luc. *Gall.* 29, *Tim.* 22, *Philops.* 30, *Merc. Cond.* 25, *Salt.* 29, *DMeretr.* 9.5, *Metrod.* AP 14.123.11, *Synes. Ep.* 3), common in Paphlagonia (Str. 7.3.12, 12.3.25), derived from Tibeion in Phrygia (St.Byz. p. 622.12–13 Τίβειον (AV: -ιον R: item in seqq.) τόπος (ὄρος A) Φρυγίας ἀπὸ Τιβείου (Τίβου Kaibel) τινός. ἐκ τούτου καὶ Τιβείου τοὺς δούλους καλοῦσι; cf. *Suda* T 555 Τιβίαῖ ὄλη ἡ Φρυγία οὕτω καλεῖται, *Leucon* 4). See M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* (Vienna 1907) 71, Headlam on *Herod.* 1.1, L. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 229 n. 5, id. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* 1 (Paris 1963) 530–1, L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964) §1556, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg 1984) §1335, S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerksklaven von Laureion* (Wiesbaden<sup>2</sup> 1979) 129, Ch. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen von der spätarchaischen Epoche bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (Athens 1988) 375, *al.*, P. M. Fraser in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (edd.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*

(Oxford 2000) 152. The name, corrupted in AB, is found in the epitome M and its scholium Τίβιε δουλικὸν ὄνομα ὡς καὶ Δρόμων καὶ Γέτας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (which is of a piece with Σ uet. *Ar. Ach.* 243 εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ κωμωιδίᾳ οἰκείται Ξανθίας Τίβιος Ἐωσίας Δᾶος Γέτας, Σ *Luc.* 80.9 ὄνομα δουλικὸν ὁ Παρμένων, ὡς περ ὁ Δρόμων καὶ ὁ Τίβιος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπὸ γένους καλεῖται, ὡς ὁ Φρύγιος, *Gal.* 10.4 Kühn Γέται καὶ Τίβιοι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Θραϊκὲς ἀργυρώνητοι) and in Mc<sup>2</sup> (Introduction, pp. 39–40, 43 n. 147), and was conjectured by C. Salmassius (*Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* (Paris 1629) 47). The spelling Τίβειος is guaranteed by inscriptions (W. Schulze, *RhM* 48 (1893) 257 = *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen<sup>2</sup> 1966) 421–2, Threatte 1.317, *LGPV* 1.435, 2.427, Osborne and Byrne nos. 806–7, 2927, 7134) and is preserved in papyri of Menander.

**4** καὶ ὄψωνῶν δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὸν κρεοπώλην εἴ τι χρήσιμος αὐτῷ γέγονε: the present part. ὄψωνῶν sets the scene (VII.8n.), ‘when he is shopping for ὄψα’. The word ὄψων embraces various kinds of food, such as meat (XXII.7, and here), fish (LSJ 1.3, Gow on *Macho* 28, Arnott on *Alex.* 47.6, J. Davidson, *CQ* 43 (1993) 62 n. 74), vegetables (XXII.7), all eaten as a supplement to bread, the staple food. See further J. E. Kalitsunakis, ‘ὈΨΟΝ und ὈΨΑ ΠΙΟΝ’, in *Festschrift . . . P. Kretschmer* (Vienna 1926) 96–106, A. Hug, ‘ὈΨΟΝ’, *RE* xviii.1 (1939) 759–60, J. Davidson, ‘Opsophagia: revolutionary eating in Athens’, in J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, M. Dobson (edd.), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter 1995) 205–13, S. D. Olson and A. Sens, *Archestratos of Gela* (Oxford 2000) xlix–li, and their note on *Archestr.* 9.2. Athenians might do their own shopping (X.12, XI.8, XXII.7, Carey on *Lys.* 1.8) or leave it to slaves (XIV.9, XVIII.2, X. *Mem.* 1.5.2, *Oec.* 7.35, 8.22, *Men. Sam.* 189–95, *Antiph.* 69), but not to wives (II.9n.).

For butchers, VI.9n. For the noun κρεοπώλης (first here, next *Macho* 305), G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mägeiros* (Leiden 1982) 62–3, J. Wilkins in *Tria Lustra: Essays and Notes presented to John Pinsent* (Liverpool Classical Papers 3, ed. H. D. Jocelyn, 1993) 123. Long before κρεο- was restored by Blaydes, κρεω- (AB) had been proscribed from Attic by Porson (ed. *Hec.* (London 1797) x) and Lobeck (*Phrynichi Eclogae* (Leipzig 1820) 693–5).

To remind another of past favours is bad form (XXIV.3n.). For the turn of phrase εἴ τι χρήσιμος αὐτῷ γέγονε cf. D. 36.44 πολλὰ καὶ τῷ ὥϊ πατρὶ καὶ σοὶ καὶ ὄλως τοῖς ὑμετέροις πράγμασι Φορμίων γέγονε χρήσιμος, *Men. Dysc.* 320 καὶ χρήσιμός γ’ εἴ νῆ Δί’ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ μοι, *PCG* adesp. 1093.80 δ’ ὕναμα γενέσθαι χρήσι[μ]ος κἀγὼ τί σοι, *Alciph.* 4.6.1 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐν οἷς αὐτῇ χρησίμη γέγονα; Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 296–9, Whitehead on *Hyp. Phil.* 10. For a similar request (to a fishmonger) to throw in something extra free, *Antiph.* 204.5–6.

καὶ ἐστηκῶς πρὸς τῷ σταθμῷ μάλιστα μὲν κρέας, εἴ δὲ μὴ ὄστοῦν εἰς τὸν ζωμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν: for ἐστηκῶς, XI.4, *Ar. Ra.* 1378 παρίστασθον παρὰ τῷ

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πλάστιγγε. For σταθμός ‘balance, scales’, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 259–60. With μάλιστα μὲν κρέας, εἰ δὲ μή cf. XVIII.7 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ δοῦναι, ἂν δ’ ἄρα κτλ. (LSJ μάλα III *init.*).

We should probably take κρέας, no less than ὄστουν, with εἰς τὸν ζωμόν. Soup needs meat (VIII.7n.). In default of meat a bone will serve, for it will at least have scraps of meat on it (Rosivach (§3n.) 85–6), and perhaps its marrow will add flavour.<sup>58</sup> For the prepositional phrase, XXX.18 ἐλαίου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον, Ar. *Pax* 1263 (δόρατα) εἰς χάρακας, X. *Oec.* 9.6 κόσμον γυναικὸς τὸν εἰς ἐορτάς . . . ἐσθῆτα ἀνδρὸς τήν εἰς ἐορτάς καὶ πόλεμον, D. 4.28 εἰκοσιν εἰς τήν ναῦν μου, Theoc. 5.98 ἐς χλαῖναν μαλακὸν πόκον; Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 28–9, 69. Although the words can equally mean ‘throw a bone into the soup’ (Pl. *Lys.* 209D ἐφομένων κρεῶν ὅτι ἂν βούληται ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ζωμόν), the context leaves no ambiguity, and emendation is futile. Not ζυγόν (c<sup>2</sup>d), since this noun, while it can denote the scales in general (e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 356B στήσας ἐν τῷ ζυγῶι), properly denotes the beam, and so does not consort well with ἐμβαλεῖν, which invites the more specific πλάστιγγα (Pl. *Ti.* 63B τιθεῖς εἰς πλάστιγγας, R. 550E ἐν πλάστιγγι ζυγοῦ κειμένου ἑκατέρου). Much less ωρόν (Ussing), ὄνον (Naber), ψωμόν (Münsterberg 1894). Additions such as ὄστουν <αἰτεῖν> (Petersen) and ἐμβαλεῖν <κελεῦσαι> (Immisch 1923) lessen the degree of ἀναισχυντία and the relevance of his standing beside the scales.

καὶ ἂν μὲν λάβῃ, εὖ ἔχει, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀρπάσας ἅπὸ τῆς τραπέζης χολίκιον ἅμα γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: ‘if he gets it’, i.e. if the butcher allows him to have it as a return for past favours (LSJ λαμβάνω A.II.1 ‘have given one, get, receive’ (as XXIII.2); often (as XVIII.9) of getting from a vendor, A.II.1.h, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 275, Kassel and Austin on Ar. fr. 258.1, Arnott on Alex. 15.18–19). This is better than λάθῃ (d; the corruption, I.2n.), ‘if he is undetected’, because surreptitious theft weakens the point of the preceding clause (the reminder of past favours) and is not ἀναισχυντία, unlike the brazen-faced theft which follows the butcher’s refusal (Pl. *Lg.* 941B κλοπῆ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον, ἀρπαγῆ δὲ ἀναισχυντον).

The brief indicative phrase εὖ ἔχει is perhaps acceptable (compare the formulaic πῶς οἶσθε at VIII.9). But it is tempting to delete it (Kayser 1860 before Herwerden 1871, Cobet 1874) and thereby restore an idiomatic ellipse: Th. 3.3.3 ἦν μὲν ξυμβῆι ἢ πείρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν κτλ., Pl. *Prt.* 325D ἂν μὲν ἑκὼν πειθῆται· εἰ δὲ μή, κτλ. (LSJ εἰ B.VII.2, KG 2.484–5, Goodwin §482, to whose citations may be added S. fr. 458, Ar. *Th.* 536, Men. fr. 659, Pl. *Com.* 23). Ellipse, however, is not invariable: Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 295B ἂν μὲν εὐρωμεν, κάλλιστα ἔξει· εἰ δὲ μή, στέρξω.

<sup>58</sup> ‘We can’t afford meat every day . . .’. ‘When I was a girl,’ said Lady Nollard, ‘there was an excellent cheap and nourishing soup or broth we used to make for the cottagers on the estate. Quite a meal in itself, made of bones of course’ (Barbara Pym, *A Glass of Blessings* (1958) ch. 2).

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τράπεζα is a shop counter or stall (Wycherley, 'Market of Athens' 16–17 = *Stones of Athens* 99, id. *Agora iii* 192–3). χολίκιον (elsewhere only Poll. 6.52) is 'cow's guts' ('uillissima uiscerum pars' Ussing), diminutive of χόλιξ (Ar. *Eq.* 1179, *V.* 1144), more commonly χόλικες (Ar. *Pax* 717, *Ra.* 576, fr. 83, 702, *Pherecr.* 113.15, *Diox.* 1.2, *Eub.* 63.4; Pellegrino 100).

**5** και ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσασι μὴ δοῦς τὸ μέρος <συν>θεωρεῖν: the ξένοι will be visitors from abroad who are staying with him; perhaps the occasion is the City Dionysia, which was attended by foreigners (III.3n.). The Αἰσχροκερδής borrows money παρὰ ξένου παρ' αὐτῶι καταλύοντος (XXX.3). For ξένοις . . . αὐτοῦ, XIV.10n.

The visitors buy theatre seats for themselves and their host. A generous host might have paid the whole cost; he fails to repay them even for the cost of his own seat. With ἀγοράσας (AB) the host buys the seats. This is awkward on two counts. First, it makes no sense to say that he buys the seats and then fails to pay his share, if he buys them with his own money. It would make sense if he buys them with money lent by his visitors. But we cannot be left to infer that he is using borrowed money; this would be a point of crucial importance, and it would have to be stated explicitly. Further, 'having bought seats for his guests, having failed to pay his share' leaves it unclear (and commentators have debated fruitlessly) whether he buys a seat for himself as well as his guests or takes one of the seats which he has bought for them or squeezes himself into a space smaller than he has paid for.<sup>59</sup> If his guests have bought the tickets and he fails to pay his share, there is little scope for ambiguity: the natural inference is that they have bought him a ticket, for which he does not repay them. It has sometimes been inferred (from the unemended text) that ξένοι could not buy seats themselves but must have them bought for them by citizens. Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 266 n. 8, rightly declines to make such an inference. The passages adduced by Ussher (*D.* 18.28, 44.37), with the approval of Arnott on *Alex.* 42, are irrelevant.

θέα is 'place for seeing from, seat in the theatre': LSJ III.1 and the inscriptions cited by A. S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Hildesheim etc. 1983) 292–4. With δοῦς τὸ μέρος cf. *D.* 41.11 συμβαλέσθαι τὸ μέρος. The compound <συν>θεωρεῖν (Cobet 1874, O. Benndorf, *ζῆG* 26 (1875) 25 n. 1, 28), which recurs in VII.8, is highly desirable: he shares in the spectacle, but not in the cost. Cf. IV.5n.

ἄγειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑπεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν: his conduct on the previous day has established that he expects his visitors to pay for his children and their paidagogos. For the phraseology, XXX.6 ἐπὶ

<sup>59</sup> There is a strange misunderstanding in Csapo and Slater 290 ('He buys places at the theater for his foreign guests, then does not give them the seats').



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θέαν . . . πορεύεσθαι ἄγων τοὺς υἱούς. For children at the theatre, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 263–4; slaves, 265. For δὲ καί, VI.9n.; εἰς τὴν ὑπεραίαν, *Od.* 56, Hdt. 4.113.2, X. *An.* 2.3.25, D. 19.15, KG 1.470 (LSJ εἰς II.2).

Casaubon restored τοὺς υἱούς, Edmonds 1908 τοὺς υἱούς, for τοὺς ὡς A, τοὺς B. Editors prefer τοὺς υἱεῖς (cd). Attic inscriptions show that ὑ- not υἱ- was the normal spelling in 3rd declension forms from earliest times and in 2nd declension forms from the middle of the fifth century, and that υἱ- is scarcely ever attested between c. 450 BC and c. 100 BC; and that after c. 350 BC 2nd declension terminations had replaced 3rd (Meisterhans 59–60, 144–5, Threatte 1.338–42, 2.220–2, 735; also KB 1.506–8, Schwyzer 1.573–4, Arnott, ‘Orthographical variants’ 215–16, and, for the distribution of forms in the mss. of the orators, Wyse on Is. 2.2). Cf. XVII.7 υἱός V; XIX.2 ὑόν and υἱόν conjectured for αὐτόν V; XXI.3 υἱόν V; XXVII.3 υἱοῦ V; XXX.6 υἱούς V, υἱεῖς AB. Stein, who advocates υἱεῖς both here and at XXX.6, observes that the earliest instance of a 2nd declension plural cited by Meisterhans (144 n. 1250) is from the second century (υἱούς *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1236.3, dated ‘ante 150’ by Threatte 1.341, ‘ca. 180’ 2.222). I add that Threatte (1.340, 2.221) cites two instances of υἱοί (II<sup>2</sup> 3856.2, post 250; 4031, init. saec. II). The latest instances of ὑεῖς (to say nothing of υἱεῖς, which was never a regular form) cited by him (1.340, 2.221) are *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 103.20 (369/8), 218.17 (346/5). Plurals are rare. While we cannot be sure that υεῖς did not survive a little longer, there is equally no evidence that it did. In the much commoner singular the 3rd declension disappears by c. 350 BC.

**6** ἐωνημένος ἄξια: for the adj., III.3n.

**7** καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλοτριαν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν δανείζεσθαι κριθάς, ποτὲ <δὲ> ἄχυρα: deletion of τὴν (Cobet 1874) is needless (XXX.8 τῷ ἄλλοτριῳ, *sc.* ἐλαίῳ; cf. XXV.7). δανείζεσθαι may be applied to the borrowing of goods (IV.11 n.) no less than of money (Korver, *Crediet-Wezen* 82–3). For κριθαί, Pritchett 185–6, Olson and Sens on Archestr. 5.4, Dalby 45–6. The ἄχυρα (wheat straw, II.3n.) are for use, like the barley, as animal fodder (Pritchett 182–3, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 57–8). For the ellipse of ποτὲ μὲν, Plb. 6.15.8, 10.30.9, 12.4.8, Ariston fr. 14, VIII Wehrli (Wilamowitz on E. *Herc.* 635, Denniston 166). For δέ, VI.9n.

καὶ ταῦτα <τοὺς> χρέεαντας ἀναγκάσαι ἀποφέρειν πρὸς αὐτόν: cf. XXI.8 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα δοῦναι τῷ παιδί ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε. He might be expected to repay such a loan in kind (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 31–9, 140–5, on reciprocal loans between neighbours). πρὸς αὐτοῦς (Edmonds 1929) is wrong: these comestible items were not returnable. So, for the same reason, is <τὸν> χρέεαντα (Sicherl).

**8** δεινὸς δὲ καί: VI.9n.

## IX: THE SHAMELESS MAN

πρὸς τὰ χαλκία τὰ ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ προσελθεῖν: τὰ χαλκία are ‘the bronze cauldrons’, presumably (as the definite article suggests) a recognised area in the baths (similarly Teles (p. 41 Hense<sup>2</sup>) ap. Stob. 4.33.31 βαδίσας . . . πρὸς τὴν κάμινον οὗ τὰ χαλκία [χαλκεῖα codd.]), plural of χαλκίον, ‘bronze vessel’, sometimes specifically for heating liquids (Ar. fr. 345, Eup. 99.41, [Arist.] *Spir.* 483<sup>b</sup>20; D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 218–19), elsewhere associated with bathing (Ar. fr. 109, Eup. 272, *PMich.Zen.* 65.2 (245/4 BC), Poll. 10.63); LSJ Rev.Suppl. χαλκίον I.2 (to which this passage should be added). Not χαλκεῖα (AB, and LSJ χαλκεῖον II.1; for the misspelling, XVIII.4n.). Cf. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 205.

Better προσελθεῖν (A) than προσελθών (B). In προσελθών καὶ βάψας, the καί (‘and then’) links participles of which the former is anterior in time to the latter. This (though it might have been expressed by προσελθών βάψας, like II.6 πριάμενος εἰσενέγκας, VIII.2 ἀπαντήσας . . . καταβαλόν, XI.2 ἀπαντήσας . . . ἀνακυράμενος, XVI.10 προστάξας . . . ἐξελθόν, XXII.9 προιδόμενος ἀποκάμψας, XXV.5 κελεύσας ὑπολαβόν) is regular enough (IV.9 προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος, V.2 προπέμψας καὶ ἐρωτήσας, XIV.2 λογισάμενος ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσας, 6 λαβών <τι> καὶ ἀποθείς, XVI.5 ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσών καὶ προσκυνήσας, XXV.4 ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας, 5 προσδραμών καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας). But δεινός is then abnormally far from the infin. καταχέασθαι, with three participial phrases intervening; δεινός normally has an infin. very close at hand, and only once does a participial phrase intervene, and that a brief one (XIV.8 δεινός δὲ καὶ ἀπολαμβάνων ἀργύριον ὀφειλόμενον μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν). The structure προσελθεῖν καὶ . . . καταχέασθαι is like IV.2 πορεύεσθαι καὶ . . . φάσκειν, VII.4 πορευθῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ποιῆσαι, XI.7 προσελθεῖν καὶ συνησθῆναι, XV.7 ἦκειν . . . καὶ λέγειν.

καὶ βάψας ἀρύταιναν βοῶντος τοῦ βαλανέως αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καταχέασθαι: cf. E. *Hec.* 609–10 λαβοῦσα τεῦχος . . . βάψας’ ἔνεγκε, *Antiph.* 26.2–4 κατασκεδῶ . . . τὴν μεγίστην | ἀρύταιναν ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου βάψασα τοῦ λέβητος | ζέοντος ὕδατος. For the verb βάπτειν, Bulloch on Call. *Lau.Pall.* 45, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 61. For ἀρύταινα, Ginouvès 213–14, Kassel and Austin on Ar. fr. 450. The βαλανεύς ‘bath-keeper’ was owner and manager and at times attendant (water-pourer in Ar. fr. 450, Pl. *R.* 344D, and by implication here), and he was not held in repute (Ar. *Eq.* 1403, *Ra.* 710); Ginouvès 212. To pour one’s own bath water became proverbial for self-help: Ar. *Pax* 1103 κάγῳ ἄμαυτῶι βαλανεύσω, on which Zen. III.58 (*CPG* 1.70) παροιμία, οἶονεῖ ἔμαυτῶι διακονήσω. λέγεται δὲ ὅταν ὁ βαλανεύς νωθρευῆται καὶ ἑαυτῶι τις λαμβάνῃ τὴν ἀρύταιναν καὶ διακονῇ.

καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι λέλουται ἰἀπιῶν κάκει: “Λέλουμαι” (Herwerden, already contemplated by Foss 1834) could be right (direct speech after ὅτι, II.8n.). If ἰἀπιῶν is retained, it must be associated with a verb of speech. If it is to be

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associated with εἰπεῖν, the order εἰπεῖν ὅτι λέλουται (or “Λέλουμαι”) ἀπιῶν is awkward. We expect, rather, ἀπιῶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι (Petersen) or εἰπεῖν ἀπιῶν ὅτι (Fraenkel and Groeneboom before Pasquali). In the passages cited by Stein (XX.10 δέῃσαι τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ ποῖός τις ἐστὶ τῷ συνδειπνοῦντι, XXIII.9 φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πατρώϊαν πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα) the adjunct has a different semantic connection with the leading verb and comes much less awkwardly after the subordinated phrase. This difficulty is not solved by associating ἀπιῶν with the later remark: <καὶ> ἀπιῶν Boissonade, κᾶπειτ’ ἀπιῶν Hartung, ἀπιῶν δὲ καὶ Ussing, κᾶϊτα ἀπιῶν Jebb (for κᾶϊτα, IV.7n.), ἀπιῶν <δὲ> Holland 1897. For if the two remarks are simply coordinated (‘he says . . . and . . .’), there is no obvious point in his making the second remark, as distinct from the first, ‘as he leaves’. Contrast II.8 εἰπεῖν ὅτι “Πρὸς ἐὲ ἔρχεται” καὶ ἀναστρέψας ὅτι “Προηγγελκά σε”, where ἀναστρέψας is necessarily linked to the second remark. A similar objection may be made to the structure εἰπῶν (rather εἶπας, V.2n.) . . . ἀπιῶν κραγεῖν (Foss 1858) or ἀπιῶν κακ<χάζ>εῖν (Immisch 1923, i.e. καχ- or καγχ-). The latter would be like §4 γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. But κα(γ)χάζειν does not naturally introduce direct speech (on this verb see D. Arnould, *Le rire et les larmes dans la littérature grecque d’Homère à Platon* (Paris 1990) 161–4; add Ariston fr. 14, VIII Wehrli ἀνακαγχαζεῖν). The remaining conjectures: ὅτε for ὅτι Pauw (a temporal clause superfluous in sense and maladroit in expression); (for λ- ἀπιῶν κάκει) λ- ἐπειῶν κάκεινο (κάκεινο already Gale) Coray ap. Schneider 1821, λ- προῖκα καὶ Usener before Herwerden, “Λέλουμαι καλῶς” καὶ Fraenkel and Groeneboom (καὶ for κάκει already Petersen), “Λέλουται ἄξιον, κάκκη” (‘It has been a cheap wash, you swab’) Bury; (for κάκει) κάκείνω Auberius, κάκείθεν or καὶ ἔτι Needham, “Κάλει” Pauw (‘clamans me uoca, quousque uelis’; Ast takes it as ‘summon me to court’, which, as Jebb says, ‘seems a rather cumbersome joke’), καὶ ὅτι Coray, κράζει (κράζειν needed) Boissonade, καλεῖν Foss 1834 before Ribbeck 1870, “Καλῶς” Blaydes, “Κάρ εἶ” Holland 1897, “Κάκείνου Edmonds 1908, “Κακέ or Κακός εἶ” Koujeas, καὶ “Ἐκεῖ Navarre 1918, καὶ Pasquali, <δὲ> “Κακίζεις;” Steinmetz, καὶ “Ἄρκει” (or καὶ ἀπιῶν “Ἄρκει”) Ussher (his translation implies Ἄρκει).

“Οὐδεμία σοι χάρις”: ‘No thanks (are owed) to you’, so don’t expect payment; cf. XVII.9 χάριν ὀφείλειν ὡς ἠὲργετημένον, Hdt. 5.90.1 ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαινετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων, X. Cyr. 3.2.30 οὐδεμίαν αὐτῷ χάριν ὀφείλομεν, D. 16.12 οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἔξουσι τῆς σωτηρίας. Payment is mentioned by Luc. *Lex.* 2, Ath. 351 F, implied by Ar. *Nu.* 835–7; Ginouvès 218.

## X

### THE PENNY-PINCHER

#### Introductory note

Μικρολογία, with its cognates μικρολόγος and μικρολογεῖσθαι, is ‘trifle-counting’, preoccupation with the petty: with unimportant details (Pl. *Smp.* 210D, *R.* 486A, *Lg.* 746E, [Pl.] *Hp.Ma.* 304B, *Lys.* 33.3, X. *HG* 3.1.26) or with trivial pursuits (Pl. *Th.* 175A, *Isoc.* 13.8, 15.262). It is often associated with ἀνελευθερία: Pl. *R.* 486A, *Arist. Metaph.* 995<sup>a</sup>10–12, [Arist.] *Phgn.* 809<sup>a</sup>22, *VV* 1251<sup>b</sup>14 (quoted on def.); see the *Introd. Note* to XXI (‘Ἀνελεύθερος’). And, like ἀνελευθερία, it is often applied to meanness with money: *Arist. fr.* 56 *Rose* (p. 56 *Ross*) τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν, ὡς Ἄριστοτέλης φησίν, οἱ μὲν οὐ χρῶνται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, [D.] (Apolloclod.) 59.36 πολυτελῆς δ’ ἦν, οἱ Μεγαρεῖς δ’ ἀνελεύθεροι καὶ μικρολόγοι, *Poll.* 2.123 μικρολόγον δὲ Ὑπερίδης (*fr.* 255 *Jensen*) . . . τὸν εἰς ἀργύριον ἀνελεύθερον, *Men. fr.* 106.5–6 καπρὸς γὰρ ἦν, εὐ δὲ μικρολόγος <ε> οὐ θέλων | καινὰς πριάσθαι, *Ephipp.* 15.10 ὡς μικρολόγος εἶ. : : εὐ δὲ γελίαν πολυτελῆς, *Ath.* 44B Φύλαρχος φησι (*FGH* 81 F 13) . . . τοὺς Ἰβήρας πάντας ὑδροποτεῖν καίτοι πλουσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπων ὄντας, μονοσιτεῖν τε αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ λέγει διὰ μικρολογίαν, ἐσθῆτας δὲ φορεῖν πολυτελεστάτας, *D.L.* 4.50 (Bion) πρὸς πλούσιον μικρολόγον, “οὐχ οὗτος,” ἔφη, “τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται, ἀλλ’ ἡ οὐσία τοῦτον.” ἔλεγε τοὺς μικρολόγους τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς δ’ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων μηδὲν ὠφελεῖσθαι.

The Μικρολόγος exemplifies this narrower use. He is comparable to the persons whom Aristotle calls κίμβιξ (‘skinflint’) and κυμισοπρίστης (§13n.). In *EN* 1119<sup>b</sup>27ff. Aristotle says that ἀνελευθερία has two sides, ‘deficiency in giving’ and ‘excess in getting’. Those who exceed in getting are αἰχροκερδεῖς. Those who are deficient in giving are φειδωλοί, γλίχροι, κίμβικες (1121<sup>b</sup>22), and those who are excessively reluctant to give anything at all have names like κυμισοπρίστα (1121<sup>b</sup>26–8). In *EE* 1232<sup>a</sup>14 the κίμβιξ is described as fussing over trifles (σφόδρα περὶ μικρὰ διατεινόμενος). In [Arist.] *VV* 1251<sup>b</sup>9 (quoted on def.) his expenditure is small-scale (κατὰ μικρόν). [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>a</sup>8–9 combines (as representatives of ἀνελευθεριότης) κίμβικας . . . καὶ κυμισοπρίστας καὶ αἰχροκερδεῖς καὶ μικρολόγους. Cf. *Konstantakos* 135–6.

The Μικρολόγος is mean and petty. His motive is not greed, and he does not wish to profit at the expense of others, like the Αἰχροκερδής (XXX). He is afraid that others will take advantage of him, and is obsessed with keeping what is his own; and others pay the price for his petty economies and his jealous insistence on his rights.

[1] *Definition*

The sketch illustrates more than ‘sparing of expense’ (Introd. Note *ad fin.*). Stein plausibly suggests that the author had an eye on [Arist.] *IV* 1251<sup>b</sup>7–15, where all the words in the definition (or their equivalent) are found within a short compass: φειδωλία δὲ καθ’ ἣν ἀδάπανοι γίνονται τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ δέον· κιμβικία δὲ καθ’ ἣν δαπανῶσι μὲν, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ κακῶς, καὶ πλείω βλάπτονται τῷ μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν προέσθαι τὸ διάφορον. . . ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ τῇ ἀνελευθερία μικρολογία.

**τοῦ διαφόρου:** either ‘expenditure’ ([Arist.] *IV* 1250<sup>b</sup>27, 1251<sup>a</sup>34, 1251<sup>b</sup>10, plural τὰ διάφορα D. 32.18; LSJ II.4.a) or ‘ready money, cash’ (inscriptions from 3rd cent. onwards; LSJ II.4.b). Cf. Wendland 115, Korver, *Crediet-Wezen* 67–72.

**2 ἐν τῷ μηνί ἡμιωβέλιον ἀπαιτεῖν ἔπι τὴν οἰκίαν†:** he demands back half an obol ‘in or within the month’, presumably as payment of interest (interest is object of ἀπαιτεῖν at XII.11, XVIII.5). It was customary to calculate interest monthly (Ar. *Nu.* 756, D. 37.5, 53.13, Aeschin. 3.104; monthly accounting, Hyp. *Ath.* 19; Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 103), and to collect it either monthly (Ar. *Nu.* 17–18) or annually (D. 50.61). A normal rate of interest would be 1% per month (Millett 92, 104–8). At this rate, monthly interest of half an obol represents a modest loan of 50 obols. But he is asking for his interest ‘(with)in the month’. If he is pestering his debtor before the monthly payment is due, he is going beyond his legal right, and this is out of character. Perhaps he has made a short-term loan, of less than a month’s duration. Short-term loans might attract much heavier interest. The Ἄπονεσημένοσ (VI.9) charges one and a half obols to the drachma (25%) per day. Alternatively, whatever the duration of the loan, he has stipulated repayment of half an obol ‘within the month’, i.e. by the end of the month in which the loan was made. This use of ἐν accords with And. 1.83 (a decree) παραδιδόντων . . . ἐν τῷιδε τῷ μηνί (‘they are to deliver this month’), *IG* XII.7 69.19 repayment of capital ἐν τριμήνῳ, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 955.17–18 repayment ἐν ἑξ μηνί (both from Amorgos, iv/iii BC); cf. LSJ ἐν A.IV.2, KG 1.464, Schwyzer 2.458. In the contracts cited by Stein payment is required in a named month. This is regular (another instance which comes to hand is *IG* XII.7 67.6 (iv/iii BC?), repayment ἐν μηνί Ἰοβαχχίῳ). But this is not the same as payment ‘in the (unspecified) month’. At all events, the nature of his μικρολογία is clear: he takes the trouble (perhaps makes a special journey) to collect a paltry sum. Emendation is unwise: ἐάν τῷ δανείῳ Herwerden, ἔκτωι μηνί Cobet 1874, ἐκάτῳ μηνί Blaydes. For the spelling ἡμιωβέλιον, VI.9n.

Either the words ἐπι τὴν οἰκίαν are corrupt or something is missing. Stein (following Holland 1897) explains them as a stipulation in the contract (hence

## X: THE PENNY-PINCHER

Rusten, ‘stipulates the repayment of a half-cent “within the month, to his house”’), adducing contracts from Ptolemaic Egypt which stipulate the return of borrowed items (but not money) to the lender’s house (H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* (Munich 1967) 67–8). It is unsafe to use papyri as evidence for institutions of mainland Greece (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 253 n. 44). Even if we allow (for the sake of argument) that an Athenian might contract for the return of money (as opposed to borrowed items) ‘to his house’, there will be an awkward brachylogy, inadequately supported by VI.9 τοὺς τόκους . . . εἰς τὴν γνάθον ἐκλέγειν, Timocl. II.4 ὠψώνει παρ’ αὐτὸν οἰκάδε (which are much easier) and V.8 ἀγοράζειν . . . ξένοις . . . εἰς Βυζάντιον (where I look for a different construction). The most plausible solution is <ἐλθῶν> (c) ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν (like IX.7 ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν δανείζεσθαι), which adds a telling detail (a special journey to collect a trifle). With ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίαι (Casaubon) the half obol becomes the small amount by which rent ‘for the house’ has been underpaid, an idea not easy to extract from the words. The rearrangement . . . ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίαι συσσιτῶν καὶ ἀριθμεῖν κτλ. (Coray; J. M. Gesner had proposed . . . ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν <τῶν> συσσίτων καὶ) reads awkwardly. ἐπιτοκίαν (Unger 1886) gives an odd expression (‘to demand half an obol as *compound interest*’) and disastrously anticipates the mention of compound interest at §10. δαπανᾶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν (Petersen) gives reasonable sense, ‘to spend half an obol on (the upkeep of) the house’, but does not suit ἐν τῷ μηνί (we should expect τοῦ μηνός ‘monthly’).

**3–4** The first part (§3) presupposes a δεῖπνον ἀπὸ συμβολῶν (LSJ συμβολή IV.a, Mau, ‘Convivium’, *RE* IV.1 (1900) 1202, Müri, ‘Συμβολή’, *RE* IV.1A (1931) 1090, Gow on Macho 44–5 and 315, Arnott on Alex. 15). The Μικρολόγος counts how many cups of wine each guest has drunk, so that he will not be charged for more than his own share. For niggardly behaviour in a similar setting cf. XXX.18. The second part (§4), which is lacunose, suits the same situation: when the person who has bought the food and drink is settling the accounts, the Μικρολόγος claims that he paid too much for items which in fact he bought cheaply. In Ephipp. 15 one character urges another to buy economically for dinner. In Alex. 15 a guest disputes the accounts with the buyer. It is possible, however, to explain §4 in other terms: the Μικρολόγος disputes the account with an agent who has made purchases for him, much as in [Arist.] *Oec.* 1352<sup>b</sup> 4–8 ἀποστείλας τέ τινα ἐπ’ ἀγοράσματι τι καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι εὐδώνων ἐπιτετύχηκεν, αὐτῷ δὲ μέλλει ἐκτετιμημένα λογίζεσθαι, πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀκηκοὺς εἶη τὰ ἀγοράσματα αὐτὸν ὑπερτίμια ἡγορακέναι· αὐτὸς οὖν οὐ προέξειν. See Millett, ‘Sale, credit and exchange’ 188.

3 καὶ [ὁ] συσσιτῶν ἀριθμεῖν τὰς κύλικας πόσας ἕκαστος πέπωκε: the unwanted article may be a casual intrusion (IV.10n.) or the vestige of an intrusive οἶος (§6). It does not point to ὁμοσιτῶν (Dietrich ap. Holland 1897), which substitutes a non-Attic verb (Hdt. 1.146.3, ὁμοσίτος 7.119.3; the latter deliberately avoided in the formulaic κύσσιτοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδοι, Aeschin. 2.55, 163) for a verb which is particularly apt. συσσιτεῖν denotes communal dining of a formal or official kind, most often by soldiers, but also by ambassadors (Aeschin. 2 *passim*), magistrates (Arist. *Pol.* 1317<sup>b</sup>38), ephebes ([Arist.] *Ath.* 42.3), Prytaneis (*Ath.* 43.3), prisoners (Din. 2.9), religious associations (*SEG* 32 (1982) 505, Thespiae c. 300 BC; cf. P. Roesch, *Études Béotiennes* (Paris 1982) 142–6). It is to be distinguished from the non-specific συνδειπνεῖν which follows. The singular verb usually takes a dative (Ar. *Eq.* 1325, Lys. 13.79, Aeschin. 2.20, 97, Din. 2.9), or a dat. is readily understood from the context (D. 19.191, Aeschin. 3.52). Here there is no dat., and it is not clear, until the end of the sentence, who are the communal diners. But the bare συσσιτῶν is unexceptionable: it indicates the type of activity on which he is engaged, as bare introductory participles often do (VII.8n.). Conjecture is needless: συσσίτων Sylburg (<τῶν> c- Coray, after J. M. Gesner); ξένους ἔστιῶν (Naber), eliminating the apt verb; -ιτῶν <Ἄρτεμιασταῖς> (Holland 1897), undesirably anticipating τῆι Ἄρτέμιδι, and <ῶτηριασταῖς κυνηγοῖς> (Wachsmuth ap. Immisch 1923). For these names see below on ἀπάρχεσθαι . . . τῆι Ἄρτέμιδι. We must replace τε κύλικας (AB) with τὰς κ- (ac), not because τε is almost foreign to this work (def. VI n.) but because sense requires the article.

καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι ἐλάχιστον τῆι Ἄρτέμιδι τῶν συνδειπνούντων: the verb ἀπάρχεσθαι denotes a preliminary offering made before the meal begins: e.g. X. *Hier.* 4.2 (suspicious tyrants) τούτων πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύεσθαι (LSJ II.2); Stengel, 'Απαρχαί', *RE* 1.2 (1894) 2666–8, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 6, *Greek Religion* 66–8, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley etc. 1979) 52–4, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1056. That the preliminary offering is made to Artemis (rather than the gods in general or those commonly associated with feasts and symposia) suggests that this is a private religious association, or dining- and drinking-club, under the patronage of Artemis. For associations connected with Artemis, including so-called Ἄρτεμιασταῖς and ῶτηριασταῖς, E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (Leipzig 1896) 34–5, F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig 1909) 188, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 339–40, 342. The δεκαδικταῖς (XXVII.11) are comparable. With ἐλάχιστον . . . τῶν συνδειπνούντων cf. XXX.7 ἐλάχιστα ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἄλλων, KG 1.22–4.

4 καὶ ὅσα μικροῦ τις πριάμενος λογίζεται πάντα < > φάσκων εἶναι: λογίζεται is transitive (sharing ὅσα as object with πριάμενος), 'calculates the charge for' (cf. LSJ I.1, 3); in XIV.2, XXIV.12 intransitive, 'do the accounts'.

Probably an expression indicating dearness has dropped out, as well as an infin., unless φάσκων should be changed to φάσκειν (e, Stephanus). Not εἶναι <ἄγαν> (ed. pr.); nor εἶναι <περισσά> (Kayser), which means 'superfluous' rather than 'expensive'; much less περιττά in place of πάντα (Diels), which is the natural correlative of ὅσα (e.g. *CP* 5.6.10, *Hdt* 8.35.1, *Th.* 2.47.4, *X. Cyr.* 8.6.10, *D.* 18.26) and particularly apt here (he objects to the cost of every single item, like the diner in *Alex.* 15). πάντα <τίμια> (Herwerden) φάσκειν εἶναι will do well enough (LSJ τίμιος II.2). Among the more elaborate supplements are εἶναι <τίμια ἐλάττω καθιστάναι τὴν τιμὴν> (Meister ap. Holland 1897), λογίζεται <αὐτῷ, ἀποδοκιμάσαι τοῖς ἀλλότρια δαπανῶσι> πάντα φάσκων <ῶνια> εἶναι (<ῶνια> Unger 1886, the rest Edmonds 1929; for the dative with λογίζεται, LSJ I.3; ἀποδοκιμάζειν, IV.10, VI.5, 9). Fair sense is given by πάντα φάσκων εἶναι <τιμιώτερα (or ὑπερτίμια) ἀποδοκιμάζειν> (Stein, misreported by Rusten), though a likelier order may be πάντα <ἀποδοκιμάζειν τιμιώτερα> φάσκων εἶναι, with infin. followed by participial phrase, as XVI.7 καθάραι . . . φάσκων . . . γεγονέναι, XXIV.5 ἐξόμνησθαι . . . οὐ φάσκων χολάζειν, XXX.9 ἀπαιτῆσαι . . . εἶναι φήσας.

**5** καὶ οἰκέτου χύτραν [εἶναι] ἢ λοπάδα κατάξαντος εἰσπράξει ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων: a master complains of a τρύβλιον broken by a slave in *Ar. Ra.* 985–6, a husband of a χύτρα broken by his wife in *Th.* 403. χύτρα is an earthenware kettle for heating water or soup: B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 130 and Plate vi.1, B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora, xii: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (Princeton 1970) 224–6 and Plates 93–4, Olson and Sens on *Matro* 1.48–9, Olson on *Ar. Ach.* 284. εἶναι is probably a dittograph of preceding εἶναι. The noun needs no qualification: τινά (Needham) is otiose (VIII.4n.), παλαιάν (Petersen) weak, ἔτην (Edmonds 1908, cl. *Ar. Ra.* 985–6 τὸ τρύβλιον | τὸ περύσιον) impossible ('year-old' is a mistranslation, exploded by Stein). εἰκῆ (Pauw) would be oddly placed; ἢ καὶ (Münsterberg 1895) is unappealing. λοπάς is a shallow earthenware cooking-pot: Sparkes 130–1 and Plate vi.3, Sparkes and Talcott 227–8 and Plate 95, Arnott on *Alex.* 115.21–3, Olson and Sens on *Archestr.* 24.7.

**6** καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκβαλοῦσης τρίχαλκον: the verb means, as normal, 'drop' (XIX.8, *Ar. Lys.* 156, *Th.* 401, LSJ III), not, abnormally, 'lose' (Stein), which is ἀποβ- (δ). The coin is lost because it has been dropped. The τρίχαλκον is a coin worth three χαλκοῖ (VI.4n.), attested only in *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 109 III.128, 140, IV<sup>2</sup> 116.15 (Epidaurus III BC), v.1(1) 1433.33 (Messene c. 100 BC), *Vitr.* 3.1.7; M. N. Tod, *NC* 6 (1946) 50–1.

[οἶος] μεταφέρειν τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὰς κλῖνας καὶ τὰς κιβωτούς: repetition of οἶος is unparalleled and unnecessary. We might replace it with δεινός (Blaydes),



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which may legitimately be followed by δεινός δὲ καὶ at §10, as it is at XV.8, 11 and XXIX.5, 6 (VII.6n.). On the other hand, δεινός δὲ καὶ stands without preceding δεινός at VI.5, IX.8, XII.8, XIV.8. Deletion (also Blaydes) is the likelier solution.

Plural κεῦη commonly refer to unspecified household objects or items of furniture (e.g. *HP* 2.6.6 τὰς τε κλῖνας καὶ τᾶλλα κεῦη, *Pl. R.* 373A κλῖναι τε . . . καὶ τράπεζαι καὶ τᾶλλα κεῦη). Here not 'furniture' (Jebb), since it is one of a trio, with two specific items of furniture, couches and chests, and must therefore be something equally specific, like 'utensils' ('die Geräte' Holland, 'das Geschirr' Stein, 'pots, pans' Edmonds, 'the dishes' Rusten). So *Laf.* 42 κεῦη τὰ ἐπιτράπεζα, *Men. Dysc.* 492 (κεῦη of a cook), *Antiphan.* 150.2 (κεῦη washed by a τραπεζοποιός), *Luc. Dips.* 7, *Prom. Es* 2, sing. κεῦος *Ar. Th.* 402, *Eub.* 30.1; and probably *X. Oec.* 9.15 νομίσαι οὖν ἐκέλευον . . . τὴν γυναικά καὶ αὐτὴν νομοφύλακα τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν δέ, ὅταν δόξηι αὐτῇ, τὰ κεῦη.

κλῖναι are couches for sleeping or dining (Pritchett 226–9, G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) 52–63). κιβωτοί are wooden chests with lids, lockable (XVIII.4), for storing clothes (*Ar. V.* 1056, *Ath.* 84A), money and valuables (*Lys.* 12.10–11), documents (*Ar. Eq.* 1000); Pritchett 220–5, Richter 72–8.

καὶ διφᾶν τὰ καλλύματα: the verb means 'probe, poke into, seek for by delving' (LSJ Rev. Suppl., West on *Hes. Op.* 373–4), equated with ψηλαφᾶν by the lexicographers (*Apollon.* 59.14, *Et. Gen.* B = *EM* 279.47), here only in prose; Headlam on *Herod.* 3.54, 7.78, *Frisk* 1.400, *Chantraine* 287.

καλλύματα 'sweepings' is a brilliant conjecture (for καλύματα AB), which appears out of the blue in LSJ<sup>9</sup> *s.uu.* διφᾶω and κάλλυμα.<sup>60</sup> Its merits have gone unrecognised (except, implicitly, by West on *Hes. Op.* 373–4). The word is attested in only two sources. (i) *IG* XII.5 593 A.22–3 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1218.22–3 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) no. 97 (Ceos, late v BC), where the supplement καλλύ[ματα] (U. Köhler, *MDAI(A)* 1 (1876) 144–5) and its interpretation are certain (Parker, *Miasma* 35–6). The interpretation (ἀπονίμματα, λύματα) proposed by K. Meuli, *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl* (Basle 1946) 205 n. 1, is etymologically impossible (the report of this interpretation by Sokolowski and by R. Garland, *BICS* 36 (1989) 12, is inaccurate). (ii) *Hsch.* C 221 κάρματα: καλλύματα. καὶ κόπρια παρὰ Πίνθωνι (fr. 22), 223 αἰμός: ὡρός γῆς. καὶ κάλλυμα (κάλυμμα cod.). Similarly XXII.12 τὴν οἰκίαν καλλῦναι 'sweep the house clean' (LSJ καλλύνω II, *Phryn.* 39.2 τᾶνδον ἀνακάλλυνον; cf. κάλλυτρον 'broom'). Editors continue to interpret καλύματα (AB) in senses either implausible or unattested ('curtains' Jebb, Edmonds,

<sup>60</sup> I take καλ(λ)ύματα attested in c (Stefanis (1994a) 78) to be an accident, not a conjecture.

‘floorboards (of the upper storey)’ Studniczka ap. Holland 1897 (followed by Stein and Rusten), ‘bed-clothes’ Ussher) and less well suited to διφᾶν.<sup>61</sup>

**7** καὶ ἐάν τι πωλῆι τοκούτου ἀποδόσθαι ὥστε μὴ λυσιτελεῖν τῷ πριαμένωι: he ensures that no-one gets a bargain from him; on the contrary, he charges more than it was reasonable to charge, so that the buyer with hindsight regrets his purchase. It is ‘a bad bargain for the buyer’ (Vellacott). Not ‘the buyer will make nothing by it’ (Edmonds), implying, contrary to reason, that the profit in a sale should be on the buyer’s side; nor ‘the buyer can’t recover his price of purchase’ (Rusten), introducing a notion more specific than is warranted by the Greek. Haggling (cf. XVII.6) is subject to rules of etiquette (Millett, ‘Sale, credit and exchange’ 193–4). The seller breaches those rules, and the buyer, through misjudgement or pressing need, agrees to pay over the odds. But there remains a doubt whether the text is rightly emended: corruption of τοκούτου (δ) to τοσαύτας (AB) is unexpected. For the contrast between πωλεῖν and ἀποδίδοσθαι (‘offer for sale’ and ‘sell’), XV.4, XXX.5, X. *Mem.* 2.5.5, *Smp.* 8.21, D. 27.32, Alex. 130.3–4, 133.8; Neil on Ar. *Eq.* 160–1, P. Chantraine, *RPh* 14 (1940) 11–24, F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 159.

**8** For hostility to trespassers see Men. *Dysc.* 103ff. Contrast the liberality (admittedly self-interested) of Cimon, whose land was unfenced, ὅπως ἐξῆι τῷ βουλομένωι τῆς ὀπώρας ἀπολαύειν ([Arist.] *Ath.* 27.3; cf. Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 89 ap. Ath. 533A). See also Pl. *Lg.* 844D–845D.

καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐᾶσαι οὔτε κυκοτραγῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κήπου: for οὐκ ἂν ἐᾶσαι, VI.9n. There is no merit in οὐδένα ἐᾶσαι (Blaydes). The verb κυκοτραγῆσαι is found only here and Poll. 6.40, 49; but κυκοτραγίδης of a miser (διὰ τὸ εὐτελεῖς τοῦ βρώματος) Archil. 250, Hippon. 167; κυκοτράγος Ael. *NA* 17.31. There is no need for κύκα τραγῆσαι (Blaydes). Figs are traditionally cheap (Anan. 3), and the poor man’s fare (Hippon. 26.5, Adesp. Iamb. 46 West, Arcestr. 60.15 Olson and Sens (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 192)). Cf. G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon* (Leipzig and Berlin 1909) 110–12, Pritchett 190–1, Pellegrino 186. For ἐᾶσαι as a correction in ε (ἐᾶσας AB) see Stefanis (1994a) 101, 119. For the suggestion that A has κόπου not κήπου, Stefanis 66 n. 3.

οὔτε ἐλαίαν ἢ φοῖνικα τῶν χαμαι πεπτωκότων ἀνελεῖσθαι: for the olive, Pritchett 183–4. There is no need to write ἐλάαν; a distinction (Suda E 764) between ἐλαία (tree) and ἐλάα (olive) is not supported by Attic inscriptions, where both forms are used in both senses (Threatte 1.278, 2.726). The φοῖνιξ, date-palm (V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (Berlin <sup>8</sup>1911) 270–86, Dalby 113–14), did not mature or produce edible fruit in Greece (*HP* 3.3.5,

<sup>61</sup> Paul Millett reminds me of the parable of the woman who sweeps out her house to find a lost drachma (Luke 15.8). Her action is presented as praiseworthy.

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Plu. 723c, Paus. 9.19.8); in villages abroad Xenophon saw ‘dates like those which may be seen in Greece’ reserved for slaves (*An.* 2.3.15). Diels’ deletion of ἡ φοίνικα, as the addition of an interpolator living in a country abundant in edible dates, was short-sighted. The less edible the fruit, the greater the μικρολογία. With τῶν χαμαὶ πεπτωκότων cf. H. (e.g.) *Il.* 4.482 χαμαὶ πέεεν, Pi. *P.* 8.93, *N.* 4.41, E. *Med.* 1170, 1256 (conj.), *Phaeth.* 220, Pl. *Euthphr.* 14D. There is no good reason to prefer χαμαὶ κειμένων (A). But the two readings might be explained as alternative glosses on χαμαιπετῶν (Cobet, cl. Luc. *Lex.* 13 ἐλαίας χαμαιπετεῖς, Hsch. X 134 χαμαιπετεῖ . . . χαμαὶ κειμένωι). For the gen. see on V.9 τῶν τρογγύλων ληκύθους.

**9** καὶ τοὺς ὄρους δ’ ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὁσήμεραι εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί: boundaries, not boundary-stones, as εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί shows. Boundary-stones do not change their nature, but rather their position (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1165.18–22 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 911.18–22 (300–250 BC) οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ . . . ἐπισκοπῶνται . . . τοὺς ὄρους εἰ ἐφεστήκασι κατὰ τὰ αὐτά). Much less are these the pillars set up on mortgaged property (LSJ ὄρος n.b; Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit*, *passim*, Millett, ‘Sale, credit and exchange’ 176–8, Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 252–5), as suggested by (among others) Bodei Giglioli 87–8 (rightly rejected by Stein and by Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 304 n. 12). For encroachment on a neighbour’s land (which might entail the movement of boundary-stones), Pl. *Lg.* 843c ὅς δ’ ἂν ἐπεργάζηται τὰ τοῦ γείτονος ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς ὄρους κτλ., Luc. *Nau.* 38 ὄμορος ἤδη ὧν μοι ἐξέωσεν τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐπιβαίνων κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐς τὸ εἶω τῶν ὄρων, Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.23–4. With διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί cf. Antiph. 229.2–3 διαμένειν εἰώθ’ ἀεὶ | τὸ χρῶμα ταυτό, Alex. 35.3.

**10** δεινὸς δὲ καί: VI.9n.

ὑπερημερίαν πρᾶξαι καὶ τόκον τόκου: the noun ὑπερημερία connotes defaulting, failure to meet an agreed date (Poll. 3.85 ὁ . . . οὐκ ἐκτίσας κατὰ προθεσίαν ὑπερήμερος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπερημερία; cf. Harp. 296.3–6 Dindorf (Υ 7 Kearney), also (right of) execution of the penalty for defaulting (D. 30.27, 33.6, seizure of property κατὰ τὴν ὑπερημερίαν or τῆι ὑπερημερίαι), and, in a more concrete sense, the penalty itself (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 103.74, 75, 86, 88, 99, Epidaurus iv BC). This concrete sense is appropriate here, since the second object of πρᾶξαι (compound interest) is concrete. For πρᾶξαι ‘exact’, LSJ vi. The expression (not elsewhere attested) will mean much the same as ὑπερήμερον εἰσπράττειν ‘exact (payment/penalty) from an overdue debtor’ (D. 21.11, 45.70). He takes punitive action when the debtor defaults, perhaps by distraining on his possessions, as the law allows (J. V. A. Fine, *Hesperia* Suppl. 9 (1951) 85–7, MacDowell on D. 21.81, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 184). For the legal technicalities of distraint, Harrison 2.244–7, MacDowell, *Law* 142–5.

## X: THE PENNY-PINCHER

But, whatever right a creditor might have in law, the execution of that right was left to him, and it was not easy to recover a debt if the debtor was determined to avoid payment. Millett illustrates ‘the lengths to which a lender might have to go in order to recover a bad debt . . ., involving self-help at virtually every stage’ (*Lending and Borrowing* 82–4). The process might be protracted, troublesome, and finally fruitless. Perhaps what is of interest here is his determination to pursue defaulters, in spite of these obstacles, when others would regard it as not worth the effort. Just as he goes out of his way in §2 to collect a trifling sum as soon as he can, so here he accepts no pleas for deferment (such as we hear in *Ar. Nu.* 1138–9, *D.* 47.49–50). He demands what is rightfully his, because he is the sort of man who does not allow others to take advantage of him.

*Ar. Nu.* 1156 τόκοι τόκων, *Men. fr.* 446 τῶν τόκων τόκουσ, *Pl. Ig.* 842D ἐπιτόκων τόκων, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 955.15–16 (*Amorgos* iv/iii BC) are the only references, before the Roman period, to the charging of compound interest (*Korver, Crediet-Wezen* 121–5, *H. Hommel, Gnomon* 36 (1964) 616 n. 1, *Bogaert, Banques et banquiers* 360–1, *Millett, Lending and Borrowing* 185, *Stein* 182, *W. Bühler, Zenobii Athoi Proverbia* 5 (Göttingen 1999) 340). If (as this suggests) it was not a common practice, then here it illustrates the behaviour of a man who is intent on exacting that little bit more than is normally exacted. Perhaps he charges defaulters compound interest: ‘[He] is merciless in exacting unpaid debts, on which he charges compound interest’ (*Millett, Lending and Borrowing* 185). And yet ὑπερμερίαν and τόκον τόκου, linked by καί, appear to be parallel and independent items, not merely a hendiadys, and the former will embrace all the sanctions available against the defaulter, not compound interest alone. καί <καθ’> ὑπερμερίαν (*Herwerden, cl. D.* 30.27 οἰκέτην . . . ὄν ἔλαβον κατὰ τὴν ὑπερμερίαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀφόβου, with the following καί implausibly retained), specifying compound interest as the sole penalty, does not appeal.

**II** καὶ ἐστιῶν δημότας μικρὰ τὰ κρέα κόψας παραθεῖναι: cf. XXX.2 ἐστιῶν ἄρτους ἱκανοὺς μὴ παραθεῖναι (for παραθεῖναι, *Arnott on Alex.* 98.2, *Olson and Sens on Archestr.* 13.4; see also on XX.4 παρακειμένου). Provision of inadequate fare is characteristic of comic misers: *Eup.* 156, *Antiph.* 166.6–8, *Eub.* 87, *Mnesim.* 3, *Men. Epit.* 139–41, *fr.* 390, *Pl. Aul.* 294–7, 371–87 (I owe all these to *Konstantakos* 140). It is labelled μικρολογία in *Luc. JTr.* 15. Entertainment of demesmen was probably a liturgy; cf. *Is.* 3.80 Θεσμοφόρια ἐστιᾶν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα προσῆκε λητιουργεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, *J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC* (Oxford 1971) xxiii–iv, *Whitehead, Demes of Attica* 152, 251, 344–5, *R. Parker, ‘Festivals of the Attic Demes’,* in *T. Linders and G. Nordquist* (edd.), *Gifts to the Gods* (Uppsala 1987), 138. There might be as few as 100–200 in a deme (*R. G. Osborne, Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985) 42–5, *Millett, Lending and Borrowing* 140–1), and so δημόται will cost much less to entertain than φυλέται, whose

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entertainment was a liturgy worth boasting of (D. 21.156; Wilson, *Khoregia* 24); cf. XXIII.6n., XXV.8n. In Men. *Sic.* 183–6 (cf. Theoc. 4.20–2) demesmen take offence at the man who serves them a skinny bullock. V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 10 n. 4 and 134, argues that the Μικρολόγος is privately entertaining select demesmen, not discharging a liturgy for the whole deme, because ‘it is difficult to imagine how a liturgist would be involved in slicing up and serving the meat at a public sacrifice’. This is to take κόψας παραθεῖναι too literally.

It is unlikely that ἐστιώντας δημότας (A) points to an original ἐστιών τοὺς (Needham). For, if ἐστιών τοὺς is right, A and B have different and unrelated corruptions. More likely ἐστιών (B) is right, and ἐστιώντας δημότας is an anticipatory error (see on V.9 καὶ αὐλαίαν κτλ.). The article is present at XXV.8 τοὺς δημότας, <τοὺς φράτερας>, τοὺς φυλέτας, XXVIII.2 τοὺς δημότας (similarly XXIV.9 ἐστιών τοὺς φίλους), but is absent at XXX.16 φράτερας (<τοὺς> φρ- Fischer) ἐστιών, and is dispensable (KG 1.604(d) and the passages cited on XXV.8).

**12** καὶ ὀψωνῶν μηθὲν πριάμενος εἰσελθεῖν: for ὀψωνῶν, IX.4n. By denying himself an ὄψον, he condemns himself to dry bread. Cf. Men. fr. 390 φειδωλὸς ἦν καὶ μέτριος ἀγοραστῆς (Ath. 171 A ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τὸν τὰ ὄψα ὠνούμενον). For the spelling μηθὲν, II.2n. εἰσελθεῖν ‘go in’ is here equivalent to ‘return home’, as XVI.10 (contrast XX.2, XXIV.11), Ar. *V.* 107, *Th.* 395, *Ra.* 981, just as ἐξελθεῖν is ‘leave home’ (IX.2n.). There is no lacuna (Holland 1897).

**13** καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι τῇ γυναικί . . . χρηννύειν: for lending of domestic items, IV.11n. χρηννύειν is the simplest remedy for χρωννύειν (AB); but perhaps χρηννύναι (Navarre 1920) should be preferred (V.10n.). Other proposals: χρᾶν τινι Casaubon, χρᾶν οὐδενί Salmasius (*De Usuris Liber* (Leiden 1638) 168), χρᾶν μηδενί Coray, χρᾶν ἐνί Ast, κιχράναι Kayser 1860 (before Herwerden 1871, R. Hercher, *Hermes* 6 (1872) 58, Cobet 1874), χρῆσαι Herwerden.

μήτε ἄλας . . . μήτε ἐλλύχινιον μήτε κύμινον μήτε ὀρίγανον: three of these four items (lamp-wick is the exception) are for culinary use. For salt (IX.3n.) in a similar connection, H. *Od.* 17.455 οὐ κύ γ’ ἂν ἐξ οἴκου cῶι ἐπιπτάτη οὐδ’ ἄλα δοίης, [Theoc.] 27.61. For cummin, whose seeds were used for seasoning, Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen* (§8n.) 208–10, H. Gossen, ‘Kümmel’, *RE Suppl.* viii (1956) 255–8, Olson and Sens on Archestr. 24.3, Dalby 108–9. The seeds were so small and cheap that ‘cummin-sawing’ was the proverbial equivalent of cheese-paring (Introd. Note, Gow on Theoc. 10.55, Arnott on Alex. 253.3). The leaves of ὀρίγανον ‘marjoram’ were used for seasoning: Steier, ‘Origanum’, *RE Suppl.* vii (1940) 813–18, A. C. Andrews, *CPh* 56 (1961) 73–82, Arnott on Alex. 132.7, Olson and Sens on Archestr. 36.6, Dalby 207.

μήτε ὄλας μήτε στέμματα μήτε θυλήματα: the three final items are for religious use.

ὄλαί is barley grain thrown by participants at a sacrifice: P. Stengel, *Hermes* 29 (1894) 627–9, 38 (1903) 38–45, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 13–16, L. Ziehen, ‘Opfer’, *RE* xviii.1 (1939) 602–3, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 1 (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1967) 149, W. Burkert, *GRBS* 7 (1966) 107–8, *Homo Necans* 4, *Greek Religion* 56, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 948–9. The Attic form is ὄλα- (Meisterhans 27); Ionic οὐλ- (AB) arose from scribal familiarity with Homer.

στέμματα are not garlands (as usually translated) for participants in the sacrifice, but fillets of wool for the horns of the sacrificial animal, as XXI.7. The uses of the word are exhaustively documented by J. Servais, *AC* 36 (1967) 415–56 (this passage 422). For the custom see J. Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Vsu* (Giessen 1914) 42, L. Deubner, *ARW* 30 (1933) 92, K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn 1940) 14–15, A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Typologie (6.-1. Jahrh. v. Chr.)* (Hösel 1968) 37–41, 125–6, 137, M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1982) 289 n. 93, 304–5, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 3, *Greek Religion* 56, F. T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden etc. 1995) 24, 43–5, 161–2. Illustration in P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1920) Tafel III, Fig. 11, Krug (above), *Typentafeln* I.11, III.11 e, B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) Plate xva, van Straten Fig. 17, N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (Opladen 1997) Abb. 31, 32, 37.

θυλήματα are cakes or pellets of barley grain (ἄλφιτα) treated with wine and oil (Σ Ar. *Pax* 1040, Phryn. *PS* 74.11–12 de Borries, Phot. Θ 254 Theodoridis = Suda Θ 544 = *An.Bachm.* 1.258.11–12) or honey (Hsch. Θ 852) for scattering on the sacrificial meats: L. Ziehen, ‘Πελανός’, *RE* xix.1 (1937) 247–8, ‘Opfer’, *RE* xviii.1 (1939) 586, J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966) 123–4, van Straten 141–3, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1040. The regular form θυλ- (Ar. *Pax* 1040, Men. *Dysc.* 440, Pherecr. 28.6, Pl. Com. 188.18, Telecl. 35) is thrice attributed to Theophrastus (*Piet.* fr. 2.34, 18.3 Pötscher = 584A.36, 325 Fortenbaugh; fr. 97.3 Wimmer = 650.31 Fortenbaugh). The form θυηλ- (AB) receives little or no support from inscriptional θυαλήματα (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 57.38 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l’Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) no. 50, Miletus v BC), whose form and precise meaning (in spite of Wilamowitz (*SPAW* 1904, 633–5), Casabona 124, Stein 184–5) remain unclear. Scribal familiarity with such forms as θυηλή and θυηπόλος (adduced by Stein as further support for θυηλήματα) explains the corruption. θυλ- is reported from b by Stefanis (1994a) 88.

ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα πολλά ἔστι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ: cf. ἀλλὰ (. . .) φῆσαι I.4, XVI.9, XXII.6; so λέγων (Kayser) for ἀλλὰ λέγειν is needless. τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, here ‘in the course of the year’ (KG 1.386–7, Schwyzer 2.113), is commoner with a numeral in the distributive sense ‘yearly’ (Th. 1.138.5

προσέφερε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Pl. *Criti.* 118E, *Min.* 320C, Is. 5.35, D. 27.9, Hyg. *Epit.* 18, Arist. *HA* 542<sup>b</sup>30, [Arist.] *Oec.* 1352<sup>b</sup>35, Din. 1.43; cf. VI.9n. τῆς ἡμέρας).

### [14] Epilogue

The Epilogue (deleted by Edmonds 1908) is narrower in focus than the sketch. It lists personal economies, which do not impinge on others. There is no good reason to believe (with Diels) that it reworks genuine material (see Stein 186–7). Features of vocabulary and style common to this and other epilogues are καὶ τὸ ὅλον (XXIX), name of character (I, II), plural subject (epil. III n.), ἔστιν with infin. (I, II), πάνυ (VIII).

καὶ τὸ ὅλον δὲ . . . ἔστιν ἰδεῖν: for καὶ . . . δέ (repeated below) in spurious passages, epil. III n. For τὸ ὅλον, I.6n. ἔστιν ἰδεῖν is like ἔστι θεάσασθαι in epil. II, ‘one may see’ (not ‘pennypinchers like to see’, Rusten).

τὰς κλεῖς ἰομένας: the form κλεῖς is first attested in [Arist.] *Ath.* 44.1 (*u.l.* in *HA* 513<sup>a</sup>1, 516<sup>a</sup>28); later it becomes more common than κλεῖδες/-ας, likewise first (unless Aristopho 7.2 is earlier) in Arist. (*HA* 511<sup>b</sup>35, 513<sup>a</sup>1, 513<sup>b</sup>35, 516<sup>a</sup>28, [Arist.] *Phgn.* 809<sup>b</sup>26, 811<sup>a</sup>5, 6–7, 8, 9). Present ἰομένας is far more natural, after εὐρυτιώσας, than perfect ἰωμένας (AB).

ἐλάττω τῶν μηρῶν τὰ ἰμάτια: cf. Luc. *DMeretr.* 14.2 τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο χιτώνιον τὸ μέχρι τῶν μηρῶν. For ἐλάττω ‘too small’, XXIII.9; the turn of phrase, IV.2 μείζω τοῦ ποδός. For attitudes to short cloaks, IV.4n. μικρῶν (AB) is an anticipatory error (see on IV.13 ἄρχων), aided by the phonetic likeness of η and ι (II.2, XIV.12, XVI.4, XVII.7, XXI.11, XXII.12, XXIII.8, XXX.14).

μικρῶν πάνυ: regular word order in T. (μικρὸς πάνυ *CP* 5.14.2, *HP* 1.9.5, 9.8.3) and elsewhere (LSJ πάνυ 1.1, H. Thesleff, *Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek* (Helsingfors 1954) 62–70, K. J. Dover, *CQ* 79 (1985) 332–5 = *Greek and the Greeks* (Oxford 1987) 53–7, S. L. Radt, *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999) 478–9 = *Kleine Schriften* (Leiden etc. 2002) 454–5). So not σπανίως (Klotz).

ἐν χροῖι κειρομένους: LSJ χροῖς 1.2 (similarly Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.7 *tonsa cute*). This is the fashion of mourners (X. *HG* 1.7.8), Spartans (Plu. 52E, *Alc.* 23.3, *Lyc.* 16.6, Luc. *Fug.* 27), Stoics (Pers. 3.54, Juv. 2.15, Luc. *Vit.Auct.* 20, *Herm.* 12), Cynics (D. L. 6.31), and athletes (Luc. *DMeretr.* 5.3, Philostr. *Her.* 10.9). As an economy, one could let the hair grow long (Ar. *Nu.* 835–6); here, like cloaks and flasks, hair is reduced to the minimum. Cf. V.6n.

τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπολυομένους: to be shoeless (ἀνυπόδητος) is often a mark of poverty, parsimony, asceticism, or laconism (e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 103, 363, *Lys.* 32.16, Pl. *Smp.* 203D, X. *Mem.* 1.6.2; A. A. Bryant, *HSCPh* 10 (1899) 57–9, O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst*

(Bonn 1967) 185–7, Stone, *Costume* 235). But there is more than simple shoelessness here. They dispense with shoes at midday, when it is particularly uncomfortable to walk barefoot, in order to save shoe leather. They are not taking their shoes off for an afternoon siesta (Jebb), when comfort, not economy, commends bare feet. In any case, shoes were not normally worn indoors (e.g. Ar. V. 103, 274–5, Au. 492, Ec. 269–71; Bryant 59–60). ὑποδοιμένους (AB) ‘putting on shoes at midday’ makes no sense. For the acc. τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμ- (as XXVI.4), KG 1.314–15, Gow on Theoc. 1.15. So not κατὰ μέσον (Herwerden).

**πρὸς τοὺς γναφεῖς διατεινομένους:** the noun is spelt κν- at XVIII.6 (probably interpolated). γν- begins to replace κν- about 400 BC (Meisterhans 74–5, Threatte 1.560–1). On fulling see H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* 1 (Leipzig and Berlin 2<sup>1912</sup>) 170–90, C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, T. I. Williams (edd.), *A History of Technology* 2 (Oxford 1956) 214–17, R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 4 (Leiden 1956) 81–97, K. D. White, *Greek and Roman Technology* (London 1984) 39, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 845. The father of Theophrastus was said to have been a fuller (D.L. 5.36). διατεινομένους is a blend of ‘asserting strongly, insisting’, with πρὸς τοὺς γναφεῖς (cf. XXIX.4, LSJ B.2), and ‘striving to ensure’, with ὅπως κτλ. (Goodwin §339, KG 2.372–4, S. Amigues, *Les subordonnées finales par ΟΠΩΣ en attique classique* (Paris 1977) 22–63; cf. XXI.4, X. An. 7.6.36 ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολέμοι γένησθε, πᾶν ὄσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινάμενον).

**γῆν:** ‘fuller’s earth’ (LSJ iv; *creta fullonia* Plin. *Nat.* 17.46, γῆ κυματρὶς Eup. 412, Cephisod. 6, γῆ πλυστρὶς CP 2.4.3, Nicoch. 7), most commonly ‘Kimolian earth’, a whitish clay (calcium montmorillonite,<sup>62</sup> or *cimolite*) from the island of Kimolos (*Lap.* 62, Ar. *Ra.* 713, Dsc. 5.156, Plin. *Nat.* 35.195–8), but also kaolin from Samos (*Lap.* 62–3), gypsum from Tymphaia in Epirus (*Lap.* 62, 64, Plin. *Nat.* 35.198), and others; Blümner 176, Singer *et al.* 215, 355, Forbes 84, R. H. S. Robertson, *CR* 63 (1949) 51–2, E. R. Caley and J. F. C. Richards, *Theophrastus on Stones* (Columbus 1956) 208–13, D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus, De Lapidibus* (Oxford 1965) 129, J. F. Healy, *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology* (Oxford 1999) 219–20.

<sup>62</sup> Not ‘montmollionite’ (Dover on Ar. *Ra.* 711–13).



# XI

## THE REPULSIVE MAN

### Introductory note

Βδελυρία (from the same root as βδέω) is behaviour which provokes repugnance. βδελυρός/βδελυρία are common terms of vilification in Aristophanes and the orators, and are often found in company with words connoting shamelessness (ἀναιδής D. 8.68, 19.175, 21.107, 151, 25.27, [Arist.] *Phgn.* 810<sup>a</sup>33, ἀναιδεια D. 19.206, *Ep.* 3.18, Aeschin. 1.189, ἀναίχυντος Ar. *Ach.* 288, *Pax* 182 (with Porson's conjecture), *Ra.* 465, D. 43.39) and audacity (θρασύς D. 8.68, 21.2, 98, Aeschin. 1.189, τολμηρός Ar. *Pax* 182, *Ra.* 465). The Βδελυρός is in this mould: indecent (§2), disruptive, (§3), crude (§3), discourteous (§4), over-familiar (§5), tactless (§7), tasteless (§8), and tiresome (§9).

### [1] Definition

Οὐ χαλεπὸν . . . διορίσασθαι: def. VII n. This is a long-winded expression.

παιδιά ἐπιφανής καὶ ἐπονείδιστος: παιδιά is too mild; better ἀπαιδευσία (Herwerden), which would tally with ἀμαθία in def. IV; ἀναιδεια (Diels 1883 before Naber, to whom Diels 1909 wrongly ascribes priority) leaves ἐπονείδιστος otiose. ἐπιφανής is nearer the mark (he regularly makes a spectacle of himself); ἐν ἔμφανει (Wendland) is no improvement; ἐπιτφαλής (Latte ap. Steinmetz) is unappealing, ἐπιμανής (Herwerden) ruinous. On the inadequacy of the definition see Stein 189.

2 τοιοῦτός <τις>: for <τις> (added by Herwerden before Cobet and Diels), I.2n.

ἀπαντήσας γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις ἀνακυράμενος δεῖξαι τὸ αἰδοῖον: “Free”, “freeborn”, carries a strong emotional charge whenever it is desired to arouse indignation’ (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 286). For this (of women), *Lys.* 3.23, 13.66, *Pl. Lg.* 874c, D. 19.196, 309, Aeschin. 2.4, *Hyp. Lyc.* 6, *Lycurg.* 40, *Men. Pk.* 375–6, *Sam.* 577. For ἀνακυράμενος, VI.2n., XVI.10n. (στεφανοῦν τοὺς Ἐρμαφροδίτους *ad fin.*), Sittl, *Gebärden* 100.

3 καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ κροτεῖν ὅταν οἱ ἄλλοι παύωνται καὶ κυρίττειν οὐς ἡδέως θεωροῦσιν οἱ πολλοί: for applause (LSJ κροτέω II.2) and hissing, Sittl, *Gebärden* 10–11, 55–6, 64, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 272–3, Csapo and Slater 290. Similar exhibitionism: XIX.9, Ar. *V.* 1314–15 οἱ δ’ ἀνεκρότησαν, πλὴν γε Θουφράστου μόνου | οὔτος δὲ διεμύλλαινε, ὡς δὴ δεξιός.

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The present subjunctive παύονται indicates a state of cessation. This aspect of the present can be seen in the infin.: *HP* 9.11.6 παύεσθαι μαινόμενον, [A.] *PV* 11 φιλανθρώπου . . . παύεσθαι τρόπου, *Hdt.* 1.94.3 οὐ παύεσθαι (*sc.* σιτοδείην), *Th.* 3.40.4 παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, *Pl. Smph.* 185D ἐὰν . . . κοί ἐθέληι ἀπνευστί ἔχοντι πολὺν χρόνον παύεσθαι ἢ λύγξ (contrast preceding παῦσαι με τῆς λυγγός), *Isoc.* 4.5 χρῆ παύεσθαι λέγοντας, [Arist.] *Aud.* 802<sup>a</sup>41 παύεσθαι συμβαίνει τὸν ἦχον. So, with present subj., [Pl.] *Epin.* 978D ἐλίπτων δὴ ταῦτα αὐτὰ ὅταν μὴ παύηται πολλὰς μὲν νύκτας, πολλὰς δὲ ἡμέρας, *X. Lac.* 14.4 ἐσπουδακόςας ὡς μηδέποτε παύονται ἀρμόζοντες, *D.* 25.13 ἐὰν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιῆι καὶ μὴ παύηται, *Hyr. Phil.* 12 ἂν μὴ παύηται τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῶν. For ὅταν with present subj., *V.* 7, *VII.* 10, *XXII.* 6, *XXVI.* 4. Aorist subj. παύωνται (Schneider) denotes ‘when they have ceased’: *CP* 3.15.1, *HP* 3.8.7, 9.1.1, *Sud.* 25, 26, *Vent.* 18, *Hdt.* 4.111.2 (ἐπέαν), *Pl. R.* 583E, *Arist. EE* 1243<sup>b</sup>19, *HA* 576<sup>a</sup>4, *Metaph.* 1047<sup>a</sup>3, *Ph.* 228<sup>a</sup>16, 267<sup>a</sup>1, 6, [Arist.] *Pr.* 868<sup>a</sup>15 (conj.), 23, 868<sup>b</sup>19, 938<sup>a</sup>30. For ὅταν with aorist subj., ὅταν σιωπήσῃ immediately below, *IV.* 5, *VII.* 4, *XVI.* 11, *XXII.* 8, *XXIV.* 8 (*Pl.* 4n. ἐπὶν παύσῃται). This sense is inferior. The aorist implies that he applauds as soon as the others stop; the present, more appropriately, that he applauds in the intervals between their applause. See also *KG* 1.185–6, *Goodwin* §§87–93.

For omission of the article with ἐν θεάτρῳ, *IV.* 2n. (contrast *II.* 11, *XIV.* 4 ἐν τῷ θε-); omission of antecedent to οὖς, *V.* 3n. For θεωρεῖν, *IV.* 5n. Although οἱ λοιποὶ (*AB*<sup>28</sup>) is an unimaginative variation on preceding οἱ ἅλλοι, it may be right.

καὶ ὅταν σιωπήσῃ τὸ θέατρον ἀνακύψας ἐρυγεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς καθήμενους ποιήσῃ μεταστραφῆναι: he lifts his head up (*II.* 10n., *XXV.* 2n.), to make the belch more audible. Cf. *XIX.* 5 προσερυγγάνειν, *Cic. Phil.* 2.63 *in coetu uero populi Romani negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset* . . . οἱ καθήμενοι is a regular expression, designating spectators in the theatre (*Hege-*sipp.*Com.* 1.29), members of the Ecclesia (*Ar. Pax* 932, *Ec.* 94, *D.* 6.3, 8.30), jurors in court (*XXIX.* 5 (conj.), *And.* 1.139, *D.* 58.25), or some other official body (*Th.* 5.85). προκαθ- (*Fraenkel* and *Groeneboom*) is pedantic. Between ποιήσῃ μεταστραφῆναι (*B*) and μ- π- (*A*) there is nothing to choose (*II.* 3n.).

4 καὶ πληθούσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς: this often indicates the time of day (‘forenoon’, *LSJ* ἀγορά 1v; *Millett*, ‘Encounters in the *Agora*’ 211–12), but here it adds a further important detail. Because the market-place is full there will be other customers. By staying to eat his fruit at the counter he deprives them of room. By diverting the shopkeeper with idle chatter he deprives them of his attention.

προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ κάρνα ἢ τὰ μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα: ‘to the shops selling . . .’ (*II.* 7n.). Athenian myrtleberries, highly esteemed (*Antiph.* 177.4, *Phoenicid.* 2.1; cf. *CP* 3.17.7, *Ar. fr.* 581.5, *Eub.* 74.5; *Pellegrino* 187–8,

## COMMENTARY

Dalby 227), are listed among *τραγήματα* / *τρογάλια* (they are treated as such here) by Pl. *R.* 372c, Diph. 80.1, Theopomp.Com. 68.

ἀκρόδρυα are properly (i) fruits grown on the branches of trees (not 'on upper branches' (LSJ) but 'on outer surfaces', i.e. branches as opposed to stem or trunk: Hes. *Op.* 232–3 *δρῦς* | ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρει βάλανους, μέεσθ δὲ μελιੱσας, with West *ad loc.*) and (ii) the trees which bear them. Towards further defining the range of this word, lexica (ancient and modern) give limited help. I begin with fourth-century writers. Pl. *Criti.* 115B (the earliest attested use) and D. 53.15 tell us nothing. *HP* 2.5.7 distinguishes ἀκρόδρυα (suited to foothills) from olives, figs, and vines (suited to low ground). It follows that 4.4.11 ἀμπελον . . . καὶ ἐλάαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀκρόδρυα does not mean (what LSJ take it to mean) 'vine and olive and the other ἀκρόδρυα (beside vine and olive)' but 'vine and olive and ἀκρόδρυα as well' (KG 1.275, LSJ ἄλλος II.8, Bruhn, *Anhang* §182). The passage is interpreted rightly by S. Amigues (Budé ed., 1989), 'ainsi que les arbres fruitiers', wrongly by A. F. Hort (Loeb ed., 1916), 'the other fruit-trees', and Gow on Theoc. 15.112. And it follows that 4.7.8 ἀμπέλους καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκρόδρυα καὶ κυκάς does not include vines and figs among ἀκρόδρυα (again Amigues is right, Hort wrong). Similarly (I assume) X. *Oec.* 19.12 'vines . . . figs . . . καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκρόδρυα πάντα'. *CP* 6.11.2 distinguishes ἀκρόδρυα from figs (τῶν ἀκροδρῦων καὶ κύκων), as do Pl. *Lg.* 844D–E, [Arist.] *Pr.* 930<sup>a</sup>9, 930<sup>b</sup>20, who class figs as ὀπώρα (for the distinction between ὀπώρα and ἀκρόδρυα see below). These passages tell us what ἀκρόδρυα are not: they are not grapes, olives, figs. *Od.* 5 τῶν ἀκροδρῦων καὶ ἀπίων καὶ μήλων suggests that they are not pears and apples either. Here Hort (Loeb ed., 1926) translates ἀκρόδρυα as 'stone-fruits' ('apparently plums, peaches, etc.'). I see no warrant for this distinction. Olives, which are not ἀκρόδρυα, have stones. But the reverse of *Od.* 5 is suggested by *HP* 2.5.7 (cited above), where olives, figs, and vines, distinguished from ἀκρόδρυα, appear to be distinguished from all the fruit trees mentioned just before, and these are apple, pear, pomegranate, myrtle, and almond.

Arist. *HA* 606<sup>b</sup>2 (similarly *Hp. Aff.* 61 (6.268 Littre)) distinguishes between ἀκρόδρυα and ὀπώρα. Grapes, olives, and figs count as ὀπώρα. Later writers distinguish ὀπώρα from ἀκρόδρυα in respect of outer covering, the former soft, the latter hard: *Gp.* (10th cent.) 10.74 (p. 309 Beckh) ὀπώρα λέγεται ἢ χλοώδη τὸν καρπὸν ἔχουσα, οἶον δωρακινὰ μῆλα ἀππίδια δαμασκηνὰ (peaches, apples, pears, damsons) καὶ ὅσα μὴ ἔχει ἕξωθεν τι ξυλώδες. ἀκρόδρυα δὲ καλεῖται ὅσα ἕξωθεν κέλυφος ἔχει, οἶον ῥοῖα (L: ῥοῖα cett., Beckh) πιεστάκια κάστανα (pomegranates, pistachio nuts, chestnuts) καὶ ὅσα ξυλώδη τὸν καρπὸν ἕξωθεν ἔχει, *An.Ox.* 3.357 (scholia on Tzetzes) Ὀρφεύς (282 Kern) ἀκρόδρυα πᾶσαν ὀπώραν καλεῖ· Γαληνὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ φυτουργικὰ συνταξάμενοι ἀκρόδρυά φασι τὰ κτέπην ἔχοντα, οἶον ῥοῖα· κάρυα ἀμυγδάλας καὶ εἶ τι ὁμοῖον (pomegranates, nuts, almonds etc.), ὀπώρας δὲ τὰ ἀσκεπῆ ὡς μῆλα

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ἀπίους καὶ τὰ ἴμοια (apples, pears etc.). These writers do not class apples and pears as ἀκρόδρυα. Others do (Plu. 683c, *Art.* 24.1, Ath. 24F–25A).<sup>63</sup> In fact, lexicographers and scholia define ἀκρόδρυα as *all* tree fruits (e.g. *EM* 288.25 παντὸς φυτοῦ καρπὸν ἐδώδιμον, *Suda* A 1001 πάντες οἱ τῶν δένδρων καρποί, Σ Η. *Od.* 14.12 τῶν πάντων δένδρων οἱ καρποί, Phryn. *PS* 36.14–15 de Borries, Phot. A 855 Theodoridis). Even ὀπώρα came to be applied to each and every kind of fruit (Hsch. O 1077 ὀπώρα . . . κυρίως δὲ ἡ σταφυλή, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων; similarly *An. Ox.* 3.357 (cited above) Ὀρφεὺς ἀκρόδρυα πᾶσαν ὀπώραν καλεῖ; Hp. *Vict.* 55 (6.562–4 Littré) counts nuts as ὀπώρα). From none of these later uses do we learn anything germane to the definition of ἀκρόδρυα in Theophrastus.

τὰ κάρυα . . . ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα means ‘nuts . . . or ἀκρόδρυα generally’, and is comparable to expressions like Ar. *Nu.* 413 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι (KG 2.247, W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 7 (1954) 38); similarly Ar. fr. 581.1 κικυοὺς, βότρυς, ὀπώραν (needlessly doubted; cf. Pellegrino 180–1), ‘cucumbers, grapes, ὀπώρα in general’. Nuts are only one member of the class of ἀκρόδρυα, however we define that class. The notion that κάρυα and ἀκρόδρυα are synonymous is a fallacy, encouraged by too casual a reading of Ath. 52A. Athenaeus says that Attic writers and others used the name κάρυον for all ἀκρόδρυα (οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς κοινῶς πάντα τὰ ἀκρόδρυα κάρυα λέγουσιν), but that Epicharmus (fr. 148) used it only for the walnut. The second part of this shows that by ἀκρόδρυα he means ‘ἀκρόδρυα *qua* nuts’. Schweighäuser’s supplement τὰ ἀκρόδρυα <ὄσα ξυλωῶδες λέπτος ἔχουσιν> gets the right idea (cf. *GP* 10.74 cited above, Σ Nic. *Alex.* 99e (p. 62 Geymonat) πάντα τὰ κελύφη τῶν ἀκροδρύων κάρυα λέγεται), but is unnecessary. So deletion of ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα as a gloss on τὰ κάρυα (Ruge and Immisch 1897, also A. Peretti, *SIFC* 9 (1931) 189–91) or of τὰ κάρυα as a gloss on τὰ ἀκρόδρυα (Edmonds 1929) is misguided; as is τὰ <ἄλλα> ἀκρόδρυα (Edmonds 1929), an expression which T. uses (as shown above) in company only with trees or fruits which are *not* ἀκρόδρυα.

ἔστηκώς τραγηματίζεσθαι ἅμα τῷ πωλοῦντι προσλαλῶν: τραγήματα (also called τραγάλια) are foods that can be nibbled, such as fruits, normally as a dessert (Arnott on *Alex.* 168.2, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 771–2, Olson and Sens on *Matro* 1.111 and *Archestr.* 60.6, Dalby 330). We need not suppose that (like the Ἀναίχυντος at IX.4) he has pilfered them. For ἔστηκώς cf. IX.4; προσλαλῶν, *Introd.* Note to VII.

5 καὶ καλέσαι δὲ τῶν παριόντων ὀνομαστί τινα: I assume that we have finished with the shop and that a new scene begins here. παριόντων (de) is more

<sup>63</sup> For Athenaeus ἀκρόδρυα include plum and damson (49D–E), sloe (49F), mulberry (51D), and quince (81A).

## COMMENTARY

pointed than παρόντων (AB). He calls out the name of a passer-by rather than addresses by name someone who is present in the shop. The next sentence follows naturally from this. The people whom he sees (note ὄρων) eagerly making for some destination are likely to be in the street. Cf. Call. *Del.* 224 Ἄστερήϊ δ' ὄνομαστί παρερχομένην ἐκάλεσεν, and (for καλέσαι . . . ὄνομαστί) Hdt. 3.14.7, X. *An.* 7.4.15, *Cyr.* 4.1.3, D. 21. 206, [Arist.] *Mir.* 841<sup>b</sup>20, Call. fr. 43.79, Arat. 374.

**6** καὶ πτεῦδοντας δὲ ποι ὄρων < . . . :: the sentence is more likely to be lacunose (δ) than interpolated (Sokolowski). If he is playing a practical joke, the supplement <περιμέναι κελεῦσαι> (δ) does not fully bring this out. Jebb detects a motif from comedy, and compares Ter. *Ph.* 847–8 *heus Geta!* :: *em tibi* | *num mirum aut nouomst reuocari, cursum quom institeris?* (cf. 195, *Ad.* 320); but these involve slaves. For πτεῦδοντας . . . ὄρων, XXV.4 ὄρων πίπτοντας (article omitted with plural part., VI.2–3n.); for ποι (που AB), Pl. *Euthphr.* 15ε νῦν γὰρ πτεῦδω ποι (που T<sup>ac</sup>); the corruption, XIII.6, XXIII.3. See also XXIV.10n.

**7** καὶ ἤττημένωι δὲ μεγάλην δίκην ἀπιόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθεῖν καὶ συνησθῆναι: cf. D. 21.88 μεγάλην . . . ὤφλε δίκην. For omission of article with singular part., II.2n.; for the perfect (Schneider: ἤττωμένωι AB), I.2n. προσελθὼν συνησθῆναι (Cobet 1874), favoured by Stein and Rusten, is shown to be unnecessary by the passages cited on IX.8. Cf. XX.4n.

**8** καὶ ὄψωνεῖν ἑαυτῶι καὶ ἀλγητρίδας μισθοῦσθαι: for ὄψωνεῖν, IX.4n. ἑαυτῶι (I.2n.) is a sufficient correction of ἑαυτόν (AB) and need not be embellished with <αὐτός> ἑαυτῶι (Herwerden before Cobet 1874). Least of all do we want the supplement of B. Hemmerdinger, *BollClas* 13 (1992) 125–6. Same construction and corruption at V.8 ἀγοράζειν αὐτῶι (αὐτόν AB); cf. Ar. *Ec.* 226 αὐταῖς παροψωνοῦσιν. The meaning is ‘buy ὄψα for himself’, not ‘do his own marketing’ (Jebb), which would require αὐτός (Furlanus) or δὲ αὐτός (Ruge). He exhibits βδελυρία not by doing his own shopping (IX.4n.), as Jebb supposes (Jebb would never be seen carrying a parcel in the streets of Cambridge),<sup>64</sup> but by what he does next. He proposes to enliven the meal which he has bought for himself by hiring girl pipers, and then he has the bad taste to show the food to strangers in the street and invite them to share the meal (and by implication the girls). The ἀλγητρίς provided more than music, as can be seen from XX.10 (hired from a πορνοβοσκός), Metag. 4.3–4 ἀλγητρίδας, αἶ τε τάχιστα | ἀνδρῶν φορτηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν, Men. *Pk.* 340 οὐ [γὰρ ὡς αὐ]λ[ητρ]ίς οὐδ’ ὡς πορνίδιον τριεάθλιον, *PCG* adesp. 1025.1 ἐν ταῖς [τριό]δοις σοι [προ]εγελῶ[ς] ἀλγητρίδες, Theopomp. *FGH* 115 F 290

<sup>64</sup> G. Raverat, *Period Piece: A Cambridge Childhood* (1952) ch. 5. See below, p. 370.

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ap. Demetr. *Eloc.* 240 τὰς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀλγητρί<δ>α<sup>65</sup> καὶ τὰ πορνεῖα (cf. F 213), Isoc. 7.48, Aeschin. 1.42, 75, Phylarch. *FGrH* 81 F 42, ‘Simon.’ *AP* 5.159 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 3300; Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* 928), and in art (M. F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London 1993), Index s.u. ‘flute-girl’). She was in heavy demand, and formerly this raised the going rate (Pl. *Prtg.* 347c–d); now the ἀκτυνόμοι controlled the price, and she went for two drachmas ([Arist.] *Ath.* 50.2; cf. Hyp. *Eux.* 3). See also H. Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960) 97, C. G. Starr, *PP* 33 (1978) 401–10, J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New York and Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1991) 183, J. N. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London 1997) 81–2, A. J. Graham, *JHS* 118 (1998) 39, Huß on X. *Smp.* 2.1, Olson and Sens on Matro 6.2, Kapparis on [D.] (Apollod.) 59.24. To change ἀλγητρίδα to ἀλγητρίδα (Cobet 1874), because they usually perform singly (XIX.9, XX.10, Ar. *V.* 1219, 1368, *Ra.* 513, Pl. *Smp.* 176E X. *Smp.* 2.1, Men. *Sam.* 730), is naive. The speaker in Men. fr. 224.4 hires several. Diels needlessly suggests that a different point (that when the guests arrive he locks them out) has been lost in a lacuna at the end. AB, in fact, have an abridged version of XXX.5–16 at the end (see the Introduction, p. 41). But there is no reason to suppose that this has supplanted an original ending. For a proposal to transfer XIX.7–10 to the end, see Introd. Note to XIX.

καὶ δεικνύειν δὲ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τὰ ὠψωνημένα καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτα: the infin. form δεικνύειν (V.10n.) is well attested in literary texts (X. *Cyr.* 8.1.21, D. 2.12, 24.48, 66, 68, Alex. 115.25, [Arist.] *Xen.* 979<sup>a</sup>23, D.S. 4.52.5, Plb. 9.31.6, 10.16.3), but is absent from Attic inscriptions (Threatte 2.621–3). I see no fault in παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, an invitation to share the food (ταῦτα), which implies an invitation to share the girls too. Emendation has produced nothing better: ὥσπερ καλῶν Naber, <μή> παρακαλεῖν nescioquis ap. Ruge; ἐπὶ ταῦτα Schwartz before Wachsmuth ap. Ruge, ἐπὶ δαῖτα Navarre 1918, “Ἐπὶ ταῦτα” Edmonds 1926.

9 καὶ διηγείσθαι προστάς πρὸς κουρεῖον ἢ μυροπῶλιον ὅτι μεθύσκεσθαι μέλλει: not προστάς (AB), which, with πρὸς and acc., cannot mean ‘as he stands at the door’ (Jebb), but προστάς (Schneider, before Ussing and Wendland), as Ar. *Pax* 1183 προστάς (Lenting: προστάς codd.) πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα, X. *Oec.* 10.10 πρὸς . . . τὸν ἱστὸν προστάσαν (Schneider: προσ- codd.), Pl. Com. 201.3 προσίσταται μου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα Μαντίας; cf. II.8n., VIII.10n., XXIII.7n. Both barbers’ shops and perfume-shops were traditional venues for loungers and gossips. The former, Plu. 679A (cf. 716A) Θεόφρατος (fr. 76 Wimmer, 577 Fortenbaugh) ἄσινα συμπόσια παίζων ἐκάλει τὰ κουρεῖα διὰ τὴν λαλιὰν τῶν προσκαθιζόντων, Lys. 23.3, Ar. *Au.* 1441, Pl. 338, Eur. 194,

<sup>65</sup> My supplement. The form ἀλγητρίας is not justified by the joke in D.L. 7.62. In our passage, c corrupts ἀλγητρίδας to -τρίας.

## COMMENTARY

Men. *Sam.* 510, Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 283b, Plb. 3.20.5, Plu. 509A, *Nic.* 30.1 (F. W. Nicolson, *HSCPh* 2 (1891) 42–3, Otto, *Sprichwörter* 350, Wycherley, *Agora* iii 205); the latter, Ar. *Eq.* 1375, Eup. 222, Pherecr. 2, 70.1–3, Philem. 41.1–2, D. 34.13 (Wycherley, *Agora* iii 202–3, Whitehead on Hyp. *Ath.* 6); both together, Lys. 24.20, D. 25.52, Phld. *De Ira* col. xxi.28–30 p. 47 Wilke (p. 79 Indelli), Pl. *Am.* 1011–13 (Wycherley, *Agora* iii 185–6). For unspecified ἐργατήρια as places of talk, epil. VI, Isoc. 7.15, 18.9, Hyp. *Eux.* 21, Antiph. 251, Plu. *Nic.* 12.1. See further Wycherley, ‘Market of Athens’ 3–4 = *Stones of Athens* 92, Millett, ‘Sale, credit and exchange’ 190, id. ‘Encounters in the *Agora*’ 225–6, V. J. Hunter, *Policing Athens* (Princeton 1994) 98–9, S. Lewis, ‘Barbers’ shops and perfume shops: “Symposia without wine”’, in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London and New York 1995) 432–41, ead. *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (London 1996) 15–18. For the spelling μυροπώλιον (not -πωλείον c),<sup>66</sup> VI.9n. (for μύρον, IV.2n., V.6n.).

<sup>66</sup> And (of d) at least Cantabr. (4 Wilson).

## XII THE TACTLESS MAN

### Introductory note

Ἄκαιρος describing a person appears first here (if we discount X. *Eq. Mag.* 7.6, 'ill-suited', with infin.), next in Herod. 6.80 ἄκαιρον οὐ πρόποντον εἶναι ('one must not be tactless' Headlam); later instances are cited by Headlam *ibid.*, and LSJ Rev. Suppl. ἀκαιρία is used of personal behaviour by Pl. *Smp.* 182A ὀρώντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκαιρίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν; the converse εὐκαιρία by Men. *Dysc.* 128–9 πρὸς πάντα πράγματ' ἐστὶ πρακτικώτερον | εὐκαιρία ('tact' Arnott). ἀκαιρία is not 'doing a right thing at a wrong moment' (Ussher, similarly Ruge) but a failure to do 'what is proper, appropriate, just right' (καιρός, as defined by Barrett on E. *Hi.* 386–7; cf. J. R. Wilson, 'Kairos as "due measure"', *Glotta* 58 (1980) 177–204). The Ἄκαιρος is a man whose actions do not suit the circumstances. Whether those actions are good or bad in themselves is irrelevant. Most are unexceptionable. Timing is not at issue in §10. See further Stein 191–2.

### [1] Definition

ἐπίτευξις <χρόνου>: ἐπίτευξις 'hitting the mark, attainment' takes a gen. in [Pl.] *Def.* 413C εὐκαιρία χρόνου ἐπίτευξις, ἐν ᾧ χρηὶ παθεῖν τι ἢ ποιῆσαι (Ingenkamp 65), [Arist.] *MM* 1207<sup>b</sup>16 (τῶν ἀγαθῶν), Eudem. fr. 56 Wehrli (ἀγαθοῦ ἐπίτευξις καὶ ἀπότηυξις); cf. Phld. *Rh.* 1.204 col. xxiii.3–5 Sudhaus εὐρέσεις γὰρ εἰ[ε]ν αἰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπι[τε]ύσεις. It is used without gen. in the sense 'attainment' (*sc.* of success) by App. *Pun.* 105. Here without gen. it makes no sense. Not 'accosting' (Radermacher), a sense unattested though conceivable, but here inept. The writer must have added χρόνου, from [Pl.] *Def.*, where the choice of ἐπίτευξις may have been suggested by the expression καιροῦ τυγχάνειν (S. *El.* 31, E. *Hec.* 593, Pl. *Lg.* 687A, [Men.] *Mon.* 394 Jäkel). But the imitation of [Pl.] *Def.* is maladroit, since ἐπίτευξις χρόνου suits negative ἀκαιρία less well than positive εὐκαιρία. Better ἀπότηυξις (ἀπ- <καιροῦ> Schneider, <καιροῦ> ἀπ- N. Festa (*SIFC* 6 (1898) 470), ἀπ- <χρόνου> Navarre 1920). Other proposals: ἐντευξις M (def. V n.), conjectured by Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 360) and Dobree before Cobet 1874, ἐπιτήδευσις Darvaris. See further Stein 192–3.

μὲν οὖν: def. I n.

λυπούσα: cf. Isoc. 1.31 τὸ γὰρ ἄκαιρον πανταχοῦ λυπηρόν. 'Pain' reappears in def. XIX, XX.



## COMMENTARY

**2** ἀρχολουμένωι προσελθὼν ἀνακοινοῦσθαι: for ἀρχολεῖσθαι, Arnott on Alex. 208.1; omission of article with singular part. (as §4, §7, §8), II.2n. For ἀνακοινοῦσθαι cf. IV.3.

**3** καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένην κωμάζειν πυρέπτουσαν: an amusing variation on the motif that women feign illness to put off lovers (Alex. 150.10–11, McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.8.73–4). For κωμάζειν πρὸς, Sophil. 5.3–4, Theoc. 3.1 (ἐπὶ Is. 3.14); for the κῶμος in general, XXVII.9, Headlam on Herod. 2.34–7, Arnott on Alex. 112.1.

**4** καὶ δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης προσελθὼν κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι: the man whom he approaches is adjudged to have forfeited a security deposit (δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης) because the person for whom he stood surety has defaulted. A surety (ἐγγυητής) was required by a non-citizen in both public and private transactions, in particular to guarantee his appearance in court (MacDowell, *Law* 76, 239, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 227–8), and by a citizen who contracted a debt to the state (MacDowell 167). There is no need for ὠφληκότι (Pauw), since the acc. is appropriately governed by κελεῦσαι, to which προσελθὼν is subordinated, as XIII.7 τὸν στρατηγὸν προσελθὼν ἐρωτῆσαι.

αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι is ‘take him on’, ‘take responsibility for him’, in the sense ‘be surety for him’. The verb has the same sense and construction as ἐγγυᾶσθαι, and (with ἐγγύης preceding) is used here for variation. The closest parallel is Plb. 5.16.8 τὸν δὲ Μεγαλέαν Λεόντιος ἀνεδέξατο τῶν χρημάτων, ‘L. took on, guaranteed, M. for the money (required as ἐγγύη)’, where the gen. is of the same kind as e.g. Isoc. 17.14 Πασίων αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ ταλάντων διηγγυήσατο (KG 1.378 β); F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1957) 550–2.

This rare use of the verb (in this specialised sense, with a personal object) is a natural development from a basic sense ‘accept’, ‘take on’. The following uses are relevant (I discard LSJ’s muddled classification):<sup>67</sup> (a) ‘accept’, ‘take upon oneself’, ‘assume responsibility for’ (what is not one’s own), with (i) impersonal acc., τὴν αἰτίαν (‘case’, ‘cause’, Pl. *Hp.Mi.* 365D; ‘blame’ Men. *Sam.* 482), τὰς πράξεις and τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον (Isoc. 15.129), faults or crimes (D. 19.36 πάντ’ ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ποιοῦμενος τὰ τούτων ἁμαρτήματα, 22.64, Din. 1.3, 106, Hyr. *Phil.* 10, *Dem.* 34), expenses or debts (Hyr. *Ath.* 6 ὅσον . . . ὀφείλουσιν ἀργύριον, 7 τὰ χρέα, Plb. 21.14.3 τὴν ἡμίσειαν . . . τῆς γεγεννημένης αὐτοῖς δαπάνης), (ii) personal acc., Plu. *Caes.* 11.1

<sup>67</sup> A sense not relevant here, missed by LSJ, is ‘take up’ (a speech, after another has finished), Plb. 18.37.1 ἀναδεξάμενος . . . ἔφησεν.

## XII: THE TACTLESS MAN

ἀναδεξαμένου . . . τοῦ Κράσσου τοὺς μάλιστα χαλεποὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους τῶν δανειστῶν (Crassus takes on Caesar's creditors, accepts responsibility for paying them); (b) 'accept', 'acknowledge' (validity, reality), with (i) impersonal acc., Is. 3.18, D. 46.7 ἔκμαρτυρίαν, (ii) personal acc., [D.] (Apolod.) 59.58 τὸν παῖδα (not uniquely 'take back', as LSJ, Carey, Kapparis), (iii) infin., D. 24.170 ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς ἀναδέξεσθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπραχῆθαι . . .;; (c) 'accept', 'undertake', 'guarantee' (performance of some activity or fulfilment of a promise), with (i) acc., S. fr. 314.162–3 Radt πλοῦτον . . . ὃν Φοῖβος ὑμῖν εἶπε κ[ἀ]νεδέξατο ('mentioned and guaranteed'), Plb. 4.65.6 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸ κατασκευῆν . . . τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, 11.25.9 τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν τῶν ὄφωνιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, (ii) future infin., Hdt. 5.91.2 ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, X. Cyr. 6.1.17, D. 2.7, 33.22, (iii) acc. and fut. infin., X. Cyr. 6.1.45 ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀναδέχομαι ἤξειν πολὺ Ἀράσπου πιστότερον φίλον (also 1.6.18), D. 35.7 ἡγούμενος ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς πάντα ὅσα περ ὑπὲρ χυεῖτο καὶ ἀνεδέχετο Λάκριτος οὐτοσί (sc. ποιήσειν αὐτούς), 8 Λακρίτου τουτουὶ ἀναδεχομένου μοι πάντ' ἔεσθαι τὰ δίκαια παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ (cf. 15), (iv) absolute, *Leg. Gort.* 9.24, 41 ('act as a surety'; R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 47, 74), Th. 8.81.3 πιστεῦσαι . . . ἂν μόνως Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ εἴς αὐτὸς κατελθὼν αὐτῶι ἀναδέξαίτο (Tissaphernes said that 'he would only trust the Athenians if Alcibiades himself were to return safe and be a guarantor for him', sc. that the Athenians would behave as desired). Both ἀνάδοχος and ἀναδοχή are used in this specialised sense: Men. fr. 407 πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνάδοχον τῶν χρημάτων ('guarantor of the money'), Plb. 5.27.4 ἀναδοχή ('guarantee', referring to the use of ἀναδέξασθαι at 5.16.8), Hsch. E 150 ἐγγύαι· αἱ ἀναδοχαί, Suda E 164 ἐγγύη· ἡ περὶ τινος ἀναδοχή (cf. *EM* 309.35 ἐγγυητής· ὁ ἀναδεχόμενος δίκην), LSJ *s.uu.*

αὐτόν was restored (for αὐτόν AB) by Casaubon (in commentary, not text) before Needham.

**5** καὶ μαρτυρήσων παρεῖναι τοῦ πράγματος ἤδη κεκριμένου: for παρεῖναι, V.3n. πρᾶγμα 'business, issue', often virtually 'case' (XIII.3, XXIX.5), is regular with κρίνειν (Antipho 3.δ.1, D. 10.49, 21.7, 25.2, 56.48, Aeschin. 1.79, 186, Hyp. *Dem.* 2).

A litigant chose his own witnesses. A witness gave evidence before the case came to court, and then confirmed it in court. His function was to support the litigant; an absent witness lets the litigant down. See Harrison 2.136–47, MacDowell, *Law* 242–7, S. C. Humphreys, 'Social relations on stage: Witnesses in classical Athens', in Humphreys (ed.), *The Discourse of Law = History and Anthropology* 1.2 (1985) 313–69, Todd, 'The purpose of evidence in Athenian courts', in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. Todd (edd.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (1990) 19–39, C. Carey, *G&R* 41 (1994) 176, 183–4.

**6** καὶ κεκλημένος εἰς γάμους τοῦ γυναικείου γένους κατηγορεῖν: plural γάμοι of a wedding, as XXII.4, is regular (V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (New Haven and London 1984) 28–34). τοῦ γυναικείου γένους is a poetical expression (A. *Th.* 188, E. *Med.* 418, *IT* 1298, *Ph.* 356, *Mel.Des.* 18 Page (*TrGFSEL* p. 124), fr. 111.1), rare in prose (Pl. *R.* 455c, 620a). In Luc. *Symp.* 40 a wedding guest disparages marriage, and γέλως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο ὡς οὐκ ἐν καιρῶι λεγομένοις. Women attended weddings (J. H. Oakley and R. H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Wisconsin 1993) 22, A.-M. Vérilhac and C. Vial, *Le mariage grec du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque d'Auguste* (*BCH* Suppl. 32, 1998) 302).

**7** καὶ ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ ἦγοντα ἄρτι παρακαλεῖν εἰς περίπατον: ἄρτι is regularly placed after the part., e.g. *CP* 5.13.6 διεβλαστηκότος ἄρτι, Isoc. 12.184 τῶν εἰρημένων ἄρτι, D. 19.1 ἑορακότας ἄρτι, Arist. *Pol.* 1280<sup>a</sup>20 τὸ λεχθὲν ἄρτι, *Rh.* 1386<sup>a</sup>35 τὰ γεγονότα ἄρτι.

**8** δεινὸς δὲ καί: VI.9n.

προσάγειν ὠνητήν πλείω διδόντα ἤδη πεπρακότες: he is acting in the recognised capacity of go-between or broker: Poll. 7.11–12 ὁ δὲ τοῖς πιπρασκουσι προξενῶν προπράτωρ, ὡς Δειναρχος (fr. 34, p. 150 Conomis) καὶ Ἰσαῖος (fr. 46 Thalheim) εἶρηκεν' προπώλην δ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 874; *propolae* Pl. *Aul.* 512) καλεῖ, προπωλοῦντα δὲ Πλάτων (*Lg.* 954A), Λυκίας (fr. 116 Thalheim) δὲ τούτους . . . προπράτας . . . λέγει. Cf. Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 188 n. 47.

**9** καὶ ἀκροκότας καὶ μεμαθηκότας ἀνίστασθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διδάξων: for the participles without article (as §11), VI.2–3n. The second part. amplifies the first (VI.4n.) and casts the hearers in the role of μαθηταί, just as διδάξων casts the speaker in the role of διδάσκαλος. Cf. ἀκούειν with gen., 'be a pupil of' (LSJ II.4), like *audire* (LS II.A.2, *OLD* 6). From Homer onwards ἀνίστασθαι is the regular term for 'rise to speak' (XIII.2, XXVIII.5), and in Attic is often combined with fut. part. (Ar. *Th.* 384 λέξουσ' ἀνέστην, Pl. *Alc.* 1 106c, 116d, X. *An.* 1.3.13, 7.6.8, *Cyr.* 8.1.6, Isoc. 6.2, D. *Proem.* 38.3). These passages show that διδάξων (Coray) for διδάσκων (AB) is preferable to ἀναστὰς . . . διδάσκειν (Cobet 1874). For the expression ἐξ ἀρχῆς διδάσκειν, And. 1.8 (*bis*), 34, Lys. 7.3, 12.3, 32.3, Is. 2.2, 7.4.

**10** καὶ προθύμως δὲ ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἃ μὴ βούλεται τις γενέσθαι αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἀπείπασθαι: this could equally be an illustration of περιεργία (XIII). But it is also ἀκαιρία, because such keen concern is not suitable in the circumstances (given the other's reluctance); cf. *Introd.* Note.

With προθύμως . . . ἐπιμεληθῆναι cf. X. *Mem.* 2.8.6 ὡς . . . προθυμότης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, *Cyr.* 4.2.37 ἐπιμελήθητε προθύμως (also Ar. *Nu.* 501 ἦν

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ἐπιμελής ὦ καὶ προθύμως μανθάνω). πρόθυμος (AB) with infin. would be unique (VI.8n.), and especially displeasing so soon after δεινός in §8. The balanced antithesis and homoeoteleuton βούλεται τις γενέσθαι αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἀπειπασθαι, uncharacteristic of Theophrastus, are reminiscent of Gorgias and the orators. Cf. J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1952) 70–3, 135–6. The first middle aorist ἀπειπασθαι is Herodotean (8 instances); in earlier Attic, only Arist. *EN* 1163<sup>b</sup>19, [Arist.] *Mir.* 837<sup>a</sup>12 (δι- Arist. *EE* 1243<sup>a</sup>31, [Arist.] *Oec.* 1351<sup>b</sup>5); also Call. *Dian.* 174 ἀπὸ δ' εἶπασ. See V.2n., XXIII.4n.

**11** καὶ θύοντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ἤκειν τόκον ἀπαιτήσων: it was illegal to distraint on a defaulting debtor on days of public festival (D. 21.10–11 with MacDowell *ad loc.*, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 276 n. 46). To disturb a sacrifice and feast with a demand for payment of interest, while not illegal, is anti-social (Millett 151).

The second part. amplifies the first (as §9), probably in the sense ‘sacrificing and spending money (on the sacrifice)’, rather than ‘sacrificing and consuming (the sacrifice)’, as it is taken by Casaubon (and by P. Stengel, *Hermes* 39 (1904) 616, and Rusten). ἀναλίσκειν is found without object in the sense ‘spend’ (Th. 7.48.5, 8.45.5, Ar. *Pl.* 248, Pl. *R.* 552b); in the sense ‘consume’, only with object (LSJ 1.3, to which add E. *Cycl.* 308). The expense of a sacrificial animal and the accompanying feast might be high (IX.3n., XXI.7n.); and expense is more pertinent than consumption.

With ἤκειν τόκον ἀπαιτήσων cf. XVIII.7 ὅταν ἤκηι τις αἰτηρόμενος ἐκπώματα; double acc. (as here) XVIII.5 τοὺς ὀφείλοντας αὐτῶι ἀργύριον . . . ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς τόκους. So we should resist the temptation to write καὶ <πρὸς> θ- (like IX.2 πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπανεληθὼν δανειζέσθαι, XVI.6 πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾶν, XXIV.7 κελεῦσαι ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτόν), improving on ὡς (i.e. πρὸς) θ- (Casaubon).

**12** καὶ μαστιγομένου οἰκέτου παρεστῶς διηγείσθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ποτε παῖς οὕτω πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπήγξατο: whipping was the regular punishment for slaves (G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Law of Slavery in Relation to Greek Law* (Urbana 1939) 66–71, V. J. Hunter, *Policing Athens* (Princeton 1994) 154–73). The expression πληγὰς λαμβάνειν is common: XXVII.9 πληγὰς εἰληφώς, Th. 5.50.4, Ar. *V.* 1298, 1325, *Pax* 493, *Ra.* 673, 747, *Ec.* 324, Cratin. 92, Philyll. 9, Pl. *Hrb.Ma.* 292c, *Mx.* 236c, Isoc. 12.212, X. *An.* 4.6.15, *Cyr.* 1.3.16, 1.6.29, *Lac.* 6.2, 9.5, D. 21.1, 6, 37.37, 54.13, 14, 41, Hyp. *Epit.* 23, Men. *Dysc.* 205, *Sam.* 215, Timocl. 24.6, Diph. 42.32, *PCG* adesp. 1088.6. For αὐτοῦ . . . παῖς, XIV.10n.

**13** καὶ παρῶν διαίτηι συγκρούειν ἀμφοτέρων βουλομένων διαλύεσθαι: presumably he acts in an official capacity (V.3n.). Here παρῶν indicates only

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attendance, not support, by contrast with V.3 and [D.] (Apollod.) 59.48 (cited there), where a dative of person expresses the party supported. This leaves it open whether he has been called as supporter by one party or as the 'common' arbitrator. *συγκρούειν* is not (uniquely in this connection) absolute (LSJ 1.3); *ἀμφοτέρους* is the implied object. For the antithesis with *διαλύεσθαι*, Isoc. 4.134 *τοσούτου δέομεν συγκρούειν τι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἢ ποιεῖν στασιάζειν ὥστε καὶ τὰς διὰ τύχην αὐτῶι γεγενημένας ταραχὰς συνδιαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν*, [Men.] *Mon.* 184 Jäkel *διάλυε, μὴ σύγκρουε μαχομένους φίλους*.

**14** *καὶ ὀρχηρόμενος ἄψασθαι ἐτέρου μηδέπω μεθύοντος*: VI.3n. The fut. part. was restored (for *-άμενος* AB) by Lycius before Auberius and Casaubon.

# XIII

## THE OVERZEALOUS MAN

### Introductory note

The Περιεργος tries too hard. He has no sense of proportion and does not know when to stop. He exceeds his own capacities or the requirements of the case. This kind of περιεργία is not 'intermeddling with other folk's affairs' (LSJ), 'a synonym of the more common πολυπραγμοσύνη, the meddlesomeness for which Athenians were especially famous' (Rusten). What he does he overdoes, and when this affects others he may be called meddlesome; but to meddle with others is not his aim, and not all of his actions have others in view. 'Officiousness' (Jebb, Edmonds) is a less satisfactory translation than 'overdoing it' (Vellacott) or 'overzealousness' (Bennett and Hammond, Rusten).

#### [I] Definition

Ἀμέλει: Π.9n.

<ή> περιεργία: the art., added by Bücheler, is found instead of ἀμέλει in descendants of A (Torraca (1974) 96).

δόξει<εν ἄν> εἶναι: def. I n. The fut. indic., often retained here and in definitions XXI and XXIII, is inappropriate.

προσποίησις τις λόγων καὶ πράξεων μετ' εὐνοίας: 'well-intentioned appropriation of words and actions' (Rusten) is an honest translation, which brings out the ineptitude of the expression; 'presumption in word or deed' (Jebb) and 'over-assumption of responsibility in word or deed' (Edmonds) are less inept and less accurate. The expression is similar in language and structure to the unsatisfactory def. I προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ λόγων. There is no convincing emendation: περιποίησις Ribbeck 1870, περιπτότης Herwerden, προσπότης Meerwaldt, πρόπτως Gaiser. See Stein 194.

The expression μετ' εὐνοίας appears in [Pl.] *Def.* 413B (φιλία . . . κοινωνία μετ' εὐνοίας), but is very common elsewhere (And. 1.9, Lys. 16.9, 19.11, Isoc. 1.44, *al.*, Is. 2.2, *al.*, Pl. *Phdr.* 241C, *Lg.* 695D, D. 18.199, *al.*, Aeschin. 2.1, Hyp. *Ath.* 2, Lycurg. fr. 28 Conomis, Men. fr. 107.2).

2 <οἶος> ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀναστὰς ἃ μὴ δυνήσεται: for the general idea, X. *Cyr.* 2.2.12 τοῖς . . . ποιήσειν ἃ μὴ ἱκανοὶ εἶναι ὑπὸ χνουμένοις. Here perhaps the reverse of XXII.3 ἐπιδόσεων γιγνομένων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀναστὰς σιωπῆν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀπελθεῖν. There the Ἄνελεύθερος gets up and leaves when ἐπιδόσεις are being promised in the Assembly. Here the Περιεργος gets up and promises something (such as an ἐπίδοσις) which he cannot perform. For

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ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι in this connection, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 351.12–13 (330/29 BC), ἐπη[γ]-  
γ[είλατο τ]ῶι δῆμῳ ἐπιδῶσει[ν (cf. 212.13–15 (347/6 BC), 345.11–12 (332/1  
BC)); A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟΣΙΣ* (Bern 1923) 3, 16, 59. The part. ἀναστᾶς (XII.9n.)  
is added to a verb of speaking with formulaic regularity: e.g. *E. Or.* 885, 917,  
*Th.* 6.41.1, *Lys.* 12.73, 74, 13.8, 9, *X. An.* 3.2.34, *HG* 2.3.24, *D.* 3.18, 8.52,  
18.136, *Aeschin.* 1.110. To suppose that ἀναστᾶς is a variant for the corrupt  
ἐν τινι στᾶς below, and to substitute ἀναστᾶς (*Ast*) or ἀνταναστᾶς (*Diels*)  
for ἐν τινι στᾶς, was ill judged. With ἄ μὴ δυνήσεται cf. *E. IT* 62, *IA* 1215  
ταῦτα γὰρ δυναίμεθ' ἄν, *LSJ* 1.1. An infin. (δυνήσεται <ἀποτελεῖν> *Schnei-*  
*der*, <ἐπιτελεῖσαι> *Naber*) is not needed.

<οἶος> is reported from *Par. supp.* gr. 450 (46 Wilson) by *Torraca* (1974)  
96, and from *Vat.* 102 (60 Wilson) by *Stefanis* (1994a) 119; <οἶον> is attested  
earlier in d.

**3** καὶ ὁμολογουμένου τοῦ πράγματος δικαίου εἶναι ἐντείνας ἐλεγχθῆναι: for  
τοῦ πράγματος, XII.5n. Not του (*Ussing* before *Diels*); the article indicates  
that *his* business is at issue. ἐντείνας is intrans., as *E. fr.* 340.2 (but not *Or.* 698,  
cited by *LSJ* III.1); cf. *Pl. R.* 536c μᾶλλον ἐντεινόμενος εἶπον (*LSJ* II.1), and  
on VIII.7 ἐπεντείνειν. This conjecture (ἐν τινι στᾶς *AB*; for the corruption see  
on XVIII.4 κυλικεῖον) gives exactly the right sense, which is not 'argumenta  
contraria contentiosius proferens' (*Immisch* 1923), but 'he becomes too intense'  
(*Rusten*). When he ought to rest his case, because there is general agreement  
that it is a fair one, he persists in arguing it (and alienates the judges, or  
raises doubts in their minds). The same verb had already appeared in the  
conjectures ἐντείνει δικαστᾶς (*Bernhard ap. Reiske* (1783) 362) and ἐντείνειν  
ᾧστ' (*Darvaris*). Conjectures which introduce the idea of 'opposition' ruin  
the point: ἀντενστᾶς *Reiske* 1749 (*Briefe* 360), ἐνστᾶς, ἀντιστᾶς, ἀντιτείνας  
*Reiske* 1757, ἐνιστάμενος *Schneider*, ἀντεῖπας *Naber*, ἀνταναστᾶς *Diels*, ἐνί  
τινι ἐνστᾶς *Edmonds* 1929.

**4** καὶ πλείω δὲ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν παῖδα κεράσαι ἢ ὄσα δύνανται οἱ παρόντες  
ἐκπιεῖν: κεράσαι is 'mix', 'dilute with water' (*LSJ* I.1, *Arnott* on *Alex.* 232.2;  
cf. XXX.5), preparatory to drinking (IV.6n.). Neut. pl. ὄσα, referring loosely to  
'cups' (this verb regularly takes 'cup' and the like as object), is not demonstrably  
objectionable. But ὄσον (c, *Navarre* 1920), sc. οἶνον, a natural ellipse (*Antiph.*  
25.3, *Men. Sam.* 673 κερᾶνυσται, sc. οἶνος), could be right.

**5** καὶ διείργειν τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ οὐς οὐ γιγνώσκει: cf. *X. Lac.* 4.6  
διαλύειν . . . τοὺς μαχομένους, [*Men.*] *Mon.* 184 Jäkel διάλυε . . . μαχομέ-  
νους φίλους. The more expressive διείργειν (elsewhere of solid or natural  
obstructions: battlements *H. Il.* 12.424, river *Hdt.* 1.180.1, *X. An.* 3.1.2, ravine

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Th. 3.107.3) suggests that he interposes himself as a physical barrier between the combatants. καί ('even strangers') is entirely apt, and deletion (Ast before Cobet 1874, who also deletes τοὺς with Ussing) and addition (καί <ἀσπάζεσθαι> Fraenkel and Groeneboom) are equally misguided. But for οὐ we should expect μή (Navarre 1924), the neg. used in comparable expressions at III.2 ὄν μὴ γινώσκει, XI.5 ὧ μὴ συνήθης ἐκτί, and always in relative clauses (§2, XII.10, XXX.20). For γινῶν- (γιν- AB), III.2n.

**6** καὶ ἀτραπὸν ἠγήσασθαι, εἶτα μὴ δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν οἱ πορεύεται: to abandon the main road, in the hope that a path will provide a short cut, is proverbially unwise (App. Prov. iv.12 (CPG 1.437) ὁδοῦ παρούσης τὴν ἀτραπὸν μὴ ζῆτει, Kassel and Austin on Ar. fr. 47). Cf. Enn. *scen.* 267 Jocelyn *qui sibi semitam non sapiunt alteri monstrant viam*.

I restore acc. ἀτραπὸν with ἠγήσασθαι, as D.S. 30.5 τὸν ἠγρόμενον τὰς ἀνεπίστους . . . ἀτραπούς, Paus. 1.4.2 τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἦν καὶ Μῆδοις ποτὲ Ἐφιάλτης ἠγήσατο; similarly ὁδὸν ἠγεῖσθαι H. *Od.* 10.263, Hdt. 9.15.1, E. fr. 943.1, Pl. *Ep.* 340c, X. *An.* 5.4.10, *Cyr.* 3.2.28, 4.2.14, *PCG* adesp. 171 ὅστις τῆς ὁδοῦ | ἠγήσεται σοὶ τὴν (τῆς Blaydes, τῆςδ' Herwerden, wrongly) ἐπιτάξ (presumably *sc.* ὁδόν), Str. 5.4.2, *al.*; ὁδὸν ἠγεμονεύειν H. *Od.* 6.261, *al.*, Parm. B 1.5, Theoc. 11.27. See also on XVI.3 τὴν ὁδὸν . . . πορευθῆναι.

For εἶτα, IX.2n. οἱ (Casaubon) for οὔ (AB) is commended by S. *Ai.* 690 ὅποι πορευτέον, *Ant.* 892 οἱ πορεύομαι, Pl. *Phd.* 67b, *Ti.* 21E, X. *An.* 3.5.17, *Cyr.* 1.1.5 (*u.l.* ὅπη), 7.2.29 (*u.l.* ὅπη, ὅπου), *Hier.* 2.8; for the corruption, XI.6n. Of the examples of 'where' for 'whither' cited by KG 1.545 Anmerk. 4 some are different, others corrupt. ἦ (also Casaubon) is less effective. Deliberative subjunctive πορεύεται (M, Edmonds 1929), 'where he is to go to', would imply that he has a choice, and is therefore inappropriate. He has no choice but to go where the path leads him, and he gets lost because he cannot discover where it is leading.

**7** καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν προσελθὼν ἐρωτῆσαι πότε μέλλει παρατάττεσθαι καὶ τί μετὰ τὴν αὖριον παραγγελεῖ: cf. Plu. *Demetr.* 28.5 λέγεται γοῦν μεράκιον ἔτι ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι, πότε μέλλουσιν ἀναξυγνύειν τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὀργήν. "Ἀγωνιαῖς μὴ μόνος εὐ τῆς κάλπιγγος οὐκ ἀκούσῃς." For προσελθὼν, XII.4n. *init.* According to Stefanis (1994a) 120 n. 87, no ms. has παραγγελεῖ (-έλλει AB, -έλει c' e), reported as a *u.l.* by Lycius, ascribed to c by Giesecke, claimed as a conjecture by Bloch, Hirschig, Foss 1858.

**8** καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πατρὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ ἤδη καθεύδει ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ: this is tantamount to telling his father that it is bedtime. It does not make him appear to 'matri suae . . . lenocinari' (Casaubon).



**9** και ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ ἰατροῦ ὅπως μὴ δώσει οἶνον τῷ μαλακίζομένῳ: for the construction (ἀπ- ὅπως μὴ + fut. indic.), KG 2.9, Goodwin §355. μαλακίζομένῳ (A) was conjectured (when A was unknown) by C. Gesner (before Stephanus) for καλλωπιζομένῳ (B). The latter also prompted καυματιζομένῳ, conjectured by an anonymous predecessor of Casaubon (Introduction, p. 54 n. 172) and found in the margin of Leiden, B. P. G. 59 (17 Wilson) (Torraca (1994a) xxxviii–ix, Stefanis (1994a) 101 n. 74). For the medical sense of μαλακίζεσθαι, I.4n.

φήσας βούλεσθαι διάπειραν λαμβάνειν εὖ ποτίσαι τὸν κακῶς ἔχοντα: the expression βούλεσθαι λαμβάνειν διάπειραν recurs in D. 56.18, J. *AJ* 1.223, 2.125, 4.96, 9.126, Plu. *Thes.* 30.1, D.L. 7.36. Regularly λαμβάνειν διάπειραν (e.g. *CP* 4.16.3); also λ- πείραν (LSJ πείρα 1.1, Kassel and Austin on *PCG* adesp. 1032.23; add E. fr. 993, Alex. 18.1, 206.1) and ἀπόπειραν (Th. 7.21.2).

εὖ ποτίσαι is a brilliant conjecture. The verb is used in medical contexts (Arist. *Phys.* 199<sup>a</sup>34 ἐπότισεν ὁ ἰατρὸς τὸ φάρμακον, Macho 4–5 πεπότικε . . . ὡςπερ ἰατρὸς μ' . . . ἄ δεῖ); also of 'watering' animals (*HP* 4.3.6, Theoc. 1.121; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 247E τοὺς ἵππους . . . νέκταρ ἐπότισεν) or plants (X. *Smp.* 2.25). For εὖ, II.12, XX.9. εὐτρεπίσαι (AB) is attested in a medical sense 'treat' (LSJ 1.2, J.-H. Kühn and U. Fleischer, *Index Hippocraticus* (Göttingen 1986–9) s.u.). But conjectures which try to accommodate it produce clumsy phrasing: φῆσαι for φήσας Schwartz, leaving εὐτρεπίσαι to be governed by δ- λ-, unhappily; hence <διδόναι> (<δοῦναι> Coray) φήσας . . . εἰ εὐτρεπίσαι Reiske 1757, <δοῦναι> φήσας . . . <τοῦ> εὐτρεπίσαι Terzaghi; Giesecke marks a lacuna after μαλακίζομένῳ. Not much better εὐτρεπίσαι πότον κακῶς ἔχοντι Ribbeck 1870, much worse ἀναρριπίσαι Ussing, ἐπιτρίψαι Herwerden, διαπειρᾶν δοῦναι <καί> ἀνατροπίσαι Edmonds 1929. See also XX.9n.

κακῶς ἔχειν regularly means 'be unwell': XXII.6, *HP* 6.3.6, Ar. *Ra.* 58, fr. 132, Men. *Asp.* 305, *Georg.* 52, *Dysc.* 730, 881, Philem. Jun. 2, Macho 70, Hp. *Morb.* 1.8.21 (6.156 Litré), *Loc.Hom.* 33 (6.324). Deletion of τὸν κακῶς ἔχοντα (Pasquali, Edmonds 1929, Terzaghi) is rash. It provides suitable variation after τῷ μαλακίζομένῳ, and the antithesis εὖ . . . κακῶς has a hint of humour.

**10** In non-verse epitaphs it was customary to inscribe on the tombstone of an Athenian woman her own name and that of her father and his deme, and, if she was married, the name of her husband and his deme, either in addition to or instead of her father. Her mother was never named, her deme hardly ever. The epithet χρηστός / χρηστή was sometimes added on the tombs of slaves, very rarely of metics, never of Athenians. See E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 3 (1882) 141–3, E. Loch, *De Titulis Graecis Sepulcralibus* (Königsberg 1890) esp. 34–6, W. Schulze, *RhM* 48 (1893) 255–6 = *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen<sup>2</sup> 1966) 420–1, P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977) 71–2, T. Vestergaard *et al.*, 'A typology of the women recorded on gravestones from Attica', *AJAH*

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10 (1985 [1993]) 178–90, Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 78–9, Ch. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen* (Athens 1988) 158, Lane Fox 149–50. There is no indication whether this woman is Athenian or foreign. If she is foreign (Lane Fox), the epitaph will appropriately record where she came from (ποδαπή); so that while it will lack the economy due to an Athenian woman (whose mother would not be named), only the commendation of the whole family as χρηστοί can be called extravagant. If, on the other hand, she is Athenian, her mother is additionally superfluous; so too is her place of origin, whether we take that to refer to her deme or to Athens (see below on ποδαπή). This is much more amusing: he treats an Athenian woman and her family to an extravagance of style suited only to foreigners and slaves. Steinmetz incautiously suggests that he should have left the inscription to the dead woman's relatives. We do not know that she has any living relatives, or that he is not one himself.

ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα: this is the usual construction (Th. 1.132.2 ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα . . . ἐπιγράψασθαι, [D.] (Apollod.) 59.97, Plb. 8.31.4, D.S. 2.23.3), not ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι (Blaydes). Cf. XXI.9, XXII.2.

τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καί: for τε . . . καί, def. VI n. For the position of the demonstrative, XIV.7 αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, XXVIII.5 τοὺς οἰκίους αὐτοῦ (KG 1.619).

ποδαπή: a term of general inquiry about origins, normally racial or civic. Sometimes (what confirms that it is essentially general) it is given more precise focus by the addition of words for race or city (Ar. *Pax* 186, *Au.* 108, *Alex.* 94.1 ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος;, Ar. *Th.* 136 (A. fr. 61) ποδαπὸς ὁ γύνυς; τίς πάτρας;, E. *Cycl.* 276–7, *IT* 246). In the fourth century, and perhaps even earlier, it came to be used as equivalent to ποῖος (Pearson on S. fr. 453, Arnott on *Alex.* 94.1, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 767–8). Here it suits the purpose of Theophrastus (see the introductory comment on §10) that it should be applicable to an inquiry about deme (for, with Hicks and against Lane Fox, I take it that it is so applicable) no less than city or race. The spelling ποτ- (AB) is attested by the papyrus at Men. *Asp.* 241, and by the Marcianus of Ath. at *Alex.* 232.3 and (in effect) 177.3. It is condemned as un-Attic by Phryn. *Ecl.* 36, p. 63 Fischer. There is no evidence that it was admissible in the fourth century. For differing views see W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London 1881) 128–30 (against), Austin and Sandbach on Men. *Asp.* 241 (in favour), Arnott on *Alex.* 94.1 (neutral).

II καὶ ὀμνύναι μέλλων εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς περιεστηκότας ὅτι “Καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις ὀμώμοκα”: cf. Men. fr. 96.1–3 ὀμνύω σοι . . . ὀμωμοκῶς καὶ πρότερον ἤδη πολλάκις (whence Alciph. 4.18.1 ὄμοσα πολλάκις). For ὅτι introducing direct speech, II.8n.

οἱ περιεστηκότες is the standard expression (not recognised by LSJ) for the spectators who stand around the edges of the law-court: Ar. *Ach.* 915, Antipho 6.14, Is. 5.20, D. 18.196, 19.309, 20.165, 25.98, 45.13, 54.41, Aeschin. 2.5,

## COMMENTARY

3.56, 207, Hyp. Dem. 22, Din. 1.30, 66, 2.19; A. L. Boegehold and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, xxviii: The Lawcourts at Athens* (Princeton 1995) 192–4, A. M. Lanni, ‘Spectator sport or serious politics? οἱ περιετηκότες and the Athenian lawcourts’, *JHS* 117 (1997) 183–9, Whitehead on Hyp. Dem. 22. It is also used of (foreign) spectators at meetings of the Ecclesia (Aeschin. 3.224, Din. 2.15, 3.1) and spectators at a performance by sophists (Isoc. 12.19).

Oaths might be sworn in court by witnesses (in homicide cases, always; in other cases, only when requested by a litigant) or by litigants themselves (Harrison 2.150–3, MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of the Orators* (Manchester 1963) 90–100, id., *Law* 119, J. Plešcia, *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece* (Tallahassee 1970) 40–57, Todd in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. Todd (edd.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990) 35). So perhaps the Περιέργος, as litigant or witness, is speaking to the spectators in court. A litigant might solicit the spectators’ sympathy (e.g. D. 18.196). But a litigant or witness who informs them that he has often sworn oaths abuses their interest and over-dramatises his role. Perhaps he implies (with a touch of vanity and self-importance) that his oath is to be trusted, because his many past oaths have never been found false. If so, the view is disputable: Phil. *De spec. leg.* 2.8 (5.87 Cohn-Wendland) οὐ γὰρ πίστεως ἢ πολυορκία τεκμήριον ἄλλ’ ἀπιστίας ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, Hieroc. in *CA* 1.20 ἐβου τὸν ὄρκον, τῷ μὴ προχέειρω αὐτῷ καταχρησθῆναι, ἵν’ ἐθισθῆις εὐορκεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔθισθῆναι ὀμνύναι. Cf. T. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (Leipzig 1902) 87 n. 2.

So the language suits (indeed suggests) a court. But it does not exclude scenes other than a court: πρὸς τοὺς περιετηκότας is a degree less explicit than ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου (XXIX.5) would have been. Oaths were commonly sworn out of court, and we may, if we choose, imagine an oath sworn in a public place in connection with some private transaction. Then τοὺς περιετηκότας will refer to bystanders who, because they are addressed by the oath-taker, become, as it were, his audience. παρετηκότας (A), merely bystanders, is inferior (D. 56.48 παρετᾶσι, of spectators in court, is anomalous and should perhaps be emended to περιετᾶσι); contrast XXV.4, where it is apt. For the confusion, IV.13n.

# XIV

## THE OBTUSE MAN

### Introductory note

Ἀναισθησία and ἀναισθητος are frequently applied, in a spirit of criticism or abuse, to an unperceptiveness which is conceived as being akin to stupidity: Th. 1.69.3, 1.82.1, 6.86.4, Isoc. 5.75, 7.9, 12.85, 112, 13.9, Pl. *Lg* 962c, Thrasym. 85 b1, D. 5.15, 17.22, 18.43, 120, 128, 221, 21.153, 22.64, 24.182, 51.19, *Ep*. 3.8, 13, Aeschin. 2.43, Hyp. *Lyc*. 7, Arist. *EN* 1114<sup>a</sup>10, *Ph*. 218<sup>b</sup>26. Aristotle has a specialised application: in the enjoyment of pleasure, where *σωφροσύνη* is the mean and *ἀκολασία* is an excess, a deficiency is *ἀναισθησία* 'insensibility' (*EN* 1104<sup>a</sup>24, 1107<sup>b</sup>4–8, 1108<sup>b</sup>20–2, 1109<sup>a</sup>3–5, 1119<sup>a</sup>1–11, *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>2, 19–23, 1230<sup>b</sup>9–15, 1231<sup>a</sup>26–39, 1234<sup>b</sup>9). Cf. Vogt on [Arist.] *Phgn*. 807<sup>b</sup>19.

For Theophrastus, *ἀναισθησία* indicates a general unperceptiveness or lack of sensitivity to present circumstances. The *Ἀναισθητος* is sometimes obtuse or stupid, sometimes forgetful, absent-minded, inattentive, always unfocused and out of touch. This is behaviour which, in the emperor Claudius, Suetonius labelled 'obliuionem et inconsiderantiam uel . . . μετεωρίαν et ἀβλεψίαν' (*Cl*. 39.1).

### [1] Definition

Stein suggests that the definition may owe something to Pl. *Chrm*. 160b οὐκοῦν πάντα . . . ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τοῦ τάχους τε καὶ τῆς ὀξύτητος καλλίω φαίνεται ἢ τὰ τῆς βραδυτῆτος τε καὶ ἡσυχιότητος;. There *βραδυτής* is slowness in learning: cf. 159e ἔστιν . . . ἡ μὲν εὐμαθία ταχέως μαθάνειν, ἡ δὲ δυσμαθία ἡσυχῆ καὶ βραδέως;. These passages are echoed by [Pl.] *Def*. 415e δυσμαθία βραδυτής ἐν μαθήσει (Ingenkamp 96). For such 'slowness' in learning or perception cf. also Pl. *Phdr*. 239a ἡπτων . . . βραδὺς ἀγχίνου, *Ar. Nu*. 129–30 πῶς οὖν γέρων ὦν κάπιλιςμων καὶ βραδὺς | λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους μαθήσομαι;. Ariston fr. 14, VIII Wehrli ὡς ταχὺ συνήκας, ἀλλ' ἀφυσὴ ἐγὼ καὶ βραδὺς καὶ δυσαισθητος, D.S. 3.67.2 καθαρίζειν μαθάνοντα διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς βραδυτήτα μὴ δύνασθαι δέξασθαι τὴν μάθησιν. The notion of slowness in learning is foreign to Theophrastus. Slowness in perception would not be foreign. And one might claim that the *Ἀναισθητος*, by his speech and behaviour, shows that he is the kind of man who is slow to take things in. But the definition is unsatisfactory, since slowness to take things in does not *define* his behaviour or speech.

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Ἔστι δέ: the change of ἔστι δὲ καί (A: ἔστι καί B) to ἔστι δέ (c) restores the same beginning as X, XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, perhaps unnecessarily. V has Ἔστιν (without δέ) at XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX.

ὡς ὄρωι εἰπεῖν: def. I n.

βραδυτῆς ψυχῆς: βραδυτῆς <τις τῆς> ψ – Duport (τις def. I n.; but ψυχῆς without art. in def. XXV, XXVIII).

ἐν λόγοις καὶ πράξεσιν: def. I n.

**2** λογισάμενος ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσας ἐρωτᾶν τὸν παρακαθήμενον “Τί γίνεταί;”: ψῆφοι are counters used in abacus calculations. For the abacus, A. Nagl, *Die Rechentafel der Alten* (SAWW 177, 1914), id., ‘Abacus’, *RE Suppl.* III (1918) 4–13, T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford 1921) 1.46–51, M. Lang, ‘Herodotus and the abacus’, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 271–87, ead., ‘The abacus and the calendar’, *ibid.* 33 (1964) 146–67, 34 (1965) 224–47, P. Keyser, ‘Errors of calculation in Herodotus’, *CJ* 81 (1986) 230–42 (esp. 231), Arnott on Alex. 15.3, G. Binder, ‘Abacus’, *DNP* 1 (1996) 3–4, 12.2 (2002) 877–8. For the language, XXIII.6 θείναι τὰς ψήφους . . . καὶ . . . ποιῆσαι καὶ δέκα τάλαντα, XXIV.12 λογιζόμενος . . . τὰς ψήφους διαθεῖναι (Sheppard: διωθεῖν V) καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσαντι κτλ., Hdt. 2.36.4 λογίζονται ψήφοις, Ar. *V.* 656 λόγισαι φαύλως, μὴ ψήφοις ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ χειρός, fr. 362 ψηφολόγιον (abacus), D. 18.229 οὐ τιθεῖς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός), D.L. 1.59 ταῖς ψήφοις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. Intrans. λογισάμενος is unexceptionable (X.4n.), and there is no call for λ- <τι> (Cobet 1874), prompted by λ- τις ταῖς (A), a careless slip. The subject of τί γίνεταί; is τὸ κεφάλαιον, as Lys. 19.40, 43, D. 27.10, 11, 34.24; cf. XXIII.5, LSJ γίγνομαι 1.2a.

**3** καὶ δίκην φεύγων καὶ ταύτην εἰσέναι μέλλων ἐπιλαθόμενος εἰς ἀγρὸν πορεύεσθαι: for resumptive ταύτην see on I.2 καὶ τούτοις κτλ.; for εἰσέναι δίκην, with litigant as subject, LSJ εἰσέρχομαι III.2. No need for ταύτης . . . μελλούσης (Blaydes), like Is. 5.31 μελλούσης . . . τῆς πρὸς Λεωχάρη δίκη εἰσέναι (LSJ εἰσέρχομαι III.4). For εἰς ἀγρὸν, IV.2n.

**4** καὶ θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μόνος καταλείπεται καθέδρων: θεωρῶν is ‘as a theatre-goer’ (IV.5n., VII.8n.), not ‘while watching the play’, which would be incompatible with what follows. For ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, XI.3n. It is easy to fall asleep in the modern theatre, when attention flags. But this man falls asleep on a stone bench, and is not woken even by the noise and jostle of the departing audience. His solitary stupor in an empty theatre is a fine comic touch.

**5** καὶ πολλὰ φαγῶν τῆς νυκτὸς [καὶ] ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀνιστάμενος: καί, commonly interpolated (§10, VII.4n.), must be deleted, since τῆς νυκτὸς (III.2, IV.11) belongs not with πολλὰ φαγῶν but with ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀνιστάμενος. Transposed

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before τῆς νυκτός (C. Salmasius, *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caji Julii Solini Polyhistora* (Utrecht 1689) 431), it impossibly coordinates present part. with aorist.

ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀνίστάμενος does not mean ‘getting up from bed to go to the lavatory’ (his neighbour’s dog does not bite him in his bedroom) but ‘when he gets up and is on his way to the lavatory’ (the dog bites him because he is clumsy enough to wake it up, probably by blundering about in the street outside). The present part. ἀνίστάμενος represents an imperfect indic. ἀνίστατο (KG I.143–4, 200, Schwyzer 2.277–8, 297; similarly §13 λέγοντος representing ἔλεγε, IV.7n.), regular in expressions of this kind: Pl. *Phd.* 116A ἀνίστατο εἰς οἰκημά τι ὡς λουόμενος (LSJ B.II.1), X. *HG* 2.4.6 ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, 7.1.16 ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι (Schneider: ὅπου codd.) ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος, where I take ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο (‘they went where they needed to go’) to be a euphemism for finding a place to relieve oneself (the translations which I have seen are either inexplicit or wrong). Similarly Hp. *Epid.* 7.47.2 (5.416 Littré) ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀνίστατο, 7.84.5 (5.442) ἐπὶ θᾶκον ἀναστᾶς. The verb ἀνίστασθαι is even used on its own in the sense (unnoticed by LSJ) ‘go to the lavatory’ at *Epid.* 1.2 (2.608 Littré), 3.1 (3.52); and ἀνάστασις regularly denotes ‘going to the lavatory’ in the sense ‘evacuation’ (*Epid.* 3.1 (3.40 Littré), 6.7.1 (5.336), 7.3.2, 4.1 (5.368, 372), *Coac.* 2.14.262 (5.640), *al.*, Mnesith. ap. Orib. 8.38.11 τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ θάκου ποιεῖσθαι). Cf. J. A. López Férrez, ‘Eufemismos y vocabulario técnico en el Corpus Hippocraticum’, in F. de Martino and A. H. Sommerstein (edd.), *Studi sull’ Eufemismo* (Bari 1999) 229. Other such euphemistic verbs are ἀποπατεῖν, ἀφοδεύειν, and English ‘go’ (*OED* Suppl. ‘Go’ 31.g); cf. J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 242, López Férrez 223–4.

Although chamber pots might be used for defecation (Ar. *Pax* 1228, *Ec.* 371, fr. 477, *Eup.* 240, Pl. *Com.* 124), it was normal to go outside (Ar. *Nu.* 1384–90), even at night (*Ach.* 1168–70, *Th.* 483–9, *Ec.* 313–26). The Athenian lavatory (in such houses as had one) was likely to be a pit in the courtyard or just outside it (H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 101–2, E. J. Owens, *CQ* 33 (1983) 46–7; cf. *Eub.* 52.2–5). Public lavatories are unknown at Athens before Roman times (Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora xiv* 197). Since θᾶκος is a euphemism, like δίφρος (Poll. 10.45) and ‘stool’ (*OED* 5), it would be unsafe to infer that a lavatory might have a seat. Plu. *Lyc.* 20.6 ἐν ἀποχωρήσει θακεύοντας ἐπὶ δίφρων refers to seats; but the anecdote has no evidential value. What may be a portable lavatory seat has been found in fourth-century Olynthus (D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus* 8 (Baltimore 1938) 205–6, Pl. 55; cf. Robinson, *ibid.* 12 (1946) 178–80).

θάκου (AB) should be changed to θᾶκον (Schneider; θάκον e, Casaubon), for conformity with *Epid.* 7.47.2, 84.5 (above), even though ἐπί with gen. may denote ‘the goal of motion’ (LSJ A.1.3b). ἀπὸ (d) θάκου goes against the colloquial idiom. So too does τῆς νυκτός <ἀναστᾶς> ὡς ἐπὶ θάκου

(Diels; the same without supplement Pasquali), which is founded on the false assumption that ἀνιστάμενος (om. A) is also omitted by B and is therefore merely an addition in the later mss. Many have assumed a lacuna, unprofitably: νυκτὸς <γυμνός> Herwerden, ἀνιστάμενος <διαμαρτῶν τῆς θύρας> Fraenkel and Groeneboom, ἀνιστάμενος <ἀποπλανώμενος> Wilamowitz 1902b, ἀνιστάμενος <καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποπλανώμενος> Koujeas, ἐπὶ θάκου ἀνίστασθαι <καὶ ἐπανιῶν νυστάξαι καὶ τὴν θύραν ἀλλογονήσας> Edmonds 1929, καθ<ήμενος> ἐπὶ θάκου Stark.

**ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος κυνὸς δηχθῆναι:** not ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῆς τοῦ γείτονος (AB). ‘The neighbour’s dog’ can be expressed by: (i) ἡ τοῦ γείτονος κύων, like XXII.5 τὰ τοῦ κυβερνήτου στρώματα, XXVI.5 τὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν γένος, XXVII.13 τῷ τῶν παιδίων παιδαγωγῶι; (ii) ἡ κύων ἡ τοῦ γείτονος, like XVIII.4 τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, XXII.10 τῇι γυναικὶ . . . τῇι ἑαυτοῦ, XXX.7 τὸ μέρος τὸ αὐτοῦ (§10n.; also, for the repeated article in similar structures, XX.6n.); (iii) ἡ κύων τοῦ γείτονος, like II.3 τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς, VIII.8 τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι; (iv) τοῦ γείτονος ἡ κύων, like XIII.10 τοῦ . . . ἀνδρὸς . . . τούνομα, XVII.7, XXII.4, XXX.9, 15. Cf. KG. 1.617–18. Here (iv) τοῦ γείτονος τῆς κυνὸς is ruled out by the position of ὑπὸ. I have preferred (i) τῆς τοῦ γείτονος κυνὸς; but (ii) <τῆς> κυνὸς τῆς τοῦ γείτονος (Edmonds 1908) and (iii) τῆς κυνὸς τοῦ γείτονος are acceptable. Other proposals: ὑπὸ κυνὸς τοῦ γείτονος Schwartz, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ γείτονος θᾶκον ἀνιστάμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κυνὸς δ- Kayser. For κύων fem., V.8n.; guard-dogs, IV.9n.

**6 καὶ λαβῶν <τι> καὶ ἀποθεῖς αὐτὸς τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν:** an object is needed for λαβῶν, and <τι> (a few mss. (Torraca (1974) 97, Stefanis (1994a) 101, 119), conl. J. M. Gesner) is good enough, and better than <ἀργύριον> (Petersen); cf. I.5, II.4, IV.6, VII.10, X.7, XV.4, XVIII.9, XXIV.7, XXX.18 <τι>. The order ἀποθεῖς <τι> (Hartung) gains no support from M, which has καὶ ἀποθεῖς τι οὐχ εὕρισκ<ο>ι. For ἀποθεῖς, IX.3n. For resumptive demonstrative after participial clause (as §13), XXI.10, XXIII.9.

**7 καὶ ἀπαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ὅτι τετελεύτηκέ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων:** cf. XXII.9 διηγγελμένου (Holland: διειλεγμένου V) αὐτῷ, Th. 1.74.1 δηλωθέντος ὅτι, 1.116.3 ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι (also D. 50.17), 6.58.1 ἀγγελθέντος, X. Cγ. 6.2.19 ἀπαγγελλομένων ὅτι, Aeschin. 1.43 ἐξαγγελθέντος . . . αὐτοῖς, D.S. 19.6.1 προσαγγελθέντος ὅτι. In the gen. absolute, when an indefinite personal subject is unexpressed, plural part. is regular (so XIX.8 εὐχομένων καὶ σπενδόντων, XXX.18, 20), but sing. (as ἀπαγγέλλοντος AB) is anomalous (KG 2.81–2, Schwyzer 2.400–1, Headlam on Herod. 2.85, Diggle, *Euripidea* 221). Navarre 1924 cites Ariston fr. 14, π Wehrli θύραν ἀλλοτρίαν κόπτων, ἐπερωτήσαντος τίς ἐστιν, μηδὲν ἀποκρίνεσθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐξέλθῃ, where the

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subject of ἐπερωτήσαντος is not indefinite but is a specific person (implied in ἀλλοτρίαν), who becomes subject of the following ἐξέλθῃ. He also cites Arist. *Econom.*, 6'; if this is *Oec.* 1.6.4 (1345<sup>a</sup>9), ὑποδεικνύντος refers to the previously mentioned master of the house. ἀπαγγελέν (Herwerden) has less appeal; so too ἀπαγγέλλοντός <τινος> (cd), which would anticipate the structure of §13 λέγοντός τινος. No objection, however, must be taken to the tense of ἀπαγγέλλοντος. The present part. would represent imperfect indic. ἀπήγγελλε (§5n.). For the order αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, XIII.10n.

**Ἴνα παραγένῃται:** perhaps implying attendance at the πρόθεσις as well as the funeral: D. 43.64 ταύτας κελεύει τὰς προσηκούσας καὶ παρῆναι τῇ προθέσει τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆμα ἀκολουθεῖν, *Isoc.* 19.31 οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἤμελλε τὸν βίον, ὁρῶσα τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους . . . διαπλέοντας εἰς Αἴγιναν ἴν' αὐτὸν συγκαταθάψειαν, οὐδ' εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀπήντησεν ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡμῶς καὶ σχετλίως εἶχεν ὥστ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ κῆδος οὐκ ἤξιώσεν ἀφικέσθαι κτλ. See D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 143–6, R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985) 23–34. Contrast XVI.9.

**εἰπεῖν “Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ”:** here an interjection, without verb, as Men. *Dysc.* 422, *Epit.* 223, *Kith.* 40,<sup>68</sup> *Sam.* 297, *PCG* adesp. 1091.3, oracle ap. D. 43.66. Not ‘Heaven be praised!’ (Jebb), like Ter. *An.* 105 *Chrysis uicina haec moritur.* :: *o factum bene!*, but ‘Good luck to him!’ (Edmonds), like Men. *Asp.* 381 ἀπόθνηκ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (‘Die, and good luck to you’).<sup>69</sup> It is more commonly linked to a verb (most often an imperative) and always has future reference: Ar. *Au.* 436, 675, *Th.* 283, *Ec.* 131, *And.* 1.120, *Pl. Ti.* 26E, *Cri.* 43D, *Phlb.* 57E, *Smp.* 177E, *Lg.* 625c, 919D, *X. HG* 4.1.14, *Cyr.* 4.5.51, *D.* 3.18, *Proem.* 32.4, *Aeschin.* 3.154, Men. *Asp.* 381 (above), *Dysc.* 816, *Sam.* 116, *Nicostr. Com.* 18.3, *PCG* adesp. 1089.18, 1093.125; also in Athenian treaties and decrees (*Th.* 4.118.11, *LSJ* τύχη III.4).<sup>70</sup> Cf. Cic. *Diu.* 1.102 *maiores nostri . . . omnibus rebus agendis ‘quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset’ praefabantur.*

**8 δεινός δὲ καί:** VI.9n.

**ἀπολαμβάνων ἀργύριον ὀφειλόμενον μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν:** it was natural to have witnesses when making a loan or repayment (Ar. *Nu.* 1152, *Ec.* 448, *Lys.* 17.2, *Isoc.* 21.7, *Is. fr.* 28 Thalheim, *D.* 30.19–20, 34.30, 50.30). The payer needs proof that he has paid. But for the recipient to call witnesses is obtuse: he needs no proof that he has been paid. The verb ἀπολαμβάνων, ‘taking

<sup>68</sup> For the correct distribution of parts see W. G. Arnott, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 29–30.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 17. But there is much to be said for ἀπόθνηκ' :: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ (van Leeuwen, commended by Gronewald, *ibid.* 114 (1996) 60).

<sup>70</sup> *D.* 18.266 ἀγαθῇ . . . τύχῃ συμβεβιωκός is a different construction (like 258 τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ).



receipt', shows that this is a straightforward and uncontroversial transaction. The Ἀπιστος (XVIII.5) is equally perverse: he calls witnesses when he asks for payment of interest (XVIII.5). Cf. E. Leisi, *Der Zeuge im attischen Recht* (Frauenfeld 1907) 143–50, J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig 1905–15) 872, F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 27–9, 85, Dover on Ar. *Nu.* 777.

μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν (Is. 3.19, D. 34.30, 47.67, 48.46, 56.13; Leisi 159) means more than 'call (in) witnesses (Jebb, LSJ II.1); rather, 'take as assistants, supporters' (LSJ *ibid.*). But, since the verbal repetition ἀπολαμβάνων . . . παραλαβεῖν has no stylistic point, we might consider παρακαλεῖν (Lys. 1.46, 3.22, 7.20, Isoc. 19.12, Is. 3.20–30 (7 instances), 9.13, D. 33.19, 43.70; cf. V.3, LSJ II.2, Leisi 159), attributing the mistake to the influence of the preceding verb (see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον). Same confusion D. 34.32 (παρακαλεῖν S, παραλαβεῖν A).

**9** καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος μάχεσθαι τῷ παιδί ὅτι κικύουσ οὐκ ἠγόρασεν: cf. XXIII.8 τῷ παιδί μάχεσθαι ὅτι (μάχεσθαι VI.4n., ὅτι XXIII.9n.), Ar. fr. 581.1 ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου κικυοῦς, βότρυς, ὀπώραν. For cucumbers, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 999–1002, Olson and Sens on Matro 4.1, Pellegrino 179–80; shopping by slaves, IX.4n.

**10** καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἐαυτῷ παλαίειν ἀναγκάζων καὶ τροχάζειν [καὶ] εἰς κόπον ἐμβαλεῖν: he tires his children by making them wrestle with him and run against him. ἐαυτῷ is governed only by παλαίειν, but it readily supplies τροχάζειν with the notion 'against him'. ἐαυτῷ for ἐαυτοῦ (AB) is demanded by sense, not by style. In respect of sense: to tire his children by making them wrestle and run against each other is not ἀναισθησία; therefore ἐαυτοῖς (Stark) is also wrong. It is ἀναισθησία to make them wrestle and run against himself: he takes no account of his greater strength. In respect of style, τὰ παιδιά ἐαυτοῦ would be like XIX.5 τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, XX.9–10 ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ . . . τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ . . . τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ, XXII.2 αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα; similarly Ar. *Nu.* 515 τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ, 905 τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ, *Pax* 880 ἐμαυτοῦ τῷ πέει, fr. 605.2 τῆι κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ, Men. *Epit.* 889–90 τὴν κεφαλὴν . . . αὐτοῦ (conjectural in *Dysc.* 26), Mnesim. 3.3 τῷ θεῖωι σεαυτοῦ, Philem. 178.2 σεαυτοῦ τὸν βίον, *PCG* adesp. 1000.38 ἐμαυτῆς τὸν ἴδιον . . . βίον, D. 40.32. KG 1.620 cites further instances in Hdt., and two in X. which are less certain, *HG* 7.1.44 ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ (τὴν omitted by some mss., perhaps rightly: KG 1.628–9), 7.3.12 τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐαυτῶν (in a sentence deleted by Nauck). This structure is, however, less regular than τὰ ἐαυτοῦ παιδιά (VII.10 τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων, III.2, IV.3, VI.6, X.8 (*bis*), XII.3, XXI.11, XXV.8, XXVII.12, XXVIII.4, XXX.16) and τὰ παιδιά τὰ ἐαυτοῦ (XVIII.4 τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, XXII.10, XXX.7); KG 1.569–70, 619. Hence τὰ π- <τὰ> ἐαυτοῦ Edmonds 1908 and τὰ ἐαυτοῦ

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παιδία Diels (Index *s.u.* ἑαυτοῦ); also τὰ παιδία [ἑαυτοῦ] Edmonds 1929, as XVI.12, XXII.6, XXVII.13; cf. IX.5, XX.5, XXI.3, XXVII.3, XXX.6, 14. Contrast (without art.) IX.5 ξένοις . . . αὐτοῦ, XII.12 αὐτοῦ . . . παῖς, XXII.4 αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα (KG 1.627). For the form ἑαυτ-, I.2n.

Omission of καί (Casaubon; also *c*, but with τροχάζων) is far better than ἀναγκάζειν (Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 360), 1757; reported from Par. supp. gr. 450 (46 Wilson) by Torraca 1974) with καί retained, which leaves the relationship between the infinitives less clear. For interpolation of καί, §5, VII.4n. With ἀναγκάζων, it is clear that παλαίειν . . . καί τροχάζειν are coordinated (for the order see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον κονίστραν ἔχον καί σφαιριστήριον); so π- καί τρ- ἀναγκάζων (Pauw before Navarre 1920) is unwanted. Plural κόπους (A) is possible (*Od.* 50, fr. 7 *tit.* Περί κόπων, Pl. R. 537B, *Lg.* 944B, [Arist.] *Pr.* 862<sup>b</sup>4, *al.*) but not preferable.

**11** καὶ ἐν ἀγρῶι †αὐτοῖς† φακῆν ἔψων δις ἄλας εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἐμβαλῶν ἄβρωτον ποιῆσαι: why he should be making lentil soup ‘in the country’ or ‘on his farm’ (II.12n.) rather than indoors is unclear; wherever he is, we do not expect him to be making it for his children (to whom αὐτοῖς would have to refer). ἐν ἀγρῶι would have point if he was making it for people working on his farm: cf. IV.3 τοῖς παρ’ αὐτῶι ἐργαζομένοις μισθοῖς ἐν ἀγρῶι. Since lentils were cheap (Pritchett 191; cf. XXX.18), φακῆ was the poor man’s soup (*Ar. Pl.* 1004; Wilkins, *Boastful Chef* 13–16, Dalby 194) and might appropriately be served to farm-workers. So αὐτοῖς might conceal a participle, to be taken with ἐν ἀγρῶι. Alternatively, αὐτός (Casaubon),<sup>71</sup> suggesting that he has to make his own soup, because, being in the country, he has no cook. αὐτ-ὄς μισθωτ-οῖς (an unpublished conjecture of Stefanis) gives it further point. Or the text may be lacunose, with καὶ ἐν ἀγρῶι the beginning of a lost sentence, in which the soup had no part. Casaubon proposed deletion of ἐν ἀγρῶι in the copy of his 1599 edition in the British Library (see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172).

The expression φακῆν ἔψειν recurs in Pherecr. 26.1, *Ar. fr.* 165, *Stratt.* 47.2, *Antiph.* 171, *Men. Karch.* fr. 1 Arnott, Sandbach (226 Koerte), *Timo SH* 787, *Hp. Mul.* 90 (8.218 Littré). For ἔψειν, Olson and Sens on *Matro* 1.102–3; salt, IX.3n.; χύτρα, X.5n. For the general sense, R. L. Stevenson, *The Beach of Falesá* (a short story), ‘She [a native] got round with the salt-box, which she considered an extra European touch, and turned my stew into sea-water.’

**12** καὶ ὕοντος τοῦ Διός: cf. XVII.4 ὕει (*sc.* Ζεῦς), III.3 εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ πλεῖον. Contrast ὕοντος and ὕσαντος (without τοῦ Διός) *CP* 3.6.1, 3.22.2, 4.14.3, *Sign.* 51, *Ar. V.* 774, X. *HG* 1.1.16, *Arist. SE* 167<sup>b</sup>7, *Met.* 358<sup>a</sup>25, 360<sup>b</sup>30. Zeus as subject of ὕειν belongs to poetry or popular speech (*H. Il.*

<sup>71</sup> Not in any ms. (C. Landi, *SIFC* 8 (1900) 92, Stefanis (1994a) 120 n. 87).

## COMMENTARY

12.25, *Od.* 14.457, *Hes. Op.* 488, *Alc.* 338.1, *Thgn.* 25–6, *Cratin.* 131, *Pherecr.* 137.6, *Ar. Nu.* 1279–80, *Men. Mis.* 50–1, 55–6 *Arnott* (p. 353<sup>2</sup> *Sandbach*), *PCG* adesp. 728, *Theoc.* 4.43, *Herod.* 7.46, *PMG* 854); in prose the name is normally absent (*Hdt.* 3.125.4 and *Arist. Ph.* 198<sup>b</sup>18 are exceptional). Occasionally, ὁ θεὸς ὕει (*Hdt.* 2.13.3, 3.117.4). See *XXV.2n.*, A. B. Cook, *Zeus II* (Cambridge 1925) 1–4, *West* on *Hes. Op.* 416.

εἰπεῖν “Ἡδὺ γε τῶν ἄστρων ὄζει”, ὅτε δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι λέγουσι “τῆς γῆς”: he says ‘stars’ instead of ‘earth’, using a word which (for the purpose of Theophrastus’s joke) is the reverse of the right one, a verbal blunder like those in §7 and §13. ὄζει (Coray before *Schneider*, but *Casaubon* before both)<sup>72</sup> for νομίζει (AB) is clearly right: similar corruption *Eup.* 176.1, *Hp. Epid.* 5.63.4 (5.242 *Littre*),<sup>73</sup> *Macho* 185.<sup>74</sup> ἡδὺ ὄζειν is a common expression: e.g. *IV.2*, *CP* 6.5.2, 6.11.4, *Ar. Th.* 254, *Pl.* 1020, *Pl. Hp.Ma.* 299A, *Arist. EE* 1231<sup>a</sup>11. Because οἱ ἄλλοι must use the right word, πίκκης (AB) must be replaced by τῆς γῆς (*Schneider* 1799, before J. G. Schweighäuser<sup>75</sup> ap. J. Schweighäuser, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* 7 (Stuttgart 1805) 682–3). γῆς is shown to be the right word by *Hdt.* 3.113.1 ἀπόζει . . . τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδὺ, *Cratin. Iun.* 1.1–2 ἐνθυμεί δὲ τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκὺ | ὄζει . . . ; (cf. *Antiph.* 41.3 εὐώδη . . . τὴν γῆν), *Cic. de Orat.* 3.99 *magis laudari quod terram* (*Lambinus*, *Plin. Nat.* 13.21, 17.38: *ceram codd.*) *quam quod crocum olere* (*sapere Plin.*) *uideatur*, *Mart.* 3.65.7 *gleba quod* (*sc. fragrat*) *aestiuo leuiter cum spargitur imbre*. See also (for the reason why rain makes the earth fragrant) *CP* 6.17.6, [*Arist.*] *Pr.* 906<sup>a</sup>35–<sup>b</sup>34, *Plin. Nat.* 17.39; contrast *X. Cyn.* 5.3. Cf. S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Helsinki 1972) 101, 167. πίκκης is wrong, because it is wine, not rain, which is associated with the smell of pitch (resin): *Ar. Ach.* 190 ὄζουσι (*sc. σπονδαί*) πίττης, *Plu.* 676B τῆι τε γὰρ πίττηι

<sup>72</sup> Coray and *Schneider* proposed ὄζει in their editions of 1799; but Coray had devised it as early as 1791 (*di Salvo* 67–71). *Casaubon* proposed it in the copy of his 1599 edition in the British Library (see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172). He first wrote ἀγρῶν ὄζει (on ἀγρῶν, later proposed by *Blaydes*, see below), then added (some of my transcription is conjectural, since his hand is unclear) ‘quid si dicamus, τῶν ἄστρων ὄζει. Vt sit sensus: odorem exhalari cum pluit quem ut sibi ingratum alius uocet odorem picis: at iste stupidus appellat odorem siderum. No(ta) de pluuiæ odore.’

<sup>73</sup> In the text of J. Jouanna (*Budé* ed., 2000) κοιλίη κατερράγη ὕγρα πολλά κακὸν ὀζόμενα (*Coray*, before *Jouanna*: κακὰ πολλά νομιζόμενα *codd.*): ἀφωνίη· ἔτελεύτησεν. The decisive parallel is *Epid.* 7.28.4 (5.400) κοιλίη κατερράγη ὕγρα πολλά καὶ ἄλεια καὶ κάκοδμα· ἀφωνίη· ἔτελεύτησεν. *Coray*’s emendation, restoring an expression found in *Loc.Hom.* 12, 47 (6.298, 346), *Mul.* 1.38, 50 (8.94, 108), is preferable to κακῶς ὀζόμενα (*F. Z. Ermerins, Hippocratis et Aliorum Medicorum Veterum Reliquiae* 1 (Utrecht 1859) 663, who, like *Jouanna*, was unaware of the priority of *Coray*).

<sup>74</sup> Added by *Porson, Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms* (ed. T. Kidd, London 1815) 276–7. He also commends τῆς γῆς.

<sup>75</sup> Earlier (1802) he had proposed τὸ ἀστρονομίζειν (*del.* ὅτι . . . πίκκης), anticipating others in this deletion.

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πάντες ἐξαλείφουσι τὰ ἀγγεῖα καὶ τῆς ῥητίνης ὑπομιγνύουσι πολλοὶ τῷ οἴνωι . . . οὐ γὰρ μόνον εὐωδίαν τινὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσδίδωσιν κτλ., Plin. *Nat.* 14.124 *adpersu picis ut odor uino contingat* (Lilja 117–18); for other uses of pitch, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 190. The spelling πίccης is a further indication that the word is corrupt: the mss. consistently give -ττ- for -cc- (about 30 instances; exceptionally III.3 θάλαccαν A, XXIII.2 θαλάccηι V), and Theophrastus has the spelling πιττ- in the botanical works (cf. Arnott, ‘Orthographical variants’ 210–14). Corruption was facilitated by the common phonetic confusion of η and ι (X.14n.). As soon as we recognise that τῆς γῆς is right, we can see the point of τῶν ἄστρων: he says ‘stars’ because the rain falls from the sky, where the stars are. Cf. William Blake, *The Tyger*, ‘When the stars . . . watered heaven with their tears’. ἀγρῶν (Casaubon before Blaydes)<sup>76</sup> for ἄστρων ruins the joke: to say ‘fields’ for ‘earth’ is no canard. The flood of conjectures does not abate. I forbear to transcribe them.<sup>77</sup>

For ὅτε with an adversative nuance ‘when, whereas’, H. *Od.* 12. 21–2 *σχέτλιοι, οἳ ζῶοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ’ Ἀίδαο, | διθανέες, ὅτε τ’ ἄλλοι ἄπαξ θνήσκουσ’ ἄνθρωποι* (P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien* (Paris 1963) 279). For ὅτε δῆ, KG 2.131, Denniston 219–20. ὅτε δῆ καὶ is regular in epic (8 instances in Homer, also A.R. 4.1731) and later prose; in earlier prose, X. *HG* 5.1.28. Here καὶ (om. A) is appropriate; it ‘emphasizes the fact that the relative clause contains an addition to the information contained in the main clause’ (Denniston 294; cf. Barrett on E. *Hi.* 258–60). ὅτι (AB) ‘because’ gives the wrong connection; same error XVII.9.

**13 καὶ λέγοντός τινος “Πόccουc οἶει . . . ;”**: a regular turn of phrase, e.g. Ar. *Pax* 704 *πόcc’ ἄττ’ οἶει γεγενῆσθαι . . . ;*, Isoc. 15.136 *πόccουc οἶει . . . περιπεπτωκέναι . . . ;*, Lys. 21.8, X. *Mem.* 2.2.8, 4.2.33, *Cyr.* 8.2.16, D. 18.103, 50.62, Lib. *Decl.* 34.18; cf. (mostly with *δοκεῖc*) E. *Hcl.* 294, 832, *Hi.* 462–5, S. *El.* 266, *Ph.* 276, Herod. 3.42 (Headlam *ad loc.*). Though phrased as a question, this amounts to an awed exclamation (VIII.9n.). Casaubon cites Pl. *Poen.* 431 *quantum Acheruntest mortuorum*, a way of expressing an infinite number (more familiar ways of expressing this follow: 432 *quantum aquaist in mari*, 433 *nubes omnes quantumst*, 434 *stellae in caelo*) and suggests that a proverbial expression lies behind the question *πόccουc οἶει . . . νεκρούc*; It is unsafe to infer that an expression which is found only once, in a farcical passage of Plautus, was ever common or proverbial; nor does the response of the Ἀναίccητοc require it to have been.

<sup>76</sup> See n. 72 above.

<sup>77</sup> Fraenkel and Groeneboom (1901), H. Stadtmüller (*LZB* 54 (1903) 615), Meiser (1911), Meerwaldt (1925), Terzaghi (1958), Stark (1960), Ussher (1960), Perrotta (1962), P. Bernardini Marzolla (*Maia* 34 (1982) 143–5), Stefanis (1997).

## COMMENTARY

κατὰ τὰς Ἡρίας πύλας ἐξενηνέχθαι νεκρούς: the name Ἡρίας was restored (for ἱεράς AB) by J. Meursius, *Eleusinia* (Leiden 1619) 82 and *Athenae Atticae* (Leiden 1624) 181, on the basis of Et.Gen. AB (= EM 437.19–20) Ἡρίαῖ αἱ (Ἡρίαί Meursius, Ἡριαῖαι Sylburg) πύλαι Ἀθήνησι· διὰ τὸ τοῦς νεκρούς ἐκφέρεσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡρία, ὃ ἔστι τοῦς τάφους.<sup>78</sup> A gate of this name is otherwise unknown. Archaeologists have recently proposed to identify it with the remains of a gate in the north-west of the city wall, on the road to a large cemetery: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 159 and Fig. 219, Kurtz and Boardman (§7n.) 94–5, with Map 4, Wycherley, *Stones of Athens* 17, 256–7. Whether or not this identification is right, and whether or not Ἡρίαί is the right spelling, there is no good reason to doubt the existence of a gate with some such name. Defence of the transmitted text of Et.Gen., as indicating that any gate through which corpses were carried could be known as Ἡρίον (A. P. Mattheou, ‘Ἡρίαῖ αἱ πύλαι Ἀθήνησι’, *Horos* 1 (1983) 7–18), is unacceptable. It is reasonable to bring Theophrastus into line with Et.Gen., by the easy change of ἱεράς (AB) to Ἡρίας (rather than Ἡριαίας (Wachsmuth ap. Immisch 1897), a less plausible form, and a less straightforward change here than in Et.Gen.), another instance of η/ι confusion (§12n.), comparable to XVI.4 (ἡρώϊον Dübner: ἱερώων V<sup>c</sup>, ●ερ- V). If a ‘Sacred Gate’ existed in the fourth century, it will presumably have been the starting point of the ἱερά ὁδός to Eleusis. A gate of this name is attested only once, in Roman times, by Plu. *Sull.* 14.5 τὸ (sc. τεῖχος) μεταξύ τῆς Πειραϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱεράς (Ἡρίαί A. Milchhöfer in A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertum* 1 (Munich and Leipzig 1884) 149). See further W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich<sup>2</sup> 1931) 139. For ἐξενηνέχθαι, LSJ 1.2.

πρὸς τοῦτον εἰπεῖν “Ὅσοι ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ γένοιτο”: there is no advantage in πρὸς τοῦτο (Wilamowitz 1902b). For ὅσοι . . . γένοιτο, Headlam on Herod. 1.85.

<sup>78</sup> I cite Et.Gen. from the note of Theodoridis on Phot. H 239.

## XV

### THE SELF-CENTRED MAN

#### Introductory note

The αὐθάδης pleases himself: [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>33-4 ὁ γὰρ αὐθάδης αὐτοάδης τίς ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸς αὐτῶι ἀρέσκειν. He is self-centred, self-willed, deaf to the advice or appeals of others. See the improved definition in LSJ Rev.Suppl.; for the etymology, Frisk 1.184-5, Chantraine 138.

The word fits the sea, traditionally unresponsive (E. *Hi.* 304-5 αὐθαδετέρα | γίγνου θαλάσσης), or the torturer's iron, wilful and remorseless ([A.] *PV* 64 ἄδμαντίου . . . κτηνὸς αὐθάδη γνάθου). Tragedy associates αὐθάδεια with, above all, Prometheus ([A.] *PV* 436, 964, 1012, 1034, 1037) and Medea (E. *Med.* 104, 621, 1028). Socrates, in refusing to bring tearful children, relatives and friends to court, denies that he shows αὐθάδεια, but he fears that his refusal will provoke the jurors to be αὐθαδέτεροι towards him (Pl. *Ap.* 34C-D). The Aeginetans obstinately refused to admit that they were in the wrong: οὐτε συνεινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέτεροι (Hdt. 6.92.2). A father's refusal to treat with a suitor prompts the expostulation 'Ἡράκλειε, αὐθαδίας (Men. *Mis.* 688 Arnott, 287 Sandbach). Later comedy avoids αὐθαδ-: apart from this passage of Menander, only Antiph. 293.4, Eub. 25.1. Cf. [Men.] *Sent.* Pap. XVIII col. 3.13 (p. 23 Jäkel).

The αὐθάδης is apt to lack sense or sensitivity (S. *OT* 549-50 εἴ τοι νομίζεις κτήμα τὴν αὐθαδίαν | εἶναι τι τοῦ νοῦ χωρὶς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς, *Ant.* 1028 αὐθαδία τοι καιότητ' ὀφλισκάνει, E. *Med.* 223-4 οὐδ' ἄκτον ἦινεσ' ὅστις αὐθάδης γεγώς | πικρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὕπο, Pl. *Plt.* 294C ἀνθρωπον αὐθάδη καὶ ἀμαθῆ; def. IV n.); to be proud or conceited (Ar. *Ra.* 1020 Αἰσχύλε, λέξον μηδ' αὐθάδως σεμνυνόμενος χαλέπαινε, Isoc. 6.98 ταῖς αὐθαδείαις καὶ ταῖς σεμνότησιν, D. 61.14 ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πραότητος ταπεινῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σεμνότητος αὐθαδῶν; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1367<sup>a</sup>38, 1406<sup>b</sup>3); self-opinionated (Hr. *Aēr.* 24.6 (2.90 Littré) αὐθάδεάς τε καὶ ἰδιογνώμονας); a misanthrope (Hr. *Medic.* 1 (9.206) αὐθάδης . . . καὶ μισάνθρωπος; cf. X. *Cyn.* 6.25, the αὐθάδης κύων opposed to the φιλόανθρωπος); in manner, neither mild (Gorg. 82 v 6 τὸ πρᾶον ἐπιεικὲς contrasted with τὸ αὐθαδες δίκαιον; cf. D. 61.14, cited above) nor good tempered (Gorg. *loc. cit.* αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον contrasted with εὐόρητοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον; cf. Eub. 25); in looks, sullen or cloudy (κυθρωπός Isoc. 1.15, συννεφής [Arist.] *Phgn.* 811<sup>b</sup>34-5, 812<sup>a</sup>1).

Aristotle (*EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>8, 27-8) places αὐθάδεια at the opposite end of the scale to ἀρέσκεια 'obsequiousness' (Introd. Note to V). The αὐθάδης lives without regard for others, on whom he looks down (*EE* 1233<sup>b</sup>35-6 ὁ . . . μηδὲν πρὸς ἕτερον ζῶν <ἀλλὰ> καταφρονητικὸς αὐθάδης). Such a description suits less the Αὐθάδης of Theophrastus than the Ὑπερήφανος (XXIV), or the αὐθάδης

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of Ariston of Keos (fr. 14, 1 Wehrli; cf. W. Knögel, *Der Peripatetiker Ariston von Keos bei Philodem* (Leipzig 1933) 26–8). Elsewhere, without calling him αὐθάδης, Aristotle describes the man who is the opposite of the ἄρεσκος: he is surly and quarrelsome, δύσκολος and δύσερις, objects to everything and does not care what pain he causes (*EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>29–30, 1126<sup>b</sup>14–16). This is more like the Αὐθάδης of Theophrastus. Yet again, the ἄρεσκος will consort with anyone, the αὐθάδης (like the Ὑπερήφανος) avoids company and conversation ([Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>30–5, quoted on def. V).

The Αὐθάδης of Theophrastus is unsociable and uncooperative, a surly grumbler. The word has not lost its original sense. But the social context has changed. What comes over, in one setting, as uncompromising self-will comes over, in the Athenian street, as pettiness and bad temper. It is undesirable to translate αὐθάδεια here as ‘surliness’ (Jebb, Edmonds) or ‘grouchiness’ (Rusten).

### [1] *Definition*

ἀπήνεια ὀμιλία ἐν λόγοις does not ring true. ἀπηνής (for the etymology, Heubeck on *H. Od.* 23.97) properly implies the harshness which goes with inexorability: so, for example, *H. Il.* 1.340 (Agamemnon, in the eyes of Achilles), *Pl. Lg.* 950b (refusal to allow emigration or immigration) ἄγριον καὶ ἀπηνές φαίνοιτ’ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, *Theoc.* 22.169 ἀκλήτω καὶ ἀπηνέες. Similarly the noun ἀπήνεια: first in *A.R.* 2.1202 (Aietes ὀλοῦσιν ἀπηνείειν ἔρηρεν), in prose not before Muson. fr. 33 Hense ap. *Stob.* 4.7.16 (it is ἀπήνεια not to be seen by subordinates as κατολλακτικὸς ‘placable’) and ‘Periander’ (Hercher, *Epist. Gr.* 408) cited by *D.L.* 1.100 (the ἀπήνεια of a son alienated from his father). The Αὐθάδης, although he is prone to say no, is not inexorable (in §7 he gives in, with however ill a grace). ἀπήνεια better describes the Ὑπερήφανος (XXIV), as Stein observes. For ὀμιλία, def. II n., also [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>30–5 (Introd. Note *ad fin.*). Finally, ἐν λόγοις, apt in def. XXVIII, is not apt here, since the Αὐθάδης reveals himself not only in speech. Schneider (before Darvaris) deleted ἐν λόγοις. We expect, rather, ἐν λόγοις <καὶ ἐν πράξεσιν> (Zell before Meier 1834/5) or <καὶ πράξεσιν> (Hartung before Herwerden); see def. I n.

The definition is cited by Moschopoulos, *Σ S. OT* 549 (p. 38 Longo) λέγουσι δὲ εἶναι τὴν αὐθάδειαν ἀπηνείαν ὀμιλίαν ἐν λόγοις.

2 ἐρωτηθεὶς “Ὁ δεῖνα ποῦ ἔστιν;”: cf. XXVIII.2.

3 καὶ προσαγορευθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπροσειπεῖν: cf. *X. Mem.* 3.13.1 ὀργιζομένου . . . ποτέ τινος ὅτι προσειπὼν τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροσερρήθη, [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>30–5 (Introd. Note *ad fin.*), *V.2n.*, XXIV.6n., Oakley on *Liv.* 9.6.12.

4 <καί> πωλῶν τι μὴ λέγειν τοῖς ὠνούμενοις πόσου ἂν ἀποδοῖτο ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶν τί εὕρισκε: refusal to name a price breaks the unwritten rules of bargaining or haggling (X.7n., Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 194; cf. Herod. 7.64–8). For the contrast between πωλεῖν and ἀποδοῖσθαι, X.7n. For potential opt. in indirect question, KG 2.234–5, Schwyzer 2.327–8, Goodwin §681. For εὕρισκε, X. *Oec.* 2.3 πόσον ἂν πρὸς θεῶν οἶει, ὦ Cώκρατες, ἔφη, εὐρεῖν τὰ εὐκρήματα πωλούμενα; (LSJ v.1).

5 καὶ †τοῖς τιμῶσι καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς: it is generally assumed that this refers to the custom of sending presents of food to friends after a feast (XVII.2 ἀποστείλαντος μερίδα τοῦ φίλου, Ar. *Ach.* 1049–50 ἐπεμψέ τις σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα | ἐκ τῶν γάμων, Men. *Sam.* 403–4 πέμψω δὲ γεύσασθαι κατακόψας τοῖς φίλοις | τὸ κώιδιον, Eriphipp. 15.11 πάντως κρέ' ἡμῖν ἔστι:: πότερ' ἐπεμψέ τις;, X. *HG* 4.3.14, Plu. *Ages.* 17.5, *Arat.* 15.1, *Them.* 5.1; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1920) 106, F. T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden etc. 1995) 153). In this connection πέμπειν is regular (cf. XXX.19); and τιμῶν might be suitable, as indicating the sender's esteem for the recipient (X. *Cyr.* 8.2.4 ἐτίμα δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὅποτε τινὰ ἐπιαινέσειε . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τινα βούλοιο τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τούτοις ἐπεμπεν ἀπὸ τραπέζης: καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἔτι οἷς ἂν ὀρῶσι πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείως τραπέζης, τούτους πάντες μᾶλλον θεραπεύουσι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι, *Hier.* 8.3 θύσας . . . τιμησάτω). Hence 'Those who send him presents with their compliments at feast-tide' (Jebb), 'If people honor him by sending him some of the food on a festival day' (Rusten). But there are two difficulties. First, the text does not mention food or presents, and πέμπειν calls out for an object (πέμπουσι <δῶρα> or <μερίδα> Navarre 1920). Second, εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς does not mean 'at or on the festivals' but 'to or for the festivals' (XXVII.4n.), and the article shows that this means the famous public festivals. Perhaps we should be thinking not of food-parcels for uninvited guests but rather of contributions made to public festivals, in the form of liturgies, such as the tribal banquet at the Panathenaea and City Dionysia (XXIII.6n., P. Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet* (Paris 1992) 121–31, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 103); cf. Lys. 32.21–2, expenditure εἰς Διονύσια and εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἑορτάς καὶ θυσίας, D. 1.20 λαμβάνειν (sc. χρήματα) εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς, XXVII.4n. But the point of τοῖς τιμῶσι is then unclear, and πέμπουσιν still needs an object. Perhaps the text is lacunose.

εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδόμενα†: the words appear to be lacunose, and we do not know what sense to look for. No suggestion carries any conviction: γ- <τὰ> δεδογμένα Needham, γεύοιτο διδομένων Bernhard 1748 (ap. Reiske (1783) 275), γεύοιτο διδομένου Reiske 1748 (*Briefe* 230; cf. 360), γεύοιτο δεδομένου Reiske 1757, ἔλοιτο (or γ' ἔλοιτο) δ- Coray, δέχοιτο δ- Darvaris (before Petersen and Mey), γ- ἠδομένω Kayser, γεύοιτο τῶν διδομένων



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Herwerden, γέυσαιτο τῶν διδομένων Cobet 1874, γε δέοιτο διδομένων Giesecke, γ- <άντι>διδόμενα Diels, <προϊκα> δ- Navarre 1920 (<προϊκα τὰ> 1924), <προϊκα> γ- <τὰ> δ- Edmonds 1923, τί for ὅτι M. Schmidt, οὐδέν for οὐκ Ussher. Jackson (*Marginalia Scaenica* 233) proposed διδόμενα <τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα>, citing Eust. *Il.* 62.4 (1.99.5–6 van der Valk) δώσειν . . . φησιν, ἔκουσίως δηλαδή, οὐ μὴν ἀποδώσειν, δηλονότι ἀκουσίως, and supposing (as Coray had supposed) an allusion to the remark of Demosthenes that Philip had no right to ‘give’, only to ‘give back’, Halonnesus to Athens: Aeschin. 3.83 ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Ath. 223D–224B cites the comedians who picked up this *mot.* Alex. 7, 212, Anaxil. 8, Antiph. 167 (Konstantakos 140–1), Timocl. 12. In this case the Αὐθάδης would be claiming that gifts offered were not true gifts, because they were given reluctantly or properly belonged to the recipient, not to the giver. It is not clear (Jackson does not explain; nor does Steinmetz, who accepts the conjecture) how such a claim would be suited to context or character.

**6** καὶ οὐκ ἔχειν συγγνώμην οὔτε τῷ †ἀπώσαντι† αὐτὸν ἀκουσίως οὔτε τῷ ὤσαντι οὔτε τῷ ἐμβάντι: perhaps οὐκ <ἄν> ἔχειν (VI.9n.). ἀπώσαντι (‘push away’) does not aptly describe an involuntary action, nor can it coexist with the following ὤσαντι. The sentence closely resembles Sen. *Ben.* 6.9.1 *num quid est iniquius homine qui eum odit a quo in turba calcatus aut respersus aut quo nollet impulsus est?* It would be appropriate to replace ἀπώσαντι by a word corresponding to *respersus*. But no suitable word has been found: not ῥυπώσαντι (Foss 1858),<sup>79</sup> since active use with acc. of person is barely justified by H. *Od.* 6.59 (εἶματα) ῥερυπωμένα (whence ῥερυπωμένος, of things not persons, Hp. *Mochl.* 33 (4.374 Littré), *Mul.* 1.66, 2.110, 186 (8.140, 236, 368)); nor τρώσαντι (Reiske 1757), παίσαντι (Coray), πτύσαντι (Darvaris), χρώσαντι (Ast), ἀτίσαντι or ἀτιμήσαντι (Meier 1834/5), ἐπιχώσαντι (Hartung), ῥαπίασαντι (F. Haase ap. Meier 1863). Better than these would be πηλώσαντι, even though the verb is not attested before Josephus. Whatever the verb, it will require reflexive αὐτὸν (I.2n.).

It is perverse to retain ἀπώσαντι and either delete οὔτε τῷ ὤσαντι (Schneider; similarly Diels, claiming for ἀπώσαντι an unattested sense ‘push off the pavement’) or emend ὤσαντι (ἄρσαντι Groeneboom 1917, ψαύσαντι Navarre 1920, <ἄρδαλ>ώσαντι P. Groeneboom, *Mnemosyne* 51 (1923) 365–6, ἰπώσαντι Edmonds 1929). There is no obvious fault in ὤσαντι. The verb is used, in the middle, of people in a crowd pushing against each other, ‘jostling’ (Theoc. 15.73 ὠθεῖνθ’ ὤσπερ ὕε; LSJ III.2, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 24). Here too we may imagine that the involuntary push is caused by the pressure of the crowd. Petersen,

<sup>79</sup> Not in any ms. (Landi, *SIFC* 8 (1900) 91).

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deleting οὔτε τῶι ὄσαντι, substituted ὄσαντι for ἀπώσαντι. For ἐμβάντι cf. Theoc. 15.52 μή με πατήρησις.

**7** καὶ φίλωι δὲ ἔρανον κελεύσαντι εἰσενεγκεῖν εἶπας κτλ.: for ἔρανος, I.5n.; εἰσενεγκεῖν, XVII.9, XXIII.6, MacDowell on D. 21.101. For εἶπας (εἰπῶν AB), V.2n.

ἀπόλλυσι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον: cf. XXIII.2 ὄσα (sc. χρήματα) . . . ἀπολώλεκε, Antiphō Soph. 87 v 54 ἀπολόμενον τὸ ἀργύριον, Men. *Epit.* 437 τί τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον ἀπολλύει; Theoc. 10.45 ἀπώλετο χοῦτος ὁ μικθός, Sen. *Ben.* 6.4.6 *cum daret . . . perdere se credidit, non donare.*

**8** καὶ προσπταίσας ἐν τῇ ὁδῶι: see on XIX.3 προσπταίσματα.

**9** καὶ [ἀναμείναι] οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναι πολὺν χρόνον οὐθένα: the duplication ἀναμείναι . . . ὑπομείναι ('endure to wait for') is insufferable (such jingles as V.5 κελεύσαι καλέσαι, XXX.10 ἐκδοῦναι πλύναι, adduced by Immisch 1923, are irrelevant). It is unclear whether ὑπομείναι (if right) means 'put up with' (as III.3, VII.10, XXVII.7) or 'wait for' or even a fusion of the two (something like 'he has little time for anybody'). For ὑπομείναι 'wait for' a person (in a neutral sense, as opposed to waiting for attackers) LSJ π.1 cites only X. *An.* 4.1.21 διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον. In this sense ἀναμείναι would be regular: [Pl.] *Sis.* 387b ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ χθές σε πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεμείναμεν, Th. 1.90.5, 3.97.2, X. *HG* 6.5.12, *Oec.* 7.2, 12.2, *An.* 5.8.14, *Cyr.* 3.3.23, 8.1.44, D.19.163, Arist. *HA* 597<sup>a</sup>12, Men. fr. 666. Instead of deleting (Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 361) and 1757), we might substitute ἀναμείναι for ὑπομείναι (for ἂν ὑπο- Pasquali). But if ἀναμείναι is original, it is not easy to explain why it was ousted by ὑπομείναι; if ὑπομείναι is original, ἀναμείναι may be explained as a gloss. At all events, we want infin. -μείναι, not opt. -μείναι (Casaubon): see §10, VI.9n. For the spelling οὐθένα, II.2n.

**10** καὶ οὔτε αἰцаи οὔτε ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὀρχήσασθαι ἂν ἐθελῆσαι: for singing at the symposium, Ar. *V.* 1219ff., *Nu.* 1354ff., Pl. *Prt.* 347c–e, X. *Smp.* 7.1, Amips. 21, Eurp. 395; recitation of (tragic) speeches, XXVII.2 ῥήσεις . . . λέγων παρὰ πότον, Ar. *Nu.* 1371 εἶπ' Εὐριπίδου ῥῆσιν τιν',<sup>80</sup> Aeschin. 1.168 ὡς ἐν τῶι πότῳι κιθαρίζοι καὶ λέγοι ῥήσεις τινάς, Ephipp. 16.3 ῥήσεις τε κατὰ δεῖπνον Θεόδωρός μοι λέγοι. For ῥῆσιν λέγειν of tragic recitation, also Ar. *Ach.* 416, *V.* 580, Men. *Epit.* 1125, Herod. 3.30–1 (ῥῆσις, speech from tragedy, also Ar.

<sup>80</sup> εἶπ' Römer: ἦις' R, ἦισεν fere cett.: ἦγ' Borthwick, ἦκ' Sommerstein. Borthwick's conjecture (ap. Dover, and *CR* 21 (1971) 318–20) is not supported by XXVII.2, where ἔγων is merely a corruption or conjecture for λέγων in Pal. gr. 149 (57 Wilson) (Torraça (1994b) 612). In favour of εἶπ', C. Austin, *CR* 20 (1970) 21; of ἦις', R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Göttingen 1976) 88–92.

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*Ra.* 151, *Pl. Grg.* 506B, *D.* 18.267); of reciting speeches in epic, *Pl. R.* 393B; of speech-making in general, *A. Su.* 615, *Ag.* 1322, *E. Tél.* 149.20–1 Austin, *Ar. V.* 1095, *PCG* adesp. 1008.8. Cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 1.4 (Themistocles) *cum in epulis recusasset lyram, est habitus indoctor.* For dancing, *VI.3n.*

Indic. ἠθέλησε(ν) (AB) must be replaced not by opt. ἐθέλησαι (Casaubon) or ἐθέλησειεν (Petersen) but by infin., ἐθέλησαι (ed. pr.) rather than θελήσαι (δ); *XVI.9n.*, *XXIV.6n.*

**II** δεινὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ ἐπεύχεσθαι: ‘not offer thanks to the gods’, as *S. OC* 1024 (LSJ 1), is the only meaning which suits the context. The words cannot mean ‘to ask for nothing – even from the gods’ (Rusten).

Diels surmised that the sketch is incomplete, since δεινὸς δὲ καὶ (*VI.9n.*, *VII.6n.*) might be thought to promise more than τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ ἐπεύχεσθαι, and he associated the loss of the ending with the division in the manuscript tradition after this sketch. He may be right. On the other hand, if §9 and §10 belong to this sketch, changing as they do the grammatical structure, a resumptive δεινὸς δὲ καὶ is at least explicable.

# XVI

## THE SUPERSTITIOUS MAN

### Introductory note

In its earliest usage δεισιδαίμων designates a man of conventional piety: X. *Ag.* 11.8 αἰεὶ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὕτω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους, *Cyr.* 3.3.58 ἔξηρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κῦρος παιᾶνα τὸν νομιζόμενον· οἱ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεπήχθησαν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἦττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται, *Arist. Pol.* 1314<sup>b</sup>38–1315<sup>a</sup>2 (one of the requirements of an effective ruler) τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως· ἦττόν τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται τὸ παθεῖν τι παράνομον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν. When Aristotle adds that the ruler must appear in this guise ἄνευ ἀβελτερίας, he hints at the danger inherent in god-fearing, that it may readily turn into religious mania, paranoia, and superstition.

Although δεισιδαίμων and cognates continued to be used in a neutral or favourable sense (e.g. ‘Zaleucus’ ap. *Stob.* 4.2.19 (2.125 Hense) δεισιδαιμονῶν δαίμονας ἀλάστορας, *D.S.* 1.70.8 δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ θεοφιλή βιον, *Phld. Piet.* col. 40, 1135–6, p. 184 Obbink), from the time of Theophrastus onwards unfavourable associations prevailed: e.g. *Piet.* fr. 8.8–9 Pötscher (584D.9–10 Fortenbaugh) ἀγνοοῦσιν δὲ οἱ τὴν πολυτέλειαν εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς τὰς θυσίας, ὅπως ἅμα ταύτῃ ἐμὸν κακῶν εἰρήγαγον, δεισιδαιμονίαν, τρυφήν, κτλ., *Plb.* 6.56.7–8 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὄνειδιζόμενον, τοῦτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, 9.19.1 τῆς ἐλήνης ἐκλειπούσης δεισιδαιμονήσας, 12.24.5 ἐνυπνίων καὶ τερατῶν καὶ μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ συλλήβδην δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ τερατείας γυναικώδους ἐστὶ πλήρης, *D.S.* 1.83.8 ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄχλων ψυχαῖς ἐντέτηκεν ἡ πρὸς τὰ ζῶια ταῦτα δεισιδαιμονία. A Peripatetic treatise (*Stob.* 2.7.25 (2.147 Wachsmuth)) defines εὐσέβεια as the mean between δεισιδαιμονία and ἀθεότης. Menander wrote a *Δεισιδαίμων*. The man so called sees an omen in the snapping of a shoe-strap (fr. 106), just as in §6 he sees one in a sack of grain nibbled by a mouse. In both cases superstition is answered by the voice of rationality. In Plutarch’s overheated tirade *Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας* (164E–171E) the δεισιδαίμων is a man who believes that the gods cause only harm and pain, and (much as in Theophrastus) sees the supernatural on every hand (165D ὁ δὲ θεοὺς δεδιῶς πάντα δέδιε, γῆν θάλατταν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν κκότος φῶς κληδὸνα κιωπὴν ὄνειρον). Other diatribes which have points of resemblance to our sketch are *Hp. Morb.Sacr.* 1 (§15n.) and *Pl. Lg.* 909A–910E (§4n.).

The Δεισιδαίμων is obsessed by two fears: of the supernatural and of impurity. If a weasel crosses his path (§3), or a snake appears in his house (§4), or a mouse nibbles a sack of grain (§6), or an owl disturbs his walk (§8), or he has a dream (§11), or sees a madman or epileptic (§15), he senses a threat and takes measures to avert it. He fortifies himself in the morning against the impurities of the day (§2); constantly purges his house (§7); keeps clear of birth and death (§9); in an emergency calls in professional purifiers (§14). He shows little interest in the major gods (Athena receives a passing nod in §8), none in communal religion. He stands in particular awe of Hekate and the crossroads (§5, §7, §14), cultivates the new-fangled divinities Sabazios and Hermaphroditos (§4, §10), institutes private worship at home (§4, §10), and enrolls in fringe sects (§12).

His actions and his attitudes, taken one by one, would probably not have seemed abnormal to the ordinary Athenian. What sets him apart is the obsessiveness and compulsiveness of his behaviour. This is pointed up by a neat stylistic device. His actions come in twos or threes, or alternatives are available: three separate stages of purification, one of them perhaps from three springs (§2); alternative ways of coping with the weasel, one of them with three stones (§3); alternative snakes and different reactions to them (§4); three stages in his worship of the stones (§5); three places to avoid (§9); two separate days for worshipping his Hermaphroditos (he has more than one), and a tricolon of offerings (§10); a trio of experts consulted, and the question is to which god, or alternatively goddess, he should pray (§11); alternative partners for his visit to the Orphic priests (§12); two ways of treating an unpleasant sight at the crossroads, the second with alternatives (§14); alternative unwelcome sights (§15).

H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos' Charakter der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde* (Giessen 1929), and W. R. Halliday, '“The Superstitious Man” of Theophrastus', *Folk-Lore* 41 (1930) 121–53, offer detailed comment on the sketch. More briefly, C. J. Babick, *De Deisidaemonia Veterum Quaestiones* (Leipzig 1891) 4–19, E. R. Dodds, *G&R* 2 (1933) 101–2 (cf. *The Greeks and the Irrational* 253), H. J. Rose, *Euphrosyne* 1 (1957) 156–9, Parker, *Miasma* 211, 307, Lane Fox 151–4. For more general or theoretical comment, John Smith, 'A Short Discourse of Superstition', *Select Discourses* (London 1660) 23–37, E. Riess, 'Aberglaube', *RE* 1.1 (1893) 29–93, id. 'Ancient superstition', *TAPhA* 26 (1895) 40–55, A. Gardner, 'Superstition', in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 12 (Edinburgh 1921) 120–2, P. J. Koets, Δεισιδαίμωνις: *A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Religious Terminology in Greek* (Purmerend 1929), D. Kaufmann-Bühler, s.u. 'Eusebeia', in T. Klauser et al. (edd.), *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* 6 (Stuttgart 1966) 1049–51, S. Calderone, 'Superstitio', *ANRW* 1.2 (1972) 377–96, D. Grodzynski, 'Superstitio', *REA* 76 (1974) 36–60, P. A. Meijer in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1981) 259–62, H. S. Versnel, 'Deisidaimonia', *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996) 441,

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D. B. Martin, 'Hellenistic superstition: the problems of defining a vice', in P. Bilde *et al.* (edd.), *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Aarhus 1997) 110–27.

### [1] Definition

Stein suggests that this is based on the Stoic definition of δεισιδαιμονία as φόβος θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων (*SVF* 3 fr. 408; cf. 409 φόβος τοῦ δαιμονίου, 411 φόβος δαιμόνων). Both definitions are merely banal paraphrases of the word, ours a little less tautologous than the Stoic, and there is no compelling reason to associate them. Cf. Hsch. Δ 544 δεισιδαίμων . . . δειλὸς περὶ θεοῦ, Suda Δ 368 δεισιδαιμονία: εὐλάβεια περὶ τὸ θεῖον, δειλία. For δειλία see XXV.

Ἄμελει: Π.9η.

δόξειεν <ἄν> εἶναι: def. I n. Omission of ἄν is intolerable (KG 1.225–6).<sup>81</sup>

τὸ δαιμόνιον: not so much 'the supernatural' (Jebb), 'das Geisterreich' (Immisch), 'gli spiriti' (Pasquali), as (more neutrally) 'the divine'. See Bolkestein 11–13, Steinmetz 2.182–7.

2 ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηνῶν ἀπονιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας: purificatory water was often derived from more than one source. Three sources: Men. *Phasm.* 29–31 Arnott (54–6 Sandbach) περιμαξάτωσαν ε' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν κύκλωι | καὶ περθεωσάτωσαν ἀπὸ κρουνῶν τριῶν | ὕδατι περίρραν(αι), SHA *Heliog.* 7.7 (*Orestes*) *se apud tria flumina . . . purificauit*. Five: Emp. 31 B 143 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς "κρηνάων ἀπὸ πέντε ταμόντα", φησίν, "ἄπειρὲ χαλκῶι" δεῖν ἀπορρῦπτεσθαι (cf. E. K. Borthwick, *Eranos* 99 (2001) 72–4). Six: *PMag.* 1 (iv–v AD) 234–5 (1.14 Preisendanz) ἀπόκλυσον ἐς ὕδωρ πηγαῖον ἀπὸ ζ πηγῶν. Seven: A.R. 3.860 ἑπτὰ μὲν ἀνάοισι λοεσσαμένη ὕδάτεσσιν, Σ Theoc. Proleg. p. 2.15–16 Wendel ἐν ἑπτὰ ποταμοῖς ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς ῥέουσιν ἀπολούσασθαι. Fourteen: Suda A 3298 ἀπὸ δις ἑπτὰ κυμάτων ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοις καθαιρομένων. A hundred: Ov. *Met.* 13.953. See E. Rohde, *Psyche* (transl. W. B. Hillis, London 1925) 589, Parker, *Miasma* 226. Comparable ritual washing in the morning: Prop. 3.10.13, Hor. *S.* 2.3.290–2, Verg. *A.* 8.68–70, Pers. 2.15–16, Juv. 6.523–4.

ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηνῶν (for ἐπιχρωνῆν V) modifies the conjectures ἀπὸ κρουνῶν τριῶν (Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 4 (1876) 292; Petersen had already proposed ἀπὸ τριῶν κρουνῶν for ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ below), ἀπὸ γ' κρουνῶν (Diels, *Hermes* 15 (1880) 175, ignored by him in 1909, although it had been commended by

<sup>81</sup> It should also be restored (in spite of Hindenlang 67) at *HP* 1.3.2 ἔνια γὰρ <ἄν> ἴως ἐπαλλάττειν δόξειε (rather than <ἄν> δόξειε (Amigues); cf. 7.15.3 πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἴως λάβοι, *CP* 1.13.2 ἐκεῖνο δ' ἄν τις ἴως . . . ἀπορήσειεν) and 1.7.2 δόξειε (Heinsius: δόξει codd.) δ' <ἄν> . . . εἶναι. Cf. *CP* 1.12.3 πιθανὸς δὲ καὶ (καὶ Einarson) ταύτηι δόξειεν (-εν <ἄν> Wimmer) ὁ λόγος.

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Babick (above, p. 350) 4), and ἐπὶ γ' κρηνῶν (E. K. Borthwick, *Eranos* 64 (1966) 106–8). The choicer prep. is ἀπό, brachylogy for ‘water from’ (ὕδατι ἀπό Men. *loc. cit.*), as in περιρρανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ which follows; similarly H. *Od.* 6.224 ἐκ ποταμοῦ χροά νίζετο, 10.361 λó’ ἐκ τρίποδος, Hdt. 3.23.2 ἀπ’ ἦς (*sc.* κρήνης) λουόμενοι, Aristobul. *FGrH* 139 F 6 ἀφ’ ἦς (*sc.* κρήνης) . . . περιρρανάσθαι φασι τὸν ἥρωα (LSJ ἀπονίζω II.1 *ad fin.*). No support for ἐπί comes from ἐπὶ (ἀπὸ Schneider) θαλάττης in §13 (spurious), or from H. *II.* 22.153 ἐπ’ αὐτάων (*sc.* πηγῶν), in a different context, with a purely local sense. For confusion of ἀπό and ἐπί, §14, V.10n. I prefer κρηνῶν to κρουνῶν, both because it better accounts for -χρωνῆν (anagrammatism, like XIV.13 -ηνέχθαι B, -εχθῆναι A) and because Theophrastus (in other works) has 8 instances of κρήνη, none of κρουνόσ. The numeral is less certain. Three is common in magic and ritual (Pease on Verg. *A.* 4.510, Gow on Theoc. 2.43; §3n., §15n.). Three in connection with washing or purification: Eratosth. 30 Powell, Chaerem. *FGrH* 618 F 6 (p. 151.18–19), Tib. 1.5.11, Verg. *A.* 6.229, Ov. *Met.* 7.189–90, 261, *Fast.* 4.315, 5.435 (*u.l.*), Juv. 6.523–4; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 28.46 (water from three wells as a cure for fever). It is commended by Men. *loc. cit.* And <τριῶν> κρηνῶν is an explicable omission (parablepsy; or γ’ was overlooked). Same word order (prep., numeral, noun) XXVI.5 ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων (numeral precedes noun again at II.2, 3, VI.9, XXIII.5, 6, XXVII.7, XXX.13); but κρηνῶν <τριῶν> is equally possible, like §3 λίθους τρεῖς. Since, however, three was not canonical, a different number may be concealed in the corruption.

There had been earlier attempts (before Cobet and Diels) to import spring-water: ἐπὶ κρήνην Siebenkees, ἀπὸ κρήνης Schneider 1799, ἐπὶ κρήνης or ἐπὶ (or ἀπὸ) κρουνῶν (or χερνίβων) Meier 1834/5, ἐπὶ ἱερῶν κρηνῶν Hanow 1860, ἐπ’ Ἐννεακρούνου Hanow 1861 (before Edmonds 1908), ἐπὶ κρήνην Jebb (before Madvig). Other conjectures aim to restore (what is not needed) a reference to a specific pollution which has prompted the purifications: εἴ τι ἔχρανεν Jebb, ἐπιδῶν κορώνην Usener (the mere sight of a crow was not an ill omen: Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 172, West on Hes. *Op.* 747), περιτυχῶν νεκρῶν Herwerden, ἐπεὶ <ἐνταφίω ἐν> χρωῖ ἦν Zingerle 1893, ἐπιθιγῶν ἠρίου Ilberg, ἐπιχρωσθεῖς <αἵματι> Meiser, στριγῶν ἔναπτον. E. Maaß (*ZVS* 50 (1922) 223), ἐπιχρωστων <καθάρας> Immisch 1923, <ἐπὶ τῶι μῆ> ἐπιχρωσθῆναι Holland 1923, ἐπιτυχῶν ἐκφορᾷ Bolkestein (ἐπιτυχῶν ἐκκομιδῆι Weinreich ap. Bolkestein), εἴ τι χρωνύνηι Ussher, ἐπιχρωσθεῖς μόνον J. S. Morrison (*CR* 15 (1965) 289). Others introduce a reference to the Choes: <ἐπεὶ> ἐπὶ Χοῶν ἦν Foss 1834, ἐπὶ Χοῶν που <γενόμενος> Foss 1858, ἐπὶ Χοῶν πρῶι Fraenkel and Groeneboom (borrowing from εἴτι πρῶι ἦδη Petersen). This is inappropriate (Bolkestein 13–15); in any case, ‘at the Choes’ is not ἐπὶ Χοῶν but τοῖς Χοοῖ (Ar. *Ach.* 1211, XXII.2n.). The curious conjecture ἐπὶ γρώνην (A. P. Vasiliadis, *EEThess* 18 (1979) 33–8) had been published anonymously in 1798 (Ast, Schneider 1818, Foss 1858).

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It was customary to wash hands before a prayer, libation, or sacrifice (H. *Il.* 1.449, 6.266–7, 9.171–4, 16.230, 24.302–5, *Od.* 2.261, 3.440–6, 4.750, 12.336, Hes. *Op.* 724–5, S. *OC* 469–70, E. *El.* 791–4; Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 311–13, Parker, *Miasma* 19–20). Here (where nothing so specific lies ahead) he washes out of an obsessive desire for a general religious purity or to fortify himself against impurities which may be encountered later. See also on XIX.5 ἀναπόνιπτος.

καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ: cf. Men. *Phasm.* 31 (56) (cited on ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηῶν *init.*), Sam. 157 περιρρανάμενος (before a wedding). The prefix περι- indicates literal encirclement by lustral water; but (as with other περι-compounds in lustral contexts) the literal sense may be lost, so that the prefix merely suggests the ritual nature of the washing or purification (F. Pfister, ‘Katharsis’, *RE Suppl.* vi (1935) 149–51, Parker, *Miasma* 225–6). ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ is ‘(with water) from a temple’, a brachylogy illustrated on ἀπὸ <τριῶν> κρηῶν above, not ‘from (with) holy water’ (‘scilicet ὕδατος’ Schneider). The water comes from the περιρραντήριον, a font in the entrance to the temple: Bolkestein 14, Halliday (Introd. Note) 128–9, L. Ziehen, ‘Περιρραντήρια’, *RE* xix.1 (1937) 856–7, Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 307–8, Parker, *Miasma* 19, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 77, S. G. Cole, ‘The use of water in Greek sanctuaries’, in R. Hägg *et al.* (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988) 161–5 (esp. 162). To join ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ with δάφνην (Navarre, Edmonds) is linguistically unobjectionable (see on IX.4 εἰς τὸν ζωμόν); but there is no reason why a temple should provide the laurel.

δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβών: cf. Sophr. 4.2–4 λάξεθε . . . δάφναν πὰρ τὸ ὄωα. Laurel, used in purification, also had protective powers: Zen. iii.12 (*CPG* 1.61) ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἢ δάφνη, *Gp.* 11.2.5 ἔνθα ἂν ᾗ δάφνη ἐκποδῶν δαίμονες (cf. 11.2.7), D.L. 4.57 (Bion) κλάδον δάφνης ὑπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν, Plin. *Nat.* 15.135 *Tiberium principem tonante caelo coronari ea solitum ferunt contra fulminum metus*. See C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin 1856) 352, 360, J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck 1890) 92–8, Rohde, *Psyche* 198 n. 95, M. B. Ogle, ‘Laurel in ancient religion and folk-lore’, *AJPh* 31 (1910) 287–311, E. Hoffmann-Krayer (ed.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (hereafter *HdA*) 5 (1932/3) s.u. ‘Lorbeer’ 1349–51, Gow on Theoc. 2.1, Parker, *Miasma* 228–9, I. Opie and M. Tatem, *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (Oxford 1989) 14, A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus’ Book of Iambi* (Oxford 1999) 91 n. 37, J. H. Hordern, *CQ* 52 (2002) 169. The Pythia chewed laurel. At the Choes buckthorn was chewed in the morning to keep away ghosts (Rohde *loc. cit.*, Parker 231, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 218, *Greek Religion* 238). The Δεισιδαίμων does not chew the laurel, but merely puts it in his mouth. To suggest (Halliday 129) that in the absence of a pocket this is merely a convenient way of carrying it, just as it is a convenient way of carrying small coins (VI.9n.), is to forfeit something of the flavour of his action.



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οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν: this shows that these purificatory activities are performed in the morning. They will be part of a daily ritual, a necessary preparation for each and every day. οὕτω is resumptive, after the participles, ‘only when he has done that’, as in §8 (LSJ 1.7, KG 2.83 Anmerk. 5, 84 Anmerk. 6, 7). τὴν ἡμέραν ‘during the day’ is acc. of duration, like XXX.14 τὸν μῆνα ὅλον and τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα μῆνα (KG 1.314, Schwyzer 2.69–70), as opposed to the morning, when the purificatory rituals were performed. We do not want <ὄλην> τὴν ἡμέραν (Herwerden), which appears in §10.

**3** Prometheus introduced the art of interpreting ἐνοδίους συμβόλους ([A.] *PV* 487); cf. Ar. *Au.* 721, X. *Mem.* 1.1.2–4, *Ap.* 13. An encounter on leaving home was always a potential omen: Ar. *Ra.* 196 οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, τῶι ξυνέτυχον ἐξιῶν;. For various animals to be avoided on the road, Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.1–5, J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge 1910) 306–8.

καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐὰν παραδράμηι γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι: since T. always places ἐάν (or εἰ) at the head of a clause, punctuate (as Duport, and perhaps he alone) with a comma after τὴν ὁδόν. Same word order (conditional clause interposed between accus. and verb) XX.10 ταύτην (αὐτήν V), ἐὰν κελεύσωσιν, ὁ παῖς μέτεισι. For ὁδόν . . . πορευθῆναι, XXII.9 τὴν κύκλωι οἴκαδε πορευθῆναι (XIII.6n.), Pl. *R.* 328E, 506C, *Lg.* 810E, Isoc. 1.5, 19, X. *HG* 4.2.8, *Mem.* 3.13.6, 4.2.23, *An.* 4.7.27, 6.6.38, *Cyr.* 1.3.14, 5.2.22, *Men. Epit.* 559–60, *Philem.* 77.5–6 (KG 1.312–13, Schwyzer 2.69).

The γαλῆ has been identified as weasel, ferret, marten, or domesticated polecat: O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* 1 (Leipzig 1909) 164–71, Gow on Theoc. 15.28, id. *CQ* 17 (1967) 195–7, D. Engels, *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat* (London and New York 1999) 66–70. It caught mice (Ar. *Pax* 795–6, *Babr.* 27.4; cf. Ar. *V.* 1182, Arist. *HA* 609<sup>b</sup>28–30). Being malodorous (Ar. *Ach.* 255–6, *Pl.* 693) and thievish (Semon. 7.55, Ar. *V.* 363, *Pax* 1151, *Th.* 559, *Ec.* 924, Herod. 7.89–90, *Plu.* 519D, *Luc. Pisc.* 34), it was no pet. See further Lawson (above) 327–8, E. K. Borthwick, *CQ* 18 (1968) 200–6, S. Benton, *CR* 19 (1969) 260–3. The view (Keller, Gow) that there were few cats in classical Athens (so that the γαλῆ was the primary mouser) is no longer tenable. See (in addition to Benton and Engels) H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species: Semonides on Women* (London 1975) 76–7, D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* (Lausanne 1982) 65–7, Hopkinson on Call. *Cer.* 110.

For the γαλῆ in this connection, Ar. *Ec.* 791–2 (it is ominous) εἰ . . . διόξειεν γαλῆ, *Pythag. Symb.* (F. W. A. Mullach, *Fr. Philos. Gr.* 1 (Paris 1860) 510.4) *mustela e transverso offensa redeundum*, proverbial γαλῆν ἔχεις, of bad luck (Diogenian. III.84 (*CPG* 1.230)), W. Congreve, *Love for Love* II.i ‘I stumbl’d coming down stairs and met a weasel; bad omens those.’ See T. S. Duncan, ‘The weasel in

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religion, myth and superstition', *WUS* 12 (1924) 33–66 (esp. 54–8), Halliday (Introd. Note) 132, *HdA* 9 (1938/41) *s.u.* 'Wiesel' 578–600, Opie and Tatem (on §2 δάφνην) 431.

παραδράμηι (c<sup>1</sup>, Sylburg) 'runs past (across the road)' is the most natural correction for περιδράμηι (V); cf. Plu. 519D ὄψον γαλήης παραδραμούσης αἰρουσιν ἐκ μέσου (Borthwick, *Eranos* 64 (1966) 108–9); confusion of παρα- and περι-, IV.13n. Not ὑπερ- (Pauw), which would mean 'run beyond', not 'run over'.

ἔωσ <ἄν> διεξέλθῃ τις: 'until someone traverses it', *sc.* τὴν ὁδόν (Pl. *Lg.* 822A ὁδὸν . . . διεξέρχεται, X. *Cyr.* 4.3.22 ὁδὸν . . . διελθεῖν), the ground between him and where the animal passed. This person will take on himself the harm portended (Halliday 132–3). With ἔωσ and subj. Theophrastus always has ἄν: II.5, XVIII.9 (conj.), XX.4, XXX.10, and many instances in the other works (Müller (1874) 62); ἔωσ without ἄν is found only in poetry and later prose (KG 2.449–50, Schwyzer 2.650, Goodwin §620), in Attic inscriptions not before the second century BC (Meisterhans 251). It was added here by Fischer, not Cobet; other instances of its omission, §1 n., §9 n., XVIII.6, and on VI.9 οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν. For πρότερον . . . ἔωσ (ἄν), LSJ πρότερος A.1v.

ἦ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλλῃ: for 'three' in magic and ritual, §2n.; three stones, Petr. 131.5 *ter* . . . *lapillos conicere in sinum*, Col. *Arb.* 23.2, Pall. 4.10.2 (Maced.Cons. *AP* 5.244(245).3, cited in this connection by G. A. Longman, *CR* 5 (1955) 19, is more convincingly explained by A. Keaveney and J. A. Madden, *JHS* 98 (1978) 160–1, and Madden, *Macedonius Consul: The Epigrams* (Hildesheim etc. 1995) *ad loc.*); Ben Jonson, *Volpone* IV.i 'A rat had gnawn my spur-leathers; notwithstanding, / I put on new, and did go forth; but first / I threw three beans over the threshold.' Perhaps 'the action erected a sort of barrier between himself and the omen . . . it was a *rite de séparation*' (Halliday 133); cf. Latte, 'Steinkult', *RE* III.2A (1929) 2300, *HdA* 8 (1936/7) *s.u.* 'Stein' 384–8. This is a unique instance of διαβάλλειν in a literal sense 'throw across' (unnoticed by LSJ I.1 and Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 87–8). For the gen. ὁδοῦ, XIX.10 (Pauw proposed acc. in both places), Müller (1878) 14, LSJ ὑπέρ A. I.2.

4 καὶ ἐπὶ ἰδίῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ: for a snake in the house taken as a prodigy, Ter. *Ph.* 707 (not Pl. *Am.* 1108, traditional myth), Cic. *Diu.* 2.62, Liv. 1.56.4 (Ogilvie *ad loc.*), Suda Ξ 43 τὸ οἰκοσκοπικὸν οἰώνιμα ὅτι οἶον, εἰ ἐν τῇ στέγῃ ἐφάνη γαλήῃ ἢ ὄφιν, τότε σημαίνει, cf. Οι 163 (4.627 Adler); L. Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere* (Stuttgart 1888) 182–94, Halliday 134–6 (id., *Greek Divination* (London 1913) 167), *HdA* 7 (1935–6) *s.u.* 'Schlange' 1114–96. For ἐπὶ ἄν, II.4n. If ἔάν (V) were right, it could not be followed by ἔάν . . . ἔάν δέ; style would dictate ἔάν παρείαν ἰδίῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ (Foss 1834) or ἔάν ἰδίῃ ὄ- ἐν τ- οἰ- π-. Less economical than ἐπὶ ἄν is ὅταν (Cobet 1874).

ἐὰν παρείαν Καβάζιον καλεῖν: for the ellipse of the verb cf. *Sign.* 17 καὶ θέρους ὅταν πολλοὶ ἄθροοι φανῶσιν ὄρνιθες . . . ὕδωρ σημαίνουσιν' ἐὰν δὲ μέτριοι, ἀγαθὸν αἰξί καὶ βοτοῖς, ἐὰν δὲ πολλοὶ ὑπερβολῆι, αὐχμὸν ἰσχυρόν. There is no need for ἐὰν <μὲν> (Bloch before Ussing); VI.gn., Denniston 165.

The παρείας, sacred to Asclepius (Ael. *NA* 8.12), was handled in the cult of Sabazios (D. 18.260 τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν καὶ βοῶν "εὐοῖ καβοῖ"). Formerly taken to be *Elaphe longissima*, otherwise known as *Coluber longissimus* or *Aesculapii* or *flauescens* (Keller, *Tierwelt* 2.299, Gossen-Steier, 'Schlange (Arten)', *RE* II.1A (1921) 548–51, L. Bodson, *IEPA ΖΩΙΑ: Contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Brussels 1978) 75–6, C. Hünemörder, 'Schlange', *DNP* II (2001) 180), it has recently been identified with *Elaphe quatuorlineata* (L. Bodson, *AC* 50 (1981) 57–78; cf. E. N. Arnold and J. A. Burton, *A Field Guide to the Reptiles and Amphibians of Britain and Europe* (London 1978) 198–9, Pl. 36).

On Sabazios, in general: Eisele in Roscher, *Lex.Myth.* 4 (1909–15) 232–64, Schaefer, 'Sabazios', *RE* I.2A (1920) 1540–51, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich<sup>3</sup> 1967) 836, 2 (3 1974) 658–67, S. E. Johnson, 'The present state of Sabazios research', *ANRW* II, 17.3 (1984) 1583–1613, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 179, H. S. Versnel, *Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: Three Studies in Henotheism* (Leiden etc. 1990) 114–18, E. N. Lane, *Corpus Cultus Iouis Sabazii*, II: *The Other Monuments and Literary Evidence* (Leiden 1985) 46–51, III: *Conclusions* (1989) esp. 4, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 159, 194, R. Gicheva, *LMC* VIII.1 (1997) 1068–71, S. A. Takacs, 'Sabazios', *DNP* 10 (2001) 1180–2. On Sabazios and snakes, M. W. de Visser, *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (Leiden 1903) 166–7, Eisele 252–3, A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I (Cambridge 1914) 392–4, Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 275–6, Nilsson, *GGR* 2.660, M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 97, Johnson 1587–8, J. N. Bremmer, *ζPE* 55 (1984) 268–9, W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge Mass. and London 1987) 106.

V has the spelling Καβαζίωι at XXVII.8; here Καβάδιον, a corruption illustrated (not a spelling supported) by Harp. p. 271.4 Dindorf (Σ I Keaney) *u.l.*, Apul. *Met.* 8.25, Dessau, *Inscr.Lat.Sel.* (1892) 2189 (iii ΔD), Goetz, *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* 3 (1892) 290.

ἐὰν δὲ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἥρῳιον εὐθὺς ἰδρύσασθαι: a dangerous so-called 'holy' snake is mentioned by Arist. *HA* 607<sup>a</sup>30–3 (ἔστι δὲ τι ὀφίδιον μικρόν, ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες ἱερὸν, ὃ οἱ πάντων μεγάλῳ ὄφεισ φεύγουσιν' γίνεται δὲ τὸ μέγιστον πηχυσάϊον, καὶ δασὺ ἰδεῖν' ὅτι δ' ἂν δάκηι, εὐθὺς κήπεται τὸ κύκλωι; cf. [Arist.] *Mir.* 845<sup>b</sup>16–32) and is perhaps to be identified with the σηπεδῶν (Gossen-Steier 552–3, Bodson, *IEPA ΖΩΙΑ* 72 n. 100). Bodson (*ibid.* and 89 n. 224) wrongly claims that here Theophrastus uses the epithet 'holy' not to designate a particular species but as a general designation for a snake which belongs to a god (Σ<sup>IV</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 759 calls the snake of Athena which guards the Acropolis 'holy'). By this token the παρείας is a 'holy' snake. The epithet must

## XVI: THE SUPERSTITIOUS MAN

designate a specific snake (presumably the one mentioned by Aristotle), to balance the παρείας.

The appearance of the snake in the house is taken to be the manifestation of a hero. Heroes are commonly associated with snakes (Plu. *Cleom.* 39.3 οἱ παλαιοὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων τὸν δράκοντα τοῖς ἥρωσι συνωικειώσαν, anon. in Eup. 259.123–4 ἔνδον μετ’ ὀφέω[ν | οἱ] ἥρωες ζωγραφοῦνται). A snake which appeared on the Greek ships before the battle of Salamis was identified as the local hero Kychreus (Paus. 1.36.1). See F. Deneken in Roscher, *Lex.Myth.* 1 (1886–90) 2466–70, Rohde, *Psyche* 137, de Visser 168–9, Lawson (§3n.) 274–5, E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giessen 1913) 131–3, Hartmann, ‘Schlange (Mythologie, Kult)’, *RE* II.1A (1921) 508–14, J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge<sup>3</sup> 1922) 325–31, Nilsson, *GGR* 1.198.9, Gow-Page on Call. *AP* 9.336 (*Hellenistic Epigrams* 1317–20), Bodson, *Ἱερα Ζώια* 68–92, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 195, 206, E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (*BICS* Suppl. 57, 1989) 53; for the iconography, E. Mitropoulou, *Deities and Heroes in the Form of Snakes* (Athens 1977). Plato condemned the establishment of domestic shrines (ἱερά) in response to visions and dreams (*Lg.* 909E–910E). On domestic ἥρωια see J. S. Rusten, *HSCPh* 87 (1983) 289–97. For the corruption of ἥρωιον to ἱεῶν (V<sup>c</sup>, ●εP- V), X.14n.

5 καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν: stones were often anointed as a mark of sanctity: Paus. 10.24.6 (the Delphians daily anoint the stone which Cronos swallowed by mistake for Zeus), Luc. *Alex.* 30 (of Rutilianus, 2nd cent. AD) εἰ μόνον ἀηλιμμένον που λίθον ἢ ἔστεφανωμένον θεάσαιτο προσπίπτων εὐθύς καὶ προσκυνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρεστῶς καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ τὰγαθὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ αἰτῶν (cf. *Cont.* 22, *Deor.Conc.* 12), Apul. *Fl.* 1 (among sights which detain superstitious travellers) *lapis unguine delibutus* (cf. *Apol.* 56.6), Clem.Al. *Strom.* 7.26.2 πᾶν ξύλον καὶ πάντα λίθον τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον λιπαρὸν προσκυνοῦντες, Arn. 1.39.1 *si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem et ex oliui unguine sordidatum, tamquam inesset uis praesens adulabar, adfabar et beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco*. Similarly statues: Call. *AP* 5.146.1–2 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1121–2), Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.77 (cited on §10 ἀγοράς κατλ.), Babr. 48.4, Min.Fel. 3.1, Philostr. *Her.* 2.1; cf. XXI.10. This may be relevant to H. *Od.* 3.406–8 (Nestor’s judgement seat). See Frazer on Paus. 10.24.6, A. E. Crawley, ‘Anointing’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 1 (1908) 553–4, R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951) 280–1.

For worship of stones, more generally, X. *Mem.* 1.1.14 (it is a mark of madness) λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία ἐβεβῆσαι, Lucr. 5.1198–9, Prop. 1.4.24. See further Reisch, ‘Ἄργοι λίθοι’, *RE* II.1 (1895) 723–8, de Visser (§4n. *ad fin.*) 55–107 (esp. 102–7), G. Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche* (Würzburg 1905) 33–6, P. Gardner, ‘Stones (Greek and Roman)’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 11 (1920) 869–71,

## COMMENTARY

Bolkestein (Introd. Note) 21–3, Latte, ‘Steinkult’, *RE* III.2A (1929) 2295–2305, *HdA* 8 (1936/7) s.u. ‘Stein’ 396–401, Nilsson, *GGR* 1.201–7, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 72, id. *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley etc. 1979) 40–2, C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York and London 1992) 5–6, U. Kron, ‘Heilige Steine’, in H. Froning et al. (edd.), *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz 1992) 56–70, K. Dowden, *European Paganism: The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London and New York 2000) 34–8, 58–65.

For superstitions associated with crossroads (as §14), J. A. MacCulloch, ‘Cross-Roads’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 4 (1911) 330–5, *HdA* 5 (1932/3) s.u. ‘Kreuzweg’ 516–29, Th. Hopfner, ‘Τριόδος’, *RE* VII.1A (1939) 161–6, M. Puhvel, ‘The mystery of the cross-roads’, *Folk-Lore* 87 (1976) 167–77, id. *The Crossroads in Folklore and Myth* (New York etc. 1989), S. I. Johnston, *ZPE* 88 (1981) 217–24. Worship of stones at crossroads: Tib. 1.1.11–12 *nam ueneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris | seu uetus in triuio florida sarta lapis* (O. Weinreich, *Hermes* 56 (1921) 337–45). Both MacCulloch and Johnston unsafely infer that the stones in our passage are Herms. The latter cites Anyt. *AP* 9.314.1–2 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 730–1) Ἐρμᾶς τᾷδ’ ἔστακα . . . ἐν τριόδοις. There is little other evidence associating Herms and crossroads (Eitrem, ‘Hermai’, *RE* VIII.1 (1912) 700–1).

καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: although it is broadly true that ‘kneeling down to pray is unusual’ (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 75; cf. Sittl, *Gebärden* 177–9), the posture is well attested in literature and art (A. Delatte, ‘Le baiser, l’agenouillement et le prosternement de l’adoration (προσκύνησις) chez les Grecs’, *BAB* 37 (1951) 423–50 (433 on this passage), F. T. van Straten, ‘Did the Greeks kneel before their Gods?’, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 158–89, E. Mitropoulou, *Kneeling Worshipers in Greek and Oriental Literature and Art* (Athens 1975), S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford 1997) 190). Here it is natural, since the stones are on the ground. The verb προσκυνεῖν connotes ‘worship’, often with no indication what form the worship takes. It is often associated with kneeling or prostration, especially when applied to the worship paid by orientals to their rulers (e.g. Hdt. 7.136.1 προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, *E. Or.* 1507; E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford 1989) 96–7). Sometimes it connotes a reverential kiss, and this may be offered in a kneeling or prostrate posture, when the circumstances call for it (S. *Ph.* 1408 προσκύσας χθόνα; cf. H. *Od.* 4.522 κύνει ἀπτόμενος ἦν πατρίδα, 5. 463 = 13.354; Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 503). What it does not connote here (or perhaps anywhere before the Roman period) is ‘the gesture of a kiss . . . made by raising a hand to one’s lips’ (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 75; similarly Sittl, *Gebärden* 181–3, Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 156, W. Kroll, ‘Kuß’, *RE* Suppl. v (1931) 518–19). If he kisses the stones, as well he may, he uses his lips. Full and excellent discussion of προσκύνησις in Bolkestein 21–39 and Delatte; see also van Straten, esp. 159, Pulleyn 191–4.

6 και ἔαν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διατράγη: cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.24.1–5 εἰκότως τοίνυν δεισιδαίμονες . . . πάντα σημεῖα ἡγοῦνται εἶναι τὰ συμβαινόντα καὶ κακῶν αἰτία· ἂν μῦς . . . διατράγη θύλακον (Porson: λυκήθιον cod.) κτλ. (*PCG* adesp. 141) . . . τί δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὸν εἶ ὁ μῦς, φησὶν ὁ Βίων (fr. 31 Kindstrand), τὸν θύλακον διέτραπευεν, οὐχ εὐρών ὅτι φάγη; τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν θαυμαστὸν εἶ, ὥσπερ Ἀρκεσίλαος παίζων ἐνεχειρεῖ, τὸν μῦν ὁ θύλαξ κατέφαγεν. A story of mice eating iron and gold was recorded by Theophrastus (*Phot. Bibl.* 528a 33–6 = fr. 174.8 Wimmer; 359A.52–4 Fortenbaugh; *Plin. Nat.* 8.222 = 359c Fortenbaugh). Shields gnawed by mice portended the Social War (*Cic. Diu.* 1.99, 2.59, *Plin. Nat.* 8.221). Other mouse-portents: Hopf (§4n. *init.*) 64–6, N. W. Thomas, ‘Animals (Mouse)’, *Encycl. Rel. Eth.* 1 (1908) 523–4, Lawson (§3n.) 328, Pease on *Cic. Diu.* 1.99, Steier, ‘Maus’, *RE* xiv.2 (1930) 2405–8, *HdA* 6 (1934/5) s.u. ‘Maus’ 31–60, Faraone (§5n.) 42–3, C. Hünemörder, ‘Maus’, *DNP* 7 (1999) 1058.

ἄλφιστα ‘groats’, of wheat or (mostly, by the fourth century) barley (L. A. Moritz, *CQ* 43 (1949) 113–17, R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes* (Göttingen 1975) 23–4, Pellegrino 129–30, Sens and Olson on *Archestr.* 5.7, Dalby 46–7), are carried and stored in a θύλακος (*Hdt.* 3.46.2, *Ar. Ec.* 819–20, *Pl.* 763, Stone, *Costume* 249–50; see also on V.5 πέλεκυς). The expression θύλακον ἀλφίτων (cd: -την V) is like *Pl. Th.* 161A λόγων τιὰ θύλακον, *PCair. Zen.* 59069 (iii bc) 7 δορκαδέων θυλάκιον, 18–19 θύλακος δορκαδέων ἀστραγάλων, *H. Od.* 2.340 πίθοι οἴνοιο (3.51, *al.*, δέπας, 5.265, *al.*, ἀκκός), *X. HG* 1.7.11 τεῦχος ἀλφίτων, *Cyr.* 2.4.18 ἀμαξία κίτου, *Crobyl.* 2 κκάφην . . . τινα | τῶν ἐχαριτῶν, *Timocl.* 35 κκάφην | θερμῶν ἰπνιτῶν (*KG* 1.333(e), Schwyzer 2.129); also *Hor. Ep.* 1.7.30 (the *wulpecula* [*nitedula* Bentley] creeps) in *cumeram frumenti*. For an alternative correction ἀλφιτη<ρό>ν (Cobet 1856, 1874) cf. *Antiph.* 64 ἀγγεῖον ἀλφιτηρόν (*u.l.* -ήριον), *Herod.* 7.71–3 τι . . . ἀλφιτηρόν ‘some breadwinner’.

The appropriate verb is διατράγη (Hirschig before Cobet 1856): *PCG* adesp. 141 (above), *Arist. Rh.* 1401<sup>b</sup>16 (mice) διατραγόντες τὰς νευράς, *Ael. NA* 17.17 (mice who are able) διατραγεῖν . . . καὶ κίδηρον, *Herod.* 3.76 (mice) τὸν κίδηρον τρώγουσιν, and θυλακοτρώξ as a nickname for mouse (*Hdn.* 1.46, 2.37, *Hsch.* Θ 850, Σ *H. Il.* 2.755); Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 287–90. διαφάγη (V) is a verb applied by T. to grubs eating through fruit (*HP* 4.14.10, 7.13.3, *CP* 5.10.1), frost through earth (*CP* 3.20.7), salt through plants (*CP* 6.10.1); to mice only by *Str.* 13.1.48 (eating leather), *Plu. Marc.* 28.3, *Sull.* 7.5 (gold). Cobet proposed -τραγ- for -φαγ- in these last two passages.

πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾶν τί χρῆ ποιεῖν: the ἐξηγητής was an official adviser on problems of pollution and purification (Wyse on *Is.* 8.39, F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 8–51, J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950) 24–52, 135, H. Bloch, *AJPh* 74 (1953) 407–18, Nilsson, *GGR* 1.636–7, D. M. MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide*

*Law* (Manchester 1963) 11–16, R. S. J. Garland, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 82–3, 114–15, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 220, A. Chaniotis, ‘Exegetai’, *DNP* 4 (1998) 339). The language is comparable to Pl. *Euthphr.* 4c πευσόμενον τοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ ὅτι χρεῖη ποιεῖν (about an apprehended murderer), Is. 8.39 τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐρόμενος (about funeral expenses), D. 47.68 ἦλθον ὡς τοὺς ἐξηγητάς ἵνα εἰδείην ὅτι με χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων (about a death). The use of recognisably formulaic language increases the comedy. The official is not consulted about a recognised subject, such as death, but about a mouse. Stein (199 n. 3) maintains that the exegete consulted here is not official. The definite article suggests that he is. Furthermore, ‘A quack always treats his patients seriously’ (Koets (Introd. Note *ad fin.*) 35 n. 4).

καὶ ἂν ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι τῷ κυλοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι: the verb of speech ἀποκρίνηται is treated as equivalent to a verb of command (KG 2.6–7, Schwyzer 2.374–5, Goodwin §99). For ἐκδοῦναι ‘give out’ (for repair, or the like), XVIII.6 (ἱμάτιον), with infin. XXII.8 and XXX.10 (θοιμάτιον πλύσαι), Pl. *Prm.* 127A χαλινόν τινα χαλκεῖ ἐκδιδόντα κευάσαι (LSJ 1.3). The infin. ἐπιρράψαι is ‘final-consecutive’ (KG 2.16–17, Schwyzer 2.362–3, Goodwin §770); cf. V.10, XXI.8. ἐπιρράπτειν is not attested before the first century AD, and then mainly in the sense ‘sew on’. For the sense ‘sew up’ LSJ and Rev.Suppl. cite Gal. 18(2).579 Kühn (leather) and Hsch. K 85 (fawnskin), to which add App. *BC* 2.99 (a wound; ἀπο- Mendelssohn), Ael. *M* 4.32 (incised tail). ἀπορράψαι (Casaubon from ἀπογράψαι cd) has a better pedigree and is an easy change (ἀπό/ἐπί §2n.). This compound denotes not so much ‘sew up again’ (LSJ) as ‘sew up (so as to close up) completely’: Hdt. 1.123.4 τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, Aeschin. 2.21 τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα, Plu. 526c–d κυτέλλειν καὶ ἀπορράπτειν ὥσπερ βαλλάντιον, ἵνα στέγειν καὶ φυλάττειν τὸ εἰσβληθὲν δύνῃται, 997A γεράνων ὄμματα καὶ κύκνων. This would suit here. But perhaps ἐπιρράπτειν may connote (even more suitably) ‘repair (by sewing)’, on the analogy of ἐπισκευάζειν ‘repair’. For the simple verb, Herod. 7.89 θύλακον ῥάψαι (‘get a bag stitched’, middle imper.). For the rational response of the exegete, Men. fr. 106 (Introd. Note).

κυλοδέψῃ must replace κυτο- (V). κύλος is untanned hide, κύτος tanned hide; so ‘kneeder of (untanned) hide’ is ‘tanner’ (like βυρκοδέψης). κυλοδ-, sometimes transmitted (Ar. *Ec.* 420, D. 25.38, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 645, 1<sup>2</sup> 1556.34), sometimes guaranteed by metre (Ar. *Au.* 490, Pl. 514 Bentley; *Ec.* 420 codd.), should probably be restored at *CP* 3.17.5, 5.15.2, *HP* 3.18.5, Pl. *Grg.* 517E, Plu. *Num.* 17.3, Luc. *Vit.Auct.* 11, 20. See also Headlam on Herod. 3.68, E. H. Ruedi, *Vom Ἑλληνοδικαίκα zum ἄλλαντοπόωλῃς. Eine Studie zu den verbalen Reaktionskomposita auf -ακ/-ης* (diss. Zurich 1969) 170.

μὴ προσέχειν τούτοις ἀλλ’ ἀποτροπαίοις ἐκθύσασθαι: the middle verb is used absolutely (‘make sacrifices of atonement or expiation’: LSJ 1.2, J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en Grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966)

97) in *HP* 5.9.8, *Plu. Alex.* 50.5, *D.C.* 41.14.6; with dat. of the divinity to whom atonement is made, *E. fr.* 912.12–13 (*TrGFSEL* p. 169) τίνι δεῖ (Grotius: τίνα δὴ codd.) μακάρων ἐκθυσάμενους (-οις codd.) | εὐρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάππαυλαν, *Str.* 6.2.11 τοῖς τε καταχθονίοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς θαλαττιοῖς. Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 54.6 ἐκθύματα ‘expiatory sacrifices’, with Rhodes *ad loc.* For the verb in general, J. Gibert, *HSCPh* 101 (2003) 159–206 (this passage, 169 n. 32). Bernhard proposed ἐκθύσασθαι (for ἐκλύσ- V) in his edition of Synesius, *De febribus* (Amsterdam and Leiden 1749) 243. No other conjecture warrants a moment’s thought (ἐκλούσ- Lycius before Gale, ἐκκλύσ- or ἐκθειάσ- Schwartz, ἐκθειώσ- Immisch 1897).

ἀποτροπαεῖς (V), even if we take it to combine the notions of turning back home (LSJ II.4) and turning a deaf ear to advice (LSJ II.2), is much less suitable in this context than ἀποτροπαίοις (Wyttenbach on *Plu.* 149D), whether taken as neuter (so Wyttenbach took it), like *D.H.* 5.54.3 ἀποτροπαίοις τις . . . παραιτεῖσθαι . . . δαίμονας, *Plu.* 290D ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαρῶν, 369E θύειν . . . ἀποτρόπαια, 497D θεοῖς ἀποτρόπαια θύουσι, or as masc., like *Plu.* 159F οὐκ Ἀκκληπιῶνι θύομεν, οὐκ ἀποτροπαίοις. For gods as ἀποτρόπαιοι, Jessen, ‘Ἀποτρόπαιος’, *RE* II.1 (1895) 189–90, Parker, *Miasma* 220, id. ‘Ἀποτροπαίοι (theoi)’, *DNP* I (1996) 899, Huß on *X. Smp.* 4.33. Neuter is perhaps more natural, since masc. ἀποτρόπαιοι unqualified is not attested elsewhere than *Plu.* 159F cited above; the usual expression is θεοῖς ἀπ- (*Pl. Lg.* 854B, *D.H.* 10.2.6, *D.S.* 17.116.4, *Paus.* 2.11.1) or τοῖς ἀπ- (*X. HG* 3.3.4, *Smp.* 4.33, *Hp. Vict.* 4.89 (6.652 Littré), *Plu.* 149D, 709A, *Alciph.* 3.17.3). ἀποτροπάς (Bolkestein cl. *Plu. Marc.* 28 τὰς ἐκθύσεις (Reiske: ἐκχύσεις codd.) καὶ ἀποτροπάς, in connection with the gold-nibbling mice mentioned above) would be acceptable with the simple verb θύσασθαι but is not well suited to the compound.

**7** καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καθᾶραι δεινός, Ἐκάτης φάσκων ἐπαγωγὴν γεγόνεσθαι: Hekate (he suspects) has been conjured by magic to attack his house, which must therefore be purified of her presence. See Halliday (Introd. Note) 146–7, Parker, *Miasma* 222–4, Lane Fox 153.

For καθᾶραι (and §14 περικαθᾶραι) Cobet 1858 was perhaps right to restore the older form -θῆραι, which is transmitted at *HP* 9.7.4 (also by the papyrus at [Arist.] *Ath.* 1). -θαρ- is first attested in an Attic inscription of 347/6 BC (Meisterhans 182, Threatte 2.532) and is transmitted at *HP* 4.11.6, 4.13.5, *CP* 1.17.10 (also Antipho 6.37, *X. Oec.* 18.8, *An.* 5.7.35 pars codd., *Din.* 2.5). Cf. LSJ καθάρω, KB 2.451, Veitch 344–5, O. Lautensach, *Die Aoriste bei den attischen Tragikern und Komikern* (Göttingen 1911) 213–14.

ἐπαγωγή is ‘introduction’ of Hekate by magic (the misinterpretation in LSJ I.4b is corrected in the Rev.Suppl.); cf. *Pl. R.* 364c ἐάν τέ τινα ἔχθρὸν πημῆσαι ἐθέληι . . . βλάψει ἐπαγωγαῖς τιςιν καὶ καταδέμοις, *Lg.* 933D ἐάν δὲ καταδέσειν ἢ ἐπαγωγαῖς ἢ τιςιν ἐπωιδᾶις ἢ τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακειῶν



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αίσιτινιοῦν (Barrett, *Hipp.* p. 439: ὄντινωνοῦν codd.) δόξηι ὁμοιος εἶναι βλάπτουσι, Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 40, E. *Hi.* 318 (μίαςμα) ἐξ ἑπακτοῦ πημονῆς ἐχθρῶν τινος, Hsch. Ω 265 διὰ φαρμάκων εἰώθασι τινες ἐπάγειν τὴν Ἐκάτην ταῖς οἰκίαις (Salmasius: τῆι Ἐκάτηι τὰς οἰκίας cod.: τὴν Ἐκάτην ἐς τὰς οἰκίας Schmidt); cf. *TrGF* adesp. 375 ἀλλ' εἴς τ' ἔνυπνον φάντασμα φοβεῖ | χθονίας θ' Ἐκάτης κῶμον ἐδέξω. See also Parker, *Miasma* 348, J. H. Hordern, *CQ* 52 (2002) 169.

**8** κἄν γλαῦκες βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ < > ταραπτεσθαι: γλαῦξ is the Little Owl, *Athene noctua* (Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 76–80, J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977) 39, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 301). The lost verb will have referred not to its apparition, which was often a good omen (e.g. Ar. *V.* 1086, Halliday (Introd. Note) 134, id. *Greek Divination* 166, Thompson 78), but to its cry, which might be an ill omen (Men. fr. 844.11 ἄν γλαῦξ ἀνακράγηι δεδοίκαμεν; Thompson 78); cf. *HdA* 2 (1929/30) s.u. 'Eule' 1073–9. Supplements: <ἀνακράγωσι> Foss 1858, <ιῦζωσι> Diels (cl. Poll. 5.90, where ὑῦζειν *uel sim.* should be read), <ἐπικρώζωσι> Headlam (on Herod. 7.129, together with the even less appealing <ἐπιχέωσι>), <βασυῦζωσι> βαδίζοντος Bury, <ἀπτώσι> Edmonds 1908. Much better κικκαβιάζωσι παριόντος (Cobet 1874), which introduces a choice verb, properly to be spelt κικκαβιάζωσι (E. Tichy, *Onomatopoeische Verbalbildungen des Griechischen* (Vienna 1983) 265, Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 760–1, Dunbar on *Au.* 261), and attempts to account for the omission (the two words reduced to καβίζοντος, thence βαδίζοντος). But παριόντος has no advantage, in terms of palaeography or sense, over βαδίζοντος (commonly, on its own, 'walk', e.g. And. 1.38, *Lys.* 13.71, Ar. *Ach.* 848, *Nu.* 415, *Au.* 492, *Ec.* 277, *Pl.* 952, *Pl. R.* 515c, Men. *Dysc.* 150; cf. XVIII.8, XXIV.4 (conj.), *Ign.* 36; XXIV.2n., Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 393–4). Better, therefore, <κικκαβιάζωσι> βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ (for the word order, II.6) or (palaeography aside) βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ <κικκαβιάζωσι>. There are many other proposals giving inferior sense: e.g. ταραπτωνται [κα] Bolkestein (γλαῦξ . . . ταραπτηται Badham ap. Petersen), <ἀναπτῶνται> H. van Ijzeren (*Mnemosyne* 58 (1930) 41–4).

εἶπας “Ἀθηνᾶ κρείττων” παρελθεῖν οὔτω: the apparition of the Little Owl, Athena's bird (Thompson 80, C. Meillier, 'La chouette et Athéna', *REA* 72 (1970) 5–30, L. Bodson, *AC* 42 (1973) 22–3, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 516), prompts him to cry 'Athena is really/rather powerful', an unusual expression, apparently the type of comparative illustrated by KG 2.305–7 (more sketchily by H. Thesleff, *Studies on Intensification in Early and Classical Greek* (Helsinki 1954) 122–4), e.g. Hdt. 3.53.1 κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέτερον 'rather dull-witted', 3.129.2 (ὁ ποῦς) ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη 'quite violently twisted', Th. 3.55.2 οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέτερον 'nothing really remarkable'; cf. VIII.2n. (καινότερον). A. *Ag.* 60 ὁ κρείσσων . . . Ζεὺς and A. fr. 10 κρείσσωνες (= οἱ θεοί) may suggest

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that there is something formulaic in this use of κρείσσων. Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 1(7) ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 226a Ἡρακλῆς κάρρων (Doric for κρείσσων), Cέλευκε, 'H. is stronger (than you), S.', alludes to Sophr. 59 Ἡρακλῆς τεοῦς κάρρων ἦς, so that the object of comparison is readily inferred. If we look for an object of comparison here, the context supplies nothing obvious: 'rival divinities' (Jebb), 'this omen' (Ussher, similarly Bolkestein; cf. H. Herter, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975) 49–50), the owl (E. K. Borthwick (*Hermes* 97 (1969) 390–1, with a far-fetched explanation). On the other hand, to translate 'mighty Athena!' (Rusten) is to ignore the comparative altogether. κρείττω, supposedly comparable with 'di meliora' (Meineke, *Vindiciarum Aristophanearum Liber* (Leipzig 1865) 129, before Jahn, *Philologus* 28 (1869) 7, who also proposed κρείττον), lacks analogy. It is needless to transpose οὔτω (§2n.) to precede παρελθεῖν (Darvaris before Ast). For the form εἶπας, V.2n.

**9** καὶ οὔτε ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι οὔτ' ἐπὶ νεκρὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ λεχώ ἐλθεῖν ἐθελῆσαι: for birth and death as sources of pollution, Parker, *Miasma* ch. 2; birth, M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London and New York 2002) 252–4. They are coupled at e.g. E. *IT* 382 (ἦν τις) λοχείας ἢ νεκροῦ θίγη χειροῖν, fr. 472.16–17 (*TrGFSEL* p. 116) φεύγω | γένεσιν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκας, Men. *Asp.* 216–18, D.L. 8.33 (Pythagoras); Parker 33 n. 2. To visit the house of a dead friend or relative was a social duty (XIV.7n.), and a vessel of water at the door offered immediate purification (Ginouvés, *Balaneutikè* 240–1, Parker 35). For avoidance of tombs (as E. fr. 472, cited above), West on Hes. *Op.* 750, Parker 38–9. Perhaps <ἄν> ἐθελῆσαι (VI.9n.).

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ μαινεσθαι κυμφῆρον αὐτῶι φῆσαι εἶναι: for ἀλλὰ . . . φῆσαι see on X.13 ἀλλὰ λέγειν. It is wrong to save φῆσαι (V) by deleting ἀλλὰ (R. Schoell ap. Immisch 1897) or by changing it to ἄμα (Meineke), which requires present part. (XIX.5n.).

**10** καὶ ταῖς τετράσι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑβδόμοις: for the terminology used in expressing days of the month see A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972) 59–61, J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975) 8–10, West on Hes. *Op.* 765–828 (pp. 349–50). The 4th and the 7th are 'sacred' days (Hes. *Op.* 770 ἔην τετράς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ). The 4th was the birthday of Hermes and Aphrodite, the 7th of Apollo (W. Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Altertum* (Giessen 1908) 88–94, 101–2, Mikalson 16–19, West on Hes. *loc. cit.*, Arnott on Alex. 260.1, W. Bühler, *Zenobii Aethi Proverbia* 5 (Göttingen 1999) 384). The 4th (as sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite) is appropriate for the worship of Hermaphroditos. The 7th is less obviously appropriate. In the belief (insecurely founded) that Hermes' birthday might be celebrated on the 27th, Unger 1886 proposed ταῖς ἑβδόμοις ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκοτάσι, to be rejected because (i) in the third decad of the month the count

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was normally (perhaps always) backwards from the end of the month, (ii) even if a forward count were allowable the normal expression would be not ἐπι ταῖς εἰκάκι but μετ' εἰκάδας. Immisch 1897 proposed ἑβδομαίαι <φθίνοντος>, equivalent to τετράδι φθίνοντος, adducing *Op.* 797–9, which prescribes avoidance of grief on the fourth day from the beginning and end of the month: πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῶι | τετράδ' ἀλεύασθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἵσταμένου τε | ἄλγεα (ἄλγεσι West) θυμοβορεῖν. The festivities may then be seen as apotropaic: a lavish display of good cheer averts the harm to which (so the scholiast on Hesiod claims) distressing activities are conducive. But, with a backward count in the third decad, ἑβδόμη φθίνοντος would be the 24th; even with a forward count, τετράς (*sc.* ἵσταμένου) καὶ ἑβδόμη φθίνοντος would be a cumbrous way of saying what can be said straightforwardly (as Hesiod said it) with τετράς ἵσταμένου καὶ φθίνοντος. I assume that Theophrastus specifies 4th and 7th precisely because these days are associated with the public worship of major gods. The Δεισιδαίμων chooses them for the private worship of his own outlandish and very minor deity. At all events, ἑβδομαίαι (V) 'periods of 7 days' must be replaced by ἑβδομαίαι '7th of every month', like Herod. 3.53 τὰς ἑβδόμας.

**προστάξας οἶνον ἔψειν τοῖς ἔνδον:** new wine boiled down to a proportion of its original volume was called *σίραιον* (sometimes merely *ἔψημα*, e.g. Pl.Com. 163) and was used by doctors (Nic. *Alex.* 153, the medical writers *passim*) and as a condiment by cooks (Alex. 132.8, 179.6, 193.4, Antiph. 140.1). It was (or could be made) sweet (Ar. *V.* 878 ἀντι σιραιίου μέλιτος μικρὸν . . . παραμείξας 'adding a little honey as in *σίραιον*', Gal. 11.648–9 Kühn γλυκύς (*sc.* οἶνος) . . . τὸ σίραιον, Poll. 6.16 σίραιον . . . τὸν ἐκ γλεύκου ἠψημένον γλυκύν). Here it must be intended for use in a sacrifice: perhaps to sweeten the barley grain, which was customarily mixed with wine or honey (see on X.13 θυλήματα). τοῖς ἔνδον recurs in IV.7. XXX.11.

**ἀγοράσαι μυρρίνας, λιβανωτόν, πόπανα:** asyndetic tricolon (§11, V.10n.). Myrtle-garlands, frankincense, and cakes form a natural trio, since all are used in ceremonies of worship or sacrifice. Myrtle-garlands: Boetticher (on §2 δάφνην) 445–55, Murr (*ibid.*) 84–91, M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1982) 318–21, MacDowell on D. 21.17, Dalby 227. Myrtle, commonly associated with Aphrodite (Blech 250–1, P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *WS* 6 (1972) 145–61, Pellegrino 187–8), is particularly appropriate here, in the worship of Hermaphrodites. For the spelling μυρρ- (μυρρ- V), Threatte 1.521–2 (cf. 534–7), Arnott, 'Orthographical variants' 209. Frankincense: S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Helsinki 1972) 31–57, Arnott on Alex. 252.3, Sens and Olson on Archestr. 60.4–5, Dalby 150–1. Cakes: E. Kearns, 'Cakes in Greek sacrifice regulations', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence* (Stockholm 1994) 65–70, Dalby 68, 288. Myrtle-garlands and frankincense together: Ar. *V.* 860–2

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πῦρ τις ἐξενεγκάτω | καὶ μυρρίνας καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἔνδοθεν, | ὅπως ἂν εὐξώμεσθα πρῶτα τοῖς θεοῖς (cf. Pl. *Aul.* 385–6). Cakes and frankincense: Men. *Dysc.* 449–50 ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβὲς | καὶ τὸ πόπανον, *PCG* adesp. 820.1 ψαιστά, λιβανωτόν, πόπανα (Meineke: μόνα codd.): ταῦτ' ὠνήσομαι (F. Citti, *Eikasmos* 3 (1992) 175–7), Luc. *Sacr.* 12 λιβανωτὸν ἢ πόπανον, Ael. *VH* 11.5 ὁ τε λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὰ πόπανα, Alciphr. 2.33.1 πόπανον . . . λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους, Iamb. *VP* 54 πόπανα καὶ ψαιστά καὶ κηρία καὶ λιβανωτόν (cf. Antiph. 162.4, where <πόπανον> is a likely supplement; also 204.2–3). All three together: Porph. *VP* 36 ἀλφίτοις τε καὶ ποπάνωι καὶ λιβανωτῶι καὶ μυρρίνηι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξιλασκόμενος. Further instances of πόπανα in sacrifices: Ar. *Th.* 285, Pl. 660, 680. These passages establish that λιβανωτόν, πόπανα (Foss 1834) is the right emendation of λιβανωτῶν πίνακα (V). For the many senses of the noun πίναξ see Pritchett 250–3. None satisfies here. Not 'holy picture' (Edmonds), 'strop (for the sacrificial knife?)' (Ussher; cf. *HP* 5.5.1). And λιβανωτοῦ (Coray) πίνακα, whether interpreted as 'plate' (for this sense, Olson and Sens on Matro 1.46–7) or 'lump or tablet' (E. K. Borthwick, *Erano*s 64 (1966) 110–11) of frankincense, introduces an impossible asyndeton (we should need μυρρίνας <καί> λ- π-). No other conjecture (τύρακα Meier 1834/5, μίλακα Petersen, μίνδακα Münsterberg 1894) deserves a moment's thought.

Here all three items will be used to honour the Hermaphroditic statues: cf. Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 344 ap. Porph. *Abst.* 2.16.4 τὸν δὲ Κλέαρχον φάναι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ σπουδαίως θύειν ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι χρόνοις, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ταῖς νομηνίαις στεφανοῦντα καὶ φαιδρύνοντα τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ δὴ τοὺς προγόνους καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τιμᾶν λιβανωτοῖς καὶ ψαιστοῖς καὶ ποπάνοις, Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.77 *quid hoc tota Sicilia est clarius quam omnes Segestae matronas et uirgines conuenisse, cum Diana exportaretur ex ophido, unxisse unguentis, complexse coronis et floribus, ture, odoribus incensis usque ad agri fines prosecutas esse?*

καὶ εἰσελθῶν εἶσω: a regular pleonasm (Hdt. 4.34.2, 5.51.1, S. *El.* 802, E. *Held.* 698, *Andr.* 876, Cratin. 329, Is. 8.21, Ar. *Pl.* 231, 1088, Arist. *Resp.* 478<sup>a</sup>17; also *Sign.* 17 εἶσω εἰσπετόμενος); KG 2.583–4. ἐρίοις (Schoell ap. Immisch 1897) for εἶσω is unwanted.

στεφανοῦν τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν: it was customary to garland statues: E. *Hi.* 73–4, Men. *Dysc.* 51 τὰς πλησίον Νύμφας στεφ[ανο]ῦσαν, *Georg.* 8 θεοὺς στεφανομένους, Theopomp. (above) στεφανοῦντα . . . τὸν Ἑρμῆν, Timae. *FGrH* 566 F 158, Call. *Del.* 307, Strat. *AP* 12.8.8 ἐστεφάνωσα θεοῦς, Paus. 1.27.1 (Hermes garlanded with myrtle); Boetticher (on §2 δάφνην) 445–55, E. Kuhnert, *De Cura Statuarum apud Graecos* (Berlin 1883) 59–62, 69–71, Hock (§5n.) 51, J. Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vī atque Vsu* (Giessen 1914) 12, 37, K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn 1940) 19–23, 30–1, A.-J. Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks*

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(Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954) 144 n. 15,<sup>82</sup> Blech (above on ἀγοράσαι κτλ.) 269–70.

While στεφανοῦν is the simple and obvious correction of στεφανῶν (V), ‘he garlands the Hermaphrodites all day long’ reads oddly. Perhaps it is the very oddity which is in point. Or perhaps, after the mention of garlands, frankincense, cakes and wine, a bare reference to the use of garlands may be taken to imply an associated use of the other items. To take στεφανοῦν in a wider sense, embracing ‘the practice of surrounding statues to be worshipped with a protective circle of grains or larger pieces of incense, etc., before lighting it to ensure the complete purification of the holy object’ (Borthwick, *Eranos* 64 (1966) 111) founders on the absence of any evidence that such a practice existed and of any hint that these Hermaphrodites need to be purified. The text may be lacunose. If so, there is no attraction in supplements such as these: <σπείσαι> στεφανοῦν <τε> Hartung, <σπείσαι καὶ θῦσαι> στεφανῶν Foss 1858, <σπείσαι> στεφανῶν Münsterberg 1894, <σπείσαι καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι> Immisch 1897, <θῦσαι> στεφανῶν Edmonds 1908, <θῦειν> στεφανῶν Navarre 1920. Better στεφανοῦν τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους <καὶ φαιδρύνειν>, like Theopomp. (above) στεφανοῦντα καὶ φαιδρύνοντα τὸν Ἑρμῆν. Alternatively <διατελεῖν> στεφανῶν (Diels), a verb elsewhere combined with ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν (Th. 7.38.3, D.S. 20.86.3, Str. 15.1.60, 61, Plu. fr. 26 Sandbach), or <διατελέσαι ἐπιθῦων καὶ> (Edmonds 1929); or <κατατρίβειν>, also found with ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν (Men. *Epit.* 270–1, D.H. 5.72.2, D.C. 59.24.5, Lib. *Decl.* 32.15). There is no advantage in τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους <βωμού>ς (Schneider), since it is at least as natural to garland statues as altars, and a plurality of statues of H. is neither more nor less surprising than a plurality of altars.

This is the first literary attestation of the name Ἑρμαφρόδιτος. Aristophanes (fr. 325), Pherecrates (fr. 184), and Apollonphanes (fr. 6) named him Ἄφροδίτος: Phot. A 3404 Theodoridis Ἄφροδίτος· ὁ Ἑρμαφρόδιτος. παραπλήσιοι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι δαίμονες· Ὀρθάνης, Πρίαπος, Αἰακός, Γενετυλλίς, Τύχων, Γίγων, Κονίσσαλος, Κύννειος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὧν καὶ Ἀριστοφάνησ μὲνηται Ἑρωσίω (mention of Pherecr. and Apollonph. follows), Hsch. A 8773 Ἄφροδίτος· Θεόφρατος μὲν τὸν Ἑρμαφρόδιτόν φησιν. This last passage protects the name against emendation here: Ἑρμαῖς ἐνοδίους Naber, Ἑρμαῖς ῥοδίνοισ Diels, Ἑρμαῖς ἀφρονεῖν or ἀφρόνωσ διατρίβειν Steinmetz. The earliest attestation is a votive inscription (init. iv BC) [Φ]ανῶ Ἑρμαφρω[δῖ]τωι εὐξαμένη (J. Kirchner and S. Dow, *MDAI(A)* 62 (1937) 7–8; for the spelling, Threatte 1.51),

<sup>82</sup> On p. 9 for ‘the same Theophrastus’ read ‘Theopompus’. Ruhnken’s change of Θεόπομπος to Θεόφρατος in Porph. *loc. cit.* is wrong (J. Bernays, *Theophrastos’ Schrift über Frömmigkeit* (Berlin 1866) 69–70, W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΧΕΒΕΙΑΣ* (Leiden 1964) 44).

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probably from the base of a statue of H. The name is also found in an inscription (iii BC) on a private altar from Cos alongside other minor deities, Ἄλιου Ἀμέρας Ὡρῶν Χαρίτων Νυμφᾶν Πριάπου Πανός Ἑρμαφροδίτ[ου] (G. Pugliese Carratelli in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin 1963) 162–5, L. Robert, *REG* 80 (1967) 521), and in an inscription (ii BC) apparently listing sculptures of gods and other mythological figures which stood in an Athenian gymnasium (D. Clay, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 259–67). Other attestation, before the imperial period, is sparse: title of a play by Posidippus (iii BC); Titin. 112 Ribbeck (ii BC); anon. *AP* 9.317.5 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 3894); lines 15–20 of an inscribed elegiac poem (ii–i BC?) from Halicarnassus (S. Isager, *ζPE* 123 (1998) 1–23, R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* 1 (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998) 39–45, H. Lloyd-Jones, *ζPE* 124 (1999) 1–14, 127 (1999) 63–5), D.S. 4.6.5 (first to give his parents as Hermes and Aphrodite). But we may include (and cautiously use as further evidence for garlanding of statues of H. in the fourth century) Alciph. 2.35.1 εἰρεσιώνην ἕξ ἀνθῶν πλέξασα ἦειν ἐς Ἑρμαφροδίτου (ἔρμα Φαιδρίου Meineke, implausibly) τοῦ (Lobeck: τῶι codd.). Ἄλωπεκῆθεν ταύτην ἀναθήκουσα (Kirchner and Dow *loc. cit.*).

(Ἑρμαφρόδιτος is the Athenian version of a bisexual god worshipped in Cyprus: Hsch. A 8773 (continuing the above) ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα γεγραφέως Πάϊων (*FGrH* 757 F 1) εἰς ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχηματισθεὶς ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει, Macr. 3.8.2–3 *apud Caluam* (fr. 7 Blänsdorf, Courtney) <H> *aterianus adfirmat legendum 'pollentemque deum Venerem', non 'deam'. signum etiam eius est Cypri barbatur, corpore et* (Seru. auct. ad Verg. *A.* 2.632: *sed codd.*) *ueste muliebri, cum sceptro ac statura (natura Seru.) uirili, et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἄφρόδιτον appellat. . . . Philochorus (FGrH 328 F 184) quoque in Attide eandem adfirmat esse Lunam et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina.* He will probably have arrived in Athens, like other foreign gods, towards the end of the fifth century (Jacoby III b II 445 n. 8, on Philoch. F 184). See further P. Herrmann in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* 1.2 (1886–90) 2314–42, Jessen, ‘Hermaphroditos’, *RE* VIII.1 (1912) 714–21, H. Herter, *De Dis Atticis Priapi Similibus* (Bonn 1926) 58–61, M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite* (transl. J. Nicholson, London 1961) esp. 27–9, 46–50, A. Ajootian, *LIMC* V (1990) 1.268–85, 2.190–8, *ead.* ‘The Only Happy Couple: Hermaphrodites and Gender’, in A. O. Koloski-Ostrow and C. L. Lyons (edd.), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (London and New York 1997) 220–42, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 345, M. Robinson, *CQ* 49 (1999) 214–17, L. Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence: Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (transl. J. Lloyd, Berkeley etc. 2002) 42–60.

The earliest surviving image of H. is a fragment (late 4th cent.), found in the Athenian agora, of a clay mould for a terracotta figurine. The figurine would have stood about 30 cm. high, and would probably have been the type

of H. known as ἀνακυρόμενος, a female lifting her dress to reveal male genitals (D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 145, 162 (no. 50), Pl. 37; Ajoutian (1990) 1.274 no. 36, (1997) 221–3). ‘The existence of the mould presupposes both a prototype and a series of figurines, as well as a demand for such renderings of H. already in the 4th cent. BC’ (Ajoutian (1990) 1.283). The Δεισιδαίμων has more than one statue (or figurine); presumably many. This may be, like his day-long attention to them, a symptom of his obsession.

II καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ: III.2n.

πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὄνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς μάντις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκόπους: the accumulation of nouns in the tricolon (§10, V.10n.) reflects his obsessiveness. Professional dream-interpreters do not suffice; he consults seers and bird-watchers too. Dream-interpretation, invented by Prometheus ([A.] *PV* 485–6), appears first in Homer (*Il.* 1.62–3, 5.149–50). Other early practitioners are attested by Magn. 4 (ὄνειροκρίταισιν, ἀναλύταις), *Hdt.* 5.56.2, *E. Hec.* 87–9. Antiphon, a contemporary of Socrates (Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 132 n. 100), wrote *Περὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων* (DK 87 B 78–81). By the end of the fifth century professionals took fees: *Ar. V.* 52–3, *Dem. Phal.*, *FGrH* 228 F 45a = 104 Stork *et al.* ap. W. W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf (edd.), *Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion* (New Brunswick and London 2000) (on a grandson of Aristides). For the μάντις (in this context, one who divines from sources other than dreams and birds) and ὀρνιθοσκόπος (also XIX.7), Ziehen, ‘Μάντις’, *RE* xiv.2 (1930) 1345–55, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 111–14, M. Casevitz, *REG* 105 (1992) 1–18. But the Δεισιδαίμων is not concerned to have his dream interpreted; he assumes that it bodes ill, and wishes to discover which god to propitiate. For the variety of measures taken in response to bad dreams see Halliday (Introd. Note) 137–40, Parker, *Miasma* 220 n. 71. For further bibliography on dream interpretation, Arnott on *Alex.* 274.1–2, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> ‘Dreams’.

ἔρωτῆων τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶ εὔχεσθαι δεῖ: a traditional style of question, often put to gods and oracles. So *Hdt.* 1.67.2 ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἰλασάμενοι κτλ. (H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle: ii, The Oracular Responses* (Oxford 1956) no. 32, J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley etc. 1978) Q89), *E. fr.* 912.12 (*TrGF* Selp. 169) τίνι δεῖ (τίνα δὲ codd.) μακάρων ἔκθυσσάμενους κτλ., *X. An.* 3.1.6 ἐπήρητο τὸν Ἀπόλλων τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὔχομενος . . . σωθῆι (Parke-Wormell no. 172, Fontenrose H11), *Vect.* 6.3 ἐπερωτᾶν τίνας θεῶν προσποιούμενοι κτλ., *D.* 43.66 ἐπερωτᾶ . . . ὅτωι θεῶι θύουσιν ἢ εὔχομενοίς κτλ. (Parke-Wormell no. 283, Fontenrose H29), *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1161 (Dodona iv–iii BC) ἵστορεῖ Νικοκράτ[ει]α τίνι θεῶν θύουσα κτλ. (Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford 1967) 268 no. 15), *CIG* II, 1837b (*IG* XII Suppl. 200) 19–20 (Pharos, dated early II BC by L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 489–513) ἐρωτᾶν δὲ τὸν θε]ὸν τίνι θεῶν (‘malim θεῶι’ Boeckh) ἢ θεᾶ θύων [

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(Parke-Wormell no. 429, Fontenrose H56); further examples from Dodona in Parke, Appendix I (e.g. 260 no. 3 (late v BC) τίνι κα [θ]εῶν ἢ ἠρώων θύον[τ]εσ καὶ εὐχ[ό]μενοι κτλ.).

τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶι is protected against emendation by the inscription from Pharos cited above. But for this inscription, it would have been plausible to restore symmetry by writing θεῶι (which has been wrongly reported from d);<sup>83</sup> not, however, θεᾶν (Foss 1858, before Edmonds 1929), or θεαι<νῶν> (Edmonds 1946), exclusively poetical forms. Symmetrical pairing of gods and goddesses is traditional and formulaic: H. *Il.* 8.5 (= 19.101, *h.Ap.* 311) πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέαιναί, 8.20 (= *Od.* 8.341) θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέαιναί, A. *Th.* 87 θεοὶ θεαὶ τε, 94 θεῶν ἢ θεᾶν, Pl. *Smp.* 219c μὰ θεοῦς, μὰ θεᾶς (D. 19.67, Anaxandr. 2.2–3 μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς θεᾶς, D. 42.6 νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς θεᾶς), *Ti.* 27c θεοῦς τε καὶ θεᾶς, *Epin.* 980c τοὺς θεοὺς τε καὶ τὰς θεᾶς, X. *An.* 6.6.17 θεοῦς καὶ θεᾶς, D. 54.41 τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς θεᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, Antiph. 81.3 θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν, 204.2 τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς, Men. *Sam.* 399–400 τοῖς θεοῖς . . . καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς, Schwyzer, *Dial.Gr.Ex.Epigr.Pot.* 794 (v BC) θεοῖς ἀνέθεκε πᾶσι]ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις. Similarly *si(ue) deus si(ue) dea* (J. Alvar, *Numen* 32 (1985) 236–73, Oakley on Liv. 7.26.4). See also E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* (Würzburg 1903) 144, F. Jacobi, *ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΘΕΟΙ* (Halle 1930), K. Ziegler, ‘Pantheon’, *RE* xviii.2.1 (1949) 697–729 (esp. 699–700), D. Fehling, *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin 1969) 267, Wankel on D. 18.1 (τοῖς θεοῖς . . . πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις), J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1996) 279–80, Pulleyn (§5n.) 109–10. But τίνι θεῶν (not θεῶι) is the norm in oracular inquiries, and the asymmetry is of a kind not uncommon in poetry (E. *Hec.* 163–4 τις | θεῶν ἢ δαίμων, *El.* 1234 τινες δαίμονες ἢ θεῶν; Diggle, *Euripidea* 17). To delete ἢ θεᾶι (Darvaris, with θεῶι, before Diels, with θεῶν) or replace it with ἢ θύειν <ῆ> (Diels) ruins his fussy punctiliousness.

**12** καὶ τελεσθρῶμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι: cf. XXVII.8 τελούμενος τῶι Καβαζίωι, LSJ iii.1.a. Here, since the visits are monthly, not ‘to be initiated’ but (something like) ‘to be consecrated’, ‘to be a participant in the rites’ (‘to take the sacrament’, W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London 1935) 202, admirably; so too M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 21). And not ‘when he is about to be initiated . . . he visits the priests every month’ (Edmonds, Ussher), as if he were attending church confirmation classes.

The Ὀρφεοτελεσταὶ are itinerant mystery priests offering cathartic rituals and the like, pilloried in Pl. *R.* 364E–5A βίβλων δὲ ὄμαδον παρέχονται Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφῆως, Κελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἐγκόνων . . . καθ’ ἄς

<sup>83</sup> Cantabr. (4 Wilson) uniquely has θεᾶ ἢ θεῶ (Stefanis (1994a) 80 n. 29).



θυηπολοῦσιν, πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ἰδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν εἰς μὲν ἔτι ζῶσιν, εἰς δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν, ἃς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἶ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει. See I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1941) 77–85, 101–4, West *loc. cit.*, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 297, id. *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge Mass. 1987) 33, Parker, *Miasma* 299–307, *Athenian Religion* 162. The noun appears next in Phld. *Po.* 181.1–2, p. 400 Janko (Ὀρφεοτελεστοῦ τυμπάνωι, disparaging). For similar formations, F. M. J. Waanders, *The History of ΤΕΛΟC and ΤΕΛΕΩ in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam 1983) §162.

μετὰ τῆς γυναικός (ἐὰν δὲ μὴ σχολάζηι ἡ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης) καὶ τῶν παιδίων: sense demands that καὶ τῶν παιδίων be taken with τῆς γυναικός, even if the run of the sentence is against it (Usener, who so punctuated, also suggested transposing the words after γυναικός). The children are accompanied by their mother, if she is available;<sup>84</sup> if not, by their nurse. The presence of the children is appropriate (West, *The Orphic Poems* 169); but the father needs a woman to look after them. If καὶ τῶν παιδίων is taken with τῆς τίτθης, the children go with their father only if their mother is unavailable. To substitute nurse for mother is comprehensible; to substitute children for mother is not. Cf. Dillon (§9n.) 154 (right in part).

V has παιδίων (like cd), not (as claimed) παιδίων: in V's script παι<sup>δ</sup> is παιδίων. And παιδίων is what we need, since Theophrastus distinguishes between παῖς 'slave' (singular II.11, VIII.4, XII.12, XIII.4, XIV.9, XVIII.2, 8, XX.10, XXI.8, XXIII.8, XXIV.12, XXV.2, 4, XXX.15; plural XXX.16, 17) and παιδίον 'child' (sing. XX.5, XXVIII.4; plur. II.6, V.5, VII.10, XIV.10, XXII.6, XXVII.13). The only variations are VII.5 τοὺς παῖδας (children in general) and XXII.10 παιδίον (slave, probably female; I emend to παιδάριον). Cf. M. Golden, 'Pais, "Child" and "Slave"', *AC* 54 (1985) 91–104.

**13** [καὶ τῶν περιρραينوμένων ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐπιμελῶς δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι]: comparable in structure and phraseology to the beginning of the interpolated VI.7; deleted by Bloch before Ribbeck 1870. For both περιρραينوμένων and ἐπὶ (ἀπὸ Schneider), §2n. The adverb ἐπιμελῶς is trite; but ἐπιμελέτατος (Petersen) destroys the structural similarity with VI.7. For the sea as an agent of purification, Halliday (Introd. Note) 127, Parker, *Miasma* 226–7.

**14** κἄν ποτε ἐπίδηι σκορόδωι ἔστεμμένον τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τριόδοις < > ἀπελθών: the compound ἐφορᾶν (only here in Theophrastus) is often used

<sup>84</sup> 'Observe the irony. Greek wives were seldom busy' Jebb, forgetting the list of duties given out by Ischomachus in *X. Oec.* 'I see Jebb as misled by the behaviour of women in upper-middle-class families in his Cambridge' (Paul Millett). See above, p. 318.

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of seeing dire sights (LSJ ἐπέιδον 1, ἐφορώω 2; Borthwick, *Eranos* 64 (1966) 119). He sees ‘. . . a man wreathed with garlic <eating?> the offerings at the crossroads . . .’. Food was left at the crossroads for Hekate, especially at the new moon, and was sometimes stolen by the poor or by desperadoes flaunting their contempt for religion: Ar. *Pl.* 595–7 φησὶ γὰρ αὕτη (sc. Ἑκάτη) | τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλουτοῦντας δεῖπνον κατὰ μῆν’ ἀποπέμπειν, | τοὺς δὲ πένητας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρπάζειν πρὶν καταθεῖναι (Σ Tzetz. 594 κατὰ δὲ νομηνίαν οἱ πλούσιοι ἐπεμπον δεῖπνον ἐσπέρας ὥσπερ θυσίαν τῆι Ἑκάτῃ ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις· οἱ δὲ πένητες ἤρχοντο πεινῶντες καὶ ἥρσιον αὐτὰ καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἡ Ἑκάτη ἔφαγεν αὐτά), D. 54.39 ἀκούω . . . τοὺτους (Conon and his associates) τά θ’ Ἑκαταῖα [κατακαίειν add. fere codd., κατεσθίειν A: del. Baiter] καὶ τοὺς ὄρχεις τοὺς ἐκ τῶν χοίρων, οἷς καθαίρουσιν ὅταν εἰσιεῖναι μέλλουσιν, συλλέγοντας ἕκαστοτε συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλήλοισι, Luc. *DMort.* 2.3. The remains of domestic purificatory rituals (ὄξυσθῦμια, καθάρματα, καθάρσια) were also left there, and these too might be taken (Luc. *Cat.* 7, *DMort.* 1.1). See Roscher, *Lex.Myth.* 1.2 (1886–90) 1888–9, Heckenbach, ‘Hekate’, *RE* vii.2 (1912) 2780, K. F. Smith, ‘Hecate’s Suppers’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 6 (1913) 565–7, Th. Hopfner, ‘Τριόδος’, *RE* vii.1A (1939) 163–5, C. H. Greenewalt, *Ritual Dinners in Early Historic Sardis* (Berkeley etc. 1978) 43–5, Parker, *Miasma* 30, S. I. Johnston, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 219–21.

The wreath of garlic protects the thief from Hekate’s wrath or apparition. This is a natural use of garlic, although not elsewhere attested. Garlic was believed to have medicinal properties (e.g. Ar. *V.* 1172, Plin. *Nat.* 19.111, 20.50–7), and to be a prophylactic against hellebore (*HP* 9.8.6) and scorpions (Str. 17.3.11, Plin. *Nat.* 20.50). It was chewed by women at the Skira festival, to ensure that men kept their distance (Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 89 ἥρσιον κκόροδα ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀφροδιτικῶν, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 145, Dillon (§9n.) 125; cf. Ar. *Th.* 494, with R. Seager, *Philologus* 127 (1983) 139–42). The philosopher Stilpon violated a taboo by entering the temple of the Mother of the Gods after eating garlic (Ath. 422b). There is a similar prohibition in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1042.3 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) 55.3 (ii–iii ΔD). Persius 5.185–8 prescribes a triple dose in the morning as a prophylactic against malign foreign rites. It keeps off the evil eye (Sittl, *Gebärden* 119, Lawson (§3n.) 14, 140, F. T. Elworthy, ‘Evil Eye’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 5 (1912) 614), and witches and vampires (M. Summers, *The Vampire, His Kith and Kin* (New York 1929) 209, P. Barber, *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality* (New Haven and London 1988) 63, 131–2). A wreath of garlic is mentioned (in what connection is unknown) by Call. fr. 657 ἀμφὶ τε κεβλήν | εἰρμένος ἀγλίθων οὔλον ἔχει κτέφανον, and (for a pun on ῥόδα) by Ath. 676d. A wreath of onions worn in a dream aids the wearer and harms his neighbours (Artem. 1.77 *ad fin.*). Further garlic lore in Murr (on §2 δάφνην) 179–80, Riess, ‘Aberglaube’, *RE* 1.1 (1893) 58, O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1906) 889 n. 7, Stadler, ‘Lauch’,

## COMMENTARY

*RE* XII.1 (1925) 990–1, M. Grieve (ed. C. F. Leyel), *A Modern Herbal* (London 1931) 342–5, *HdA* 5 (1932/3) s.u. ‘Knoblauch’ 1–6, J. Blackwood and S. Fulder, *Garlic: Nature’s Original Remedy* (Poole 1986), Opie and Tatem (on §2 δάφνην) 172–3, E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford 1993) ch. 5 (esp. 290–7), R. Vickery, *A Dictionary of Plant-Lore* (Oxford 1995) 150–1, Dalby 155–6. For the unqualified part. ἐστεμμένον (Foss 1834: -ων V) ‘a man wreathed’, II.2n.

He considers himself contaminated by what he has seen. If τῶν is taken as masculine (σκορόδωι ἐστεμμένον τῶν, ‘aliquem eorum qui considerare solent in triuivis [i.e. beggars: Call. *Cer.* 113–15, Luc. *Nec.* 17] auerruncandi causa alio coronatum’, Diels, most awkwardly) or changed to τινά (Kayser), he sees only a man wearing a protective wreath. Such a sight will not contaminate him. The man must be doing something unholy, and what he is doing must be stated explicitly. He will be eating or stealing Hekate’s food, or the remains of household purifications, and these are perhaps adequately designated by τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τριόδοις. If that expression is acceptable, we need only a part. which means ‘eating’ or ‘stealing (from)’. Neither ἀπεσθίοντα nor ἐπεσθίοντα (both suggested by Borthwick) for ἐπελθόντων (ἀπ- V<sup>c</sup>) is suitable: the former means ‘eat off’, i.e. ‘remove *x* from *y* by eating it’ (as fr. 175 Wimmer, 362A.5–6 Fortenbaugh ἢ ἵππος ἀπεσθίει τῶν πώλων τὸ ἵππομανές), the latter ‘eat after’ (as *CP* 6.4.7 (ζῴια, animals) ὅταν ἄλλο φάγωιν, ἔτερον ἐπεσθίοντα). The simple verb ἐσθίοντα suffices (for gen. τῶν κτλ., LSJ ἐσθίω 1 (add Chionid. 5), KG 1.355–6, E. Fraenkel, *Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* (Rome 1962) 105–6; cf. VIII.3n.); ἐπ- could have arisen under the influence of preceding ἐπί. But it may be better to adopt ἀπελθών (cd) and suppose the loss of a part. before it (e.g. <ἐσθίοντα> ἀπελθών). ἀπελθών, while not essential, is apt (he does go away, to be purified); IX.2n. And corruption of ἀπελθών to ἐπελθόντων was easy: gen. prompted by preceding τῶν; common confusion of ἀπ- and ἐπ- (§2, V.10n.), here facilitated by preceding ἐπί. Alternatively, ἐπανελθών (Hartung), if ‘going back’ may be interpreted as ‘going back home’ when there has been no specific mention of home (I.4n.); or εἰσελθών (§10, X.12n.).

Others look for the part. ‘eating’ (or the like) in ἐστεμμένων (V), and take garlic to be its object: σκορόδων ἐσθίοντα Schneider (after -ωι ἐσθίοντα Siebenkees), σκορόδων ἐφημμένον Ast (wrong tense), σκορόδων ἐστιώμενον Jebb (too dignified), κρόδοδον σιτούμενον Schoell (ap. Immisch 1897). Garlic is not known to have been offered to Hekate.<sup>85</sup> Attested offerings are: μαγίδες (S. fr. 734, Ar. fr. 851), whether ‘cakes’ or ‘trays’, a question disputed since antiquity

<sup>85</sup> Writers on garlic often claim that it is. Such claims derive from this passage: e.g. ‘Garlic was placed by the ancient Greeks (Theophrastus relates) on the piles of stones at cross-roads as a supper for Hekate’ (Grieve 342) which even conflates §5 with §14.

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(Pearson and Radt on S. fr. 734); cakes with lit miniature torches, offered at the full moon (Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 86, Diph. 27; illustrated by item no. 14 in *LLMC* vi (1992) 1.993, 2.657); slaughtered puppies (Sophr. 4.7, Ar. fr. 209, Plu. 280B-C (quoted below on κίλλιη ἢ κύλακι), 290D; N. J. Zaganiaris, 'Sacrifices de chiens dans l'antiquité classique', *Platon* 27 (1975) 322-9, C. Mainoldi, *L'image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce antique d'Homère à Platon* (Paris 1984) 51-9); ἄρτους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ 'bread etc.' (Σ Tzetz. Ar. Pl. 594); 'fried eggs and toasted cheese', offered at the new moon (Σ rec. Ar. Pl. 596b); certain fishes (τρίγλη or τριγλίς, Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 109, Melanth. *FGrH* 326 F 2, Antiph. 69.15, Chariclid. 1; μαινίς, Melanth. *loc. cit.*, Antiph. *loc. cit.*). Even if garlic may have been included in the food left at the crossroads, it would be odd to single it out here as the only food which the man is eating. If it is not Hekate's garlic which he is eating, but his own, and he is eating it to protect himself, the reaction of the Δεισιδαίμων remains unexplained. No other proposal need detain us: ἐπὶ τὰς τριόδους (Sylburg) ἐπελθόντων Foss 1834, ἐστεμμένον τῷ Hartung (he does not garland himself with stolen garlic), Ἐκάτη θυόντων Petersen, ἐσκοροδικμένον τινὰ Wilamowitz 1884 (cl. Ar. *Eq.* 494), ἐστεμμένην <τινὰ τῶν Ἐκατῶν> Edmonds 1929.

Ast (before Wilamowitz) proposed ἐν (for ἐπὶ) ταῖς τρ-, as §5, Plu. 193F, D.Chr. 32.10, 36.35, Gal. 10.139 Kühn, Luc. *Nec.* 17, *DM* 1.1, and lexicographers (Harp. p. 224.4 Dindorf (O 25 Keaney), Poll. 5.163, *EM* 626.46, Hsch. E 1258); in verse, Eur. 132, *PCG* adesp. 1025.1, Call. *Cer.* 114, Theoc. 2.36, Anyt. *AP* 9.314.2 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 731), anon. *AP* 5.303.2. With ἐπίδῃ preceding, the corruption would be easy. But Pl. *Lg.* 933B has ἐπὶ τρ-. Alternatively, the presence of ἐπί may point to something like τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τριόδους <ἐξενηχθέντων . . . > (Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 86a ap. Phot. A 1389 Theodoridis φέρειν (sc. cakes) εἰς τὰ ἱερά τῆι Ἄρτεμιδι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τριόδους, Plu. 280C τῆι Ἐκάτη σκυλάκια μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καθαρῶν ἐκφέρουσι, 708F οἱ τῆι Ἐκάτη . . . ἐκφέροντες τὰ δεῖπνα, Harp. p. 224.2-3 Dindorf (of καθάρματα) ἀποφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰς τριόδους).

**κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι:** this expression (or the like) occurs in Hp. *Epid.* 1.3.13 (2.702 Littré), 7.67 (5.430), *Aff.* 10 (6.218, u.l. τὴν -ήν), *Morb.* 2.14 (7.26), *Nat.Mul.* 48 (7.392), *Mul.* 75, 123 (8.162, 266), *Steril.* 224 (8.434). Cf. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1042.4 = Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* 55.4 (ii-iii AD) λουσαμένους κατακέφαλα (ritual purification; Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 401). The model is the Homeric κάκ κεφαλῆς (with χέω *Il.* 18.24, 23.765, *Od.* 23.156, 24.317; cf. *Od.* 10.361-2 λό(ε) . . . κατὰ κρατός).

**καὶ ἱερείας καλέσας:** not official priestesses, but a more dignified term than some others which were in use to describe women who performed purificatory or other rites (γυναικες Men. *Phasm.* 54 quoted on §2, περιμάκτρια γραῦς Plu. 166A (γρᾶς 168D), ἀπομάκτρια Poll. 7.188; Bolkestein (Introd. Note) 68-70, M. W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London and

New York 2001) 92–3). We do not want masc. ἱερέας (Auberius) or ἱερέα (Hirschig before Blaydes).

**κίλλιη ἢ κύλακι:** striking alliteration (cf. V.8 Λακωνικὰς κύνας εἰς Κύζικον, XXI.9 στηλίδιον στήσας (conj.)). It is wrong to suspect dittography ([κίλλιη ἢ] Wilamowitz 1884; [ἢ κύλακι] Terzaghi) or to emend κύλακι (κίλλιη) καὶ δαίδι Cobet 1874, cl. Diph. 125.3 δαίδι μιᾷ κίλλιη τε μιᾷ, Luc. *Nec.* 7 περιήγνισεν δαίδι καὶ κίλλιη, *Alex.* 47 καθαῖρον . . . ὑπὸ δαίδι καὶ κίλλιη), since squill and puppy are both at home here. The squill (*urginea maritima*), or sea onion, is a bulbous-rooted seaside plant with apotropaic (*HP* 7.13.4, Plin. *Nat.* 20.101) and medicinal properties; the particular variety used in purification was known as ‘Epimenidean’ (*HP* 7.12.1; cf. Diph. 125.3, Luc. *Nec.* 7, *Alex.* 47, D.Chr. 48.17, Artem. 3.50). See Murr (on §2 δάφνην) 211, Steier, ‘Κίλλια’, *RE* III.1A (1927) 522–6, M. Grieve (ed. C. F. Leyel), *A Modern Herbal* (London 1931) 766–9, K. Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1970) 63–5, A. D. Niebuhr, *Herbs of Greece* (Athens 1970) 125, A. Huxley and W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean* (London 1977) 148, Pl. 340, O. Polunin, *Flowers of Greece and the Balkans* (Oxford 1980) no. 1630, Pl. 59, Parker, *Miasma* 231–2, J. Scarborough in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York and Oxford 1991) 146–8, H. Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* (transl. W. T. and E. R. Stearn, London 1993) 114–15, Pl. 186–7, R. W. Sharples on fr. 417.14 Fortenbaugh (in Fortenbaugh *et al.*, *Sources* 5 (1995) 188–91), C. Hünemörder, ‘Meerzwiebel’, *DNP* 7 (1999) 1130–1, J. E. Raven, *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2000) 18, 81 (illustrated 84). For the use of a puppy’s blood, Plu. 280B–C τῶν δὲ κυνῶν πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν “Ἕλληνας ἐχρῶντο καὶ χρῶνται γε μέχρι νῦν ἔνιοι σφαγίω πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμούς· καὶ τῆι Ἐκάτηι κυλακία μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καθαρῶν ἐκφέρουσι καὶ περιμάττουσι κυλακίαις τοὺς ἀγνισμοῦ δεομένους, περικυλακισμὸν τὸ τοιοῦτο γένος τοῦ καθαρμοῦ καλοῦντες (Mainoldi *loc. cit.* (above, p. 373), Parker 230).

**κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν περικαθᾶραι:** for περι- see on §2 περιρρανάμενος; for -καθᾶραι / -καθῆραι, §7n.

**15 <καί> μαινόμενον δὲ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον φρίσας εἰς κόλπῳ πτύσαι:** we need not only δέ for τε (Blaydes before Münsterberg 1895), but also <καί> (Darvaris, but with <πο>τε); VI.9n.

Madness and epilepsy may be regarded as pollutions, inviting purification: madness, Ar. *V.* 118; epilepsy, Hp. *Morb.Sacr.* 1.10, 12, 23, 25–6, 39–42, 46, 18.6 Grensemann (6.354, 358, 362, 364, 396 Littré); Parker, *Miasma* 207–8, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 80.

Spitting averts pollution and protects against what is repugnant or frightening: Sittl, *Gebärden* 117–20, T. W. Nicolson, *HSCPh* 8 (1897) 23–40, W. Crooke, ‘Saliva’, *Encycl.Rel.Eth.* 11 (1920) 100–4, *HdA* 8 (1936/7) s.u. ‘Spucken’ 325–44,

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R. Muth, *Träger der Lebenskraft: Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike* (Vienna 1954) 26–64, 167–8, Parker, *Miasma* 219, Opie and Tatem (on §2 δάφνην) 373. It was normal to spit at epileptics: Pl. *Capt.* 550 *qui (in)sputatur morbus*, 553–5, Plin. *Nat.* 10.69, 28.35, Apul. *Apol.* 44 (Muth 32–5, O. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness* (Baltimore and London 2 1971) 8, 13). The normal way to keep off madmen was to pelt them with stones: Ar. *Ach.* 1165–8, *V.* 1491 (βαλλήσει Dindorf: -cη uel -cειc codd.), *Au.* 524–5, Call. fr. 191.79 (βάλλ' ἢ φεῦγ' Wilamowitz: βαλλει φ- Π),<sup>86</sup> Pl. *Poen.* 528; cf. J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg 1970) 53 n. 1, R. Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness* (Princeton 1995) 100–2.

Spitting into the bosom is often performed thrice: Theoc. 6.39 τρις εἰς ἐμόν ἔπτυσα κόλπον, 20.11, Tib. 1.2.54, [Verg.] *Ciris* 372–3, Petr. 131.5, anon. *APL* 251.5; §2n. Hence <τρις> εἰς Hirschig 1849. But the numeral is commonly absent: Men. *Sam.* 503, Call. fr. 687 (Bentley's conj. introduces it), *Juv.* 7.112, *Luc. Apol.* 6, *Nau.* 15, *Strat. AP* 12.229.1–2, *Lib. Ep.* 804.2. I do not include Petr. 74.13, where *non sputit* (Reiske) must replace *consputit* (F. R. D. Goodyear, *Papers on Latin Literature* (London 1992) 260–1). Certainly not τρις for φρίξας (Nauck 1863), which maladroitly removes a telling detail. φρίξας represents a *frisson* akin to that which is felt at the sight of divinity (Pfister, 'Eiphanie', *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) 317–18, Richardson on *h. Cer.* 188–90, Hopkinson on Call. *Cer.* 59–60); here the sight is of one whom divinity has touched. Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 251A ὅταν θεοειδὲς πρόσωπον ἴδῃ. . . πρῶτον μὲν ἔφριξε, *X. Cyr.* 4.2.15 πᾶσι . . . φρίκην ἐγγίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, Men. *Epit.* 901 πέφρικα (at the prospect of meeting a madman), *Plu.* 26B δεῖ δὲ μὴ δειλῶς μηδ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐν ἱερῶι φρίττειν ἅπαντα καὶ προσκυνεῖν. The article is usually present; hence εἰς <τόν> κόλπον Nauck 1863 (before Blaydes). But it is sometimes absent, even in prose: *Lib. Ep.* 804.2 πτύω δὲ εἰς κόλπον τῆι παροιμίαι πειθόμενος, *Diogenian.* IV.82b (*CPG* 1.245) εἰς κόλπον οὐ πτύει; cf. §5 ἐπὶ γόνατα, §14 κατὰ κεφαλῆς, *KG* 1.605(f).

<sup>86</sup> A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* (Oxford 1999) 45 n. 211, is unpersuasive. Of βάλλει, 'Presumably not "he throws things": it was other people who threw things at lunatics'. On the contrary, lunatics regularly throw stones: *Lys.* 3.7–8 τὴν τούτου μανίαν . . . ἔβαλλέ με λίθοις, [Pl.] *Alc.* 2 139D παιομένους καὶ βαλλομένους καὶ ἄπερ εἰώσασιν οἱ μαινόμενοι διαπράττεσθαι, *Eub.* 93.10 δέκατος δὲ (*sc.* κρατήρ) μανίας ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποιεῖ, Men. *Dysc.* 82–3 μαινέθ' ὁ διώκων . . . βάλλομαι βῶλοισι, λίθοισι, Pl. *Capt.* 592–602, *Hor. S.* 2.3.128–30, 2.7.116–17 (an undetected allusion to *E. Or.* 268), *Plu. Pomp.* 36.8 ἔλεγεν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν . . . ὅτι μὴ λίθοισι βάλλει τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μαινόμενος; Hunter on *Eub. loc. cit.* The true objection to βάλλει, in this sense, is that it suits the sequence of thought less well than βάλλ' ἢ (and βάλλει 2nd person passive, which Kerkhecker contemplates, suits even less well). Kerkhecker translates βάλλει as 'he butts'. Not only is this sense unattested, but in a context of madness the verb will inevitably suggest (as it does in the passages cited above) the throwing of stones.

## XVII

### THE UNGRATEFUL GRUMBLER

#### Introductory note

To translate μεμψίμοιρος as ‘faultfinding, criticizing, querulous’ (LSJ) is to overlook the second half of the compound. The μεμψίμοιρος finds fault with his lot or share (μοῖρα). This is apparent in [Arist.] *Ath.* 12.5, the earliest instance of the abstract noun: Solon condemns the μεμψιμοιρία of rich and poor, who are not satisfied with what he has allotted them. The adjectival form appears first in Isoc. 12.8 τὸ γῆρας ἔστι δυσάρεστον καὶ μικρολόγον καὶ μεμψίμοιρον and Arist. *HA* 608<sup>b</sup>8–10 γυνὴ ἀνδρὸς . . . μεμψιμοιρότερον, the verb μεμψιμοιρεῖν in a decree (inauthentic) ap. D. 18.74, and in Polybius. [Arist.] *IV* 1251<sup>b</sup>24–5 lists μεμψιμοιρία alongside μικρολογία, δυσελπιτικότητα and ταπεινότης as a concomitant of μικροψυχία. The full meaning is not always apparent or relevant, but sometimes it is: e.g. Plb. 18.48.7 μεμψιμοιρούντων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κοινωνικῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι, D.S. 17.78.1 πολλῶν αὐτῷ μεμψιμοιρούντων τούτους μὲν ταῖς δωρεαῖς ἐθεράπευεν, Plu. 83c ὥσπερ παῖς ἦκει μεμψιμοιρῶν ὅτι μὴ δανειζόμενος ἐπέπληξα κνίσης τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ἄφ’ ὧν εἶχον ἔθυσά μοι μετρίως οἴκοθεν;, Luc. *JTr.* 40 ἐκείνη μεμψίμοιρος οὕσα ἠγανάκτησεν οὐ κληθεῖσα ἐφ’ ἐστίασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνέως (cf. §2), *Sat.* 16 ἀπέπτω δὲ καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων μεμψιμοιρία, καὶ τὸ πεμφθὲν ὅποῖον ἂν ἦι μέγα δοκεῖτω. Antidotus wrote a *Μεμψίμοιρος* (*PCG* 2.308).

Theophrastus is true to the full sense of the word. The Μεμψίμοιρος is an ungrateful grumbling malcontent, who devalues what he gets because he might have got more, or suspects that it may not be all that it seems, or resents it because it calls for some return.

#### [1] Definition

‘Unsuitable criticism of the things which have been given’ is an honest, though trite, attempt to describe the nature of his grumbling. Stein takes τῶν δεδομένων to be ‘things given by the gods, by fate’, adducing Vett.Val. 5.6.10, where τὰ δεδομένα is opposed to τὰ μὴ πεπρωμένα. This notion is incompatible with the details of the sketch. Rather, τῶν δεδομένων ought to be whatever things come the man’s way, from whatever source, as perhaps D.H. *Ant.* 5.32.4 στέργειν . . . τὰ παρόντα ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ τὰ δεδομένα (Reiske: δεδομένα A: διδόμενα B) δέχεσθαι, where the source is human. But τὰ διδόμενα may be right there, and τῶν διδομένων (Lycius) here: cf. Hdt. 4.131.2, 8.138.1, 9.111.5, [Pl.] *Alc.*2 141c, Isoc. 15.146, D. 27.45.

\*Ἐστι: ἔστι δέ cd (def. XIV n.).

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**ἐπιτίμησις:** with gen., first Plb. 3.7.4 τῆς τῶν συγγραφέων ἐπιτιμήσεως; earlier with dat. (Arist. *Top.* 161<sup>b</sup>19, 38–9, *Pb.* 1461<sup>b</sup>19). Cf. Stein 202. For ἐπιτίμησις <τις> (Edmonds 1929, from M, which has no authority), def. I n.

**παρὰ τὸ προσήκον:** Lys. 31.29, Pl. *Phlb.* 36D, Isoc. *Ep.* 9.12, D. 11.11, Plb. 9.28.7, D.S. 32.12.2. The reading of V is inscrutable: προσηκῶς Siebenkees, προσήκ<sup>κτ</sup> = προσηκόντων Cobet 1859, προσή<sup>κτ</sup> = *u.ll.* προσήκοντα and προσηκόντων Diels, ‘nescio quid esse possit nisi: προσήρου e corr.’ Löwe ap. Meister.

**2 τοιόδε τις:** τοιόδε in place of the regular τοιοῦτος, only here and XXIV.2, XXVIII.2, XXIX.2.

**ἀποστείλαντος μερίδα τοῦ φίλου:** it was customary to send presents of food after a feast (XV.5n.). For μερίδα, XXX.4 διανεμῶν μερίδας, LSJ I.1 (not I.2, to which LSJ assign this passage; add Men. *Sic.* 186). For the art. with φίλου, VIII.2n.

**εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν φέροντα “Ἐφθόνησέ μοι τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴναριου οὐκ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέεας”:** ἐφθόνησας (V) is indefensible: the servant cannot be substituted for the master as addressee. ἐφθόνης ἄρα (Hanow 1861) and -εν ἄρα (Cobet 1874) are not preferable. For ζωμοῦ, VIII.7n. The diminutive οἴναριου may have a depreciatory sense (LSJ 1) and need not be taken as colloquial (so LSJ 11); it aptly expresses his sense of slight and his low opinion of his would-be host, who served only poor wine and begrudged him even that. Cf. W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ION* (Weimar 1910) 260.

**3 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑταίρας καταφιλούμενος:** ‘kiss’ is elsewhere simple φιλεῖν (II.6, V.5). But the compound is likely to be right (κατα V<sup>15</sup>), as the more expressive verb (LSJ καταφιλέω), for contrast with the following φιλεῖς, here not ‘kiss’ but ‘love’.

**εἰπεῖν “Θαυμάζω εἰ σὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντως με φιλεῖς”:** ‘I am surprised if (it is the case that)’, ‘I wonder if’, as §6 and e.g. Pl. *Phd.* 95A πάντῃ ἐθαύμαζον εἴ τι ἔξει τις χρήσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ. After θαυμάζειν, εἰ commonly stands for ὅτι (KG 2.369–70), but not always, as LSJ θαυμάζω 6a might be taken to imply. Cf. G. Wakker, *Conditions and Conditionals* (Amsterdam 1994) 286–94, M. Biraud, ‘Les constructions complétives du verbe θαυμάζω’, in B. Jacquinod (ed.), *Les complétives en grec ancien* (Saint-Etienne 1999) 244–50.

Ar. *Nu.* 86 ἄλλ’ εἴπερ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας μ’ ὄντως φιλεῖς (cf. D.C. 64.14.3 εἴπερ ὄντως φιλεῖτέ με) supports ὄντως (Blaydes) against οὔτω (V), which is diversely and unconvincingly translated (‘thus warmly’ Edmonds, ‘as you appear to’ Ussher, ‘that much’ Rusten). The reverse corruption is found at E. *Herc.* 1345 (ὀρθῶς testes: ὄντως L). For the word ὄντως itself see Wilamowitz on E. *Herc.* 610. Note also Men. *Epit.* 468 εἰ . . . ὄντως. With ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς . . . φιλεῖς cf. H. *Il.* 9.343 ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον (similarly 486, Hes. fr. 58.4, Bion fr. 9.2;



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ἐκ θ- στέργοισα Theoc. 17.130), X. *An.* 7.7.43 ὅτι κοί ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, Theoc. 8.35 βόσκοιτ' ἐκ ψυχᾶς τὰς ἀμνάδας, 29.4 οὐκ ὄλας φιλέην μ' ἐθέλησθ' ἀπὺ καρδίας, Ter. *Eu.* 175 *ex animo ac uere*, Cat. 109.4, Liv. 40.46.9.

**4** καὶ τῶι Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν οὐ διότι ὕει ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον: Zeus cannot satisfy everyone, for some want rain, others do not: Thgn. 25–6 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς | οὐθ' ὕων πάντεσσι ἀνδάνει οὐτ' ἀνέχων, S. fr. 524.3–4 οὐδὲ . . . Ζεὺς . . . | οὐτ' ἐξεπομβρῶν οὐτ' ἐπαυχημῆσας φίλος. He does not complain that it is raining (rather, he wants rain, as a farmer might); he complains that it did not rain earlier. <οὐχ> ὕει (Needham), 'he does not complain that it is not raining' is less well suited to what follows, nor is it supported by ὅτι οὐχ ὕει M, which epitomises all of οὐ διότι ὕει ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον. For διότι, XXIII.9n. For ὕει sc. Ζεὺς, XIV.12n.

**5** καὶ εὐρών ἐν τῇ ὀδῶι βαλλάντιον: the βαλλάντιον was a pouch-shaped leather purse, held in the hand: Hug, 'Marsupium', *RE* xiv.2 (1930) 1981–3, Stone, *Costume* 248–9, R. Hurschmann, 'Geldbeutel', *DNP* 4 (1998) 888–9, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 130–1; illustration in M. Meyer, 'Männer mit Geld: zu einer rotfiguren Vase mit "Alltagsszene"', *JDAI* 103 (1988) 87–125.

“Ἄλλ' οὐ θησαυρὸν ἠύρηκα οὐδέποτε”: the expression θησαυρὸν εὐρίσκειν is regular (e.g. Pl. *Phlb.* 15D, Arist. *Met.* 1025<sup>a</sup>16–19, *Rh.* 1362<sup>a</sup>9, Philem. 112.3). For ἠύρ- (Wilamowitz 1902b) not εὐρ-, II.2n.

**6** καὶ πριάμενος ἀνδράποδον ἄξιον καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς τοῦ πωλοῦντος: haggling over price was an established procedure in commercial transactions at Athens (X.7n.). Normally, when two aorist participles are linked by καί, the first is anterior in time to the second (IX.8n.). Here the second is anterior to the first. But this is not much different from §8 δίκην νικήσας καὶ λαβῶν πάσας τὰς ψήφους. We cannot delete καί, because the first part. would then be anterior to the second (IX.8 n.). ἅτε (Casaubon) for καί does not appeal. For ἄξιον 'cheap', III.3n.

“Θαυμάζω” εἰπεῖν “εἴ τι ὑγιές οὕτως ἄξιον ἐώνημαι”: 'I am surprised if (it is the case that) I have bought anything healthy so cheap'. This is the same use of θαυμάζω εἰ as at §3. ὁ τι (ὅτι V) gives no acceptable sense. I do not understand ὁ τι <τὸ μῆ> ὑγιές· οὕτως κτλ. (Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* 218 n. 1). Only here and in §9 is the verb of speech interposed after the speech has begun; cf. XXV.6n.

**7** ὕός: for the spelling, X.5n.

εἰπεῖν ὅτι “Ἄν προσθῆις ‘Καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ ἡμῖν ἄπεστιν’ ἀληθῆ ἐρεῖς”: for the direct quotation as object of προσθεῖναι, Men. *Sic.* 354–5 πρόσθεε “θυγάτριον κτλ.”. The reaction would be less surprising if the child were a daughter, who would have to be provided with a dowry (Ter. *Hau.* 628). To

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deprecate the birth of a son and heir, because of the expense of his upbringing, is particularly shocking, as it is in *Lib. Decl.* 34.14 ἐπει δὲ καὶ ὁ φιλοπάτωρ οὗτος ἐγένετο παῖς, ὡς εἶθε μήποτε, ὑπεκθεῖναι τοῦτον εὐθύς ἐβουλόμην ἐννοῶν τὸ δαπανηρὸν τῶν τόκων καὶ τὴν ἀνατροφήν ἐνθυμούμενος. For other complaints (mild in comparison with this) about the cost of raising children see M. Golden, *Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore and London 1990) 106–7.

ἀππετιν ‘is gone’ is an effectively dramatic present, and the obvious correction for ἀπέτην (V), a simple phonetic error (X.14n.). No other conjecture is worth considering: ἀπέτη Coray, ἀπεικιν Meineke, ἀπόλωλεν Cobet 1874, ἀπέτβη F. W. Schmidt (*Verisimilia* (Neu-Strelitz 1886) 13–14), ἀπέθανεν Blaydes, ἀπέπητ Naber, ἀπέτης Immisch 1923. For ὅτι introducing direct speech, II.8n.

**8** καὶ δίκην νικήσας καὶ λαβῶν πάσας τὰς ψήφους: to gain a unanimous verdict would be remarkable, since an Athenian jury numbered at least 201 in a private suit, at least 501 in a public suit (Harrison 2.47, MacDowell, *Law* 36–40, id. on D. 21.223, P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaiion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 728–9, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 187, Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 83). For δίκην νικήσας, *Ar. Eq.* 93, *V.* 581 (*E. El.* 955, cited by LSJ νικάω 1.5, is different). Deletion of linking καὶ (Edmonds 1929) is misguided (§6n.).

ἐγκαλεῖν τῶι γράψαντι τὸν λόγον ὡς πολλὰ παραλελοιπότι τῶν δικαίων: on the professional speech-writer (λογογράφος), ample bibliography in D. Whitehead, *Hypereides: The Forensic Speeches* (Oxford 2000) 9–10. τὰ δίκαια are ‘just claims’, ‘valid arguments’, as e.g. *Th.* 3.44.4, 3.54.1, *D.* 18.7, 9.

ἐγκαλεῖν (Stephanus: -εῖ V) also Cantabr. (4 Wilson), with ν erased (Stefanis (1994a) 80 n. 29), and Casanat. 420 (52 Wilson) (Introduction, p. 49 n. 157, Stefanis 79).

**9** καὶ ἔρανου εἰσενεχθέντος παρὰ τῶν φίλων: I.5n., XV.7n. With the expression as a whole cf. *Philem.* 178.13–14 φίλοι σοι . . . | ἔρανον εἰσείουσιν.

“Καὶ πῶς” εἶπεῖν “ὅτε δεῖ . . . χάριν ὀφείλειν ὡς ἡϋεργετημένον;”: for the favour of an interest-free loan he owes an enduring debt of gratitude, and he fears that he may be asked to redeem this debt by returning the favour (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 122–6). For elliptical καὶ πῶς; Denniston 310; for ὅτε ‘when’, ‘seeing that’, LSJ B.1, P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien* (Paris 1963) 279–80, Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 301; both together, *Ar. Nu.* 717–18 καὶ πῶς, ὅτε μου | φροῦδα τὰ χρήματα . . .; Not ὅτι (V) ‘because’; same error XIV.12. For εἶπεῖν interposed, §6n. ἡϋ- rather than εϋ- (V); II.2n.

## XVIII THE DISTRUSTFUL MAN

### Introductory note

The distrust of the Ἀπιστικός is fuelled by a specific fear: loss of money or property. Menander wrote an Ἀπιστικός (*PCG* vi.2 p. 74); nothing is known of it.

#### [1] *Definition*

‘Presumption of wrongdoing directed against everyone’ does not recognise the particular nature (financial) of his suspicions. Nor does ‘wrongdoing’ suit §3 (no other party is involved), or §4 (suspected negligence, rather than fear of robbery), or §6 (fear of loss or accidental damage). See Stein 204.

Ἔστιν: def. XIV n.

ἄμέλει: II.9n.

ὑπόληψις: the word occurs five times in [Pl.] *Def.*, including the definition of πείσις (413c; cf. Ingenkamp 63–4). See on def. II ὑπολάβοι.

2 ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσοντα: ‘his slave, to do the shopping’ (the art. as in §8, II.11, XIII.4, XIV.9, XX.10, XXI.8, XXIII.8, XXIV.12, XXV.2, 4), not ‘der zu den Marktgängen bestimmte Sklave’ (Steinmetz, misled by Meister), which would be παῖδα τὸν ὄψ- (Meier 1834/5), like XXII.10 (cited below). For shopping by slaves, IX.4n.

ἔτερον παῖδα πέμπειν [τὸν] πεισομένον πόσου ἐπρίατο: the article is not supported by XXII.10 μισθοῦσθαι . . . παιδάριον τὸ συνακολουθῆσον, where the part. describes a continuing role rather than a temporary purpose (‘hire a slave who will perform the role of companion for his wife’), nor by passages in which the article stands without the noun, XXIV.10 προαποστέλλειν . . . τὸν ἐροῦντα, XXVI.2 προκαιρήσοντα . . . τοὺς συνεπιμηλομένους, XXIX.5 οὐχ ἔξομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συναχθεσθησομένους. When the part. expresses a temporary purpose and the noun is present the article is omitted, as in the preceding ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσοντα and XXV.8 εἰκάγειν . . . σκεφομένους τοὺς δημότας. See Goodwin §840 (contrast §826), KG 2.86 (5) (contrast 1.175 (b-c)); also XXIV.13n. For other interpolated articles, IV.10n.

3 καὶ φέρειν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ κατὰ στάδιον καθίζων ἀριθμεῖν πόσον ἔστι: the part. φέρων (V) is unsatisfactory, since it is not logically or temporally coordinate with καθίζων and therefore ought not to be linked to it by καί. The alternatives are (i) φέρειν, so that καί links the infinitives, and (ii) [καί]

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(Cantabr.), leaving uncoordinated present participles. (i) is preferable, since an infin. puts this act on a par with the act described in the following infin., and the sentence then gives two proofs of ἀπιστία: that he carries the money himself, and that he counts it continually. With (ii), carrying his own money is merely a descriptive detail.

Money (like shopping, §2n.) is regularly carried by the slave: XXIII.8, Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 89, Pl. *Men.* 265, Ps. 170 (quoted on §8); D. Cohen, *Theft in Athenian Law* (Munich 1983) 82. With φέρειν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀργύριον cf. XXII.7 αὐτὸς φέρειν τὰ λάχανα; for τὸ ἀργύριον, IV.10n. Evidently κατὰ στάδιον is 'stade by stade, every stade', although Müller (1878) 12, LSJ κατὰ β.π, KG 1.480, offer no precise parallel for this use of κατὰ with an unqualified noun expressing distance.

**4** καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωτᾶν κατακείμενος εἰ κέκλεικε τὴν κιβωτόν: R. D. Griffith, *Prometheus* 19 (1993) 137, observes that Athenian husbands and wives often slept in different rooms, and suggests that the Ἄπιστος shares a room with his wife because he distrusts her. But the Δυσχερής too shares a room with his wife (XIX.5). For κιβωτός, X.6n.

καὶ εἰ σεσημανται τὸ κυλικεῖον: the verb is middle (LSJ β.π), not, as translators take it, passive. For the practice of sealing doors and receptacles see my note on E. *Phaeth.* 223 (add *Men. Asp.* 358); for seals and sealing generally, Whitehead on *Hyp. Ath.* 8. κυλικεῖον is a noun of regular occurrence: Ar. fr. 106 (defined as ποτηρίων σκευοθήκη by Ath. 460b), Anaxandr. 30, Cratin. Jun. 9.4, Eub. 62, 95, 116, Chares *FGrH* 125 F 5 (p. 661.18) ap. Ath. 575E, Callix. *FGrH* 627 F 2 (pp. 170.28, 172.3, 174.24, 176.18) ap. Ath. 199c, F, 201D, 202E, *PCair. Zen.* 59014.9 (iii BC), Soc. Rhod. *FGrH* 192 F 1 ap. Ath. 148A, D.S. 30.16, Luc. *Lex.* 7, Ath. 423B, 480B, 534E. It means 'cupboard' in the original, now obsolete, sense of the word (*OED* 1 'a piece of furniture for the display of plate; a sideboard, buffet'). See F. Studniczka, *Das Symposion Ptolemaios* II (*ASG* 30.2, 1914) 163–9, D. B. Thompson, *JEA* 50 (1964) 151, G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) 81–4, E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983) 74. Richter (who discusses the literary evidence admirably) defines it as 'a stand for the display and the conserving of vessels, statuettes, etc., especially, it would seem, when they were of silver or gold', and translates 'buffet', for which I substitute the more familiar term 'sideboard'. This is a piece of furniture which the Ἄπιστος, who values his cups (§7), will naturally wish to secure. Corruption to κυλιούχιον (V) is explicable: κυλικεῖον = κυλικιον (a regular misspelling in the mss. of Ath.; cf. III.2 ἐγκώμειον, III.3 and XXVIII.4 ποσειδ- for ποσιδ-, IX.8 χαλκεῖα, XIII.3 -τιν- for -τειν-, XIX.8 -ιον for -εῖον), then κυλίχιον (as XVI.2 χρωῶν for κρηῶν), and κυλι<ού>χιον. A slighter change κυλικούχιον (Sylburg) has satisfied Richter and others. But words of comparable form,

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δαιδούχιον, κατούχιον, τιμούχιον, show that this could not be an alternative form for κυλικεῖον. There is nothing plausible among the many alternative coinages proposed: κοιλιούχιον cd, κολ(λ)ικούχιον Lycius ('capsa panaria'), κλειδούχιον Sylburg before Naber, κυνούχιον Casaubon (the word is rightly removed from LSJ by the Rev.Suppl.), στολιούχιον Hartung, δακτυλιούχιον Blümner, χηλούχιον Zingerle 1893.

καὶ εἰ ὁ μοχλὸς εἰς τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλείαν ἐμβέβληται: perhaps αὐλειον, for conformity with XXVIII.3, Ar. *V.* 1482, Lys. 1.17, Pl. *Smp.* 212c, Men. fr. 815.2. Deletion of θύραν (Edmonds 1929) would give a common ellipse (Ar. *Pax* 982, fr. 266, Theoc. 15.43 with Gow *ad loc.*); but the omission in M (τῆ ἀυλαία) is no support.

καὶ ἂν ἐκείνη φῆι: 'says yes' (VIII.7n.).

ἀνασταῖς γυμνὸς ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων καὶ ἀνυπόδητος: cf. Pi. *N.* 1.50 αὐτὰ ποσσίν ('with bare feet')<sup>87</sup> ἀπεπλος ὀρούσαις' ἀπὸ στρωμνάς. With ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων cf. XIX.5 ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι; for ἀνυπόδητος, epil. X n., Stone, *Costume* 235–6.

τὸν λύχνον ἄψας: Pritchett 240–1, Stone 253–4.

καὶ οὕτω μόλις ὕπνου τυγχάνειν: 'and barely thus find sleep' (Jebb), 'und kommt so kaum zum Schlafen' (Meister); not 'and even so will hardly go to sleep' (Edmonds); nor 'and only then can he get some sleep' (Rusten, and apparently Ussher). This last translation gives οὕτω a resumptive sense found after participles (XVI.2n.) but not in coordinated clauses, and ignores μόλις. For ὕπνου τυγχάνειν, Ar. *Ach.* 713, *PCG* adesp. 707.2, Arist. *HA* 537<sup>b</sup>6, D.S. 31.9.5 (similarly ὕπνου λαγχάνειν, XXV.6n.).

**5** καὶ τοὺς ὀφείλοντας αὐτῷ ἀργύριον μετὰ μαρτύρων ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς τόκους: it is normal to make or repay a loan in the presence of witnesses (XIV.8n.). It is abnormal to summon witnesses when asking for repayment. Unless these are witnesses to the original loan (which is not stated, and should probably not be inferred), they cannot bear witness that money is owed. They can bear witness only that a request for repayment has been made. Just as it is characteristic of the Ἄναίσθητος to summon unwanted witnesses to the receipt of interest (XIV.8), so it is characteristic of the Ἄπιστος to summon witnesses because he anticipates that the borrower will deny that he has received a request for repayment. μετὰ μαρτύρων is a regular expression: Lys. 1.42, Isoc. 21.7, Is. 3.19, fr. 23.2 Thalheim, D. 30.20, 34.30, 38.5, 42.19, 48.47, 49.2, Men. fr. 379; E. Leisi, *Der Zeuge im attischen Recht* (Frauenfeld 1907) 160. For reflexive αὐτῷ, I.2n.

ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται ἕξαρνοι γενέσθαι: cf. Is. 3.21 ὥς ἂν μετὰ πλείετων δυνώμεθα τὰς ἐκμαρτυρίας πάντες ποιούμεθα, ἵνα τῷ . . . ἐκμαρτυρήσαντι

<sup>87</sup> Cf. S. L. Radt, *Mnemosyne* 24 (1971) 257 = *Kleine Schriften* (Leiden etc. 2002) 76.

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μη ἐξῆι ὕστερον ἐξάρνωι γενέσθαι, Isoc. 21.7 οὐδὲν ἦν θαυμαστόν, ὅτε καὶ οἱ μετὰ μαρτύρων δανεικάμενοι ἐξηρνοῦντο. Not δύναιτο (V) in primary sequence (Goodwin §§322–3; cf. Müller (1874) 52). The correction δύνωνται appears to be found only in Cantabr. Other wrongly transmitted optatives, XIX.9, XX.6, XXIII.5, XXX.16 (λάβωσι BV: λάβοιεν A).

**6 καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον δὲ ἐκδοῦναι δεινός:** for ἐκδοῦναι, XVI.6n. It is less likely that ἐκδοῦναι (V) is a vestige of ἐκδ<οῦναι πλ>ῦναι (Meineke; Hirschig had already proposed πλῦναι for δεινός), as XXII.8, XXX.10. With τοῦ κναφέως deleted, we may take ἐργάσθαι to refer not only to washing but to other activities, such as mending. Meineke also proposed θοιμάτιον (XXX.10n.).

οὐχ ὅς <ἄν> βέλτιστα ἐργάσθαι: ὅς (Salmasius, *De Usuris Liber* (Leiden 1638) 161: ὡς V) <ἄν> (Diels) rather than <ὅς ἄν> ὡς (Darvaris; <ὅς> ὡς J. M. Gesner before Meier 1834/5), since βέλτιστα is better without ὡς, and confusion of ο and ω is very common (III.2, VI.3, 9, IX.4, XI.3, 8, XVI.7, 10, XXVI.1). For loss of ἄν, XVI.3n.; omission of antecedent, V.3n. Fut. indic. ὅς . . . ἐργάσεται (V<sup>2</sup>) is much less natural. Not βέλτιστ' <ἄν> (Petersen), which would call rather for ἐργάσαιτο.

ἀλλ' οὗ ἄν ἦι ἄξιός ἐγγυητής [τοῦ κναφέως]: ὅταν (V) gives a very clumsy connection ('not to the best worker *but when* there is . . .'). οὗ ἄν, restoring perfect balance with ὅς <ἄν>, is preferable to ὅτωι ἄν (Coray; ὅτωι alone Needham), and obliges us to delete τοῦ κναφέως as an explanatory gloss (contemplated by Pauw, before Ast). Alternatively, τῶν κναφέων after ἐργάσθαι (Darvaris), rather than τῶι κναφεῖ after δεινός (Navarre 1918). For the spelling κν-/γν-, X.14n.

**7 καὶ ὅταν ἦκηι τις αἰτησόμενος ἐκπώματα:** loan of domestic objects (IV.11n.) would normally be made without interest, witnesses, or security (Millet, *Lending and Borrowing* 38–9). The ἐκπώματα are, as often, of metal (gold or silver Th. 6.32.1, 6.46.3, S. fr. 378.3–4, E. *Ion* 1175, Ar. *Ach.* 74, D. 19.139, X. *Cyr.* 8.4.24); but the metal is not specified, perhaps deliberately, since it would spoil the point if the cups were seen to be truly valuable. The word itself appears to be interchangeable with ποτήριον, which may equally be used of precious cups (gold or silver Hdt. 3.148.1, 7.119.2, 7.190, Alex. 59.2; set with precious stones XXIII.3).

μάλιστα μὲν μη δοῦναι, ἄν δ' ἄρα τις οἰκεῖος ἦι καὶ ἀναγκαῖος: cf. IX.4 μάλιστα μὲν κρέας, εἰ δὲ μή. For ἄρα, Denniston 37–8. οἰκεῖος . . . καὶ ἀναγκαῖος is 'member of the same household or blood-relative', not 'intimate friend or relation' (Jebb; similarly Edmonds), nor 'Verwandter und Nahestehender' (Meister), 'relative or close friend' (Rusten). Since οἰκεῖοι are distinguished from φίλοι at IV.3 and XXVIII.6, οἰκεῖος here will not be 'friend' but a person belonging to the same family (LSJ οἰκεῖος II.1) as opposed to a relative

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by blood, the normal sense of ἀναγκαῖος (LSJ II.5; add Men. fr. 187.3, 655.3, Philem. 94.4). The use of καί (virtually for ἤ) is warranted by the conditional clause ('if it is an οἰκεῖος and (if it is) an ἀναγκαῖος').

**μόνον οὐ πυρώσας:** 'all but', as *HP* 3.9.7, *Ar. V.* 516, *Ec.* 538, *Pl. R.* 600D, [*Pl.*] *Mx.* 235C, *Isoc.* 4.120, 13.4, 15.38, *X. Cyr.* 7.5.50, *D.* 5.5, 18.226, 19.47 (and often), *Aeschin.* 2.79. For πυρώω 'prove (the quality of the metal) by applying fire', LSJ III.3 overlook this passage and cite only the Septuagint and Philo. Add also *A. Ag.* 440 (our passage refutes Fraenkel *ad loc.*) and *Gal.* 14.288 Kühn. For the practice itself, *Laf.* 45 θαυμαστή δὲ φύσις καὶ τῆς βασιανίζουσης τὸν χρυσόν (*sc.* ἀκόνης, whetstone): δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν τῷ πυρὶ δύναμιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δοκιμάζει, *Thgn.* 499–500 ἐν πυρὶ μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἴδριες ἄνδρες | γινώσκουσ', *Pl. R.* 413E βασιανίζοντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν ἐν πυρὶ, 503A, *Isoc.* 1.25, *PCG* adesp. 1029, [*Men.*] *Mon.* 385 = *Comp.* 1.165 Jäkel, *Comp.* 2.83, 3.59, *Plin. Nat.* 33.59–60; R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden 1950) 213, 216, *id. Studies in Ancient Technology* 8 (Leiden 1964) 170–1, C. Singer *et al.* (edd.), *A History of Technology* 2 (Oxford 1956) 45–6, R. Bogaert, 'L'essai des monnaies dans l'antiquité', *RBN* 122 (1976) 5–34, J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978) 203–4. There are many conjectures, bad or unnecessary: μόνον οὐ ποσώσας (or τυπώσας, *inter alia*) *Coray*, μόνον or ὄνομα ἐντυπώσας *Foss* 1834 (the latter also *Orelli* 1834), μόνον ὄνομα ἐμπυρώσας *Meier* 1834/5, μόνον οὐχ ὀρκώσας *Jebb* (before *Naber*), μόνον ἐνεχυράσας *Blümner*.

**καὶ χρεδὸν ἐγγυητὴν λαβῶν:** cf. *Is.* 5.22, *D.* 24.169, 33.7, 37.40, 59.65; *J. H. Lipsius, Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig 1905–15) 725.

**8 καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα κελύειν αὐτοῦ ὄπισθεν μὴ βαδίζειν ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν:** perhaps <τὸν> ἀκ- (*Casaubon*); cf. *Lys.* fr. 53 *Thalheim* τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα μετ' αὐτοῦ, *IX.3n.* For the same instruction, *Pl. Cur.* 487 *I tu prod', uirgo: non quo quod pone me est seruare, Ps.* 170 *I, puere, prae: ne quisquam pertundat cruminam cautios.*

**ἵνα φυλάττη αὐτὸν μὴ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποδρᾶ:** the active verb, 'watch him, so that he does not run away' (*Ar. V.* 69–70 φυλάττειν τὸν πατέρα . . . ἵνα θύραζε μὴ ᾔξῃ, *Pl. Cra.* 393C φύλαττε γὰρ με μὴ πηι παρακρούσωμαί σε, LSJ B.1), gives better sense and a more natural construction than middle φυλάττηται (V), 'guard against his running away'. A middle would be more naturally used without an acc. object (LSJ C.II.3); the acc. at *X. Mem.* 2.2.14 τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς παραιτήρη . . . τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους φυλάξῃ μὴ σε . . . ἀτιμάσῃ (LSJ C.II.4) is prompted by the structure preceding. ὅπως (*Hanow* 1861) for αὐτῷ would do well enough (LSJ C.II.4) but is an unlikely change. To retain αὐτῷ (V) and take φυλάττηται as passive (*Edmonds, Ussher*) is absurd. Second aorist ἀποδρᾶ (*Hirschig* before *Cobet* 1858), not -δράσῃ (V); *KB* 2.400, *Veitch* 187–8.

XVIII: THE DISTRUSTFUL MAN

**9** και τοῖς εἰληφόσι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ και λέγουσι “Πόσου; κατάθου· οὐ γὰρ χολάζω πω”: for εἰληφόσι, of ‘getting by purchase’, IX.4n. For αὐτοῦ, I.2n. πόσου is more likely genitive (as §2, IV.13) than (as suggested first by Casaubon) imperative, ‘calculate how much (*sc.* is owed)’, from the rare verb found at XXIII.6. κατάθου is ‘lay it up (in memory)’, by making a written record of it, in effect ‘put it on account’; cf. Pl. *Lg.* 858d τὴν αὐτῶν εἰς μνήμην συμβουλήν περι βίου κατέθεντο συγγράψαντες, D. 61.2 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα γέγραπται τὸν τρόπον ὃν τις ἂν εἰς βιβλίον καταθεῖτο (LSJ II.6). Emendation has produced nothing better: πόσου και τίθου Foss 1834, πόσου <και> κατάθου Hartung, πόσον χρόνον ἔτι κατέχω; Ussing, ποῦ σοι καταθῶ; Madvig 1868, πότε σοι καταθῶ; Herwerden, ποῦ καταθῶ; Navarre 1920. To replace the plural participles with sing. (τῶι εἰληφόσι . . . τῶι λέγοντι Holland 1923), because a single addressee follows, is pedantic.

οὐ γὰρ χολάζω πω is regular word order (e.g. Th. 8.74.1 οὐ γὰρ ἦιδεσάν πω, Pl. *Th.* 200d οὐ γὰρ που ἀπεροῦμέν γέ πω; D. 18.18 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), and suspicion of πω (del. Navarre 1920) is unwarranted.

εἰπεῖν “Μηδὲν πραγματεύου· ἐγὼ γάρ, <ἔως> ἂν κύ χολάσῃς, συνακολουθήσω”: a verb is needed to introduce the direct speech (see on VIII.2 ἐπιβαλεῖν κτλ.). Better to replace πέμπειν (V) with εἰπεῖν (Madvig 1868) than to add a verb of speech after πέμπειν (<λέγειν> Schneider, <εἰπεῖν> Foss 1834), since ‘send (money)’ reads oddly here. Not “Πέμπειν μηδὲν πραγματεύου . . .” (Immisch 1923), πεμπ<άζ>ειν (Holland 1923), προπέμ<πων εἰ>πεῖν for πω πέμπειν (Latte ap. Steinmetz).

ἐγὼ γάρ, <ἔως> ἂν κύ is decidedly more pointed than ἐγὼ γάρ, ἂν κύ <μή> (Schneider) and ἔως γάρ ἂν κύ (Unger 1886). For ἔως ἂν, XVI.3n.



# XIX

## THE OFFENSIVE MAN

### Introductory note

Of the many ways in which a person may be *δυσχερής*, 'hard to handle', this sketch highlights one: physical repulsiveness, causing offence or disgust. This is *δυσχέρεια* of the kind evoked by the wound of Philoctetes (*S. Ph.* 473, 900).

The sketch falls into three sections: (i) offensive physical features, associated with disease, disfigurement, or neglect of the body (§2–§4); (ii) offensive physical behaviour, associated with bodily functions or bodily hygiene (§5); (iii) inappropriate behaviour not associated with the body (§7–§10). I leave undecided for the moment whether §6 belongs with (ii) or with (iii).

The style of (ii) is unusual: no fewer than six clauses in asyndeton. It is possible that this section has suffered curtailment or rewriting (Diels). There has certainly been some interference hereabouts: for (i) ends with a short interpolation.

(iii) does not belong to this sketch. Hottinger suggested that §7–§9 belong to XI (the *Βδελυρός*), and Bloch placed §7–§10 after XI.7, implausibly. The man described here blasphemes when his mother visits the augur (§7). This is not of a pattern with the shameless attention-drawing behaviour of the *Βδελυρός*. And we would not want applause and belching twice in the same sketch (XI.3; XIX.5, 9). Other suggested locations (XIV Klotz, XX Petersen) have even less to commend them. It is likely that we have here the remnant of a different sketch, whose beginning has been lost. A similar accident accounts for the present state of V (the *Ἄρεσκος*). See further Stein 206.

It remains to consider whether §6 belongs with (ii), as is usually supposed, or with (iii), as suggested by Wachsmuth ap. Ruge. The behaviour described in (ii) is associated with bodily functions and bodily hygiene: nose-wiping, scratching, spitting, belching, dirty hands, rancid oil. This behaviour is offensive to others, whose identity is either implied by the occasion or mentioned explicitly (diners, worshippers, talkers, drinkers, wife, bathers). The behaviour described in §6 (wearing a thick undergarment and a thin stained cloak) differs in two respects: it is not associated with any bodily function or with bodily hygiene; (ii) it does not affect any particular person or group. But §6, even as it stands, is not an impossible continuation of (ii); and, for all we know, §6 was not the original ending, but is itself incomplete, and a continuation now lost may have developed the picture begun here. At all events, §6 is less likely to belong with (iii), since the wearing of inappropriate and stained clothes has no obvious affinity with the offences described in (iii).

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### [I] *Definition*

This is not a definition of *δυσχέρεια* but a description of that particular form of it which is illustrated in §2–§4. One could allow that the description is relevant to the latter part of §5 and to §6; but hardly to the earlier part of §5. Cf. Stein 206.

**Ἔστιν:** def. XIV n.

**λύπης παρασκευαστική:** cf. def. V ἡδονῆς παρασκευαστική, XX λύπης ποιητική; for *λυπή*, also def. XII.

**2** Lack of sympathy towards disfiguring diseases is characteristic both of comedy (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 201, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 151) and of ancient society in general (R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1995), ch. 5, ‘Deriding the disabled’). But this man forfeits sympathy not simply because he is disfigured. To drag in past and future members of his family is tasteless.

**λέπραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφόν:** relatively benign skin-disorders, commonly mentioned together (e.g. Hp. *Epid.* 2.1.7 (5.78 Littré), 2.5.24 (5.132), D.S. 34/35.1.2, Gal. 14.758–9 Kühn). *λέπρα* probably describes a form of psoriasis or eczema, *ἀλφός* a loss of skin pigmentation (M. D. Grmek, *Diseases in the Ancient Greek World* (transl. M. and L. Muellner, Baltimore and London 1989) 165–7).

**καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μέλανας:** black or darkly discoloured nails are often mentioned as a sign of ill health by medical writers, e.g. Hp. *Prog.* 9 (2.132 Littré) *πελιδνοί*, *Hebd.* 51 (8.671) *μελαινόμενοι*, *Coac.* 424, 483 (5.680, 692) *πέλιοι*, *Int.* 29 (7.244) *φοινίκεοι*, *Mul.* 1.26 (8.68) *χολώδεες*, Gal. 16.205 Kühn *πελιδνοί ἢ μέλανες*. Blackness of nails is appropriately paired with the whiteness of *ἀλφός*. Large or long nails (*μεγάλους V*; for the corruption, Diggle, *Euripidea* 10) are less appropriate. They are an attribute of the *Κῆρες* ([Hes.] *Sc.* 254) and of an infernal spectre (Ar. *Ra.* 1337). But it would be odd to describe large or talon-like nails, an unnatural phenomenon, as a congenital affliction, comparable to *λέπρα* and *ἀλφός*, natural ailments. If we take *μεγάλους* to mean no more than ‘long’ (Gal. 3.15 Kühn *ὑπερβαλλόντως μεγάλοι*, *sc.* *ὄνυχες*), that is ‘untrimmed’, such nails may be found unattractive (Hor. *Ars* 297, Ov. *Ars* 1.519, Tatian *Ad Graec.* 25 (of philosophers) *ὄνυχας θηρίων περιφέροντες*; contrast XXVI.4 *ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχιμένος*). But long untrimmed nails are not inherited. Stein (205 n. 1) suggests unpersuasively that it is a mark of his offensiveness that he attributes their size to heredity, instead of cutting them. Usener deleted *καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μεγάλους*; but there was no motive for interpolation. Ribbeck 1870 transposed the words before *καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας μέλανας* in §4; this is too adventurous.

**καὶ φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ συγγενικὰ ἀρρωστήματα· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον:** *ἀρρωστήματα* ‘ailments’, a term used by

medical writers, is in general use too (D. 2.21, 26.26, Hyp. *Ath.* 15, Men. *Asp.* 337, *Phasm.* 20 Arnott (45 Sandbach); cf. XXX.14 ἀρρωστία). αὐτά (Meier 1842) is the obvious replacement for αὐτόν (V), which it is unnatural to take as emphasising τὸν πατέρα and τὸν πάππον. Not αὐτοῦ (Foss 1835), which is as unwelcome as αὐτοῦ proposed for αὐτόν in the next clause.

καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ῥαίδιον ὕόν εἰς τὸ γένος ὑποβάλλεσθαι: ὕόν (rather than υἰόν, IX.5n.) is a likelier replacement for αὐτόν (V) than are παιδίον (Hanow 1860), νόθον (Ribbeck 1870), ἄλλον (Ruge), ἄλλοιον (Wachsmuth ap. Ruge). Alternatively, αὐτόν might be deleted (Hanow 1860), since ὑποβάλλεσθαι is commonly used without object (e.g. Hdt. 5.41.2, Ar. *Th.* 407, Pl. *R.* 538A, D. 21.149). I reject αὐτοῦ (Jebb), αὐτῶν (Unger 1886, before Meister), αὐτῶν (Pasquali, not Meister, to whom Diels had ascribed it), which, while legitimately placed (XIII.10n., XIV.10n.), are weakly redundant. Perhaps aorist ὑποβαλέσθαι (see on V.6 ἀποκείρασθαι).

3 ἀμέλει δὲ δεινὸς καί: II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

ἔλκη ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀντικνημίοις: cf. Ar. *Eq.* 907 τὰν τοῖσιν ἀντικνημίοις ἐλκύδρια, Plin. *Nat.* 22.69 *tibiarum taetra ulcera*, 23.123, Dsc. 4.182 σαπρόκνημα ἔλκη.

καὶ προσπταίσματα ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις: not whitlows on the fingers (LSJ) but bruises or lesions on the toes. προσπταίειν is ‘stub the toe’ (XV.8, Men. *Dysc.* 91–2 τοὺς δακτύλους [κατέαξα γὰρ] | χεδόν τι προσπταίων ἅπα[ντας], and πρόσπταισμα is either the act itself (Gal. 7.136 Kühn ἐπὶ προσπταίματι δακτύλου λειποθυμήσαντες) or the damage which results (Luc. *Peregr.* 45 τὸ ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ πρόσπταισμα). Poll. 2.198–9 distinguishes χίμετρα ‘chilblains’, on the underneath of the toes, from πταίσματα ‘knocks’, or the damage caused by knocks, on the upper parts (τὰ . . . ὑπὲρ τοὺς δακτύλους κρούματα πταίσματα, sc. ὀνομάζεται), citing (for the same sense) Ar. fr. 818 ἐπίπταισμα (the misinterpretation of this word by LSJ is corrected in the Rev.Suppl.). Cf. Phot. E 1670 Theodoridis ἐπίπταισμα, οὐχὶ πρόσκομμα. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ προσπταίσματα. Μένανδρος Παλλακῆι (fr. 285).

καὶ μὴ θεραπεῦσαι ἀλλ’ ἔασαι θηριωθῆναι: he allows them to ‘become malignant’, medical terminology (LSJ θηριώω π.4, θηρίον π, θηριώδης π, θηριώμα; cf. S. *Ph.* 698 ἐνθήρου ποδός). No need for ἀποθ- (Cobet 1874).

4 καὶ τὰς μασχάλας δὲ φθειρώδεις . . . ἔχειν: his armpits are ‘lice-infested’ (Arist. *HA* 557<sup>a</sup>7, 9, 596<sup>b</sup>9, Ammon. *Diff.* 280 Nickau). Of the three varieties of lice which attack humans (*pediculus capitis*, head louse; *pediculus corporis*, body louse; *p(h)thirus pubis*, crab louse) the third infests hair in the armpits and on the trunk, as well as pubic hair (P. A. Buxton, *The Louse* (London<sup>2</sup> 1947) 138, 140, J. R. Busvine, *Insects and Hygiene* (London and New York<sup>3</sup> 1980) 261; cf. A. E. Shipley, *The Minor Horrors of War* (London<sup>3</sup> 1916) 27). For classical

lice, Gossen, 'Laus', *RE* xii.1 (1925) 1030-9, H. Keil, 'The Louse in Greek Antiquity', *Bull.Hist.Med.* 25 (1951) 305-23, W. P. MacArthur, *CQ* 4 (1954) 171, M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (London 1986) 168-76, I. C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter 1988) 112-20. The corruption θηριώδεις (V) was prompted by preceding θηριωθῆναι (see on V.9 παλαιατριδίον). Translations unwittingly bring out the ineptness of this adj.: 'ferinas et hirsutas' as hendiadys for 'ferarum more hirsutas' (Casaubon), 'shaggy as a beast' (Edmonds), 'his armpits might belong to an animal, with hair extending etc.' (Rusten). That wild animals are hairy and armpits are hairy does not justify the description of an armpit as being like a wild animal. Hair is not an attribute which *characterises* wild animals. The malodorous armpit as the haunt of goats (Ar. *Pax* 812 τραγομάσχαλοι, Pl. *Ps.* 738, Cat. 69.5-6, 71.1, Ov. *Ars* 3.193, Hor. *Epod.* 12.5; cf. Hor. *S.* 1.2.27, 1.4.92, *Ep.* 1.5.29, S. Lilja, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity* (Helsinki 1972) 132-4, 151-2) throws no light on the adj., for θῆρ is not synonymous with goat.

Sylburg proposed δυκώδεις. A reference to smell or sweat would be appropriate (*Sud.* 9 ὁ ἐκ τῶν μασχάλων ἰδρῶς καὶ ὄλος ὁ ἐκ τῶν κοίλων κακωδέστατος, Ar. *Ach.* 852 ὄζων κακὸν τῶν μασχάλων, [Arist.] *Pr.* 908<sup>b</sup>20 ἡ μασχάλη δυκωδέστατον τῶν τόπων, Eup. 258, Plin. *Nat.* 22.87, Petr. 128.1), but less interesting.

καὶ δαείας . . . ἄχρι ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν: cf. Ar. *Ec.* 60-1 ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας | λόχημις δαυτέραις, Lys. fr. 111 Thalheim τὴν μὲν κόμην φιλήν ἔχεις, τὰς δὲ μασχάλας δαείας, Hor. *Epod.* 12.5 *hirsutis* . . . *alis*; depilation of the armpits, Pl. *Am.* 326, *Poen.* 871-3, Sen. *Ep.* 56.2, 114.14, Juv. 11.157.

ἄχρι ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν is 'as far as over a large part of the sides'. For ἐπὶ πολὺ with gen., Th. 1.50.2 (τῆς θαλάσσης), 4.3.2, 7.11.4 (τῆς χώρας); also 4.12.3, 7.38.1, 39.2, 40.5, 65.2 (LSJ πολὺς iv.4). This is the first attested instance of ἄχρι before a preposition, if X. *An.* 5.5.4 (ἄχρι εἰς) is spurious; thereafter ἄχρις ἐπὶ A.R. 4.1403, ἄχρι πρὸς D.S. 3.41.1, 5.35.2, 19.1.10, etc. (LSJ 1.2). But μέχρι εἰς / πρὸς is found earlier (LSJ 1, KG 1.529-30). For the spelling (ἄχρι not ἄχρις), Arnott, 'Orthographical variants' 194-5.

καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας μέλανας καὶ ἐσθιομένους: for black teeth, Caecil. *com.* 268 *atratis dentibus*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.8.3 *dente* . . . *nigro*, *Epod.* 8.3, Ov. *Ars* 3.279-80. Contrast V.6. For ἐσθιομένους 'decaying', Hp. *Epid.* 4.19 (5.156 Littré), *Aff.* 4 (6.212). Similarly βεβρώσθαι, *Epid.* 4.19, 25, 52 (5.156, 168, 192), *Aff.* 4 (6.212).

ᾧστε δυκέντευκτος εἶναι καὶ ἀηδής: trite and unwanted, and, most objectionably, ἀηδής anticipates the subject of XX; deleted by Immisch 1897. ᾧστε introduces similar interpolations in IV.4, XX.9. For δυκέντευκτος (first in Plb.) see on def. V ἔντευξις; for another interpolation of generalising adjectives, VI.2-3n.

καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα]: no more acceptable here than at XXX.11. The words are usually taken as an introduction to the following list. Stein (on XXX.11)

vainly adduces two passages in support: I.6 τῶι τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι, followed (quite naturally) by a series of brief asyndetic phrases in direct speech, and XXVI.3 τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν λόγων χρῆσθαι, followed (naturally again) by ὅτι and direct speech. As an introduction to what follows, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα gives banal style and is against normal usage. This is a formulaic expression, used not to introduce but to conclude, like ‘etc.’, ‘uel sim’: e.g. *HP* 3.16.3 τούτῳ χρώνται πρὸς τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, 7.3.4 οἷον ῥαφανὶς γογγυλὶς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, *Pl. Cra.* 419b τί δὲ δὴ ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη καὶ ἐπιθυμία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες;, *D.* 18.127 βοῶντα “ὦ γῆ καὶ ἤλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ” καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, *Arist. EN* 1174<sup>a</sup>31 πτηνῆς βάδις αἰσῆς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (it is ubiquitous in *Arist.*).<sup>88</sup> Here καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα was probably designed to go with what precedes, as Hottinger and Darvaris saw. But a bald ‘etc.’ would be inexcusably feeble and cannot be imputed to Theophrastus. It is either a gratuitous interpolation or a sign that a longer text has been abbreviated (Schneider 1799, p. xxv). In *epil.* XXVI καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα κτλ. introduces either an interpolation or an abridgement. The epitome *M* uses καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα and the like for purpose of abridgement in V, VIII, XI, XIV, XVIII, XIX, XX.

The asyndeton which follows (no fewer than six asyndetic clauses) invites suspicion. A tricolon at VI.6 (V.10n.) is much less remarkable. Foss 1861, taking καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα as a sign of abbreviation, speculated (not very convincingly) that these six clauses, once joined by copulas, were omitted, then restored to the text without them, but with καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα left in place.

**5 <καί> ἐσθίων ἀπομύττεσθαι:** ἐσθίων ‘at dinner’, as XX.6, XXIV.11. The gesture is particularly offensive if the nose is wiped with the hand (*Ar. Eq.* 910 ἀπομυξάμενος ὦ Δῆμέ μου πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ). Persians avoided nose-wiping (and spitting) in public (*X. Cyr.* 1.2.16, 8.1.42).

**θύων ἄμ’ ἄδαξᾶσθαι:** a brilliant conjecture for θύων ἄμα δ’ ἄρξασθαι (V). The root ἄδαξ- (ὄδαξ-) covers both itching and scratching (*LSJ* ὄδαξ-). For the middle ‘scratch an itch’ as here, *D.S.* 3.29.6 ὡς ὑπὸ ψώρας τινὸς ἐρεθιζόμενος μετρίως ὄδαξᾶσθαι φιλοτιμῆται. The spelling of V favours ἄδαξ- over ὄδαξ-. Further support for this form is provided by *Phot.* A 325 *Theodoridis* (= *Suda* A 430) ἄδαξῆσαι· τὸ κνῆσαι, οὐκ ἐν τῶι <ο> (add. Pierson) ὄδαξῆσαι. καὶ ἄδαχεῖν· τὸ κνήθειν· “ἄδαχεῖ . . .” (*Ar. fr.* 416, quoted on II.3), *Erot.*

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *Ar. Pax* 1280–1 “ὡς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα” καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, | “ἄριστον προτίθεντο καὶ ἄτθ’ ἡδιστα πάσασθαι”. Olson refers καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα to ‘the words that follow, which the speaker already has in mind’. I should say, rather, that it refers backwards, as normal, and the second quotation is added as a further example of τὰ τοιαῦτα. In *Alex.* 281.1–3 πίννας, κάραβον (and five more items), | τοσαῦτα, better τοιαῦτα (Meineke), like *Ephipp.* 15.8–9 ἀλεκτρονίδιον, φάπτιον, περδίκιον, | τοιαῦτα (τοσαῦτα Bergk).

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fr. 30 (p. 107 Nachmanson) ὀδαξημοὶ ἢ ἀδαξημοί· ἐν τιεὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὔρομεν. εἰεὶ γὰρ κνημοὶ μετ' ἐρεθιεμοῦ, ὡς καὶ Μένανδροε ἐν Πλοκίωι φηεὶ· “. . . ἀνηδαξάτο (uel ἀν ἡδ-: ἀνεδάξ- et ἀνεδέξ- codd.) . . .” (Men. fr. 302), Phot. A 322 Theodoridis ἀδαγμός· ὁ ὀδαξημός, ὅπερ ἐεὶ κνημός. οὕτως Κοφοκλῆε (Tr. 770 ὀδαγμός codd., ἀδαγμός Brunck e Phot.). ἀδαξ- is attested elsewhere in the lexicographical tradition (e.g. Phot. H 41 Theodoridis = Hsch. H 100 (PCG adesp. 347) ἡδαξήεατο), by Gal. 19.70 Kühn, and is transmitted by all or part of the mss. of Hp. *Mul.* 1.18, 90, 2.154, 171, 183 (8.58, 214, 330, 352, 364 Littré). Elsewhere ὀδαξ-, e.g. *Sign.* 30, X. *Smp.* 4.28, *TrGF* adesp. 619.8 (= [S.] fr. 1127.8 Pearson), Nic. *Ther.* 306. Cf. KB 2.495. For the position of ἄμα (after the part.), IV.9, XX.6, XXV.2 (conj.), XXVII.10.

**προελαλῶν <εὶαλον> ἀπορρίπτειν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐόματος:** since ἀπορρίπτειν without object is abnormal, I prefer to assume lipography (-ελαλῶν <εὶαλον>); cf. X. *Mem.* 1.2.54 τὸ εὶαλον ἐκ τοῦ εὐόματος ἀποπτύουσιν. The verb ἀπορρίπτειν was perhaps chosen to suggest involuntary spitting (as opposed to ἀποπτύειν, of deliberate spitting), like that imputed to Antimachus ὁ ψακάδοε (Ar. *Ach.* 1150), so called because (Σ uet.) προεέρραινε τοὺε ὀμιλοῦνταε διαλεγόμενοε. Not ἀπορραίνειν (Cobet 1874). For προελαλῶν, *Introd.* Note to VII.

**ἄμα πίνων προερυγγάνειν:** present part. (Casaubon before Blaydes), not πίνων (V). Elsewhere in this work the part. accompanied by ἄμα is present, whether the infinitive is present (§5 above, II.10 (conj.), V.5, IX.4, XI.4, XX.6, XXIII.2, XXV.2 (conj.), XXVII.10) or aorist (II.3, IV.8, VII.7). Aorist part. with aorist indicative (X. *An.* 3.1.47 ἄμα ταῦτ' εἰπῶν ἀνέετη, adduced by Stein 207 n. 1) is irrelevant (KG 2.82 Anmerk. 4). Cf. Eup. 385.5 μετὰεῦ πίνων. There is no call for ἐρυγγάνειν (Stein): omission of the dat. with προερυγγάνειν ('belch at', *sc.* his neighbour) is no different from its omission with preceding προελαλῶν. The verb is used absolutely by Ael. *NA* 9.11 (with dat. by Diod.Com. 2.35). Again (as with the spitting) the belching is probably involuntary (contrast XI.3).

**ἀναπὸνίπτοε ἐν τοῖε εὐρώμαε μετὰ τῆε γυναικόε αὐτοῦ κοιμᾶεθαι:** with hands unwashed after dinner, as Ar. *Eq.* 357, Phryn.Com. 57. The verb ἀπὸνίεεθαι, regular for washing the hands (as XVI.2 ἀπὸνίεάμενοε τὰε χεῖραε), was used specifically to distinguish hand-washing after dinner from hand-washing before dinner (Ath. 408F Ἄριετοφάνηε ὁ γραμμαετικόε [fr. 368 Slater] . . . χλευάεζει τοὺε οὐκ εἰδόταε τῆν διαφοραὴν τοῦ τε κατὰ χεῖροε καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸνίεαεθαι· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖε παλαιοῖε τὸ μὲν πρὸ ἀρίετου καὶ δεῖπνοῦ λέγεεθαι κατὰ χεῖροε, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸνίεαεθαι); cf. Ar. *V.* 1217 δεῖπνοῦμεν, ἀπὸνενίμεεθα, *Ec.* 419 ἰέναὶ καθευδῆεονταε ἀπὸνενιμέμενοε, Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 153, Olson and Sens on Matro 1.105–6, Pellegrino 75. This conjecture (Badham ap. Sheppard) for ἀναπὸνίπτοε (V) is certain and admirable.

Later proposals are as clumsy as they are otiose: ἀνιπτόπους Wachsmuth ap. Ruge, ἀνίπτοις (after ἐν) Navarre 1920, <τοῦ κυνὸς συν>αναπίπτοντος Immisch 1923, ἀνίπτοις ποσίν Holland 1923. Cf. Stein 207.

With ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι cf. e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 1069, *V.* 1213, *Ec.* 39, XVIII.4 ἐκ τῶν στρώματων. For the word order μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, XIV.10n. More regular would be μετὰ τῆς γ- alone (Usener), as X.6, 13, XVI.12; or <τῆς> αὐτοῦ (Navarre 1920), as XVIII.4, XXII.10. See also XVIII.4n. *init.*

ἐλαίωι σαπρῶι ἐν βαλανείωι χρώμενος κυφεοῦ ὄζεσθαι: for the use of oil in the baths, Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 214 n. 4, M.-C. Amouretti, *Le pain et l'huile dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1986) 183–4. Rancid oil again, XXX.8; cf. Hor. *S.* 1.6.123–4 *unguor oliuo*, | *non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis* (i.e. lamp-oil), *Juv.* 5.90 *cum Boccare nemo lauatur* (because of his oil).

I replace φύζεσθαι (V) with κυφεοῦ ὄζεσθαι. Active ὄζειν IV.2, XIV.12; middle, Xenoph. 1.6 ἄνθεος ὄζόμενος, *Hp. Morb.* 4.56 (7.608 Littré) ὄζόμενον τοῦ βρώματος, and several times κακὸν ὄζεσθαι (XIV.12n.). Middle forms are regularly used with no distinction from active: KG 1.102–3, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 91, Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 177, V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (New Haven and London 1984) 111–16. Since ὄζεσθαι (Petersen) does not give adequate sense or account for φύζεσθαι (V), I amplify it with κυφεοῦ, a Homeric noun which appears also in prose (Parth. 12.2, D.Chr. 7.73, 8.25, 30.33, Longus 3.3.4). Cf. Pl. *Mos.* 40 *hara suis* (of a person), Lilja (on §3 καὶ τὰς μασχάλας κτλ.) 152. No earlier proposal satisfies: χρίεσθαι c<sup>1</sup> (Stefanis (1994a) 113), conī. Coray, σφογγίζεσθαι (or σπ-) Coray, ἀλείφεσθαι Darvaris, ξυρίζεσθαι Hartung, ἀποξύεσθαι Naber, κυρίζεσθαι Diels, σφαδάίζεσθαι Latte ap. Steinmetz, and worse.

**6** καὶ χιτωνίσκον παχὺν καὶ ἱμάτιον κφόδρα λεπτόν καὶ κηλίδων μετόν ἀναβαλόμενος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐξελθεῖν: the χιτωνίσκος, resembling a shirt or vest, is worn beneath the ἱμάτιον (XXV.2; Stone, *Costume* 170–2, Geddes 312). In the fourth century the word replaces (and is synonymous with) χιτῶν (MacDowell on D. 21.216). The epithets παχύς and λεπτός are contrasted with each other ('coarse and fine', 'thick and thin': Pl. *Cra.* 389b λεπτῶι ἱματίωι ἢ παχεῖ, Hes. *Op.* 497). Presumably a fine undergarment and a thick cloak (παχεῖα χλαῖνα Theopomp.Com. 11) would be less offensive. It is idle to alter the epithets in the hope of giving this sentence a clearer connection with what precedes: τραχὺν . . . λεπρόν F. W. Schmidt (*Verisimilia* (Neu-Strelitz 1886) 14, cl. Polyæn. 6.12 διπλοῖδα . . . τραχεῖαν καὶ ῥυπῶσαν), ἄπλυτον for λεπτόν Naber.

Stein 213 is wrong to defend present part. ἀναβαλλόμενος (V), here and at XXI.8, by adducing the passages cited by KG 1.200 (present part. with imperfect sense; XIV.5n.) and by R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Göttingen 1976) 157–9 (present part. of verbs expressing motion, conveyance, perception).

## XIX: THE OFFENSIVE MAN

A better analogy is Ar. *Ec.* 97 ἀναβαλλομένη ‘clothed in a ἱμάτιον’, discussed on IV.4 (p. 210 n. 27). But the sense ‘clothed’ is given by perfect ἀναβεβλημένος at IV.4, XXVI.4. Aorist ἀναβαλόμενος (‘after putting on’) is more natural both here and at XXI.8 (see on II.10 ἐπιβαλέσθαι). Since the verb is strictly appropriate only to ἱμάτιον (IV.4n.) not to χιτωνίσκον, there is a zeugma or the text is faulty (παχύν <ἔχων> Meier 1842).

**7** καὶ εἰς ὄρνιθοσκόπου τῆς μητρὸς ἐξελθούσης βλασφημῆσαι: alternatively ἐξ (for εἰς ἐξ V) with εἰσελθούσης (Sokolowski, but with εἰς not ἐξ), so that he blasphemes to his mother’s face when she has returned home (εἰσελθεῖν in this sense, X.12n.) rather than behind her back when she has gone out. The ellipse is much commoner with εἰς (as XXII.6) than with ἐκ (H. *Od.* 18.299, Ar. *Pax* 1154, *Pl.* 84, *Pl. Prtg.* 326c; KG 1.268–9, Schwyzer 2.120, P. T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (Wiesbaden 1976) 27–8). For ὄρνιθοσκόπος, XVI.11n.

**8** καὶ εὐχομένων καὶ σπενδόντων ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ ποτήριον: for the participles with indefinite personal subject unexpressed, XIV.7n. For ἐκβαλεῖν ‘drop’, X.6n. An item dropped during a religious rite, so far from being a laughing matter, ought to bode ill (Plu. *Crass.* 19.6, Fest. p. 64M *caduca auspicia dicunt, cum aliquid in templo excidit, ueluti uirga e manu*).

καὶ γελᾶσαι ὥσπερ ἄσπεῖον τι πεποιηκώς: he treats his clumsiness as something amusing and smart. For ἄσπεῖον τι, Ar. *Ra.* 5, 901, Posidipp. 2, Plu. 80f ποιήσας τι χαρίεν καὶ ἄσπεῖον (cf. Men. *Sam.* 364, 657, fr. 340.1, Ribbeck, ‘Agroikos’ 46–8); for the expression as a whole, Lys. 24.18 ὥσπερ τι καλὸν ποιῶν. Although ὡς τεράστιόν τι (V) is linguistically unexceptionable (Luc. *DMort.* 7.1 τεράστιόν τι πάσχεις), it gives inferior sense. To drop a cup during a prayer and libation may well be ‘something portentous’, but it would be odd to laugh because one regarded it as that. Bernhard proposed his admirable conjecture ὥσπερ ἄσπεῖον τι in a letter of 1747 to Reiske (Reiske, *Lebensbeschreibung* 268; cf. *Briefe* 223), then in his edition of Thomas Magister (Leiden 1757) 117. For the corruption (ει/ι), XVIII.4n.

**9** καὶ αὐλούμενος δὲ κροτεῖν ταῖς χερσὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων: for αὐλούμενος, XX.10, LSJ 1.2 (add Philetaer. 17.1, Apollod.Car. 5.13). No need for αὐλουμένων (Unger 1886), giving the same construction as §8. The girl perhaps supposes that he is applauding, a regular sense of κροτεῖν (XI.3n.); but συντερετίζειν proves that he is clapping in accompaniment to the music. μόνος τῶν ἄλλων is a regular expression: D. 14.3, 18.196, 20.62, 21.223, *al.*, Men. fr. 602.1, Rehdantz on Lycurg. 67 (Anhang p. 146); cf. XXX.7 ἐλάχιστα . . . τῶν ἄλλων.

καὶ συντερετίζειν καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῇ αὐλητρίδι ὅτι οὕτω ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο: with συντερετίζειν cf. XXVII.15 αὐτὸς αὐτῶι τερετίζων. The αὐλητρίς



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(XI.8n.) has stopped either because she infers from his applause that he regards the performance as over or because she is put off her stride by his clapping and humming. Since ἐπιτιμᾶν cannot introduce an indirect question (not ‘ask reprovingly why’, as Jebb, Ussher, and Rusten take it), it must be followed not by τί (V) but by ὅτι, as often (Isoc. 4.131, 5.128, *al.*, Pl. *Thl.* 169D, Is. 2. 23, 37, D. *Prooem.* 29.2, Arist. *Po.* 1460<sup>b</sup>33, *Pol.* 1285<sup>a</sup>38, 1342<sup>b</sup>23, *Ath.* 36.2). Defence of οὐ ταχύ (V) is futile; and optative παύσαιτο (V) after present leading verb is impossible (XVIII.5n.). οὕτω was proposed by Coray, in an unpublished ms. note (di Salvo 32), before Kayser 1860, Eberhard 1865, Cobet 1874; ἐπαύσατο only by Kayser.

**10** καὶ ἀποπτύσαι δὲ βουλόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς τραπέζης προσπτύσαι τῷ οἰνοχόῳ: ὑπὲρ τῆς τραπέζης (gen. as XVI.3 ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ) is to be taken with προσπτύσαι, not with ἀποπτύσαι. When he wishes to spit, he shows his vulgarity by spitting across the table, with the result that he hits the waiter. To say that he hits the waiter ‘while wishing to spit across the table’ is inept. Rightly Stein 205 n. 4.

## XX

## THE DISAGREEABLE MAN

## Introductory note

Ἄηδής and ἀηδία embrace many different kinds of unpleasantness. The unpleasantness described here is of a specific kind, and is prompted by specific causes. The Ἄηδής creates annoyance and inconvenience, or acts and speaks without tact and good taste, and he does so because he is insensitive or indifferent to the feelings of others. His behaviour is of a kind which is not peculiar to him. Each element would fit some other character: for example, §2–§3 the Ἄκαιρος (XII), §4 the Ὑπερήφανος (XXIV), §5–§7 and §10b the Βδελυρός (XI), §9–§10a the Μικροφιλότιμος (XXI) or the Ἀλαζών (XXIII). But each of these characters behaves as he does because of a trait peculiar to himself.

## [I] Definition

Stein suggests that the definition is formulated on the model of, and to provide a contrast with, def. V (ἀρέσκεια) ἔντευξις οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν βελτίτῳ ἡδονῆς παρασκευαστική.

Ἔστιν: def. XIV n.

ὡς ὄρωι λαβεῖν: def. I n.

ἔντευξις: def. V n.

λύπης ποιητικῆ ἄνευ βλάβης: ‘rain’ appears also in def. XII, XIX. The appended ἄνευ βλάβης (cf. X. *An.* 2.6.6 ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, and Isoc. 1.24, 2.25, [Pl.] *Ep.* 317<sup>D</sup> μετὰ βλάβης) does not imply any contrast with XII and XIX, for the Ἄκαιρος and the Δυσχερής are equally harmless.

2 ἐγείρειν ἄρτι καθεύδοντα εἰσελθὼν ἵνα αὐτῶν λαλήῃ: for the singular part. without article, II.2n. For λαλήῃ, Introd. Note to VII.

3 καὶ ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη μέλλοντα κωλύειν: cf. Ar. *Lys.* 607 κωλύει ἀνάγεσθαι, X. *HG* 1.1.12 ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος. ἤδη is regularly combined with μέλλειν: e.g. Ar. *V.* 1346, *Ra.* 517–18, Th. 4.66.3, *al.*, Isoc. 15.88, Pl. *Smp.* 174E, X. *HG* 2.3.6, *An.* 3.1.8, D. 47.49, [Arist.] *Ath.* 45.1, *Pr.* 953<sup>a</sup>1. δῆ (V) gives unwanted emphasis after ἀνάγεσθαι; elsewhere it follows an adverb or conjunction (II.4 ὡς, III.3 εἶτα, XIV.12 ὅτε) or numerical adj. (XXIII.4 τριπτά); for its use in spurious passages, epil. I n.; in T.’s other works, Müller (1874) 42–9. The alternative to ἤδη is δέ (Darvaris); for καὶ . . . δέ, I.2n., VI.9n. For plural μέλλοντα without article, VI.2–3n. μέλλοντα (Casaubon) could

be right; but shift between sing. (καθεύδοντα) and plural is found elsewhere (XI.6 ~ 7; XII.2, 4, 7 ~ 9, 11).

**4** καὶ προσελθόντων δείσθαι ἐπιχεῖν ἕως ἄν περιπατήσῃ: προσελθών (V), ‘after approaching’, *sc.* those who are about to set sail, is a pointless detail; and δείσθαι ἐπιχεῖν then duplicates ἀνάγεσθαι κωλύειν. We have moved on to a new scene, and the persons who are asked to wait must be specified. Since προσελθών, with specification of the person or place approached, sets the scene elsewhere (I.2n., XI.4, XII.2, 4, XIII.7, 8, XXIII.7; cf. XI.7n.), we might mark a lacuna after προσελθών (Ribbeck 1870) or before it (Stein 208 n. 1) and suppose that one or more words denoting the person approached have been lost. But if he approaches others here, he repeats in part what he did in the preceding scene; for he took the initiative there too. If others approach him here, there is a welcome change of focus, with the initiative taken by others. So it is reasonable to look for the object of δείσθαι in προσελθών, and this is a likelier corruption of -ελθ<όντ>ων (Immisch and Holland *ap.* Ruge) than of -ελθόντος (Foss 1858). The part. is used in a similar connection (of the person who approaches the subject) at XXII.9 προσιόντα προιδόμενος. There is no need to specify the reason for the approach, any more than at XXIV.6 καὶ προσελθεῖν πρότερος οὐδενὶ ἐθελῆσαι. The verb is again used absolutely at XXIV.10 προσέρχεται (Schneider: προ- V). For plural part. without art. see on §3 μέλλοντας.

ἀποπατήσῃ (Syllburg) is not preferable to περιπατήσῃ. To keep others waiting while one goes for a walk is discourteous; to keep them waiting while one goes to the lavatory need not be. Cf. XXIV.2.

**5** καὶ τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίτθης ἀφελόμενος, μαρώμενος κιτίζει αὐτός: it is the nurse’s function to make the baby’s food digestible by chewing it: Ar. *Eq.* 716–17 κἄθ’ ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι γε κιτίζεις κακῶς. | μαρώμενος γὰρ κτλ., Arist. *Rh.* 1407<sup>a</sup>8–10; P. Herfst, *Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne* (Utrecht 1922) 57–63, G. Herzog-Hausser, ‘Nutrix’, *RE* xvii.2 (1937) 1493.

καὶ ὑποκορίζεσθαι ποππύζων καὶ ποπανουργίαν τοῦ πάππου καλῶν: ποππύζειν is onomatopoeic (E. Tichy, *Onomatopoeische Verbalbildungen des Griechischen* (Vienna 1983) 261–3), make an explosive sound with the lips, commonly to soothe or attract the attention of animals (S. fr. 878, Ar. *Pl.* 732, X. *Eq.* 9.10, D.S. 1.83.3, Plu. 593b, 713b), sometimes to attract the attention of children (παρεπιγραφή in A. fr. 47a.793, 803 = *TiGFSEL* p. 8 (cf. R. Kassel, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin and New York 1991) 56), Eust. *Il.* 565.11–12 (2.110.17–111.1 van der Valk) οὐ γὰρ μόνον τροφέες βρέφη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππους καὶ βόας οἱ τημελοῦντες ποππύζουσι) or adults (Timocl. 23.7, Theoc. 5.89); also as an apotropaic reaction to lightning (Ar. *V.* 626), and in kissing (Maced.Cons. *AP* 5.245.5, Agath. *AP* 5.285.6).

## XX: THE DISAGREEABLE MAN

ποπανουργία is unattested, but is a fit partner for άμαξουργία, διφρουργία (only in Theophrastus), άμπελουργία, φυτουργία (first in T), and is designed to further the onomatopoeia (ποππιύζων . . . ποπανουργίαν . . . πάππιου). The word which he ποππιύζει appropriately begins with the sound ποπ-. The image is developed from the literal context (μαρώμενος κιτίζειν). By itself, πόπανον (literal at XVI.10) would be a suitable term of endearment, like colloquial English ‘crumpet’<sup>89</sup> and ‘tart’<sup>90</sup>, US ‘cookie’. But metaphorical ποπανουργία (for παιδουργία) is indelicate, because it introduces a sexual element into the image. The image is of the same stamp as Hdt. 5.92η.2 ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἱππὸν Περιάνδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε.<sup>91</sup> Earlier proposals: πανουργότερον Schneider 1799, πᾶν ἔργον Ast, πᾶν τοῦργον P. L. Courier (*La Luciane ou l’Ane de Lucius de Patras* (Paris 1818) 214), πανούργιον (πανουργίον Pasquali) or <πλήρη> (or μεστόν) <τῶν> πανουργιῶν Foss 1858, πανουργιῶν <πλεότερον> Petersen, πανουργοῦντος [τοῦ] Hanow 1861, πανουργιῶν <μεστότερον> or <πληρέτρον> Foss 1861, πανήγυριον or πανίμερον Ussing, πανούργημα Usener (before Cobet 1874), παίγιον Herwerden, <τῶν> πανουργιῶν Fraenkel and Groeneboom, καινούργιον Meiser, πανουργημάτιον Edmonds 1929, ἀπάνουργον Ussher.

πάππιου is from πάππιας, not πάππος (Diels, Index *s.u.*). Cf. §7 μάμμη, VII.10 πάππια (conj.). παππιού (Usener before Navarre 1920) is unnecessary. Cf. also II.6.

**6** καὶ ἐσθίων δὲ ἄμα διηγείσθαι ὡς ἐλλέβορον πίων ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἐκαθάρθη: ἐσθίων is ‘at dinner’ (XIX.5n.); ἐστιῶν (Edmonds 1929; cf. XXX.2) is unnecessary. For similarly indelicate talk at dinner, Petr. 47.2–6; cf. W. Cowper, ‘Conversation’ (1781) 311–16 ‘Some men employ their health, an ugly trick, / In making known how oft they have been sick . . . Relate how many weeks they kept their bed, / How an emetic or cathartic sped’.

Hellebore acts both as an emetic and as a laxative. ‘Black’ hellebore is the laxative, ‘white’ the emetic: Paus. 10.36.7 ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέλας χωρεῖ τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐστὶ γαστρὶ καθάρσιον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ λευκὸς δι’ ἐμέτου καθαίρειν πέφυκε, *HP* 9.8.4, 9.9.2, 9.10, 9.17.3, *Hp. Int.* 43 (7.274 Littré),

<sup>89</sup> *OED*<sup>2</sup> ‘crumpet’ 4-b, c, E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London<sup>8</sup> 1984) 274.

<sup>90</sup> G. Orwell (1931), ‘This word [*sc.* tart] now seems absolutely interchangeable with “girl”, with no implication of “prostitute”. People will speak of their daughter or sister as a tart’ (S. Orwell and I. Angus (edd.), *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell* 1 (London 1968) 71); *OED*<sup>2</sup> ‘tart’ 2.a, Partridge 1205.

<sup>91</sup> Similarly in English, ‘bun in the oven’: *OED*<sup>2</sup> ‘bun’ 1.a, Partridge 841. The use is still current: ‘a young wife with one in the oven’ (Zadie Smith, *White Teeth* (2001) ch. 1). Comedy has many sexual *doubles entendres* based on food and cooking (J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New York and Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1991) 142–4, Konstantakos 79).

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Dsc. 4.148.2, 4.162.2, Plin. *Nat.* 25.54, 56, Sen. *Ep.* 83.27 *elleboro accepto quidquid in uisceribus haerebit eiecturum deiecturumque*; Stadler, 'Helleboros', *RE* VIII.1 (1912) 163–70, M. Grieve (ed. C. F. Leyel), *A Modern Herbal* (London 1931) 390–1, A. Huxley and W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean* (London 1977) 78, O. Polunin, *Flowers of Greece and the Balkans* (Oxford 1980) 230–1, H. Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* (transl. W. T. and E. R. Stearn, London 1993) 104–5, C. Hünemörder, 'Helleborus', *DNP* 5 (1998) 299, J. E. Raven, *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2000) 80–2.

ἄνω καὶ κάτω καθαίρειν is a standard medical expression: Hp. *Nat.Mul.* 89 (7.408 Littré) φάρμακον ὃ καθαίρειν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω δύναται, *Mul.* 1.16 (8.54) θεραπεύειν δὲ χρῆ ὧδε ἐλλεβόρωι ἢ σκαμμωνίῃ καὶ πεπλίωι· καθαίρουσι γὰρ ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω φλέγμα τε καὶ χολήν, *al.* (J.-H. Kühn and U. Fleischer, *Index Hippocraticus* 1 (Göttingen 1986) ἄνω A.1.2a), *HP* 9.9.5, 9.11.11, 9.20.3; T. Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) (Everyman ed. p. 178) 'The miserable patient had made such discharges upwards and downwards.' καθαρθεῖν (V) must be changed to indicative (Navarre 1918). Optative may be used in indirect speech after a present leading verb only when there is 'an implied reference to some former expression of the thought quoted' (Goodwin §676; cf. KG 2.364–5, XVIII.5n.).

καὶ <τοῦ> ζωμοῦ τοῦ παρακειμένου ἐν τοῖς ὑποχωρήμασιν αὐτῶι μελαντέρα ἢ χολή: the allusion is to ζωμὸς μέλας, 'black broth', popular in both Sparta (Plu. *Lyc.* 12.6–7 = 236F *Alc.* 23.3, *Cleom.* 13.3, Antiph. 46.4, Poll. 6.57; M. Lavrencic, *Spartanische Küche: Das Gemeinschaftsmahl der Männer in Sparta* (Vienna etc. 1993) 66–9) and Athens (Pherecr. 113.3, 137.4, Alex. 145.8, Nicostr.Com. 16.1, Matro 1.94 Olson and Sens (Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 534.94), Euphro 1.8); VIII.7n., Arnott on Alex. *loc. cit.*, Olson and Sens on Matro *loc. cit.*, Pellegrino 119, Dalby 214. Addition of the art. brings the expression into line with IX.8 τὰ χαλκία τὰ ἐν τῶι βλανεῖωι, XVI.5 τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις, XVIII.4 τὴν γυναικα τὴν αὐτοῦ (cf. XXII.10, XXX.7), XXIII.2 τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δανειστικῆς, 3 τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἄσει, 7 τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς (XIV.5n.). Less likely τοῦ παρακειμένου ζωμοῦ, since elsewhere, when the part. stands in this position, a prepositional phrase is attached (XXX.9n.). For παρακειμένου, Pherecr. 113.17, Telecl. 1.7, Alex. 34.2, Amphis 30.5–6, Eub. 111.3, Men. *Pk.* 545, and X.11, XXX.2 παραθεῖναι.

If a verb is to be added, it must be <ῆν> (added after μελαντέρα by Navarre 1920), not <εῖη> (added after ὑποχωρήμασι by Pauw, after χολή by Kayser, after μελαντέρα by Hanow 1861). But the verb is not needed here (Navarre withdrew his supplement in 1931) any more than at XXI.11 τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ (*sc.* ῆν). KG 1.41 Anmerk. 2 wrongly claims that ellipsis of ῆν (as opposed to ἔστι) is uncommon. It is regular and unremarkable when the context makes

clear (as it does here and XXI.11) that the tense to be understood is past. Many instances may be found in Classen and Steup on Th. 1.14.3 (including Th. 4.40.2 ἐρομένου . . . εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κάγαθοί, where *P. Oxy.* 16 and *P. Yale* 99 interpolate ἦσαν), E. Ekman, *Der reine Nominalsatz bei Xenophon* (Uppsala 1938) 40–1, C. Guiraud, *La phrase nominale en grec d'Homère à Euripide* (Paris 1962) 318–23. See also C. H. Kahn, *The Verb 'Be' in Ancient Greek* (Dordrecht 1973) 438–41.

7 καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι δὲ δεινὸς ἐναντίον τῶν οἰκετῶν: the remark, to be tactless, is more likely to have been spoken before slaves (οἰκετῶν Courier, §5n.) than before members of his family (οἰκείων V; XVIII.7n.); but, since we do not know what the remark was, we cannot be certain. Cf. IV.3 for inappropriate familiarity with οἰκέται. Same corruption in V (but not AB) XXX.9.

Εἶπ', ὦ μάμμη: cf. Pherecr. 76.4 ὦ μάμμη; on ὦ with voc., Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 199–206. Less plausible (for εἶπου V) are εἰπέ (Siebenkees), εἰπέ κύ (Petersen), εἶπ' οὖν (Hanow 1861), εἰπέ μοι ὦ (Edmonds 1929). The latter is very common (in e.g. Pl., X.), but an unlikely corruption here. εἶπον (Ribbeck 1870, Haupt 1871) is a very rare imperative: Pl. *Men.* 71D, X. *Mem.* 3.6.3, and a few times in verse (Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 21–2). On μάμμη, Frisk 2.168–9, Chantraine 663, M. Golden in F. De Martino and A. H. Sommerstein (edd.), *Lo Spettacolo delle Voci* (Bari 1995) 2.20–1, Dickey 81. It is unsafe to surmise that this baby-word is an unsuitable address from a grown-up son (Golden 29–30); a son (presumably grown-up) addresses his mother as μαμμία in *PCG* adesp. 1091.5.

ὄτ' ὦδινες καὶ ἔτικτες με, τίς ἡμέρα†;: cf. III.3 τίς ἐστιν ἡμέρα τήμερον. A question about the date of his birth is unlikely in itself and has no obvious connection with what follows. Conjectures such as <ποία> τίς (Schneider), <ποία> τίς <ἦν> (Petersen), <ποία> τίς <ἦ> (Edmonds 1929), unappealing in themselves, are based on a rewritten version in cd (ὡς ποία ἡμέρα με ἔτικτες for εἶπου . . . ἡμέρα). And τίς ἡ μαῖα (Diels) is unappealing, since there is no obvious reason why a question about the midwife should be offensive to the mother.

8 καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὲ λέγειν ὡς ἡδύ ἐστι καὶ < >, ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα οὐ ῥαδίον ἀνθρώπον λαβεῖν: if (as ἀμφότερα suggests) something contrasted with ἡδύ is missing, this can be supplied by <ἀνιαρόν> (Fraenkel and Groeneboom), <λυπηρόν> (Navarre 1920), <ἀλγεινόν, καί> (Edmonds 1929); or (to provide a subject and help to account for the omission) ὡς ἡδύ ἐστι καὶ <ἄμα ἀλγεινόν τὸ τίκτειν>, ἀμφότερα κτλ. (cf. III.3 ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστι τὸ ζῆν, VII.3 τὸ λαβεῖν ὡς χρήσιμόν που; for the word order, *CP* 1.16.1 ἐλάττων καὶ ἄμα μείζων, 4.4.1 ἄσπονον . . . καὶ ἄμα θαυμαστόν). The lacuna is better

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marked after than before καί, since δέ is a likelier connection here (VI.9n.) than καί . . . δέ (I.2n.). If these supplements are on the right lines, the meaning may be something like ‘It (childbirth) has pleasure <and pain>, and it is not easy to find a person who does not have both’. For λαβεῖν ‘find’, with part. (as here) or adj., LSJ A.I.4, Diggle, *CQ* 47 (1997) 103–4. But the second limb of this sentence carries no conviction. There are many conjectures, shots in the dark, not worth recording. I mention only Haupt, who detected a pair of quotations from verse: “ὡς ἡδύ τοι” (an allusion to E. fr. 133 Nauck ἀλλ’ ἡδύ τοι κτλ.)<sup>92</sup> καὶ “ἀμφοτέρων εὐρεῖν εὐτυχοῦντ’ οὐ ῥάιδιον | ἀνθρωπων”. This is fantasy: the wonder is that Nauck endorsed the allusion to Euripides and Kock printed the second ‘quotation’ as *CAF* adesp. 427. It remains unclear whether ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς means ‘about her’ (Rusten), as XXIX.4 and commonly in the botanical works (B. Einarson and G. K. K. Link, *De Causis Plantarum* 1 (Loeb ed. 1976) xliii–xlvi; cf. Müller (1878) 15, LSJ ὑπὲρ A.III) or ‘for her’ (so most take it; LSJ A.II.2). It might even refer to some other noun lost in the preceding corruption. If changed to ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (Diels), it needs to be followed by something more pointed than ὡς ἡδύς (Ast) ἔστι, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὖ γεγονότα κτλ. (Diels) or ὡς ἡδύς ἔστι καὶ <ἀνιαρός>, ἀμφοτέρα δὲ κτλ. (Immisch 1923, <ἀηδής> Steinmetz). ἐρυθριώσης (Feraboli) for ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς is rash.

**9 . . . > καὶ ὄτι:** this is a new topic, and the preceding λέγειν (if rightly linked to ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς) does not naturally introduce it. If only a verb of speech is missing, καὶ <εἰπεῖν> ὄτι (Darvaris) or καὶ <λέγειν> ὄτι (Jebb) will serve. But more may be missing. No context or company is specified. And yet his expression of pride in his domestic amenities and his complaints about insatiable friends will be all the more tactless if he is a guest at another’s house. And such a scene will provide a contrast to the next scene, where he is the host in his own house. So καὶ <ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς καὶ λαμπρῶς εὐωχούμενος διηγείσθαι> Foss 1835, καὶ <κληθεὶς δ’ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καὶ λαμπρῶς ἔστιώμενος διηγέσασθαι> Foss 1858, <κληθεὶς δ’ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰπεῖν> Edmonds and Austen (the same with διηγείσθαι Navarre 1920), <ἔστιώμενος δὲ εἰπεῖν> Edmonds 1929. Cf. Stein 208 n. 4.

**ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἔστι παρ’ αὐτῷ λακκαῖον . . . [ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρὸν]:** the words ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρὸν must have been designed to stand immediately after λακκαῖον (Schneider 1799). They are probably a gloss which has been incorporated in the wrong place, presumably because it was originally written in the margin or above the line. Comparable glosses are introduced by ὥστε at IV.4, XIX.4. It is less plausible to delete ψυχρὸν instead (Schneider 1799) or

<sup>92</sup> Courier (§5n.) had already suggested ὡς ἡδύ τι, with an allusion to the same fr. (and ὡς ἡδύ τι τόν for ἀλλ’ ἡδύ τοι).

to emend (ὥστε <ἀεὶ (καὶ) τὸν οἶνον> εἶναι ψυχρόν Foss 1835, 1858). But it may be preferable to delete ψυχρόν in addition (Bloch before Hanow 1860), as an alternative gloss, since ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρόν is more readily comprehensible as a gloss on ὕδωρ λακκαῖον alone than on ψυχρόν ὕδωρ λακκαῖον; and it is sufficient to advertise that ὕδωρ λακκαῖον is available, without specifying that it is cold (cf. Anaxil. 3.1–2 ὕδατός τε λακκαίου. : : παρ' ἔμοῦ τουτί γέ σοι | νόμιζ' ὑπάρχειν). λάκκος is a water-cistern: Ar. Ec. 154–5 λάκκουσ . . . ὕδατος, Alex. 179.9,<sup>93</sup> Apollod.Gel. 1.1, Macho 281–2 ψυχρόν γ' . . . ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον. Interior wells began to be replaced in the fourth century by bottle-shaped cisterns, cut underground in courtyards, designed to collect and store rainwater from roofs: Phot. Λ 45, Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora xiv* 197, J.McK. Camp, *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 12–13, Arnott on Alex. 184.3.

καὶ [ὥς] κῆπος λάχανα πολλά ἔχων καὶ ἀπαλά: ὥς again follows and is followed by ὅτι at VII.9. But here it is otiose (the clause has no separate verb and κῆπος is simply a second subject for ἔστι) and should be deleted (Stefanis and I independently). Not ὁ for ὥς (Immisch 1923), which would require ἔχει. For λάχανα, Olson and Sens on Matro 1.14 and on Archestr. 11.8–9, 24.18–20; for ἀπαλός applied to food, on Archestr. 60.9–10. The vegetables are not 'delicate' (in appearance) but 'tender' (in consistency), that is 'soft', 'succulent', as opposed to 'hard', 'dry'. Cf. CP 2.15.6 (how to make vegetables like leeks and cabbages and lettuces τῆι ἀπαλότητι καὶ εὐτροφία βελτίω καὶ εὐχυλότερα), 6.12.12 (of parts of plants, ἀπαλά opposed to ξηρά), Hdt. 2.92.4 (of seeds, ἀπαλά opposed to αὔα).<sup>94</sup>

καὶ μάγειρος εὖ τὸ ὄψον κευάζων: here the μάγειρος (VI.5n.) performs a task which was sometimes performed by an ὄψοποιός (G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mágeiros* (Leiden 1982) 76–7, Arnott, *Alexis* p. 313). For ὄψον, IX.4n.; for the turn of phrase, Philem. 82.2 τοῦψον ὥς ἐκεύεσα, Nicom.Com. 1.8–9 ὄψον . . . κευάσαντα μουσικῶς.

καὶ ὅτι ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ πανδοκεῖόν ἐστι· μετήν γὰρ ἀεὶ: for the order ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ (like τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ and τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ below), XIV.10n.<sup>95</sup> Paradoxical or riddling identification (his house is an inn) followed by explanation (because it is always full) belongs to popular speech and is

<sup>93</sup> Read οὐ λάκκον ἔνδον (Palmer: εἶδον codd.), a conjecture ignored by Kassel and Austin and described as 'both unnecessary and tempting' by Arnott, who claims that εἶδον 'provides a welcome second verb to help in governing the long list of accusatives in vv. 4–9'. On the contrary, after eighteen asyndetic accusatives, preceded by governing verb, nothing could be less welcome or more damaging to the rhetorical structure than an unexpected and unwanted verb before the nineteenth (penultimate) accusative.

<sup>94</sup> Not 'of raw fruit' (LSJ ἀπαλός 1), corrected in the Rev.Suppl.

<sup>95</sup> I find αὐτοῦ in Cantabr. (4 Wilson), where Needham (who first printed it) will also have found it.



frequent in comedy (E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922) = *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (transl. F. Munari, Florence 1960) ch. 2, esp. 46 = 43). The explanation as transmitted (μετῆ γάρ ἐστι V) is unsatisfactory. Elsewhere an explanatory clause introduced by γάρ has infin. not indic. (IV.10n.), even when (as here) an indic. precedes (II.2, XXIII.5; contrast ἐμπλῆσαι below, where infin. precedes), so that (as Bloch observes) μετῆν γάρ εἶναι is expected. But, even with infin., the explanation lacks sharpness. It was condemned as another gloss by Bloch, Petersen, and Diels. μετῆν γάρ αἰί (Foss 1835) restores sharpness (αἰί ξένων Cobet 1874 is a needless elaboration). It entails an ellipse of the infin., which is so straightforward as to be unexceptionable (see §6n. on ellipse of ἦν) and is attested elsewhere in T. (Hindenlang 87–8). The presence of an unwanted ἐστι is explicable after ἐστι: μετῆ γάρ. There is another riddling identification at XXIX.5. For the undesirable associations of ‘inn’, VI.5n. Cf. Philippiid. 25.2 ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβών.

καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸν τετρημένον πίθον: for the change of construction (to acc. and infin., after ὅτι and ὥς with indic.) see on III.3 καὶ τὴν θάλατταν κτλ. The image of the leaking jar is proverbial, whether for insatiability (Pl. *Grg.* 493b <κυνεῖς> (add. Dodds) τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, ὡς τετρημένος εἶη πίθος, διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ἀπεικάσας, Arist. *Pol.* 1320<sup>a</sup>30–2 λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἅμα καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν: ὁ τετρημένος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἢ ποιούτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπύροισι) or for prodigality ([Arist.] *Oec.* 1344<sup>b</sup>24–5 (inability to keep what you have earned) τῶι γάρ ἡθμῶι ἀντλεῖν τοῦτ’ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος τετρημένος πίθος) or for wasted labour (X. *Oec.* 7.40 οὐχ ὀρθῆς . . . οἱ εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν λεγόμενοι ὡς οἰκτιρόνται ὅτι μάτην πονεῖν δοκοῦσι; Philetaer. 17.5 εἰς τὸν πίθον φέρουσι τὸν τετρημένον). LSJ *s.u.* πίθος incautiously associates these passages with the ‘task of the Danaids’, an association which is not certainly attested before the Roman period (E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades: A Study of Catharsis through Toil in Classical Antiquity* (Amsterdam 1974), ead. ‘Danaides’, *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 337–41). For related proverbs, Otto, *Sprichwörter* 98.

εὖ ποιῶν γάρ αὐτοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι ἐμπλῆσαι: this explanation is apt and indispensable (though it too, like μετῆ(ν) κτλ., was suspected by Diels). εὖ ποιῶν is more subtle than εὖ ποτιζῶν (Pasquali; XIII.9n.). It is the standard term used in describing the relationship of reciprocal benefit which properly exists between friends: e.g. Lys. 3.5 εὖ ποιῶν αὐτὸν ἡξίουν εἶναι μοι φίλον, X. *Mem.* 3.11.4 ἕαν τις . . . φίλος μοι γενόμενος εὖ ποιεῖν ἐθέληι, οὗτός μοι βίος ἐστί, *Cyr.* 3.1.27 ὄρα μὴ ἅμα τε εὖ ποιήσεις καὶ ἅμα οὐ φίλον νομιοῦσι σε, Arist. *EN* 1171<sup>b</sup>21–2 φίλου γάρ εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν χρεΐα καὶ μὴ ἀξιώσαντας; cf. X. *Mem.* 2.1.19, 2.6.7, 4.4.24, *Cyr.* 1.6.45, 7.1.43, 8.3.4, *Smph.* 8.38, *An.* 1.9.24, *Hier.* 11.14–15, *Ages.* 4.3, *Cyn.* 12.10, Arist. *EN* 1169<sup>b</sup>10–12, *EE* 1244<sup>a</sup>4, *Rh.* 1402<sup>b</sup>5, *Top.* 104<sup>a</sup>22–31, 118<sup>a</sup>4, and the common antithesis τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, τοὺς δ’ ἔχθρους κακῶς (Pl. *Men.* 71E; cf. R. 332D, 335A, 362C,

## XX: THE DISAGREEABLE MAN

X. *HG* 4.8.4, *Mem.* 2.6.35, *Cyr.* 1.6.11, *Hier.* 6.12–13, *Arist. Top.* 112<sup>b</sup>32–113<sup>a</sup>19). Note also XXIV.3 εὖ ποιήσας. For the order εὖ ποιῶν γάρ (rather than εὖ γάρ ποιῶν), Blomqvist 115. For ἐμπλήσαι, *Plu. Pho.* 30.4 τὸν μὲν λαβεῖν οὐ πέπεικε, τὸν δὲ διδοῦς οὐκ ἐμπέπληκε.

**10** καὶ ξενίζων δὲ δεῖξαι τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ ποῖός τις ἔστι τῷ συνδειπνοῦντι: he shows off his parasite, perhaps by encouraging him to behave in the obsequious manner of the Κόλαξ at dinner in II.10. The name παράσιτος emerges in the fourth century, and is perhaps an innovation by Alexis. On the word, its distribution, and the roles expected of the parasite, see Arnott, *Alexis* pp. 336–7, 542–5, to whose bibliography may be added C. Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* (Ann Arbor 1997) esp. 11–14, 23–36, Olson and Sens on *Matro* 1.8, Wilkins, *Boastful Chef* 71–86, Dalby 248–9. See also the *Introd.* Note to II.

καὶ †παρακαλῶν† δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου: cf. *Plu. Alex.* 53.3 ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, *Luc. Pisc.* 34 ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος, XXVII.2 παρὰ πότον. No translation of παρακαλῶν satisfies ('in an encouraging tone' Jebb, 'wenn er sie . . . animieren will' Ruge, 'by way of challenge' Rusten); and ἐπὶ τὸν πότον (Diels) is an implausible device for saving it.

εἰπέιν ὅτι τὸ τέρψον τοὺς παρόντας παρεσκεύασται καὶ ὅτι ταύτην, ἐὰν κελεύσωιν, ὁ παῖς μέτεισι παρὰ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ ἤδη: neuter τὸ τέρψον, teasingly disingenuous, is defined by the following ταύτην, which gives it a less innocent colour. ταύτην must replace αὐτήν (V), because αὐτήν is unsuited to initial position in its clause, whether this clause is marked as being in direct or in indirect speech, whereas a demonstrative appropriately picks up τὸ τέρψον (see on I.2 καὶ τούτοις, III.2n., IV.6n., V.10n., and on XXI.9 αὐτῶ). To replace αὐτήν with ἀλητριδα (Edmonds and Austen, before Navarre 1918) is heavy-handed, but at least shows awareness that a problem exists. Comparable word order (ἐὰν κτλ. interposed between ταύτην and governing verb), XVI.3.

Where direct speech begins is disputable. If we punctuate εἰπέιν ὅτι “τὸ τέρψον τοὺς παρόντας παρεσκεύασται” (ὅτι introducing direct speech, II.8n.), difficulties follow. We must not continue καὶ ὅτι “ταύτην” ἐὰν κελεύσωιν “ὁ παῖς κτλ.” (Rusten, though with αὐτήν), a most artificial punctuation, or καὶ ὅτι ταύτην, ἐὰν κελεύσωιν, “ὁ παῖς κτλ.”, for, if direct speech is introduced by the first ὅτι, we expect it to be introduced by the second ὅτι too; and, even if direct speech is not marked after the first ὅτι, the separation of ταύτην (outside direct speech) from its governing verb (inside) is unnatural. It is better to mark only “ὅπως κτλ.” as direct speech: this is, at least, a self-contained clause, and the only clause which *must* be taken as direct speech.

“ὅπως πάντες ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἀλώμεθα καὶ εὐφραίνωμεθα”: for the hiring of girl pipers, XI.8n.; passive ἀλώμεθα, XIX.9. A better host would not have said that the girl was available if his guests wanted her, but would

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have had her already present (Ar. *Ach.* 1091 αἰ πορναὶ πάρα). To mention the πορνοβοσκός was perhaps not tasteful. Now that he has been mentioned, the verb εὐφραινώμεθα takes on a hint of salaciousness. This passage may therefore be added to the two adduced by LSJ Rev.Suppl. εὐφραίνω π ('w. ref. to sexual fulfilment'), Ar. *Lys.* 165, 591; cf. J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 196–8. But to detect a sexual allusion in ἀλώμεθα (Lane Fox 148, referring to Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* 184–5) is wrong. The verb provides final and necessary identification of the girl; anything more would anticipate and weaken εὐφραινώμεθα.

## XXI

### THE MAN OF PETTY AMBITION

#### Introductory note

Φιλοτιμία, 'love of honour', 'ambition', is an ambivalent concept: an attitude or activity which may be creditable or discreditable, selfish or public-spirited. See M. Landfester, *Das griechische Nomen 'philos' und seine Ableitungen* (Hildesheim 1966) 148–50, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 230–3, 236, D. Whitehead, 'Competitive outlay and community profit: φιλοτιμία in democratic Athens', *C&M* 34 (1983) 55–74, id. *Demes of Attica* 241–52, R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 188–90, MacDowell on D. 21.159, Hornblower on Th. 2.65.7, Wilson, *Khoregia* 187–94. Theophrastus wrote a work entitled Περὶ φιλοτιμίας (D.L. 5.46, Cic. *Att.* 2.3.4; Fortenbaugh, *Quellen* 110).

μικροφιλότιμος/-τιμία are attested only here. 'Honour based on trivialities' (τῆς . . . ἐπὶ μικροῖς, sc. τιμῆς) is despised by the μεγαλόψυχος of Aristotle (*EN* 1124<sup>a</sup>10). But Aristotle describes no fault fully comparable to μικροφιλοτιμία. The χαῦνος (*EN* 1125<sup>a</sup>27–32), whom Jebb and Rusten compare, is different. While his vanity is similar to that of the Μικροφιλότιμος (Introd. Note to V *ad fin.*), his essential nature is defined by a characteristic (he affects a τιμή which is beyond his deserts) which has no bearing on the Μικροφιλότιμος.

The Μικροφιλότιμος is ambitious to impress others, and supposes that others are as impressed by the same trivialities as he is himself. He sets store by visual effects, and tries to dazzle with the unexpected: a black attendant (§4), newly minted money (§5), an ox-skull with long ribbons over his doorway (§7). He is eager for everyone to see how important he is, by sitting next to the host at dinner (§2), by perambulating in spurs (§8), and by securing a brief but showy appearance as a public official (§11). His excesses are comic: he takes his son to Delphi to dedicate his hair, when a local shrine would suffice (§3); he equips his pet bird not only with a ladder but also with a shield, so that it can act like a soldier (§6); he gives his dog not only a gravestone but also an epitaph fit for a foreigner (§9); he is so proud of the bronze replica of his finger which he has dedicated that he burnishes and festoons it every day like a precious cult object (§10).

His report to his wife on how well he fared as a public official sums him up nicely: not ambitious or pretentious at the expense of others, but naively and innocently vain because he has a false sense of what is important (§11). He is a sign of things to come: for Athens was soon to be a city of μικροφιλοτιμία. A series of decrees, dating from c. 300 BC to Roman times, records the thanks and honours routinely accorded to Prytaneis because they have performed their sacrificial duties καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως (§11 n. *imit.*).

[1] *Definition*

μικροφιλοτιμία . . . ὄρεσις τιμῆς ἀνελεύθερος: possibly echoed by def. XXII ἀνελευθερία . . . φιλοτιμίας (*s.u.l.*). The essence of μικροφιλοτιμία, the triviality of its aims and methods, is not well conveyed by the adj. ἀνελεύθερος, which suggests meanness rather than triviality (see the Introd. Note to XXII). The expression τιμῆς ὄρεσις is perhaps borrowed from Arist. *EN* 1125<sup>b</sup>7 (how the φιλότιμος and the ἀφιλότιμος differ) ἐν τιμῆς ὀρέξει. See Stein 223.

δόξει<εν ἄν> εἶναι: def. I n., XIII n.

2 σπουδάσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεὶς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνῆσαι: the place of honour, as now, is beside the host (H. *Od.* 7.167–71; Mau, 'Convivium', *RE* IV.1 (1900) 1206, Williams on Call. *Ap.* 29). κατακείσθαι is the regular verb for reclining at dinner (LSJ 7, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 463–4); see on II.10 παρακειμένωι.

3 καὶ τὸν ὑὸν ἀποκεῖρα ἀγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς: in the time of Theseus youths on reaching adulthood dedicated a lock of hair to Apollo at Delphi (Plu. *Thes.* 5.1); and we hear of a Sicyonian boy doing so in the middle of the fourth century (Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 248). It remained a common practice to dedicate hair (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 70, 373 n. 29, Garvie on A. *Ch.* 6), and Athenians did so, locally, at the time of their entry on the phratry-lists, during the day called κουρεῶτικ, the third day of the Apatouria (III.3n., Bremer, 'Haartracht und Haarschmuck', *RE* VII.2 (1912) 2118, L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 232–4, J. Labarbe, 'L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du κούρειον . . .', *BAB* 39 (1953) 358–94, Burkert, *Greek Religion* 255, S. G. Cole, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 233–5, C. W. Hedrick, *The Decrees of the Demotionidai* (Atlanta 1990) 28–9, 42, S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor 1993) 161–72, D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (Oxford 1996) 117–18, D. D. Leitaο, 'Adolescent hair-growing and hair-cutting rituals in ancient Greece', in D. B. Dodd and C. A. Faraone (edd.), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives* (London and New York 2003) 109–29). The verbs are chosen with care, to bring out the extravagance of the father's behaviour. Instead of the expected 'he dedicates a lock of his hair', Theophrastus uses an expression which is unexpectedly mundane: he says in effect that the father takes the son to Delphi for a haircut. ἀγαγὼν is preferable to any of the proposed replacements: ἀπαγαγὼν cd, ἀναγαγὼν (as if from V) Schneider, ἀναγαγεῖν Meier 1842, ἀγαγεῖν Foss 1858. For the spelling ὑόν, IX.5n.

4 καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ ὅπως αὐτῶι ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται: for black attendants (ἀκόλουθος, IX.3n.) as status symbols, Ter. *Eu.* 165–7 *nonne ubi mi dixisti cupere te ex Aethiopia | ancillulam, relictiis rebus omnibus | quaesivi?*, Tib. 2.3.55 *illi*

## XXI: THE MAN OF PETTY AMBITION

*sint comites fuscii quos India torret*, [Cic.] *Rhet. Her.* 4.50.63 (a man pretending to be rich borrows an Ethiopian; Introduction, pp. 11–12). Evidence for Ethiopians in Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries: F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 184–5; in art, G. H. Beardsley, *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilisation: A Study of the Ethiopian Type* (Baltimore etc. 1929), F. M. Snowden in J. Vercoutter *et al.* (edd.), *The Image of the Black in Western Art, I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York 1976) ch. 3 (this passage, 164). For the construction (ἐπ- ὄπως ἔσται), §11, and on X.14 διατεινομένους. Not αὐτῶι (V), referring to the boy (rightly Stein 210).

5 καὶ ἀποδιδούς μῶν ἀργυρίου καινὸν †ποιῆσαι† ἀποδοῦναι: for ἀποδιδούς . . . ἀποδοῦναι, XXX.8, 13, KG 2.99–100, Schwyzer 2.388. For μῶν ἀργυρίου ‘a mina of silver coinage’ (100 drachmas), Pl. *Ap.* 38B, D. 41.11, 49.22. ποιῆσαι is either corrupt or interpolated. To take it as governing ἀποδοῦναι (cf. LSJ ποιῶ A.II.1.b) is impossible, in the absence of an acc. as object of ποιῆσαι and subject of ἀποδοῦναι. To supply ἀκόλουθον from §4, ‘cause the slave to pay’ (Jebb), is inappropriate. Although a slave might carry his master’s money (XVIII.3n.), we have moved on to a new scene, and there is no place in it for the Ethiopian. To supply a non-specific object (‘a slave’ Giesecke, ‘them’ Edmonds) is impossible. In fact, there is no place here for any intermediary: a man who takes pleasure in paying his debt in new money will not forgo the pleasure of paying it personally. Deletion of ποιῆσαι (Pauw; Stein 210–11) gives adequate sense. There was, however, no motive for interpolation, and we shall have to suppose that it intruded from §6 below. The conjectures are unappealing: ποθῆσαι (also ποιήσας) Pauw, πονῆσαι Darvaris, σπεῦσαι Cobet 1874, ζητῆσαι Eberhard 1876, ἀργύριον (V<sup>2</sup>) . . . πορίσας Usener, ἀργύριον . . . περιποιήσας Diels, καινοῦ πᾶσαν Navarre 1918. Conceivably <εὐ>πορῆσαι ‘have the means to’ (with infin. Pl. *Lg.* 754A εὐποροῶ . . . εἰπεῖν, Arist. *Top.* 102<sup>a</sup>13, 108<sup>b</sup>14, 110<sup>b</sup>5, 112<sup>a</sup>25, 155<sup>a</sup>37, *Sens.* 437<sup>a</sup>21). For the sense of the passage, contrast IV.10.

6 καὶ κολοιῶι δὲ ἔνδον τρεφομένωι: for the jackdaw, O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* 2 (Leipzig 1913) 109–12, Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 155–8, D. Goodwin, *Crows of the World* (London<sup>2</sup> 1986) 73–6, Dunbar, *Aristophanes, Birds* 130–1; tame jackdaws, Ar. *V.* 129–30 ὁ δ’ ὡσπερὶ κολοιδὸς αὐτῶι παττάλους | ἐνέκρουεν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον, εἴτ’ ἐξήλλετο, Arist. *GA* 756<sup>b</sup>22 τῶν τιθασειομένων κολοιδῶν, Pl. *Capt.* 1002–3 *pueris* . . . *monerulae* . . . *dantur quicum lusitent*. Unless the bird has had its wings clipped (Stein, citing Keller 110), it will be in a cage, such as is alluded to by Ar. fr. 446 ὀρνίθειον οἰκίσκον and pictured in J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975) fig. 244. See also

## COMMENTARY

W. R. Halliday, 'Animal pets in ancient Greece', *Discovery* 3 (1922) 151–4. For ἔνδον 'at home', IV.7n.; τρέφειν 'keep' animals, V.9n.

**δεινός κλιμάκιον πρίασθαι καὶ ἀσπίδιον χαλκοῦν ποιῆσαι:** Attic vases show birds with helmets, shields and spears (Leipzig ed. (1897) Abb. 9, C. Dugas, *BCH* 70 (1946) 172–8, J. D. Beazley, *CR* 43 (1949) 42–3).<sup>96</sup> That he buys the little ladder but makes the little shield himself suggests that there was a market for the former among bird-owners but that the latter is an idiosyncrasy. For ἀσπίδιον, Hermipp. 15, Men. fr. 676.

**ὁ ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιμακίου ὁ κολοῖός πηδῆσεται:** the relative clause with fut. indic. expresses purpose (Goodwin §565). The bird behaves as if it were a warrior scaling a wall; cf. Ar. *V.* 129–30 (quoted above). The vocabulary is repetitive (τοῦ κλιμακίου repeats κλιμάκιον, and ὁ κολοῖός repeats κολοῖω). But the repetition is of a kind found elsewhere in this sketch, a word or phrase near the end of the sentence echoing a word or phrase near the beginning: §2 δείπνον κληθεῖς . . . καλέσαντα . . . δειπνήσαι, §5 ἀποδιδούς . . . ἀποδοῦναι, §7 βοῦν θύσας . . . βοῦν ἔθυσε, §9 Μελιταίου . . . Μελιταῖος.

**7 καὶ βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδῆσας:** an ox is too expensive an item to be sacrificed ordinarily by a private person (Headlam on Herod. 4.16, Handley on Men. *Dysc.* 474, Gomme and Sandbach *ibid.*; for actual costs, M. H. Jameson in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (PCPhS Suppl. 14, 1988) 93–8, 107–12). So he reminds his visitors of his extravagance by hanging above his doorway the garlanded skull (στέμμασι, X.13n.), which would properly be hung in a temple. See A. E. Napp, *Bukranion und Guirlande: Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* (Wertheim am Main 1933), J. D. Beazley, *JHS* 59 (1939) 36–8, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 6, *Greek Religion* 65, 92, 372 n. 93, I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1997) 123, F. T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden etc. 1995) 159–60, 180, with Figs. 27, 32, N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (Opladen 1997) Abb. 2, 32. The προμετωπίδιον is the front part of the skull, with the horns, as distinct from the complete skull (βουκεφάλιον/-κέφαλον). That the two are distinct is clear from *Chron.Lind.* (FGH 532) c 38–40. Cf. C. Börker, 'Bukranion und Bukephalion', *AA* 90 (1975) 244–50 (esp. 246 n. 15). The credentials of προσπατταλεῦσαι (V) do not bear scrutiny (Stein 212–13).

**ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε:** not εἰδῶσιν (Edmonds 1929), since it is the visual effect of the skull (to which attention is further drawn by the long ribbons) which is all-important (see the Introd. Note). Deletion of ὅτι βοῦν

<sup>96</sup> The discussion by Haupt to which Beazley refers is in *Arch.Ztg.* 24 (1866, not 1886), *Anz.* 215\*.

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ἔθυσε (Hanow 1860) is misguided. The echo of βούνη θύσας at the beginning of the sentence looks deliberate (§6n.); and 'so that they may see it' (*sc.* τὸ προμετωπίδιον) is a triter conclusion.

**8** καὶ πομπεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἵππέων: the Knights processed on festal and other occasions (X. *Eq.Mag.* 3, D. 4.26, 21.171, 174; A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens* (Paris 1886) 145–57, F. Bömer, 'Pompa', *RE* xx1.2 (1952) 1904–5, G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 81, I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece* (Oxford 1993) 186–8). They numbered, in theory at least, 1,000 (X. *Eq.Mag.* 9.3, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 24.3 (p. 303), Bugh 39–40, 155–6, Spence 9–10).

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα δοῦναι τῷ παιδί ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε: cf. IX.7 ἀποφέρειν πρὸς αὐτόν, Alex. 130.8 (ἴνα ἀποφέρωσιν οἴκαδε; for the 'final-consecutive' infin., XVI.6n. His slave takes home the heavy equipment, helmet, breast-plate, boots, sword, spear (J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961) 142–51, A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London 1967) 104, 109, Spence 60–5), as well as (next note) his χλαμύς.

ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ θοίματιον: while riding his horse he will have worn the χλαμύς, a short cloak (worn above the χιτῶν) pinned over one shoulder or both by a large brooch (Amelung, 'Χλαμύς', *RE* III.2 (1899) 2344, Anderson 86–7, with Pl. 25, Stone, *Costume* 169, Geddes 312, Bugh 16, with Fig. 1, Spence 11, 200, 269, 325, with Pl. 3–4, 14–15). He now changes this for a ἱμάτιον, which the slave will have brought him. Steinmetz and Stein are wrong to suggest that ἱμάτιον may serve here as a general word for χλαμύς. The verb ἀναβαλόμενος (IV.4n.) describes how the ἱμάτιον, not the χλαμύς, is put on. The comedy lies not only in his wearing spurs in the agora, but in his wearing them with civilian dress. For the aorist (Stephanus before Casaubon), II.10n., XIX.6n. For the spelling θοίμ-, XXX.10n.

ἐν τοῖς μύωσι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν: cf. Ar. *Lys.* 558 περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὄπλοις (*PCG* adesp. 1146.48 ἐν ὄπλοις περιπατεῖν), Men. *Phasm.* 10 Arnott (35 Sandbach) περιπατεῖς κ[ατ'] ἀγορὰν; similarly κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περι(ι)έναι (Phryn.Com. 3.4, D. 21.104, 25.85, Din. 1.32; see on IV.13 περιών). Spurs are not attested before the fifth century (Crates Com. 40 ἀτραγαλωτὴ μάστιξ, Pherecr. 54 ἐγκεντρίδες) and are perhaps a Greek invention (F. Lammert, 'Sporn', *RE* III.2A (1929) 1875–8, Anderson 87–8). For ἐν 'equipped with', 'wearing', KG 1.463, Denniston on E. *El.* 321, Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 60, *Euripidea* 39.

**9** καὶ κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ: the κυνίδιον Μελιταῖον (κυνίδιον is the almost invariable designation, first in Arist. *HA* 612<sup>b</sup>10, *Pr.* 892<sup>a</sup>21) was a small white long-haired curly-tailed sharp-nosed lap dog, a popular pet, frequently portrayed on fifth-century Attic vases and gravestones.



See O. Keller, *JÖAI* 8 (1905) 243–6, id. *Tierwelt* 1.92–4, with Fig. 34, Orth, ‘Hund’, *RE* viii.2 (1913) 2552, Halliday (§6n.), G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture* (Oxford 1930) 32, with Fig. 166, V. T. Leitch, *The Maltese Dog* (Riverdale 1953) ch. 2, J. Busuttill, ‘The Maltese Dog’, *G&R* 16 (1969) 205–8, J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 109, S. Lilja, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Helsinki 1976) 112–13, D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l’époque archaïque à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* (Lausanne 1982) 60, 128–30 (nos. 305–34). The view which Pliny (*Nat.* 3.152) attributes to Callimachus (fr. 579), that it came not from Malta but from another island called Melite (Fluss, ‘Melite’ (16), *RE* xv.1 (1931) 547–8) off the coast of Epirus, is almost certainly wrong (Keller (1905), A. Mayr, *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* (Munich 1909) 22–3, Busuttill 206–8).

Dat. αὐτῶι (not αὐτῶι, I.2n.) with τελευτήσαντος, as Aeschin. 3.77 τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶι τετελευτηκυίας, Th. 3.98.1 ὁ ἡγεμῶν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκῶς, 7.71.7 διαφθαρεῖων . . . τῶν νεῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσαπώλλυντο αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ κτλ., S. *El.* 289–90, *Ant.* 49–50, *Ar. Pax* 269, 281–2, *Th.* 446, *Ra.* 986, *X. An.* 3.4.5, *Men. Dysc.* 14–15, *Epit.* 268, fr. 411.1, *Philem.* 94.3, *Timocl.* 6.14; *KG* 1.418, *Schwyzzer* 2.148. Many, even Wilamowitz 1902b, refer αὐτῶι to the dog. This is impossible, since resumptive αὐτῶι behaves like an enclitic and cannot stand first in its word-group (*KG* 1.654 Anmerk. 4): in this position τοῦτῶι is needed (see on §10 τοῦτον, XX.10 ταύτην).

μνήμα ποιῆσαι καὶ στηλίδιον στήσας ἐπιγράψαι: on graves and commemorative inscriptions for dead pets see E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 3 (1882) 129–32, G. Herrlinger, *Totenklage um Tiere in der antiken Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1930) 106–20, Gow-Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (1965) 2.90–1, B. S. Ridgway, ‘The Man-and-Dog Stelai’, *JDAI* 86 (1971) 60–79, P. M. Fraser, ‘The son of Aristonax at Kandahar’, *Afghan Studies* 2 (1979) 9–21 (esp. 14 n. 9), T. Puroala, ‘P.Cair.Zen. 4.59532 – Two epitaphs for a hunting dog called Tauron’, *Arctos* 28 (1994) 55–62. A fourth-century grave in the Agora preserves the skeleton of a dog with a large beef bone at its mouth (H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 52, L. P. Day, *AJA* 88 (1984) 25 (no. 26), 31).

στηλίδιον ποιήσας (V), legitimate in itself (Lycurg. 117 ποιήσαντες στήλην), is insufferable after μνήμα ποιῆσαι, and is unconvincingly defended by Stein. The punctuation στηλίδιον, ποιήσας (Immisch 1923, Steinmetz) is no solution (on this Stein is right). If deletion is the remedy, deletion of ποιῆσαι alone (Pauw before Petersen) is as plausible as deletion of μνήμα ποιῆσαι καί (Hanow 1860), since the collocation μνήμα . . . καὶ στηλίδιον is unexceptionable. One may speak more succinctly of inscribing a μνήμα (XIII.10 ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα . . . τοῦνομα). But μνήμα is the whole funeral monument (cf. XVI.9), στήλη the upright slab which carries the inscription (Stein 214–15). Alternative deletions have been proposed, which entail further changes: στηλίδιον

[ποιήσας] ἐπιγράψας Pauw, ποιήσας καὶ στηλίδιον [ποιήσας] Darvaris, στηλιδίωι [ποιήσας] (Navarre 1920, wrongly attributing it to Petersen). Since there was no obvious cause for interpolation, either ποιῆσαι or ποιήσας may be corrupt: if the former, the corruption was induced by the following ποιήσας (see on IV.13 ἄρχων), if the latter, by the preceding ποιῆσαι (see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον). For ποιῆσαι a possibility is χῶσαι (Sitzler, cl. X. *Cyr.* 7.3.11, 15, 16). For ποιήσας the most suitable verb is not πήξας (Coray) or ἐπιστήσας (D. W. Triller in J. S. Bernhard's edn. of Thomas Magister (Leiden 1757) 559, before Diels) or ἀναστήσας (Edmonds 1929), but στήσας (Triller), regular with στήλην (Hdt. 2.103.1, 2.106.1, 4.87.1, 4.91.1, 7.30.2, Ar. *Ach.* 727–8, Th. 5.18.10, 5.23.5, And. 3.22, 34, D. 20.36, Lycurg. 126, Hyp. fr. 79 Jensen, [Arist.] *Ath.* 53.4, P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigr. Gr. saeculorum VIII–V a. Ch. n.* 108.5–7, 164, *Carmina Epigr. Gr. saec. IV a. Chr. n.* 841, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 211.3 = Peek, *Gr. Vers-Inschr.* 553.3 (iii–ii BC)). With the alliteration στηλίδιον στήσας cf. XVI.14 κίλλιη ἢ κύλακι.

“†Κλάδος† Μελιταῖος”: κλάδος has been taken as ‘scion’, on the analogy of ‘the poetical use of ἔρνος, θάλος, ὄζος, πτόρθος’ (Jebb, after Casaubon; similarly Gomperz (1898) 15, citing ἔρνος and θάλος in sepulchral epigrams, 416.2, 866.3, 905.3 Kaibel). But ‘Maltese Scion’ would be an absurd epitaph; Jebb’s translation ‘A Scion of Melita’ vainly tries to disguise the absurdity. κλάδος is a corruption not of an adjective (καλός J. Toup,<sup>97</sup> ὁ καλός Darvaris before Ast, appropriate only for lovers) but of the dog’s name. Then Μελιταῖος will signify not merely ‘Maltese’ (of the breed) but ‘from Malta’, as if the dog were a foreign visitor who died in Athens; for ‘X from Malta’ is precisely the form taken by inscriptions on the tombs of metics (Hicks 132, D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (PCPhS Suppl. 4, 1977) 33; XIII.10n). It is like describing a Pekinese as ‘Fido from Peking’. I doubt if there is also a pun on the name of the deme *Melite* (Honigmann, ‘Melite’ (9), *RE* xv.1 (1931) 541–2, H. Lohmann, ‘Melite’ (5), *DNP* 7 (1999) 1190), as suggested by Giesecke (and again by Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 342 n. 102). The demotic is not Μελιταῖος but Μελιτεύς.

Κλάδος is occasionally attested as a personal name, though in Athens not before the Roman period (*LGN* 1.256, 2.262, 3A.242; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* 1 (Paris 1963) 271–3). But Κλάδος is not the name of the dog. A personal name, however authentic, is not enough in itself; we need a name which suits a dog and, above all, the toy dog of this show-off. And this dog was not called ‘Branch’. What names the ancients gave to dogs may be seen in X. *Cyn.* 7.5, Ov. *Met.* 3.206–24, Col. 7.12.13, E. Baecker, *De Canum Nominibus Graecis* (diss. Königsberg 1884), F. Jeschonnek, *De Nominibus quae Graeci*

<sup>97</sup> *Emendationes in Suidam etc.* 3 (Oxford 1766) 102, *Opuscula Critica* 1 (Leipzig 1780) 395, *Emend. in Suid.* 2 (Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1790) 129–30.

*Pecudibus domesticis indiderunt* (diss. Königsberg 1885), J. Löbe, 'Notizen über den Hund aus griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern', *MO* 9 (1900) 42–5, Keller, *Tierwelt* 1.134–6, Orth, 'Hund', *RE* viii.2 (1913) 2571–2, F. Mentz, 'Die klassischen Hundenamen', *Philologus* 88 (1933) 104–29, 181–202, 415–42 (the most comprehensive catalogue, listing about 250), J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Beasts and their names in the Roman Empire', *PBSR* 16 (1948) 24–37, J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951) 277 n. 1. Attested names of Maltese dogs are Μυρρίνη 'Myrtle' (Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 34), Πλαγγών 'Dolly' (Alciph. 2.19), both suitably cosy Athenian female names [J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* 10480–9, 11840–2, *LGPN* 2.323, 368; both are found in comedy) and the playfully inappropriate Ταῦρος (Tymnes, *AP* 7.211.3 = Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 3618). Κάλλος (Hicks) does not appeal. Conceivably Κέλσδος (C. Keil, *Analecta Epigraphica et Onomatologica* (Leipzig 1842) 192–3), attested as a personal name (*LGPN* 3A.239, Argos iii BC), a possible euphemism ('Melody') for the dog's bark (Lucian's Μυρρίνη barked λεπτήι τῆι φωνῆι), and comparable to the attested Κράυγη (X. *Cyn.* 7.5).

**10** καὶ ἀναθεῖς δάκτυλον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῶι Ἀσκληπιεῖωι: he dedicates a bronze finger in the Asclepieum in thanksgiving for, or in hope of, the successful treatment of an injured finger. For the practice in general, W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge 1902) 210–16, F. T. van Straten, 'Gifts for the Gods', Appendix 'Votive offerings representing parts of the human body', in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden 1981) 105–51. The inventory of the Athenian Asclepieum (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1532–9; revised text in S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, their Dedications, and the Inventories* (Amsterdam 1989)) records dedicated fingers (1534.85, 276–7; cf. Rouse 210 n. 8, van Straten 108–13). But an injured finger is no threat to life; and the pride which he takes in the replica is out of all proportion to his injury.

δάκτυλον (for δακτύλιον V) was first proposed (before Naber) by Nast, but withdrawn in his *Corrigenda*. A ring (δακτύλιον) creates a less effective picture here. For a good appreciation of this see Giesecke; the contrary argument of Stein 216 is unconvincing. Rings were commonly dedicated in the Asclepieum (1532.2, 15; 1533.1, 18, 25, 26, 27; 1534.40, 44; cf. 47.15, 20 (= *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 144); Rouse 225). But the epithet 'bronze', applied to a ring, is merely conventional; applied to a finger it has more point, establishing what kind of finger this is. And there is far more comedy in the verbs which follow when their object is a finger. Conceivably δακτύλιον . . . τοῦτον is a corruption not of δάκτυλον . . . τοῦτον but of δακτυλίδιον . . . τοῦτο (Steinmetz). If so, δακτυλίδιον should be taken (with Steinmetz) as diminutive of δάκτυλος (like Ar. *Lys.* 417, 'little toe'), not (with Rusten) of δακτύλιος. But this diminutive, whether signifying 'little finger' or 'little (model of a) finger', is less appropriate than the earlier diminutives κλιμάκιον and ἀσπίδιον (§6) and σπηλίδιον (§9), which designate

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items reduced to a size suitable for small animals. There is less reason to emphasise the smallness of a finger or of its replica.

The Asclepieum stood on the south slope of the Acropolis. The original building, constructed at the time of the god's arrival at Athens in 420/19, was elaborated in the fourth century and later. See J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) 127–37, Aleshire 7–36, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 177–81.

τοῦτον ἐκτριβεῖν στεφανοῦν ἀλείφειν ὀσμῆραι: he treats the little finger with the care with which one might treat cult objects, such as statues, which were commonly garlanded (XVI.10n.) and oiled (XVI.5n.), though not (what underlines the extravagance) daily. ἐκτριβεῖν is 'rub thoroughly', 'polish' (LSJ v.1, Headlam on Herod. 1.79; similarly τριβεῖν Alex. 124.4). ἀλείφειν is not 'polish' (LSJ 1.3), duplicating ἐκτριβεῖν, but 'anoint' (Rev.Suppl.), *sc.* with oil, to make it glisten (M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1982) 271). Cf. Men. *Georg.* 60 ἤλειφεν ἐξέτριβεν ('anointed and rubbed down' a sick man). στεφανοῦν (Petersen, improving on στεφανοῦν ἀπαλείφειν Meier 1842) is the obvious remedy for στεφανοῦντα (V). Not τε φαιδρύνων καί (Hicks), which, though the verb is apt (Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 344, cited on XVI.10 ἀγοράσαι κτλ.; E. Kuhnert, *De Cura Statuarum apud Graecos* (Berlin 1883) 52–9), reduces the extravagance and ruins the tricolon (V.10n.). For resumptive τοῦτον after the participial clause, XIV.6n.

¶ For general comment on this section see the Introduction (pp. 23–5), where I have illustrated the traditional and formulaic nature of the man's speech by comparing it with D. *Prooem.* 54.<sup>98</sup> Similar formulae occur in the 'prytany decrees', mentioned in the Introd. Note (texts in S. Dow, *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions honoring the Athenian Councillors* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1, Athens 1937), B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, xv. *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974)). Here is a typical example, from 228/7 BC: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσίων ὧν ἔθυσον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίωι καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσον ἐφ' ὕγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαί τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθῆκον ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως κτλ. (Dow 29.9–19 = Meritt and Traill 120). See also Hicks 134–41, P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 132–3, van Straten, *Hierà Kalá* (§7n.) 190–1, Lane Fox 150 (misquoting Hicks).

ἀμέλει δὲ καί: II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

<sup>98</sup> On whose authorship see F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* III.1 (Leipzig <sup>2</sup>1893) 322–8, III.2 (<sup>2</sup>1898) 403–5 (in favour of Demosthenes).

συνδιοικήσασθαι μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ὅπως: the πρυτάνεις are the fifty βουλευταί who are currently acting as the executive committee of the Βουλή, during the period (one-tenth of the year) that their φυλή (one of ten) is in charge (Rhodes, *Boule* 16–25). συνδιοικήσασθαι . . . ὅπως κτλ. ‘manage matters jointly to ensure that . . .’ (with the verb used absolutely) is like D. 48.19 διοικήσειν . . . ὅπως . . . ἔξει, Aeschin. 1.146 προδιοικήσασθαι ὅπως . . . κείσεται. But συνδιοικήσασθαι παρὰ (V) τῶν πρυτάνεων is impossible, since συν- is incompatible with παρὰ. Nothing is achieved by <τὰ> παρὰ τῶν πρ- (Casaubon). Nor is συνδιοικήσασθαι τὰ τῶν πρ- (Ast) a convincing expression. Stein argues for [συν]διοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν <συν>πρυτάνεων (Madvig 1868, before Herwerden), and Rusten translates this as ‘he obtains from his colleagues the job of . . .’. But the passages cited by Stein to show that διοικήσασθαι is compatible with παρὰ show no such thing: D. 18.178 ἴνα . . . ἄ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διωικημένοι (not ‘damit . . . wir erreichen, was wir wollen’ (Wankel) but ‘so that we have made the arrangement that we want’; cf. D. 4.12), and D. 58.19 διοικησάμενος πρὸς Κτησικλέα . . . ὥστε κτλ. (‘after arranging matters with K. so that . . .’; similarly 58.20). Schneider suggested a lacuna after συνδιοικήσασθαι. Various supplements: συνδιοικ<ὼν αἰτ>ήσασθαι Darvaris, συνδιοικήσας <τὴν πόλιν αἰτήσας>θαι Herwerden, συνδιοικ<ὼν τὴν πρυτανείαν (or τὰ ἱερὰ) αἰτ>ήσασθαι Giesecke.

The change of παρὰ to μετὰ (Stefanis and I independently) gives an expression like *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 353.5 (302/1 BC) συνδιοίκησεν μετὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀτέλ[ει]α ὑπάρχηι τῇ θεῶι. Further instances of μετὰ with συν- are XXX.17 συναποδημῶν . . . μετὰ γνωρίμων (and perhaps XXVII.11), Ar. *Eq.* 597, *Pax* 816, *Lys.* 1221, *Isoc.* 7.13, *Pl. Ti.* 18B, *Plt.* 266c, *Phdr.* 234D, *Prt.* 361D, *R.* 464A, *Lg.* 639c, *X. An.* 7.3.32, *Smp.* 9.5, *Cyn.* 4.5, *Is.* 3.14, 8.22, 9.28, D. 21.127, 57.47, Aeschin. 1.43, 2.78, 148, 149, 168, Arist. *EN* 1169<sup>b</sup>21, [Arist.] *Ath.* 40.1, 49.3, *Men. fr.* 293. The corruption may be explained as an error of anticipation: μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων = παρὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων (see on IV.13 ἄρχων).

ὅπως ἀπαγγεῖληι τῶι δήμωι τὰ ἱερά: religious matters were dealt with at specified Assemblies ([Arist.] *Ath.* 43.6; Stein 218–19), and it was perhaps at one of these that such announcements were made. Subjunctive ἀπαγγεῖληι is unexceptionable (XXVII.8; Goodwin §339, KG 2.372–4, S. Amigues, *Les subordinées finales par ΟΠΩΣ en attique classique* (Paris 1977) 172–97), and there is no need for fut. indic. ἀπαγγελεῖ (Herwerden), as §4, X.14. But perhaps <ἐν> τῶι δήμωι (VII.7n., XXII.3n.), as D. 49.13, Aeschin. 2.25, 47 (all with ἀπαγγέλλειν); on the other hand, X. *HG* 1.7.11 has ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῶι δήμωι.

καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ ἔστεφανωμένος: white cloak and garland are appropriate for a religious ceremony (Aeschin. 3.77 στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει) and for a public speech (*Plu. Dem.* 22.3 προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχων λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον ἔστεφανωμένος, D.S. 20.7.2 (Agathocles 310 BC) προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν

δημηγορίαν ἐστεφανωμένος ἐν ἱματίῳ λαμπρῶι, Luc. *Demon*. 11 στεφανωσάμενος καὶ καθαρὸν ἱμάτιον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν); G. Radke, *Die Bedeutung der weißen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen und Römer* (Jena 1936) 57–69, Blech (§10n.) 319, Dunbar on Ar. *Au.* 463–4. Here the cloak is not merely white but has a bright sheen (H. *Od.* 19.234 (α χιτῶν) λαμπρὸς . . . ἥλιος ὤς), probably because it is fresh from the fuller (epil. X n., Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 845 χλαῖναν . . . φανήν). Cf. also [Epich.] 262 πρὸς <δὲ> τοὺς πέλας πορεύου λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον ἔχων, | καὶ φρονεῖν πολλοῖσι δόσεις, τυχὸν ἴσως <οὐδὲν φρονῶν>.

παραελθὼν εἰπεῖν “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι . . .”: παραελθὼν ‘coming forward to speak’ (LSJ παρέρχομαι vi, πάρεμι iv.2), as XXVI.2. For the voc. ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 293–5; ὦ is normally prefixed (Dickey 202). Placing of the voc. at the head of the speech generally conveys a note of formality (V. Bers, *Speech in Speech: Studies in incorporated Oratio Recta in Attic Drama and Oratory* (Lanham etc. 1997) 197–202), and here it suits the speaker’s attempt to be solemn.

ἔθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις: ἔθύσαμεν Herwerden (before Cobet 1874), as D. *Proem.* 54 (cited in the Introduction, p. 24). But imperfect is regular, both in literary texts (e.g. A. *Ag.* 594 and (cited below on [τὰ ἱερά] κτλ.) Pl. *Smp.* 173A, X. *HG* 1.6.37, D. 19.128) and inscriptions (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 668.8, 282/1 BC), and sometimes both tenses are found together (the ‘prytany decrees’ (§11 n. *imit.*), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 661.9, 17, 283/2 BC). Imperfect is found even where aorist might seem more natural, for example where the verb to which it is linked is aorist (Hdt. 6.67.3 ἔθυε τῶι Διὶ βούν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε, Pl. *O.* 10.57–8 ἀκρόθνια . . . ἔθυε καὶ . . . ἔστασεν ἑορτάν). See also J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* I (Basel 1920) 182–3, Stein 219.

[τὰ ἱερά] τῆι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια: for the Mother and her connection with civic life, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 188–94. Offerings to her by Prytaneis are attested in Meritt and Traill 180.10 (184/3 BC). Her festival, taking its name from γαλαξία, a barley porridge cooked in milk, is elsewhere attested only in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1011.13 (107/6 BC) ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαξιο[ί]ς τ[ῆ]ι Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, *AB* 229.25–7 (~ Hsch. Γ 80, Phot. Γ 16 Theodoridis) Γαλάξια ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μητρὶ θεῶν ἀγομένη ἐν ἧι ἔψουσι τὴν γαλαξίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλτος κριθίνος ἐκ γάλακτος. See Stengel, ‘Γαλάξια’, *RE* VII.1 (1910) 59–60, Deubner, *Attische Feste* 216, H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 173–4, N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto 1992) 29, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 192.

τὰ Γαλάξια is internal acc. with ἔθύομεν, as X. *An.* 1.2.10 τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε, D. 19.86 τὰ Ἡράκλεια . . . θύειν, Plu. *Pomp.* 55.3 θύει γάμους (KG 1.306, LSJ θύω 1.4.), and is comparable to the acc. in such expressions as Διονύσια χορηγεῖν (D. 21.64) and Παναθήναια πέμπειν (Men. fr. 384). τὰ ἱερά is a different acc. (the sacrifice itself, direct object), and with it (not with τὰ Γαλάξια

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θύειν) belong Pl. *Smp.* 173A τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔθυσεν (cf. D. 19.128), X. *HG* 1.6.37 ἔθυσεν τὰ εὐαγγέλια, 4.3.14 ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια (LSJ θύω 1.2). So τὰ ἱερά cannot stand alongside τὰ Γαλάξια (festival, not sacrifice). Corruption to τὰ γὰρ ἄξια (Wilamowitz 1902b; confusion of λ and ρ, VI.9n.) will have led to the interpolation. See also R. Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism: A Reader* (Cambridge Mass. 1968) 120–2, Stein 219–20.

**καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλά:** cf. D. *Prooem.* 54 (cited p. 24), and (e.g.) Hdt. 9.36, Ar. *Au.* 1118, Th. 4.92.7, X. *HG* 4.2.18, 7.2.21, *An.* 1.8.15, 4.3.9, Herod. 4.79; LSJ καλός A.Π.2, van Straten, *Hierà Kalá* 190–1. Ellipse of ἦν (XX.6n.) is particularly unremarkable in this formulaic style; cf. X. *HG* 7.2.21 ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, *An.* 1.8.15.

**καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθὰ:** cf. D. *Prooem.* 54 δέχεσθ' οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν διδόντων τάγαθὰ, the 'prytany decrees' (§11 n. *imit.*) δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ τὰ . . . ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> IV.1 p. 47 (*s.u.* δέχεσθαι). For δέχεσθαι, of accepting what comes from the gods (including oracles, omens etc.), Ar. *Pl.* 63, Hdt. 1.48.1, 1.63.1, 9.91.1, LSJ 1.2.b; for τὰ ἀγαθὰ, of blessings received or sought from the gods, Hdt. 6.111.2, Phryn. 16, Cratin. 172, Ar. *Th.* 310, *Ra.* 1462, *Ec.* 781, fr. 504.14, X. *Mem.* 1.3.2, *Alex.* 267.3.

**καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέιλαι ἀπελθῶν οἴκαδε διηγῆσθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικί:** like the deluded Harpagus in Hdt. 1.119.1–2, who ἦμε ἐς τὰ οἰκία and then περιχαρῆς ἔων φράζει τῇ γυναικί τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. There are two anomalies in ἀπιῶν διηγῆσθαι οἴκαδε (V). First, οἴκαδε belongs with the part. and therefore ought to stand next to it (the two passages of Aristophanes cited by Stein are irrelevant to prose usage). The transmitted order suggests that it belongs with διηγῆσθαι. It could do so if it were equivalent to οἶκοι. But the only two passages earlier than Lucian cited by LSJ III for οἴκαδε = οἶκοι do not survive scrutiny: X. *Cyr.* 1.3.4 ἵνα ἦττον τὰ οἴκαδε ποθοίη (KG 1.547 Anmerk. 2), *An.* 7.7.57 οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος ('preparing <to return> home'). Transposition was proposed first by Reiske (*Miscellanea Lipsiensia Noua* 6 (1748) 661, *Briefe* (1749) 361), later by Meier 1842 and Hanow 1861. A second anomaly remains: the part. ought to be aorist, like XVI.14 ἀπελθῶν (contrast ἀπιῶν IX.8 *s.u.l.*, XI.7); cf. Men. *Dysc.* 133 ἀπελθῶν οἴκαδε, *Lys.* 2.6, X. *An.* 5.6.20, *Cyr.* 6.1.8, *Ages.* 2.17, D.H. 3.40.6, *Plu. Pel.* 8.6. Similar confusion, V.5 εἰκίζοντα AB, ἐξεῖλ[θον]τα Π. Meineke salvaged the transmitted words at the cost of two separate supplements (ἀπιῶν <ἄπασι> διηγῆσθαι, οἴκαδε <δ' ἔλθῶν εἰπεῖν> τῇ κτλ.).

**ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡὕμερει:** the leading verb διηγῆσθαι 'recount' implies a narrative of past events. So the most natural tense for the dependent verb is not present εὕμερεῖ (Stephanus),<sup>99</sup> which would represent an original

<sup>99</sup> Not c (as claimed by Giesecke); only Casanat. 420 (52 Wilson), according to Stefanis, and this is based on a printed edition (Introduction, p. 49 n. 157).

present in direct speech ('I am successful'). Rather, either imperfect (εὐημέρει Needham; for ηὕ-, II.2n.), representing an original imperfect (Goodwin §672), or aorist (ἠὐμήρησεν). We may take ὡς κτλ. either as an indirect statement, 'that he was exceedingly successful' (so διηγείσθαι with ὡς XX.6, XXIII.2, ὅτι XI.9, XII.12), or (less naturally) as an indirect question, 'how exceedingly successful he was' (X. *HG* 4.2.2 τὰ . . . ἄλλα διηγείτο ὡς ἔχοι, D. 54.2 ὡς ἕκαστα πέπρακται διηγῆσθαι). Since adverbial καθ' ὑπερβολήν follows, ὡς is more likely conjunction (as in the former) than interrogative adverb (as in the latter). At all events, not εὐημερῶν (Giesecke), which requires ταῦτα to be taken (unwelcomely) with διηγῆσθαι as well as with ἀπαγγείλας, and is based on the faulty argument that ὡς εὐημερεῖ (ἠὐμήρει) is an unsuitable object for a verb which means 'recount' (this is answered by XI.9). The verb εὐημερεῖν regularly denotes successful performances by actors, poets, musicians, and orators (for the latter, Aeschin. 2.63 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εὐημερήσας, Plu. *Dem.* 5.4 εὐημερήσαντος . . . τοῦ Καλλικτράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφύως); cf. W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia* 5 (Göttingen 1999) 105.

ὡς . . . εὐημερεῖν (V) is defended by Stein and Rusten as an example of the anomalous construction which is attested occasionally, most often in Xenophon, whereby an unwanted ὡς or ὅτι is inserted between leading verb and infinitive. To the discussions of this construction cited by Stein add H. Fournier, *Les verbes 'dire' en grec ancien* (Paris 1946) 180, G. L. Cooper III, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie und Textkritik der attischen Autoren* (Zurich 1971) 69–74, id. *Attic Greek Prose Syntax* (Ann Arbor 1998) §55.4.10, and (for a more sceptical attitude) Cobet, *Nouae Lectiones* (Leiden 1858) 432–4. KG 2.357–8 lists most of the alleged examples. Many of them, unlike this, are complex structures, with a subordinate clause intruding between ὡς or ὅτι and the infinitive. This might be held to justify the mixture of constructions (if the text is sound) or to account for the unwanted conjunction (if it is interpolated). In some of them the normal construction either is found in part of the mss. (ὅτι omitted at *Cyr.* 1.6.18, 2.4.15, *HG* 2.2.2) or can be restored by deletion of a single letter (*Lys.* 13.9 ποιήσει[v] Stephanus; cf. (not on KG's list) X. *HG* 7.4.39 δεῖ[v] Castalio) or of ὡς (*Cyr.* 8.1.25 Holden, *HG* 6.5.42 Cobet,<sup>100</sup> Is. 6.10 Reiske (Wyse *ad loc.*)). Pl. *Phd.* 63c needs only to be interpreted rightly (ὅτι . . . ἤξειν, sc. ἐλπίζω).<sup>101</sup> For Th. 5.46.3 (a very complex structure) see Gomme-Andrewes-Dover *ad loc.* Stein adds a passage not on KG's list: *Cyr.* 2.1.23 ἄλλα δὲ προύφαινε τοῖς . . . ταξιάρχους ὡς τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἕεσθαι. This infin. is consecutive (KG 2.504e), with ὡς for ὥστε (as often

<sup>100</sup> *HG* 5.4.35 (not on KG's list) gives no acceptable sense and must be corrupt.

<sup>101</sup> Discount the two alleged instances of ὅτι and part.: Th. 4.37.1 (ὅτι om. Π) and Pl. *Grig.* 481D (ὅτι ἄν F, Dodds).



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in Xenophon).<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, διηγείσθαι does not normally take acc. and infin. (LSJ quotes no instance, Stein none earlier than Plu.). So our passage differs from those quoted above, in which ὥς or ὅτι is merely superfluous and may be omitted. Here deletion of ὥς (an alternative suggestion of Stein) does not restore normality and is therefore not a plausible option. In sum, in an uncomplicated sentence like this, it is not sensible to impute to Theophrastus such an anomaly as διηγῆσασθαι . . . ὥς . . . εὐημερεῖν, when normality may be restored by deletion of a single letter.

<sup>102</sup> Numerous examples may be found in KG 2.501–15. Perhaps *HG* 3.4.27 τοιῶνδε λογιμῶι ὥς . . . ἄν . . . εἶναι is amenable to a similar explanation. *S. OC* 385–6 (not on KG's list) is often taken as an example of this anomaly (Jebb *ad loc.*, Moorhouse, *Syntax of Sophocles* 315, H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford 1990) 229). But it may be taken (as it is by Bruhn, *Anhang* §125) as an example of ὥς = ὥστε, added redundantly after ἔσχεε ἐλπιδῶ (like *E. Or.* 52). The redundant ὥς in *A. Eu.* 799 (adduced by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson) must be viewed in the light of the redundant ὥστε at 202. See also KG. 2.5 Anmerk. 1, Moorhouse 311 §4.

## XXII

### THE ILLIBERAL MAN

#### Introductory note

Ἄνελευθερία commonly denotes stinginess. It is often associated with ἀναισχυντία, μικρολογία, and αἰσχροκέρδεια (see the Introd. Notes to IX, X, XXX). According to Aristotle, the mean, with regard to giving and getting, is ἐλευθεριότης, and excess and deficiency are ἄωτία and ἀνελευθερία: the ἄωτος exceeds in giving and is deficient in getting, and the ἀνελεύθερος exceeds in getting and is deficient in giving (*EN* 1107<sup>b</sup>8–14; cf. 1119<sup>b</sup>22–1122<sup>a</sup>17, *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>5, 33–4, 1231<sup>b</sup>27–1232<sup>a</sup>18, *MM* 1192<sup>a</sup>8–10, *VV* 1251<sup>b</sup>4–16).

The Ἄνελεύθερος is a wealthy man, who falls short of what he owes himself and others and sinks to a style of life unsuited to his status. A wealthy man (so his fellows may expect) will be generous to the state and to his friends, and his generosity will go hand in hand with ambition or honest love of honour, φιλοτιμία (Introd. Note to XXI). Midias showed that he was not φιλότιμος when he failed to make a voluntary contribution in an emergency (D. 21.161). On a similar occasion the Ἄνελεύθερος slinks silently out of the Assembly (§3). He disappoints as choregus, wedding-host, and trierarch (§2, §4, §5). These are roles in which Aristotle's Magnificent Man (Μεγαλοπρεπής) makes his mark (*EN* 1122<sup>b</sup>22–3, 1123<sup>a</sup>1). The Ἄνελεύθερος is like the Paltry Man (Μικροπρεπής), who, after heavy expense, will spoil the effect for a trifle (*EN* 1123<sup>a</sup>28–9 τὰ μέγιστα ἀναλώσας ἐν μικρῶι τὸ καλὸν ἀπολεῖ). His behaviour towards intimates is mean. He denies his children a treat at school and lies to the teacher (§6), goes out of his way to avoid a needy friend in the street (§9), and foists a cut-price attendant on his wife (§10). He dresses shabbily, because he begrudges money for clothes and shoes (§8, §11, §13). To save on domestic staff, he does jobs fit for slaves (§7, §12).

According to a disaffected pupil, Theophrastus ran an expensive school, because he required his students, among other things, to dress well and have slaves in attendance, for this was considered a 'liberal' way of life: ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔδει ὑπόδημα ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀκάττυτον, ἥλους οὐκ ἔχον, εἶτα χλανίδα, παίδων ἀκολουθίαν. . . ἔλευθέριος γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ τοιαύτη ἀνατροφή ἐκρίνετο (Teles ap. Stob. 4.33.31 = pp. 40–1 Hense<sup>2</sup>).<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> See IV.12n. It was claimed that Plato disapproved of Aristotle for similar reasons (Ael. *VH* 3.19 ἐσθῆτι ἐχρήτο περιέργωι . . . καὶ ὑποδέσει). Cf. Headlam-Knox, *Herodas* xlvihi n. 1.

[1] *Definition*

ἀνελευθερία . . . φιλοτιμία may be a deliberate echo of def. XXI μικροφιλοτιμία . . . ἀνελεύθερος. Meanness is incompatible with φιλοτιμία: [Arist.] *IV* 1251<sup>b</sup>12–14 βίος (*sc.* ἀνελευθέρου) θητικός καὶ δουλοπρεπῆς καὶ ῥυπαρός, φιλοτιμία καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀλλότριος (def. X n., and the *Intro.* Note). There is no plausible restoration. Not περιουσία τις ἀφιλοτιμία δαπάνη φεύγουσα (Casaubon), since it is unnatural to speak of an excess of something which is lacking; nor ἀπουσία φιλοτιμία δαπάνη ἐχούσης (Schweighäuser 1802; ἐχούσης already Pauw), since ‘ambition having expense’ is an unconvincing expression; much less ἀπουσία τις φιλοτιμία δαπάνη ἐχούσης (Ussing, Diels), since τις (def. I n.) cannot stand with ἀπουσία (absence is not a thing of kinds). Better ἀπουσία φιλοτιμία δαπάνη ἐφελκούσης. Alternatively, φιλοτιμία might be a corruption of φιλοχρηματία, which consorts with ἀνελευθερία elsewhere (Pl. *R.* 391c, 469d, 486b, *Lg.* 747b, Arist. *EN* 1121<sup>b</sup>14–17). But not π- τις <φιλοχρηματία> ἀπὸ <ἀ> φιλοτιμία δαπάνη ἐλλείπουσα (Holland 1897) nor π- τις <φειδωλία> ἀπὸ φιλοχρηματία δαπάνη <ἐπ>έχουσα (Stark). For δαπάνη ἐχουσα, other unpromising suggestions: -ην ἔχουσα Reiske 1747, 1749 (*Briefe* 361), 1757, -ην <οὐκ> ἔχουσα Darvaris, -ης ἀπέχουσα Ast, -ης εἶργουσα Foss 1858, -ην φευγούσης Kayser, ἐς -ην ἔχουσα Ussing, περιουσία is corrupt in def. XXX.

**2** νικήσας τραγωδοῖς ταινίαν ξυλίην ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐπιγράψας μέλανι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα: he presumably wins not as poet or actor but as choregus, a liturgical role, like that of trierarch (§5). On liturgies in general, XXIII.6n. On the χορηγία, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 86–91, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 56.3, Csapo and Slater 139–57, *OCD<sup>3</sup> s.u.*, P. Wilson, ‘Leading the tragic *khoros*: tragic prestige in the democratic city’, in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford 1997) 81–108, id. *Khoregia, passim*. In inscriptions the part. χορηγῶν is usually added (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3091.7–8 (c. 380 BC?) = *TrGF* I D10 B 5 = H. J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin and New York 1977) II A I Ἐπιχάρης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα τραγωδοῖς, Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκε Τηλέφειαν), but not invariably (*SEG* 23 (1968) no. 102 (c. 400 BC?) = D10 B 2 = Mette II E I, 3 Cωκράτης ἀνέθηκεν, Εὐριπίδης ἐδίδασκε). A choregic victory calls for a dedication more dignified than a strip of wood with the victor’s name in ink. Themistocles dedicated a πίναξ, adding after his own name those of poet and archon: Plu. *Them.* 5.5 ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ χορηγῶν τραγωδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα: “Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν” (D10 B I = Mette II E I, 1 b). An inscribed πίναξ was perhaps a common dedication: cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1341<sup>a</sup>35–6 τοῦ πίνακος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκφαντίδῃ χορηγίας, W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive*

*Offerings* (Cambridge 1902) 178, Pritchett 250–3, S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion: The People, their Dedications, and the Inventories* (Amsterdam 1989) 147–8, Wilson, *Khoregia* 242–3. At all events, it was not (as sometimes stated) a tripod: this was the prize for dithyrambic, not tragic, choregi (E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (Vienna 1890) 116–47, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 77–8, Csapo and Slater 141–2, Wilson, *Khoregia* 207).

Plural (οἱ) τραγωιδοί (and κωμωιδοί), strictly the performers, regularly denote the performance itself (e.g. Ar. *Au.* 512 ἐν τοῖσι τραγωιδοῖς, Aeschin. 3.41 γιγνομένων . . . τῶν ἐν ἄτρει τραγωιδῶν; LSJ τραγωιδός 1.2, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 127). Dative (τοῖς) τραγωιδοῖς is sometimes local/temporal, ‘at (the time of) the tragic performances’, like Διονυσίοις (e.g. Aeschin. 3.45, document in D. 18.54; see on III.3 μυστηρίοις), but with νικᾶν (as [And.] 4.42 νεικηκῶς εὐανδρία καὶ λαμπάδι καὶ τραγωιδοῖς, and inscriptions) it may equally be comitative/instrumental (KG 1.434, LSJ νικάω 1.1). See H. Richards, *CR* 14 (1900) 201–14 = *Aristophanes and Others* (London 1909) 334–64, A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus’ Book of Iambi* (Oxford 1999) 54 n. 37.

ταινία (‘band’, ‘ribbon’) later occasionally denotes items comparable not for their substance but for their shape (‘strip of land’, ‘in joiner’s work, *fillet, fascia*’, LSJ II, III). Here it appears to denote a narrow (and perhaps by implication flimsy) strip of wood, and to be substituted depreciatively for the expected πίναξ. A wooden ταινίδιον is attested in *IG XI* 161 B. 51 (Delos 280/79 BC) δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς ἐν ταινιδίῳ ἐνδεδεμένον ξυλίνῳι (small wooden plaque for mounting the votive ring, not (LSJ III) ‘small jewel-case’); similarly, votive ταινία of gold and silver (LSJ 1.4). The use of the word ταινία is all the more striking, because it has its own association with victory celebrations: it might be tied around a victor’s head (LSJ 1.1) or attached to his prize (Wilson, *Khoregia* 243). λινῆν (Koujeas) spoils the effect.

Defence of ἐπιγράφας μὲν (V) is futile (IV.10n.). ἐπιγράφας without μὲν (cd) and ἐπιγραφάμενος (Schneider), simply stating that he wrote his name or had it written on the wood, lack point. ἐπιγράφας μόνον (nescioquis ap. Hanow 1860; also Berg) makes the wrong point. A more ambitious inscription (like that of Themistocles, cited above) would have included other names beside that of the choregus.<sup>104</sup> But not all such inscriptions did: the choregus alone is commemorated in *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3095–7, 3099–3100 = *Mette II E I* 12, 13, 16, 15, 17. And failure to commemorate others is less at issue than cheapness of materials. μέλανι (Madvig 1868 and 1871, but omitting αὐτοῦ) conveys that point brilliantly: a simple inscription in ink for the simple wooden writing surface. For the position of αὐτοῦ, XIV.10n. Against αὐτοῦ (V, Steinmetz), i.e.

<sup>104</sup> Not, however, the name of his tribe, as sometimes stated. Again (§2n. *imit.*) it was the dithyrambic, not the tragic, choregus who represented his tribe.

## COMMENTARY

the name of Dionysus, see Stein 225. There is no merit in αὐτός (Sudhaus, according to Diels).

A stinging choregus is taunted at Ar. *Ach.* 1154–5, Eup. 329; cf. Konstantakos 240.

**3** καὶ ἐπιδόσεων γιγνομένων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ: ἐπίδοσις is a voluntary contribution to the state at a time of special need: LSJ ἐπίδοσις II.1, ἐπιδίδωμι I.2.b, Wyse on Is. 5.37, A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟCIC* (Bern 1923), P. Brun, *Eisphora-Syntaxis-Stratitotika* (Paris 1983) 165–9, A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London 1968) 39–40, J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981) 89, W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* v (Berkeley etc. 1991) 473–85, L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva 1992) 9–46, V. Gabrielsen, *Financing the Athenian Fleet: Public Taxation and Social Relations* (Baltimore and London 1994) 199–206. For ἐν τῷ δήμῳ (Meier 1842) ‘in the Assembly’, VII.7n.; in this connection, Is. 5.37 ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 682 (= *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 409) 62 (275/4 BC) ὅσαι ἐπιδόσεις γεγόνασιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, perhaps *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 768.11 (iii BC *med.*) γεν]ομένων ἐ[πιδό]c[ε]ων ἐ[ν τῷ] δ[ήμῳ] (suppl. Kuenzi 54–5); similarly D. 21.161 ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γιγνομένων ἐπιδόσεων. Although ἐκ τοῦ δήμου (V) is defensible (Stein 226–7; a closer linguistic parallel than those which he quotes is Aeschin. 2.95 τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονίας), it is less natural in itself, and the following ἐκ τοῦ μέσου further lessens its appeal and could easily have prompted an anticipatory error (see on IV.13 ἄρχων). Further instances of γίγνεσθαι in this connection: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 747.7 with *addenda* p. 666 (iii BC *init.*) γενομένων ἐπιδόσεων, Plu. *Alc.* 10.1, Ath. 168F. See also XIII.2n., XXIII.5n.

ἀναστάς ciωπῆι ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀπελθεῖν: ἀν- ciωπᾶν ἦ (V) is incomprehensible behaviour. A man who stands up in the Assembly does so because he intends either to speak (XII.9n.) or to leave. If he stands and remains silent he draws attention to himself (Casaubon’s claim that, when ἐπίδοσις were called for, *everyone* stood up is a fantasy based on this passage alone). The alternatives are ἀναστάς ciωπῆι (Needham) and ciωπᾶν ἦ ἀναστάς (Schwartz, though he preferred Needham’s conjecture); deletion of ἀναστάς (Hottinger) need not be contemplated. With ciωπᾶν ἦ ἀναστάς, he adopts one of two strategies, silence or departure. He departs because he fears that others may call on him to volunteer, as sometimes happened (Is. 5.37, Plu. *Phoc.* 9.1). His alternative strategy, silence, is ineffectual: for, if he stays, he may still be called on. With ἀναστάς ciωπῆι he adopts the only effective strategy. ciωπῆι . . . ἀπελθεῖν (‘he leaves without a word’) is like H. *Il.* 14.310–11 αἶ κε ciωπῆι | οἴχωμαι, Ar. *Ec.* 527 ὦιχου ciωπῆι, Lys. 1.14 ἐξελθὼν ὠιχόμεν ἕξω ciωπῆι (cf. 23), 10.20 οἰχίρεται . . . ἀπιὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ciωπῆι (cf. 32.18), D. 7.20 ciωπῆι ἀπιόντες ὦιχοντο (cf. 52.6, 19), X. *HG* 1.6.36 ciωπῆι ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι. These passages show that ciωπῆι is not superfluous

(Stein) but apt. Perhaps ἀνακτάς is designed to tease: whereas the Περιεργος (XIII.2) stands up and speaks and promises a contribution, the Ἀνελεύθερος stands up not to speak but to slip out. For ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀπελθεῖν, X. *An.* 1.5.14 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι, Men. *Dysc.* 81 πᾶς ἄπελθ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, Sam. 359–60 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου | ἄναγε σεαυτόν, Sic. 265.

4 καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα τοῦ μὲν ἱερείου πλὴν τῶν ἱερωσύνων τὰ κρέα ἀποδόσθαι: a wedding is an appropriate occasion for heavy expense (Arist. *EN* 1123<sup>a</sup>1, 22) and an excuse for ostentation (Euang. 1). He cuts costs by selling the meat from the preliminary sacrifice (προτέλεια). A proper host would serve the meat to the guests at the wedding-feast (IX.3n.) and send portions to absent friends (XV.5n.). See Burkert, *Homo Necans* 62–3, J. H. Oakley and R. H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison 1993) 11–12, 22–4, V. J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Atlanta 1994) 86. To sell the meat is Triballian behaviour (Alex. 243). Cf. XXX.7.

αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα is strictly 'a daughter of his' (like XXX.19 ἐκδιδομένου θυγατέρα). No need for <τὴν> αὐτοῦ θ- (Casaubon), 'his (only) daughter'. See XIV.10n.

ἱερωσύνων (Meier 1842) for ἱερέων (V) is exactly the word we want. It denotes the parts of the sacrifice reserved either for gods (Phryn. *PS* p. 77.5 de Borries τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρούμενα μέρη) or for priests (Hsch. I 337 τὰ τῶι ἱερεῖ διδόμενα ἱερεῖα, *AB* 266.7 (~ Phot. I 61 Theodoridis, *EM* 468.41) τὰ εἰωθότα διδοσθαι (ἱερά add. Phot.) ἐξαιρέτα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης). In contemporary inscriptions the usual spelling is ἱερωσ-; but ἱερωσ- (required by metre in Amips. 7.1, preferred here by Meier) and ἱερειωσ- are also attested (Threatte 1.154, 2.704–5). See P. Stengel, *Hermes* 31 (1896) 640–3 = *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 169–71, id. *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Munich 3 1920) 106, D. Gill, *HThR* 67 (1974) 127–33, M. H. Jameson in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (*PCPhS* Suppl. 14, 1988) 107–8. τῶν ἱερέων was defended by Wendland as brachylogy for <τῶν κρεῶν> τῶν ἱερέων, like And. 1.91 οὐ δέξομαι ἔνδειξιν οὐδὲ ἀπαγωγῆν . . . πλὴν τῶν φυγόντων. But only one priest is needed (Stengel, *Hermes* 39 (1904) 616–17 = *Opferbräuche* 8), and the Ἀνελεύθερος is not the man to employ more than he needs. ἱερώων (Casaubon) could refer only to the parts reserved for the gods (Stengel, *Opferbräuche* 8, *Kultusaltertümer* 106, 113; cf. J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en Grec* (Aix-en-Provence 1966) 13–15), and those were not meat but bone (Handley on Men. *Dysc.* 447–54, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 6, *Greek Religion* 57). γερῶν (Holland 1897), although applicable to priestly perquisites (LSJ 3), is less apt here than the exclusively technical ἱερωσύνων. See further Stein 229–30.

τοὺς δὲ διακονοῦντας ἐν τοῖς γάμοις οἰκοκίτους μισθώσασθαι: cf. XXX.16 οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες, Men. fr. 208.1–2 τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις | διακονοῦντας.

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The part. stands for τοὺς διακόνους (KG 1.266), and so there is no need for διακονήσοντας (Meineke). For the position of ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, XXX.9n.; plural γάμοι, XII.6n. The concept ‘eating at home’ has a surprisingly wide and varied currency (LSJ οἰκόσιτος 1). Here it is a semi-technical term, applied to hired servants whose meals are not provided: so *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672* (329/8 BC) 28, 29, 33, 46, 62, and the lexicographers (Hsch. O 265 μισθωτὸς ἐαυτὸν τρέφων ~ Suda O1 77, Eust. *Od.* 1423.6). Cf. Pl. *Cas.* 524 *cum cibo* . . . *facito ut ueniant* (sc. the servants at the wedding).

5 καὶ τριηρα<χῶν τὰ μὲν τοῦ> κυβερνήτου στρώματα αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὑποστόρνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποτιθέναι: for the initial part., VII.8n. The trierarch, who bore the heaviest expense of all liturgists (XXIII.6n.), financed the vessel and in theory had charge of it (B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley etc. 1975) 61–7, 134–7, Gabrielsen (§3n.) *passim*, J. S. Morrison, J. F. Coates, N. B. Rankov, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge 2000) 108–9, 120–6). The κυβερνήτης (XXVII.2) was a professional, unlike the trierarch, and, though nominally second-in-command, had effective charge (Jordan 138–43, Gabrielsen 39, 121–2, Morrison *et al.* 111–12). στρώματα does not denote ‘bedding’ (as XVIII.4, XIX.5). The crew of a trireme slept on land, not on ship (Morrison *et al.* 95–6). It denotes ‘mattress’ or the like, to sit or lie on during the day; a wooden deck is an uncomfortable place to sit or lie on. The wealthy amateur pulls rank and, with particular meanness, saves his own mattress from wear and exposure to the elements by appropriating that of the poorer seaman, to his inconvenience and discomfort. Since the trierarch’s station, when on duty, was in the stern, near the helmsman’s platform, he will be taking his ease under the helmsman’s nose. His behaviour is all the more contemptible if he has a cabin of his own available below deck (Morrison *et al.* 129–31). Perhaps that is where he has stowed his own mattress, which he will need to bring out at night for use on land.

Although μὲν is dispensable (VI.9n.), it is desirable in this carefully balanced antithesis. So μὲν . . . δὲ §4, I.5, III.3, IV.3, 5, V.5, 7, 8, VI.8, IX.3, 4 *bis*, XVIII.7, XXI.8, XXVIII.2, XXIX.4, XXX.7 (I ignore spurious passages).

For the κατάστρωμα (the echo of στρώματα is negligent), Morrison *et al.* 158–61. -στορένυσθαι (V) points to -στόρνυσθαι (Blaydes before Diels), the older Attic present stem, found mainly in poetry but also X. *Cyr.* 8.8.16 ὑποστόρνυσθαι (AH: -στόρνυσθαι G: -στρώννυσθαι CE: ὑπεστρώννυσθαι D, -στορνύσθαι F), rather than to the later -στρώννυσθαι. See Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 909, KB 2.542, Veitch 607, 610, Threatte 2.619–20, 625.<sup>105</sup> Not -στορέν<ν>σθαι (cd), a very much later form. For ἀποτιθέναι, IX.3n.

<sup>105</sup> Perhaps X. *Cyr.* 3.3.64 κατέστρώννυσαν (HAG: ἀπέκτεινον CEDF) and 8.2.6 στρώννυσσι should be changed to κατέστρωσαν and στόρνυσσι.

**6** και τὰ παιδιά δὲ δεινὸς μὴ πέμψαι εἰς διδασκάλου, ὅταν ἦι Μουσεῖα: cf. Pl. *Prtg.* 325D εἰς διδασκάλων πέμποντες, *Thg.* 125A, X. *Lac.* 2.1; similarly with φοιτᾶν or ἄγειν, Ar. *Eq.* 1235, Pl. *Alc.* 1 109D, *Lys.* 208C, *Prtg.* 326C, *PCG* adesp. 160 (for the ellipse, XIX.7n.). With ὅταν ἦι Μουσεῖα cf. V.7 ὅταν ἦι θεά and the spurious VI.7. This ‘festival of the Muses’ held at school is attested only by Aeschin. 1.10, alongside a ‘festival of Hermes’ held in the palaestra (Μουσειῶν ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις καὶ . . . Ἑρμαίων ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις). The Ἑρμαία was an occasion for sacrifices, festal attire, and knucklebones (Pl. *Lj.* 206D–E; N. Fisher, *Aeschines against Timarchos* (Oxford 2001) 132–3). The Μουσεῖα will have been a holiday of a similar type. The father begrudges a contribution in money or kind to the sacrifice and accompanying entertainment. Cf. XXX.14. ἀλλὰ φῆσαι κακῶς ἔχειν: cf. XIII.9.

**7** καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δὲ ὀψωνήσας [τὰ κρέα] αὐτὸς φέρειν τὰ λάχανα ἐν τῷ προκολπῖωι: he avoids the expense of an ἀκόλουθος (IX.3n.) or of a hired delivery-boy (φόρταξ or προύνεικος: *PCG* adesp. 803, 804, Headlam on Herod. 3.12). He demeans himself not by doing his own shopping (IX.4n., XI.8n.) but by the way in which he carries it (VI.8n.).

With ἐξ ἀγορᾶς . . . ὀψωνήσας cf. Hermipp. 26, Pl. *Com.* 206, X. *An.* 3.2.21, *Smp.* 4.41 (all ἐξ (or ἐκ τῆς) ἀγορᾶς ὠνεῖσθαι), X. *Oec.* 8.22 πριάμενόν τί σοι ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐνεγκέιν, D. 9.39 ἅπανθ’ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, Men. *Sam.* 191–2 πάντα τὰς ἀγορᾶς ἀπλῶς | [πριάμενος ἦ]κε (suppl. Austin); and §10 μισθοῦσθαι . . . ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας. For λάχανα, XX.9n.; vegetable-sellers in the Agora, Wycherley, *Agora iii* 198. Deletion of τὰ κρέα (the addition of a reader who thought that ὀψωνήσας needed an object) is the best remedy for the defective syntax. In itself τὰ κρέα is an acceptable object for ὀψωνήσας (cf. IX.4 ὀψωνῶν, of a man visiting the κρεοπώλης). But to retain it, with <καί> τὰ λάχανα (cd), creates problems of word order and balance: ‘after buying the meat he carries it himself and the vegetables in his pocket’. Does he, or does he not, carry the meat in his pocket? It would be clearer with τὰ κρέα transposed before <καί> τὰ λάχανα (Ast). <ἐν ταῖς χερσίν καί> (Navarre 1918, Rusten) restores better balance than sense: the pairing of hands and pocket is pointed at VI.8, but here it is trite.

**8** καὶ ἔνδον μένειν ὅταν ἐκδῶι θοίματιον πλῦναι: similar behaviour is attributed to the Spartan Epaminondas, who ἔνα εἶχε τρίβωνα καὶ τοῦτον (Diggle, *CQ* 49 (1999) 641: αὐτὸν codd.)<sup>106</sup> ῥυπῶντα εἴ ποτε δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν εἰς γναφεῖον, αὐτὸς ὑπέμενεν οἶκοι δι’ ἀπορίαν ἑτέρου (Ael. *VH* 5.5). For an Athenian, staying indoors invited censure: Pl. *R.* 579B καταδεδυσκῶς . . . ἐν τῇ

<sup>106</sup> For the same idiom in Latin (*et is*) see Oakley on Liv. 9.18.9.



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οἰκίαι τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῆι, X. *Oec.* 7.30 τῆι μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ θυραυλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ αἴσχιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ τῶν ἕξω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

The simple verb πλῦναι is supported by XXX.10 θοιμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι against the inappropriate compound ἐκπλ- (V), ‘wash thoroughly’ (Ar. *Pl.* 1062, fr. 708.2, middle Hdt. 4.73.2; LSJ II). The prefix was prompted by preceding ἐκδῶι (see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον, XXX.19n., and the Introduction, p. 40 n. 136); similarly S. *Ai.* 387 προγόνων πάτερ] προγόνων προπάτωρ (-τορ) plerique, *Tr.* 700 ἐκβρώματ’ ἄν βλέψαι] ἐκβρώματ’ ἐκβλέψαι L+, Is. 6.45 πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἀναίχυντίας [προς]μεμαρτυρήκασι (Wyse); A. Nauck, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains* 6 (St. Petersburg 1894) 38. For the construction see on XVI.6 ἐκδοῦναι . . . ἐπιρράψαι.

**9** καὶ φίλου ἔρανον συλλέγοντος: for ἔρανος, I.5n. συλλέγειν is the regular verb for collecting contributions (MacDowell on D. 21.101, p. 323).

καὶ διηγελέμενου αὐτῷ: for the construction see on XIV.7 ἀπαγγελέμενος; cf. *Pl. Ep.* 329E διηγελέμενον (O: -ου A) . . . τούναντίον (acc. absolute, KG 2.87–90). The verb indicates that he has heard of the loan through intermediaries. If he avoids meeting the friend now, he can claim later that he did not contribute because he had not heard of it. διειλεγμένου (V), taken as neuter passive (cf. *Lys.* 9.5 διείλεκτο), ‘when it had been discussed with him’ (sc. by others), is less suitable in sense, and the verb is less suited to this construction; taken as masc. middle, ‘having discussed it with him’ (cf. διειλέχθαι *Lys.* 8.15, perf. indic. *Isoc.* 5.81, *Pl. Th.* 158c; for the use of the perf. part., KG 1.199, Goodwin §142), it indicates (unwelcomely) that there has been previous discussion with the friend.

ἀποκάμψας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ: cf. X. *Eq.* 7.14 (of horses) τό τε ὀρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀποκάμπτειν, *Arist. Rh.* 1409<sup>b</sup>23 (not, as LSJ says, of chariots) ἕξωτέρω ἀποκάμπτοντες τοῦ τέματος.

τὴν κύκλωι οἴκαδε πορευθῆναι: cf. *Pl. Ly.* 203A ἐπορευούμην . . . τὴν ἕξω τείχους. For the acc., XVI.3n.; ellipse of ὁδόν, XXIV.13, KG 1.266–7, 2.558–9; κύκλωι, LSJ 1.2.

**10** καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ δὲ τῆι ἑαυτοῦ προῖκα εἰσενεγκαμένη: the same compound, of bringing in a dowry, at XXVIII.4 τάλαντον (Dübner: -τα V) εἰσενεγκαμένη προῖκα and D. 27.4 μητέρα πενήκοντα μνᾶς εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσηνεγεμένην. There is no need for ἐπενεγκ- (Cobet 1854), the compound so used in *Lys.* 19.14, D. 40.19 (and 20, 22, 24, 60), 42.27, *Aeschin.* 3.172. Equally unnecessary are the supplements προῖκα <καλήν> (Meier 1842), <τάλαντον> πρ- (Hartung), <πολλήν> πρ- (Meineke), <πλέον τάλαντον> πρ- (Edmonds 1929), or τάλαντα for προῖκα (Münsterberg 1894). Although the value of the dowry is regularly indicated, either with a specific figure (XXVIII.4n.) or a more general term (πολλήν *Lys.* 19.16, *Men.* fr. 816.2, *Antiph.* 270.2), sometimes

it is not (προϊκα ἐπενεγκαμένης D. 42.27, προϊκα ἐπιδόντες Is. 1.39). Here the bare mention of a dowry more than suffices. A dowry was a contribution towards the expense of maintaining a wife, and failure to use it for this purpose (as again at XXVIII.4) is reprehensible. See W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968) 109, Diggle on E. *Phaeth.* 158–9, MacDowell, *Law* 87, D. M. Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 1979) 74–7, L. Foxhall, *CQ* 39 (1989) 32–9, Kapparis on [D.] (Apollod.) 59.50.

μη̄ πρίασθαι θεράπαιναν: a proper maid, as opposed to the temporary hiring. A woman of status would have more than one to attend her out of doors (Plu. *Phoc.* 19.3); and θεραπαινας (Siebenkees, as if in V) is as easy a change for θεραπαινα (V) as is θεράπαιναν. But a single maid better serves the rhetoric.

ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας παιδάριον τὸ συνακολουθῆσον: ἐξοδοί is the standard term for formal or licensed excursions by women (Plu. *Sol.* 21.5 ἐπέττηε . . . ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν γυναικῶν . . . νόμον, Pl. *Lg.* 784D τῶν ἐξόδων . . . τῶν γυναικείων, D. 48.55 ἑταίραν . . . ἐξόδους λαμπράς ἐξιοῦσαν, ‘Phintys’ ap. Stob. 4.23.60, 61 (2.590.6, 592.14–593.4 Hense = H. Thesleff, *An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo 1961) 151–4); cf. Ar. *Lys.* 16 χαλεπή τοι γυναικῶν ἐξοδος, Epich. 269.4 φιλέξοδον sc. γυναικῶν), such as to funerals, festivals, and the like. See Lacey (above) 168, R. Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London 1989) 106–52, D. Cohen, ‘Seclusion, separation, and the status of women in classical Athens’, *G&R* 36 (1989) 3–15 (esp. 8–9) = I. McAuslan and P. Walcot (edd.), *Women in Antiquity* (Oxford 1996) 134–45 (139), id. *Law, Sexuality, and Society* (Cambridge 1991) 152–3, Kapparis on [D.] (Apollod.) 59.24.

For ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας see on II.9 ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγοραῖς. No need for <ἀγοραῖς> here (Coray, Schneider). The same ellipse is found with ὀψόπωλις (Clearch. fr. 57 Wehrli ap. Ath. 6A, Plu. *Timol.* 14.3) and ἰχθυόπωλις ([Plu.] 849E).

I substitute παιδ<άρ>ιον (XXIII.2, XXX.8) for παιδίον (V), which, though elsewhere sometimes ‘slave’ (LSJ II), in this work is always ‘child’ (XVI.12n.). Same corruption XXX.8 (Torraca (1974) 94), [D.] (Apollod.) 59.42, 50, Men. fr. 210. For the article (omitted, through oversight, by Siebenkees) with συνακολουθῆσον, XVIII.2n.

II καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα φορεῖν: when the soles come off his shoes he has them stitched back. By the time re-stitching is needed the soles will be worn. But he is too mean to buy new soles. The stitching back of old soles, to judge by the terminology available to describe it, must have been common practice, at least among the less wealthy.

ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα means ‘shoes stitched with refixing’, i.e. with the soles stitched back. καττύειν is ‘stitch (leather)’, of shoemakers;

hence κάττυμα, ‘stitched leather’, of a sole, and ὑποδημάτων κάττυσις (*IG* π<sup>2</sup> 1672.190, 230, c. 330 BC).<sup>107</sup> Theophrastus favoured a ὑπόδημα . . . ἀκάττυτον (Teles, cited in the Introd. Note). παλίμπηξις is not elsewhere attested, but comedy (*PCG* adesp. 790 = Poll. 6.164, 7.82) used παλίμπηγα for ‘old soles’ (τὰ παλαιὰ καττύματα), that is old soles stitched back. Similarly παλινδορία ‘stitched back leather (sole)’ (Pl.Com. 180; cf. Poll. *loc. cit.*). To stitch on new soles is ἐπικαττύειν (*PCG* adesp. 599 = Phryn. *PS* p. 69.14–16 de Borries; cf. Poll. 7.82). See further A. A. Bryant, *HSCPh* 10 (1899) 71–2, 80–1, H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* 1 (Leipzig and Berlin<sup>2</sup> 1912) 281, O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechisch-römischen Literatur und Kunst* (Bonn 1967) 45, Stein 237–8.

καὶ λέγειν ὅτι κέρατος οὐδὲν διαφέρει: the Ἄγροικος makes a similar attempt to forestall criticism (IV.2). Horn is a byword for hardness: H. *Od.* 19.211–12 ὀφθαλμοὶ δ’ ὡς εἰ κέρα ἔστασαν ἢ ἐσιδήρος | ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι (William Godwin, *Caleb Williams* (1794) vol. 3 ch. 5, ‘Eyes of horn and hearts of steel’), Luc. *VH* 1 14 ἄρρηκτον . . . γίγνεται τοῦ θέρμου τὸ λέπος ὥσπερ κέρασ, *Alex.* 21 ξηρὸν γίγνεται καὶ κέρατος, μᾶλλον δὲ σιδήρου, παγιώτερον, Petr. 134.11 *tam rigidum . . . quam cornu*.

**12** καὶ ἀναστὰς τὴν οἰκίαν καλλῦναι: ἀναστὰς is ‘getting up from bed’ (LSJ B.1.2), as XVIII.4. Housework is done in the early morning, by those for whom housework is appropriate. Cf. Luc. *DD* 4.1 (Hermes complains) ἔωθεν . . . ἐξαναστάντα αἰρεῖν δεῖ τὸ κυμπόσιον. No need for καὶ <πρῶτι δ’> ἀναστὰς (Herwerden). For καλλῦναι ‘sweep clean (with a broom)’ see on X.6 καλλύματα. Sweeping is the work of slaves (H. *Od.* 20.149, E. *Phaeth.* 56, Phryn.Com. 39; cf. E. *Ion* 112ff.), and a symbol for how low the mighty have fallen (E. *Cycl.* 29–35, *Andr.* 166, *Hec.* 363, *Hyps.* fr. i.ii.17 Bond = 34 Diggle, *TrGFSEL* p. 138). Cf. D. 18.258 (Aeschines, who swept the schoolroom) οἰκέτου τάξι, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων.

καὶ τὰς κλίνας ἐκκορίζαι: ‘rid the couches of bugs’. The verb is used literally by Parmenion, *AP* 9.113.2 (Gow-Page, *Garland of Philip* 2599) τοὺς κόρικ ἐκκορίζας, figuratively by Ar. fr. 277 τί ὦ πονηρὲ μ’ ἐκκορίζεις ὥσπερ (Bergk: ἐξορίζεις ὥσπερ codd.) | κλιντήριον;, Eur. 247.4 τὸν κύκθον ἐκκορίζειν. As object, κλίνας (X.6n.) suits ἐκκορίζαι, since κόρικ is the bed-bug, *cimex lectularius* (Mart. 11.32.1 *tritus cimice lectus*; W. Richter, ‘Wanze’, *RE* Suppl. xiv (1974) 822–5, M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (London 1986) 46–7, I. C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter 1988) 104–6, C. Hünemörder, ‘Wanze’, *DNP* 12.2 (2002) 394). It does not suit ἐκκορῆσαι (V), ‘sweep out (with a broom)’. This verb requires house or the like as object (H. *Od.* 20.149 δῶμα, Ar. *Pax* 59 Ἑλλάδα, Eur. 167 αὐλήν, D. 18.258

<sup>107</sup> κάττυσις (only here) not in LSJ, but in Rev.Suppl. Cf. Pritchett 204.

παιδαγωγεῖον). To give it such an object by inverting the verbs (τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκκορῆσαι καὶ τὰς κλίνας καλλῦναι Pauw) is less satisfactory, since the verbs (which both refer to sweeping) are insufficiently varied in sense. For the corruption (η/ι), X.14n.

**13** καὶ καθεζόμενος παρατρέψαι τὸν τρίβωνα, ὃν αὐτὸν φορεῖ: the τρίβων was a short cheap cloak, worn by the poor, ascetics, and Spartans (Wyse on Is. 5.11, E. Schuppe, 'Tribon', *RE* VI.2A (1937) 2415–19, Pritchett 207–8, MacDowell on Ar. *V.* 33, Stone, *Costume* 162–3, Geddes 320, L. Battezzato, *ICS* 24–5 (1999–2000) 349). What action is described by παρατρέψαι, and what is the purpose of that action, are disputed. The purpose cannot be to conceal stains (Casaubon, Schneider) or to stop the cloak from getting dirty on the ground (Fischer), for he is concerned not with appearances but with economies. The purpose will be to save the cloak from unnecessary wear. Rightly, so far as they go, Coray ('*tourner en sens contraire, comme on retourne son habit quand on veut, par exemple, s'asseoir, afin d'en conserver la surface externe toujours propre*') and Jebb ('he "twists aside" the already well-worn cloak simply in order to save it from further attrition'), the latter commended by Stein 240–1. But the verb calls for more precise definition. It means that he turns up the edge of the cloak. This meaning, though not attested, may be inferred from the nouns παρατροφή ([Gal.] 18a.776 Kühn) and παρατροφικ (Sor. *Gyn.* 2.14.5, Hsch. Λ 493),<sup>108</sup> not 'selvage' (LSJ) but 'hem' (defined by *OED*<sup>2</sup> as 'border made on a piece of cloth by doubling or turning in the edge itself'). The cloak is a short one, and he turns back just so much of it as will ensure that he does not sit on it. Since he wears nothing underneath, this may be uncomfortable for him and unsightly for others (cf. IV.4).<sup>109</sup>

αὐτόν (Münsterberg 1895) indicates that he wears the τρίβων on its own (LSJ αὐτός 1.3, KG 1.652–3, Headlam on Herod. 6.70; cf. XXVI.3), without a χιτῶν or χιτωνικός as undergarment (XIX.6n.), like Agesilaus, who is described as ἀχιτῶν . . . τὸν τρίβωνα περιβαλόμενος (Faber: -βαλλ- codd.: see on II.10 ἐπιβαλέσθαι) αὐτόν (Ael. *VH* 7.13; cf. Plu. 210B, *Lyc.* 16.12). Outside Sparta only a hardy few dispensed with the χιτῶν: Socrates (X. *Mem.* 1.6.2), Gelon (D.S. 11.26.5), Antisthenes (D.L. 6.13), Cleanthes (D.L. 7.169); Stone, *Costume* 172. αὐτός (V) is indefensible: 'which *he himself* wears' gives a wrong emphasis; and the notion that he himself (as opposed to a slave: II.11)

<sup>108</sup> I do not understand Hsch. E 5021 ἐπίξυλον: [τὸ] ἐπιπαρατροφίδα τοῦ ὑφανομένου ἱματίου (Latte's text). Perhaps τὸ ἐπὶ παρατροφίδι ὑφανόμενον τοῦ ἱματίου (cf. Λ 493 λέγνη· τὸ παρυφανόμενον τῇ παρατροφίδι).

<sup>109</sup> Also used with a specialised sense in relation to clothing ('turn inside out') are ἀνατρέφειν (Luc. *Gall.* 9) and ἐκτρέφειν (Σ<sup>TV</sup> Ar. *Nu.* 88). The purpose of turning a garment inside out was not 'to double its life' (Dover on *Nu.* 88, wrongly imputing this notion to Σ<sup>TV</sup>) but to conceal the dirty side (Luc.).

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brings an old τρίβων which he folds up (παραστρέψαι) to use as a cushion (Schweighäuser 1802, Ast, Navarre 1918) merits no consideration. To transpose αὐτός after ἀνακτάς (Herwerden) leaves ὃν φορεῖ otiose. Further wild conjectures: ἐνιαυτοφορεῖ Immisch 1898, <θέρουσ καὶ χειμῶνος> τὸν αὐτὸν φορεῖ Immisch 1923 (not ταῦτὸν, a misprint corrected by Immisch ap. Holland 1923), ταυτοφορεῖ Immisch ap. Holland 1923.

## XXIII

## THE BOASTFUL MAN

## Introductory note

Ἄλαζονεία is surveyed exhaustively by O. Ribbeck, *Alazon: ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie* (Leipzig 1886); more briefly and incisively by D. MacDowell, 'The Meaning of ἄλαζών', in E. M. Craik (ed.), *Owls to Athens': Essays on Classical Subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford 1990) 287–92. On the ἄλαζών as soldier (Ribbeck 26–41) add J. A. Hanson, 'The Glorious Military', in T. A. Dorey and D. R. Dudley (edd.), *Roman Drama* (London 1965) 51–85, W. Hofmann and G. Wartenberg, *Der Bramarbas in der antiken Komödie* (Berlin 1973); on etymology (Ribbeck 76–7, MacDowell 289–90), M. L. West, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 2 n. 8, id. *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford 1997) 496.

In the fifth century (largely Old Comedy) ἄλαζών describes a man who claims superior knowledge or skill and exploits that claim for self-serving ends, a 'charlatan', 'impostor'. In the fourth century the word is applied more generally, without reference to specific expertise, and is sometimes synonymous with 'liar', sometimes with 'boaster'. Aristotle opposes ἄλαζονεία to εἰρωνεία, with 'truthfulness' as the mean between them: the εἰρων pretends to less than the truth, the ἄλαζών to more. See the *Introd. Note to I. The ἄλαζών of Aristotle is prompted by desire either for reputation or for gain* (*EN* 1127<sup>b</sup>9–22). The Ἄλαζών of Theophrastus has no desire for gain. His motive is self-glorification, and he boasts of non-existent wealth and powerful connections. Xenophon had applied the word to men who pretend, among other things, to be more wealthy than they are (*Cyr.* 2.2.12). [*Cic.*] *Rhet. Her.* 4.63–4 has a portrait of the *ostentatorem pecuniae gloriosum* (Introduction, pp. 11–12).

For the historical allusions in this sketch see the Introduction, pp. 27–9.

## [I] Definition

προσδοκία (V) 'expectation' is indefensible. Hsch. Π 3703 προσδέχεται προσποιείται does not license προσδοκία as a synonym of προσποίησης. There is no appeal in προσδοκία τις <δοξης ἀπ' > ἀγαθῶν (Immisch 1923). There are two possibilities. Either (i) write προσποίησης (def. I n.). This and cognate words appear constantly in definitions or discussions of ἄλαζονεία: e.g. [Pl.] *Def.* 416A ἄλαζονεία ἐστι προσποιητικὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἀγαθῶν τῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων (Ingenkamp 101), X. *Cyr.* 2.2.12 ὁ . . . ἄλαζών ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὄνομα

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κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιομένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ εἰς κτλ., Arist. *EN* 1108<sup>a</sup>21 προσποίησις . . . ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, 1127<sup>a</sup>21 προσποιητικὸς τῶν ἐνδόξων . . . καὶ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων, *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>24–5 πλείω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων προσποιοῦμενος, [Arist.] *MM* 1186<sup>a</sup>25–6 τὸ . . . πλείω προσποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔχειν; note also §7 προσποιήσασθαι. Or (ii) suppose (with Stein 244–5) that the writer took προσδοκία by mistake from [Pl.] *Def.* 416A αἰχχύνη φόβος ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀδοξίας, which immediately precedes the definition of ἀλαζονεία. At all events, a connection between our definition and [Pl.] *Def.* is suggested by the appearance in both of the word ἀγαθόν (ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων ~ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ ἀγαθῶν τῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων), which is absent from Aristotle's discussions of ἀλαζονεία.

Ἄμελει δέ: II.9n.

δόξει<εν ἄν>: def. I n., XIII n. For attestation in c, Stefanis (1994a) 114. τίς: def. I n.

**2 ἐν τῷ δείγματι ἐστηκός:** the market or bazaar where merchants displayed samples (δείγματα) of their goods. The bazaar at the Piraeus is mentioned by Lys. fr. 75.6 Thalheim ἐκόμισαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δείγμα ἐν κλίνῃ, καὶ ἐπέδειξαν πολλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, X. *HG* 5.1.21 ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ δείγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήνεγκαν, D. 35.29 περιεπάτουν (*sc.* foreign traders) ἐν τῷ δείγματι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, 50.24 προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ δείγματι, Polyaeu. 6.2.2 συνέταξε (*sc.* Alexander of Pherai, 362/1 BC) τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν διὰ τάχους προσπλεύσαι τῷ δείγματι τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἀρπάσαι τὰ χρήματα, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1035.47 (i BC *ex.*?) τοῦ δ<ε>ίγματος τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Μάγνου (restored by Pompey after its destruction by Sulla<sup>2</sup>), 1103.12–13 (ii AD) ἐν Πειραιεῖ . . . πρὸ τοῦ δείγματος. It is defined by Σ *uet. Ar. Eq.* 979a as τόπος . . . ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἔνθα πολλοὶ συνήγοντο ξένοι καὶ πολῖται καὶ ἔλογοποιῶν (= *Suda* Δ 300) . . . ἐκεῖ οἱ ἔμποροι τὰ δείγματα τῶν πωλουμένων ἐτίθεσαν; cf. *Harp.* p. 85.5–9 Dindorf (Δ 9 Keaney) = *EM* 259.52–3 τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπορίῳ (~ *Tim. Lex. s.u.*), εἰς ὃν τὰ δείγματα ἐκομίζετο, *AB* 237.20–2 τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ Ἀθήνασιν οὕτως καλούμενος ἔνθα ἐδείκνυτο κίτος καὶ ἄλλα ὄσπρια διὰ δείγματος, *Poll.* 9.34 τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείγματα τῶν ἀγωγίμων τοῖς ὠνητιῶσι δίδοσθαι, παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ (fr. 186 Jensen). Elsewhere, of the bazaar at Rhodes (*Plb.* 5.88.8 ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥοδίων δείγματι, *D.S.* 19.45.4) and Sarmatian Olbia (*IPER*<sup>2</sup> 32B.49 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 495.146, c. 230 BC); more generally, *Plu.* 519A (gossips and busybodies make for) τὸ δείγμα καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας; figuratively, *Ar. Eq.* 979 ἐν τῷ δείγματι τῶν δικῶν. See Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* 2.106–9, Szanto, 'Δείγμα', *RE* IV.1 (1901) 2383–4, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich<sup>2</sup> 1931) 448, C.Th. Panagos, *Le Pirée* (Athens 1968) 209–10, K.-V. von Eickstedt, *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus* (Athens 1991) 64–5,

R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the Fifth to the First Century BC* (London 2001) 154, 219.

The conjecture δείγματι for διαζεύγματι (V) is one of Casaubon's most brilliant. But it has been out of favour ever since the discovery of the word διαζευγμα in *P. Lond.* 131.205 (1 AD), 'perh. *bridge* over or *branch* of a canal' (LSJ), modified to 'some sort of a connecting structure . . ., *bridge, mole* or sim.' by LSJ Rev.Suppl., which adds our passage and suggests for it 'the *Mole* at the Piraeus', apparently identifying this with a structure at the Piraeus called τὸ χῶμα (D. 50.6) or χῶμα (D. 51.4), to which ships were moored. This identification, first proposed by Münsterberg (1895), was endorsed by Wachsmuth, 'Choma', *RE* III.2 (1899) 2369, 'Diazeugma', *RE* v.1 (1903) 355. The *hypothesis* to D. 51 actually describes the χῶμα as a building, used not only for mooring but also as a market (οἰκοδόμημ' ἐν τῷ λιμένι προβεβλημένον προσκομίσεως ἕνεκα καὶ ἀγορᾶς τῶν ναυτῶν). If the writer has not confused χῶμα with δείγμα, and there really was a pier or jetty with shops, there is no evidence that this structure was called τὸ διαζευγμα. Others give διαζευγμα a separate identity: e.g. Judeich 445 ('Damm'), J. Travlos, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988) 343 ('Verbindungsamm'), Eickstedt ('Löschkai'), Garland 218 ('pier'). There are in fact two further instances of the word, which have been overlooked: Σ uet. Ar. *Eq.* 84b (11) τὰ ἐπὶ Cηc τοῦ καὶ Ἀβύδου διαζεύγματα (Xerxes' bridge) and Eust. *Il.* 864.3 (3.257.18 van der Valk) (anatomical, a mistake for διαζῶμα, as van der Valk observes). While there is no evidence for anything called τὸ διαζευγμα at the Piraeus, there is plentiful evidence for τὸ δείγμα, a natural meeting-place for foreigners, merchants, ship-owners, and gossips. For ἐστηκῶς (of standing in a shop), IX.4, XI.4.

διηγείσθαι ξένοις ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ: he pretends that his money is in maritime loans (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 188–96, E. E. Cohen, *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (Princeton 1992) 136–83). <τοῖς> ξένοις (Diels) is misconceived; he is talking to individuals, not to a class (V.4n.). For the construction, Th. 1.74.1 ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο (LSJ ἐν A.1.6). θαλάττῃ not -cc- (V); XIV.12n.

καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δανειτικῆς διεξιέναι ἡλικίαι: he describes first how extensive is maritime lending in general, then the extent of his own involvement (αὐτὸς κτλ.). To refer τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δ- to 'his money-lending business' (Jebb, Rusten) deprives αὐτὸς of point. The adj. δανειτικὸς appears first here, next D.H. 6.81.3 and in documentary papyri (Korver, *Crediet-Wezen* 112–13); its use in comedy may be inferred from Pl. *Mos.* 658 *danisticum*. To delete τῆς δ- (Ast before Herwerden) is perverse.

καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα εἴληφε καὶ ἀπολώλεκε: for εἴληφε, IX.4n.; ἀπολώλεκε, XV.7n. Much stood to be gained and lost in maritime lending. Loans were large, because they paid for the cargo. Interest was high, because the risks were high: if the ship and cargo were lost through wreck or piracy, the borrower



was freed from the obligation to repay the loan and interest. See Millett *loc. cit.*, Cohen esp. 160–5. For the sentiment, Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing* IV.ii *fin.* (Dogberry) ‘I am . . . a rich fellow enough . . . and a fellow that hath had losses.’

καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα πλεθρίζων: if right, ‘extending this to the length of a πλέθρον’, i.e. ‘exaggerating’ (LSJ Rev.Suppl.). But πλέθρον is not used in this figurative way. Nothing is learned from ἐκπλεθρίζειν in Gal. 6.133.18 Kühn (see Rev.Suppl.) or from Hsch. Π 2506 (= Phot. 2.92 Naber) πλεθρῖμα: δρόμημα. There are many conjectures, none plausible: πλατίζων or πλατυγίζων (also C. C. Charitonides, *EEPT* 1 (1927) 73) or πλειστηρίζων Coray, λέγων πλεθρίζον τι Ast, μεγαρίζων Foss 1835, (τοιαῦτα) πολλὰ (or πλείω) ῥαχίζων Hanow 1861, μεγαλίζων Herwerden, πλεονάζων Ribbeck 1882 (before Naber), πεμπάζων Diels, φενακίζων Meiser, ἀποθρίζων E. Maass (*RhM* 74 (1925) 461).

πέμπειν τὸ παιδάριον εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν: for παιδάριον, XXII.10n. ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν (Foss 1858) brings the expression into line with D. 49.8, 43 (πέμπειν), 47.51, 52, 62 (ἀκολουθεῖν), 52.5 (ἔρχεσθαι), Men. fr. 804.7 (φέρειν); but T. has εἰς with πέμπειν at XXII.6, XXX.14. For bankers’ tables, V.7n. For banks in the Piraeus, D. 49.6, 52.8, Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers* 375, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 211, Cohen 144–5, Garland (above on ἐν τῷ δείγματι) 68. Polyæn. 6.2.2 (above) locates them in the δείγμα itself.

<μηδὲ μιᾶς> δραχμῆς αὐτῶι κειμένης: a single drachma is a regular token of penury, economy, or the like, usually in negative expressions: D. 21.66 τίς . . . ἑκῶν ἂν μίαν δραχμὴν ἐβλήσειεν ἀναλώσασαι; 89 δραχμὴν . . . οὐδέπω μίαν ἐκτέτεικεν, 23.209 οὐδὲ μιᾶι (Weil: οὐδεμιᾶι codd.) δραχμῆι πλείω τὰ ὑπάρχοντ’ ἐγένετο, 37.31 τίς ἂν . . . σοὶ δραχμὴν ἔδωκε μίαν; Plu. 1043E (Chrysipp. *SVF* 3 fr. 153) λέγει τὸν σοφόν, εἰ τὴν μεγίστην οὐσίαν ἀποβάλοι, δραχμὴν μίαν ἐκβεβλήκειναι δόξειν, Ph. *De Ios.* 258 (4.116 Cohn-Wendland) οὐδεμίαν (οὐδὲ μίαν pars codd., rightly) δραχμὴν νοσφισάμενος, Plu. *Aem.* 4.4 οὐδὲ δραχμῆι μιᾶι γεγωνῶς εὐπορώτερος, *Luc.* 29.10 δραχμὴν μίαν . . . μὴ λαβὼν, *Lys.* 2.6 ἑαυτῶι . . . μηδεμίαν (read μηδὲ μίαν) δραχμὴν ὑπολειπόμενον, *Per.* 15.3 μιᾶι δραχμῆι μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, 1058c μίαν οἴκοθεν δραχμὴν οὐκ ἔχοντος, D.Chr. 4.10 οὐδεμίαν δραχμὴν κεκτημένον (read οὐδὲ μίαν, and make the same change in 6.19, 31.9, 77/78.33, 79.6). Idiom calls for more than <μηδὲ> (Foss 1858) or <οὐδὲ> (Ribbeck 1882); not <οὐδεμιᾶς> (Steinmetz, who prefers <μιᾶς>), but <μηδὲ μιᾶς> (cf. §4 μηδ’ ὑφ’ ἑνός). The correct negative is μηδέ, since the part. is concessive (cf. I.5, IX.5, X.12, XII.14), not merely circumstantial or temporal (contrast §8, VIII.3, XVII.2). See also on §3 οὐδαμοῖ. Without a negative, the logical relationship of the participial clause to the leading verb is undefined (he sends his slave to the bank, ‘there being a drachma on deposit for him’), so that his motive for sending the slave is unclear. One may invent a motive – to inquire how his account stands (Millett, *Lending*

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and *Borrowing* 211), to withdraw his single drachma (Rusten) – but the expression remains flat and the picture unfocused. If he has not even a single drachma in his account, there is clarity and point: his claim to be heavily involved in maritime finance is exposed as a sham. For κειμένης, LSJ κείμαι III, τίθημι A.II.7.

3 The Ἀλαζών as soldier, a role he plays in comedy (Introd. Note), boasting here not of martial exploits but of intimacy with the commander-in-chief (cf. Antiph. 200 (Konstantakos 216–31), Damox. 1, Phoenicid. 4.7–8, *PCG* adesp. 934, Ter. *Eu.* 397–409) and of the valuable *objets* which he has brought back from abroad (cf. Men. *Asp.* 34–6, perhaps fr. 26, Damox. 1, Hipparch. Com. 1).

καὶ κυνοδοιπόρου δὲ ἀπολαῦσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δεινός: he ‘enjoys’ the fellow traveller, ‘takes advantage’ of him, perhaps implying both that he takes advantage of the opportunity afforded by his company and that he enjoys pulling the wool over his eyes. LSJ creates a separate meaning (III ‘make sport of’) for this passage and Lys. 6.38 ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσαι. This does not fit the latter (the meaning is simply ‘use us to his advantage’), and here it is no more than implied. The implication is stronger in Plu. *Pomp.* 24.13 οὕτω κατειρωνευσάμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύσαντες τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (pirates paying mock respect to a captured Roman), and 587F ἰκανῶς . . . ἀπολαύσασά μου (wife enjoying her husband’s discomfiture).

λέγων ὡς μετ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐστρατεύατο: Introduction, pp. 27–9.

καὶ <οικεί> ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε: Cobet’s conjecture (1857, 1874) hits exactly the right note (cf. Ter. *Eu.* 397ff.) and restores a regular expression (Isoc. 4.135, 5.80, 106, *Ep.* 7.10, Is. 1.18, D. 4.4, 8, 10.52, 23.119, 195, 31.10, 33.18, 34.21, 52.15, 23, 59.12, *Proem.* 5.1, [Arist.] *Ath.* 36.1, D.S. 20.20.4). ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε (V) is acceptable as syntax (X. *Mem.* 1.2.38 ὡς εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, *Cyr.* 7.5.58 ἐννοῶν . . . ὅτι . . . οὕτως ἔχοι αὐτῷ (*sc.* ἡ πόλις), D. 2.17 πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ, 3.8 ἐχόντων . . . ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, Men. *Per.* 7 οὔτ]ω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν;), and ὅπως (Cichorius) is not needed (see LSJ ὡς A.C). But it is not acceptable as sense. ‘How he was disposed to him’ calls for Alexander as subject (how Alexander was disposed to the Ἀλαζών is a suitable theme for boasting, but how the Ἀλαζών was disposed to Alexander is not), and Alexander cannot be subject in a sequence where the Ἀλαζών is subject of the preceding and following verbs. <φιλικῶς> (Schneider), ‘he was friendly’, also calls for Alexander as subject, and fails for the same reason.

καὶ ὄσα λιθοκόλλητα ποτήρια ἐκομίσατο: jewelled cups and the like are commonly associated with Persia, e.g. (all from the 4th cent.) Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 263a, Ath. 48F, 782A (3.18 Kaibel); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 165, Lane Fox 145. Precious stones from Bactria were used εἰς τὰ λιθοκόλλητα (*Laf.* 35). ‘Jewelled’ implies

excess (Men. fr. 275.1, an avaricious girl complains χρυσοῦν ἐπόρις· εἶθε λιθοκόλλητον ἦν) and invites disapproval (Plu. *Phoc.* 19.4). Cups are regular spoils of war: X. *An.* 4.3.25, 4.4.21, *HG* 4.1.24, Men. *Asp.* 35, 83, perhaps fr. 26, Hipparch. 1. Sense requires ‘carried off’, ‘got’, hence middle ἐκομίσατο (Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 361), 1757), as IV.13, XXX.15, 20, not ἐκόμισε (V), which in this sense is confined to Homer, lyric, and tragedy (LSJ II.2) and would here mean ‘carried’, ‘conveyed’, as XXV.8.

καὶ περὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν . . . ἀμφιβητῆσαι: he is a judge of fine craftsmanship, a connoisseur (like the soldier in Damox. 1, whose cup is Ἀλκωνος ἔργον); a neat addition, to show that there is more to him than self-aggrandisement. For ἀμφιβητῆσαι ‘maintain’, in arguing on a disputed point, LSJ I.5.

καὶ ταῦτα φῆσαι: φῆσαι is likelier than δὴ φῆσαι (also Coray) as a correction of ψηφῆσαι (V), and explicable as a near dittography. For ταῦτα (alone) with a verb of speech, II.10, XXI.11; for δὴ, XX.3n. ψοφῆσαι (Hottinger), of an articulate utterance, with a personal subject, would be abnormal, and Men. fr. 743 ἀλαζονεῖαι καὶ ψόφοις does not license it. φληναφῆσαι (Foss 1835) ‘babble nonsense’ strikes the wrong note.

οὐδαμοῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδημηκῶς: when the verb means ‘go abroad’ (LSJ 2), not ‘be abroad’ (LSJ 1), it may be accompanied by a prepositional phrase or adverb indicating direction (e.g., for the latter, Ar. *Ra.* 48 ποῖ, Pl. *R.* 579b οὐδαμόσε, *Lg.* 950a ἄλλοσε, *Phd.* 61E, D. 38.13 ἐκέει). Here ‘go abroad’ is the natural sense, and it is reasonable to replace οὐδαμοῦ (V) with -οῖ (Cobet 1874). Cf. Is. 4.27 ἀποδεδημηκάειν οὐδαμοῖ (Bekker: -ῆ A), 9.14 ἀπανταχοῖ (Reiske: -ῆ A), X. *Smp.* 4.30 οὐδαμοῖ (Dindorf: -οῦ codd.); and perhaps Pl. *Lg.* 950d μηδαμοῖ (-ῆι codd.) μηδαμῶς. The form in -οῖ is attested by Hdn.Gr. 1.502 and survives (with *u.l.* -οῦ) in some mss. of X. *Lac.* 3.4 (-ῆ M; -ῶς Stob.), D. 23.166, 52.21, and is conjectured (for -οῦ) in *S. Ph.* 256, Ar. *V.* 1188, X. *HG* 5.2.8, *An.* 6.3.16, D. *Ep.* 2.17. See also XI.6n. We do not want οὐδαμόσε or -ῆι (Foss 1835). Since the part. is concessive, perhaps μηδαμοῖ (see on §2 <μηδὲ μιᾶς>).

4 καὶ γράμματα δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς πάρεστι παρ’ Ἀντιπάτρου τριττὰ δὴ λέγοντα παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν: for the historical background see the Introduction, pp. 27–9. For the career of Antipater, H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II (Munich 1926) 46–51, W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander’s Empire* (London and New York 1992) 38–49, E. J. Baynham, ‘Antipater: Manager of Kings’, in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History* (Oxford 1994) 331–56.

λέγειν ‘say’ is regular with γράμματα (Hdt. 1.124.1, *al.*, Philyll. 10, X. *HG* 1.1.23, D. 9.42, Men. *Epit.* 390, *Sic.* 136–7). Here ‘tell, command’ (LSJ III.5). How the two senses may overlap is shown by X. *HG* 5.1.32 ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλείως γράμματα ἔλεγεν (the message was an order). For δὴ, XX.3n. We do not want

κελεύοντα (Kayser) for δὴ λέγοντα. Aorist παραγενέσθαι, of a once and for all arrival, is preferable to present -γίνεσθαι (V); cf. XIV.7.

καὶ διδομένης αὐτῷ ἐξαγωγῆς ξύλων ἀτελοῦς ὅτι ἀπήρηται: Macedonian timber was ranked above all others by carpenters (*HP* 5.2.1), and Athens needed a constant supply for shipbuilding (Th. 4.108.1, X. *HG* 6.1.11, D. 17.28); N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* 1 (Oxford 1972) 207–9, (with G. T. Griffith) II (Oxford 1979) 68–9, *al.*, R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford 1982) 126–33. Present διδομένης is better suited than δεδομένης (Hanow 1860) to an offer which has not been accepted. εἰσαγωγῆς (Blaydes) is wrong, since Antipater is granting freedom from Macedonian export duty, not from Athenian import duty. For a similar concession, And. 2.11 ὄντος μοι Ἀρχελάου ξένου πατρικοῦ καὶ διδόντος τέμνεσθαι τε καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι ὀπόρους (*sc.* κωπέας) ἐβουλόμην (Hammond and Griffith 138–9); for the language, D. 34.36 κήρυγμα . . . ποιησαμένου Παιρισιᾶδος ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, ἐάν τις βούληται Ἀθήναζε . . . αἰτηγείν, ἀτελῆ τὸν εἶτον ἐξάγειν.

ἀπήρηται ‘he has refused’, absolute, as S. *Ph.* 527 (LSJ Rev.Suppl. II.B.2), Alex. 48.3; perfect, as D. 28.24 ἤρηται. So Cobet 1874 for ἀπείρηται (V), which is acceptable in sense (cf. Hdt. 9.7α.2 ἀπειπάμεθα, absolute, ‘we refused’), but doubtful in form. The middle verb is attested only in the first aorist (XII.10n. ἀπείπασθαι), εἰρήσθαι is not used as a middle, and ἀπείρηται is regularly impersonal passive, ‘it has been forbidden’ (e.g. Pl. R. 396b, Aeschin. 3.48, 204, Xenarch. 7.7). παρήρηται (Kayser) is also possible.

ὅπως μὴδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνός κυκοφαντηθῆι: Introduction, pp. 27–9. The charge anticipated is the importation of goods from an enemy state (MacDowell, *Law* 158), and perhaps the associated charge of fraternisation with an enemy. κυκοφάντης (XXVI.4) is a term of abuse for one who brings a malicious charge for a discreditable reason: MacDowell, *Law* 62–6, R. Osborne in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. Todd (edd.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990) 83–102, D. Harvey *ibid.* 103–21, M. R. Christ, *CQ* 42 (1992) 336–46 (esp. 338), *id.* *The Litigious Athenian* (Baltimore and London 1998) esp. chs. 2–3, Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 92–4, Arnott on Alex. 187, N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes, Birds* (Oxford 1995) 673–4, Kapparis on [D.] (Apollod.) 59.43, Whitehead on Hyp. *Lyc.* 2.

μὴδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνός is regular word order (LSJ μηδεῖς 1.2, οὐδέ β), and to be distinguished from ὑπὸ μηδενός (KG 1.538 Anmerk. 5, R. Renehan, *CPh* 93 (1998) 164).

†περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν προσῆκε Μακεδόσι†: usually taken to mean ‘Macedonians should have been cleverer’, *sc.* than to make such a compromising offer. But περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν means ‘philosophise further’, not ‘be cleverer’. Nothing is gained by writing Μακεδόνων (Schneider), since ‘I had to philosophise further than Macedonians’ is no way to say that one had to be

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cleverer than they. There is more at fault than ineptness of language. The words, whether taken as direct speech or not, have no syntactical connection with what precedes. <καὶ ὅτι> περαιτέρω (Foss 1835), <καὶ> π- (Petersen) and <γὰρ> προσήκειν (Foss 1835, before Hartung) restore connection; but, the sense being uncertain, we cannot tell whether this is the kind of connection required. περαιτέρω ὡς φίλος ὦν πλεῖν ἢ προσήκει Μακεδόσι (Ussing) aims for an appropriate sense (a charge of over-friendliness with Macedonians), but requires περαιτέρω to be taken with κυκοφαντηθῆι, inappropriately. περαιτέρω φίλος εἶναι ἢ (Madvig 1868, Ribbeck 1870) appropriately brings περαιτέρω and ἢ προσήκει together (περαιτέρω . . . ἢ E. fr. 928, Paus. 4.27.10; περαιτέρω τοῦ προσήκοντος Gal. 6.128 Kühn, *al.*, περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος Pl. *Grg.* 484c); but the construction κυκοφαντηθῆι . . . εἶναι is unattested and the expression περαιτέρω φίλος εἶναι unconvincing. Since Steinmetz and Rusten print τοῖς Μακεδόσι as if it were the transmitted reading, and Ussher claims that the article is needed, see e.g. Th. 1.57.2, 1.61.4, 2.80.7, 4.124.1, *al.*, X. *HG* 5.2.12, D. 2.17, 19. 260, Aeschin. 2.138, and KG 1.598–9.

**5 καὶ ἐν τῇ κιτοδείᾳ δὲ <εἰπεῖν> ὡς:** Introduction, p. 27. Serious shortages of grain are attested in 330/29, 328/7, 323/2, and there may have been others within the decade 330–320 (P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge 1988) 154–64; cf. S. Isager and M. H. Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century BC* (Odense 1975) 200–8, J. McK. Camp, *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 14–15). The shortage in 328/7 appears to have been particularly acute. It prompted ἐπιδόσεις (XXII.3n.) of a kind hitherto unattested, financial contributions towards the purchase of grain: D. 34.39 εἰς τὴν κιτωνίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τάλαντον ὑμῖν ἐπέδωκαμεν, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 360 (= *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 304) 11–12 ὅτε αἱ ἐπιδόσεις ἦσαν ἐπέδωκε XXX δραχμὰς εἰς κιτωνίαν (cf. 70–1). The contributions listed in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1628–9, and that of Demosthenes ([Plu.] 851B εἰς τὴν κιτωνίαν ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῇ κιτοδείᾳ τάλαντον), may belong to the same year (A. Kuenzi, *ΕΠΙΔΟCIC* (Bern 1923) 29 n. 3, Garnsey 155–6; *contra* L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Geneva 1992) 20–1). The crisis of 328/7, if it was made particularly memorable by the levying (perhaps for the first and only time) of contributions from individuals, may be the occasion which we are to imagine here. But this is no conventional ἐπίδοσις. That (presumably) would have entailed the payment of a lump sum to the grain commissioners. The Ἀλαζών claims (or, at any rate, implies) that he gave a plurality of gifts to those in need, whom he could not refuse, a personal touch, on which he prides himself.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Contrast P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses* (London 1990) 73 (= *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris 1976) 189): ‘No doubt he had put his name down for the sum in question on a list of voluntary subscriptions (*epidosis*)’. This loses the personal touch. In his paraphrase,

I add <εἰπεῖν>, because (i) we have moved to a new topic, and a new verb of speech is expected; (ii) if εἰπεῖν in §4 is taken as governing this clause, καὶ . . . δέ will be anomalous: this combination elsewhere connects only clauses which have an infin. of their own and are part of the main infin. structure (I.2n.); here, if no infin. is added, the clause which they connect will be subordinate.

πλείω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀναλώματα διδόντι τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν: ἐγένετο (Hanow 1860, before Navarre 1918) must replace opt. γένοιτο (V), impossible in primary sequence (aor. infin. εἰπεῖν is primary, not historic); XVIII.5n., XIX.9n. <ἄν> γένοιτο (Hanow 1861, before Navarre 1918, 1931) is unsuitable. For the sense of ἐγένετο ('amounted to'), XIV.2n. There is no call for πλείον (Eberhard 1865 before Wendland) or πλέον (Wendland) (cf. e.g. D. 3.24 πλείω . . . ἢ μύρια τάλαντα, Hyr. *Dem.* 25 πλείω ἢ ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα), or πεντετάλαντα (Navarre 1920), or -ματα <μετα> διδόντι (Cobet 1874). For the construction τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν see on V.7 τῶν . . . γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις.

**6** In the first part of this section he describes ἔρανος-loans. Such loans are made to friends and are repayable (I.5n.). They are different from the donations described in §5. These were made to needy citizens and were presumably not repayable. He is not, as commonly supposed (even by Millett, 'Patronage' 42, *Lending and Borrowing* 40, 157, Garnsey (§5n.) 163), doing a more precise calculation of the sums mentioned in §5 and finding that five talents were an underestimate. The two sums, and their recipients, are unrelated. And he has a new audience: in §5 he addressed unspecified hearers; in §6 he addresses strangers sitting next to him.

καὶ ἀγνώτων δὲ παρακαθημένων: III.2n.

κελεῦσαι θεῖναι τὰς ψήφους ἕνα αὐτῶν: for the abacus, XIV.2n.; the verb, XXIV.12 τὰς ψήφους διαθεῖναι (διωθεῖν V), D. 18.229 τιθεῖς ψήφους, *calculus* (-os) *ponere* (OLD 'calculus' 3.b).

καὶ ποσῶν κατὰ χιλίας καὶ κατὰ μίαν: ποσῶν is a technical term, 'calculating πόσον, quantifying', first here and *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 279.41 (Zeleia c. 334/3 BC) τῶν ποσῶθ[ε]ϊσίων δραχμέων. Cf. XVIII.9n. 'By thousands' and 'by ones' reflects the descending order of columns on the abacus (1,000, 500, 100, 50, 5, 1). 'By 600s' (καθ' ἑξακοσίας V) does not suit the abacus, which has no such column. Wilamowitz 1898 diagnosed confusion between two different uses of the symbol X, which represents 600 in the alphabetic system of numeration, but 1,000 in the earlier acrophonic system. For these two systems, M. N. Tod, *Ancient Greek Numerical Systems* (Chicago 1979), conveniently summarised by S. Dow in H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge Mass. <sup>2</sup>1956) §348A, and

Veyne actually misplaces the self-satisfied 'he could not say no', so that it comes after the mention of ἔρανοι. But he is right (perhaps uniquely) in associating these gifts with ἐπίδοσις rather than with ἔρανοι. See §6n. *init.*

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by A. G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge<sup>2</sup> 1981) 108–12. Rusten prefers χιλιάδας to χιλίας, adducing P. Keyser; ‘Errors of calculation in Herodotus’, *CJ* 81 (1986) 230–42, who observes that Herodotus uses the collective noun χιλιάς (and μυριάς, ἑκατοντάς etc.) for large calculations, probably done on the abacus, and suggests that these nouns may have been used to designate the columns of the abacus (231–2). But κατὰ χιλιάδας is not naturally partnered by κατὰ μίαν. Its natural partner is καθ’ ἐνάδας or κατὰ μονάδας. With κατὰ μίαν we must supply δραχμῆν, which is natural enough if χιλίας has preceded, since χίλιαι *sc.* δραχμαί is a regular ellipse (LSJ χίλιοι 3), reflecting the inscriptional use of acrophonic X, which represents not only 1,000 but also, in monetary contexts, 1,000 drachmas. For the phrase as a whole cf. Hdt. 4.113.1 (Amazons) κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο (‘in ones and twos’); LSJ κατὰ β.π.3. The use of a high figure (1,000) and the lowest (1) may be taken to imply the use of the full range of columns and the punctiliousness of the count. κατὰ χιλίας καὶ ἑκατὸν <καί> μίαν (Diels) is fussy, and an uneconomical change; μῶν (C. Salmasius, *De Usuris Liber* (Leiden 1638) 63) introduces muddle, by combining a numerical count with a specific sum of money.

καὶ προστιθεὶς πιθανῶς ἑκάστοις τοῦτων ὀνόματα: the names are his imaginary beneficiaries (cf. Mart. 4.37); ἑκάστοις τοῦτων (neuter) are the individual totals. πιθανῶς, as VIII.g; but πιθανά (cd), being neater, may be right. See also VIII.4n. *init.*

ποιῆσαι καὶ δέκα τάλαντα: ‘make a total of’ (a sense not recognised by LSJ), as D. 27.37 ποιήσω τριάκοντα μνᾶς; cf. κεφάλαιον ποιῆσαι XIV.2, XXIV.12, *OLD* ‘facio’ 9. καί draws attention to the numeral, ‘as much as ten’ (Denniston 320); no need for [καὶ] δέκα (Auberius before Casaubon), ἑκκαίδεκα (Petersen), ὡς δέκα (Naber before Edmonds 1910), κδ̄ i.e. 24 (Cichorius).

καὶ ταῦτα φῆσαι εἰσεννήχθαι εἰς ἔρανον αὐτῶι: the normal expression ἔρανον εἰσφέρειν (XV.7n.) is here varied to εἰς ἔρανον τι εἰσφέρειν, ‘contribute *x* towards an ἔρανος’. ταῦτα must replace τοῦτο (V), since the singular cannot refer to the plurality of sums just mentioned. Not ταῦτό (Münsterberg 1894), ‘the same amount’, i.e. ten talents, which entails that the ten talents just mentioned are not ἔρανοι but (unacceptably) a revised calculation for the earlier five. Alternatively, restore the normal expression with τοῦτο<υ> . . . [εἰς] ἔρανον (εἰς is interpolated in §7). For dat. of agent with perf. passive, KG 1.422, Schwyzer 2.150. There is no merit in replacing εἰσεννήχθαι with εἰσεννηοχέαι (cd), in order to justify αὐτῶν (V).

καὶ τὰς τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ τίθησιν οὐδὲ τὰς λειτουργίας δεῖα λελειτούργηκε: and that is without his counting (LSJ τίθημι λ.π.9.b ‘place to account, reckon’ (add Eup. 163, 164, 165, Eub. 119.1, Men. *Epit.* 749), XXX.18n. ὑποθεῖναι) the trierarchies (XXII.5n.) and all his other liturgies. To boast of liturgies is a common tactic of the orators: A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London 1968) 40–1, J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied*

*Families 600–300 BC* (Oxford 1971) xvii–xviii, id. *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981) 92–7, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 292–5, M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London<sup>2</sup> 1985) 150–2, J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton 1989) 226–47, M. R. Christ, *TAPhA* 120 (1990) 150, 155, id. *The Litigious Athenian* 41–2, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 26, 157, id. ‘The rhetoric of reciprocity in classical Athens’, in C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, R. Seaford (edd.), *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1998) 227–53, P. Wilson in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford 1997) 89–96, id. *Khoregia* 172–84, S. Johnstone, *Disputes and Democracy: The Consequences of Litigation in Ancient Athens* (Austin 1999) 93–108. In comedy too: Men. *Sam.* 13–14 τῶι χορηγεῖν διέφερον | [καὶ τῆι] φιλοτιμίαι. Such boasting is characterised as ἀλαζονεία by D. 21.169 εἰ . . . ἄπερ φῆσει καὶ καταλαζονεύεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . τοιαῦτ’ ἦν αὐτῶι τὰ λειτουργημένα, 36.41 ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ τριηραρχίας ἐρεῖ καὶ χορηγίας, Aeschin. 3.101 τὸν κόμπων καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν. Contrast XXVI.5n. But the Ἀλαζών does not boast crudely of his liturgies. He smugly appends them to his voluntary loans. His plurals insinuate that the liturgies were a heavy charge; but he could still afford ten talents for his friends. A man who spends on this scale (at least fifteen talents, not including liturgies) will be among the very wealthiest in Athens. For costs of liturgies and levels of wealth, Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* xx–xxiv, *Wealth* esp. chs. II–III, L. Casson, ‘The Athenian upper class and New Comedy’, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 29–52, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 61.1 (pp. 679–82).

Since the trierarchy is a liturgy, τὰς λειτουργίας is (in effect) brachylogy for ‘the <other> liturgies’, as XXVI.5, D. 20.151, 21.151–2 (contrast Isoc. 8.20 τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον λειτουργιῶν, Is. 7.38, D. 28.3). The brachylogy highlights the trierarchies, and implies that they are a thing apart, as indeed they are, since they cost much more than other liturgies. So τὰς <ἄλλας> (Casaubon) and τὰς <λοιπὰς> (Coray) are not wanted. The spelling λειτ- is first attested by inscriptions c. 375–350 BC; the older ληιτ- (Wilamowitz 1902b) is last attested c. 330 (Threatte 1.371, 2.739; N. Lewis, *GRBS* 3 (1960) 175–84). Liturgies were abolished by Demetrius of Phaleron between 317 and 307 BC (Introduction, p. 33).

7 καὶ προσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τοῖς πωλοῦσι προσποιήσασθαι ὦνητιᾶν: for this type of pretence cf. Mart. 9.59.

δ’ εἰς τοὺς (V) obliges us to interpret ‘he goes to the good-horse market and pretends to the sellers that he wishes to buy’, which is anomalous on three counts. (i) While εἰς τοὺς ἵππους may mean ‘to the horse-market’ (II.7n.), an epithet of quality is foreign to this idiom. The epithet in *Lys.* 23.6 εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρόν is a standard one (*Ar. Ra.* 559, *Cratin.* 400, *Antiph.* 131.7,



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Alex. 178.12; cf. Phryn. *PS* p. 127.7 de Borries, Poll. 6.48, Eust. *Il.* 1001.53 (3.689.18 van der Valk); Pellegrino 234) and expresses type ('fresh cheese'), not quality. To evade the anomaly by punctuating εἰς τοὺς ἵππους, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κτλ. (Pauw, Ussing) is absurd. (ii) εἰς with προελεθεῖν is abnormal. In the few passages where this combination is alleged, προ- is probable: X. *An.* 4.4.5 προελεθόντες (*u.l.* προ-) εἰς ἐπήκοον, 7.8.5 προελεθών (*u.l.* προ-) εἰς Ὀφρύνιον, *HG* 7.5.15 προσιόντες (προ- Dindorf) εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, [Arist.] *Mir.* 845<sup>b</sup>32 προσῆλθεν ὁ ὄφις εἰς τὸν κύκλον. Cf. X. *An.* 7.2.1 (*u.l.* προσ-), *Cyn.* 9.2, *Cyr.* 6.2.11, *HG* 6.5.19 προελεθών εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, 30 (*u.l.* προσ-), Arist. *HA* 619<sup>b</sup>1, *Mir.* 841<sup>b</sup>19 (*u.l.* προσ-). Foss 1858 proposed ἐπί for εἰς. But the normal preposition with προελεθεῖν, in all authors, is πρός: so IX.8, XXVI.4, and, with the same idiom as is alleged here, XI.4 προελεθών πρὸς τὰ κάρυα; similarly, with other compounds in προσ-, II.3, 10, V.7, XI.9, XXV.2. (iii) προσποιήσασθαι with dat. (τοῖς πωλοῦσι) is unexampled (Pl. *Chrm.* 155B, Isoc. 17.9 have the verb with πρός and acc.). To delete τοῖς πωλοῦσι (Herwerden before Cobet 1874) eliminates only the third anomaly. To delete εἰς eliminates all three. προελεθών now has a customary construction (dat. of person, as I.2, XI.7, XII.2, XIII.8, XXIV.6), προσποιήσασθαι is relieved of an unaccustomed dat., and τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς becomes the object of τοῖς πωλοῦσι. The order τοὺς ἵππους . . . τοῖς πωλοῦσι, 'the horse-sellers', is the same as XXVI.2 τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους, Hdt. 7.184.4 τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους, X. *Mem.* 1.6.13 τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς . . . πωλοῦντας (KG 1.616–17).

I credit δὲ (for δ' εἰς) to Jebb, because he saw that this is the only change needed, and he explained the construction correctly. Auberius had proposed τοῖς (for δ' εἰς) τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς [[τοῖς om. cd]] πωλοῦσι, modified to δὲ τοῖς τοὺς ἵπ- by Sylburg, to δὲ τοῖς ἵπ- by Reiske 1757 (before Schneider), the latter giving the same order as VI.4 τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι, XXIX.2 τοῖς . . . δημοσίους ἀγῶνας ὠφληκόσι. For another interpolated preposition, XXIV.4.

Applied to a horse, ἀγαθός is not quite the same as εὐγενής ('thoroughbred', Thgn. 184, S. *El.* 25) but indicates general excellence and serviceability (Ar. *Pl.* 157 ὁ μὲν ἵππον ἀγαθόν, ὁ δὲ κύναν θηρευτικὰς (*sc.* αἰτεῖ), Pl. *Phdr.* 246A, [Pl.] *Virt.* 378E, X. *Eq.Mag.* 8.14, *Hier.* 6.15, Plu. 642A, Arr. *Cyn.* 24.1), a 'good-quality horse', such as will be needed for the cavalry and for racing (Wyse on Is. 5.43). Not ἀγωνικός (Orelli) nor ἀγλαός (H. Stadtmüller, *LZB* 54 (1903) 615). A choicer epithet, if one were needed, would be ἀδηφάγος (Phot. A 345 Theodoridis ἀδήφαγον· <οἱ> ἀγωνισταὶ ἵπποι οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 758) καὶ Φερεκράτης (fr. 212), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311 b 55 (400–350 BC) ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγῳ; see Radt on S. fr. 976).

A horse of good quality would cost over 1,000 drachmas. Inscriptional evidence for the valuation of cavalry horses in the fourth and third centuries

suggests that 1,200 drachmas was the conventional upper figure (K. Braun, *MDA(A)* 85 (1970) 198–269, esp. 267, J. H. Kroll, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 83–140, esp. 88–9, 99, G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 57–8, 158, I. G. Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece* (Oxford 1993) 274–9). Literary evidence is sparse, but consistent with this: 50 darics, i.e. 1250 drachmas, X. *An.* 7.8.6 (so Kroll 89; not 1,000, as given by J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961) 136); 1200 drachmas, Ar. *Nu.* 21, 1224, and apparently Lys. 8.10; 300 dr. for a cheap horse, Is. 5.43. Horse ownership is often adduced as a mark of wealth: Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* xxv–vi (in n. 7 add Men. *Sam.* 15), Pomeroy on X. *Oec.* 1.8, Spence 182–3, 191–3.

ὄνητιῶν (a conjectural supplement in the lacuna at I.5) is attested earlier only in Theopomp.Com. 46; later only in D.C. (to LSJ's citation add 45.23.6, 47.14.5) and the lexicographers (Poll. 3.80, 3.126, 9.34 (cited §2 *init.*), Suda ω 112, 113 = *An.Bachm.* 1.421.27, Hsch. ω 239).

**8** και ἐπὶ τὰς κληνάς ἐλθὼν ἱματικὸν ζητῆσαι εἰς δύο τάλαντα: κληναὶ are 'market stalls', as D. 18.169 τῶν κληνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν, Theoc. 15.16 ἀπὸ κκανᾶς ἀγοράσδειν, and probably Ar. *Pax* 731; hence κληνίτης 'stall-keeper' Isoc. 17.33 (Harp. p. 275.16 Dindorf (Σ 24 Keaney) = Suda Σ 570 ἐπειδὴ ἐν κληναῖς ἐπιπράσκετο πολλὰ τῶν ὠνίων), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672 (329/8 BC) 13–15, 171. They will have been either flimsy booths or (as in a modern market) stalls partially enclosed by canvas: Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* 2.459–60, Wycherley, 'Market of Athens' 15–16 (~ *Stones of Athens* 98–9), *Agora* iii 190–2, Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora* xiv 170, Millett, 'Encounters in the *Agora*' 216. κλίνας (V) is indefensible: not 'trestles' to display items for sale (Cichorius), an unexampled sense; nor 'shops which sell κλίνας' (the idiom illustrated on II.7), since these are not the place to look for ἱματικὸς. The phonetic confusion of η and ι (X.14n.) is at the root of the corruption. There is no merit in κλιείας (contemplated by Casaubon in the copy of his 1599 edition in the British Library (see the Introduction, p. 54 n. 172); also Visconti ap. Schweighäuser 1802, before Edmonds 1929).

The noun ἱματικὸς appears first here, next Callix. *FGrH* 627 F 2 (p. 167.9), Plb. 6.15.4, *al.*, D.S. 17.94.2, 20.93.4; also documentary papyri and inscriptions (LSJ). It means 'clothing' (Suda I 340 ἱματικὸς: ἡ ἐσθής), and there is no warrant for extending it to 'uestis stragula' (Schneider), 'bedding' and 'draperies' (Jebb), in the hope of justifying κλίνας. A ἱματιόπωλις ἀγορά is mentioned by Poll. 7.78 (Wycherley, *Agora* iii no. 663). For the construction ἱματικὸν . . . εἰς δύο τάλαντα cf. Th. 8.29.1 τροφήν . . . ἐς δραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν ('maintenance of as much as a drachma'); LSJ εἰς A.III.1. That three minae would buy a purple robe in the time of Socrates (Plu. 470F) gives the measure of his extravagance (two talents = 120 minae).

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τῶι παιδί μάχεσθαι ὅτι τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔχων αὐτῶι ἀκολουθεῖ: cf. XIV.9 μάχεσθαι τῶι παιδί ὅτι (μάχεσθαι VI.4n., ὅτι §9n.). For slaves carrying money, XVIII.3n.; ἀκολουθεῖ, IX.3n. Deletion of τὸ (Cobet 1874) is unnecessary (IV.10n.).

**9** καὶ ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκίαι οἰκῶν φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πατρώϊαν πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα: rented accommodation suggests poverty. So X. *Smp.* 4.4 τέκτονάς τε καὶ οἰκοδόμους . . . οἱ ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ποιοῦσιν οἰκίας, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ οὐ δύνανται ποιῆσαι ἄλλ’ ἐν μισθωταῖς (Portus: μισθῶ αὐταῖς uel sim. codd.)<sup>111</sup> οἰκοῦσι, Posidon. fr. 253.50 Edelstein-Kidd ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐκ μισθωτῆς οἰκίας ἐξιών εἰς τὴν ἴδιου οἰκίαν τοῦ τότε πλουτοῦντος ἀνθρώπου . . . εἰσηνέχθη. See O. Schultheß, ‘Mισθωσις’, *RE* xv.2 (1932) 211–14, R. Osborne, ‘Social and economic implications of the leasing of land and property in Classical and Hellenistic Greece’, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 279–323, esp. 307 n. 47 (rented houses), 318, Lane Fox 130. For resumptive ταύτην after participial clause, XIV.6n.

καὶ ὅτι μέλλει πωλεῖν αὐτήν: ὅτι is used in this work nearly 40 times to introduce either indirect speech (as here) or (less commonly) direct speech (II.8n.), and was restored by Lycius before Casaubon for διότι (V), which is found only twice (XVII.4 *bis*), in the sense ‘because’ (LSJ 1), in which sense ὅτι is used thrice (§8, II.3, XIV.9). The statement that διότι sometimes replaces ὅτι in the sense ‘that’ (LSJ II; cf. Goodwin §710, Wyse on Is. 3.50) is misleading. διότι is not used after a verb of speech to introduce an indirect statement, but may introduce an actual or virtual indirect question, or a substantival clause (‘the fact that’); P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien* (Paris 1963) 258–61, A. Lillo, ‘Sur l’origine du διότι completif’, in B. Jacquinod (ed.), *Les complétives en grec ancien* (Saint-Etienne 1999) 313–29. So *CP* 2.16.1 διότι . . . φανερόν (‘it is clear that’), 6.11.5 ἀρχῆι . . . τῇ πολλὰκις εἰρημένῃ διότι (‘the often mentioned principle, namely that’). διότι is sometimes so used by orators who avoid hiatus (Wyse *loc. cit.*); and Diels (Index) notes that the three transmitted instances of διότι in this work all stand ‘post vocalem’. But T. does not avoid καὶ ὅτι at VII.2, 9, XX.9 *bis*, 10. διότι will have arisen from unconscious reminiscence or anticipation of nearby syllables in the sequence εἰδότα . . . <δι>ότι . . . διὰ τό. For the change of construction (after acc. and infin.) see on III.3 καὶ τὴν θάλατταν κτλ.

διὰ τὸ ἐλάττω εἶναι αὐτῶι πρὸς τὰς ξενοδοκίας: for ἐλάττω cf. X.14. αὐτῶι (αὐ- V) was restored by Edmonds 1908. The spelling -δοχ- (V, and X. *Oec.* 9.10, the only other occurrence of the noun in classical Greek) was corrected by Cobet 1854 and Nauck 1863.

<sup>111</sup> A certain conjecture, in spite of Huß (1999) *ad loc.*

## XXIV

### THE ARROGANT MAN

#### Introductory note

D. M. MacDowell on D. 21.83 illustrates the uses of ὑπερηφάνια and ὑπερήφανος by the orators and others. ὑπερηφάνια is often associated with ὕβρις. But while ὕβρις finds expression in physical action ('aggressiveness'), ὑπερηφάνια remains an attitude of mind ('arrogance'). The ὑπερήφανος feels himself superior to others. He is liable to consider ordinary people καθάρματα καὶ πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐδ' ἄνθρωποι (D. 21.198). We find him bracketed with the μισόδημος and μισάνθρωπος (Isoc. 15.131). The Ὑπερήφανος of Theophrastus thinks only of his own convenience, and treats others high-handedly or ignores them. Ariston of Keos wrote a work Περὶ τοῦ κουφίζειν ὑπερηφάνιας (Introduction, pp. 9–10). Etymology is uncertain (Chantraine 1158).

#### [1] Definition

The definition is comparable in structure (noun and dependent gen. with prepositional phrase interposed) to def. I and XVII. καταφρόνησις adequately renders ὑπερηφάνια (with gen., 'contempt for', Pl. R. 391c, D. 21.195). Aristotle associates contempt with αὐθάδεια (EE 1233<sup>b</sup>35–6). See the Introd. Note to XV (the Αὐθάδης). He also associates it with the unworthy imitators of the μεγαλόψυχος, who because of material good fortune are ὑπερόπται and ὕβρισταί (EN 1124<sup>a</sup>29) and contemptuous of others (1124<sup>b</sup>1–2 οἰόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχειν ἐκείνων . . . καταφρονοῦσιν, 4–5 καταφρονοῦσι . . . τῶν ἄλλων), but, lacking ἀρετή, lack the justification which the μεγαλόψυχος has for this contempt. For a possible link between this passage and the sketch itself see on §3. Ariston, reflecting the same passage, opposes ὑπερήφανος and μεγαλόψυχος: fr. 13, vi (p. 35.25–7 Wehrli) ἔστιν τοῦ μὲν μεγαλοψ[ύ]χου τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν τυχη[ρ]ῶν ὑπερέχοντα τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄγκω, τοῦ δ' ὑπερηφάνου τὸ διὰ κουφότητα ταύτης ἐκπνευματούμενον ὑπὸ κτήσεως ὑπερορᾶν ἑτέρουσ (cf. fr. 13, v, p. 35.3 τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερφρ[ο]νεῖν). See further Stein 246–7.

\*Ἔστι δέ: def. XIV n.

τις: def. I n.

πλήν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων: LSJ πλήν B.1.

2 τοιόσδε τις: def. XVII n.

## COMMENTARY

τῶι σπεύδοντι ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐντεύξεσθαι φάσκειν ἐν τῶι περιπατεῖν: τῶι σπεύδοντι is either ‘the man who is in a hurry’ (like XI.6 σπεύδοντας . . . ποι) or ‘the man who is eager (for a meeting)’ (see on I.4 τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν βουλομένοις). The dat. is constructed with both infinitives: ‘he says to the man . . . that he will meet him’. He promises a meeting, but at his own convenience, after dinner, when he has nothing better to do than take a stroll (cf. XX.4). Changes like τῶι σπεύδοντι <ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῶι> (Casaubon) and τῶι σπεύδοντι ἐντυγχάνειν “ἀπὸ δείπνου” φάσκειν “ἐν τῶι περιπατεῖν” (Stein) are needless.

ἀπὸ δείπνου is ‘after dinner’, because one rises ‘from’ it (LSJ ἀπό α.π. *init.*): H. Il. 8.54, Hdt. 1.133.2, *al.*, Antipho 1.17 πρὸ δείπνου ἢ ἀπὸ δείπνου, Ar. V. 103 ἀπὸ δορπητοῦ, Ec. 694 (cf. 626–7 ἀπιόντας | ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου). An after-dinner stroll is regular in warmer climates. Cf. Ar. V. 1401 ἀπὸ δείπνου βαδίζοντα (‘walking’, XVI.8n.; similarly Pax 839–40, Pherecr. 88), X. Smp. 9.1 ἔξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον, D. 54.7 περιπατοῦντος ὥσπερ εἴωθειν ἐσπέρας ἐν ἀγοραῖ μου, Plu. Th. 35.7 μετὰ δείπνον ὥσπερ εἴωθει περιπατοῦντα, Luc. JTr. 15.

3 καὶ εὔ ποιήσας μεμνησθαι φάσκειν: to tell another that one remembers the favour one has done him (XX.9n. εὔ ποιήσας) is to remind him of the obligation under which he stands. The Ἀναίχχυντος reminds the butcher of past favours (IX.4). This is bad form. As Demosthenes puts it, favours received should be remembered, favours conferred forgotten, and a reminder is equivalent to a reproach: 18.269 ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὔ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνησθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντ’ εὐθύς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῶι ὄνειδίζειν. The sentiment and language find many echoes: Arist. Rh. 1374<sup>b</sup>16–18 (ἐπιεικέες ἐστί) τὸ μνημονεύειν . . . ἀγαθῶν ὧν ἔπαθε μᾶλλον ἢ <ὧν> ἐποίησεν (for D.’s ὄνειδίζειν, 1381<sup>b</sup>2–3, 1384<sup>a</sup>3), Ter. An. 43–4 *nam istaec commemoratio | quasi exprobratio est inmemori* (Guyet: *-is codd.*) *benefici*, Cic. Amic. 71 *odiosum sane genus hominum, officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit*, Liv. 5.44.3 *pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis quanta ipsi meministis (nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt) gratiae referendae*, Sen. Ben. 1.2.3 *numquam illa (sc. beneficia) uir bonus cogitat nisi admonitus a reddente*, 2.10.4 *ego illi non sum indicaturus me dedisse, cum inter prima praecepta ac maxime necessaria sit ne umquam exprobrum, immo ne admoneam quidem. haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim obliuisci debet dati, alter accepti numquam*. The μεγαλόψυχος of Aristotle is less idealistic. He remembers and likes to be reminded of benefits which he has conferred on others, but he forgets and does not like to be reminded of benefits which others have conferred on him, for the recipient of a benefit is the inferior of his benefactor: EN 1124<sup>b</sup>12–17 δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ μνημονεύειν οὐ (Bywater: οὐς

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codd.) ἄν ποιήσῳιν εὔ, ὧν δ' ἄν πάθῳιν οὐ (ἐλάττων γὰρ ὁ παθὼν εὔ τοῦ ποιήσαντος, βούλεται δ' ὑπερέχειν), καὶ τὰ μὲν ἠδέως ἀκούειν (Bywater: ἀκούει codd.), τὰ δ' ἠηδῶς. See also XXVI.4n.

He makes a vulgar and patronising show of his superiority by *claiming* that he remembers, thereby reminding others of their inferiority. That is the way φάσκειν must be taken. Not 'When he has done a good deed he remembers to say so' (Ussher); nor 'If he does a favor, he says to remember it' (Rusten, *al.*). If φάσκειν offends, repeated so soon after φάσκειν in §3, it might be deleted (Fischer, before Navarre 1918 and Pasquali); but note ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς §4 and §8, συντάξει §10 and §12. Other changes are misguided: φράζειν Ast (not a verb of T.'s), <μῆ> μεμνησθαι Foss 1834, μεμνησεσθαι Naber, μεμνησθαι, <εὔ παθὼν δὲ μῆ> [φάσκειν] Navarre 1918.

**4** καὶ βαδίζων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὰς διαίτας κρίνειν [ἐν] τοῖς ἐπιτρέψαισι: cf. Ar. *Nu.* 964 βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς, Pl. *Chrm.* 159b, Alex. 265.2, Plu. *Cat.Mi.* 5.6, and XVI.8n. To conduct an arbitration (V.3n.) while walking in the street is a fair illustration of arrogance. Even to talk while walking (ἄμα λέγων βαδίζειν) betrays θρασύτης and ἀγροικία (Arist. *Rh.* 1417<sup>a</sup>23). βαδίζων for βιάζειν (V) is certain (same corruption Men. *Sic.* 145 βαδίζετε] βιάζετε Π). With ἐν deleted (for another interpolated preposition, XXIII.7), τὰς διαίτας may be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both κρίνειν (though the expression δ- κρίνειν is unexampled) and τοῖς ἐπιτρέψαισι (δ- ἐπιτρέπειν is regular: Lys. 32.2, Isoc. 17.19, 18.10, 14, Is. 5.31, D. 34.44, 40.43, 59.45, 68). None of the many other proposals has any appeal: δικάζειν (with τὰς διαίτας κτλ. deleted) Darvaris, βιάζεσθαι . . . <καὶ> ἐν<τυχῶν> Foss 1834 (βιάζεσθαι . . . ἐν<τυχῶν> Rusten), κρίνειν <μῆ θέλειν> (with βαδίζων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς deleted) or καὶ φράζειν βαδίζων . . . <μῆ> κρινεῖν Meier 1842, φράζειν . . . κρινεῖν Foss 1858, ἀποδοκιμάζειν τὸ δ- κρ- Hanow 1860, ὑπτιάζειν (for βιάζειν) Ussing, μῆ ἀξιοῦν (for βιάζειν) Herwerden, βιάζεσθαι . . . τοὺς διαι<τη>τάς Cichorius, βιάζ<εσθαι δικάζ>ειν ἐν ταῖς <συν>ὁδοῖς . . . κοιν<ὸς> εἷς ὧν τοῖς Giesecke, ἐν <τάχει> Diels (pointless, after the pointed βαδίζων), ἐνὶ (*sc.* λόγῳ) Edmonds 1929, ἐν <οὐκ> ἐπιτρέψαισι Latte ap. Steinmetz, κρίνειν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς Steinmetz (Addenda).

**5** καὶ χειροτονούμενος ἐξόμνυσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐ φάσκων χολάζειν: while most public officers were appointed by lot, some others, such as ambassadors and generals, were elected by show of hands in the Ecclesia (E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (London 1972) 83–8, M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes* (Oxford 1987) 44–6, 120–3, id. *Athenian Democracy* 159–60, 233–5). He swears an oath declaring himself ineligible (ἐξόμνυσθαι, VI.8n.) every time he is elected (τὰς ἀρχάς, plural), alleging not a reasonable excuse like ill health (D. 19.124) but the self-important plea that he is too busy.

**6** καὶ προσελθεῖν πρότερος οὐδενὶ ἐθελῆσαι: ‘approach’ (I.2n.), implying ‘greet’. Cf. D. 45.68 (he unsociably assumes a sullen air in the street, reasoning that) τοῖς μὲν ἀπλῶς, ὡς πεφύκασι, βαδίζουσι καὶ φαιδροῖς καὶ προσέλθοι τις ἂν καὶ δεηθείη καὶ ἐπαγγείλειεν οὐδὲν ὀκνῶν, τοῖς δὲ πεπλασμένοις καὶ κλυθρωποῖς ὀκνήσειε τις ἂν προσελθεῖν πρῶτον, Men. *Dysc.* 9–10 λελάληκεν ἡδέως ἐν τῷ βίῳ | οὐδεν<ί> (cf. §8), προσηγόρευκε πρότερος δ’ οὐδένα, Ach. Tat. 8.17.5 ἐπεμελεῖτο φθάνειν προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντα, V.2, XV.3. The one who makes the first approach or greeting implicitly acknowledges the superior status of the other; or, at any rate, strives to be polite.<sup>112</sup>

ἐθελ- (attested at I.2, XVI.9; cf. XV.10) not θελ- (V) is the form expected in prose (W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London 1881) 415–16, Wyse on Is. 8.11, Threatte 1.426, 2.637–8, Arnott on Alex. 115.26, id. ‘Orthographical variants’ 197–8, Olson and Sens on Archestr. 22.1–2, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 939–41). Rather than μηδενί for οὐδενί (Darvaris), perhaps οὐδενί <ἄν> (VI.9n.).

**7** καὶ τοὺς πωλοῦντάς τι ἢ μισθουμένους δεινὸς κελεῦσαι ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμ’ ἡμέραι: people who wish to sell (X.7n.) or to hire something (not ‘offer themselves for hire’, Edmonds). μισθουμένους (Coray; I do not know whether Diels is right to attribute it to Stroth) is preferable to μεμισθωμένους (V), which, if taken as middle (‘people who have hired something’), is an unsuitable partner for present πωλοῦντας, if taken (more naturally) as passive (‘who have been hired’), gives unsuitable sense (he has every right to instruct hired hands to come at dawn). ἢ καὶ μισθ- (Diels, after ἢ καὶ μεμ- Ast) is an unconvincing elaboration; μισθοῦντας (Blaydes) is no improvement. For omission of the art. with the second part. see on I.5 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κτλ. For the general idea, Hor. S. 2.3.226–30 (tradesmen summoned at dawn).

**8** καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευόμενος μὴ λαλεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι: cf. Men. *Dysc.* 9 (cited §6), [Arist.] *MM* 1192<sup>b</sup>31–2 (the αὐθάδης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος μηθεὶ ἐντυχεῖν μηδὲ διαλεγῆναι. For λαλεῖν, Introd. Note to VII).

κάτω κεκυφώς: to avoid contact, as Pl. *R.* 555ε ἐγκύψαντες οὐδὲ δοκοῦντες τούτους ὄραν, Amphis 30.6–9 ἔκυψεν . . . κιωπῆι . . . ὡσεὶ ἴπροσέχων δ’ ἴ οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἄκηκοώς κτλ., Plu. 532ε τοῖς δὲ δυσωπουμένοις, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπωσι, ἔξεστιν ὀφρῦν ἐπάρασι μόνον ἢ κάτω κύψαι πολλὰς ἀβουλήτους

<sup>112</sup> Who first greets whom is often prescribed by protocol. There is a nice illustration in G. Psychoundakis (transl. Patrick Leigh Fermor), *The Cretan Runner* (Penguin ed. 1998, 130–1). A disguised British officer, sitting by the roadside, says good-day to a passing Cretan woman, and thereby gives himself away. ‘She knew it’ (says his companion) ‘because, sitting down, we ought not to have wished her good-day before she did . . . It doesn’t matter who speaks first if you are both walking, but otherwise, the one who is on the move must greet first.’

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καὶ ἀτόπους ὑπουργίας διαφεύγειν. A bent head may indicate many other attitudes: grief or dejection (Hdt. 3.14.3 ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν, Ar. fr. 410 ὡς εἰς τὴν γῆν κύψασα κάτω καὶ ξυννεοφυῖα βαδίζει, D. 18.323 στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, Euphro 1.27 ἔκυπτον . . . ἀποβολῆι, Caes. B.G. 1.32.2 *tristis capite demisso terram intueri*, Apul. *Met.* 3.2 *quanquam capite in terram, immo ad ipsos inferos, iam deiecto maestus incederem*), shame (Ar. *Eq.* 1354–5), thought or preoccupation (Ar. *Nu.* 191 with Σ uet., Epicr. 10.21–2), obstinacy and hostility (the image of a bull ready to butt, Ar. *V.* 279, *Ra.* 804, *Ec.* 863), brutishness (Pl. *R.* 586A βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν), modesty (Philem. 4.1–2 οὐκ ἂν λαλῆι τις μικρόν, ἐστὶ κόσμιος, | οὐδ’ ἂν πορευῆται τις εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέπων, [Luc.] *Am.* 44 = *CAF* adesp. 366 Kock). For this verb in T., II.10n. It is used in satyric drama (E. *Cycl.* 212 ἀνακεκύφαμεν), but is not elevated enough for tragedy (hence S. *Ant.* 441 cē δή, cē τὴν νεύουσαν εἰς πέδον κόρα κτλ., where dejection and defiance alike are present). See also Headlam on Herod. 7.79, Arnott on Alex. 16.6, Bremmer in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (edd.), *A Cultural History of Gesture from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge 1991) 19, 22–3.

ὅταν δὲ αὐτῶι δόξῃ ἄνω πάλιν: αὐτῶι rather than αὐτῶι (Needham); I.2n. The verb κύπτειν is readily understood with ἄνω (implying ἀνακύπτειν, as XI.3, XXV.2), and there is no need for ἄνω βλέπων or ἄνω πάλιν <βλέπων> (Kayser).

**9** καὶ ἐστιῶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτὸς μὴ συνδειπνεῖν: cf. X.11, XXX.2, 16; Demetr.Com.Nov. 1.8 ἐστιῶντος τοὺς φίλους.

ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑφ’ αὐτόν τινα συντάξαι αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι: for ὑφ’ αὐτόν, LSJ ὑπὸ c.π., KG 1.525–6; no need for αὐτῶι (Blaydes), as LSJ v.π.2. συντάξαι (again §12) is ‘arrange’, ‘prescribe’, in an unusual construction with dat. and infin. (LSJ π.4), by analogy with προτάξαι and ἐπιτάξαι (the latter proposed here and §12 by Blaydes).

**10** καὶ προαποστέλλειν δέ, ἐπὶ ἀν πορευῆται, τὸν ἑροῦντα ὅτι προσέρχεται: cf. II.8 πορευομένου πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων προδραμῶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “πρὸς cē ἔρχεται”. An expression indicating direction (analogous to πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων) might be expected. Since ἐπὶ ἀν is irreproachable (V.10n.), ἐπὶ ἀν <ποι> πορευῆται (XI.6n.) might be preferred to ἐφ’ ὃν ἂν π- (Bücheler). For τὸν ἑροῦντα, XVIII.2n. For the absolute use of προσέρχεται, XX.4. We do not want “πρὸς cē ἔρχεται” (Darvaris), duplicating II.8.

**11** καὶ οὔτε ἐπ’ ἀλειφόμενον αὐτόν οὔτε λούμενον οὔτε ἐσθίοντα ἔἶσαι ἂν εἰσελθεῖν: he insists on privacy for activities which are commonly performed in the presence of others. If this is personal fastidiousness, it is (because unconventional) deemed to be offensively self-centred or standoffish. Inaccessibility,



when viewed (as it usually was) in political terms, was frowned on, as the mark of an autocrat or one who does not care for popular approval: Hdt. 1.99, Th. 1.130.2, E. *IA* 343–5, Plu. *Nic.* 5.1–2, *Demetr.* 42.1; cf. Σ<sup>b</sup>E. *Med.* 216 πολλοὶ γάρ, φησί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ κεχωρῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ὀμιλεῖν τισὶν ἀλαζόνεσσι καὶ ὑπερήφανοι ἔδοξαν εἶναι. Accessibility marks the democrat: E. *IA* 340–2, X. *Agas.* 9.2, Plu. *Cim.* 10.1, Cic. *Planc.* 66. See A. Wallace-Hadrill, *JRS* 72 (1982) 33–5, εἰσελθεῖν (X.12n.) indicates that he is at home. So he is not avoiding the public baths, like Phocion (Plu. *Phoc.* 4.3), with whom contrast Suet. *Tit.* 8.2, SHA *Hadr.* 17.5.

For οὔτε . . . ἄν ἔξῃαι (infin. restored by Needham not Casaubon, whose ἔξῃαι is opt.), VI.9n. For the place of the prep. ἐπί (in the first limb only), Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 23–4, and epil. VIII n. λούμενον (Meineke before Cobet 1874 and Diels), not λουόμενον (V), is the correct Attic form: Phryn. *eccl.* 159 Fischer (Lobeck, *Phrynichus* 188–9, Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* 274–8), Phot. E 660, Λ 405 (Theodoridis on the latter), Veitch 423–5, KB 2.478, Schwyzer 1.682, LSJ λούω. Cf. XXVIII.4.

12 ἀμέλει δὲ καί: II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

λογιζόμενος πρὸς τινα: ‘reckoning an account with someone’, either reckoning what he owes someone or (more likely) reckoning what someone owes him. For the verb, XIV.2n.; for the preposition (with the verb in a different sense), D. 5.24 πρὸς δὲ τοῦς . . . μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι, and the regular λογίζεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν (KG 1.519, LSJ II.2). For the absence of a defining gen. with πρὸς τινα, XXVIII.3n.

τῶι παιδί συντάξαι τὰς ψήφους διαθεῖναι: διαθεῖναι (Sheppard before Foss 1858) for διωθεῖν (V) is supported by *Met.* 6<sup>a</sup>20 διατιθέντα τινας ψήφους, of arranging pebbles in a pattern (van Raalte (Leiden etc. 1993) *ad loc.*). The expression, here a variation on ψήφους θεῖναι, ‘arrange the pebbles of the abacus’ (XXIII.6n.), belongs under LSJ διατίθημι A.1 (‘arrange each in their several places, distribute’). No other conjecture need be contemplated: διοικεῖν Pauw, διὰ τάχους θεῖναι Darvaris, διαθεῖν Ast, διαθέσθαι Sheppard, διελθεῖν Bücheler, τιθέναι Navarre 1931.

διωθεῖν admits no satisfactory explanation. This verb is much less common in the active than the middle (LSJ II ‘force one’s way through’, ‘push away’, ‘reject’). Theophrastus has middle at *HP* 8.11.8, of a seed which puts out roots and ‘forces a way through’ undergrowth. For the active, LSJ 1.2 cites two examples of the sense ‘thrust through’. With these belong *Vent.* 29 ἐκβιάζεται καὶ διωθεῖ μάλλον ἄθροον (of wind or water forcing a way through a narrow channel; ‘concentrated, it has more thrust’, V. Coutant and V. L. Eichenlaub, *Theophrastus De Ventis* (Notre Dame 1975) 29, rather loosely) and *Sud.* 15 (passive, of secretions forced out from sores). I do not know what to make of *Ign.* 53 ὑφ’ αὐτοῦ γὰρ κινεῖται τὸ πῦρ καὶ μάλλον κινεῖ τὸν ἄερα ἢ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κινεῖται

## XXIV: THE ARROGANT MAN

τῶι διωθεῖν (τῶι ὠθεῖν Wimmer; *u.l.* τὸ ὠθεῖν), as printed by Gercke (1896) and (omitting κινεῖται by oversight) V. Coutant, *Theophrastus De Igne* (Assen 1971), whose translation ('... from the impulse of the air') will not do. Hsch. K 2574 actually has ψήφους διωθεῖν, of pushing votes through the aperture of a voting-urn. This leaves three passages cited by LSJ I.1, where the basic sense is 'push aside', 'push apart'. Common to these is a strong sense of physical violence: H. *Il.* 21.243–4 (πτελέη) ἐκ ῥιζέων ἐριποῦσα | κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσεν (the ash tree, pulled from its roots, 'tore away', 'tore open', the whole bank), E. *Held.* 995–6 διώσας καὶ κατακτείνας ἐμοῦς | ἐχθροῦς (a blend of 'thrust aside' and 'force a way through'),<sup>113</sup> Pl. *Ti.* 67E τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς διεξόδους βίαι διωθοῦσαν καὶ τήκουσαν (of a fiery ray, 'violently pushing apart the passage-ways of the eyes', so as to force a way through; A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford 1928) 482). In the light of these passages, ψήφους διωθεῖν will connote not some innocent and orderly procedure, like moving the pebbles from column to column, nor even moving them with careless haste ('tractare . . . negligenter et raptim' Casaubon), but some (more or less violent) disordering of the counters. Jebb and Ussher devise fantasies of disorder. W. G. Arnott (*CR* 20 (1970) 278–80) rightly demurs. His transposition κεφάλαιον ποιήσαντι τὰς ψήφους διωθεῖν, which has the slave 'scatter' the counters to prevent a check on the calculation, makes our man a swindler, which he is not.

καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσαντι γράψαι αὐτῶι εἰς λόγον: work out a total (XIV.2; cf. XXIII.6) and 'write it for him onto/for an account', a blend of the uses exemplified by (i) LSJ γράφω A.II.1–2 and (ii) KG 2.470 (3), LSJ εἰς v.2. If we keep αὐτῶι, he instructs the slave to write his calculation for the other man, implying that he cannot be troubled to check it himself. This is better than αὐτῶι (Edmonds 1908 before Diels), since to instruct the slave to write the calculation *for him himself* is not obviously discourteous to the other. But αὐτῶι, picking up the vague τινα, from which it is widely separated, is a little awkward. αὐτό (Pauw; not ἄλλο, as Giesecke reports), which reads more naturally, may be right.

**13** καὶ ἐπιτέλλων μὴ γράφειν ὅτι: the introductory part. (VII.8n.) conveys more than 'writing a letter' (Jebb, *al.*); rather 'sending instructions by letter' ('give orders in writing' LSJ). The instructions are framed in peremptory language. This is a different kind of discourtesy from that shown by the αὐθάδης of Ariston, whose letters omit customary civilities: fr. 14, II (p. 36.25–6 Wehrli) γρά[φ]ων ἐπιτολήν τὸ χαίρειν μὴ προγράψαι (προσ- Π) μηδ' ἐρῶσθαι τελευταῖον (Introduction, p. 10). For ὅτι, II.8n.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. (middle) A. fr. 199.8–9 (*TrGF* Sel p. 26) οἶς (*sc.* πέτροις) . . . βαλὼν διώσῃ (Coray: δῶσῃ *ferè* codd.) βαιδίως Λίγυν στρατόν, E. *Herc.* 315 ὅπως διώσῃ τὰς τύχας ('thrust a way through' Bond).

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“Ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ἐὲ ληψόμενος”: cf. ‘Archytas’ ap. D.L. 3.22 (Hercher, *Epist. Gr.* 132) ἀπεστάλκαμεν τοὶ πάντες οἱ Πλάτωνος φίλοι τῶς περὶ Λαμίσκον τε καὶ Φωτίδαν ἀπολαφούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν παρὰ τὴν γενομένην ὁμολογίαν. The compendium in V is not ambiguous, as Diels claims, but signifies (only) nom. -μενος. Since ἀπέσταλκα calls for an object (cf. §10 προαποστέλλειν . . . τὸν ἔροῦντα, XVIII.2 ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσοντα), we must either attribute the lack of object to the shorthand style and his self-centredness or write ληψόμενον (Ast, but implied by Casaubon’s translation ‘misi ad te qui sumeret’) or ληψομένους (Foss 1858), preferably the latter (cf. X. *Cyr.* 3.1.2 κατασκευομένους ἔπεμπε, *An.* 1.3.14 πέμψαι . . . προκαταληψομένους, KG 1.609, 2.86 (5); XVIII.2n.). Not ἐπέσταλκα (Ussher), which should be present not perfect.

“Ὅπως ἄλλως μὴ ἔσται”: KG 2.376 Anmerk. 6, LSJ ὅπως A.III.8

“Τὴν ταχίστην”: KG 1.313 Anmerk. 12, LSJ ταχύς C.II.3; XXII.9n.

## XXV

## THE COWARD

## Introductory note

For Aristotle, courage (ἀνδρεία) is the mean between fear and confidence (θάρρος), and cowardice is an excess of fear and a deficiency of confidence (*EN* 1107<sup>b</sup>1–4; cf. 1115<sup>b</sup>33–16<sup>a</sup>1, *EE* 1220<sup>b</sup>39). While the courageous man fears the right things in the right manner at the right time (*EN* 1115<sup>b</sup>17–18 ἄ δεῖ . . . καὶ ὡς δεῖ καὶ ὅτε), the coward fears the wrong things in the wrong manner at the wrong time (*EN* 1115<sup>b</sup>34–5, *EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>18–19). The coward fears everything, the rash man (θρασύς) nothing (*EN* 1104<sup>a</sup>20–2, 1116<sup>a</sup>3). A comparable formulation is imputed to Theophrastus (fr. 449A Fortenbaugh) by Arius Didymus ap. Stob. 2.7.20 (2.141.14–16 Wachsmuth): ἀνδρεῖον (sc. εἶναι) . . . οὔτε τὸν μηδὲν φοβούμενον . . . οὔτε τὸν πάντα.

The sketch is unusual in form. It falls into two parts: the first shows the Coward at sea, the second shows him on the battlefield. The first part has a structure resembling the other sketches: a series of illustrations, loosely linked. The much longer second part, uniquely, has the form of a single, coherent, developing narrative, a story of a Coward's behaviour in battle. This Coward, like Falstaff, holds that the better part of valour is discretion, and masks his inaction with a tale of pretended courage. Aristotle observes that courage and fear are nowhere more clearly displayed than in war and at sea (*EN* 1115<sup>a</sup>34<sup>b</sup>1).

## [1] Definition

Ἀμέλει δέ: Π.9η.

δόξειεν <ἄν> εἶναι: def. I n. Cf. Torraca (1994b) 610.

ὑπείξις τις ψυχῆς ἔμφοβος: 'a terrified giving-way of the mind' is a vapid expression. ὑπείξις was perhaps suggested by [Pl.] *Def.* 412D κομιότης ὑπείξις ἐκουσία πρὸς τὸ φανὲν βέλτιστον (Ingenkamp 48), and ψυχῆς and ἔμφοβος by *Def.* 412A ἀνδρεία ἔξις ψυχῆς ἀκίνητος ὑπὸ φόβου (Ingenkamp 34–5; cf. [Arist.] *VV* 1251<sup>a</sup>10–11 δειλία δέ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων φόβων εὐκίνητον εἶναι). ὑπείξις is otherwise rare: figurative 'compliance', Pl. *Lg.* 727A ἢ τις λόγοις ἢ δώροισι αὐτὴν (sc. ψυχὴν) ἀΰξειν ἢ τις ὑπείξεσιν, Plu. 483F, 751D; literal 'giving-ground', Pl. *Lg.* 815A. ἔμφοβος is found once in classical Greek (S. *OC* 39, active 'terrifying'), but is common with passive sense (inadequately documented by LSJ π) in post-classical writers (the earliest example may be Phld. *Rh.* 2.150 fr. via Sudhaus π]ρὸς τὴν . . . δυσφη[μίαν ἐμ]φόβως διακεῖ[σθαι]). There is no call for ἐν φόβῳ or -οις (Edmonds 1908) or ἐκ φόβου

## COMMENTARY

(Navarre 1918). For τις, def. I n.; ψυχῆς without art. (τῆς for τις c, τις <τῆς> Ast), def. XIV, XXVIII. See also Stein 248–9.

**2 πλέων:** ‘while sailing’ sets the first scene (VII.8n.), before we move on to the second scene, introduced at §3 by στρατευόμενος.

**τὰς ἄκρας φάσκειν ἡμιολίας εἶναι:** the Persians, retreating after Salamis, were victims of a similar delusion: Hdt. 8.107.2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστῆρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτηι, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν. Cf. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* V.i.21–2 ‘Or in the night, imagining some fear, / How easy is a bush suppos’d a bear’.

The word ἡμιολία is first attested here and, without qualification, suggests pirate ship. There were ἡμιόλιαι ληιστρικαί among the ships of Aristonicus, tyrant of Methymna, in 332/1 BC (Arr. *An.* 3.2.4). ἡμιόλιαι were used for raiding by Phalaecus of Phocis c. 346 BC (D.S. 16.61.4) and by Agathocles of Syracuse c. 315 BC (D.S. 19.65.2). They were also used by Alexander on the Hydaspes and Indus (Arr. *An.* 6.1.1, 6.18.3). The word is fully documented by C. Blinkenberg, ‘Triemiolia’, *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser* 2.3 = *Lindiaka* 7 (Copenhagen 1938).

It is disputed whether the name (‘one and a half-er’, sc. ναῦς) alludes to (i) one and a half banks of oars, or (ii) one and a half files of oarsmen. The former is argued by L. Casson, *JHS* 78 (1958) 14–18 with Plates v–vi, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 128–32 with Figs. 81–2, 117, and *The Ancient Mariners* (Princeton<sup>2</sup> 1991) 78 with Plates 24–5. Casson identifies the ἡμιολία with a ship pictured in a scene of pursuit on an Attic black-figured cup dated c. 540 BC. By an imaginative deduction from this scene, he infers that the ἡμιολία was designed as a light, fast, two-banked pirate ship, so constructed that, when the quarry, pursued by sail and oar, was overtaken, half the rowers in the upper bank, between mast and stern, were able to secure their oars and leave their benches, stow the sail and lower the mast in the space vacated, and then stand ready as a boarding party. This was accepted by J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322 BC* (Cambridge 1968) 109, 245–6. The alternative (in which the ship is single-banked, with half the oars on each side manned by two oarsmen, half by one) is argued by J. S. Morrison, *IJNA* 9 (1980) 121–6, who is answered by Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (<sup>2</sup>1986) 445–6, who is answered in turn by Morrison, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships* (Oxford 1996) 262.<sup>114</sup> On piracy, in general, see A. H. Jackson, ‘Privateers in the ancient

<sup>114</sup> The anonymous fr. cited by *EM* 430.39–41 (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρπάξεις καὶ ἀελογαίνεις ὥσπερ ἐκ Καραϊκῆς ἡμιολίας ἀποστειπηθῆκώς καὶ ταῦτα υἱὸς ἀνδρὸς αἰεὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν βωόντος), which Morrison (1996) takes to be from an Attic

Greek world', in M. R. D. Foot (ed.), *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J. R. Western 1928–1971* (London 1973) 241–53, W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* (Berkeley etc. 1991) 312–63, P. de Souza, 'Greek Piracy', in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London and New York 1995) 179–98, id. *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1999).

καὶ κλύδωνος γενομένου ἔρωτᾶν εἴ τις μὴ μεμύηται τῶν πλεόντων: a mystery cult, centred on Samothrace but widely spread throughout the Greek world, promised safety on the sea to initiates. The cult was devoted to deities called locally θεοὶ μεγάλοι, generally called Κάβειροι in literary sources. They first intervened on behalf of the Argonauts, in answer to a prayer by Orpheus, who had been initiated into their mysteries (D.S. 4.43.1–2, 48.6). Prayer to them during storms is mentioned by Alex. 183.4–6 (Arnott *ad loc.*), *PCG* adesp. 1063.15–16 (Men. *fab. inc.* 1 (ii) 15–16 Arnott), Call. *Epigr.* 47 Pfeiffer = Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1175–8 (1177n.). Initiation is specifically referred to in Ar. *Pax* 277–8 ἄλλ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐν Καμοθράικῃ τυγχάνει | μεμυημένος, νῦν ἔστιν εὖξασθαι καλόν (Olson *ad loc.*), D.S. 5.49.5–6, Σ A.R. 1.918 (cf. *PCG* adesp. 1146.21–2). See further B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala 1950), S. G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden 1984), Burkert, *Greek Religion* 283–4, D. Vollkommer-Glökler, 'Megaloi Theoi', *LIMC* 8 (1997) 1.820–8, F. Graf, 'Kabeiroi', *DNP* 6 (1999) 123–7. Just as it is dangerous for the irreligious to go to sea (Lys. 6.19) and dangerous for others to sail with them (A. *Th.* 602–4, E. *El.* 1355, fr. 852, Antipho 5.82–3, X. *Cyr.* 8.1.25, Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.26–9; cf. Pease on Cic. *N.D.* 3.89, Parker, *Miasma* 9), so here (the Coward farcically implies) a single non-initiate will endanger the boat. Deletion of μὴ (Blaydes) destroys this point. <συμ>πλεόντων (Cobet 1874) is an unnecessary embellishment.

καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἀνακύπτων ἄμα πυνθάνεσθαι: 'raising his head' (XI.3), as opposed to κάτω κεκυφώς (XXIV.8). This probably implies 'looking up', as E. *Cycl.* 212–13 πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Δί' ἀνακεκύφαμεν | καὶ τάτρα καὶ τὸν ὤριωνα δέρκομαι, Pl. *R.* 529b ἐν ὄροφῇ ποικίλματα θεώμενος ἀνακύπτων, [Arist.] *Pr.* 963<sup>a</sup>8 ἀνακύπτομεν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, Luc. *Dom.* 2 πρὸς τὴν ὄροφὴν ἀνακύψαι, *Icar.* 4 ἀνακύπτειν τε καὶ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἀποβλέπειν. It is unlikely that he is raising his head merely to look up at the helmsman (XXII.5n.), who sits higher than he (Ilberg, *al.*). More likely he is looking up at the sky to check the weather, about which he will soon question the helmsman (Navarre). The alternative interpretation 'popping up' (Rusten, *al.*) is less satisfactory. It obliges us to ask where he is popping up from, an unwelcome question, with

orator, is identified by K. Alpers, 'Zwischen Athen, Abdera und Samos. Fragmente eines unbekanntenen Romans aus der Zeit der Zweiten Sophistik', in M. Billerbeck and J. Schamp (edd.), *Kainotomia: Die Erneuerung der griechischen Tradition* (Freiburg Schweiz 1996) 19–55 (p. 34 on this fr.).

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no obvious answer: ἀνακύπτοντος (Ussing), whether taken as ‘peeping out’ to get a better view (Ussing) or ‘raising his head’ to observe the stars (Wilamowitz 1902b), is not an improvement. And ἀνακόπτοντος (c, with αἰθάνεσθαι for μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι) has no meaning appropriate here (at Arat. 346–7 πᾶς ἀνακόπτει | νῆα it is applied to rowers who ‘reverse the boat’ by backing water).

ἄμα, placed between part. and infin. (XIX.5n.) and strengthening the logical connection between them (he questions the helmsman *while* keeping his eye on the weather), is a speculative emendation for μὲν (V), which is not defended by IV.10, XXII.2 (both corrupt). Emendation is preferable to deletion (Schneider), since there was no motive for interpolation. ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι (Navarre 1920) does not appeal.

εἰ μεσοπορεῖ: in his anxiety for the voyage to be over he asks if they are half-way. The verb is found first here and Men. fr. 587 (the use there was censured by Phryn. *Ecl.* 392, 394 Fischer, but context and sense are unknown), thereafter (‘be in mid-voyage’) D.S. 18.34.1, App. *BC* 2.88, (figurative) LXX *Sí.* 34(31).21, Dsc. 1.109.1, Σ Pi. *N.* 4.58b; cf. Luc. *DMort.* 21.2 κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον. The verb could mean ‘be in mid-ocean’: cf. E. *Ion* 1152 μεσοπόρου δι’ αἰθέρος ‘in mid-air’, Opp. *H.* 5.46 μεσοπόροις . . . πελάγεσσι (LSJ Rev. Suppl. μεσοπόρος), perhaps Ael. *NA* 2.15 τεμνούσας . . . μέσον τὸν πόρον τὰς ναῦς (reminiscent of H. *Od.* 3.174–5 πέλαγος μέσον . . . τέμνειν). And some take him to be asking if they are in the open sea (mid-ocean), as opposed to near the coast, either because he fears the coast with its dangerous shallows (Casaubon) or because he fears the open sea in bad weather (Ilberg). But he can see for himself whether or not they are near the coast. No more plausible is the interpretation ‘sail mid-way (between the shallows)’, i.e. ‘keep to the proper channel’ (Edmonds and Austen).

καὶ τί αὐτῶι δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. VIII.9 τὸ τῆς τύχης. For ὁ θεός of natural phenomena, XIV.12n., LSJ 1.1.d (add Ar. *Pax* 1141, *V.* 261, X. *Oec.* 17.2, 4); here Zeus, as weather-god, not Poseidon (Pauw). This use indicates not so much ‘special reverence’ (Jebb) as the conventional piety of popular speech.

καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακαθήμενον λέγειν ὅτι φοβεῖται ἀπὸ ἐνυπνίου τινός: cf. XVI.11, Men. fr. 844.10–11 ἄν ἴδῃ τις ἐνύπνιον, σφόδρα | φοβοῦμεθ’.

καὶ ἐκδύς διδόναι τῶι παιδι τὸν χιτωνίσκον: the χιτωνίσκος (XIX.6n.) will be harder to get out of if he has to swim than the loosely-draped ἱμάτιον worn over it. So he takes it off now as a precaution and gives it to his slave to look after. The implication is that he strips bare. Cf. D. 21.216 θοιμάτιον προέσθαι καὶ μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῶι χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι.

καὶ δεῖσθαι πρὸς τῆν γῆν προσάγειν αὐτόν: the object of δεῖσθαι is not expressed, because what he says (‘Get me to land’) does not have to be addressed to anyone in particular. There is no need for αὐτοῦ (Hanow 1860) or transposition of this clause (with αὐτόν V retained) after θεοῦ (Hanow 1861).

3 καὶ στρατευόμενος <τοῦ> πεζοῦ ἐκβοηθούντος †τε† προσκαλεῖν: ‘when he is on military service’ introduces the second scene (see on §2 πλέων). The article is needed (*‘the infantry’*, not *‘infantry’* in general). The choice is between <τοῦ> πεζοῦ ἐκβ- (Wilamowitz 1902b) and ἐκβ- τοῦ πεζοῦ (Petersen). With the former, τε may be a vestige of the object which is needed for προσκαλεῖν. With the latter, it may be a corruption of τοῦ (cf. X.3 τὰς αc: τε AB). None of the objects suggested imposes itself: <τοὺς θαρραλεωτέρους> Ribbeck 1870, <πολλούς> or <ὡς πλείστους> or <τοὺς δημότας> Ilberg, τινας (for τε) Holland 1897, <τινάς> τε Fraenkel and Groeneboom, <τοὺς φίλους> Sitzler, <πάντας> Immisch 1923, <τοὺς συκκίτους> Edmonds 1929 (X.3n.). Nor does any conjecture with πεζῆ (V<sup>s</sup>) appeal: πεζῆ <τοὺς> ἐκβοηθούντας Schneider (ἐκβοηθούντας τε reported from V by Siebenkees; <τοὺς> ἐκβοηθούντας τε Ussing, Jebb), ἐκβοηθούντας ἱππέας Meier 1842, ἐκβοηθούντων Hartung. There is little likelihood in τε (only II.4, XIII.10). <οἶος> τε (Stark) is unthinkable.

κελεύων πρὸς αὐτὸν στάντας πρῶτον περιδεῖν: for πρὸς with a verb ‘implying previous motion’, LSJ c.1.2, KG 1.543–4. This construction is clumsily eliminated in c by rewriting (στρατευόμενος δὲ προσκαλεῖν πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ στάντας), and nothing should be founded on that (πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύων στάντας Edmonds 1929, πάντας κελεύων πρὸς αὐτὸν καταστάντας Stark, π- κ- πρὸς αὐτὸν στάντας Rusten).

περιδεῖν is not ‘take a look round’ (LSJ 1.2, citing only this passage) but ‘wait and see’. In this sense, the active verb takes an object at Th. 4.71.1 τὸ μέλλον περιδεῖν, Isoc. 9.30 περιδεῖν εἴ τινες αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθήσουσιν (LSJ III.2), and the middle is used absolutely at Th. 6.93.1, 103.2, 7.33.2 (LSJ v.1). Hence περιδέσθαι Wilamowitz 1902b. Cf. Ter. *Eu.* 788–9 *mane: | omnia prius experiri quam armis sapientem decet.*

καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἔργον διαγνώσθαι [ἔστι] πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ πολέμοιοι: ‘it is difficult’ (epil. III n.), not ‘their task is’ (Rusten). Since ἔστι would be abnormally placed, and is regularly absent in this idiom (epil. III, *HP* 4.10.5, X. *Cyr.* 3.3.27, *HG* 6.1.19, D. 15.34, 25.47, 59.91, Arist. *EN* 1109<sup>a</sup>25, *HA* 574<sup>b</sup>16–17, *Rh.* 1407<sup>b</sup>14, *Pol.* 1266<sup>b</sup>13, 1286<sup>a</sup>35, Men. *Dysc.* 905, *Karch.* 7, *Sic.* 410, *Diph.* 100, Posidipp. 21), it is less plausibly transposed (ἔργον ἐστὶ διαγνώσθαι Darvaris) than deleted. Cf. H. *Il.* 5.85 Τυδείδην δ’ οὐκ ἄν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετεῖη.

4 εἴπας . . . τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὴν κηνήν, τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας . . . ἀποκρύψαι . . . , εἴτα διατρίβειν: εἴπας is, in itself, no less plausible than εἰπεῖν (c) as a correction of εἴπε (V, ου s.l.); for this form, rather than εἰπών (Foss 1858), V.2n. And the part. gives the sentence a much better balance than the infinitive. The first two clauses have a similar structure: part. (εἴπας and ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας), dependent clause (ὅτι κτλ. and ποῦ κτλ.), infin. (τρέχειν and ἀποκρύψαι). Then εἴτα διατρίβειν κτλ. completes the tricolon; and



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since εἴτα is not strictly connective the tricolon may be considered asyndetic (V.10n.). There is no need to eliminate the asyndeton with <καί> τὸν παῖδα (J. M. Gesner). The sequence of present and aorist participles ἀκούων . . . καὶ ὄρων . . . εἶπας is comparable to ὄρων . . . προσδραμών at §5 (XXX.8n.). With εἰπεῖν, we would have (before εἴτα διατρίβειν) not two well-balanced but three ill-balanced clauses in asyndeton: a long and complex clause introduced by infin. (εἰπεῖν . . . ἐπελάθετο), a brief and simple clause introduced by infin. (τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν), a third clause, long and complex, introduced not by infin. but by part. (τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας κτλ.). Contrast the simpler and more balanced asyndetic clauses at VI.6, XIX.5. Further, with three initial clauses, αὐτήν in the third refers to σπάθην in the first; with two, σπάθην is (much more naturally) in the clause which precedes. The asyndeton is crudely eliminated in part by c: <καί> τρέχειν ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας κελεύειν . . . <καί> ἀποκρῦψαι. It is misguided to adopt κελεύειν for καὶ κελεύσας (Rusten silently), since the corruption is unaccountable and there is no offence in the paired participles ἐκπέμψας καὶ κελεύσας (§5 προσδραμών καὶ . . . κελεύσας, IX.8n.). For the same reason, we do not need κελεύων (Casaubon for κελεύειν in c, Edmonds 1929 for καὶ κελεύσας) or ἐκπέμψαι κελεύων (Darvaris).

τὴν σπάθην λαβεῖν: the noun, used of various implements with a broad blade, is applied to a sword-blade in Alc. 357.7LP (D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 218–19) and E. fr. 373.2 (satyric) σπάθη . . . φαγάνου; thereafter, in the sense ‘sword’, it appears only in New Comedy (Philem. 73, Men. *Mis.* 429 Arnott (29 Sandbach), 578 (178), 677 (276), fr. 6 Arnott, Sandbach (12 Koerte), *Pk.* 355, *Sam.* 659, 660, 687, 720), where it possibly denotes the long sword introduced by Iphicrates at the beginning of the 4th cent. (D.S. 15.44.3 τὰ . . . ξίφη χηδὸν διπλάσια κατεκεύασεν), and then in writers of the Roman period (D.S. 5.30.3, 7.7.1, Parth. 24.1, Arr. *Tact.* 4.6, *al.*, Polyæn. 2.27.1, Luc. *DMeretr.* 13.1, 3). Whence Latin *spatha*, Italian *spada*, French *épée*.

τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας: VIII.4n.

ἀποκρῦψαι αὐτήν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον: either ‘pillow’ or ‘cushion’ (II.11n.). πρὸς (V) is an error of anticipation before προσκεφάλαιον (see on IV.13 περιών). ὑπὸ (Casaubon: πρὸς V) is reported from Mutin. (26 Wilson) by Torraca (1994b) 611.

5 καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ὄρων τραυματίαν τινὰ προσφερόμενον τῶν φίλων: ‘while in the tent’, with ellipse of ὦν, comparable to Th. 3.112.3 εἶτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ‘while still in bed’ (cf. 4.32.1; KG 2.101–3). But the expression recurs below (if καθήμενος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ is genuine), and it could be deleted here without loss (Herwerden). Alternatively, ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς (contemplated by Ussing, before Edmonds 1929). With the transposition ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ· καὶ (Coray), the expression, if taken with ὡς ζητῶν, is redundant, since it is obvious that he is searching in the tent; if with διατρίβειν (Foss 1835), less redundant but against

the natural order. Deletion of ἐν (Hartung) leaves the dat. awkwardly waiting to receive its construction from προσφερόμενον.

προσδραμών καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας ὑπολαβῶν φέρειν: he orders the wounded man to be of good courage, the quality which he himself lacks. ὑπολαβῶν is either ‘taking on his back’ (Hdt. 1.24.6, Pl. *R.* 453D, the dolphin and Arion) or ‘supporting’ (Pl. *Smp.* 212D, a woman helping a drunkard). For the relationships between the participles, IX.8n.

καὶ τοῦτον θεραπεύειν καὶ περιπογγίζειν: the latter verb is sometimes taken as ‘sponge around’, as Hp. *Morb.* 2.13 (7.24 Littré) περιπογγίζειν καὶ μὴ βρέχειν, ‘to sponge around and not wet’ (the wound), i.e. to cleanse the area around the wound with water, but not the wound itself, which would be cleansed with wine, because wine has antiseptic properties (Hp. *Ulc.* 1 (6.400) ἔλκεα ξύμπαντα οὐ χρὴ τέγγειν πλὴν οἴνωι, Luke 10.34). But here, where the object is not the wound but the wounded man, it probably means ‘sponge all over’, as e.g. Gal. 13.357 Kühn (of feet), Orib. 46.19.18 (*CMG* VI 2,1 p. 226) (head). Cf. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 143 n. 5.

καὶ παρακαθήμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλκουσ τὰς μύιας σοβεῖν: cf. μυιοσόβη ‘fly-whisk’ (Men. fr. 395.2, Anaxipp. 7, Ael. *NA* 15.14); H. *Il.* 4.130–1 ὥς ὅτε μήτηρ | παιδὸς ἔεργηι μύϊαν, Mart. 3.82.12 *fugatque muscas myrtea puer uirga*; M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (London 1986) 150–5.

καὶ πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις: for πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ, Hdt. 4.162.4, 7.38.2, Pl. *Plt.* 296B, *R.* 420D, 516E, *Ti.* 37C; LSJ πᾶς D.III.2. No need for πάντα (Meineke).

**6** καὶ τοῦ αλπικτοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημήναντος: cf. X. *An.* 4.3.29 ἐπειδὴν . . . ὁ αλπικτικῆς (-γκτικῆς codd.) σημήνηι τὸ πολεμικόν. For trumpets, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1240–1; for the spelling αλπικτοῦ (not -ιcτοῦ V), Threatte 1.574.

καθήμενος ἐν τῇ κηνῆι: deleted by Herwerden as repeating ἐν τῇ κηνῆι and παρακαθήμενος.

<εἰπεῖν> “Ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας· οὐκ ἑάσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὕπνου λαχεῖν πυκνὰ σημαίνων”: <εἰπεῖν> was added by Pauw before Schneider; alternatively <φῆσαι> (Sitzler). A verb of speech is indispensable (see on VIII.2 ἐπιβαλεῖν κτλ.). But it might be placed later: “Ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας” <εἰπεῖν>· “οὐκ . . .”. Cf. XVII.6, 9.

ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας recurs in Men. *Dysc.* 432, *Ph.* 396. ἄπαγε (intrans.) is found with similar expressions (ἐς μακαρίαν Ar. *Eq.* 1151, εἰς τὸ βάραθρον Men. *Dysc.* 394, 575, ἐς τὸν φθόρον Epich. 154) and on its own (Ar. *Pax* 1053, E. *Ph.* [1733], D. 22.26, Men. *Dysc.* 920, *PCG* adesp. 1006.12). For ἐς κόρακας, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 19; for the orthography (ἐς not εἰς), Gomme and Sandbach on *Dysc.* 432, Arnott on Alex. 99.5. Since ἄπαγε is addressed to the trumpeter, it is more natural to continue with a second-person address to him (ἑάσεις) than with a third-person statement about him (ἑάσει V). For such a continuation in

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the second person (after ἐκ κόρακας), *Ar. Nu.* 646, 871, *Men. Epit.* 160, *Pherecr.* 76.5.

In place of ὕπνου λαβεῖν (V), with an unbelievable partitive gen., the choice is between ὕπνου λαχεῖν (F. L. Abresch, *Lectionum Aristaeonaeorum Libri Duo* (Zwoll 1749) 183, Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 362), before Cobet 1858) and ὕπνον λαβεῖν (Dobree before Blaydes, who, like Eberhard 1865, wrongly attributes it to Cobet 1858, who explicitly repudiated it). For the latter (in which ὕπνον is subject, ἄνθρωπον object, of λαβεῖν), *VII.10n.* For ὕπνου λαχεῖν, *Hdt.* 3.130.3, *Pl. Ig.* 791A, *X. Cyr.* 3.1.24, *Hier.* 6.9, *Luc. Cyn.* 9; cf. *Cratin.* 233 ὕπνου λ- μέρος, *X. An.* 3.1.11 μικρὸν ὕπνου λ-, also *XVIII.4* ὕπνου τυγχάνειν. The corruption of λαχεῖν to λαβεῖν (λαχ- and λαβ- are variants in *S. Ai.* 825, *E. Ion* 1295) is likelier than that of ὕπνον to ὕπνου. Further, the sentence reads more naturally with ἄνθρωπον than with ὕπνον as the object of οὐκ ἔάσεις. With the whole expression cf. *Ar. Ach.* 713 τοὺς γέροντας οὐκ ἔαθ' ὕπνου τυχεῖν.

**7** καὶ διηγείσθαι ὡς κινδυνεύσας “Ἐνα céσωκα τῶν φίλων”: διηγείσθαι introduces direct speech, and ὡς κινδυνεύσας is like §4 ὡς ζητῶν (cf. *II.4*, *XVII.8*, 9, *XIX.8*). Elsewhere διηγείσθαι introduces indirect speech and is followed by ὡς or ὅτι (*XXI.11n.*). Hence ὡς κινδυνεύσας ἔνα céσωκε . . . (Casaubon, Cobet 1874). Alternatively, since ὡς introduces direct speech at *XXVI.4* and *XXIX.5*, ὡς “Κινδυνεύσας ἔνα céσωκα . . .” (Schneider 1818). But ὡς taken with κινδυνεύσας conveys exactly the right note of pretence. If direct speech without introduction is offensive, we could write <ὀτι> “Ἐνα . . .” (*II.8n.*). To claim, as an argument against admitting direct speech here, that διηγείσθαι implies something lengthier than a speech of four words, is unsafe, in view of *XI.9*.

**8** καὶ εἰσάγειν πρὸς τὸν κατακείμενον σκεψομένους: τὸν κατακείμενον is ‘the man who lies (ill) in bed’, ‘the patient’ (*Hdt.* 3.29.3, 7.229.1, *LSJ* κατάκειμαι 4). Latin *cubare* and *iacere* are similarly used. They are to ‘take a look at’ him, ‘inspect’ him (*LSJ* κέπτομαι 1). There is no need for <ἐπι>σκεψομένους (Cobet 1874), ‘visit the sick bed’ (*LSJ* ἐπισκοπέω 1.2).

τοὺς δημότας, <τοὺς φράτερας>, τοὺς φυλέτας: since a pair of items in asyndeton is much less regular and natural than a tricolon (*J. D. Denniston, Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1952) 105, *MacDowell* on *D.* 21.81) and T. has several asyndetic tricola (*V.10n.*), I add a noun which regularly appears in partnership with each of the other two nouns.

δημόται and φυλέται are commonly paired: e.g. *Arist. EN* 1160<sup>a</sup> 18 φυλέται καὶ δημόται, *Aeschin.* 3.44, 45 (also in the order δημ- καὶ φυλ- 3.45), *Isoc.* 12.145. As well as belonging to deme and tribe, every Athenian belonged to a third group, the phratry. φράτερες are commonly mentioned alongside δημόται: *Is.* 2.16 τοὺς φράτερας . . . καὶ τοὺς δημότας (cf. 14, 17, 45, 6.10, 9.8,

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D. 43.36, 44.44, 57.24, 40, 46, 69, 59.13, 122, Cratin.Iun. 9.3), Is. 6.64 τοὺς δ- καὶ τοὺς φ- (cf. D. 44.44, 57.19, D.Chr. 2.63). Alongside φυλέται: Arist. *Pol.* 1262<sup>a</sup>12 φράτερα φυλέτην, Plu. *Pel.* 18.3 φυλέτας . . . φυλετῶν καὶ φρατέρων <φράτερας> οὐ πολλὸν λόγον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς (reflecting H. *Il.* 2.362–3 κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον, | ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγηι, φύλα δὲ φύλοις), Luc. *Merc.Cond.* 24 φυλέταις καὶ φράτεροι. All three together: Luc. *Tim.* 43 φυλέται . . . καὶ φράτερες καὶ δημόται, Poll. 3.51 φυλέτης δημότης φράτρη.

The Athenian army was composed of units of men from the same φυλή (Th. 6.98.4, 6.101.5, Lys. 13.79, 16.15, Is. 2.42, X. *HG* 4.2.19, 21, *Eq.Mag.* 2.5, Plu. *Arist.* 5.4, *Cim.* 17.4; Hornblower on Th. 2.34.3). The φυλαί, of which there were ten, were constituted from the δῆμοι, of which there were 139 (Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 16–23). Fellow demesmen will often have served together on campaign: cf. Lys. 16.14, 20.13, 31.15, Is. 2.42; R. G. Osborne, *Demos* (Cambridge 1985) 42, Whitehead 224–6. But, since a deme might have as few as 100–200 members (X.11 n.), the number of demesmen on service in the same infantry unit at one and the same time may not have been large. The number of the phratries (hence the number of their members) is indeterminate: perhaps at least 30, but probably fewer (and so with more members) than the demes (S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor 1993) 18–20, id. 'Phratries', *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 1176, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 107, N. F. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens* (New York and Oxford 1999) 200). Membership of deme and phratry sometimes overlapped (Whitehead 31, Parker 105, Jones 212). If the number of φράτερες in the unit is likely to have exceeded the number of δημόται to a significant degree, then <τοὺς φράτερας> is most naturally placed second in the list, so that there will be a progressive increase in numbers. But, since the numbers are so uncertain and may be quite small, I have limited faith in this argument. And when φράτερες and δημόται are mentioned together (see the list above), the commoner order is φράτερες before δημόται. So <τοὺς φράτερας> might equally well be placed first. At all events, δημόται and φράτερες must stand side by side. For, while all members of the same deme (and possibly all members of the same phratry) are members of the same tribe, not all members of the same tribe are members of the same deme or phratry. The Coward proceeds from δημόται and φράτερες (or φράτερες and δημόται) to φυλέται, from the smaller groups to the whole tribe, as rhetoric and enthusiasm carry him away. Each of these groups individually would be a natural object of address for him (Parker 107). He might even, in peace, be obliged to invite one of them to dinner: δημόται (X.11 n.), φράτερες (XXX.16n.), φυλέται (X.11 n.). The comedy lies in his linking all three, with extravagant expansiveness, in a communal invitation to see the charade inside his tent. The right spelling is not φράτορας (V at XXX.16) but φράτερας (XXX.16n.).

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Other suggestions: to link the two nouns with *καί* (τοὺς φυλέτας <καί> τὸν δῆμον J. M. Gesner (τοὺς φ- τὸν δῆμον ε); τοὺς δημότας <καί> φυλέτας Siebenkees as if from V; better τοὺς δ- <καί> τοὺς φ-), possible but crude; to delete τοὺς δημότας (Hanow 1861 before Diels), implausible, since there was no motive for interpolation.

*καὶ τούτων ἅμ' ἐκάστωι διηγείσθαι*: 'and at the same time (as he invites them in) explain to each of them', with *καὶ . . . ἅμα . . . διηγείσθαι* taken together (cf. XXVII.13). Not ἅμα with τούτων ἐκάστωι, 'and explain to each one of these at the same time' (as opposed to individually), since the tent would not accommodate a whole unit.

*ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ κηνήν ἐκόμιεν*: cf. IX.8 αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ, XXVII.15 αὐτὸς αὐτῶι, KG I.560–1. The interposed αὐτὸν creates a comic polyptoton. For the form ἑαυτ-, I.2n. No need for ἐπὶ <τήν> κηνήν (Coray before Ast; reported from Mutin. (26 Wilson) by Torraca (1994b) 611); IV.2n.

*P. Oxy.* 699 has an abbreviated version of the opening of XXVI, and a few words from the end of XXV, which also suggest abbreviation. The edd. pr. read and supplemented κ]αὶ λέγειν π[. . . . . | α]ὐτὸν ὡς[αε ἐπὶ κην|]ήν. At beginning, ]αὶ very uncertain: low speck perhaps from bottom of a vertical, speck at mid height, vertical sloping down to left (the slope more pronounced than is normal for ι). Then λέγειν almost certain; π[ and α]υτον certain. After ὡς a high speck. π[ὡς αὐτὸς α]ὐτὸν ὡς[ειεν Diels (ὡς[αι Edmonds 1910). π[ὡς ἐκόμιεν | α]ὐτὸν ὡςα[ε is conceivable.

# XXVI

## THE OLIGARCHIC MAN

### Introductory note

The Oligarchic Man is a dandy and a snob (§4) and an unashamed boor (§2). He grumbles conspiratorially to fellow oligarchs (§3), or descants in public at midday, when most people are indoors, against the institutional vices of democracy, such as sycophants, law-courts, liturgies, and demagogues (§4–§5). He intervenes only once in public debate, to parrot inappropriate oligarchic slogans (§2). He is a blustering ineffectual figure, not to be taken seriously.

Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries alternated long periods of democracy with short periods of oligarchy. Theophrastus lived through two periods of oligarchic government: under Phocion (322–318) and under Demetrius of Phaleron (317–307). But the period before then, between the oligarchic revolutions at the end of the fifth century and 322, was one of exceptionally stable democracy, when ‘no one can justly be labelled oligarchic’.<sup>115</sup> A few might aspire to that name. ‘The language of Demosthenes [15.17–21] suggests that no one who sought advancement in Athenian politics would dare to call himself an oligarch. The word was used of some amusing eccentrics who took no part in public life [T. *Char.* 26]. Such people were often young men, who gave themselves bold names and worked off their high spirits by brawling; sometimes they wore Spartan cloaks, and it was said that they would give false evidence in court to defend one another [D. 54.14–37]. . . . Clearly such people . . . were harmless, because they had no influence and did not belong to the circle of practical politicians.’<sup>116</sup>

This hits off Theophrastus’s Oligarchic Man, and it is reasonable to regard him as belonging to the period before 322. See the Introduction, pp. 32–6.

### [1] Definition

δόξειεν δ’ ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία <προαίρεσις> τις ἰσχύος καὶ κέρδους γλιχομένη: V is lacunose, and Π is defective where it is needed. The edd. pr. read | η ολι|γ[αρχ]ία εστ[ιν φιλαρχ]ι | α] τις ἰσχυος ![ . . . . . | γ]λιχομενη. The previous line is vacant after | ν]ην. The new sketch is unlikely to have begun at the (missing) end of that line. For, if it did, we should have to suppose that the line-division was (most artificially) (ἡ δὲ) ο | λι|γ[αρχ]ία. It will have begun

<sup>115</sup> P. J. Rhodes, *LCM* 3 (1978) 208.

<sup>116</sup> R. Sealey, *JHS* 75 (1955) 81 = *Essays in Greek Politics* (New York 1967) 177.

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(as the edd. pr. assumed) in *ekthesis*: perhaps ἡ ὀ[λ]ι (a trace of ι is visible), with *ekthesis* of the two letters ηο (my vertical indicates the expected line-beginning: the alignment shown by the edd. pr. is astray), although we cannot rule out ἡ δ(ε) ὀ[λ]ι. I reject (with edd. pr.) the possibility that the other lines began further left. That they began where marked is established, above all, by lines 11–12 of Π, where βασιλ[ευς] | και is inescapable.

The supplement usually adopted in V is <φιλαρχία> (c), a word attested first in Plb. (3.8.1, 6.49.3, *al.*), and common thereafter (e.g. Phld. *Piet.*, *P. Herc.* 1428 col. xv, 11 (ed. A. Henrichs, *CErc* 4 (1974) 25), D.H. 1.85.6, 10.54.7, often in App. and Plu.). It is presumably a mere guess in c. Navarre and Stein rightly object that φιλαρχία ('love of rule, lust of power' LSJ) ἰχϋός γλιχομένη ('desirous of power') is tautologous. No later proposal satisfies: φιλεταιρία Meier 1850, φιλοτιμία or πλεονεξία Navarre 1918, ἔντευξις mentioned but declined by Stein.

So φιλαρχι|α] τικ cannot be the right supplement in Π. And I judge that ]τικ is less likely than ]κις. All that remains of the first letter is the upper part of a vertical attached to a right horizontal. There is enough space, between the vertical and the edge of the papyrus, for the left horizontal of τ. But there is no trace of ink here. This would be explicable if the surface of the papyrus is damaged: but there is no visible evidence of surface damage. Further, there is decided curvature at the top of the vertical. The trace is compatible with the upper arc of c. The second letter is almost certainly ι (all but the top visible). The third, a high trace, is compatible with the top arc of c.

I suggest προαι|ρε]σις ('in political language, *deliberate course of action, policy*', 'mode of government' LSJ 3), applied in the latter sense to oligarchy by D. 13.8 τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔχθραν. The word is used (more neutrally) in [Pl.] *Def.* 413A, E. If it appeared here, προαιρουμένουσ in the epilogue will be an echo of it. The space in Π suits εστ[ι τικ προαι|ρε]σις. The order ἐστὶ τικ + noun is natural and regular (with predicative noun, as here, D. 21.7 εἴπερ ὕβρισιθέντα μηδεμιᾶς δίκης τυχεῖν ἐστὶν τικ συμφορά). In V the order <προαίρεσις> τικ is preferable. In other definitions τικ follows its noun (XIII, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV; cf. def. I n.), and the order which I postulate here (verb, subject, predicate + τικ) is found at XVIII (ἔστιν ἀμέλει <ἡ> ἀπικτιᾶ ὑπόληψις τικ) and XXIV (ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὑπερφηανία καταφρόνησις τικ). Stein observes that ὀλιγαρχία, elsewhere a mode of government, is here uniquely applied to a mode of behaviour, almost 'oligarchic spirit' (he disposes of alleged parallels). προαίρεσις, applicable to both government and behaviour, lessens the anomaly. With the expression προαίρεσις . . . γλιχομένη cf. Arist. *EN* 1094<sup>a</sup>1–2 (the opening of the work) πᾶσα . . . προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ, 1095<sup>a</sup>14–15 πᾶσα . . . προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ὀρέγεται, Plu. 424D οὔτε τὰ σώματα προαίρεσιν ἔχει καὶ ὁρμὴν ἤι τοῦ μέσου γλίχεται.

The supplement ἰσχύος κ[αὶ κέρδους (Edmonds 1908) is certain. Corruption of ἰσχύος καὶ ἰσχυρῶς (V) may have arisen (as Diels suggests) from confusion of the compendia for -ως and καὶ (cf. E. *Herc.* 801, Ph. 492, Ba. 824, fr. 358.2; Bast, *Commentatio Palaeographica* (ap. G. H. Schaefer, *Greg. Cor.*, Leipzig 1811) 781); alternatively, from confusion of ο and ω (XVIII.6n.), with casual loss of καὶ. Jebb had already proposed ἰσχύος, but he introduced an unwanted negative (ἰσχύος οὐ κέρδους), as had Casaubon (ἰσχυρὰ κέρδους οὐ), both of them supposing that avarice is characteristic more of democrats than oligarchs. In fact, oligarchy is traditionally associated with wealth (e.g. Pl. *R.* 550c πολιτεῖαν ἐν ἧί οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι ἄρχουσιν, πένητι δὲ οὐ μέτεστιν ἀρχῆς, Arist. *Pol.* 1294<sup>a</sup>10–11 ὄρος . . . ὀλιγαρχίας . . . πλοῦτος), and oligarchs are traditionally avaricious (e.g. Pl. *R.* 548a ἐπιθυμηταὶ . . . χρημάτων . . . ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, 551A φιλοχρηματισταὶ καὶ φιλοχρήματοι, 553D–555A, Arist. *Pol.* 1321<sup>a</sup>41–2 τὰ λήμματα . . . ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τὴν τιμὴν), particularly Spartans (αἰσχροκερδεῖς E. *Andr.* 451, Ar. *Pax* 623; cf. Hdt. 5.51.2, Isoc. 11.20, X. *Lac.* 14.3, Arist. *Pol.* 1271<sup>a</sup>3–5, 1271<sup>b</sup>16–17, fr. 544 Rose, Plu. *Lyc.* 30.1; M. Goebel, *Ethnica, pars prima: De Graecarum Ciuitatum Proprietatibus Prouerbio notatis* (Breslau 1915) 48). But ‘power’ and ‘profit’ have nothing to do with the Oligarchic Man, and the definition is therefore inept.

**2** Ὁ δὲ ὀλιγαρχικός τοιοῦτός <τις> οἷος: ὀλιγαρχος (V) is not attested. In Π the edd. pr. read [ο δε ολιγαρχι | κ]οc. Likelier may be [ο ολιγαρχι | κ]οc or [ο δε ολιγαρχ | χ]οc: either would give a line roughly the same length as the preceding line. Then τοιοῦτος ἰδια[ . . . ] | μὲν λεγων ουκ [αγαθον edd. pr. (at the beginning of the second line, μ probable rather than certain; second, curved top, probably ε or ο). Perhaps this implies punctuation after τοιοῦτος, with the following clauses in explanatory asyndeton and finite verbs instead of infinitives. There is no obvious supplement: “ἰδία[ι] φησι “ζῶ]μεν” Diels (uncouth, and too long), ἰδιά[ζεται Edmonds 1910. For <τις>, I.2n.; for its attestation in c, *Torraca* (1994b) 611.

τοῦ δήμου βουλευομένου τίνος τῶι ἀρχοντι προσαιρήσονται τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους: the future προσαιρήσονται (here in an indirect question) corresponds to a fut. sometimes used in a direct question as virtual equivalent of a deliberative subjunctive (Goodwin §68, KG 2.223 Anmerk. 5). For the order τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους, XXIII.7n.; for τοὺς (suspected by Bloch, deleted by Ast before Cobet 1874), XVIII.2n.

The eponymous archon organised the annual procession at the Great Dionysia (Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 61–3, S. G. Cole, ‘Procession and celebration at the Dionysia’, in R. Scodel (ed.), *Theater and Society in the Classical World* (Ann Arbor 1993) 25–38, Csapo and Slater 105–6, 113–15, Wilson, *Khoregia* 97–8) with the help of ten ἐπιμεληταί, who were originally elected by a show of hands in the Assembly and contributed to the expenses of the procession



from their own pockets but were afterwards chosen by lot, one from each tribe, and received an allowance ([Arist.] *Ath.* 56.4 πομπῶν δ' ἐπιμελεῖται τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ γιγνομένης . . . καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνει δέκα ὄντας, καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀναλώματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνήλικον, νῦν δ' ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης κληροῖ καὶ δίδωσιν εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἑκατὸν μνᾶς). I discuss the implications of this for the date of the sketch in the Introduction, pp. 33–5.

**παρελθὼν ἀποφῆναςθαι:** although the corruption ἀποφῆνας ἔχει (V) is odd, ἀποφῆναςθαι (Reiske 1757, before Schneider) hits exactly the right note ('declare an opinion', LSJ v.ii.1–2). For παρελθὼν, XXI.11 n.

**ὄς δεῖ αὐτοκράτορας τούτους εἶναι:** the term 'plenipotentiary' is applied to an official who is empowered to act without reference to other authority in an emergency or special circumstance (archons, Th. 1.126.8; generals, Th. 6.8.2, 26.1, 72.5, [Arist.] *Ath.* 31.2; ξυγγραφεῖς drafting constitutional proposals, Th. 8.67.1; *Boule*, And. 1.15 (P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 171 n. 1, 186–8); ambassadors or negotiators, Ar. *Pax* 359, *Au.* 1595, *Lys.* 1010, *Lys.* 13.9; the Ten appointed after the fall of the Thirty, [Arist.] *Ath.* 38.1). See LSJ 1.2, Gomme on Th. 1.126.8. Comically, the Oligarchic Man demands these powers even for minor officials performing a routine ceremonial office. More precisely, he demands that they should be empowered to act independently of each other and not in accordance with a collective decision of the whole board (for this fundamental democratic principle see Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 237–9, L. Rubinstein, *Litigation and Cooperation: Supporting Speakers in the Courts of Classical Athens* (Stuttgart 2000) 186). He then goes on to argue that only one good man and true is needed, not a board of ten, which is another way of securing independence for the official.

Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 58 n. 3, takes his demand to be 'that the archon ought to manage the festival-procession without being hampered by ἐπιμεληταὶ responsible to the demos'. For that, we should need to change αὐτοκράτορας τούτους to singular. And singular has, indeed, been suggested, though clumsily: ἐκεῖνον ὡς δεῖ αὐτοκράτορα τούτων P. L. Courier on X. *Eq.Mag.* 1.8 (Paris 1813), <αὐτὸν> αὐτοκράτορα τούτου Fraenkel and Groeneboom. If singular is appropriate, the simple change αὐτοκράτορα τούτου will satisfy. But the sense of the passage will not be quite so simple as Pickard-Cambridge appears to imply. When the Oligarchic Man objects to the proposal to elect ten by claiming that one is enough, but that he must be a good man, the one is not the archon, who is already in office, but the man to be elected, since 'he must be a good man' is a criterion of electability. So he will be arguing first that the archon should act alone, then that, if he is to have assistants, he should have only one. This makes good sense. But it is not demonstrably preferable to what is transmitted.

κᾶν ἄλλοι προβάλλωνται δέκα: not ἄλλοι (Edmonds 1929), which would mean ‘everyone else present’ (II.4, 10, XI.3, XIV.12, XIX.9) rather than ‘the other speakers’. Ten (usually one from each tribe) was the regular number for a board of officials.

λέγειν ὅτι “ἱκανὸς εἷς ἐστι, τοῦτον δὲ δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι”: plurality of officers is a principle of democracy, singularity of oligarchy (Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 226, 237). His remark combines two familiar tags. With the first, ἱκανὸς εἷς ἐστι, cf. Epich. 161 τὰ πρὸ τοῦ δὴ ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἷς ἐγὼν ἀποχρέω; (Pl. *Grig.* 505E ἵνα μοι τὰ τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου γένηται; ἃ πρὸ τοῦ δύο ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἷς ὧν ἱκανὸς γένωμαι;), Pl. *Prig.* 322C εἷς ἔχων ἱατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἱκανὸς ἰδιώταις, *R.* 502B εἷς ἱκανὸς γενόμενος, *Lg.* 764E ἱκανὸς . . . εἷς ἄρχων αὐτοῖς, [Pl.] *Demod.* 380D, 381B, Plu. 986B, Luc. *Herm.* 53. With the second, τοῦτον . . . δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι, H. *Il.* 5.529 *al.* ἄνδρες ἔστε, E. *El.* 693 ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαι σε χρή, *Cycl.* 595 ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀνήρ ἔσῃ, *Hermipp.* 57.8 ἀνήρ γεγένηται, *Men. Sam.* 349–50 νῦν ἄνδρα χρὴ | εἶναι σε, *PCG* adesp. 1063.3 (*Men. fab. inc.* 1 (ii) 3 Arnott) νῦν ἀνὴρ γενοῦ, X. *An.* 7.1.21 νῦν σοι ἕξεσθαι . . . ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι, Cic. *Fam.* 5.18.1 *te . . . oro te conligas uirumque praebeas*; LSJ ἀνήρ IV (where belong also S. *OC* 393, Ar. *Eq.* 178–9, 333, 392, *Lys.* 1024, Pl. *Smp.* 192A, *Men. Asp.* 243, *Pl.* 380, *Sam.* 512); Otto, *Sprichwörter* 373, G. Großmann, *Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges* (Zurich 1950) 111–15, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 102.

There are two anomalies in λέγειν “ἱκανὸς εἷς ἐστι”, τοῦτον δὲ ὅτι δεῖ κτλ. (V): (i) δὲ linking indirect speech to direct (VI.9n.), (ii) late position of ὅτι. The punctuation “. . . τοῦτον δὲ” ὅτι “δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι” (Rusten) highlights the problem by its artificiality. With ὅτι removed, the words become a continuation of direct speech, and δὲ links quoted words as at II.2, XXVIII.2, 4. ὅτι must be either deleted or relocated in a more natural position, before the start of the direct speech (II.8n.).

καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν τοῦτο ἔν μόνον κατέχειν . . . τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι: to claim to know only one line of Homer is to profess a lack of concern for civilised values. Contrast X. *Smp.* 3.5 ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν. For κατέχειν ‘master, retain in the mind, know’, *Men. Epit.* 325–6 τεθέασαι τραγωιδούς, οἶδ’ ὅτι, | καὶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα; further illustration in LSJ II.9, to which may be added *Ariston* fr. 14, v (p. 38.8 Wehrli) ἐνίστο οὐδὲν τι φωρᾶται κατέχων (the παντειδήμων), *TiGF* 100 Lyc. F 2.5 (G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *AΘΗΝΑ* 81 (1990–6) 348–9). τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι is added for rhetorical balance: similarly *HP* 9.20.5 ὁ ὁπὸς μόνον χρήσιμος, ἄλλο δ’ οὐδὲν, *Sens.* 20 μόνου γὰρ δοκεῖ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπορρεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενός, S. *OT* 62–3 εἷς ἔν’ ἔρχεται | μόνου καθ’ αὐτὸν κούδέν’ ἄλλον (cf. 1071–2), E. *Ba.* 196 μόνου γὰρ εὖ φρονοῦμεν, οἱ δ’

ἄλλοι κακῶς, Pl. *Grg.* 501E τὴν ἡδονὴν ἡμῶν μόνον διώκειν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν φροντίζειν, *R.* 592B τὰ γὰρ ταύτης μόνης ἂν πράξειεν, ἄλλης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς (cf. *Chrm.* 174E, *Sph.* 244D), *X. An.* 2.2.5 μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν (cf. *Cyr.* 1.4.21), *D.* 23.162 ταύτην μόνην ἀνάγκωθί μοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἕα, 58.38 ὑμεῖς μόνοι . . . ἄλλος δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *Alex.* 102.1–2 ὀρχεῖσθαι μόνον | βλέποντες, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν (cf. 153.6–7).

“Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν κτλ.”: *H. Il.* 2.204. Theophrastus sides with the numerous testimonia against ἀγαθή, attested by a papyrus and by some mss. of Arist. *Pol.* 1292<sup>a</sup>13 and adopted by West. For the neuter adj. as predicate in a gnomic statement, *KG* 1.58–9, *Schwyzler* 2.605–6, *Barrett on E. Hi.* 443–6, *Diggle, Euripidea* 260–1. Π continues the quotation with εἰς βασιλεύς (*Il.* 2.205). It would be unwise to accept this, when Π is paraphrasing so loosely and has the quotation in the wrong place.

The edd. pr. read the final words of Π as πολλοὺς [λεγει πα|ρελθ]ων ἀρκεσε[ιν ενα. Rather, πολλοὺς [c. v | c. v]ων ἀρκεσε[ι(v). The expected division is not πα|ρελθ]ων (in any case too short for the beginning of the line) but παρ|ελθ]ων (much too short) or |παρελθ]ων (probably too long). Perhaps λεγ]ων (as above, before the direct speech).

3 ἀμέλει δὲ δεινός: perhaps ἀ- δὲ <καί> δεινός (like *V.*9 ἀ- δὲ καὶ . . . δ-) or ἀ- δὲ δεινός <καί> (like *XIX.*3). ἀμέλει δὲ is always followed by καί, without interval (*II.*9, *V.*9, *XXI.*11, *XXIV.*12, *XXVII.*5, *XXVIII.*4, *XXX.*13, 18), except at *XIX.*3 (cited above), where δεινός intervenes. See *II.*gn., *VI.*gn.

τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν λόγων χρήσασθαι ὅτι: cf. *I.*6 τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι. Regularly οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων (*Isoc.* 5.12, *al.*, *Arist. EN* 1168<sup>b</sup>12, *al.*; *III.*4n.). τῶν ὀλίγων (*V*) <λόγοις> (*Steinmetz*) is bad. For ὅτι, *II.*8n.

Δεῖ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς συνελθόντας περὶ τούτων βουλευσασθαι: an allusion to the propensity of upper-class Athenians to band together in mutual-aid societies (bibliography in *OCDB* ‘hetaireiai’). αὐτοὺς is ‘alone’ (*XXII.*13n.). τούτων (c) is preferable to τούτου.

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι: cf. *Lib. Ep.* 340.5 φεύγων τὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀγοράν, *Men. fr.* 871.3 ὄχλος ἀγοράς; *X. HG* 6.2.23, *Arist. Pol.* 1319<sup>a</sup>36, *D.S.* 14.79.2, *D.Chr.* 77.5 ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος; *Millett*, ‘Encounters in the *Agora*’ 226–7.

καὶ παύσασθαι ἀρχαῖς πλησιάζοντας: ‘approaching office’, in the sense ‘courting office’ not ‘entering on a career of public office’ (*LSJ* πλησιάζω π.1). There is no exact parallel: not *Luc. Anach.* 21 ἐπειδὴν . . . πλησιάζωμι πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν (*ad rem publicam accedere*, like §4 πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιόντων), nor εἰσιέναι (εἰς ἀρχήν) ‘enter upon office’ (*Antipho* 6.44, *D.* 44.68, 59.72, [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 55.5, 56.2). ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας ‘holding elections’ (*Cobet* 1874) is clever.

καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτως ὑβριζομένους ἢ τιμωμένους: ‘and thus receiving from them insult or honour’, according as their election is approved or not at the preliminary scrutiny (δοκιμασία) or their handling of office at the concluding scrutiny (εὐθυναί) or during tenure (Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 218–24). The otiose αὐτούς (V) should not be deleted (Petersen before Ussing) but changed to οὕτως (Navarre 1918), which clarifies the thought: that either ὑβρις or τιμή is a consequence of courting office. The Oligarchic Man would deny the people the right to dispense these to their betters, scorning alike their censure and their commendation, for οὐδ’ αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις (Arist. fr. 673.3 Rose, West). Conjectures miss the point: ἢ <ἢ> τιμωμένους post Schneider Foss 1858, <καὶ> ἡτιμ- Petersen, [ἡτιμωμένους] Hanow 1860, μᾶλλον (for αὐτούς) ὑβριζομένους Cobet 1874, ὑβριζομένους <μᾶλλον> Diels.

<καὶ> ὅτι “Ἡ τοῦτους δεῖ ἢ ἡμᾶς οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν”: connective <καὶ> (Hanow 1860 before Ussing) is unavoidable; ὅτε (Edmonds 1929) does not give a natural connection here (XVII.9n.). οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν is ‘live in the city’ (as e.g. Ar. *Au.* 127, Th. 1.13.5, Isoc. 10.25, D. 23.138, [Arist.] *Ath.* 22.4; cf. §4 οὐκ οἰκητόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει), not ‘govern the city’ (Jebb, *al.*). Similarly D. 9.11 εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ; cf. Pl. *R.* 551D (a fault of oligarchy) τὸ μὴ μίαν ἀλλὰ δύο ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν, τὴν μὲν πενήτων, τὴν δὲ πλουσίων, οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἀεὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀλλήλοις.

4 καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιῶν: not κατὰ μέσον (Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 362), 1757); X.14n. The spectacle is comic. His formal dress, neat haircut, and careful manicure are as wasted as his ranting speeches, if he goes out at midday. This is siesta-time, and the streets will be empty not only of the common people (whom he wishes to avoid) but also of his friends.

[καὶ] τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀναβεβλημένος: ‘dressed in his cloak’ indicates that he is dressed formally (IV.4n.), and there is no need for a qualifying adverb (<μεμελημένως> ἀνα- Edmonds 1929). Connective καὶ is out of place, since ἐξιῶν is temporal, while the participles which follow are descriptive. It was deleted by Darvaris, before Meier 1850 and Ussing. For other instances of interpolated καὶ, VII.4n. For the alternative spelling θοῖμ- (Meineke), XXX.10n.

καὶ μέσῃν κούρᾳν κεκαρμένους: cut in a style which avoids the implications of negligence, penury, mourning, or affectation, which are associated with long or short hair (V.6n., epil. X n.). Cf. Poll. 4.138–40 μεσόκουρος, of a female figure wearing a tragic mask, distinguished from κατόκομος and κούριμος, i.e. ‘with a medium cut’, not ‘shaven in the middle’ (LSJ); Hsch. M 920 μεσοκουράδες· οὕτω καλοῦσι δένδρα τὰ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων καταγέντα, καὶ κούρᾳν <μέσῃν κεκαρμένους> (some such supplement is needed).

καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένους: XIX.2n. Roman barbers did manicures (Pl. *Aul.* 312, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.50–1, V. Max. 3.2.15, Mart. 3.74.2–3; F. W. Nicolson,

## COMMENTARY

*HSCPh* 2 (1891) 43); Phanias *AP* 6.307.4 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 3013) is no guide to Greek practice.

**κοβεῖν:** this verb (like the adj. *κοβαρός*, for which see Gomme and Sandbach on *Men. Pk.* 172) connotes pomposity of manner ('strut, swagger' LSJ III), as *D.* 21.158 *τρεῖς ἀκολούθους ἢ τέτταρας αὐτὸς ἔχων διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κοβεῖ, κυμβία καὶ ῥυτὰ καὶ φιάλας ὀνομάζων οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς παριόντας ἀκούειν*, where MacDowell suggests unconvincingly that 'used elsewhere of shooing away birds, this verb is best interpreted here as meaning that Meidias, by means of his attendant slaves, makes people get out of his way'. It cannot mean that in our passage, or in *Plu. Sol.* 27.3 *κεκομημένους πολυτελῶς καὶ κοβοῦντας ἐν ὄχλῳ προπομπῶν καὶ δορυφόρων*. The feature which is common to all three passages is self-display. Cf. also *Alciphr.* 4.7.1 (of a conceited person) *εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν κοβεῖς, 4.11.4 μεθ' ὅσης θεραπείας καὶ παρασκευῆς ἐκόβει*.

**τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους τραγωιδῶν:** cf. *D.* 18.13 (my alleged crimes) *τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγώιδει* (also 127 *ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωιδίᾳ βοῶντα*), 19.189 *ταῦτα . . . τραγωιδεῖ περιῶν*, *Men. Asp.* 329–30 *δεῖ τραγωιδῆσαι πάθος | ἄλλοῖον*, *Plu. Them.* 24.5 *συντραγωιδῆσαι τὴν ἰκεσίαν*, *Nic.* 5.3 *ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγωιδῶν καὶ συμπεριτιθεῖς ὄγκον αὐτῶι καὶ δόξαν*, *Pl. Ps.* 707 *ut paratragoedat carnifex!* The noun is similarly used by *Hyp. Eux.* 26 *τὰς τραγωιδίας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς κατηγορίας* ('her melodramatic accusations'), *Lyc.* 12 *τραγ[ω]ιδίας γρ[άφαι εἰς τῆ]ν εἰσαγγελ[ίαν*, *Men. Sic.* 262–3 *τραγωιδίαι | κενῆι*, *Cic. Mil.* 18 *Appiae nomen quantas tragoedias excitat!* (*OLD* 'tragedia' c). Cf. H. Zilliacus, 'Τραγωιδία und δράμα in metaphorischer Bedeutung', *Arctos* 2 (1958) 217–20, Wankel on *D.* 18.13.

The admirable conjecture *τραγωιδῶν* for *τὴν τοῦ ὠδείῳ* (V) spares us the problematic 'street of the Odeion' which features in earlier conjectures: *τὴν τοῦ ὠιδείου* Preller ap. Foss 1858, <διὰ> *τὴν κτλ.* Jebb, <κατὰ> *τὴν κτλ.* Holland 1897. No such street is known (for the Odeion itself see III.3n.). It also provides a construction for *τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους*, which, since it cannot be constructed with *κοβεῖν* ('Reden leidenschaftlich hervorstossen' Ilberg), must otherwise be changed (*τοῖς τοιοῦτοις λόγοις* Gale, before Orelli and Petersen) or supplemented (*λόγους* <λέγων> Casaubon, <κροτῶν> Darvaris, <εἰπῶν> or <ποησάμενος> Meier 1850, <ἀφειέει> Foss 1858). Other conjectures: *τείνας ὡς* Hanow 1860, *τείνων ὡς* Berg, *τονθορούζων* Ribbeck 1870, *εἴπας ὡς* Ilberg. One uncertainty remains: whether, since *ὡς* introduces the three quotations which follow, *τραγωιδῶν ὡς* should be written here (as Herwerden himself proposed, before Sitzler and Navarre). Cf. §3 *τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν λόγων . . . ὅτι*; but contrast I.6 *τῶι τούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου*, without *ὅτι*.

**“Διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐκ οἰκητόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει”:** sycophants (XXIII.4n.) are bred by democracy, and the rich and oligarchic are their natural enemies. The first act of the Thirty Tyrants was to round up and execute the

sycophants (X. *HG* 2.3.12, [Arist.] *Ath.* 35.3). See R. Osborne in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, S. Todd (edd.), *Nomos: Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990) 99–102, D. Harvey *ibid.* 118. οἰκητόν is ‘habitable’; earlier only S. *OC* 28 (‘inhabited’), 39 ἄθικτος οὐδ’ οἰκητός (both senses perceptible); rare thereafter. For this flexibility of sense in verbal adjectives in -τος, KB 2.288–9, Schwyzer 1.501–3, C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1945) 469–70. οἰκητέον (c) gives inferior sense.

καὶ ὥς “Ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις δεινὰ πάσχομεν ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαζομένων”: ὥς introducing direct speech (as XXIX.5) is rare, by contrast with ὅτι (II.8n.). Goodwin §711 cites only Din. 1.12, 102; E. H. Spieker, *AJPh* 5 (1884) 224, adds D. 21.151.

The popular courts are a symbol and bulwark of democracy (MacDowell, *Law* 34, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 178–9). The Oligarchic Man assumes that they are hotbeds of bribery and corruption, to the prejudice of himself and his like. The ‘Old Oligarch’ complains that ἐν . . . τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφέρου ([X.] *Ath.* 1.13). In Men. *Sic.* 156 a character is termed ‘oligarchic’ after declaring that truth is best discovered not by listening to a person who weeps and pleads (presumably in a public place, such as a court) but ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν γε μᾶλλον συνεδριῶν.

δεκάζειν connotes bribery of jurors (Lys. 29.12, Isoc. 8.50, 18.11, Aeschin. 1.87, [Arist.] *Ath.* 27.5; συνδεκάζειν [X.] *Ath.* 3.7, Aeschin. 1.86, law in D. 46.26; ἄδέκαστος Arist. *EN* 1109<sup>b</sup>8), a practice said to have been introduced by Anytos at the end of the 5th cent. (*Ath.* 27.5 ἤρξατο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν, πρῶτον καταδείξαντος Ἄνυτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγίαν. κρινόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τινῶν διὰ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν Πύλον δεκάσας τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπέφυγεν). See Rhodes *ad loc.*, MacDowell, *Law* 36, id. ‘Athenian laws about bribery’, *RIDA* 30 (1983) 57–78 (esp. 63–9, 77), Harvey in P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (edd.), *Crux: Essays presented to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday* (Exeter and London 1985) 88–9, R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 143, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 197–8. Neither δικαζομένων ‘litigants’ (V) nor δικαζόντων ‘jurors’ (Schneider) is anywhere near as effective; nor is ὑπὸ τῶν <κακῶν> (or <χειρόνων> or <πονηρῶν>) δικαζόμενοι (Navarre 1918), though better than δημοτικῶν (Navarre 1918). Same corruption (δικα- for δεκα-) [X.] *loc. cit.*, D. *loc. cit.*, Plu. 92D.

καὶ ὥς “Θαυμάζω τῶν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιόντων τί βούλονται”: cf. (πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιέναι) D. 18.257, 19.2, Aeschin. 1.165, 3.17, 22, Pl. *Ep.* 358B, (ἐπὶ τὰ κ-) D. *Proem.* 12.1, (τοῖς κ-) D. 19.274, [Demad.] 8; also XXIX.5 τῶν κοινῶν, LSJ κοινός A.II.3, and οἷ §3 ἀρχαῖς πλησιάζοντας.

καὶ ὥς “Ἀχάριστόν ἐστι <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀμνημον> τοῦ νέμοντος καὶ δίδοντος”: the people are ‘ungrateful’, and ‘unmindful’ of their benefactors; and yet favours received should be remembered (XXIV.3n.). The adjectives make a natural pair: Ph. *De Ios.* 99 (4.82 Cohn-Wendland) πᾶς ἀχάριστος

## COMMENTARY

ἀμνήμων ἔστιν εὐεργετῶν, Plu. *Pomp.* 20.6 οὐκ ἀχάριστος οὐδ' ἀμνήμων . . . τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν, Epict. 2.23.5 μήτ' ἀχάριστος ἴσθι μήτε πάλιν ἀμνήμων τῶν κρείσσωνων, App. *BC* 3.32 οὐ πάντη τὰ Καίσαρος ὄρωντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα, Ael. fr. 101 Hercher (104 Domingo-Forasté) μήτε ἀχαρίστους . . . μήτε ἀμνήμονας, Cic. *Phil.* 2.33 *quae . . . tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae . . .?*, Ov. *Met.* 14.173 *ingratus et inpius* (u.l. *immemor*; cf. 10.682 *nec grates immemor egit*), Sen. *Ben.* 7.26.2 *immemor et ingratus*, Plin. *Ep.* 8.18.3 *ingratum immemorem*. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 503 ἀπεμνήσαντο χάριν (same expression E. *Alc.* 299, Th. 1.137.2), Pi. *I.* 7.16–17 ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ εὔδει χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί, S. *Ai.* 520–3 ἀλλ' ἴσχε κάμου μῆστιν' ἀνδρὶ τοι χρεῶν | μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἶ τί που πάθοι. | χάρις χάριν γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ τίκτους' ἀεΐ | ὄτου δ' ἄπορρεῖ μῆστις εὔ πεπονθότος κτλ., fr. 920 ἀμνήμονος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ὄλλυται χάρις, Ar. *V.* 449–51 οὐδ' ἀναμνηθεῖς κτλ. . . . σὺ δ' ἀχάριστος ἦσθ' ἄρα, Pax 761 ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὴν χάριν ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς καὶ μνήμονας εἶναι, Arist. *EN* 1167<sup>b</sup>27 ἀμνήμονες γὰρ οἱ πολλοί (with the preceding context), Aristonous, *Paeon in Ap.* (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* 163, W. D. Furley and J. M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns* 2 (Tübingen 2001) 46) 29–31 χάριν παλαιῶν χαρίτων | τᾶν τότ' αἰδίοιο ἔχων | μνήμαις, [Men.] *Mon.* 12 Jäkel ἀχάριστος ὅστις εὔ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ (cf. 49 ἀνήρ ἀχάριστος (u.l. ἀμνήμων) μὴ νομιζέσθω φίλος), Luc. *Tim.* 51 ἀχάριστοι ἀν εἴημεν ἀμνημονοῦντες.

The adj. ἀχάριστος is applied to the δῆμος by D. 58.63, Aeschin. 3.182, Lib. *Decl.* 23.47; χάρις was the return expected by those who deployed their wealth for public purposes (J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC* (Oxford 1971) xii, id. *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York 1981) 92–7, Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 293, J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton 1989) 226–47, Wilson, *Khoregia* 173, 179, S. Johnstone, *Disputes and Democracy: The Consequences of Litigation in Ancient Athens* (Austin 1999) 100–8). Here the 'distributor and giver' is someone who makes the kinds of handout referred to in XXIII.5. On the verb νέμειν, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 198–207; for the pairing νέμοντος καὶ διδόντος, D. 13.1 τοῖς νέμουσι καὶ διδοῦσι τὰ κοινά; cf. XXX.4.

There are many alternative supplements: <τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ δήμου τὰς ἀρχὰς δια> νέμοντος Schneider 1799, ἀχάριστον (not -ος) <ὁ δῆμος (or <τὸ πλῆθος) καὶ ὡς> ἔστι Coray, <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αἰεῖ> Ast, ἀχ- <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ θεραπευτικόν> ἔστι Wachsmuth ap. Ilberg, <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δοῦλον αἰεῖ> Diels. With the supplements of Coray and Ast the gen. is constructed as in S. *OT* 917 ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος, Ph. 386 πόλις γὰρ ἔστι πᾶσα τῶν ἡγουμένων, X. *An.* 2.1.11 νομίζει . . . ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, Alciphr. 4.11.3 (ἐταῖραι are) αἰεῖ τοῦ διδόντος (KG 1.372–3, Schwyzer 2.122–4). But 'ungrateful' and 'belonging to the distributor and giver' are not a happy pair. And 'attentive to' (Wachsmuth) or 'slaves of' (Diels) are no happier. A bare <τὸ> τοῦ (Edmonds 1908, before

Bersanetti) gives feeble sense ('how thankless the task is of the man who has to pay').

καὶ ὡς αἰσχύνεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅταν παρακαθῆται τις αὐτῷ λεπτός καὶ αὐχμῶν: reversion to indirect speech is unexceptionable (cf. III.3, VII.9), and there is no call for καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι (Sitzler). It is uncertain whether παρακαθῆται or -κάθηται (V) is the right accentuation (H. W. Chandler, *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation* (Oxford 2 1881) §813). αὐτῷ (Edmonds 1908) rather than αὐ- (V); I.2n.

Applied to the human figure, λεπτός 'thin' often has an uncomplimentary sense, 'skinny', 'scrawny', implying 'undernourished': e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 1018 στῆθος λεπτόν, Antiph. 120.4 (sophists) λεπτῶν ἀσίτων, Ceb. 10.3 (Ἵδурμός and Ἄθυμία) δυσειδής τις καὶ λεπτός καὶ γυμνός, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τις ἄλλη ὁμοία αὐτῷ αἰσχρὰ καὶ λεπτή, LSJ 1.4 (add Macho 320). αὐχμῶν 'dry' does not mean 'squalid, unwashed' (LSJ, Jebb, *al.*), 'struppig' (Ilberg), 'ill-kempt' (Edmonds), but 'not anointed with oil', as Ar. *Nu.* 442, 920, *Pl.* 84, Anaxandr. 35.6; similarly αὐχμηρός E. *Or.* 387 (cf. 223), *Pl. Smp.* 203c. See on V.6 χρίματι ἀλείφεσθαι, Denniston on E. *El.* 239. Like undernourishment, lack of oil is attributable to poverty (Ar. *Nu.* 835-6). The Oligarchic Man, who can afford to look after his appearance, is ashamed to be seen in the company of a man who cannot. This is a subtle touch, lost if we change λεπτός to ἐνιπτός or ἄλουτος (both Meineke). In any case, an unwashed neighbour will prompt repulsion or nausea, not shame. There are other conjectures, much worse: λεπρός Meier 1850, βλεννός Hanow 1861, λιτός Bücheler. For the lower classes in the Ecclesia, IV.2n.

5 καὶ εἰπεῖν “Πότε παυσόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν ἀπολλύμενοι;”: good democrats boast of what they have spent on liturgies (XXIII.6n.), while oligarchs, traditionally avaricious (§1n.), contribute with reluctance (*Pl. R.* 551E, 554E-555A, [X.] *Ath.* 1.13, Arist. *Pol.* 1271<sup>b</sup>13). Complaints are often heard about the ruinous effects of liturgies: e.g. *Lys.* 29.4, *Isoc.* 4.160. 8.128, D. 18.102, 28.17, Antiph. 202.5-7 (Konstantakos 240-3). See P. Millett in C. Gill, N. Postlethwaite, R. Seaford (edd.), *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1988) 251-3, M. R. Christ, 'Liturgy avoidance and *Antidosis* in classical Athens', *TAPhA* 120 (1990) 147-69, esp. 153, P. Wilson in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford 1997) 93-6, id. *Khoregia* 184-7. For ἀπόλλυσθαι of financial ruin, e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 16, D. 36.51, 45.64, Men. *Epit.* 751.

καὶ ὡς “Μισητὸν τὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν γένος”: 'demagogue' was originally a word of neutral colour, and whether you praise demagogues (e.g. *Lys.* 27.10 ἀγαθῶν δημαγωγῶν) or condemn them (e.g. X. *HG* 5.2.7 τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, *Isoc.* 8.129 γένος οὐδὲν ἐστι κακονούστερον τῷ πληθει πονηρῶν ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν, Arist. *Pol.* 1292<sup>a</sup>7-38) may depend upon



where your political sympathies lie. See M. I. Finley, 'Athenian Demagogues', *Past and Present* 21 (1962) 3–24 (= Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (London 1974) ch. 1, id. *Democracy Ancient and Modern* (London<sup>2</sup> 1985) ch. 2), W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (Princeton 1971) 109–10, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 26.1, Hansen, *The Athenian Ecclesia* II (Copenhagen 1989) 14 n. 40, id. *Athenian Democracy* 268, Whitehead on *Hyp. Dem.* 17.

τὸν Θηεεία πρῶτον φήεας τῶν κακῶν τῆι πόλει γεγονέναι αἴτιον: φήεας must be taken as coincident with the earlier εἰπεῖν (VII.3n.). Both the separation and the pleonasm are unwelcome; hence <καί> τὸν Θηεεία πρῶτον φήεας (Foss 1835).

It was traditional to praise Theseus for introducing democracy: E. *Su.* 350–3, 403–8, 429–41, Isoc. 10.36, 12.128–9, D. 59.75, 60.28, *Marm.Par. FGrH* 239 A 20, Plu. *Thes.* 24.2, 25.1–3, Paus. 1.3.3; Jacoby on Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 19, H. Herter, 'Theseus', *RE Suppl.* XIII (1973) 1215–18 (§128), J. N. Davie, 'Theseus the King in fifth-century Athens', *G&R* 29 (1982) 25–34, H. J. Walker, *Theseus and Athens* (New York and Oxford 1995) ch. 5. The Oligarchic Man subverts tradition by blaming him for introducing demagogues, a by-product of democracy.

τοῦτον γάρ ἐκ δῶδεκα πόλεων εἰς μίαν †καταγαγόντα λυθείεας βασιλείεας†: for the synoecism of Attica under Theseus, Th. 2.15.2, Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 94 ap. Str. 9.1.20, Isoc. 10.35, D. 59.75, *Marm.Par. FGrH* 239 A 20, D.S. 4.61.8, Plu. *Thes.* 24.1–3; Herter (above) 1212–13 (§125), M. Moggi, *I Sinecismi Interstatali Greci, 1: Dalle Origini al 338 a.C.* (Pisa 1976) 44–81, P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaiion Politeia* (Oxford<sup>2</sup> 1993) 74, Walker (above) 195–6. The language is particularly close to Str. *loc. cit.* (paraphrasing Philoch.) εἰς μίαν πόλιν συναγαγεῖν λέγεται τὴν νῦν τὰς δῶδεκα Θηεείεας. For εἰς μίαν (πόλιν) cf. also Th. 2.15.2 ἠνάγκαε μᾶι πόλει ταῦτη χρῆεθαι, Plu. *Thes.* 24.1 συνώικεε τοῦε τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατοικοῦνταε εἰε ἔν δαετυ, καί μᾶεε πόλεωεε ἔνα δῆμον ἀπέφηε.

Instead of καταγαγόντα we expect συναγαγόντα (Cobet 1874), as in Str. *loc. cit.*, Isoc. 10.35 τὴν πόλιν . . . εἰε ταῦτόν συναγαγῶν, Suda Θ 368 συνήγαγε τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 25 ap. Str. 13.1.59 τὰε ἔεε Μαῦεωλοε εἰε μίαν . . . συνήγαγεε (many more instances in Moggi 388 *s.u.* συνάγω); less likely μεταγαγόντα (D.S. 4.61.8 τοῦε δῆμουε . . . μεταγαγεῖν εἰε τὰε Ἀθήναε). Perhaps κατα- has been displaced from the following verb, since we expect the compound καταλυ-, if the object is to be a noun like 'kingship' (LSJ 1.2a). Something similar has happened in II.10 προεεπίπτων (A<sup>18</sup>B: διαεπίπτων A) διαεψιθυρίζειν (A: ψιθυρίζειν B). The part. needs an object (we cannot understand τὴν πόλιν, with Jebb), and so there is probably a lacuna before or after it: κ- <τόν δῆμον> or <τοῦε δῆμουε> Schneider, <τοῦε πολίεταε> Bloch, <τὰ πλήθη> Foss 1835 before Ussing (an easy omission in the sequence -τα <τὰ πλήθη> λυθει-; alternatively -αγαγεῖν τὰ <πλήθη> λυθ- Steinmetz),

## XXVI: THE OLIGARCHIC MAN

<πάντας> Berg. More extensive supplements: <τοὺς δήμους ὀχλοκρατίαν καταστήσαι> Wendland, <τὸν δῆμον αὐξήσαι, ὥστε πάντων κρατῆσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς> Diels. An oligarch will naturally disapprove of synoecism, because it leads to democracy, and will prefer the opposite policy, practised by oligarchic states like Sparta: Plb. 4.27.6 (treatment of Mantineans in early 4th cent.) ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως εἰς πλείους αὐτοὺς διοικίσαντες.

In what follows, the Oligarchic Man might have said, tendentiously, that Theseus, as a result of synoecism, put an end to kingship, even though kingship was generally regarded as having survived him ([D.] (Apollod.) 59.75, [Arist.] *Ath. in Epit. Heracl.* 1 (printed at the end of the OCT), Plu. *Thes.* 35.7–8, Paus. 1.3.3; cf. Rhodes, *Commentary* 77–8). Hence λῦσαι βασιλείαν Goez, λῦσαι (καταλῦσαι Cobet 1874) τὴν βασιλείαν Coray, Schneider, < . . . ἀφείναι τὴν κατα>λυθείαν βασιλείαν Foss 1858, λυθείης βασιλείας Petersen before Wendland, λυθείης <τῆς> βασιλείας Diels.

What Theseus did put an end to by synoecism was independent local authorities (Th. 2.15.2 καταλῦσαι τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς). Plutarch describes the leaders of these as ‘kings’. While absent from Athens Theseus was ousted by Menestheus, who rallied nobles and commons against him, fomenting the resentment of both at the suppression of the ‘kings’: Plu. *Thes.* 32.1–2 τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνίστη καὶ παρῶξυνε, πάλαι βαρυνομένους τὸν Θηεῖα καὶ νομίζοντας ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀφηρημένον ἐκάστου τῶν κατὰ δῆμον εὐπατριδῶν εἰς ἓν ἄκτυ συνείρξαντα πάντας ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι καὶ δούλοισι, τοὺς τε πολλοὺς διετάραττε καὶ διέβαλλεν, ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὀρῶντας, ἔργω δ’ ἄπεστερημένους πατρίδων καὶ ἱερῶν, ὅπως ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ γνησίων βασιλείων πρὸς ἓνα δεσπότην ἔπηλυν καὶ ξένον ἀποβλέπωσι. So perhaps καταλῦσαι τὰς βασιλείας (λῦσαι τὰς β- Kayser before Ilberg, παῦσαι τὰς β- Ussing, λυθειῶν τῶν βασιλειῶν Berg, καταγαγεῖν τὰς λυθείας βασιλείας Torraca 1994a). -λυσαι τας for -λυθεισας is anagrammatism, with confusion of τ and θ (as II.10, XXX.2 ἔστ-/έσθ-).

Deletion of τοῦτον . . . βασιλείας (Edmonds 1910) has the merit of keeping the focus entirely on the demagogues, without the slight distraction of synoecism and the ending of ‘kingships’; but the mention of these is not irrelevant, and there was no obvious motive for interpolation.

καὶ δίκαια αὐτὸν παθεῖν· πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: Theseus was hoist with his own petard, and deserved his fate (δίκαια . . . παθεῖν), for he created the demagogues and he was their first victim. Cf. Plu. *Thes.* 32.1 (Menestheus) πρῶτος ὡς φασιν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθέμενος τῷ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ πρὸς χάριν ὄχλῳ διαλέγεσθαι, 35.5 (Theseus) κατεδημαγωγεῖτο. Failing to regain control from Menestheus, Theseus sailed to Scyros, where he was killed by the ruler Lycomedes ([Arist.] *Ath.* (= *Epit. Heracl.* 1, Σ E. *Hi.* 11 (fr. 4 Kenyon)), Plu. *Thes.* 34.5–6, Paus. 1.17.5–6; cf. D.S. 4.62.4, Apollod.

## COMMENTARY

*Epit.* 1.24, Acl. *VH* 4.5). See Herter (above) 1197–1200 (§114), Rhodes, *Commentary* 76–7. Elsewhere, T. described Theseus as the first victim of ostracism: fr. 131 Wimmer (638 Fortenbaugh) ap. Paus.Gr. fr. 78 Schwabe, 159 Erbse (*Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexica* (Berlin 1950) 165–6) = Suda A 4101 ὄστρακιεθῆναι . . . πρώτον Ἀθήνησι Θησεῖα ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς (Cobet: πρώτοις καιροῖς codd.);<sup>117</sup> cf. Θ 368. The language used here is compatible with that version. See Jacoby on Philoch. F 19 (pp. 311–12), R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism: A Synthesis* (Copenhagen 1972) 13–15, A. J. Podlecki in Fortenbaugh *et al.* (1985) 236–8.

Repeated αὐτόν is inelegant. If either instance is to be deleted, better the latter (Navarre 1920) than the former (Herwerden before Cobet 1874, but already tacitly omitted by Siebenkees). αὐτῶν refers to δημαγωγῶν, unless it refers to something lost in a preceding lacuna. It needs a more specific point of reference than ‘the population of the δώδεκα πόλεις’ (Jebb). And a reference to δῆμοι or πλήθη, if either of these was lost in the lacuna, is less apt than a reference to demagogues. No need for ὑπὸ τούτων (Herwerden).

### [6] Epilogue

The ξένοι are foreign visitors (III.3n., V.4, XXIII.2), not ‘friends’ (Ussher; followed by Whitehead, cited on III.3). That he harangues only foreign visitors and fellow oligarchs suggests that he is a man of mere words, who does not have the courage to harangue political opponents. This might have made a neat and pointed conclusion (Pasquali (1919) 4 = (1986) 72), were it not at variance with §2, where he boldly airs his radical views in the Ecclesia. The lack of a governing verb (λέγειν add. Casaubon) is anomalous. Diels condemned the sentence as an excerptor’s abridgement. More likely it is a wholesale addition. See on XIX.4 [καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα].

τοιαῦτα ἕτερα: cf. VII.3 ἑτέρας . . . τοιαύτας, II.3n.

ταῦτὰ προαιρουμένους: i.e. τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρειν ἔχοντας (§1 n).

[Addendum: From the re-edition of *P. Oxy.* 699 (see above, p. 50) add (on §2, p. 465) ἰδιά[ζει μό]νον Guida, τοιουτοσί: διά[γει μό]νον Stein; (on §2, p. 468) παρι]ών Guida (plausible).]

<sup>117</sup> Cobet’s conjecture (*Collectanea Critica* (Leiden 1878) 164), which is unknown to the editors of Paus.Gr. and Suda and to Fortenbaugh *et al.*, *Sources* 2 (1992) 484–5 (who translate ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καιροῖς as ‘In the first (book of) *Crises*’, impossibly), restores a proper style of reference to the work called sometimes Πολιτικά πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς (589 4a Fortenbaugh), sometimes Πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς (Fortenbaugh 589 4b). For the prefixed article in τοῖς Πρὸς κτλ. cf. 594 Fortenbaugh τὰ Πρ[ὸ]ς τοὺς καιροὺς, 625 ἐν α’ τῶν Πρὸς κτλ.

## XXVII THE LATE LEARNER

### Introductory note

Ὀψιμαθής is at first used literally: Pl. *Sph.* 251B τῶν γερόντων τοῖς ὀψιμαθέσι, Isoc. 10.2 τίς ἔστιν οὕτως ὀψιμαθής ὅστις οὐκ οἶδε . . . ; with objective gen., Pl. *R.* 409B ὀψιμαθῆ . . . τῆς ἀδικίας, X. *Cyr.* 1.6.35, 3.3.37, Isoc. 12.96. Although the literal use continues (Plu. *Cat.Ma.* 2.5 παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς ὀψιμαθῆς), the word acquires a pejorative tone. A late learner is apt to overvalue his learning and show it off: Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.2 ὀψιμαθεῖς . . . *homines scis quam insolentes sint*, Gel. 11.7.3 *est adeo id uitium plerumque serae eruditionis, quam Graeci ὀψιμαθίαν appellant, ut quod numquam didiceris, diu ignoraueris, cum id scire aliquando coeperis, magni facias quo in loco cumque et quacumque in re dicere*. And so ὀψιμαθία comes to be associated with ostentation and pedantry: Plu. 334C ὑπ' ὀψιμαθίας ἑαυτοῦ μικρότερος καὶ νεοπρεπέτερος, 634C τὴν ὀψιμαθίαν ἄμα καὶ περιεργίαν, 744C τούτου λέγειν ἀπόδειξιν ὀψιμαθέος ἔστι καὶ ἄγροικον, Luc. *Salt.* 33 τὴν περὶ ταῦτα φιλοτιμίαν ἀπειρόκαλόν τε καὶ ὀψιμαθῆ καὶ ἑμαυτῶι ἄκαιρον. Timaeus described Aristotle as σοφιστικῆς ὀψιμαθῆς (Plb. 12.8.4 = Timae. *FGrH* 566 F 156), an insult which both Polybius and Plutarch directed back at Timaeus (Plb. 12.4c.1 = 566 T 19 οὐ μόνον ἀπειρίαν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὀψιμαθίαν δοκεῖ μοι πολλὴν ἐπιφαίνειν ('pedantic irrelevance' Walbank), Plu. *Nic.* 1.1 = 566 T 18 ὀψιμαθῆς καὶ μειρακίωδης). In a similar spirit, Hor. *S.* 1.10.21 (of unsophisticated critics) *o seri studiorum*. For the contrary notion, that it is never too late to learn, Socrates ap. S.E. *M.* 6.13 κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ὀψιμαθῆ μᾶλλον ἢ ἄμαθῆ διαβέλλεσθαι, Radt on A. fr. 396, Powell on Cic. *Sen.* 26.

The Ὀψιμαθής pursues activities for which he is too old. Although he learns speeches, drill, and songs (§2, §3, §7), learning is only a minor theme, and, for the most part, we see an elderly man acting like a youth. He is raw recruit (§3), athlete (§4), ephebe (§5), gymnast (§6), *exclusus amator* (§9), playful child (§12). He is vain, conceited, and an exhibitionist (§8, §13, §14, §15). Occasionally his failure or humiliation are spelled out (§2, §9, §10). But, in the main, we are invited to smile at the simple incongruity of his antics: a man who does not act his age and has not learned the precept γέρων γέγονας· μὴ ζῆτει τὰ τοῦ νέου (Teles p. 10.6 Hense<sup>2</sup> ap. Stob. 3.1.98).

### [1] Definition

The Ὀψιμαθής is correctly identified as a man whose exertions are inappropriate to his years. We ought to be less surprised by the use of φιλοπρονία than by the misuse of ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν.

## COMMENTARY

**φιλοπονία . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν:** many of the man's activities entail physical exertion. But φιλοπονία is applicable to exertion which is non-physical too: Isoc. 1.45–6 τῆι περι τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν φιλοπονίαι . . . περι τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοπονεῖν, Plb. 12.28.8 = Timae. *FGrH* 566 F 7 μείζονος δεῖται φύσεως καὶ φιλοπονίας καὶ παρασκευῆς τὸ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν λόγων γένος ἢ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας, D.S. 16.2.3 ἀμφοτέρων . . . τῶν μαθητῶν προσενεγκαμένον φύσιν τε καὶ φιλοπονίαν, 26.1.3 τὴν εἰς τὰ φαῦλα φιλοπονίαν, [Pl.] *Def.* 412c φιλοπονία ἔστι ἀποτελεστικὴ οὐ ἂν προέληται (Ingenkamp 44). This being so, Stein's suggestion that the use of the word was prompted by Arist. *Rh.* 1361<sup>b</sup>7–14 (the different πόνοι which relate to youth, maturity, old age) is unconvincing. There is no need for φιλοπονία <περὶ παιδείαν> (Navarre 1918), based on Isoc. 1.45 (above).

Elsewhere ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν means 'beyond one's years' and is applied to youthful precociousness: Men. *Dysc.* 28 ὁ παῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὸν νοῦν ἔχων, D. 54.1, Plb. 4.82.1, D.S. 4.9.6, 9.22, 17.38.2, D.C. 53.5.2. Here it means 'beyond (what is appropriate to) one's years'. Perhaps ὑπὲρ is a slip (by writer or scribe) for παρὰ, 'contrary to one's age' (LSJ παρὰ c.iii.4), which may be old (Lys. 3.4 παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀνοητότερον πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον διαθεθεῖς, Nicol.Com. 1.34, Plu. *Rom.* 25.6, *Fab.* 12.5) or unspecified ([And.] 4.39, Arist. *Rh.* 1365<sup>a</sup>22, [Men.] *Sent.* 574 Jäkel) or young (Arist. *HA* 575<sup>b</sup>32, Plu. *Sol.* 20.7, *Them.* 2.3; cf. Pl. *O.* 4.31 παρὰ τὸν ἀλικίας εἰκότα χρόνον). The suggestion that these words are echoed by Luc. *Merc.Cond.* 23 ὀψιμαθήσας . . . καὶ πόρρω που τῆς ἡλικίας παιδευόμενος is refuted by Stein. See the Introduction, p. 26.

**δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι:** def. I n.

**2 ῥήσεις μανθάνειν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγυώς:** no need for ἐκμανθάνειν (Herwerden), as §7, Pl. *Lg.* 811A (contrast X. *Smp.* 3.5 πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν). ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γ- (c) restores the normal construction (LSJ ἔτος 1, γίγνομαι 1.1, KG 1.314, Schwyzer 2.70); ἐξηκονταέτης (V) is abnormal in form, since Attic spells -τούτης (KB 1.544 Anmerk. 7, Schwyzer 1.593), and gives an abnormal construction.

**καὶ ταύτας λέγων παρὰ πότον ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι:** for resumptive ταύτας see on I.2 καὶ τοῦτοις; for λέγων, and recitation at the symposium, XV.10n. For παρὰ πότον, X. *Smp.* 8.41, *An.* 2.3.15, Aeschin. 2.156, Antiph. 122.2, Epicr. 5.2, Macho 105, 175, 366, 377, Plb. 23.5.11, etc.; παρὰ τὴν πόσιν Hdt. 2.121δ.5, παρ' οἶνον Hedyd. ap. Ath. 473A (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1853), παρὰ . . . Βρόμιον E. *Herc.* 682 (LSJ παρὰ c.i.10.d, KG 1.513); cf. XX.10 ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.

**3 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ οὐοῦ μανθάνειν τὸ “Ἐπὶ δόρυ” καὶ “Ἐπ’ ἀσπίδα” καὶ “Ἐπ’ οὐράν”:** for the spelling οὐοῦ, IX.5n. For τό introducing quoted words, LSJ

ὁ β.1.5, KG 1.596 (7). These are the typical commands of the drill-sergeant (ὄπλομάχος, V.10n.). Cf. Poll. 1.129 ἐπὶ μέτωπον κλίνει καὶ ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ ἐπὶ δόρυ. Spear-side and shield-side are right and left: X. *An.* 4.3.29 ἀνατρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ, *Cyr.* 7.5.6 μετεβάλλοντο ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, Plb. 3.115.9 οἱ μὲν . . . κλινάντες ἐπ' ἀσπίδα . . . οἱ δὲ . . . ἐπὶ δόρυ ποιοῦμενοι τὴν κλίειν (LSJ δόρυ II.1 a, ἀσπίς 1.3). οὐρά is used of an army's 'rear', e.g. X. *HG* 4.3.4 παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἵππικόν (cf. *Ages.* 2.2, LSJ II.1). For absence of article see KG 1.605 (f), IV.2n.

**4 καὶ εἰς ἥρωια συμβάλλεσθαι τοῖς μειρακίοις λαμπάδα τρέχων:** ritual torch-races for ephebes, normally relays, in which fire was carried from one altar to another, were held at the Panathenaea, the Hephaestia, and the Promethia; also at festivals for Pan, Bendis, and Nemesis of Rhamnus. See Frazer on Paus. 1.30.2, Jüthner, 'Λαμπαδηδρομία', *RE* XII.1 (1925) 569–77, L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 211–13, 219–20, O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century BC* (Leiden 1971) 18, H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 45–6, 150–1, 171–3, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 57.1, E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison 1983) 53–4, D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden 1987) 190–3, N. V. Sekunda, *ΖPE* 83 (1990) 153–8, R. Osborne, 'Competitive Festivals and the Polis: a context for dramatic festivals at Athens', in A. H. Sommerstein *et al.* (edd.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari 1993) 21–37 (esp. 22–7), Parker, *Athenian Religion* 164, 171–2, 254, Wilson, *Khoregia* 35–6. Later we hear of torch-races run by ephebes at two hero-festivals: for Theseus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 956 (161/0 BC) 6, 1030 (i BC) 9) and Ajax (*SEG* 15 (1958) no. 104 (127/6 BC) 21–3, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1011 (106/5 BC) 53–4); Deubner 224–6, 228, C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris 1962) 229–35, 247–9, Parke 81–2, Kyle 40–1. The general term 'hero-festivals' probably embraces these two, and perhaps unknown others. The festival of Theseus, and perhaps that of Ajax too, was instituted in the fifth century (Osborne 22, 25, 27), and they may have had torch-races from the first. The ἥρωια of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 974.12 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 687) + *SEG* 18 (1962) no. 26 (138/7 BC), which Lane Fox 143 identifies with our ἥρωια, are in honour of Asclepius (Deubner 228, R. O. Hubbe, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 191 n. 57) and have nothing to do with torch-races and ephebes.

The expression εἰς ἥρωια 'for the hero-festivals' is like Lys. 21.3 ἐγυμνιασάρχων εἰς Προμήθεια, Is. 5.36 εἰς Διονύσια χορηγίας (cf. 7.36), [X.] *Ath.* 3.4 χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι εἰς Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια καὶ Παναθήνια καὶ Προμήθεια καὶ Ἡφαιστία (KG 1.470; cf. XV.5n.). In the context of a relay-race, συμβάλλεσθαι will not be 'match himself against' (Jebb, *al.*) but 'make a contribution to' (Bechert), i.e. 'join the team of'. For this sense and this construction (absolute with personal subject) cf. D. 21.133 συμβαλουμένους τοῖς συμμάχοις ('supporting their allies' MacDowell), LSJ 1.9. But συμβάλλεσθαι cannot be followed by infin. τρέχειν (V), which would have to be taken as

final-consecutive, with the young men, not himself, as subject (XVI.6n., Stein 253 n. 1); and 'he contributes to the young men for them to run' is nonsense. The solution is not <καί> λαμπάδα τρέχειν (Ast), commended by Stein, its feebleness exposed by Rusten's translation ('contributes to the boys, and runs in the relay races'). The appropriate continuation is part. τρέχων, which, at the end of the sentence, complements the leading verb much in the way that ἐκμανθάνων does in §7. For the part. with this verb, A. Ch. 1012–13 ξυμβάλλεται . . . φθείρουσα 'contributes in destroying' (misinterpreted by LSJ 1.9). The alternative is συμβαλλόμενος (Navarre 1920), a rougher change.

The term μειράκιον is less specific than ἔφηβος (V.7), and covers any age between boyhood and manhood: X. *Smp.* 4.17 παῖς . . . καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πρεσβύτης, Men. fr. 494 παῖς γέγον', ἔφηβος, μειράκιον, ἀνήρ, γέρων, Gomme and Sandbach on Men. *Dysc.* 27, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 42.2. Jebb's notion that the Late Learner chooses to compete with young boys rather than ephebes is ill-founded. Whoever his teammates may be, this is an activity which exposes the unfit to ridicule (Ar. *Ra.* 1089–98). For λαμπάδα τρέχων (λαμπάδα internal acc., connoting the race itself), Ar. *V.* 1203–4 λαμπάδα | ἔδραμες, LSJ λαμπάς II.1, τρέχω II.2 (add *SEG* 15 (1958) no. 104 (127/6 BC) 13–14, 23, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1011 (107/6 BC) 9).

5 ἀμέλει δὲ κ(αί): II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

ἔν που κληθῆι εἰς Ἡράκλειον: an invitation to a sacrifice at a shrine of Heracles (S. Woodford, 'Cults of Heracles in Attica', in D. G. Mitten *et al.* (edd.), *Studies presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz 1971) 211–25), perhaps from a private religious association dining there in his name (Wyse on Is. 9.30, W. S. Ferguson, *HTHR* 3 (1944) 70 n. 12, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 333–4).

ρίψας τὸ ἰμάτιον: cf. Lys. 3.12, 35, Pl. *R.* 474A, Longus 4.22.1; LSJ ῥίπτω IV. For the alternative spelling θοίμ- (Meineke), XXX.10n.

τὸν βοῦν αἶρῃσαι: by the second century, lifting the bull over the altar had become a ritualised demonstration of strength by ephebes at state festivals: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006 (123/2 BC) 9–10 ἦραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς βούς το[ύ] ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τῆι θυσίαι καὶ τοῖς Προηροσίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς καὶ γυμνασίοις, 78–9; 1008 (119/8 BC) 8–9; 1011 (107/6 BC) 8; 1028 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 717) 10–11, 13, 28 (100/99 BC); 1029 (95/4 BC) 9, 16–17; *SEG* 15 (1958) no. 104 (127/6 BC) 11–12. Already in the fifth century we hear of 200 Athenians selected by the priests to perform this feat: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 82 (421/0 BC) 29–30 οἵτιν[ε]ς δὲ ἄρωνται ἐ[π]άνδρωσ αὐτούς, οἱ ἱεροποιο[ι] αἰρείεσθων] διακοσίους ἐξ Ἀθη[ν]αίων. See Parke (§4n.) 51–2, 172, F. Graf, *MH* 36 (1979) 14–15, F. T. van Straten, *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Leiden etc. 1995) 108–13, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 254 n. 127, A. Henrichs in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale: Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998)

62–3. Still earlier, a sixth-century Attic black figure amphora shows seven bearded men (i.e. not ephebes) lifting a bull on their shoulders, while another cuts its throat (van Straten 111 with Fig. 115, N. Himmelmann, *Tieropfer in der griechischen Kunst* (Opladen 1997) 22–4, with Abb. 13). Literary references to the custom: E. *El.* 813 (Denniston is corrected by van Straten 109–10), *Hel.* 1561–2 (rightly Kannicht), Aristocl. ap. Ael. *NA* 11.4 (*FGrH* 436 F 2 = Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* 104, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 206.4) ταύρον ὄν οὐκ αἴρουσ' ἀνέρες οὐδὲ δέκα (for the reading, Henrichs 63 n. 108). αἰρεῖσθαι (V) was corrected to αἴρεσθαι by Meier 1850, before Bergk (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig 31866) 518, on Thgn. 501).

Ἰνα τραχηλίχι: he proposes to put a neck-lock on the victim (not 'cut its throat', van Straten 110 n. 27), then presumably pull back the head and expose the throat for the sacrificial knife (Woodford 212–13). This is wrestling terminology, for comic effect: Plu. 521 B τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὑπὸ παιδικαρίου τραχηλιζόμενον, *Ant.* 33.7 διαλαμβάνων τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐτραχήλιζεν,<sup>118</sup> Suda T 921 Κλεόστρατος Ῥόδιος πάλην νικᾷ· ὃς τραχηλιζὼν ἀπελάμβανε ('choked'); LSJ π.1 and τραχηλιζμός, M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World* (New Haven 1987) 34. Heracles wrestled with a lion and a bull. The lion, at least, he often put in a neck-lock (*LIMC* v.1 (1990) 16–34).

6 καὶ προσανατρίβεσθαι εἰσιὼν εἰς τὰς παλαίστρας: 'rub up against', in wrestling, i.e. get a close grip, as Pl. *Th.* 169c, Plu. 751 F. His fault is over-exertion rather than over-familiarity (V.7n.). It is unwise to add a dat. (παλαίστρας <τοῖς νεανίαις> Foss 1835, καὶ <τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις> Meier 1850), since Pl. and Plu. use the verb absolutely. Cf. VII.5.

7 καὶ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τρία ἢ τέτταρα πληρώματα ὑπομένειν τὰ αἵματα ἔκμανθάνων: for θαύμασι, VI.4n. This use of πληρώματα for (apparently) 'fillings' of the auditorium, i.e. performances, is not recognised by LSJ. It corresponds to the use of πληρῶω 'fill', e.g. a court, the Ecclesia (LSJ III.4, 7).

8 καὶ τελούμενος τῷ Καβαζίῳ επεῦσαι ὄπως καλλικτεύσῃ παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ: on Sabazios, XVI.4n. For initiation into his rites and the processions of his θίασοι, D. 18.259–60, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 194; for τελούμενος, XVI.12n. 'He is eager to be the most handsome in the eyes of the priest', rather than 'acquit himself best' (Jebb). Initiation is an excuse for dressing up, and the Late Learner, who is vain, tries to look younger than his years. A male beauty-contest

<sup>118</sup> 'He would take the young combatants by the neck and part them' (B. Perrin, Loeb ed.), not 'Grabbing the youths by their waists he would twist their necks' (C. B. R. Pelling (Cambridge 1988) *ad loc.*; similarly M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of Greek Combat Sports* (Meisenheim 1982) 50–1). For that you need two hands, and he has only one free, since his other holds the gymnasiarch's ῥάβδοι.



at Elis, connected with a temple of Athena (fr. 111 Wimmer, 563 Fortenbaugh, ap. Ath. 609f), adduced by Bechert and Ussher, can have no possible relevance here. καλλιτεύσει (Schneider) could be right (X.14n.); but the subjunctive is unexceptionable (XXI.11n.). For παρά ‘in the judgement of’, LSJ B.II.3, KG 1.511.

**9** The elderly lover is a regular object of mockery (Men. fr. 400 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ’ ἐρῶντος ἀθλιώτερον | οὐθὲν γέροντος, Pherecr. 77, McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.9.4). The Late Learner is more than an elderly lover. He apes the excesses of the young man in love. He is the *exclusus amator* who batters down a hetaira’s door (Headlam on Herod. 2.34–7). And then he comes to blows with a rival. Brawling over hetairai is natural in the young (D. 54.14 τὸν ὕδν . . . πολ- λάκις περὶ ἑταίρας καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγὰς, καὶ ταῦτ’ εἶναι νέων ἀνθρώπων; cf. Lys. 3.43, 4.19, Is. 3.13, [D.] (Apollod.) 59.48). The old should not brawl (Lys. 24.16–17, D. 54.21–2). Cf. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 103. For comment on the literary qualities of this sentence see the Introduction, pp. 22–3.

καὶ ἐρῶν ἑταίρας: cf. Alex. 281.4, Men. *Dysc.* 59. For the corruption (ἱεράς V, prompted by preceding ἱερεῖ) see on V.9 παλαιατριδίου.

καὶ κριός προσβάλλων ταῖς θύραις: cf. Aristopho 5.5 προσβαλεῖν (Grotius: -βάδην A, -βαίνειν CE) πρὸς οἰκίαν δεῖ, κριός (‘an attack on a house is needed – I am a κριός’), with (as here) a play on ‘ram’ and ‘battering-ram’ (LSJ 1.2). Same image, Ar. *Lys.* 309 (οὐκ οὖν ἄν . . .) εἰς τὴν θύραν κρηδὸν ἐμπέκοιμεν;, Pl. *Capt.* 796–7 *nam meumst ballista pugnum, cubitus catapultast mihi, | unerus aries, Truc.* 256 *quis illic est qui tam proterue nostras aedis arietat?*

‘A ram assaulting the door’ is a form of brachylogy, identification rather than comparison, which is characteristic of comedy and proverbial speech: P. Shorey, *CPh* 4 (1909) 433–6, Headlam-Knox on Herod. 6.14, E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922) 51–2 = *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960) 47–8, R. Kassel, *RhM* 116 (1973) 109–12 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin and New York 1991) 388–91, Mastronarde on E. *Ph.* 1122, Diggle, *CQ* 47 (1997) 102–3. Animals are the commonest identification: Alc. *PMG* 1.59, 87, Thgn. 347, 1249, A. fr. 207, [A.] *PV* 857, S. *OT* 478, *OC* 1081, E. *Rh.* 57, Hdt. 4.149.1, Ar. *Lys.* 231, 695, Pl. 295, Cratin. 56, 96, 135, 247, Eup. 279, Theopomp. Com. 41.3, Cephisod. 1, Diod. Com. 6, Men. *Dysc.* 550, Alex. 258, Philem. 158, Theoc. 14.51, Herod. 6.14, Call. *AP* 12.149.3 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1089), Mel. *AP* 12.92.3 (*Hellenistic Epigrams* 4622), Luc. 22.11, 31.4.

κριός, an admirable conjecture, restores a vigorous idiomatic locution. κριούς (V) προσβάλλων ‘applying battering rams’ shifts the focus from the man to the implements which he is using. These are traditionally axes (Theoc. 2.128, Pl. *Bac.* 1119), pickaxes and shovels (Ath. 585A), and crowbars (H. *Carm.* 3.26.7). To call these ‘battering rams’ is much less natural and effective than

to call the man himself a '(battering) ram'. Herwerden's further change of *καί* to *ἐκκληριθεῖς* was rash. If *καί* is objectionable, it should be deleted (VII.4n.). But 'in love and battering . . .' is probably acceptable.

*πληγὰς εἰληφῶς ὑπ' ἀντεραστοῦ δικάζεσθαι*: for *πληγὰς εἰληφῶς*, XII.12n. For *δίκη* as the outcome, Epich. 146.3–5 *ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ὑνία, | ἐκ δ' ὑνίας δικά <≠ ἐκ δίκας δὲ καταδίκας>, | ἐκ δὲ καταδίκας πῆδει τε καὶ σφαλὸς καὶ ζαμία*.

**10** *καὶ εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐφ' ἵππου ἀλλοτρίου ὀχοῦμενος ἅμα μελετᾶν ἵππάζεσθαι καὶ πεσῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καταγῆναι*: while riding on a borrowed horse (he has no horse of his own and is therefore unused to riding), he 'practises horsemanship'. *ὀχοῦμενος* suggests passive conveyance, and an inexperienced rider does well to be carried passively. But *ἵππάζεσθαι* suggests active management of the horse, a manly skill, like the use of bow and javelin (Hdt. 4.114.3 *τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆια οὐκ ἐμάθομεν*; cf. X. *Oec.* 11.17). For the picture in general, Ar. *V.* 1427–9 *ἀνὴρ Κυβαρίτης ἐξέπεσον ἐξ ἄρματος | καὶ πῶς κατεάγη τῆς κεφαλῆς μέγα σφοδρᾶ: | ἐτύγγανεν γὰρ οὐ τρίβων ὦν ἵππικῆς*, And. 1.61 *ἐπὶ πωλίον ὁ μοι ἦν ἀναβάς ἔπεσον καὶ τὴν κλεῖν συνετρίβην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγην*.

The compound *κατοχοῦμενος* (V), not elsewhere attested, is inept, since 'ride down' implies a journey *from* the country, not into it (see on IV.13 *καταβαίνων*). Perhaps *κατ-* is a premature echo of *καταγῆναι* (see on IV.13 *περιῶν*). At all events, the simple verb is preferable to *έποχ-* (Navarre 1920), which is better suited by dat. *ἵππῳ* (H. *Il.* 10.330, 17.448–9) than *ἐφ' ἵππου*. There is no need for *τῆς κεφαλῆς* (J. Clericus, *Arx Critica* (Amsterdam 41712) 2.101, before Meineke), gen. as Ar. *V.* 1428 (above), *Ach.* 1167 (acc. *u.l.*), 1180, Eur. 348, Pl. *Grg.* 469D (KG 1.345); acc. is supported by And. 1.61 (above), Lys. 3.14, 40, D. 54.35 (KG 1.316). *κατεαγέναι* (V), an inappropriate perfect, must be replaced by *καταγῆναι* (J. Palmerius, *Exercitationes in optimos fere Auctores Graecos . . . et in antiquos Poetas* (Leiden 1668) 621, before Edmonds 1929), corrupted by way of the common misspelling *κατεαγῆναι* (LSJ *init.*, KB 2.345–6). See also E. Dettori, 'Ναυᾶγ-/ναυηγ-, una iscrizione e alcune forme di ἄγνυμι', *AION (filol)* 19 (1997) 279–317. For the position of ἅμα, XIX.5n. No need for ἅμα μελετῶν . . . καταπεσῶν (Stark).

**11** *καὶ ἐν δεκαδικταῖς συνάγειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἱσυναύξονταῖ*: the *δεκαδικταῖ* are members of a dining-club (attested in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2701 (*SIG<sup>3</sup>* 1196) 8, c. 300 BC; *IG XI* 1227, Delos iii–ii BC), named from the day of the month on which they met, like *τετραδικταῖ* (Alex. 260.1, Ath. 659D citing Men. *Kol.* fr. 1 Koerte, Sandbach, Hsch. T 614), *εἰκαδικταῖ* (Ath. 298D), *νομηνιασταῖ* (Lys. fr. 53.2 Thalheim), and *ἑβδομαῖσταῖ* (4th-cent. inscr., E. Voutiras, *AJA* 86 (1982) 229–33). See F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig

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1909) 64, 253, G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (Austin 1913) 32, Arnott on Alex. *loc. cit.*, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 335–6, N. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens* (New York and Oxford 1999) 225.

συνάγειν ‘assemble for a (drinking) party’ may be intransitive (XXX.18n.) or transitive (with personal object, as apparently here, Men. *Dysc.* 566, *Pk.* 175, fr. 340). συναύξειν is attested in the sense ‘further the interests of a club’ in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1329 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1102, 175/4 BC) 7–8 συναύξων . . . διατετέλεκεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν τὴν κύνοδον (D.L. 5.70, adduced by Wilhelm and Edmonds, is irrelevant). And so the words have been translated ‘diejenigen, welche mit ihm Förderer (des Vereins) sind’ (Bechert, similarly Diels), ‘plans the attendance of his fellow financial sponsors’ (Rusten). But, even if the verb could be used absolutely, such innocent activity is not an example of ὀφισμαθία. There is no plausible conjecture: συνάξοντας Coray, Schneider, συνδιάξοντας Bloch, συνάιοντας Darvaris, αἰκοντας or αὐλοῦντας Ast, αἰκομένους or συναυλοῦντας Foss 1835, συναυλήκοντας Jebb, τοῦς <μη> . . . συναύξοντας Edmonds 1929. Perhaps the verb is sound, and there is a lacuna. For μετὰ . . . συν-, XXI.11n.

**12** καὶ μακρὸν ἀνδριάντα παίζειν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκόλουθον: we know no more of this game than the game mentioned at V.5. Various guesses: ‘tableaux vivants’ Jebb; ‘leap-frog’ Edmonds and Austen; ‘walking on stilts’ Bury; ‘a children’s gymnastic feat involving standing on another player’s shoulders’ Edmonds; embracing statues as a muscle-building exercise (E. K. Borthwick, *CQ* 51 (2001) 494–8). In English, ‘play statues’ is a familiar expression, nowadays a favourite of football writers (“The defence played statues”), and is derived from a game in which the players adopt statuesque poses (I. and P. Opie, *Children’s Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford 1969) 245–7). But if the game is of that kind the epithet μακρὸν (‘play a tall statue’) is unexpected. The expression may be corrupt. There are many conjectures, none remotely plausible: πρὸς for μακρὸν Casaubon, πρὸς μικρὸν Gale, πρὸς μακρὸν . . . παλαίειν Reiske 1757, μικρὸν . . . πιέζειν Coray, μακρῶι ἀνδρι ἀντιπαλαίειν Darvaris, παίειν Ast, ἀνδριάντι Sheppard, Μάνην for μακρὸν Hartung, παγκρατίωι ἀνδριζέσθαι Hanow 1861, \*μακτρίνδα Naber, μακράν φαινίνδα Diels (μακράν makes no sense), “Ἄρον ἀνδριάντα” Borthwick. While ἀνδριάντα could well be a corruption of a game ending in -ίνδα (Poll. 9.110–7 documents this formation), μακρὸν remains intractable. For the form ἑαυτ-, I.2n.; ἀκόλουθον, IX.3n.

**13** καὶ διατοξεύεσθαι καὶ διακοντίζεσθαι τῶι τῶν παιδίων παιδαγωγῶι: cf. X. *Cyr.* 1.4.4 ἢ διατοξευσόμενος ἢ διακοντιούμενος. These are skills needed in war, and ephebes received training in both. Javelin-throwing was also a sport:

an event in the pentathlon (E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London 1910) 338–58, id. *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1930) 169–76, H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964) 92–7, id. *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London 1972) 36–7), and practised by youths in the gymnasium (Antipho 3). Archery is included in the educational curriculum by Pl. *Lg.* 804c. Cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) 275–6.

καὶ ἅμα <κελεύειν αὐτὰ> μανθάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ: I take the subject of μανθάνειν to be the children, not (as others do) the paidagogos. The following words then read more naturally, with ἐκείνου opposed to αὐτοῦ: it is from the father himself, not from *him* (the paidagogos), that the children are to learn. Clarity requires that the subject should be specified. We therefore need to add more than an infinitive (παρ' αὐτοῦ <κελεύειν> Reiske 1749 (*Briefe* 362) and 1757, <κελεύειν> μανθάνειν Dobree, παρ' αὐτοῦ <παραινεῖν> Hanow 1861). Masculine αὐτούς or τούτους (cf. ταύτας §2) would be possible; but a neuter (αὐτά rather than ταῦτα, which would too easily be taken as non-personal object of μανθάνειν) is commended by V.5. Alternatively, e.g. μανθάνειν <αὐτὰ κελεύειν>. For ἅμα, XXV.8n.

ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐκείνου μὴ ἐπισταμένου: KG 1.242, Goodwin §214, Hindenlang 79.

14 καὶ παλαίων δ' ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ πυκνὰ ἔδραν στρέφειν: it is unclear whether παλαίων is to be taken with ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ, to indicate that in the baths he is acting like a wrestler, or is to be taken as an instance of the bare introductory participle which sets the scene and indicates the type of activity in which the subject is engaged (VII.8n.), 'when he is a wrestler', in which case ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ may be taken with πυκνὰ ἔδραν στρέφειν. In either case the wrestling is a solo performance and his opponent is imaginary. He shows off his technique in the baths, rather than in the wrestling ring. Cf. Macho 94–5 ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ καταμαθῶν οὖν πλείονα | γυμναζομένους τῶν μειρακίων παρὰ τῷ πυρί ('the youths . . . are doing physical exercises before or after their athletics in the gymnasium' Gow). Baths are associated with palaestra and gymnasium: Ar. *Au.* 140 ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον, [X.] *Ath.* 2.10 γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρά καὶ ἀποδυτήρια . . . παλαίστρας πολλάς, ἀποδυτήρια, λουτρῶνας; Delorme (§13n.) 304–11, Ginouves, *Balaneutikè* 124–50, I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea* (Aarhus 1990) 1.9–12, F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge Mass. and London 1992) 6–29. Emendation is uncalled for: <ὥσπερ> παλαίων Clericus (§10n.) 2.53, παλαίτας Ast, βαλανεύων or <ὡς> παλαίων Foss 1858.

ἔδραν στρέφειν is 'twist the buttocks' (LSJ ἔδρα III), technical terminology, indicating a turn of the hip 'for a side headlock and hipthrow' (Poliakoff, *Combat Sports* (§5n.) 34). Cf. Theoc. 24.111–12 ὄσσα δ' ἀπὸ κκελέων

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ἔδροστρόφοι Ἄργόθεν ἄνδρες | ἀλλάλους σφάλλοντι παλαίμασιν.<sup>119</sup> No need for \*ἔδροστροφεῖν (Edmonds 1929).

**ὅπως πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκῆι:** not, with general reference, ‘in order that he may appear educated’ (Jebb), as if buttock-twisting were a sign of education, but, more specifically, ‘appear to have been educated in the art of wrestling’, ‘be reputed an expert’ (LSJ παιδεύω II, illustrating perf. part. πεπαιδευμένος, ‘educated, trained, expert’).

**15 καὶ ὅταν ὦσι <ν ἔγγυς> γυναικ<εσ> μελετᾶν ὀρχεῖσθαι:** when women approach, he shows off. For the supplement cf. e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 244 ἄνδρες ἔγγυς, fr. 318 οἱ γὰρ ἦρωσ ἐγγυς εἰσιν, Pl. *Phdr.* 254D ἐπειδὴ ἔγγυς ἦσαν, X. *An.* 2.3.6 ἔγγυς που βασιλεὺς ἦν. Alternatively <παρ>ῶσι (Schneider) or ὦσι <πλησίον> (Foss 1858). Not <χοροὶ> γυναικ<ῶν> (Diels); the expression would be like V.7 ὅταν ἦι θέα, XXII.6 ὅταν ἦι Μουσεῖα, but would imply some formal occasion, when a man who started to dance and hum would merely look a fool.

αὐτὸς αὐτῶι τερετίζων: cf. Ar. *Ec.* 88ο μινυρομένη τι πρὸς ἑμαυτὴν μέλος, 931 αἶδω πρὸς ἑμαυτὴν, XIX.9 συντερετίζειν.

### [16] *Epilogue*

If διδασκαλίας is right, this epilogue belongs here, where it was first transposed by Boissonade (ap. Schweighäuser 1803) before Hanow 1861. If it belongs after XXVIII, διδασκαλίας must be changed. Proposed changes are unappealing: κακολογίας Coray, δυσκολίας Hottinger, ἰδίας κακίας Foss 1836 before Diels, διαβολίας Ussing, βασκανίας Meiser. Words shared with other spurious passages are οὔτως (epil. VIII) and ἤθεσι (epil. I, VI.2).

<sup>119</sup> I reject the conjecture στρέφειν ἔδραν for στρέφειν ἔραν at Ar. *Ra.* 957 (R. G. Ussher, *Hermathena* 85 (1955) 57–60), accepted by Sommerstein (1996, and Addenda to his ed. of *Pl.* (2001) 316). Such a figurative expression jars with the plainer verbs which surround it. Sommerstein’s argument that “being in love” is . . . not something one can be *taught* is answered by Asclep. *AP* 5.167.6 (Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 875) ἔραν ἔμαθεσ, Lib. *Decl.* 12.4ο οὐ ταῦτά με ἐδίδαξεν ὁ τρόπος, ἔραν μεθύειν ἀύλητρίδι προσανακέεσθαι κωμάζειν, Iamb. *Bab.* fr. 35 Habrich ἐδίδασκον ταύτην ἔραν. The transmitted text is defended by E. K. Borthwick, *CPh* 92 (1997) 363–7.

## XXVIII THE SLANDERER

### Introductory note

Certain types of false statement invited an action for slander, δίκη κακηγορίας (MacDowell, *Law* 126–9 and on D. 21.81). The Κακολόγος risks prosecution once at least, when he speaks ill of the dead (§6). He remains a shadowy figure, a malicious gossip, with no individual traits of personality and no motive except a perverse pleasure in speaking ill (§6), and standing in no clearly defined relationship to either his victims or his hearers.

#### [1] Definition

ἀγωγή ψυχῆς εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐν λόγοις: a lumpish expression, deserving a translation no better than I have given it. ἀγ- is ‘movement, impulse, tendency’, as Pl. *R.* 604B ἐναντίας . . . ἀγωγῆς γιγνομένης ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ (LSJ 1.1.b), but not Pl. *Lg.* 673A τὴν ἔντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ (cited by Immisch 1897), where it is ‘training’ (LSJ 11.3) and αὐτοῦ is objective. On Hp. *Epid.* 1.1 (cited by LSJ) see Stein 255 n. 3. For ψυχῆς without art. (Edmonds 1908), def. XIV, XXV; εἰς τὸ χεῖρον, def. I n.; ἐν λόγοις, def. XV.

#### 2 τοιόδε τις: XVII.2n.

ἐρωτηθεὶς “Ὁ δεῖνα τίς ἐστιν;”: cf. XV.2.

†οὐκοῦνδε† καθάπερ οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες: cf. Isoc. 15.180 βούλομαι . . . περὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων παιδείας ὥσπερ οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες πρῶτον διελεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Genealogy had always been a popular subject, as Homer, Hesiod, and the early historians attest (R. Thomas, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> ‘Genealogy’, R. L. Fowler, ‘Genealogical thinking’, *PCPhS* 44 (1998) 1–19). By the fifth century praise of ancestors was a regular prelude to encomia (Gorg. *Hel.* 3, X. *Ages.* 1.2) and funeral speeches (Th. 2.36.1, Pl. *Mx.* 237A, Lys. 2.3, D. 60.3, Hyp. *Epit.* 6–7). Abuse of ancestors, no less than praise, was a stock-in-trade of the rhetorician: Anaximenes of Lampsac. ([Arist.] *Rh.Al.*) 35.10 κακολογοῦντα ἐπὶ τῶν μοχθηρῶν προγόνων ποιητέον τὴν γενεαλογίαν (W. Süss, *Ethos: Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 247–8, S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980) 14). The tracing of a neighbour’s disreputable ancestors is one manifestation of πολυπραγμοσύνη (Plu. 516B ἐτέρους γενεαλογοῦμεν, ὅτι τοῦ γείτονος ὁ πάππος ἦν Κύρος, Θραῖττα δ’ ἡ τήθη).

For οὐκοῦνδε there is no satisfactory solution. Not (with εἰπεῖν for preceding ἐστιν) “οὐκοῦν δὴ κτλ.” (Hanow 1860), since this heavy Platonic connective

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(*Plt.* 303B, 305E, *R.* 459E, *Sph.* 256D, 257A; Denniston 469) is inappropriate here; nor ὀγκοῦσθαι ‘speak pompously’ (Diels, comparing *Ath.* 403E ὠγκώσατο, of a comic cook in Anaxipp. 1), since pomposity neither suits the purpose of a slanderer nor well characterises the style of what follows. Other proposals: οὐκοῦν ante πρῶτον Schneider, εἰπεῖν Foss 1836, εἰπεῖν δὴ Foss 1858 (for δὴ, inappropriate here, *XX.*3n.), οἰκονομεῖν Immisch 1897 (<εἰπεῖν> οἰκονομῶν Steinmetz), “οὐκοῦν” φῆσαι (Diels ap. Sandys), δηλοῦν Meiser, <εἰπεῖν> “ἄκουε δὴ” Edmonds 1929. There is no advantage in beginning the direct speech with “Καθάπερ κτλ.” (Cobet 1874).

Πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἄρξομαι: he uses, for ironical effect, a turn of phrase characteristic of funeral speeches or encomia (*Th.* 2.36.1 ἄρξομαι . . . ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον, *D.* 60.3 ἄρξομαι . . . ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, *Hypr. Epit.* 6 πόθεν ἄρξομαι[1 λέγων] ἢ τίνοσ πρώτου μνησθῶ; πότερα περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐκάστων διεξέλθω;). Pleonastic πρῶτον with ἄρχειν/ἄρχεσθαι is very common: e.g. *HP* 7.13.3, *Hdt.* 1.2.1, *Ar. Nu.* 1353, *Th.* 1.103.4, *Pl. R.* 546D, *X. HG* 7.4.25, *D.* 61.10, *Aeschin.* 1.22, *Arist. EE* 1217<sup>a</sup>18–19.

᾿Ωσίας . . . ᾿Ωσίδρατος . . . <᾿Ωσίδημος>: in Attica the name Sosias was borne by citizens, foreigners, and slaves (*LGPN* 2.415, Osborne and Byrne e.g. nos. 213, 3199, 3383, 8043–6, S. Lauffer, *Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion* (Wiesbaden <sup>2</sup>1979) 129, Ch. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen* (Athens 1988) 373–4, *al.*); in comedy, regularly by slaves (A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1973) 465–6; cf. Σ uet. *Ar. Ach.* 243 (*IX.*3n.)); in *X. Vect.* 4.14 (Osborne and Byrne 2586), by a wealthy Thracian. Sosistratos is common in Attica (*Arist. Po.* 1462<sup>a</sup>7, *D.* 18.295, *LGPN* 2.418) and attested elsewhere (*LGPN* 1.423, 3A.415). Sosidemos (restored here by Meier 1850) is attested in the fourth century in Attica (*LGPN* 2.416, Osborne and Byrne no. 6512) and on Delos (*LGPN* 1.421). For other changes of name by upstarts cf. *D.* 18.130 (Τρόμησ το ᾿Ατρόμητος and Ἐμπούσα το Γλαυκοθέα), *Herod.* 2.38 (᾿Αρτίμησ το Θαλήσ), *Luc. Gall.* 14 (Σίμων το Σιμωνίδησ), *Tim.* 22 (ἀντί τοῦ τέωσ Πυρρίου ἢ Δρόμωνοσ ἢ Τιβείου Μεγακλήσ ἢ Μεγάβυζοσ ἢ Πρώταρχοσ μετονομασθείσ); further instances in Headlam on *Herod.* 2.38. P. M. Fraser, *BSA* 40 (1953) 56–9, *id.* in *Ancient Macedonia: Fifth International Symposium* 1 (Thessaloniki 1993) 447, suggests that it may have been accepted practice for a slave to change his name on gaining his freedom, and that Sosias is one such slave. But the Slanderer declines to be specific, and it suits his purpose to leave the picture blurred. He invites us to infer, if we wish, that Sosias was a slave, and to speculate on the reasons for his changes of name. His purpose is to insinuate that Sosias is a pretentious parvenu with something to hide. The adaptation of name to circumstance is reminiscent of a motif which is frequent in comedy (E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin 1922) 23–38 = *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence 1960) 21–35).

ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις: perhaps as a mercenary. Athens often recruited Thracian peltasts (e.g. Th. 2.29.5, 4.28.4; J. G. P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and their Influence on Greek Warfare* (Groningen 1969)). Fraser (above) 57 n. 1 cites a change of name in the Ptolemaic army: *P. Ryl.* 585.41 (ii BC) Διονύσιος [c. Ἀ]θηναγόρου, ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ στρα[τιωτ]ικῷ Νικόλαος Ὀνησίμου.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφη: registration in the deme necessarily preceded admission to citizenship, and citizenship was normally granted only to those whose father was a citizen and whose mother was the daughter of a citizen ([Arist.] *Ath.* 42.1–2, Rhodes *ad loc.*, Harrison 2.206–7, MacDowell, *Law* 67–70, Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* esp. 97–109, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 94–7, S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor 1993) 27–43, D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (Oxford 1996) 120–3). But citizenship was occasionally granted to foreigners and even to slaves (MacDowell 70–3, M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels 1981–3), Whitehead 103, Hansen 53–4, 94–5, Kapparis on [D.] (Apollod.) 59.89). So the Slanderer is not necessarily insinuating that Sosias was registered illegally, as Demosthenes insinuates of Aeschines (18.261 ἐπειδὴ . . . εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπωςδήποτε). <παρ>ενεγράφη (Cobet 1873) is too explicit.

ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ εὐγενῆς Θραιτῆ ἐστὶ . . . τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας φασὶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εὐγενεῖς εἶναι: the epithet εὐγενῆς is not sufficiently explained by Men. fr. 891 Θραῖξ εὐγενῆς εἶ, πρὸς ἄλλας ἡγορασμένους, ‘a true Thracian, bought in exchange for salt’, i.e. a true (typical) slave, cheaply bought (cf. Bühler on Zen. II.86). If ‘his mother is a true Thracian’ means merely that she is a true slave, what follows (‘they say that in their own country such women are true slaves’) is banal. To suppose that ‘such women’ are not merely slaves but prostitutes (Edmonds) does not much help. A. D. Knox (*PCPhS* 100 (1916) 6 and ap. Headlam on Herod. 5.65) saw that the epithet alludes to the mark of high birth which is particularly associated with Thracians, the tattoo: Hdt. 5.6.2 τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενῆς κέρριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἀγεννέας, *Dialex.* (90 DK) 2.13 τοῖς . . . Θραιξὶ κόσμος τὰς κόρας στίζεσθαι: τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τιμωρία τὰ στίγματα τοῖς ἀδικούντι, D.Chr. 14.19 τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐλευθέραις στίγματων μεστὰς καὶ τοσοῦτωι πλείονα ἔχουσας στίγματα καὶ ποικιλώτερα ὄσων ἂν βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων δοκῶσιν, Artem. 1.8 στίζονται παρὰ Θραιξίν οἱ εὐγενεῖς παῖδες; cf. Ar. fr. 90, Clearch. fr. 46 Wehrli ap. Ath. 524DE, Phanocl. 1.23–6 Powell (H. Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers: Greek Comedy* etc. (Oxford 1990) 211), Plu. 557D. Similarly X. *An.* 5.4.32 (of the Μοσκούνοικοι) παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων . . . ποικίλους . . . τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα, ἐστιγμένους ἀνθήμια. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2 (Cambridge 1925) 123, Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* 163 n. 44, K. Zimmermann, ‘Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf griechischen Vasenbildern’, *JDAI* 95 (1980) 163–96, C. P. Jones, ‘Stigma: Tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman antiquity’, *JRS* 77 (1987) 139–55. Thracians, in Athenian



eyes, are uncouth barbarians; Thracian women too (Pl. *Thi.* 174<sup>AC</sup>, 175<sup>D</sup>). Others taunted with a Thracian mother are Themistocles (anon. *AP* 7.306 (Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* 1158–9), Ael. *VH* 12.43), Antisthenes (D.L. 6.1.1), Cleophon (Pl. *Com.* 61), Timotheus the general (Ath. 577<sup>A–B</sup>); cf. Eup. 262. For further taunts of alien pedigree see Headlam on Herod. 2.38, 6.34; as a stock item of abuse by the orators, Süß (above on ἰοῦκοῦνδεῖ κτλ.) 248; in comedy, D. M. MacDowell, ‘Foreign birth and Athenian citizenship in Aristophanes’, in A. H. Sommerstein *et al.* (edd.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari 1993) 359–71. Θραῖττα, here ethnic, was a common slave-name (Headlam on Herod. 1.1, Gow on Theoc. 2.70, Olson on Ar. *Pax* 1138–9 and *Ach.* 273, Fragiadakis (above) 352–3, *al.*). For φαcίν (subject unexpressed), KG 1.33 (c, α), Schwyzer 2.245 (δ), LSJ II.1. So not αἱ . . . τοιαῦται (Needham). Cf. also Alex. 94 ἔστιν δὲ ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος οὔτος; :: πλοῦσιος. | τούτους δὲ (γε Arnott) πάντες (πάντας Bothe) φαcίν εὐγενεστάτους | <εἶναι>.

μέντοι, adversative, answering μέν (Denniston 404), is preferred to δέ because two instances of δέ (non-adversative, VI.9n.) have preceded. The word is found only here in this work, but occasionally elsewhere in T. (Müller (1874) 9, Blomqvist 30).

καλεῖται γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ κρινόρακα†: ἡ ψυχὴ cannot be taken as subject, ‘das Schätzchen’ (Immisch), ‘the good soul’ (Headlam on Herod. 6.34), ‘the darling’ (Rusten). As a term of endearment, ψυχὴ is used only in the voc. (Theoc. 24.8, Macho 223, Mart. 10.68.5, Juv. 6.195, Hld. 1.8.4, 2.5.2) or as a predicate after a verb of address (Hld. 8.6.4 Χαρίκλειαν ζῶην καὶ φῶς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνακαλῶν, 1.9.4, 1.14.6); Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* 319–20, Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 186–7. ἡ ψυχὴ Κορινθιακῶς (Jebb), ‘she is called “my life” in the language of Corinth’, is a comical conjecture, with an impossible article and a fanciful adverb, but is at least a legitimate use of the noun. No such name as Κρινόρακα (or -κοράκα, Studniczka *ap.* Immisch 1897) is attested; and a name compounded of lily and crow beggars belief. Knox takes it to suggest ‘Black and White’, in allusion to a tattoo. But κρίνον was not a byword for whiteness: some varieties of plant so named were not white (Gow and Scholfield on Nic. fr. 74.25ff., Gow on Theoc. 11.56). There is nothing remotely comparable in V. Beševliev, *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern* (Amsterdam 1970). Other proposals: Κρινοκορίσκη (‘Lilienmädchen’) Hottinger, κρινόχρους κόρα Bloch, Κοινοκόρακα Foss 1836, ἡ φυλὴ Βινοκοράκια Meier 1850, Κρινοκοράκιον Foss 1858, Κρινοκοράκιον Hanow 1861, Κριναγόρα Münsterberg 1895, [ἡ] ῥινοκόρακα (‘Miss Crow-beak’) Bury, -κορώκα Headlam (on Herod. 6.34), ἡσυχῆ K- (‘when nobody’s listening’) Edmonds 1929.

It is essential that the name restored here should allude to tattooing, since (i) γοῦν is most naturally explained as introducing a statement which offers ‘part proof’ of what precedes (Denniston 451–3), and (ii) τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας κτλ.

needs a specific point of reference ('such women' must be 'tattooed women'). The connection of thought is: 'His mother is a true Thracian woman; at any rate her name suggests that she is tattooed; and tattooing is a mark of a true Thracian woman.' One such name is attested: *Lys.* 13.19 Ἐλαφότικτος (W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 37 (1902) 298–301, P. Wolters, *ib.* 38 (1903) 265–73, O. Crusius, *Philologus* 62 (1903) 125–31, Jones (above) 145).

αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὡς ἐκ τοιοῦτων γεγυῶς κακὸς καὶ στιγματίας: conversely, *Gorg. Hel.* 4 ἐκ τοιοῦτων . . . γενομένη ἔσχε τὸ ἰσόθειον κάλλος, *And.* 1.109 ἀγαθοὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ὄντες ἀπέδοτε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετὴν, *Pl. Mx.* 237A ἀγαθοὶ . . . ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, *Anaximenes. Lampsac.* 35.7 τοὺς ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γενομένους εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ὁμοιοῦσθαι, *Arist. Rh.* 1367<sup>b</sup><sub>31–2</sub> εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸν οὕτω τραφέντα τοιοῦτον εἶναι; Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 94. Although *μαστιγίας* (V) makes sense, the elaborate preamble on the Thracian mother leads inescapably to *στιγματίας*, which rounds off the passage with a *double entendre*. The son, as you would expect with parents like these, is tattooed. A tattoo indicates noble birth in Thrace, but in Athens a delinquent (usually runaway) slave (*Ar. Au.* 760 δραπετῆς ἐστιγμένος, *Ra.* 1511, *Aeschin.* 2.79 ὦν ἀνδραποδῶδης καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐστιγμένος αὐτόμολος, *And. fr.* 5 Blass, *Eup.* 277, *Pl. Lg.* 854D, *Men. Sam.* 323, 654–5, *Diph.* 67.7, *Pl. Com.* 203.2, *PCG* adesp. 1066.9; cf. *Bion of Borysthenes* (F1A Kindstrand) ap. *D.L.* 4.46, *Call.* 203.56, *Herod.* 5.28, 65–7) or a prisoner of war sold into slavery (*Plu. Per.* 26.4 (cf. *Ar. fr.* 71), *Nic.* 29.2). See Headlam on *Herod.* 5.66–7, 79, Hug, 'Στιγματίας', *RE* III.2A (1929) 2520–2, Jones (above) 147–50, V. J. Hunter, *Policing Athens* (Princeton 1994) 170–1, 181–3. The word *στιγματίας* is applied contemptuously to a free man by *Asius* 14.1, *Cratin.* 81 (also with a *double entendre*: *LSJ* 1.2), *Eup.* 172.14. The same note of contempt is present in *Cic. Off.* 2.25 *barbarum et eum quidem, ut scriptum est, compunctum notis Thraeciis . . . stigmatiam*. The same corruption, *Ar. Lys.* 331 *στιγματίας* (*u.l.* *μαστιγίας*), *Hsch.* C 1854 *στίγων*: *στιγματίας* (*μαστιγίας* cod.) (cf. *Ar. fr.* 99).

3 καὶ ἑκατῶν δὲ πρὸς τινα εἰπεῖν: although a defining gen. is dispensable (*IV.10* παρὰ του, *XXIV.12* πρὸς τινα), undefined πρὸς τινα is unwelcome here. Analogy suggests article as well as gen.: *II.8* πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων, *XI.5* τῶν παριόντων . . . τινα, *XIV.7* τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, *XXIV.9* τῶν ὑφ' αὐτόν τι, *XXV.2* τις . . . τῶν πλεόντων, *XXX.19* τινος τῶν φίλων. There is no plausible conjecture: *κακῶς* (as if from V) *Siebenkees*, *κακῶν* *dé del. Coray*, lacuna after *δέ Schneider* (after *τινα Navarre* 1918), *ἰκανός Foss* 1836 (*VI.8n.*), *ἔκων Ribbeck* 1870, <ἀ>*κάκων Immisch* 1897, <περὶ γυναικῶν ἀ>*κακῶν Edmonds* 1929, *κακ<ηγορ>ῶν* or *κακ<ονο>ῶν Stark*.

Ἐγὼ δὴπου ἴτα τοιαῦτα οἶδα ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ πλανᾷ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοῦτοις διεξιὼν†: the commonly printed “ . . . σὺ πλανᾷ (*Schneider*) πρὸς

ἐμέ,” κάπῃ (Immisch 1897; καὶ <ἐπὶ> or καὶ <τὰ ἐπὶ> Casaubon) τούτοις δ- is incoherent. διεξιέναι (Fischer) or διεξιῶν <εἰπεῖν> (Ast) or <φῆσαι> (Foss 1836) helps coherence, but not sense. “. . . εὐ πλανᾷ (οὐ πλανᾷ Jebb) πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τούτους (Ussing) is no better, whether translated ‘Of course – I understand that sort of thing; you do not err in your way of describing it to my friends and me’ (Jebb) or ‘I know only too well what trollops they are whose cause you are so mistaken as to champion to these gentlemen and me’ (Edmonds). τὰς τοιαύτας (Schneider) would clumsily recall τὰς . . . τοιαύτας (with different reference) in §2.

αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς παριόντας συναρπάζουσι: cf. *Lys.* 1.27 οὐκ εἰσαρπαθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, 3.46 οἱ βία ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ συναρπάζοντες ἡμᾶς, and (all of sexually rapacious women or prostitutes) *Ar. Ec.* 693–4 κατὰ τὰς διόδους | προσπίπτουσαι τοῖς ἀπὸ δείπνου, 881–2 ὅπως ἂν περιλάβοιμ’ αὐτῶν τινὰ | παριόντα, *Xenarch.* 4.13 αὐταὶ βιάζονται γὰρ εἰέλκουσί τε. Cf. S. Halliwell in M. C. Nussbaum and J. Sihvola (edd.), *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago and London 2002) 127, 131.

Οἰκία τις αὕτη τὰ κέλη ἤρκυια: ‘This is a house with its legs raised’, i.e. a brothel, the same sexual image as *Ar. Pax* 889 ἄραντας . . . τῷ κέλει, *Ec.* 265, *Au.* 1254 ἀνατείνας τῷ κέλει, *Lys.* 229 (J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New York and London <sup>2</sup>1991) 173); similarly *pedem tollere* *Cic. Att.* 2.1.5, *Petr.* 55.6, *Mart.* 10.81.4, 11.71.8 (J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 192–3). ‘House’ as subject is remarkable. But there is no plausible emendation: οἰκεία . . . αἴρθεσθαι Schneider (οἰκείαι εἰσιν αὗται . . . αἴρθεσθαι Darvaris), ἠρκέναι Foss 1858, αἴρειν εἰωθυῖα Hanow 1861, τῷ κέλη ἠρκυῶν Herwerden, Κύλλα Unger 1889.

οὐ γὰρ οὖν λῆρος ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀλλ’: if this is right, τὸ λεγόμενον is subject and λῆρος is predicate, and the meaning is ‘what is being said is not nonsense’. τὸ λεγόμενον cannot mean ‘that proverb’ (Jebb) or ‘the (old) saying’ (Edmonds, Rusten), since in this sense it is never subject of the verb. It is often parenthetic, ‘as the saying goes’ (e.g. *Th.* 7.87.6, *Pl. Phd.* 101D, *Th.* 153D, *Men. Asp.* 372; *LSJ* λέγω III.10, Headlam on *Herod.* 2.45); but not here, since ‘as the saying goes’ is no suitable qualification for ‘it is not nonsense’. For λῆρος as predicate see e.g. *Luc. Salt.* 7 εἰ λῆρος εἶναι κοὶ δόξει τὰ λεχθησόμενα, *Ar. Lys.* 860 λῆρος ἐστὶ τᾶλλα, *Aeschin.* 2.52 ταυτὶ . . . λῆρος ἐστίν, *Pl. Lg.* 698A, *Arist. Pol.* 1257<sup>b</sup>10, *Antiph.* 229.1, *Men. Epit.* 277, *Xenarch.* 7.1. οἶον (V) ‘as it were’ (*LSJ* οἶος v.2.d) is not a suitable qualification for the straightforward λῆρος, and receives no support from οὐ γὰρ οἶον . . . ἀλλά in *Plb.* 1.20.12, an entirely different locution (*LSJ* v.4), and must be changed to οὖν. For γὰρ οὖν, *Denniston* 445–8. ἀλλά is unexceptionable (*Denniston* 1), and there is no need to delete it (Ast) or to write ἀλλ’ <ἀληθῶς> (Meier 1850). <καὶ> “Οὐ γὰρ κτλ.” (Edmonds 1929) leaves γὰρ otiose.

ὥσπερ αἱ κύνες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς συνέχονται: in place of ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες (V) it is better to write ὥσπερ αἱ κύνες (Darvaris 1815, but probably anticipated by an anonymous reviewer cited by Ast 1816; also K. A. Böttiger (*obiit* 1835) in a marginal annotation, according to Foss 1836) than ὥσπερ <κύνες> αἱ γυναῖκες (Ast), since αἱ γυναῖκες would feebly repeat αὐταὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. For the corruption, prompted by preceding γυναῖκες, see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον. Less likely ὥσπερ κύνες without article. The art. designates dogs as a genus ('they couple in the street, as dogs (do)', rather than 'they couple in the street like dogs'), and is regular in such comparisons: e.g. (to cite only animals, insects, fish, and fowl) Pherecr. 28.5 ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυσίν, 30 ὥσπερ τῶν αἰγιδίων, Ar. V. 1111 ὥσπερ οἱ κλώηκες, Au. 1681, Lys. 755, 1255, Hdt. 4.183.4, Pl. *Smp.* 191CD, *Ion* 534B, Pl.Com. 100, Ath. 592B. Not αἱ κκύλακες (Wachsmuth ap. Immisch 1897), 'puppies', the wrong age for both women and animals. Dogs are an *exemplum* of unfettered coupling in Lucr. 4.1203, Ov. *Ars* 2.484, Σ Tr A. *Ag* 607. The bitch as a symbol of female licentiousness is as old as Homer (S. Lilja, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Helsinki 1976) 22, West on Hes. *Op.* 67). συνέχονται (LSJ 1.2.d) is more effective than συνέρχονται (Schneider).

Τὸ ὄλον ἀνδροκόβαλοι τινας: ἀνδρόλαλοι (V) ought not to mean 'gossiping about men' (LSJ) or 'gossiping with men' (Jebb, *al.*) but 'gossiping like men'; preposterously weak, however translated. ἀνδροκόβαλοι (Foss 1836) is the only meritorious conjecture. The word is attested, probably from comedy (*PCG* adesp. 274), by Hsch. A 4752, Phot. A 1765 Theodoridis, Suda A 2182, who half-heartedly gloss it κακοῦργος, πανοῦργος, and ignore the prefix ἀνδρο-. The simple κόβαλος and κοβάλεια by contrast attract a variety of additional explanations from lexicographers and scholiasts (for example, ἀπτατεῶν, βωμολόχος, ληιστής, κριραφώδης, τῶσαστής; προσποιητὸς μετὰ ἀπάτης παιδιὰ), which suggest (as does actual usage, mainly by the comedians) that the underlying sense was felt to be not so much simple villainy as mockery, teasing, and deception. Origin (the root is not Attic) and etymology are uncertain: É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg 41950) 479, G. Björck, *Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (Uppsala 1950) 46–7, 258–9, Frisk 1.889, Chantraine 550.

Σ Tzetz. Ar. *Pl.* 279 (p. 81 Koster) (= Harp. p. 183.12 Dindorf, but deleted by Dindorf as an interpolation from Σ Ar.) makes a novel claim: κόβαλοι δαίμονές εἰσι κληροὶ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. About these 'tough spirits round Dionysus', whether or not they existed, and, if they did, what form they took, we know nothing. The sceptical survey by C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg 1829) 1312–29, has not been superseded. The entry in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II (1890–94) 1264, 'Κόβαλοι, ungestaltete, neckische und possenhafte Kobolde oder Dämonen aus der späteren bakchischen Schar, zu der Gattung der Satyrn gehörig' (similarly Adler, 'Kobaloi', *RE* XI.1 (1921) 931), owes nothing to

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evidence, everything to imagination and the interesting but possibly misleading fact that κόβαλος is the linguistic parent of ‘goblin’. It would be unwise to infer the reality of spirits of this name from their appearance in the farcical list in *Ar. Eq.* 634–5 *Κίταλοι καὶ Φένακες . . . Βερέσχεθοὶ τε καὶ Κόβαλοι καὶ Μόθων*. A further passage which links the word with Dionysus (*Philoch. FGtH* 328 F 6 οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, βωμολόχον τινὰ καὶ κόβαλον γενέσθαι νομιτέον τὸν Διόνυσον) tantalises rather than enlightens.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for non-human Κόβαλοι is the word ἀνδροκόβαλος itself, which is most naturally explained as a compound of contrasting partners, ἀνήρ and κόβαλος, in the manner of ἀνδρόρφυγξ (*Hdt.* 2.175.1), ἀνδροκάπραινα (*Pherecr.* 186), ἀνδρογίγας (*Call. Cer.* 34), ἀνθρωποδαίμων (*E. Rh.* 971); *E. Risch, IF* 59 (1944–9) 56–61. The comic poet (if such he was) who coined ἀνδροκόβαλος may have designed it to mean ‘man-goblin’, a man behaving impishly. The word can be applied to women, since the idea of masculinity is not always felt in compounds with ἀνδρο- (so ἀνδροκάπραινα, ἀνδρογίγας, *A. Ag.* 1092 ἀνδροσφαγεῖον; *Hopkinson on Call. Cer.* 34). Even if this explanation of the compound is wrong, the implications of -κόβαλοι are exactly suited to the context. For the appended *τινες* (‘a type of . . .’) cf. *A. Ag.* 1233 *Κύλλαν τινά* (*LSJ* A.ii.6.b).

The other conjectures: -ποιοί *Bötticher* (according to *Immisch* 1897), -λόγοι *Coray*, -λαγνοί *Schneider*, -φάγοι *Ast*, -λάβοι or -μανεῖς *Foss* 1836, -μάχοι *Ribbeck* 1870, -λαμοί *Unger* 1889, ἀνδρώλεις *Immisch* 1897, -λακκοί *Wachsmuth ap. Immisch*, -φόνοι *Münsterberg* 1898, -βόροι *Fraenkel* and *Groeneboom*, -μαχλοί *Koujeas*. No need for *τινες* <εἰς> (*Ribbeck*): for the ellipse, οἰκία τις αὕτη κτλ. above, I.6, VII.3, XXVI.5. For τὸ ὄλον, I.6n.

Αὐταὶ τῆι θύρῃ τῆι αὐλείῳ ὑπακούουσι: see on IV.9 τῆι θύρῃ (τὴν θύραν AB) ὑπακοῦσαι αὐτός. Here too I change acc. (τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλείον V) to dat. If, instead, a preposition is inserted, <κατὰ> (*Schneider*) or <παρὰ> (*Kayser*) or <πρὸς> (*Cobet* 1874) will serve, but not <ἐπι> (*Foss* 1858). Alternatively <κόψαντος> (*Sitzler*). Women who answer their own doors must (he implies) be soliciting for custom. Cf. *Ar. Pax* 979–82 καὶ μὴ ποιεῖ γ’ ἄπερ αἰ | μοιχευόμενα δρῶσι γυναῖκες | καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα παρακλίνασαι | τῆς αὐλείας παρακύπτουσιν; *A. J. Graham*, ‘The woman at the window’, *JHS* 118 (1998) 22–40.

4 ἀμέλει δὲ καί: II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

κακῶς λεγόντων ἑτέρων συνεπιλαβέσθαι εἴπας: for the choice between εἴπας and εἰπών (*Schneider*; εἴπων reported from V by *Siebenkees*), V.2n. Present infin. συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι (V) cannot coexist with aorist part. (VII.3n.). συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι <καί> εἰπεῖν (*Stein*) is an unwelcome combination of tenses.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον πλέον πάντων μεμίσηκα: cf. D. 19.103 μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων μισεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκει Φίλιππον. The rare perfect μεμίσηκα (Ar. *Ach.* 300, Pl. *Phlb.* 44c, *Ep.* 350D; Isoc. 5.137 μεμισημένος), ‘I have come to hate’, ‘I am in a state of hating’, is analogous to e.g. γέγηθα, ἔγνωκα, νενόμικα, θεθαύμακα (KG 1.148–9; P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* (Paris 1927) 252). For δέ introducing quoted speech, I.6n., VI.9n.

καὶ γὰρ εἰδεχθῆς τις ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἐστίν: ‘ugly of countenance’ (LSJ ἀπό A.III.2), like X. *Cyn.* 4.2 κύνες . . . ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαιδραί. Related, but not identical, is the use (‘judging from’) represented by Plu. *Phoc.* 5.1 ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου δυσξύμβολος ἐφαίνετο καὶ σκυθρωπός, Antiph. 35.2 ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός, Men. *Dysc.* 258 κακοῦργος εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος, further illustrated by Gow on Theoc. 16.49. For τις, V.3n.

τῆι δὲ πονηρίαὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοιον: cf. App. *Pun.* 35 οὐδὲν ὁμοιον . . . ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας. The simpler change ἡ δὲ πονηρία οὐδεν<ι> ὁμοία (Foss 1858), entailing compendiary comparison (οὐδενί for οὐδενὸς πονηρία, KG 2.310 Anmerk. 2, LSJ ὁμοιος B.2.b; cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.8.25 *nulli tua forma secunda est*), gives a much less convincing expression. ἡ δὲ πονηρία, οὐδὲν ὁμοιον (as commonly printed) is incoherent. For a similar idea, differently expressed, Antiph. 166.5 ἄνθρωπος ἀνυπερβλήτος εἰς πονηρίαν, Men. *Asp.* 116–17 πονηρίαὶ δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὄλωσ | ὑπερπέπαικεν, *PCG* adesp. 675 ὑπερδεδίςκῃκας πονηρίαὶ πάντας.

τῆι γὰρ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ τάλαντον εἰσενεγκαμένη προῖκα: XXII.10n. As there, the husband fails to provide his wife with the standard of maintenance to which her dowry entitles her. If τάλαντα (V) is retained, a numeral must be added. Contrast (a) D. 31.1 τάλαντον . . . τὴν προῖκα . . . δεδωκέναι, 40.6 προῖκα τάλαντον ἐπιδόντος, 19 τάλαντον ἐπενεγκαμένη προῖκα, Men. *Dysc.* 845 ἔχω τάλαντον προῖκα, and (b) D. 28.15 δύο τάλαντα προῖκα διδούς, Men. *Asp.* 135–6 προῖκά τ’ ἐπεδίδου δύο | τάλαντα, 268–9, *Dysc.* 843–4, *Epit.* 134, *Mis.* 446, *Pk.* 1015. Hence -μένη <η> Foss 1836, <ε> εἰς-Meier 1850, γυναικὶ <ί> Hanow, M. Schmidt (both 1860; already declined by Meineke 1859), <ἔξ> ἔξ Jebb (<ἔξ> already Petersen, with ἦ τε for ἔξ), γ- <γ> Edmonds 1929. A single talent is enough to make the point here. In the orators few dowries exceed one talent. In Menander they range from one talent upwards. See Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit* 79–80, H. J. Wolff, ‘προῖξ’, *RE* xxiii.1 (1957) 139–40, Handley on Men. *Dysc.* 842–4, Gomme and Sandbach on Men. *Epit.* 134ff., L. Casson, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 53–9, D. M. Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 1979) 74 and Appendix 1, id., ‘Comic inflation in the marketplace’, *SCI* 8–9 (1985–8) 66–73 (esp. 70–2), R. Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London 1989) 82–3, Whitehead on Hyp. *Lyc.* 13. The evidence suggests that one talent is a generous but credible sum, not ‘a fantastic figure’ (Lane Fox 130).

ἐξ οὗ παιδίον αὐτῷ γεννᾶι: his meanness begins when she bears him a child, for this ensures that the dowry remains with his family; had there been no child of the marriage, the dowry would have returned to the wife's family on his or her death (Wolff 152–3, W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London 1968) 110, MacDowell, *Law* 88, Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women* 75). Contrast Lys. 1.6 ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι παιδίον γίγνεται, ἐπίστευον ἤδη καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ ἐκείνηι παρέδωκα, ἡγούμενος ταύτην οἰκειότητα μεγίστην εἶναι. The conjecture οὗ (Immisch 1897) for ἧς (V) is as brilliant as it is simple, and beside it γέγονε (V<sup>2m</sup>) is merely astute, [γεννᾶι] (Diels) crude. For present tense γεννᾶι see KG 1.137(d), Schwyzer 2.272, Rijksbaron, *Grammatical Observations* 1–3. αὐτῷ, not αὐτῷ (M. Schmidt, before Edmonds 1908); L.2n.

τρεις χαλκοῦς <τῆς ἡμέρας> εἰς ὄψον δίδωσι: cf. Lys. 32.20 εἰς ὄψον . . . δυοῖν παιδίον καὶ ἀδελφῆι πέντε ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο. Three χαλκοῖ are a paltry sum (VI.4n.). But we need to be told explicitly what length of time they have to cater for. How little food they might buy is suggested by Alex. 15, where the cheapest items listed are ὠμοτάριχος (pickled tunny) at five χαλκοῖ and μῦς (mussels) at seven, while a βάρφανος (cabbage) costs two obols (sixteen χαλκοῖ). These prices appear to be realistic: D. M. Schaps, *SIC* 8–9 (1985–8) 67, Arnott on Alex. 15.19. Similarly, in Timocl. 11.5–9, four χαλκοῖ will buy no fish more expensive than μεμβράδες (sprats). On this evidence, three χαλκοῖ would not provide an adequate ὄψον (IX.4n.) for one day. By contrast, no inference should be drawn from Men. *Epit.* 140–1 δὺ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας, | [ἰκανό]ν τι τῷ πεινῶντι <πρὸς> πτικ[άνη]ν ποτέ ('two obols a day, once sufficient to provide porridge for a starving man', said with sarcasm). If three χαλκοῖ are an allowance for one day, the meanness remains within the limits of credibility; if for much longer (say a month), the slander falls flat, because it has lost touch with reality. Addition of τῆς ἡμέρας (for the gen., VI.9n.) goes hand in hand with deletion of τῆι . . . ἡμέραι below. If τῆς ἡμέρας was omitted by accident, then written in the margin, it may have been reinstated, with modification, in the wrong place. This proposal is prompted by a suggestion of Edmonds and Austen that 'τῆι ἡμέραι was originally τῆς ἡμέρας, a gloss on τρεις χαλκοῦς'. Immisch actually glosses his own translation to the same effect: 'einen Dreier (tägliches) Kostgeld'. But 'daily' cannot be inferred; it must be spelled out. For εἰς 'to meet the cost of', Ar. *Nu.* 612, *Pax* 374, *Pl.* 983, Lys. 32.20–1 (several instances, one cited above), *Hyp. Ath.* 2, LSJ A.v.2 (*ad fin.*).

καὶ [τῷ] ψυχρῷ λούσθαι ἀναγκάζει [τῆι] τοῦ Ποσιδεῶνος [ἡμέραι]: ψυχρῷ *sc.* ὕδατι, as Thgn. 263 (unless *sc.* οἴνον), Hdt. 2.37.3, Hp. *VM* 16 (1.608 Littré), *Epid.* 5.14 (5.212), *Vict.* 68 (6.596), *Mul.* 123, 169, 220 (8.266, 350, 424), *Superf.* 26 (8.490); also θερμῷ, *CP* 5.6.6, *HP* 7.5.2 (Hindenlang 99), Ar. *Nu.* 1044, *Ec.* 216, Ariston fr. 14, 1 (p. 36.18 Wehrli) θερμ[ὸ]ν [ῆ] ψυ[χρὸ]ν; similarly *frigida* and *calida lauari*. The art. is unwanted and is absent in the passages cited (τῷ ψυχρῷ λούειν Hp. *Mul.* 167 (8.346) is exceptional and should perhaps be

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brought into line); other interpolated articles, IV.10n. For the spelling λοῦσθαι, XXIV.11 n. Bathing in warm water is sometimes regarded as a luxury or self-indulgence (Ar. *Nu.* 1044–6, Hermipp. 68, *PCG* adesp. 555; Dover on *Nu.* 837). But warm water was provided in the public baths (IX.8; Mau, 'Bäder', *RE* II.2 (1896) 2743–4, Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè* 135–6, 204–5, 216–17) and could be made available at home (Ginouvès 177–8). Bathing in cold water was a sign of laconism (Plu. *Alc.* 23.3). To forbid warm water for one day only is a poor demonstration of πονηρία. In any case, 'the day of Poseidon' (Ποσειδῶνος V) is not an intelligible date. Hence Ποσειδεῶνος Casaubon. Posideon is the coldest month (December-January), and to forbid warm water during the whole of this month is suitably reprehensible. But Ποσειδεῶνος cannot stand with τῆι . . . ἡμέραι, which Darvaris changed clumsily to δι' ὄλου . . . μηνός, and Ast more deftly deleted (a reason for its intrusion was suggested in the preceding note). For the gen. (and the spelling Ποσιδ- not Ποσειδ-), III.3n. The art., omitted with the name of the month at III.3, is often added: *HP* 3.5.1 τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος, 4.11.5, 4.15.3, Arist. *HA* 597<sup>a</sup>24, D. 33.23, 42.5. In αὐτὴν τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος ὁσημέραι (Edmonds 1908; the same without αὐτὴν Bury), αὐτὴν is badly placed and ὁσημέραι conveys inappropriate emphasis (contrast X.9, XXI.10).

**5** καὶ συγκαθημένοις δεινὸς περὶ τοῦ ἀναστάντος εἰπεῖν: he addresses people who are sitting together (with him); for plural part. without art., VI.2–3n. συγκαθημένοις (Schwartz before Herwerden) is far preferable to συγκαθημένους (V), 'sitting together (with others unspecified) he addresses (others unspecified)', which would be unlike the kind of introductory nom. part. illustrated on VII.8. The people who are sitting together are perhaps the audience in the Ecclesia (XI.3n., LSJ συγκάθημα 1). τοῦ ἀναστάντος is probably not 'one who has just left' (Jebb; LSJ B. II.1), but 'one who has risen to speak' (XII.9n.); <ξ> ἀναστάντος (Cobet 1874) is quite unwanted. εἰπεῖν without object or adverb is unobjectionable (Arist. *EN* 1125<sup>a</sup>5–6 οὔτε . . . περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐρεῖ οὔτε περὶ ἑτέρου), and <κακῶς> or <κακά> εἰπεῖν (Casaubon) and εἰπεῖν <κακά> (Edmonds 1929) feebly anticipate the language of the following sentence.

καὶ ἀρχὴν γε εἰληφῶς μὴ ἀποσχέσθαι μηδὲ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ λοιδορεῖται: for ἀρχὴν . . . εἰληφῶς, *CP* 3.1.2, 4.1.3, *HP* 7.11.3, Pl. *Lg.* 723E, And. 3.40, Aeschin. 1.11, Men. *Pk.* 165. Perhaps δέ for γε (VII.4n.). Not <τοῦ> τοὺς (Schneider before Ussing, Cobet 1874), since <τοῦ> is both misplaced (its place is before μηδέ) and needless (LSJ ἀπέχω II.3). For the order τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ, XIII.10n. Since V<sup>ac</sup> has λοιδορεῖται not (as reported) -εἶσθαι, there is less likelihood in τοῖς οἰκείοις (Ast) . . . λοιδορεῖσθαι (cf. VI.2).

**6** καὶ πλείστα περὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων κακά εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, <τὸ> κακῶς λέγειν ἀποκαλῶν κτλ.: without the added article, we have two coordinated infin. phrases (κακά εἰπεῖν καὶ . . . κακῶς



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λέγειν), which offend by their pleonasm and change of tense. Bloch deleted καὶ . . . εἰπεῖν, Hanow 1860 κακῶς λέγειν, Diels (wrongly imputing the deletion to Hanow) κακὰ λέγειν (which leaves πλείστα to be taken with κακῶς λέγειν, impossibly). Further, ἀποκαλῶν cries out for an explicit object. To take κακῶς λέγειν as that object (Foss, Jebb, Immisch 1897, *al.*) eliminates the faults of pleonasm and change of tense. But the art. (contemplated by Hanow 1860 before Herwerden) is indispensable. As a further gain, the infin. phrase supplies τοῦτο with a precise point of reference. <τὴν> κακολογίαν (Edmonds 1929) achieves the same ends less plausibly. αὐτὸ καλῶν (Herwerden) places the demonstrative in an impossible position and leaves the pleonasm untouched. A 'definition' of κακολογία by the Κακολόγος himself is an apt ending. For the order (περὶ τῶν φίλων + verb + καὶ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων) see on V.9 παλαιστρίδιον κονίστραν ἔχον καὶ σφαιριστήριον.

περὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων is like IV.3 τοῖς . . . φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις (XVIII.7n.). But τῶν <αὐτοῦ> φίλων (Herwerden) or οἰκείων <τῶν ἑαυτοῦ> (Hanow) would make a clearer contrast with preceding τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ. Both κακὰ λέγειν and the commoner κακῶς λέγειν (I.2) normally take acc. object. For περὶ + gen., Lys. 8.16 περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγετε κακῶς.

A law against speaking ill of the dead, attributed to Solon, was in force in the fourth century (D. 20.104, 40.49, Plu. *Sol.* 21.1; MacDowell, *Law* 126–7). The same prohibition was attributed to Chilon (D.L. 1.70). Cf. Shakespeare, 2 *Henry IV*, I.i.98 'And he doth sin that doth belie the dead'.

**παρρησίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν:** freedom of speech, democracy, and liberty are a naturally linked trio (Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 73–85). Similar euphemistic language: XXIX.4 τὸν πονηρὸν . . . εἰπεῖν ἐλεύθερον, Isoc. 7.20 ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἰκονομίαν, 12.131 δημοκρατίαν οὐ τὴν . . . νομιζοῦσαν τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἔξουσίαν ὅτι βούλεται τις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν; more generally, Th. 3.82.4–5, Arist. *Rh.* 1367<sup>a</sup>33<sup>b</sup>3, Sal. *Cat.* 52.11, Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.25, Tac. *Ag.* 30.5, Plu. 56B–E.

## XXIX

### THE FRIEND OF VILLAINS

#### Introductory note

The adj. φιλοπόνηρος is found in Arist. *EN* 1165<sup>b</sup>16 (cited on epil.), Din. fr. 42 Conomis, Ph. *De Abr.* 21, 199 (4.6, 44 Cohn-Wendland), Plu. *Alc.* 24.5, and is wrongly substituted by Immisch for πονηρόφιλος (antonym of χρηστόφιλος *Rh.* 1361<sup>b</sup>38) in Arist. *Pol.* 1314<sup>a</sup>1. Related compounds are φιλομόχθηρος (Philonid. 15), φιλόχρηστος (*X. Mem.* 2.9.4), μισοπόνηρος (D. 21.218, Aeschin. 1.69, 2.171, Arist. fr. 611.20 Rose, Men. *Dysc.* 388; title of a play by Antiph.).

πονηρός was a convenient label to stick on a political or legal opponent. And so φιλοπνηρία is not necessarily a liking for behaviour which violates an agreed moral code but may rather be a liking for a cause of which you happen to disapprove. For the oligarch, πονηρία is a virtual synonym of democracy. Alcibiades was ready to return from exile ἐπ' ὀλιγαρχίαι . . . καὶ οὐ πονηρία οὐδὲ δημοκρατία (Th. 8.47.2). The charge of φιλοπνηρία may be incurred by the δῆμος itself: φημί οὖν ἔγωγε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθήνησι γινώσκειν οἵτινες χρηστοὶ εἰσι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οἵτινες πονηροὶ γινώσκοντες δὲ τοὺς μὲν ρφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεῖουσ καὶ συμφόρους φιλοῦσι, κἄν πονηροὶ ᾧσι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ([X.] *Ath.* 2.19). The speaker of D. 25 warns the jury that sympathy for his opponent will be tantamount to φιλοπνηρία (1 προσέειθαι πονηρίαν, 2 τοὺς πονηροὺς φιλεῖν, 7, 43). Similarly (with a stronger verb) *Hyp. Phil.* 10 εἰ χρήσεσθε τῶι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὁμολογουμένως πονηρῶι κριθέντι, ἢ κρίνειν κακῶς δόξετε ἢ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμεῖν (cf. ἐπιθυμία in the def.). For further illustration of the uses of πονηρός, R. A. Neil, *The Knights of Aristophanes* (Cambridge 1901) 206–8; on 'the use of moral terminology to denote class and/or political alignment', R. Brock, *Historia* 90 (1991) 163.

The πονηροὶ with whom the Φιλοπόνηρος associates include people who have lost cases in court (§2), others standing trial (§5), democratic politicians (§5), and general riff-raff (§6). Only once is he given a motive: by associating with people who have lost cases he will broaden his experience and become more formidable (§2). He is sour, cynical, and perverse, supporting πονηρία more by speech than by action. He plays devil's advocate, and tries to put the πονηρός in a good light. First he manipulates terminology: he claims that the conventional polarisation πονηρός/χρηστός is misconceived (§3); he further claims that a particular man has been wrongly labelled πονηρός, and he proposes more flattering alternative names for him (§4). Then he rehabilitates this man, who has been (or is liable to be) misunderstood, and (if viewed in the proper light) will be seen to be acting in the public interest (§5). Finally

he adopts a more actively sinister role, as leader of a disreputable gang, with whom he gets up to no good in court (§6).

[1] *Definition*

ἐπιθυμία κακίας (cf. D. 25.48 ἵνα . . . μηδεὶς ζηλοῖ μηδ' ἐπιθυμῆι κακίας) defines πονηρία better than φιλοπνηρία: the Φιλοπότηρος likes πονηρία, but does not desire it. But the noun (which recurs in def. XXX) is not more surprising than the verb in Hyp. *Phil.* 10 πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμῆν (Introd. Note). ὁμοπάθεια (Edmonds 1929) 'sympathy with' (as Arist. fr. 101 Rose) pays the writer too high a compliment.

2 [ἔστι] τοιόδε τις: I.2n., XVII.2n.

ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἠττημένοις καὶ δημοσίους ἀγῶνας ὠφληκόσι: for τοῖς ἠττημένοις, I.2n. The second participial phrase amplifies the first, explaining the nature of the defeat (VI.4n.). There is no contrast here between private suits, lost by sycophantic prosecutors, and public cases (Jebb). Conjecture (some of which is designed to introduce such a contrast) is misconceived: δημοσίους ἀγῶνας after ἠττημένοις Ast, τοῖς <δικαῖς καὶ διαίταις> Meier 1850, τοῖς <δικαῖς> Schneider before Hartung (Immisch 1897 is wrong to ascribe <ἰδίας δίκας> to Hottinger, who said only 'ich verstehe . . . ἰδίαν δίκην'), [ἠττημένοις καὶ] Cobet 1874, ἠτιμωμένοις Unger 1888. A public case (δημόσιος ἀγών Aeschin. 1.2, 3.56, Lycurg. 7, 46, Hyp. *Eux.* 4, [Arist.] *Ath.* 67.1; δημοσία δίκη X. *Mem.* 2.9.5, D. 18.210, law in D. 46.26, Arist. *Pol.* 1320<sup>a</sup>12) concerned an offence which affected the community as a whole, as opposed to a private case (ἴδιος ἀγών D. 50.1, Din. 2.22, [Arist.] *Ath.* 67.1; ἰδία δίκη e.g. D. 21.25), which affected individuals only. See Harrison 2.75–6, MacDowell, *Law* 57–8 and on D. 21.25, Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* 98 n. 1. The loser of a public case (it is implied) is a greater villain than the loser of a private case.

καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἂν τούτοις χρήται, ἐμπειρότερος γενήσεσθαι καὶ φοβερώτερος: he will learn the tricks of the trade from his convicted associates, and people will be afraid to prosecute him because of his expertise and the company he keeps. No need for τοιοῦτοις (Meier 1850), or rather τοῖς τοιοῦτοις (§5, XXVIII.2).

3 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔγινεται καὶ φησὶν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ χρηστός: χρηστός is the commonest antonym of πονηρός (e.g. S. *Ph.* 437, Ar. *Eq.* 1274–5, *Ra.* 1455–6, *Ec.* 177–8, *Pl.* 92–6, 490–1, 502–3, *Lys.* 20.10, *Isoc.* 1.22, *Pl. Ap.* 25c, *Prt.* 313A, X. *Mem.* 1.3.3, [X.] *Ath. passim*, Hyp. *Lyc.* 18, D. 19.190, 21.83, 25.48, Aeschin. 1.30, 3.75, Eub. 115.11–15, Men. *Sam.* 142, fr. 699, 704, 753, Antiph. 203.3–4); Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 65, 296. ἐπὶ is 'against', 'in

reference to' (LSJ ἐπί B.I.I.c), not 'over the grave of' (Edmonds; B.I.I.b). There is no plausible emendation. Not "Ὡς γε λέγεται" (Unger 1888) nor "Ὡς φαίνεται" (Diels), since, after plural χρηστοῖς, the subject of a singular verb will not be personal (the so-called χρηστός) but impersonal, and 'In the case of good men he says "As it is said" or "As it appears"' are not acceptable. φῆσαι (Schneider) for φησὶν is unwelcome so soon after εἰπεῖν. Other proposals: ἐπὶ τῶν χρηστῶν εἰπεῖν [ὡς γίνεται] Darvaris, ὡς ἐπὶ κηφῆσιν ὡς Madvig 1868, αἰσχροῖς for χρηστοῖς Ribbeck 1870, ὡς ὑποκρίνονται καὶ φύσει Herwerden, ὡς γίνεται κατὰ φύσιν οὐδεὶς χρηστός Immisch 1897, ὡς <οὐ> γίγνεται καὶ [φησὶν] Fraenkel and Groeneboom (φησὶν del. Ussing), πρόφασις for καὶ φησὶν Meiser, "Ὡς γίνεται" καὶ "Ὡς φασι" <καὶ> ὡς Edmonds 1929.

καὶ ὁμοίους πάντας εἶναι: he is not saying that everyone is πονηρός (Stein 257 n. 3), but that, just as no one is χρηστός, equally no one is πονηρός (Introd. Note); cf. Bühler on Zen. II.9 <ἄ>πανθ' ὅμοια (add Men. Sam. 366, as punctuated by M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 107 (1995) 58–9, followed by Arnott). He proceeds to redefine πονηρός in the next sentence, and shows that it is an inadequate term. For the change of construction to acc. and infin. see on III.3 καὶ τὴν θάλατταν κτλ. We might have expected ὁμοίους γὰρ κτλ. (like §4 <εἶναι> γὰρ κτλ.).

καὶ ἐπιδικῶσαι δὲ "Ὡς χρηστός ἐστι": cf. uncompounded κώπτειν II.4, VII.10; ἐπιδικῆσαι (V) is indefensible. χρηστός is often ironical: Ar. *Nu.* 8, Pl. *Th.* 166A, D. 18, 30, 89, 318, 23.169, 24.200, 58.29, 32, Din. 2.8, Men. *Asp.* 75, *Eph.* 1066, *Sam.* 408, fr. 20, Herod. 3.26. Ariston lists it among the ῥήματα ἀμφίβολα which are in the repertoire of the εἴρων (fr. 14, VII Wehrli). Phocion was accorded the title χρηστός by decree of the Ecclesia (L. A. Tittle, *Phocion the Good* (London 1988) 143).

4 καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐλεύθερον, ἐὰν βούληται τις εἰς π< . . . : for εἰπεῖν 'call', V.2n. ἐλεύθερος 'free', 'independent', is euphemistic for 'irresponsible' (similarly XXVIII.6 ἐλευθερία euphemistic for slander), rather than equivalent to 'aggressive', 'self-seeking' (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 116). εἰς π<εἶραν ἐλθεῖν> (Naber) would be comparable to E. *Hcl.* 309, Th. 2.41.3, 7.21.4, D. 60.18; cf. LSJ πείρα 1.2. Not εἰς π<εἶραν λαβεῖν> (Immisch 1897); the correct expression is πείραν λ- (XIII.9n.). Nothing else appeals: ἐὰν που λοιδο<ορ>ῆται τις (or ἐὰν <δια>βάλληται τις) εἰς π<ονηρίαν> Coray, ἐὰν <δὲ> βούληται τις εἰς π<ονηρίαν αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν καὶ λοιδορεῖν> [καὶ] Darvaris, εὐ σκοπεῖν Hartung, <καὶ> ἐὰν βούληται τις εἰς π<ονηρὸν ἀποτείνεσθαι> [καὶ] Foss 1858 (π<ονηρὸν> iam Amadutius), ἴσως κρίνειν Ribbeck 1870, εἰς π<λέον σκοπεῖν> Immisch 1923.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολογεῖν ἀληθῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔνια δὲ ἴαγνοεῖν<sup>†</sup> φῆσαι <εἶναι> γὰρ αὐτὸν κτλ.: '(He says that) some things he does not know' (not 'does not believe', Rusten) is no proper

antithesis to ‘he agrees that the other comments are true’. Even with a change of subject (ἀγνοεῖσθαι Schneider, ἀγνοεῖν αὐτούς Bloch), the verb remains unsuitable: we are concerned here not with knowledge but with terminology. Corruption at the beginning of the following clause increases our uncertainty. φῆσαι γάρ (V) is unacceptable, since a clause introduced by explanatory γάρ (IV.10n.) wants no verb of speech. φῆσαι γάρ <ἀν> αὐτόν (Cobet 1874) calls (impossibly as things stand) for ‘them’ as subject of the infin. (‘they would say he was . . .’, sc. if they knew the truth). φύσει or φῦναι (Petersen) and φανῆναι (Unger 1888) are inappropriate. We might substitute εἶναι for φῆσαι (Diels, who wrongly ascribes the proposal to Schneider). Then (in place of ἀγνοεῖν) either ἀνανεύειν (Navarre 1918) or ἀντιλέγειν (Navarre 1924) would give a reasonable antithesis to ὁμολογεῖν. For the former (‘pour le reste fait ses réserves’) cf. XXIII.5 ἀνανεύειν . . . οὐ δύνασθαι (‘say no’ to a request), X. Cyr. 1.6.13 καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευσον (‘answered no to this question too’, synonymous with preceding ἀπέφησα). But addition of <εἶναι> after φῆσαι (Foss 1858) is at least as likely as replacement of φῆσαι by εἶναι. For ὑπέρ ‘concerning’ see XX.8n.; περί (Darvaris before Cobet 1874) is needless. There is no justification for such wholesale rewriting as ἔνια δὲ ἀγνοεῖν φῆσαι· καὶ ἐπικτήσασθαι δὲ ὡς χρηστός ἐστι, καὶ διατείνεσθαι δὲ [ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ] ὡς . . . ἰκανωτέρω· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτόν κτλ. (Ribbeck 1870).

**εὐφυᾶ καὶ φιλέταιρον καὶ ἐπιδέξιον:** the three epithets are straightforward words of praise, but here (as applied to the πονηρός) euphemistic – ‘smart’ (too clever by half), ‘loyal’ (he sticks by his disreputable associates), ‘shrewd’ (tricky). The first two sometimes have less than complimentary undertones. εὐφυής ‘well endowed by nature’, ‘naturally gifted’ (e.g. Arist. *EN* 1114<sup>b</sup>8, *Po.* 1455<sup>a</sup>32, *Rh.* 1410<sup>b</sup>8), comes to mean ‘clever’ (Alex. 37.4 σοφιστής εὐφυής, 140.13) and ‘quick at making smart points’ (Isoc. 7.49 τοὺς εὐτραπέλους . . . καὶ τοὺς κώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν εὐφυεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, 15.284 τοὺς μὲν γε βωμολοχευομένους καὶ κώπτειν καὶ μιμῆσθαι δυναμένους εὐφυεῖς καλοῦσι, προσῆκον τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀρετὴν πεφυκότας, Theoromp. *FGH* 115 F 162 ἦν . . . καὶ φύσει βωμολόχος . . . χαίρων . . . τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὐφύεσι καλουμένοις καὶ τὰ γέλοια λέγουσι καὶ ποιοῦσι). φιλέταιρος should be viewed in the light of Th. 3.82.4 τόλμα . . . ἄλόγιτος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίεθη (loyalty to faction or party) and the continuing use of ἑταῖρος/ἑταιρεία for personal support in (to one’s opponents) a disreputable cause (e.g. D. 21.20, 139; XXVI.3n.). ἐπιδέξιος is complimentary in a range of senses, such as ‘dexterous’, ‘adroit’, ‘tactful’, ‘shrewd’: e.g. Arist. *EN* 1128<sup>a</sup>17–19 τοῦ . . . ἐπιδέξιου ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν οἷα τῶι ἐπιεικῇ καὶ ἐλευθερίω ἀρμόττει, 1171<sup>b</sup>2–3 παραμυθητικὸν . . . ὁ φίλος καὶ τῆι ὄψει καὶ τῶι λόγῳ, ἐὰν ᾗ ἐπιδέξιος, Men. *Dysc.* 105–6 φιλάνθρωπος . . . ἐπιδέξιός τε, 515–16 ἐπιδέξιός | αἰτεῖν, Aeschin. 1.178, 2.124

## XXIX: THE FRIEND OF VILLAINS

(cf. 2.47 ἐπιδεξιότης). The first and last combined, Plb. 5.39.6 πρὸς τὰς ὁμιλίαις ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πρὸς πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν εὐφυής, 11.24a.4.

The Attic spelling is -φυᾶ (Darvaris before Hanow 1860) not -φυῆ (V): L. Dindorf in *TGL* 1.2 (1831–56) *s.u.* αὐτοφυής, KB 1.433–4, Schwyzer 1.189, Meisterhans 150, Thraette 2.174, 295, 299, Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 821 (addendum p. 645).

διατείνεσθαι: X.14n.

5 καὶ εὖνους δὲ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκκλησίαι λέγοντι ἢ ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου κρινομένῳ: a specific individual is described in §4–§5, and the same demonstrative is consistently used of him (αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτόν . . . αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτόν . . . αὐτόν). Therefore αὐτῷ must replace τῷ (V). τῷ <πονηρῶι> (Navarre 1924) is heavy-handed, αἰτίῳ (Latte ap. Steinmetz) unsuitable.

The Φιλοπόνηρος supports him when he is speaking in the Ecclesia; that is, when he is playing a political role. He also supports him when he is on trial in court. The rest of §5 focuses on these two areas, politics and law, but in reverse order. We see the support first in court (καὶ πρὸς <τοῦς> καθημένους κτλ.), then in politics (καὶ φῆσαι κτλ.). λέγοντι is apt (he speaks in the Ecclesia, therefore he is active in politics) and must not be changed (ἐλεγχθέντι Orelli (ed. *Isoc. Antid.* (Zurich 1814) 267), wrong tense; κινδυνεύοντι Meier 1850, wrong place for danger; λόγον διδόντι Diels), or supplemented (<ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ> λ-Nast), or deleted (Schneider).

For ἐν ἐκκλησίαι, Pl. *Grg.* 452E, 456B, X. *HG* 2.2.16–17, IV.2n. (normally ἐν τῇ ἐκκ-, as XXVI.4). For ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου, Is. fr. 4.15 Thalheim, Plb. 12.8.5 (ἐπὶ τοῦ δ- Is. 5.1, 19, 25, 29, *Hyp. Lyc.* 1, *Phil.* 7, D. 29.16, 18, 48.50, 58.32, 40, 59.66, Aeschin. 1.114). For the gen. (Darvaris before Meier 1850), Wyse on Is. 5.1; dat. -ίῳ (V) is a simple error of assimilation (see on V.9 καὶ αὐλαίαν κτλ.).

καὶ πρὸς <τοὺς> καθημένους δὲ εἰπεῖν δεινὸς ὡς “Οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνεσθαι”: XXVIII.5 συγκαθημένοις . . . εἰπεῖν might suggest that the art. is dispensable. But οἱ καθήμενοι is normal for both audience in Ecclesia and jurors in court (XI.3n.); πρὸς <τοὺς παρα>καθ- (Foss 1858) is therefore less good, and πρὸς <τοὺς συ>καθ- (Cobet 1874), though possible (XXVIII.5n.), is needless. For the word order (καὶ . . . δέ with prep., art., part. interposed) see on I.5 ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ κτλ. The words τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνεσθαι suggest that the setting here is court rather than Ecclesia (see on XII.5 τοῦ πράγματος ἤδη κεκριμένου). To plead that ‘It is not the man who should be judged but the facts of the case’ is tantamount to pleading that his known bad character or his criminal record should be ignored. τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνδρα and νῦν δεῖ . . . ἀλλὰ <μή> (both Unger 1888) miss the point.

καὶ φῆσαι αὐτόν κύνα εἶναι τοῦ δήμου (ὕλακτεῖν γὰρ αὐτόν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας): riddling identification followed by explanation (XX.9n.).

## COMMENTARY

'Guard-dog of the people' was a familiar soubriquet for democratic politicians (D. 25.40 τί οὖν οὗτός ἐστι; κύων νῆ Δία, φασί τινες, τοῦ δήμου. ποδαπός; οἷος οὐκ μὲν αἰτιᾶται λύκους εἶναι μὴ δάκνειν, ἃ δὲ φησι φυλάττειν πρόβατ' αὐτός κατεθίειν, Plu. *Dem.* 23.5 αὐτὸν μὲν εἶκαε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κυκίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευεν), perhaps originating with Cleon (Ar. *Eq.* 1017, 1023, V. 895, Olson on *Pax* 313–15). In X. *Mem.* 2.9.2 Socrates recommends that Criton should maintain a human guard-dog, ὅστις ἐθέλοι τε καὶ δύναιτο σοῦ ἀπερύκειν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν *ce.* Cf. IV.9n., J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* (Paris 1962) 403–5, S. Lilja, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Helsinki 1976) 70, C. Mainoldi, *L'image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1984) 156–60, M. R. Christ, *The Litigious Athenian* (Baltimore and London 1998) 149–50.

The riddle is given point by ὑλακτεῖν (for φυλάττειν V), a brilliant conjecture, which sustains to the fullest degree the identification of dog and man. For the construction with acc. object, LSJ II; for the idea, Cic. *S.Rosc.* 57 (of accusers) *alii uestrum anseres sunt qui tantum modo clamant, nocere non possunt, alii canes qui et latrare et mordere possunt*, D.Chr. 9.3 ὑλακτεῖν . . . καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς κακούργοις. For 'barking' orators, also Eup. 220, Cic. *de Orat.* 3.138, *Brut.* 58.

φυλάττειν (V) is not synonymous with ἀπερύκειν in X. *loc. cit.*, and so cannot mean 'keep off' (Edmonds). The only meanings which might be applicable are 'watch for', 'keep a watch on' (LSJ B.2.a); thus 'obseruare' (Ussing), 'keeps an eye on' (Jebb), 'is vigilant against' (Rusten), are legitimate translations. But a guard-dog protects by deterring offenders, not by keeping watch for/on them. The only natural object for φυλάττειν, when 'dog' is subject, is the person or property which is being protected, as IV.9 οὗτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν and D. 25.40 (above). Further, 'guard-dog of the people' is an identification which has lost the capacity to puzzle and appears not to call for explanation. If it is to be explained at all, it must be explained by something less obvious than 'he keeps a watch for/on those who wrong it'. By the side of ὑλακτεῖν, all other conjectures are tame: ἀδικουμένους Schweighäuser 1802, φυλάττεσθαι Wendland, <πρὸς> τοὺς Diels.

καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς "Οὐχ ἔξομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συναχθεσθαι κοινῶν κτλ.": for ὡς introducing direct speech, XXVI.4n.; the art. τοὺς, XVIII.2n.; τῶν κοινῶν, XXVI.4n. Perhaps συναχθεσθαι (L. Dindorf in *TGL* 1.2 (1831–56) *s.u.* ἄχθομαι, Cobet 1854), as prescribed by Moer. α 36 (p. 73 Hansen) ἀχθέσεται Ἀττικοί, ἀχθεσθήσεται Ἑλληνες. The middle form is guaranteed by metre in Ar. *Nu.* 865, 1441 (ἀχθεσθησ- *u.l.* in both passages), *Au.* 84, and attested in Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 292E, *R.* 603E; the passive form is attested in Pl. *Grg.* 506C, *And.* 3.21, *Aeschin.* 3.242 (*u.l.* συναχθησόμενος), X. *Cyr.* 8.4.10. Cf. W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London 1881) 194–5, Dodds on Pl. *Grg.* 506C. It

is futile to look for a different verb: συναπεχθηκομένους Meier 1850, ἀπεχθησ-Navarre 1920, συνεπαχθισθησ- Edmonds 1929.

6 δεινός δὲ καί: VI.9n., VII.6n.

προστατῆσαι φαύλων καὶ συνεδρεῦσαι ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἐπὶ πονηροῖς πράγμασι: we move from patronage of an individual to patronage of a group. This is a rare, perhaps unique, allusion to an organised faction operating in a court of law (A. L. Boegehold, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 401 n. 17, R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 143, Hansen, *Athenian Democracy* 284). προστατῆσαι has a quasi-official tone, for ironic effect; cf. VI.9 πολλῶν ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν. It does not mean ‘come to the defence of’ (Rusten); nor ‘be a προστατής (of metics)’, with either φαύλων <μετοίκων> (Meier 1850) or φαύλων *sc.* μετοίκων (Edmonds 1929, contemplated also by D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (PCPhS Suppl. 4, 1977) 67 n. 108). συνεδρεῦσαι ‘sit in council’ has a similarly ironic tone. συνηγορῆσαι (Immisch 1897), giving an expression comparable to Isoc. 1.37 μηδενὶ πονηρῶν πράγματι μήτε παρίστασο μήτε συνηγόρει, makes him an advocate for disreputable causes. This is compatible with what follows (he will then be pictured in two roles, first as advocate, next, on a different occasion, as juror). But συνεδρεῦσαι harmonises better with προστατῆσαι φαύλων: he sits with the riff-raff whose leader he is. And -ηγορή-/εδρεῦ- is an unlikely corruption. For ἐπί, LSJ ἐπί v.iii.2 (‘of an end or purpose’).

καὶ κρίειν κρίνων ἐκδέχεσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον: cf. D. 21.64 ἐκρίνετο τὴν περὶ ὤρωποῦ κρίειν θανάτου (‘he was being tried on a capital charge concerning O.’), 24.151 τὰ . . . κρίνοντα τὰς κρίσεις ἀπάσας τὰ δικαστήρι’ ἐστίν (‘the courts decide’), Pl. R. 360e (in a non-legal context, ‘make a decision’). He is not acting as a solitary judge or arbitrator, but deciding which side to support in a court of law. For ἐκδέχεσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον (‘react negatively to what is said by both parties’, Rusten), Arist. *Rh.* 1389<sup>b</sup>21 ἔστι . . . κακοήθεια τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπολαμβάνειν πάντα (‘put the worst construction on everything’), 1416<sup>b</sup>11 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐκλαμβάνοντι (def. I n., LSJ ἐκδέχομαι 1.5). He refuses to see the good side of anything. This represents a slight shift in focus. Now he sees πονηρία everywhere.

### [7] Epilogue

Other epilogues begin with τὸ ὅλον (I.6n.) and end with a proverb (epil. I n.). This proverb (H. *Od.* 17.218 ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ἐς (*u.l.* ὡς) τὸν ὁμοῖον) is frequently cited (Pl. *Lys.* 214A, Arist. *EE* 1235<sup>a</sup>7, *Rh.* 1371<sup>b</sup>16, [Arist.] *MM* 1208<sup>b</sup>10, Diogenian. v.16 (CPG 1.253), Greg. Cypri. 1.15 (CPG 2.94)) or alluded



## COMMENTARY

to (Pl. *Smp.* 195B, *Gorg.* 510B, Arist. *EN* 1155<sup>a</sup>34, *Men. Sic.* fr. 9 Arnott (cf. fr. 376 Koerte, *Sic.* fr. 6 Kassel; C. W. Müller, *RhM* 107 (1964) 285–7), Call. fr. 178.9–10, Hp. *Nat.Puer.* 17 (7.496 Littré), Aristaenet. 1.10 *init.*, Lib. *Ep.* 1333F, Apostol. XII.74a (*CPG* 2.561); Otto, *Sprichwörter* 264, C. W. Müller, *Gleiches zu Gleichem: Ein Prinzip frühgriechischen Denkens* (Wiesbaden 1965) *passim* (this passage, 160 n. 30), B. Gygli-Wyss, *Das nominale Polyptoton im älteren Griechisch* (Göttingen 1966) 58 n. 4, Powell on Cic. *Sen.* 7. Possibly the epilogue reflects Arist. *EN* 1165<sup>b</sup>16–17 φιλοπόνηρον . . . οὐ χρὴ εἶναι οὐδ’ ὁμοιοῦσθαι φαύλωι· εἴρηται (1155<sup>b</sup>7) δ’ ὅτι τὸ ὅμοιον τῶι ὁμοίωι φίλον.

## XXX

## THE SHABBY PROFITEER

## Introductory note

The Αίχροκερδής is not 'Avaricious' (Jebb), nor 'Mean' (Edmonds). He is a man who acts disgracefully by taking advantage of others. He does this by giving short measure (§2, §5, §7, §11, §13), claiming more than his share (§4, §9, §16), unreasonable borrowing of money (§3, §7), using others' belongings to save on his own (§8, §10, §17, §20), ungenerous avoidance of expenditure (§6, §14), selling presents (§7) and not giving them (§19), and imposing inappropriate charges (§15, §18). In taking advantage of others, he resembles the Ἀναίχυντος (IX); in the pettiness of his savings, the Μικρολόγος (X); in his mean-spiritedness, the Ἀνελεύθερος (XXII). See the Introd. Notes to IX, X, XXII. The victims of his economies and deceptions are not strangers but members of his immediate circle: friends (§5, §12, §19), acquaintances (§10, §17, §20), guests (§2, §3, §4), sons (§6, §14), slaves (§7, §9, §11, §15, §16), fellow-ambassadors (§7), fellow-bathers (§8), school-teachers (§14), members of his phratry (§16), members of his dining-club (§18). Cf. Millett, 'Sale, credit and exchange' 184, id. *Lending and Borrowing* 117, with n. 14.

This accords with Aristotle, for whom αἰχροκέρδεια is small-scale gain from inappropriate sources (*EN* 1122<sup>a</sup>1-12). Dicers, for example, are αἰχροκερδεῖς, since they profit at the expense of friends (ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων κερδαίνουσιν, οἷς δεῖ διδόναι). Similarly αἰχροκέρδεια (alongside ἀνελευθερία) is τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἢ αἰχρῶν ἢ ἀπὸ ἀδυνάτων, οἷον πενήτων ἢ τεθνεώτων (*Rh.* 1383<sup>b</sup>22-3).

## [1] Definition

περιουσία (V) is no more acceptable here than in def. XXII. It cannot be defended by taking κέρδος as 'desire of gain' (Jebb, on the strength of *S. Ant.* 222). The only plausible correction is ἐπιθυμία (Bloch, before Foss 1836, Herwerden, Cobet 1874), as in def. XXIX, even though the resulting sense is banal. Not περιουσία ἐπιθυμίας (Schneider), περιποίησις (Foss 1836), περιουσία <τις πλεονεξίας> κ- αἰ- <ἐπιθυμητική> (Holland 1897), προσποίησις (Fraenkel and Groeneboom).

2 τοιοῦτός <τις>: I.2n.

ἐστιῶν ἄρτους ἱκανοὺς μὴ παραθεῖναι: cf. X.11 ἐστιῶν δημότας μικρὰ τὰ κρέα κόψας παραθεῖναι. For the bare introductory part. ἐστιῶν (as §5

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οἰνοπωλῶν), VII.8n.; for its absolute use, II.10, V.5; same corruption (ἐκθίωv V), II.10. For ἄρτους, IX.3n.

**3** καὶ δανείσασθαι παρὰ ξένου παρ' αὐτῶι καταλύοντος: to borrow from a guest is a clever stratagem. The guest will not easily secure repayment if he leaves Athens before the loan is repaid (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 277 n. 51). αὐτῶι (Edmonds 1908) rather than αὐ- (V); I.2n.

**4** καὶ διανέμων μερίδας φῆσαι δίκαιον εἶναι διμοιρίαν τῶι διανέμοντι δίδοσθαι καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶι νεῖμαι: he is distributing portions (XVII.2n.) at a meal. διμοιρίαν 'double portion' (X. *HG* 6.1.6, *An.* 7.2.36, 7.6.1, *Ages.* 5.1, *Lac.* 15.4, *Antiph.* 81.5) is far more suitable in sense than διμοίρον 'two-thirds' (Amadutius), which in any case wants the article. The force of the compound διανέμειν is maintained in the uncompounded νεῖμαι (Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 18, *Euripidea* 84; J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1996) ch. 20).

**5** καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνον τῶι φίλωι ἀποδόσθαι: -πωλῶν ('offer for sale') is contrasted with ἀποδόσθαι ('sell'); X.7n. For κεκραμένον 'mixed (with water)', IV.6n., XIII.4n. Watering of wine by retailers: *Alex.* 9.4-5, *Hegesand.* fr. 22 (4.417 Müller) ap. *Ath.* 431D, *Mart.* 9.98, *Luc. Herm.* 59.

**6** καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τηνικαῦτα πορεύεσθαι ἄγων τοὺς οὖος ἡνίκ' ἄν: τηνικαῦτα is correlative with ἡνίκ' ἄν at X. *Cyr.* 7.1.9; with ὀπηνίκ' ἄν, *S. Ph.* 464-5; with ἡνίκα, X. *An.* 4.1.5, *D.* 23.107; with ὅταν, *HP* 3.9.5, *S. OT* 76, *Ph.* 505 (cf. *El.* 293-4), *Ar. Pax* 338, X. *Lac.* 3.1, *D.* 26.17. ἡνίκ' ἄν δέη (AB) will be a corruption of τηνικάδε (Needham), which is a corruption of τηνικαῦτα in *Alex.* 91.2. τηνικάδε is a very much rarer form and is not found correlative with a temporal conjunction before Plb. (LSJ 1; add 27.15.14 ὡς . . . τὸ τηνικάδε). In place of ἡνίκα (ABV) with present indic. we need ἡνίκ' ἄν with subjunctive. Present indic. with ἡνίκα is uncommon. The single example cited from the classical period by LSJ ἡνίκα 1 (X. *Cyr.* 8.8.9) is an unhappy choice, since the verb is ellipsed (Schwyzer 2.652). Such instances as occur are either historic present (*E. El.* 541, *Pl. Hp.Mi.* 364E, X. *An.* 1.8.1) or refer to the immediate present and are correlative with νῦν (*D.* 10.30 νῦν ἡνίκα ἀκούετε, 22.33, *S. El.* 954, *OC* 772, *Lys.* 20.17, X. *Cyr.* 4.5.20) or indicate precisely synchronous time (*S. Tr.* 83-5, *E. Med.* 1005, *El.* 1111, *IA* 348, fr. 26.3, *Pl. R.* 537B, *Aeschin.* 1.14, *Arist. Pr.* 962<sup>a</sup>18). ἡνίκ' ἄν with subj. is very common: e.g. *S. Ph.* 310, *E. El.* 426, *Ar. Ach.* 670, *Nu.* 618, *V.* 404, *Pax* 120, *Au.* 1095, *Ra.* 747, *Pl. Sph.* 266c, *Phdr.* 247B, X. *HG* 2.4.17, *An.* 3.5.18, *Cyr.* 1.2.4, 7.1.9 (correlative with τηνικαῦτα), *D.* 1.3, 18.313; similarly ὅταν IV.5, V.7, VII.4, 10, XI.3, XVI.11, XVIII.7, XXII.6, 8, XXIV.8, XXVI.4, XXVII.15; ἐπὶάν V.10 (conj.), XVI.4

(conj.), XXIV.10. See further (on ἡνίκα) P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien* (Paris 1963) 295–8, A. Rijksbaron, *Temporal and Causal Conjunctions in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam 1976) 137–8. For the spelling ὕσϋς, IX.5n.

**προῖκα εἰσφρῶνις:** ‘let in free’, with the verb used as in Ar. *V.* 892 εἰσφρήσομεν (jurors into court), D. 20.53 εἰσέφρουν τὸ στράτευμα. Corruption (ἀφιᾶσιν AB, φασιν V) will have arisen by way of indic. εἰσπίφρασιν, which will have been substituted for subj. when ἡνίκα’ ἄν became ἡνίκα. For present stem -πίφρημι, Arist. *HA* 541<sup>b</sup>11 εἰσπιφράναι; for the various other forms of this verb, Barrett on E. *Hi.* 866–7. ἀφιᾶσιν (or rather ἀφιῶσιν, reported from Laur. 80.23 (9 Wilson) by Landi (1900) 96) is unacceptable. The explanation of LSJ ἀφίημι A.IV (‘suffer, permit . . . with inf. understood . . . sc. θεᾶσθαι’) is founded on a Herodotean locution, where the meaning is not ‘allow’ but ‘release, let go’, with consec. infin. (Diggle, *Euripidea* 284–5). More pertinent instances of ἀφίημι with infin. (in the sense ‘let free to’, virtually ‘allow to’) are listed in *TGL s.u.* 2658. Stein cites one of them: X. *Cyr.* 1.2.2 πόλεις ἀφείσαι παιδεύειν ὅπως τις ἐθέλει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅπως ἐθέλουσι διάγειν, ‘cities leaving free (sc. each man) to educate his own children as each man wishes, and the older men to behave as they wish’. But ἀφιᾶσιν in the sense ‘allow (people to be spectators)’, with neither acc. nor infin. expressed, would be a brachylogy without parallel for this verb, and the instances of brachylogy to which Stein refers (KG 2.565) do little to commend it. Nothing is gained by substituting ἐφιᾶσιν (Petersen; already mentioned as a *u.l.* by Lycius) or ἐφιῶσιν (Hanow 1860). The infin. is no more readily understood with this verb than it is with ἀφ-. In the instances cited by LSJ ἐφίημι A.II.1.c the verb whose infin. is to be understood appears elsewhere in the immediate context.

**οἱ θεατρῶναι:** the name (formed like e.g. ἀνδραποδῶνης, βοῶνης, ὀψῶνης, κλωπῶνης, τελῶνης; cf. C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1945) 7–8, E. H. Ruedi, *Vom Ἑλληνοδικακ zum ἀλλαντοπώλῃς. Eine Studie zu den verbalen Rektionskomposita auf -ακ/-ης* (diss. Zurich 1969) 164–9) is attested only here, and appears to stand for the person elsewhere called θεατροπώλῃς (Ar. fr. 575; cf. ὀπωρῶνης alongside ὀπωροπώλῃς, both ‘fruiterer’) and more commonly ἀρχιτέκτων (D. 18.28 and inscriptions; T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* Suppl. 17 (1978) 57–8), the lessee to whom the state awarded the contract for the maintenance of the theatre and who received the entrance fee. See Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 266, M. Walton, ‘Financial arrangements for the Athenian dramatic festivals’, *Theatre Research International* 2 (1977) 79–86, Csapo and Slater 288–9, 295–7. The conjecture ἐπιθέατρον (Holland 1897), based on ἐπὶ θεάτρων (V), is misguided (O. A. W. Dilke, *ABS A* 43 (1948) 130). About free performances in the theatre (VI.4 προῖκα θεωρεῖν refers to non-theatrical shows) we know nothing.

7 καὶ ἀποδημῶν δημοσίαι: cf. Pl. *Lg.* 950D ἀποδημηῆσαι . . . δημοσίαι . . . ἔστω κήρυξιν ἢ πρεσβείαις ἢ καὶ τις θεωροῖς, D. 45.3 ἀποδημοῦντος ἐμοῦ δημοσίαι τριηραρχοῦντος ὑμῖν, 48.24. For the verb, XXIII.3n.

τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον οἴκοι καταλιπεῖν: for the structure of τὸ . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον and the use of ἐκ ('money from the city'), KG I.336 Anmerk. 3 (cf. VI.9 τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος). The transposition ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸ κτλ. (Stein, comparing XXIII.3 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδημηκῶς) is injudicious. Travel allowances: e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 65–6 ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν | μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμάς τῆς ἡμέρας, D. 19.158 τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ χιλίας λαβόντες δραχμάς ἐφόδιον παρ' ὑμῶν (1½ drachmas per day); F. Poland, *De Legationibus Graecorum publicis* (diss. Leipzig 1885) 81–7, D. Kienast, 'Presbeia' (§18 'Reisegelder'), *RE Suppl.* XIII (1973) 578–81, D. J. Mosley, *Envoys and Diplomacy in Ancient Greece (Historia, Einzelschr.* 22, Wiesbaden 1973) 74–7. Comparable examples of avarice: Cic. *Pis.* 86 *nonne sestertium centiens et octogiens . . . ex aerario tibi attributum Romae in quaestu reliquisti?*, *Man.* 37.

παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων δανείσασθαι: part. συμπρεσβευόντων as D. 19.129, Aeschin. 3.81 (cf. X.3 τῶν συνδειπνούντων). But συμπρεσβευτῶν (AB) is no less good; συμπρεσβέων (Cobet 1874) is needless. There is nothing to choose between δανείσασθαι (V) and δανείζεσθαι (AB). Aorist at §3 (of a completed act of borrowing from a temporary visitor), present ('be a borrower' or, conative, 'try to borrow') at IX.2, 7 (cf. I.5 δανειζόμενος, VI.9 δανειζειν). See V.6n.

καὶ τῷ ἀκολούθῳ μείζον φορτίον ἐπιθεῖναι ἢ δύναται φέρειν: for τῷ ἀκολούθῳ, IX.3n. There is nothing to choose between μείζον φορτίον ἐπιθεῖναι (V) and ἐπι- μ- φ- (AB). The variation might point to an original μ- ἐπι- φ- (§9n., II.3n.). For the situation, X. *Mem.* 3.13.6, Aeschin. 2.99, Jun. 3.251–3, and the opening scene of Ar. *Ra.*; for the expression, Prop. 3.9.5 *turpe est, quod nequeas* (sc. *ferre*), *capiti committere pondus*.

καὶ ἐλάχιστα ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἄλλων παρέχειν: cf. X.3 ἐλάχιστον . . . τῶν συνδειπνούντων, XIX.9 μόνος τῶν ἄλλων, Pl. *R.* 353A κάλλιστα τῶν ἄλλων. Sense, though not grammar (KG 2.308 (b), b), shows that τῶν ἄλλων are the other ambassadors, not the other attendants.

καὶ <τῶν> ξενίων τὸ μέρος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπαιτήσας ἀποδόσθαι: AB (misreported by Diels) have καὶ ξενίων τὸ, V has καὶ ξένον δὲ. The art. is desirable with ξενίων (δ has <ἀπὸ τῶν>), since here the word denotes not general hospitality (as Aeschin. 2.39, 162) but the specific 'presents' which were customarily given to and expected by ambassadors (LSJ ξένιος I.2; Poland (above) 112–14, Kienast (above) 566–73 (§14 'Ehrungen für fremde Gesandte'), Mosley (above) 74, Stein 263–4). We might take δέ from V (καὶ <τῶν> ξενίων δὲ κτλ.), but not μέρος without art., since τὸ αὐτοῦ calls for τὸ μέρος (XIV.5n.). Possible alternatives are τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος and τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ (XIV.10n.). The use of

ἀπαιτήσας (again §9), instead of μεταιτήσας (Ar. *V.* 972 τούτων μεταιτεῖ τὸ μέρος), suggests that what he asks for he regards as his by right. Themistocles was accused of selling food which he had been given (Plu. *Them.* 5.1), and for doing the same Simonides was called κίμβιξ (for this word, Introd. Note to X) and αἰσχροκερδής (Chamael. fr. 33 Wehrli). Cf. XXII.4, J. M. Bell, *QUCC* 28 (1978) 41–3, 63–4.

**8** καὶ ἀλειφόμενος ἐν τῷ βαλανεῖω [καί] εἶπας τῷ παιδαρίω “Ἐαπρὸν γε τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπρίω” τῷ ἀλλοτρίω ἀλείφεσθαι: present part. ἀλειφόμενος sets the scene (VII.8n.); we do not want fut. ἀλειψόμενος (Hanow 1860). καί (wrongly defended by Stein) may not link such a part. to the temporal part. εἶπας. Contrast X.12 ὄψωνῶν μῆθ' ἐν πριάμενος, XIV.3, 11, XXV.4 ἀκούων . . . καὶ ὄρων . . . εἶπας (Ilberg: εἶπε V), XXV.5, XXVII.9. For interpolation of καί (deleted before Darvaris and Ast by Lycius, who however read εἰπεῖν), VII.4n. For ἀλειφόμενος . . . ἀλείφεσθαι, §13, XXI.6n.

In AB τῷ παιδαρίω stands after the direct speech. This gives an intolerable hyperbaton (it is tolerated by, among others, Stein, who adduces the mild hyperbata mentioned in IX.8n.) and a hideous clash with the unrelated dat. τῷ ἀλλοτρίω. V has either παιδαρίω or παιδάριον, also after the direct speech. παιδάριον is a voc. address in Ar. *Pax* 1288, *Pl.* 823, *Men. Asp.* 222, *Mis.* 989 Arnott (459 Sandbach), fr. 210 (conj.); ὦ παιδάριον (Reiske 1757) is not found. In addresses to slaves παῖ is much commoner than ὦ παῖ (Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* 202). See also on XX.7 ὦ μάμμη. But no voc. address here is as natural as dat. of addressee after εἶπας. The transposition was made by Auberius before (as an alternative to ὦ παιδάριον) Reiske 1757. For εἶπας (Cobet 1859), V.2n.; παιδάριον, XXII.10n.

ἐπρίω (om. V) is better kept: ‘the oil *you bought* is rancid’ imputes blame directly to the slave, while ‘the oil is rancid’ does not. The order (predicative adj., art., verb) is the same as §5 κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνον ἀποδόσθαι (KG 1.614–15, Stein 265). For εαπρὸν ἔλαιον (and the use of oil in the baths), XIX.6n.

**9** καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν εὐρικομένων χαλκῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς: same order (art., prep. phrase, part., noun, prep. phrase) as IV.3 τοῖς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένοις μισθωτοῖς ἐν ἀγρῶι and (without second prep. phrase) §18 τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ διδομένων ξύλων, VII.7. Slight variations on this (prep. phrase still before noun, but now after part.) are §16 τὰ . . . καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ῥαφανίδων ἡμίσεια, XXII.4 τοὺς . . . διακονοῦντας ἐν τοῖς γάμοις οἰκοκύτους. See KG 1.623–4, J. Vahlen, *Gesammelte philologische Schriften* 1 (Leipzig and Berlin 1911) 215–18. The word order of ABV does not conform to this pattern: the two prep. phrases stand together at the end of the sequence, but in reverse order in V and AB (ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκ- ἐν ταῖς ὁ- V, ἐν ταῖς ὁ- ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκ- AB). I take this variation for evidence that the more usual pattern

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has been disturbed: ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν omitted, written above the line or in the margin, then restored in different places (II.3n.). For arguments against οἰκείων (V) see Stein 266; same corruption XX.7. For χαλκῶν, VI.4n.

**δεινός ἀπαιτήσαι τὸ μέρος:** §7n.

**κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν Ἑρμῆν:** cf. Men. *Eph.* 283–5 εἰ καὶ βαδίζων εὔρεν ἄμ' ἐμοὶ ταῦτα καὶ | ἦν κοινός Ἑρμῆς, τὸ μὲν ἄν οὔτος ἔλαβ[εν ἄν], | τὸ δ' ἐγώ, 317, Arist. *Rh.* 1401<sup>a</sup>22, D.S. 5.75.1, Plu. 777D, Luc. *Nau.* 12, Sen. *Ep.* 119.1 *quotiens aliquid inueni, non expecto donec dicas 'in commune'*; Leutsch-Schneidewin on Diogenian. v.38 and Apostol. vii.94 (*CPG* 1.259, 2.420–1), Roscher, *Lex.Myth. s.u.* 'Hermes' 2380–1, A. Kränzlein, *Eigentum und Besitz im griechischen Recht* (Berlin 1963) 106–7, Gow and Page on Call. *AP* 12.149.3 (*Hellenistic Epigrams* 108g). For the coincident aor. part. φήσας, VII.3n.

**10 καὶ θοιμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι:** in place of ἰμάτιον (V) the choice is between θοι- (Meineke), as XXI.8, XXII.8, and τὸ ἰ- (Navarre 1920), as XVIII.6, XXVI.4, XXVII.5 (θοι- Meineke in all three). For ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι, XXII.8n.

**καὶ χρῆσάμενος παρὰ γνωρίμου:** IV.11n. We can readily understand ἰμάτιον as object; <τὸ> παρὰ (Navarre 1918) is heavy-handed.

**ἐφέλκσαι πλείους ἡμέρας ἕως ἂν ἀπαιτηθῆι:** ἐφέλκσαι is possibly absolute, 'delay' (LSJ 1.4), for which a partial analogy is Hdt. 7.167.1 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο . . . λέγεται ἔλκσαι τὴν κύστασιν ('it is said that the conflict dragged on'), but perhaps rather transitive, 'drag on', 'cause to lag behind', 'postpone', *sc.* '(the return of) the borrowed cloak'. This is suggested by a use of the passive found in documentary papyri (LSJ 1.4), such as *PSI* 350.4 (254/3 BC) ἐφέλκεται τὰ ὀψώνια ('the payment of) the wage lags behind, is delayed', and a related use (LSJ II.1) of the pass. part. exemplified by Hdt. 4.203.4 τοὺς . . . ἐπελκομένους ('those lagging behind, the stragglers') and Plb. 9.40.2 προθυμίαν . . . ἐφέλκομένην . . . καὶ καθυστεροῦσαν. The notion that he drags the cloak along after him in wearing it (Ephipp. 19.4 σεμνός σεμνῶς χλανίδ' ἔλκων, Anaxil. 18.2, Archipp. 48.2, Plu. *Alc.* 16.1; cf. Geddes 312) is not appropriate here.

**[καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα]:** XIX.4n. AB have τὰ δὲ δὴ τοιαῦτα (for δὴ in spurious passages, epil. I n.).

**11 <καὶ> Φειδωνεῖωι μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα εἰσσεκρουμένωι:** 'Pheidonian measures' (Φειδών(ε)ια μέτρα Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F 115, [Arist.] *Ath.* 10.2, Poll. 10.179) were the standard of measurement introduced into the Peloponnese by Pheidon of Argos (Hdt. 6.127.3). They were replaced at Athens by a more generous standard, reputedly in the time of Solon (O. Viedebant, *Forschungen zur Metrologie des Altertums* (*ASAW* 34, 1917) 45–50, 66–8, Rhodes on *Ath.* 10.2). Here the 'Pheidonian measure' must be the vessel which holds that obsolete and ungenerous measure. The capacity of the vessel is further reduced, because its bottom has been 'knocked in'. It is therefore made of metal, as measuring

vessels sometimes were (M. Lang and M. Crosby, *The Athenian Agora, x: Weights, Measures and Tokens* (Princeton 1964) 40–1). It is better to replace ἐκκεκρουμένωι (AB; a gap in place of the prefix in V) with εἰκκ- (Casaubon) than with ἐγκ- (also Casaubon; cf. IV.12), in the light of Pherecr. 110 λαβοῦσα μὲν τῆς χοίνικος τὸν πύνδακ' εἰκέκρουεν. There ἐξέκρουεν (Bothe) is needless and improbable: χοῖνιξ is a measuring vessel and it serves no obvious purpose to knock out its bottom, whereas there can be good reason (this passage suggests what it is) for knocking it in. By contrast, the reading must remain uncertain in Ar. fr. 281 ἐκκρουσαμένους (ἐκκρ- Meineke, ἐγκρ- Bachmann, -κάμενος Casaubon, ἐκκεκρουμένους Bergk) τοὺς πύνδακας, since vessel and context are unknown. For the construction τὸν πύνδακα εἰσκεκρουμένωι see on V.9 αὐλαίαν Πέρρας ἐνυφασμένην. For the spelling -κεκρουμ- not -κεκρουμ- (Casaubon contemplated both), KB 2.467, R. T. Elliott, *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (Oxford 1914) 155–6, Meisterhans 185 §71.3, Threatte 2.576, 585. To condemn τὸν πικτλ. as an interpolation (Diels, first in 1883) defies logic. The spelling Φειδωνεῖωι (for -ίωι), found in b (Torraca (1974) 95, Stefanis (1994a) 88, 119) and proposed by Cobet 1854, is confirmed by the papyrus of [Arist.] *Ath.* 2.10. Cf. also Alciph. 3.21.1 φειδωλῶι τῶι (Φειδωνεῖωι Cobet) μέτρωι κέχρηται.

μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: IV.7n.

κφόδρα ἀποψῶν: the verb, like ἀπομάττειν, means 'wipe off' in the sense 'level off' grain in a measure with a strickle (ἀπόψητρον, ἀπόμακτρον etc.). Cf. Poll. 4.170 (of measures that are overfull) τὰ οὐκ ἀπεψημένα: τὸ δὲ ἀποψῶν ἐργαλεῖον ἀπομάκτρα ἢ σκυτάλη ἢ περιστροφίς, Hsch. A 6478 ἀπόμακτρα: ξύλα: τὰς σκυτάλας, ἐν αἷς ἀποψῶσι τὰ μέτρα, 6818 ἀπόψητρον: τὸ ἀπόμακτρον τοῦ μετρομένου κύτου, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1013.21 (ii BC *fin.*) μέτρωι χωροῦντ[ι] ἀπο[ψ]ηστὰς σιτηρὰ ἡμιχ[ο]ινίικια τρία, Theoc. 15.95 μή μοι κενεᾶν ἀπομάξῃς (*sc.* χοίνικα, 'level an empty vessel', of wasted labour), Luc. *Nau.* 25 χοίνικα, ἀπομεμαγμένην καὶ τούτην ('levelled off too', i.e. not more than the regulation measure), Juv. 14.126 *seruorum uentres modio castigat iniquo*. This puts the final touch to his stinginess: he uses a 'Pheidonian measure', then gives short measure by using a damaged vessel, and finally trims even that short measure to the bare minimum. For the corruption in V (ὑπο- for ἀπο-), IV.13n.

12 <καί> ἵυποπρίασθαι φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου πωλεῖσθαι ἐπιλαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι<sup>†</sup>: this is to combine ὑπ- φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου πωλεῖσθαι (V) with ὑπ- φίλου ἐπιλαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι (AB), in the belief that V and AB separately preserve something which the other has omitted. Whether or not the combination is right, conjecture is needed. But no conjecture can persuade, since we do not know what sense to restore.

ὑποπρίασθαι is found only here. If it is sound, its meaning is indeterminable ('buy under the price' LSJ, 'buy privately' Jebb, 'unter der Hand wegkaufen')



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Holland, ‘make a secret purchase’ Rusten). ὑποψωνεῖν (*Ar. Ach.* 842) is analogous, but its meaning is equally unclear: ‘underbid in the purchase of victuals *or* buy up underhand’ LSJ; but the reverse (‘outbid’) according to one version of the Σ (προστιθεῖς τῆι ὀψωνία: εἰς γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ μικρᾶς προσθήκης ὠνούμενοι) and (if rightly emended) Phryn. *PS* p. 117.8–9 de Borries ὑποψωνεῖν (Cobet, *VL* 138, 364: ὑποψόνην cod.: ὑπεροψωνεῖν Bekker) τὸ ἀγοράζοντός τινος ὄψον ἕτερον τῆι τιμῆι ὑπερβάλλοντα ὠνεῖσθαι (‘when someone is buying ὄψον, another buys it at a higher price’); according to another version of the Σ, more generally (and preferably) ‘buy by deceptive means’ (παρακλέπτων ἐπὶ ὀψωνία, κακουργῶν). Conceivably ὑποπρίασθαι is a mistake for ἀπο- (Coray), which appears in *Ar. Ra.* 1227 (‘buy up’ or ‘buy off’); §11 n. *ad fin.*

πρὸς τρόπου is ‘according to one’s character *or* disposition’ (*Pl. Phdr.* 252D πρὸς τρόπου ἐκλέγεται ἕκαστος), ‘in character’ (*Pl. Lg.* 655D πρὸς τρόπου ῥηθέντα), ‘appropriately’, ‘suitably’ (πρὸς τρόπου λέγειν in *Pl. R.* 470C opposed to preceding ἀπὸ τρ- λ-, in *Lg.* 857E much the same as preceding ὀρθῶς λ-); cf. *X. An.* 1.2.11 οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. That πρὸς τρόπου might legitimately stand with πωλεῖσθαι is suggested by [*Anach.*] *Ep.* 1 ἐὰν πρὸς τρόπου πωλῶσι (‘if they sell at an agreeable price’). But ὑπο- φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου πωλεῖσθαι (V), ‘to buy (by underhand means, or the like) when a friend thinks that (it) is being sold at an agreeable price’, will not do (the point is unclear, and impersonal πωλεῖσθαι unthinkable; Stein 270).

Here is a sample of the conjectures. (i) πωλεῖν καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἀπ- (Coray), ‘He will buy a thing privately, when a friend seems ready to sell it on reasonable terms, and will dispose of it at a raised price’ (Jebb). ἐπιβαλὼν in this sense is justified by *Arist. Pol.* 1259<sup>a</sup>14 οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος (‘bid higher’, LSJ 1.4; in essence, ‘add to the sale-price’). But even with a more correct translation of δοκοῦντος (not ‘seems ready’) the phraseology is unpersuasive and the point still unclear. (ii) τι ὠνεῖσθαι, εἶτα λαβῶν (τι ὠν- Cobet 1874; εἶτα λ- Cobet 1854, better than καὶ λαβῶν Fischer and <εἶτα> ἐπι- Foss 1858), ‘He makes a secret purchase from a friend who thinks he is buying something on a whim, and then, once he’s got it, resells it’ (Rusten). εἶτα λαβῶν gives good sense (εἶτα III.2n.; λαβῶν IX.4n.). But τι ὠνεῖσθαι requires (impossibly) τὸν αἰχροκερδῆ to be understood as its subject. (iii) ὑπο- φίλον, <εἶτα> ἐπιλαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι Stein (φίλον Blaydes 1907 before Edmonds 1929; <εἶτα> Foss 1858). Whether translated ‘outbid a friend’ (Stein) or ‘buy a thing too cheap from a friend’ (Edmonds), ὑπο- φίλον is not a palatable construction; ἐπιλαβῶν has no appropriate sense (none of the senses canvassed by Stein will do here); and the wholesale disregard of V is cavalier.

As a shot in the dark I offer ὑποπρίασθαι <τι παρὰ> φίλου, δοκῶν (τι Needham before Ast, παρὰ Foss 1858 before Hanow 1860, παρὰ φίλου τι

λαβών Casaubon), 'He makes a crafty purchase from a friend, pretending . . .'. τι supplies a desirable object (§18, XIV.6n.); δοκῶν picks up ὑπο-. For παρά, LSJ πρίσμαι 1. But I do not know how to continue.

**13** ἀμέλει δὲ καί: II.9n., VI.9n., XXVI.3n.

χρέως ἀποδιδούς τριάκοντα μνῶν ἔλαττον τέτταρσι δραχμαῖς ἀποδοῦ-  
ναι: 30 minai = 3000 drachmas = 750 tetradrachmas. If the repayment was  
made wholly or partly in tetradrachmas (a coin in common use), he will easily  
get away with paying one short.

χρέως (Cobet 1874, but perhaps priority should be given to the Dindorfs  
in *TGL* (1865) *s.u.* χρέος 1637) is the correct Attic form according to Phryn.  
*Ecl.* 371 Fischer (Rutherford, *New Phrynichus* 482), Moer. χ 7 (p. 151 Hansen),  
Choerob. in *Theod.* 1.360.3 Hilgard; cf. KB 1.521. Manuscript evidence is no  
guide: χρέως only in D. (c. 15 instances), χρέος Antipho fr. 67 Thalheim, Isoc.  
21.14, Pl. *Plt.* 267A, *Lg.* 958B, [Pl.] *Ax.* 367B, D. 25.69, [Arist.] *Pr.* 950<sup>a</sup>31.  
The Attic pl. is not χρέη (V) but χρέα. For ἀποδιδούς . . . ἀποδοῦναι, §8,  
XXI.6n.; for χρέως . . . τριάκοντα μνῶν, D. 36.41 χρέα πολλῶν ταλάντων;  
dat. τέτταρσι δραχμαῖς, D. 27.19 τέτταρσι μναῖς . . . ἔλαττον ἢ ὅσον προσῆκε,  
41.6 ἔλαττον ταῖς χιλίαις (KG 1.440-1, Schwyzler 2.164).

**14** καὶ τῶν ὕῶν δὲ μὴ πορευομένων εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τὸν μῆνα ὄλον: for  
the spelling ὕῶν, IX.5n. With τὸν μῆνα ὄλον cf. e.g. XVI.10 ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν  
(Th. 4.69.3 τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην), D. 19.57 τρεῖς μῆνας ὄλους (18.30 τρεῖς ὄλους  
μῆνας), Pl. *Lg.* 849B δι' ὄλου τοῦ μηνός (for alternative orders of words, LSJ  
ὄλος 1.1); for the accusative see on XVI.2 τὴν ἡμέραν. We must suppose that  
school fees were paid monthly: when the children fail to attend for the whole  
month (i.e. are absent for part of the month), the father makes a proportionate  
deduction. Monthly payment, although not attested at Athens, is plausible  
enough. Interest on loans was calculated (and might be collected) monthly  
(X.2n.); and monthly payment of school fees is attested in Alexandria (Herod.  
3.9-10) and Rome (Hor. *S.* 1.6.75; cf. Luc. *Herm.* 80); and state payment for  
teachers is calculated monthly in Miletus at the end of the second century  
BC (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 577.51-3; cf. 578.20-1). See C. A. Forbes, *Teachers' Pay in Ancient  
Greece* (Lincoln, Nebraska 1942) 29-32, H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans  
l'antiquité* (Paris <sup>6</sup>1965) 223, W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass.  
1989) 100-1.

There is no good reason either to delete τὸν μῆνα ὄλον (Nast) or to transpose  
the words after μὴ (Foss 1858). Stein (who supports deletion) misunderstands  
KG 2.179 (what is described there as the normal order is negative before, *as  
opposed to after*, the words negated). And there is no good reason to amalgamate  
the words with the following τὸν Ἀνθεκτηριῶνα μῆνα (τὸν Ἄ- μῆνα <ὄλον>

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Bloch before Wilamowitz 1902b, τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα <τὸν ὄλον> Ast, τὸν Ἄ- <τὸν> μῆνα <ὄλον> Hottinger). ‘The month of A.’ means the whole month, and need not be amplified by ὄλον.

διὰ τιν’ ἄρρωστίαν: indefinite τιν’ (Unger 1886) is far preferable to τήν (ABV) or deletion of τήν (Dübner before Wilamowitz 1902b). Although the order is prep., noun, enclitic at §19 πρὸ χρόνου τινός, XXV.2 ἀπὸ ἐνυπνίου τινός, the enclitic regularly stands after the prep. both in T. (e.g. *Sens.* 15 διὰ τινα ἀσυμμετρίαν, *CP* 1.19.3 ἀπὸ τινος ὥρας) and elsewhere (e.g. the passages cited on §19 πρὸ χρόνου τινός). Cf. XIX.6 ἄρρωστήματα.

ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ μισθοῦ κατὰ λόγον: for the gen., LSJ ἀφαιρέω 1.1; κατὰ λόγον ‘proportionately’, ‘taking account (of the duration of the absence)’, *Hdt.* 1.134.2, 2.13.2, 7.36.3 (LSJ λόγος 11.1). For this type of meanness, *D.* 27.46 εἰς τοσοῦτον αἰσχροκερδείας ἦλθεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπεστέρηκεν.

καὶ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα μῆνα: acc. of duration like [Arist.] *Ath.* 62 τὸν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα μῆνα (see on τὸν μῆνα ὄλον above). For the order of words see on III.3 Βοηδρομιώνος.

μὴ πέμπειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μαθήματα διὰ τὸ θεῶς εἶναι πολλάς, ἵνα μὴ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκτίνηι: this poses three questions: (i) What are the ‘spectacles’? (ii) What is ‘the fee’? (iii) How is the frequency of the spectacles related to non-payment of the fee?

(i) There were two public festivals in Anthesterion: the three-day Anthesteria (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 93–122, Pickard-Cambridge, *DEA* 1–25, H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 107–20, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 213–43, *Greek Religion* 237–42, E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison 1983) 92–9, R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor 1992)) and the one-day Diasia (Deubner 155–8, M. Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965) 159–72, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 1 (Munich 31967) 411–14, Parke 122, Simon 12–15, Hornblower on *Th.* 1.126.6, Parker, *Athenian Religion* 77–8), occasions primarily for eating and drinking, both attended by children. There were also the Mysteries at Agrai, or Lesser Mysteries, of uncertain duration (E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 239–43, Nilsson 667–9, Parke 122–4, Burkert, *Homo Necans* 265–6, Simon 26–7). Stein adds the Delia (Deubner 203–4, Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig 1906) 144–9, Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 54.7), but this is irrelevant, since it was celebrated on Delos, not in Attica. Two public festivals (four days) and (for some) a visit to the Lesser Mysteries do not make a month of ‘many’ spectacles. Other months had a greater number of festival days: see the Festkalender in Deubner, after p. 268, and J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975). In any case, θεῶς does not naturally suggest a festival. In §6, V.7, IX.5 it describes a theatrical spectacle; what it describes in third-century

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Alexandria and later in Rome (Herod. 1.29 etc., cited by Stein) need not be considered. We may conclude that public festivals appear to have little or no bearing on the matter at issue.

(ii) It is usually assumed that the fee is a school fee. (iii) Then why and how does the father avoid paying a school fee *because* there are many spectacles? Two explanations are offered. (a) He pretends that, because the school is closed for part of the month, while the spectacles (whatever they may be) are taking place, it is not worthwhile to send his sons to school for the remaining days, when they are open. This is a laboured explanation. (b) According to Ath. 437D-E (citing as evidence Eubulid. 1) οἱ σοφισταὶ received presents and their fees (δῶρά τε καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς) during the Anthesteria. These are the payments which the father is avoiding. This is wrong: even if (what is disputable) οἱ σοφισταὶ are schoolteachers, to keep the children from school is not the way to avoid making these presents and payments, since (says Athenaeus) they were made during the festival itself, which father and son will attend. Further, the existence of a custom of this kind at the Anthesteria does not explain why ‘many spectacles’ are mentioned. To cut the knot by deleting διὰ τὸ θέας εἶναι πολλάς (Hirschig, contemplated by Stein) is rash.

The ‘fee’ is not a school fee but the cost of admission to a ‘spectacle’. Just as the Ἀνελεύθερος pretends that his sons are unwell during the Μουσεῖα, a school festival, in order to avoid sending a contribution to the expenses of the entertainment (XXII.6), so here the father keeps his sons at home in order to avoid paying for ‘spectacles’, which are outings to the theatre (or the like) organised by the school itself.

**15** καὶ παρὰ παιδὸς κομιζόμενος ἀποφορὰν: ἀποφορὰ is a ‘return’, here applied to money (part of his earnings) paid to his master by a slave set up in business or allowed to work for himself (Ammon. *Diff.* 66 Nickau ἀποφορὰ . . . ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων τοῖς δεσπότηαις παρεχόμενα χρήματα). So Aeschin. 1.97 οἰκέτας δημιουργοὺς τῆς σκυτοτομικῆς τέχνης . . . ὧν ἕκαστος τούτῳ δὺ’ ὀβολοὺς ἀποφορὰν ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας, Men. *Epit.* 380 τὴν ἀποφορὰν ἀποδόντες, fr. 326. The definition of LSJ 1 (*‘money which slaves let out to hire paid to their master’*) is muddled: it confuses the ‘return’ illustrated above with a different ‘return’ (the fee received from a man who hires a slave) illustrated by And. 1.38 ἔφη . . . εἶναι μὲν ἀνδράποδόν οἱ ἐπὶ Λαυρεΐῳ, δεῖν δὲ κομίσασθαι ἀποφορὰν. Here we may assume that the slave works for himself, since the master gets the money direct from him. See Thalheim, ‘Ἀποφορὰ’, *RE* II.1 (1895) 174, Schultheß, ‘Μισθοφοροῦντες’, *RE* xv.2 (1932) 2078, Kränzlein (§9n.) 43–5, S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion* (Wiesbaden <sup>2</sup>1979) 70–1, 107–10, E. E. Cohen, *Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (Princeton 1992) 93, W. Schmitz, ‘Aphophora’, *DNP* I (1996) 892. For κομιζόμενος, XXIII.3n., And. 1.38 (above).

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τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν προσαπαιτεῖν: the slave pays his master in bronze coinage, and the master demands, in addition to the money, the cost of exchanging it for silver. χαλκός is here ‘bronze money’, as Epich. 110, Ar. *Ec.* 822 (χαλκόν Poll. 9.93; χαλκοῦν codd.), *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 218.15 (Sarmatian Olbia iv BC); LSJ II.4, M. N. Tod, *NC* 6 (1946) 49, V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (Berlin 1968) 43–5, Stein 276. ἐπικαταλλαγή (LSJ s.u. is defective) is the sum added to the exchange, the ‘commission’, as in *IG* iv<sup>2</sup> 103.41 (Epidaurus iv BC), *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 247 II.10, 252.7, 15 (Delphi iv BC), and in this sense is synonymous with καταλλαγή (D. 50.30, Diph. 67.14, Euphro 3.4, *IG* iv<sup>2</sup> 103.122, 126), wrongly conjectured here by Cobet 1874. See Laum, ‘Agió’, *RE* Suppl. IV (1924) 9–11, Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers* esp. 48–9, 326, S. Isager and M. H. Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society in the Fourth Century* (Odense 1975) 90–1, Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 216–17, Cohen (above) 18–22.

καὶ λογισμὸν δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ χειρίζοντος < . . . : a clause linked by καὶ . . . δέ always contains an infin. (I.2n., VI.9n.), and so, if the sentence is complete, λαμβάνων must be changed to λαμβάνειν (present, as XIII.9). Otherwise we must mark a lacuna. Since, even with infin., the sense remains unclear, the lacuna is preferable. With λογισμὸν λ- cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1322<sup>b</sup>9 τὴν (sc. ἀρχήν) ληψομένην λογισμὸν καὶ προσευθυνοῦσαν (hold an audit and conduct a scrutiny), and (with λογισμός in a non-financial sense) D. 23.156, Men. *Sam.* 420, 620. This much at least is clear: that he is getting an account. From whom and why is not clear. Jebb takes τοῦ χειρίζοντος to mean ‘manager’ (‘In going through the accounts of his manager <he will challenge small items>’). Wilamowitz 1902b (retaining the part., and with no lacuna) supposes that the master requires the ‘manager’ to pay the cost of converting the silver coins which he has given him into bronze coins which are needed for payments to tradesmen. Similarly Stein; and the same is implied by Rusten’s translation (‘as when he settles accounts with his steward’). This is fantasy: there is no inkling of any such transaction in the text. χειρίζειν is elsewhere transitive, not absolute, and the context allows no appropriate object (such as ‘the master’s money’) to be understood. Contrast (cited in support by Stein) D.S. 16.56.3 ἐγένετο ζήτησις τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ λόγον τοὺς κεχειρικώτας (sc. τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα) οἱ Φωκεῖς ἀπῆτιον. As object of τοῦ χειρίζοντος we could understand only ἐπικαταλλαγὴν or λογισμὸν. Nothing is gained, as things stand, by τοῦχειρίζοντος (Meineke), ‘the man who hands over or puts in hand’, since clarification is still required. τοῦ <τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐγ>χ- (Navarre 1924) is inept.

**16 καὶ φράτερας ἐστιῶν:** for φρ- without art. (<τοῦς> φρ- Fischer) see on X.11 ἐστιῶν δημότας. For the spelling (-τερ- restored here for -τορ- by Herwerden before Cobet 1874, but already prescribed as the correct Attic form by Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicoorum Graecorum* (Berlin 1839) 218, W. Dindorf in *TGL* (1865)

s.u. 1036–7), Meisterhans §52.2, Threatte 2.117. For the possible number of members in a phratry, XXV.8n. The occasion is often assumed to be the Apatouria, when a father who presents his son for admission to the phratry might be expected to entertain other members (III.3n., XXI.3n.). But ‘the common fund’ (τὸ κοινόν) shows that the other diners are making at least some contribution to expenses. This suggests something more like a δέϊπνον ἀπὸ συμβολῶν (§18, X.3–4n.), at which he is host.

αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὄψον: IX.3n. For the form ἑαυτ- (also §17, §18), I.2n. For ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ, Hdt. 6.58.1, 9.87.2 (ἐκ κ- Arist. *Pol.* 1272<sup>a</sup>20, ἐκ κ- τρέφειν Antiph. 227.4–5, ἐκ κ- φαγεῖν Euphanes 1.4; cf. §17 εἰς τὸ κοινόν). For ὄψον, IX.4n.

τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ῥαφανίδων ἡμίσεια: ‘left over from the table’ or ‘left over after the meal’ (see on XXIV.2 ἀπὸ δέϊπνου; LSJ τράπεζα 1.2 ‘table, as implying what is upon it, meal’). Similarly Heraclid.Cum. *FGrH* 689 F 2 (p. 519.25–8) ap. Ath. 145F ἐπειδὴν δὲ οἱ κύνδειπνοι δειπνήσῃσι, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης καταλειπομένων (Meineke: παρα- codd.) – καταλείπεται δὲ τὰ πλείεστα κρέα καὶ ἄρτοι – ὁ τῆς τραπέζης ἐπιμελούμενος δίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν. The idiom illustrated on II.10 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης is different. ἐπί (Pauw) is unwanted. For the word order (part., prep. phrase, noun), §9n.

ῥαφανίδων ἡμίσεια (V) are ‘half-radishes’, ‘radish-halves’, like X. *An.* 1.9.26 ἄρτων ἡμίσεια ‘half-loaves’. To halve or slice a radish is a natural way to serve it. The gen. is attributive, not (as Stein takes it) partitive; and so the word order is perfectly regular. The alternative τὰ . . . ἡμίση τῶν ῥαφανίδων (AB), though usually interpreted in the same way, might rather suggest ‘half the radishes’, not because of word order (XIV.5n.) but because of the art. with the gen. Thus D. 27.18 τὰ ἡμίσεια τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, 62 τὰ ἡμ- τῶν χρημάτων, Is. 6.38 τῶν ἀρχαίων . . . τὰ ἡμ-, X. *Cyr.* 4.5.4 τῶν ἄρτων τοὺς ἡμίσεις. Although in these passages ἡμ- takes its gender from the dependent gen. (cf. LSJ ἡμις 1.2, KG 1.279), the neut. pl. τὰ ἡμ- is also found with a gen. which (like ῥαφανίδων) is not neut. (Pl. *Lg.* 672E τὰ . . . τῆς χορείας ἡμ-). At all events, ‘half the radishes’ is inferior sense, because (i) to specify that *half* have been left over is too fussy (‘the left-over radishes’ would be more natural); (ii) halved radishes have a shorter life than whole radishes, and so to make an inventory of them (which implies the intention to store them) is no less stupid than mean. In any case, the radish is no choice dish (Ar. *Pl.* 544, *Amphis* 26). For types of radish, Dalby 277–8.

ἡμίσεια (V) is a safer choice than ἡμίση (AB). The mss. offer: -εα Th. 4.16.1, And. 1.97, Pl. *R.* 438c (and 10 other instances), X. *An.* 1.9.26, *Cyr.* 8.3.10, *Ages.* 4.5, Is. 6.38, 7.19, 11.50, D. 27.18, 62 (-η S), 36.36 (-η S), 48.8, 58.13 (-η SQD), Arist. *Mech.* 857<sup>a</sup>1, *Mir.* 832<sup>a</sup>9, *Oec.* 1349<sup>b</sup>36, 1350<sup>a</sup>1, 3, 5, *Ph.* 263<sup>a</sup>30 (u.l. -η), 263<sup>b</sup>8; -η Hyp. *Dem.* 10 (papyrus), Arist. *APr.* 42<sup>b</sup>4, *Mech.* 856<sup>b</sup>35,

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*Metaph.* 1035<sup>a</sup>18, *Ph.* 240<sup>a</sup>12, 263<sup>a</sup>23, 26, 28 (*u.l.* 30), *Pol.* 1301<sup>b</sup>35, *Plb.* 18.44.7. Meisterhans 150 §12 cites an isolated 4th-cent. instance of -η: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1678.23 = *Inscr.Délos* (ed. J. Coupry, Paris 1972) 104-4 aA 23 (Coupry 55 suggests 360-350 BC, but admits that it may be somewhat later). The form in -η is condemned by the grammarians (*Hdn.* fr. 3 p. 75 Dain, *An.Ox.* 3.247.13-15, *Phryn.* p. 73.6 de Borries, *Thom.Mag.* 172.4 Ritschl). See also KB 1.443 Anmerk. 11, Schwyzer 1.573<sup>ε</sup>.

**ἀπογράφεσθαι:** 'have listed, registered', implying a process more formal than counting items of food before locking them away (*Juv.* 14.133, *Luc. Herm.* 11). Cf. *PCG* adesp. 1152.23-5 ἄν κρύπτω τί σε | [καὶ μὴ δι]καίως π[ά]ντ' ἀπογράφω καὶ καθ['] ἐν | πός' ἐστὶ] τᾶνδον, [πρό]σα κεχρήκαμέν τίσι, *Men. Asp.* 275, 391-2.

**ἴν' οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες μὴ λάβωσι:** cf. XXII.4. Similar meanness: *Antiph.* 89.1-3 (= *Epicr.* 5.4-6) ὄρᾶν τε κείμενα | ἄμητας ἡμιβρώτας ὀρνίθειά τε, | ὧν οὐδὲ λειφθέντων θέμις δούλωι φαγεῖν.

**17 <καί> συναποδημῶν δὲ μετὰ γνωρίμων:** for <καί>, VI.9n.; συναποδημῶν, XXIII.3n.; συν- . . . μετά, XXI.11 n.

**τὸν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἕξω μισθῶσαι:** 'let out for hire outside (the house)' is a comprehensible expression. But perhaps <τοῖς> ἕξω 'to outsiders' (*HP* 4.8.4, *Th.* 5.14.3, *Lys.* 6.6, *Pl. R.* 577A, X. *Oec.* 10.8; cf. τοῖς ἔνδον §11, IV.7, XVI.10). Less likely ἐκμισθῶσαι (Blaydes, but already declined by Ast). Cf. L. Casson, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 40.

**καὶ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸν μισθόν:** cf. D. 41.8 τὴν τιμὴν . . . εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀνεγήνοχεν, *Hdt.* 3.80.6 βουλευμάτα . . . ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει; also §16 ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

**18 ἀμέλει δὲ καί:** §13n.

**συναγόντων παρ' αὐτῶι:** he is acting as host at a dinner ἀπὸ συμβολῶν (X.3-4n.). The verb is intrans., as *Men. Epit.* 412, fr. 123, *Diph.* 42.28, *Sophil.* 5.2, *Euphro* 1.10; *Arnott on Alex.* 253.2. For the trans. use, XXVII.11 n. For the part. with indefinite subject unexpressed (as §20 ἀποδιδόντων), XIV.7n. For αὐτῶι rather than ἑαυ- (V), I.2n.

**ὑποθεῖναι <τι>:** *LSJ Rev.Suppl.* cites this verb from *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1228.5 (116/15 BC) in the sense 'enter in one's accounts'. The simple verb means 'reckon', 'place to account', 'put down as a charge' (*Lys.* 32.21 τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτῶι τίθησι, <τὸ δὲ> τούτοις λελόγιται; *LSJ* A.11.9.b, XXIII.6n. τίθησιν). Other possible senses for ὑπο- would be 'surreptitiously', 'without telling the guests' ('clam in rationem referre' *Diels, Index*) or 'at the bottom of the bill' (*Wilamowitz*). For the latter, *LSJ* 1.2.b (in documentary papyri, 'subjoin, enclose, append a document'; *F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* 2

(Berlin 1927) 676 *s.u.* ὑποτίθημι 7); cf. Alex. 15.18 πρόθεσ τὸν οἶνον 'put down the wine too', in a list of charges. If the verb can be taken to mean (with whatever nuance) 'charge for', the gen. can be taken as analogous to that found with (κατα)τιθέναι, 'put down (money) for', 'pay for': Ar. *Pax* 1214 τί δῆτα τουτοινὶ καταθῶ σοι τοῖν λόφοιν; Eriph. 2.4–5 τοῦτων . . . ὀβολὸν . . . τίθημι, X. *Cyr.* 3.1.37 μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταθεῖς (KG 1.378). But we expect a direct object (the sum charged) to be expressed rather than understood: <τὸν ὄνον> Holland 1897, <λόγον> Fraenkel and Groeneboom, ὑπό<λογον> θέσθαι Navarre 1920. A simple <τι> is neater (XIV.6n.). There may be more extensive corruption. But suggestions like ἀποθεῖναι τῶν [παρ' ἑαυτοῦ] διδομένων ξ- (ἀπο- Ast, Coray ap. Schneider 1821; παρ' ἐ- del. Coray before Ussing; παρ' ἑκάστου Unger 1886) 'secrete some of the fire-wood . . . placed at his disposal' (Jebb; cf. Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 155) are way off mark. ὑπομνησθῆναι (Darvaris) gives less apt sense.

τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδομένων ξύλων καὶ φακῶν καὶ ὄξους καὶ ἄλῶν καὶ ἐλαίου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον: for the word order, §9n. Lentils are cheap, the ingredient of a poor man's soup (XIV.11n.). For vinegar, Pritchett 187–9, Arnott on Alex. 286.3, Olson and Sens on Archaestr. 23.6, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 35, Dalby 343; salt, IX.3n. (salt and vinegar together, Men. *Dysc.* 506–7); lamp oil, M.-C. Amouretti, *Le pain et l'huile dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1986) 190. For the construction ἐλαίου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον, IX.4n.

**19** καὶ γαμοῦντός τινος τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐκδιδομένου θυγατέρα: since these are alternative activities, they cannot be linked by καὶ (ABV); VI.4n. For confusion of ἢ and καὶ, XI.4 (ἢ B, καὶ A), Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 27, *Euripidea* 198. For ἐκδ- θυγατέρα, XXII.4n.

πρὸ χρόνου τινος ἀποδημῆσαι: for the preposition, Hdt. 7.30.2, 7.138.1 πρὸ πολλοῦ, Pl. *Phd.* 249A πρὸ τοσοῦτου χρόνου (LSJ πρὸ A.II.1, J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* II (Basel 1924) 195). Ribbeck 1870 deleted τινοῦς. But τις is found with χρόνος in a variety of phrases: e.g. διὰ τινοῦ χ- (Arist. *Pol.* 1272<sup>b</sup>13), ἐν τινι χ- (Pl. *Phd.* 115A, X. *HG* 3.3.7), ἐπὶ τινα χ- (Pl. *Gr.* 524D, Arist. *EN* 1100<sup>a</sup>30), μετὰ τινα χ- (*HP* 4.2.11), μέχρι τινοῦ χ- (Pl. *Ti.* 89c), χ- τινά (E. *IT* 921, Th. 7.40.4). For ἀποδημῆσαι, XXIII.3n.

ἴνα <μή> πέμψῃ προσφοράν: προπέμψῃ (V) is an unsuitable compound, and προσπέμψῃ (Coray) is less natural than the simple verb (XV.5n.), and the repeated προσ- is displeasing. προ- will have been prompted by preceding πρό (XXII.8n.) and following προ- (IV.13n. περιών). Accidental omission of the neg. is illustrated from Greek, Latin, and German by A. Brinkmann, *RhM* 74 (1925) 34–5. Wedding presents: J. H. Oakley and R. H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison 1993), Index *s.u.* 'gifts', A.-M. Vêrilhac and C. Vial, *Le mariage grec* (BCH Suppl. 32, 1998) 326–7.



## COMMENTARY

**20** καὶ παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων τοιαῦτα κίχρασθαι: IV.11 n., Millett, *Lending and Borrowing* 147. For κίχρασθαι, V.10 n.

ἄ μήτ' ἂν ἀπαιτήσαι μήτ' ἂν ἀποδιδόντων ταχέως ἂν τις κομίαιτο: for the repetition (and position) of ἂν see KG 1.246–8, J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen 1953) 1.60–70, E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (Rome 1964) 1.93ff., Barrett on E. *Hi.* 270. The second ἂν should not be replaced by αὖ (Hanow 1860, Unger 1886) or ἀπ' (F. Müller ap. Steinmetz). With ταχέως ἂν τις κομίαιτο cf. Ar. *Lys.* 154 σπονδὰς ποιήσαιντ' ἂν ταχέως, [And.] 4.27 ταχέως ἐπέτρεψεν ἂν, Herod. 3.11 οὐκ ἂν ταχέως λήξειε ('= χολῆι ἂν' Headlam); no need for τάχ' ἂν (Wachsmuth ap. Holland 1897). For κομίαιτο, LSJ II.8.

Plural part. ἀποδιδόντων is normal (as §18 συναγόντων), sing. ἀποδιδόντος (Cobet 1858, before Hanow, Unger, Blaydes) abnormal (XIV.7 n.).

# ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I SELECT ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for periodicals follow *L'Année Philologique*; for Greek authors (for the most part), LSJ; for Latin, *OLD*.

- CPG* *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, edd. E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen 1839–51)
- DNP* *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart 1996–2002)
- HdA* *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. E. Hoffmann-Krayer (Berlin and Leipzig 1927–42)
- KB* R. Kühner and F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, erster Teil: Elementar- und Formenlehre (Hanover and Leipzig 1890–2)
- KG* R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, zweiter Teil: Satzlehre (Hanover and Leipzig 1898–1904)
- LGPN* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, edd. P. M. Fraser *et al.* (Oxford 1987–)
- LLMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich and Munich 1981–97)
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn., revised by Sir Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford 1940); Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 1996)
- OCD<sup>3</sup>* *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn., edd. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford 1996)
- OED<sup>2</sup>* *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn., Oxford 1989)
- OLD* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 1968–82)
- PCG* *Poetae Comici Graeci*, edd. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin and New York 1983–)
- RE* *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart and Munich 1893–1978)
- SVF* *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim (Leipzig 1905–24)
- TGL* *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, 3rd edn., edd. C. B. Hase and G. and L. Dindorf (Paris 1831–65)
- TrGF* *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, edd. B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt (Göttingen 1971–)
- TrGF<sup>Sel</sup>* *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Selecta*, ed. J. Diggle (Oxford 1998)

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### II SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### (I) EDITIONS

T = Text, t = translation, C = Commentary, c = brief notes. I list only those editions which I mention in the Commentary or which are worth recording for historical reasons. An asterisk marks an edition which I have not seen. See also 'Some texts and commentaries' (pp. 52–7).

#### **(I–XV)**

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ed. Basil.<sup>a</sup>, Basel (A. Cratander) 1531 [Tt]  
ed. Basil.<sup>b</sup>, Basel (J. Oporinus) 1541 [T]  
C. Gesner, in *Ioannis Stobaei Sententiae . . .*,<sup>1</sup>Zurich 1543, <sup>2</sup>Basel 1549, <sup>3</sup>Zurich 1559 [Tt]

#### **(I–XXIII)**

- J. B. Camotius, Venice (Aldus Manutius) 1552 [T]  
H. Stephanus, Paris 1557 [Tc]  
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F. Morel, Paris 1583 [Tt]  
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<sup>1</sup> Merely a reprint of Casaubon's text and translation, but notable for its analytical Index verborum by P. Hedelinus, which runs to nearly 300 pages (J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* III (Cambridge 1908) 347, is ill-informed).

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