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**ATHENAEUS** 

 $\mathbf{V}$ 

LCL 274



# THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS 10.420e-11

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
S. DOWGLAS OLSON



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#### PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volumes I and III. I have altered Casaubon's numbering of the text at one point, where he chose to use 459a to refer to both one of the final sections of Book 10 and the very beginning of Book 11 (my 11.459d). In addition, I have (like all previous editors) tacitly added a handful of section-divisions accidentally omitted from Casaubon's text. Two passages missing from manuscript A have been supplied from the Epitome, one (referred to by Casaubon numbers 11.781b–784d) following the first part of 11.466d, and the other (unnumbered) following the first part of 11.502b.

Thanks are due my research assistant Timothy Beck, and my undergraduate students Joseph McDonald, William Blessing, and Andrew Gerstenberger for their many hours of reference-checking, proofreading, formatting assistance, and the like. Final work on the manuscript was completed at the National Humanities Center, an ideal research environment. This volume is dedicated to my beloved, brave, and beautiful Rachel for the same reasons that Volume I was and now for many more as well.



### **ABBREVIATIONS**

Berve	H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopo-
	graphischer Grundlage ii Prosopographie (Munich, 1926)
Billows	R. A. Billows, Antigonos the One-Eyed and
DINOWS	the Creation of the Hellenistic State (Berke-
	ley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)
Bradford	A. S. Bradford, A Prosopography of Lace-
	daimonians from the Death of Alexander the
	Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by
	Alaric, A.D. 396 (Vestigia 27: Munich, 1977)
FGE	D. L. Page (ed.), Further Greek Epigrams
	(Cambridge, 1981)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), Die Fragmente der Griech-
	ischen Historiker (Leiden, 1923–69)
FHG	C. and T. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum
	Graecorum (4 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), The Greek
	Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams (Cam-
	bridge, 1965)
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), Poetae Comici
	Graeci (Berlin and New York, 1983–2001)

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

O'Connor	I P O'Coppor Chapters in the History of
O Collifor	J. B. O'Connor, Chapters in the History of
	Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece together
	with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graeco-
	rum (Chicago, 1908)
PA	J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica (Berlin,
	1901–3)
PAA	J. Traill (ed.), Persons of Ancient Athens (To-
	ronto, 1994-)
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.), Poetae Melici Graeci (Ox-
	ford, 1962)
Poralla	P. Poralla, A Prosopography of Lacedai-
	monians from the Earliest Times to the Death
	of Alexander the Great (X-323 B.C.) <sup>2</sup> (revised
	by A. S. Bradford: Chicago, 1985)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), Supple-
011	mentum Hellenisticum (Texte und Kommen-
	<u> </u>
COD	tar, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)
SSR	G. Giannantoni, Socratis et Socraticorum Re-
	liquiae (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)
Stephanis	I. Ε. Stephanis, Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται
	(Herakleion, 1988)
SVF	J. van Arnim (ed.), Stoicorum Veterum Frag-
	menta (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)
TrGF	B. Snell et al. (eds.), Tragicorum Graecorum
	Fragmenta (Göttingen, 1971–2004)

#### THE CHARACTERS

ATHENAEUS, the narrator; also a guest at the dinner party TIMOCRATES. Athenaeus' interlocutor AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian (e.g. 3.126b) ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician (1.1f; 4.174b) AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d-e) ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a) CYNULCUS, Cynic philosopher whose given name is Theodorus (e.g. 1.1d; 3.97c) DAPHNUS OF EPHESUS, physician (e.g. 1.1e; 2.51a) DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1e; 3.83c) DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d) GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician (e.g. 1.1e-f, 26c) LARENSIUS, Roman official and also host of the party (e.g. 1.2b–3c; 2.50f) LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian (1.1d; 3.96d) MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c) MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician (e.g. 1.1c; 14.623e) MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian (e.g. 3.83a) PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a) PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher (1.1d)\*

#### CHARACTERS

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

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

RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)\*

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

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

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

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

# THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

420e

Οἱ δὲ νῦν συνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς ἀλεξανδρείας βοῶσι, κεκράγασι, βλασφημοῦσι τὸν οἰνοχόον, τὸν διάκονον, τὸν μάγειρον κλαίουσι δ' οἱ παῖδες τυπτόμενοι κονδύλοις ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν. καὶ οὐχ οἶον οἱ κεκλημένοι μετὰ πάσης ἀηδίας δειπνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν τύχη θυσία τις οὖσα, παρακαλυψάμενος ὁ θεὸς οἰχήσεται καταλιπὼν οὐ μόνον τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν | πόλιν ἄπασαν γελοῖον γάρ ἐστιν αὐτὸν <τὸν >1 εὐφημίαν κηρύξαντα καταρᾶσθαι τῆ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις. καὶ τοῖς δειπνοῦσι δ' ἂν εἴποι ὁ τοιοῦτος·

νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν "Αρηα.

τῷ γὰρ τοιούτῳ ὁ οἶκος

όμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει, || 421 ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

τούτων λεχθέντων έφη τις των παρόντων παραιτητέον είς ταῦτ' ἀποβλέποντάς έστι τὸ γαστρίζεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> add. Meineke

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Sc. in embarrassment at being associated with such a place.

#### **BOOK X.420e**

People who invite guests to dinner nowadays, and in particular the inhabitants of the lovely city of Alexandria, shout, scream, and swear at the wine-steward, the waiter, and the cook, while their slaves cry out in pain throughout the room when they are punched. And not only are the guests thoroughly disgusted as they consume their meal, but if this is a sacrificial rite, the god will cover his face<sup>1</sup> and leave, abandoning not just the house, but the entire city; for it is ridiculous that the same person who called for "words of good omen only" is now cursing his wife and his children. A man like this might say to the others eating with him (Il. 2.381):<sup>3</sup>

But now go to your dinner, so that we can join battle.

For the house of someone like this (S. OT 4-5)

is simultaneously full of incense and of paeans and cries of lament.

After these remarks were made, one of the guests said: If we pay attention to this, we ought to refuse to stuff ourselves. Because

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Standard preliminary procedure when making a sacrifice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Quoted also at 8.364a, in a very similar context.

άτελες δε δείπνον οὐ ποεί παροινίαν,

ώς "Αμφις φησὶν ἐν Πανί, οὐδὲ ὕβρεις καὶ προπηλακισμούς, ὡς "Αλεξις ἐν 'Οδυσσεῖ 'Υφαίνοντι μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τούτων'

(A.) φιλεί γὰρ ἡ μακρὰ συνουσία καὶ τὰ συμπόσια τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν | ποείν

σκώψιν, ή σκώψις δὲ λυπεῖ πλεῖον ἢ τέρπει πολύ.

τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν γὰρ ἀρχὴ γίγνετ' ἃν δ' εἴπης ἄπαξ,

εὐθὺς ἀντήκουσας· ἤδη λοιδορεῖσθαι λείπεται, εἶτα τύπτεσθαι δέδεικται καὶ παροινεῖν. (Β.) ταῦτα γὰρ

κατὰ φύσιν πέφυκεν οῦτως καὶ τί μάντεως έδει;

3

καὶ Μνησίμαχος δὲ ἐν Φιλίππῳ διὰ τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα κόρον ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις παράγει τι συμπόσιον πολέμου παρασκευὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενον καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὸν χαριέστατον Ξενοφῶντα πολέμου Ι ἐργαστήριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

ἀρ' οἶσθ' ότιὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἐστί σοι μάχη, οἱ τὰ ξίφη δειπνοῦμεν ἠκονημένα, ὅψον δὲ δῷδας ἡμμένας καταπίνομεν; ἐντεῦθεν εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει τραγήματα ἡμῖν ὁ παῖς μετὰ δεῖπνον ἀκίδας Κρητικάς, ὥσπερ ἐρεβίνθους, δορατίων τε λείψανα κατεαγότ', ἀσπίδας δὲ προσκεφάλαια καὶ θώρακας ἔχομεν, πρὸς ποδῶν δὲ σφενδόνας καὶ τόξα, καταπάλταισι δ' ἐστεφανώμεθα.

h

An inexpensive dinner produces no bad, drunken behavior.

as Amphis says in *Pan* (fr. 29), nor any outrageous actions or abusive comments, as Alexis insists in *Odysseus Weaving* (fr. 160), in the following passage:

(A.) Since extended socializing and lots of parties every day tend to produce mockery; and mockery produces way more grief than pleasure.

This is how verbal abuse begins; the minute you say

something,

you immediately hear it back. Next comes namecalling;

and then you see people punching each other and acting like drunken idiots. (B.) Yeah;

that's the natural course of events. What need was there for a seer?

So the overwhelming excess seen at banquets motivated Mnesimachus in *Philip* to introduce a drinking party he describes as a preparation for hostilities and a genuine workshop of war, as the delightful Xenophon (*HG* 3.4.17) puts it. Mnesimachus says the following (fr. 7):

So do you realize you'll be fighting men who eat sharpened swords for dinner and gobble down flaming torches as a side-dish? Then right after that the slave brings us Cretan arrowheads as an after-dinner snack, like chickpeas, plus some shattered fragments of javelins; and we use shields and breastplates as pillows, and put slings and bows by our feet, and wear catapults as garlands.

d καὶ ὁ Κολοφώνιος δὲ Φοῖνιξ φησίν.

Νίνου κάδοι μάχαιρα καὶ κύλιξ αἰχμή, κύμβη δὲ τόξα, δήιοι δὲ κρητῆρες, ἵπποι δ' ἄκρητος, κάλαλὴ "μύρον χεῖτε."

έν δὲ τῷ Παρασίτῳ "Αλεξις περὶ πολυφάγου τινὸς διαλεγόμενός φησι:

καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ νεώτεροι Παράσιτον ὑποκόρισμα· τῷ δ' οὐδὲν μέλει. δειπνεῖ δ' ἄφωνος Τήλεφος, νεύων μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ἐπερωτῶντάς τι, ὥστε πολλάκις ἱ αὐτὸν ὁ κεκληκὼς τὰ Σαμοθράκι' εὕχεται λῆξαι πνέοντα καὶ γαληνίσαι ποτέ. χειμὼν ὁ μειρακίσκος ἐστὶ τοῦς φίλοις.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ περί τινος τῶν ὁμοίων διαλεγόμενος διέξεισιν·

ἐμὲ μὲν οὐχ ὁρậς πεπωκότα ἤδη τ' ἀκροθώρακ' ὄντα καὶ θυμούμενον, τονδὶ δὲ ναστὸν ᾿Αστ<ερ>ίωνος μείζονα ἤδη σχεδὸν δωδέκατον ἠριστηκότα;

διὸ καλῶς ἔλεγεν ὁ Βορυσθενίτης Βίων οὐ δεῖν ἀπὸ Ι f τῆς τραπέζης τὰς ἡδονὰς πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> After Telephus murdered his maternal uncles (Hyg. Fab. 244.2), he fled to Mysia, where as a polluted murderer he was not allowed to speak to anyone; cf. Amphis fr. 30 (quoted at 6.224d—e).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The "Samothracian gods" offered protection during storms at sea; cf. Olson on Ar. Pax 276-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Apparently a reference to one of the Giants, who was killed by Athena.

Phoenix of Colophon (fr. 3, p. 234 Powell) as well says:

Wine-jars are Ninos' dagger; his spear is a drinkingcup;

his bow is a wine-bowl; his enemies are mixing-bowls; his horses are unmixed wine; and his battle-cry is "Pour the perfume!"

In his *The Parasite* (fr. 183) Alexis discusses a gluttonous individual and says:

All the younger men refer to him
by the nickname "Parasite"; but he doesn't care.
He eats dinner like a mute Telephus, 4 nodding to
people

who ask him a question, but not doing anything else, so that his hosts

routinely repeat the prayers offered to the gods from Samothrace,<sup>5</sup>

asking that he eventually stop blowing and calm down.

The boy affects his friends like a storm.

Diphilus in *Heracles* (fr. 45) discusses someone similar and describes him as follows:

Don't you see that I've been drinking, and that I'm a bit wrecked and angry now, and that this is now almost the twelfth cake bigger than Asterion<sup>6</sup> that I've had for lunch?

Bion of Borysthenes (fr. 14 Kindstrand) was therefore right to argue that we ought to get our pleasure not from

φρονείν. ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης φησί

φαύλη διαίτη προσβαλών ήσθη στόμα,

ώς της ἀπὸ τῶν προσφορῶν τέρψεως περὶ τὸ στόμα μᾶλλον γινομένης. Αἰσχύλος τ' ἐν Φινεῖ·

καὶ ψευδόδειπνα πολλὰ μαργώσης γνάθου ἐρρυσίαζον στόματος ἐν πρώτη χαρᾳ.

έν Σθενεβοία δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης περὶ εὐτελείας λέγων

βίος δὲ πορφυροῦς θαλάσσιος ||
οὐκ εὐτράπεζος, ἀλλ' ἐπάκτιοι φάτναι.
ὑγρὰ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐ πεδοστιβὴς τροφὸς
θάλασσα· τήνδ' ἀροῦμεν, ἐκ ταύτης βίος
βρόχοισι καὶ πέδαισιν οἴκαδ' ἔρχεται.

μέγα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἡ γαστήρ, περὶ ἦς φησιν Ἄλεξις ἐν Συναποθνήσκουσι

μάθοις τ' ἃν οῗον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν ἔστιν ἡ γαστήρ, διδάσκει δ' οῗ' ἀναγκάζει θ' ὅσα.

εἴ τις ἀφέλοι τοῦτ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, Ι

ούτ' ἃν ἀδικοῖτ' οὐδεν οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὑβρίζοι τἂν εκών.

νῦν δὲ διὰ ταύτην ἄπαντα γίγνεται τὰ δυσχερῆ.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Παρασίτω.

422

b

8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A longer version of the fragment is cited at Stob. 4.20.2, where it is identified as coming from *Antiope*.

the dinner table, but from intellectual activity. Euripides (fr. 213.4)<sup>7</sup> says:

He made his mouth happy by attacking a nasty meal,

as if the pleasure derived from food was most closely associated with the mouth. Also Aeschylus in *Phineus* (fr. 258):8

They seized many cheating dinners from my ravening jaw as my mouth was about to enjoy them.

Euripides in Stheneboea (fr. 670), discussing thrift:

The living that comes from the surging sea is not luxurious; our mangers are on the beach. The sea is a moist mother, not an earth-trodding nurse. We plow her, and our livelihood comes home from her by means of our nets and traps.

For the belly causes people tremendous trouble. Alexis says the following about it in *Men Who Were Dying Together* (fr. 215):

And you could learn the sort of trouble people's bellies

cause them, and the kind of lessons it teaches us, and everything it forces us to do.

If you removed this part of our anatomy,

no one would deliberately commit a crime or abuse anyone else.

But as it is, it's the cause of all our difficulties.

#### Diphilus in The Parasite (fr. 60):

<sup>8</sup> Describing the Harpies, which snatched Phineus' food before he could consume it.

εὖ γ' ὁ κατάχρυσος εἶπε πόλλ' Εὐριπίδης·
"νικᾳ δὲ χρεία μ' ἡ ταλαίπωρός τέ μου
γαστήρ." ταλαιπωρότερον οὐδέν ἐστι γὰρ
τῆς γαστρός· εἰς ἡν πρῶτον ἐμβαλεῖς < ... >
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔτερον ἀγγεῖον. ἐν πήρα φέροις |
ἄρτους ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐ ζωμόν, ἡ διαφθερεῖς.
εἰς σπυρίδα μάζας ἐμβαλεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ φακῆν·
οἰνάριον εἰς λάγυνον, ἀλλ' οὐ κάραβον.
εἰς τὴν θεοῖς ἐχθρὰν δὲ ταύτην εἰσφόρει
ἄπανθ' ἑαυτοῖς μηδὲν ὁμολογούμενα.
κοὐ προστίθημι τἆλλα, διότι πανταχοῦ
διὰ τὴν τάλαιναν πάντα ταύτην γίνεται.

καὶ Κράτης δ' ὁ κυνικός, ὧς φησι Σωσικράτης ἐν ταῖς d Διαδοχαῖς, ἐπερράπισε Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα | σὺν τῆ πήρα τῶν ἄρτων καὶ λάγυνον πέμψαντα οἴνου· "εἰθε γάρ", ἔφη, "τὰς κρήνας καὶ ἄρτους ἦν φέρειν." Στίλπων δ' οὐ κατεπλάγη τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καταφαγὼν σκόροδα καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ· ἀπείρητο δὲ τῷ τούτων τι φαγόντι μηδὲ εἰσιέναι. ἐπιστάσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς θεοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους καὶ εἰπούσης ὅτι "φιλόσοφος ὅν, ὧ Στίλπων, παραβαίνεις τὰ νόμιμα," καὶ τὸν δοκεῖν ἀποκρίνασθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους²·· "σὺ δὲ μοι πάρεχε ἐσθίειν καὶ σκορόδοις οὐ γρήσομαι." |

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους del. Meineke

c

<sup>9 =</sup> E. fr. 915.1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Very similar material is preserved at D.L. 6.90.

<sup>11</sup> Since all he actually wanted to drink was water.

The silver-tongued Euripides offered many fine remarks:

"Poverty and my miserable belly have got the upper hand

over me." Because nothing's more miserable than your belly. First of all, you'll put . . . into it, but not into any other container. You could carry bread

around in a beggar's-bag, but not soup; if you do, you'll ruin it.

You'll put barley-cakes in a basket, but not lentilporridge;

and wine in a wine-flask, but not a crayfish. Whereas you toss anything, in a complete jumble, into this goddamned part of your anatomy. Nothing else counts; because this rotten belly of ours makes everything happen everywhere.

So too the Cynic Crates, according to Sosicrates in his Successions (fr. 22, FHG iv.503 = SSR V H 33), reprimanded Demetrius of Phaleron (fr. 58b Wehrli = 33a Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf)<sup>10</sup> when the latter sent him a flask of wine along with his beggar's-bag stuffed full of bread. "If only the springs also produced bread!", he said. 11 Stilpo's (SSR II O 21) frugal lifestyle did not lead to him being terrified when he ate some garlic and fell asleep in the temple of the Mother of the Gods. (Anyone who ate food like this was forbidden to enter the place.) When the goddess appeared to him in his sleep and said, "Even though you're a philosopher, Stilpo, you're violating my rules!", he thought that he answered, while still asleep: "Well, give me something to eat, and I'll avoid garlic."

e 'Επὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· ἐπεὶ δεδείπναμεν (εἴρηκε δὲ οὕτως "Αλεξις ἐν Κουρίδι.

< . . . > ἐπεὶ πάλαι δεδείπναμεν.

Εὔβουλος Προκρίδι.

< ... > ήμεῖς δ' οὐδέπω δεδείπναμεν.

καὶ πάλιν

< . . . > δυ χρη δεδειπνάναι πάλαι.

καὶ ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεωνίδη.

άλλὰ πρὶν δεδειπνάναι ἡμᾶς παρέσται.

καὶ ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Προαγῶνι·

ἄρα βαδίζειν μοὐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἴομαι δεδειπνάναι.

καὶ ἐν Δαναίσιν: Ι

f ήδη παροινείς <είς> έμε πρίν δεδειπνάναι.

καὶ Πλάτων Σοφισταῖς· < . . . >. καὶ Ἐπικράτης ὁ ᾿Αμβρακιώτης—μέσης δ᾽ ἐστὶ κωμφδίας ποιητής—ἐν ᾿Αμαζόσιν·

δεδειπνάναι γὰρ ἄνδρες εὐκαίρως πάνυ δοκοῦσί μοι.

13 The quotation has dropped out of the text.

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  Sc. rather than the expected  $dedeipn\bar{e}kamen$  (infinitive  $dedeipn\bar{e}kenai$ ).

Ulpian responded by saying: Since we have finished our dinner (*dedeipnamen*)—this is the form of the verb used by Alexis in *The Female Barber* (fr. 114):<sup>12</sup>

since we finished dinner (dedeipnamen) long ago.

Eubulus in Procris (fr. 90):

We haven't finished dinner (dedeipnamen) yet.

And again (fr. 91):

who should have finished dinner (*dedeipnanai*) long ago.

Also Antiphanes in Leonides (fr. 141):

But he'll be here before we've finished dinner (*dedeipnanai*).

And Aristophanes in The Proagon (fr. 480):

It's time for me to go find my master;
I expect they've finished dinner (*dedeipnanai*) by now.

And in Danaids (fr. 260):

You're already acting like a nasty drunk to me, even before you've finished dinner (dedeipnanai)!

Also Plato in *Sophists* (fr. 157):<sup>13</sup> . . . And Epicrates of Ambracia (test. 2)—he is a Middle Comic poet—in *Amazons* (fr. 1):

Because my impression is that the men have had a very leisurely dinner (*dedeipnanai*).

καὶ ἠρίσταμεν δ' εἴρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς·

ύποπεπώκαμεν  $< \dots >$ , ὧνδρες, καὶ καλῶς ἠρίσταμεν.  $\parallel$ 

423 καὶ Ερμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις· ἠριστάναι † καὶ παριστάναι τουτί. † Θεόπομπος Καλλαίσχρω.

ήρίσταμεν δεί γὰρ συνάπτειν τὸν λόγον.

καταριστᾶν δὲ εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Πολιτικῷ ἀντιφῶν οὕτως ὅτ' ἄν τις πράγματα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ τὰ τῶν φίλων κατηρίστηκεν. παραδεδειπνημένος δ' εἴρηκεν "Αμφις ἐν Πλάνῳ οὕτως.

<...> παραδεδειπνημένος, παίδες, πάλαι.)—

τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ὡς ἐν Φιλήβω φησίν, εὐχόμενοι κεραννύωμεν, Ι εἴτε Διόνυσος εἴθ' Ἡφαιστος εἴθ' ὅστις θεῶν ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν εἴληχε τῆς συγκράσεως. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡμῖν οἰνοχόοις τισὶν παρεστᾶσιν κρῆναι, καὶ μέλιτος μὲν ἄν ἀπεικάζοι τις τὴν τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὴν δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως νηφαντικὴν καὶ ἄοινον αὐστηροῦ τινος καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ ὕδατος· ἃς προθυμητέον ὡς κάλλιστα συμμιγνύναι. ὡρα οὖν πίνειν ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν παίδων τις ἐκ τοῦ κυλικείου τῶν ποτηρίων παραφερέτω· ὁρῶ γὰρ πλῆθος καλῶν καὶ

<sup>14</sup> Sc. rather than the expected ēristēkamen.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted again at 10.424d, where see n.

Aristophanes in Frying-Pan Men (fr. 513) also uses the form ēristamen:<sup>14</sup>

We've had a bit to drink, gentlemen, and we've had a nice lunch (ēristamen).

Likewise Hermippus in *Soldiers* (fr. 60, corrupt and unmetrical): to have had lunch (*ēristanai*) † and to stand beside this †. Theopompus in *Callaeschrus* (fr. 23):

We've had lunch (ēristamen); because I need to keep the story short.

Antipho in his *The Statesman* (87 B 73 D–K) uses *kataristan* ("to squander money on lunch"), as follows: Whenever someone's squandered his own property or that of his friends on lunch (*katēristēken*). And Amphis uses *paradedeipnēmenos* ("having gone without dinner") in *The Vagabond Actor* (fr. 31), as follows:

having been dinnerless (paradedeipnēmenos) for a long time now, slaves.

Let us accordingly pray to the gods, as Plato puts it in the *Philebus* (61b-c), <sup>15</sup> and mix some wine, whether the honor associated with the mixing belongs to Dionysus, or Hephaestus, or some other deity. For two springs are set beside us, as they are sometimes beside wine-stewards, and one might compare the one that produces pleasure to a spring of honey, and the one that produces contemplation, and that sobers us up and contains no wine, to a spring of hard, healthy water; our task is to mix them together in the best possible proportion. It is therefore time for us to begin drinking. So let one of the slaves bring us a goblet from the cup-stand; for I see a large number of

σοικίλων ἐκπωμάτων. δοθέντος | οὖν ποτηρίου μεγάλου ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἀκρατέστερόν μοι, ὧ παῖ, τῷ κυάθῳ πληρῶν ἔγχει εἰς τὴν κύλικα, μὴ κατὰ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν ᾿Αντιφάνην, ὃς ἐν Διδύμοις φησί·

τὸ ποτήριόν μοι τὸ μέγα προσφέρει λαβών. ἐπεχεάμην ἄκρατον· "ἔγχει, παιδίον, κυάθους θεῶν τε καὶ θεαινῶν μυρίους· ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι τῆς σεμνῆς θεᾶς καὶ τοῦ γλυκυτάτου βασιλέως διμοιρίαν."

ἐμοὶ οὖν, ὧ παῖ, ζωρότερον κέραιρε· οὔπω γὰρ Ι ἀ λέγομεν περὶ ἀριθμοῦ κυάθων. δείξω δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ κύαθος εἴρηται καὶ τὸ ἀκρατέστερον, καὶ περὶ οἰνοχόων. πρότερον δέ μοι λελέξεται περὶ τοῦ ζωρότερον. ᾿Αντιφάνης Μελανίωνι·

> τοῦτον ἐγὼ κρίνω μετανιπτρίδα τῆς Ὑγιείας πίνειν ζωροτέρφ χρώμενον οἰνοχόφ.

έν δὲ Λάμπωνι

ὁ δεῖν', Ἰᾶπυξ, κέρασον εὐζωρέστερον.

"Εφιππος "Εφήβοις

<sup>17</sup> An echo of *Il.* 9.203 (quoted at 10.423e).

19 Literally "[wine] mixed with less [water]".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Presumably Alexander the Great (thus Meineke).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Sc. of wine and water required to produce an appropriate mixture. The topic is eventually taken up at 10.426b.

 $<sup>^{20}\ \</sup>mathrm{Sc}.$  by what the learned banqueters would have called "ancient authors".

beautiful, elaborately-wrought drinking vessels. Then after he was handed a large cup, he said: Fill your ladle (kuathos) with rather strong wine (akratesteron) for me, slave, and pour it into my cup! Do not follow the comic poet Antiphanes, who says in Twins (fr. 81):

He gets the big cup and brings it to me.

I poured unmixed wine into it for myself. "Pour us endless

ladlesful in honor of the gods and goddesses, slave! And then, after all of those, pour us one with twice as much

in honor of the sacred goddess and our beloved king!" <sup>16</sup>

So then, slave, mix me some stronger (zōroteros) wine; <sup>17</sup> because we are not yet discussing the number of ladles. <sup>18</sup> I intend to demonstrate that the terms *kuathos* ("ladle, ladleful") and *akratesteron* <sup>19</sup> are used, <sup>20</sup> and I will also discuss wine-stewards. But first I will offer some remarks about the word zōroteros ("stronger"). Antiphanes in *Melanion* (fr. 147):

I believe this guy should use a zōroteros winesteward

and consume an after-washing cup dedicated to Hygieia ("Health").

And in Lampon (fr. 137):

Whatever your name is—Iapyx!—mix some nice zōresteros wine!

Ephippus in Ephebes (fr. 10):

φιάλην έκατέρα | ἔδωκε κεράσας ζωρότερον 'Ομηρικώς.

τινές δέ καὶ τὸ παρ' 'Ομήρω

е

f

ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιρε

οὖκ ἄκρατον σημαίνειν φασίν, ἀλλὰ θερμόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωτικοῦ καὶ τῆς ζέσεως· ἐταίρων γὰρ παρόντων νέον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς κεράννυσθαι κρατῆρα ἄτοπον. ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ εὕκρατον, ὤσπερ τὸ δεξιτερὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ. τινὲς δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐνιαυτοὶ ὧροι λέγονται καὶ τὸ ζα- ὅτι μέγεθος ἡ πλῆθος σημαίνει, ζωρὸν τὸν πολυέτη λέγεσθαι. Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Παιδερασταῖς φησιν· |

(A.) ἔγχεον σὺ δὴ πιεῖν.
(B.) εὐζωρότερόν γε νὴ Δί, ὧ παῖ, δός· τὸ γὰρ ὑδαρὲς ἄπαν τοῦτ' ἐστι τῆ ψυχῆ κακόν.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης ζωρότερόν φησιν εἶναι τὸ κεκραμένον, παρατιθέμενος Ἐμπεδοκλέους τάδε: ||

424 αἶψα δὲ θυήτ ' ἐφύοντο, τὰ πρὶν μάθον ἀθάνατ' εἶναι,

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  I.e.  $za\text{-}h\bar{o}ros$ . The last two arguments, treated as alternatives by Athenaeus (or his source), must instead be taken together:  $z\bar{o}ros$  means "old," and the comparative form  $z\bar{o}roteros$  stands in for the positive, in the same way that comparative dexiteros sometimes stands in for positive dexios, allowing  $z\bar{o}roteros$  to be understood as meaning simply "old". But these are in any case all false etymologies.

He mixed a zōroteros libation-bowl for each woman in the Homeric style and gave it to her.

Some authorities claim that the Homeric (Il. 9.203)

and mix it zōroteros

refers not to wine with no water mixed in, but to hot wine, deriving the word from  $z\bar{o}tikos$  ("full of life") and zesis ("boiling"), on the ground that it is unusual to have a fresh bowl mixed all over again when company is present. Others claim that the word means "well-mixed", comparing the use of dexiteros ("more to the right") in place of dexios ("to the right"). And some argue that years are referred to as  $h\bar{o}roi$ , and that the prefix za- indicates size or number, so that old wine is called  $z\bar{o}ros$ . Diphilus says in Pederasts (fr. 57):

#### (A.) You! Pour us a drink!

(B.) Give us some nice zōroteros wine, by Zeus, slave!

this watery stuff's bad for our souls.

Theophrastus in his On Drunkenness (fr. 574 Fortenbaugh) claims that anything mixed with another substance is zōroteros, citing the following passage from Empedocles (31 B 35.14–15 D–K):<sup>22</sup>

And at once mortal substances, which they previously understood to be immortal, came into being,

<sup>22</sup> Part of a much larger quotation from On Nature preserved (with several variants from the text as quoted here) by Simplicius. Arist. Po. 1461<sup>a</sup>24–5 also cites portions of these two verses in isolation.

ζωρά τε τὰ πρὶν ἄκρητα, διαλλάξοντα κελεύθους. κύαθον δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀντλητῆρος Πλάτων εἴρηκεν ἐν Φάωνι οὕτως·

<...> τῷ στόματι τὸν κύαθον ὧδ' εἰληφότες. καὶ ἐν Πρέσβεσι

<...> κυάθους ὅσους ἐκλέπτεθ' ἑκάστοτε. Ἄρχιππος Ἰχθύσι·

<... > κύαθον ἐπριάμην παρὰ Δαισίου. | b τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν καὶ τὸ ἐν Εἰρήνη ᾿Αριστοφάνους·

ύπωπιασμέναι <άπαξάπασαι καὶ κυάθους προσκείμεναι>³·

τὰ γὰρ ὑπώπια τοῖς κυάθοις περιθλώμενα ἀμαυροῦται. μνημονεύει τοῦ κυάθου καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ Παιδείας καὶ Κρατῖνος, ἔτι δ' ᾿Αριστοφάνης πολλαχοῦ καὶ Εὔβουλος ἐν ᾿Ορθάννη. Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Λήροις ἀργυροῦν κύαθον ἀνόμασε. Τίμων δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Σίλλων ἀρυσαίνας κέκληκε τοὺς κυάθους φάσκων οὐτωσί

< . . . > ἀπληστοίνους τ' ἀρυταίνας,

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύσασθαι ὀνομάσας. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ ἀρυc στῆρες καὶ Ι ἀρύστιχοι. Σιμωνίδης·

#### 3 add. Schweighäuser

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  The discussion now moves on abruptly to the second topic announced at 10.423d.  $^{24}$  Cf. 10.452b–c with n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> An excerpt from a longer fragment quoted at 10.445e.

and substances that were previously unmixed became  $z\bar{o}ra$ , changing course.

Plato in *Phaon* (fr. 192) $^{23}$  uses *kuathos* to refer to a vessel used for ladling, as follows:

having seized the kuathos by its lip, like this.

Also in Ambassadors (fr. 128):

however many kuathoi you stole at any point.

Archippus in Fish (fr. 21):

I bought a kuathos from Daesius.

This is the type of vessel referred to in Aristophanes' *Peace* (541-2):

each and every one of them with black eyes and applying *kuathoi* to themselves.

Because black eyes disappear when pressure is applied to them with a kuathos. <sup>24</sup> Xenophon also mentions a kuathos in Book I of the Education (Cyr. 1.3.9), as does Cratinus (fr. 464); Aristophanes (Ach. 1053; Lys. 444) also refers to them frequently, as does Eubulus in Orthannes (fr. 79). Pherecrates in Frills (fr. 112) mentioned a silver kuathos. Timo in Book II of the Silloi (SH 778.3)<sup>25</sup> refers to kuathoi as arusainai, saying the following:

and arutainai that could never be too full of wine,

deriving the word from *arusasthai* ("to draw liquid for oneself"). They are also referred to as *arustēres* and *arustichoi*. Simonides (Sem. fr. 25 West<sup>2</sup>):

έδωκεν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀρυστῆρα τρυγός.

Αριστοφάνης δ' έν Σφηξίν

έγὼ γὰρ εἶχον τούσδε τοὺς ἀρυστίχους.

Φρύνιχος Ποαστρίαις

< ... > κύλικ' ἀρύστιχον.

ἔνθεν καὶ ἡ ἀρύταινα. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ἔφηβον <τὸ>
τοιοῦτον σκεῦος, ὡς Ζηνοφάνης ἐν τῷ Συγγενικῷ.
Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῆ ἐνάτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ ποταμόν
τινα ἀναγράφει Κύαθον καλούμενον περὶ Ι ᾿Αρσινόην
πόλιν Αἰτωλίας. τῷ δὲ ἀκρατέστερον Ὑπερείδης κέχρηται ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Δημοσθένους γράφων οὕτως· εἰ
μέν τις ἀκρατέστερον ἔπιεν, ἐλύπει σέ. τούτῷ ὅμοιόν
ἐστι τὸ ἀνιηρέστερον καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιάσιν Αἰσχύλου

< ... > ἀφθονέστερον λίβα.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἐν Πύρρα εὐωνέστερον ἔφη· καὶ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Δημάδου δὲ ὁ Ὑπερείδης εἴρηκε ραδιεστέραν τὴν πόλιν. τῷ δὲ κεραννύειν κέχρηται Πλάτων μὲν ἐν Φιλήβω· τοῖς δὴ θεοῖς, ὧ Πρώταρχε, εὐχόμενοι κεραννύωμεν. καὶ ἀλκαῖος ἐν | Ἱερῷ Γάμω·

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cf. 11.469a-b. <sup>27</sup> Aeschylus fr. 72 (cited below) is also quoted—although with the words in the nominative rather than the accusative—by the *Et.Gen.*, which identifies Philoxenus as its source. Theodorides accordingly attributed all the material that follows (to the end of the quote from Hyperides in 10.424d) to Philoxenus (= fr. \*338) on that basis. <sup>28</sup> See 10.423d n.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. rather than kerannunai from the standard form of the verb, kerannumi (which would yield third-person plural present active indicative kerannuasin rather than kerannuousin [below]).

No one even gave me an aruster of grape-must.

Aristophanes in Wasps (855):

Because I've got these arustichoi.

Phrynichus in Female Grass-Cutters (fr. 42):

an arustichos cup.

This is the source of the word arutaina ("cup" or "ladle"). They also referred to a vessel of this type as an ephēbos, <sup>26</sup> according to Zenophanes in his Cognate Vocabulary. Polybius in Book IX (vol. III p. 50 Buettner-Wobst) of his History records a river known as the Cyathus near the city of Arsinoe in Aetolia. <sup>27</sup> Hyperides uses the word akratesteron<sup>28</sup> in his Against Demosthenes (p. 24 Jensen), where he writes as follows: If anyone drank akratesteron, it upset you. The form aniēresteron ("more troublesome, annoying") is similar to this, as is the phrase

an aphonesteron ("less begrudging") stream

in Aeschylus' Daughters of the Sun (fr. 72). So too Epicharmus in Pyrrha (fr. 119) used the word euōnesteron ("cheaper"), while Hyperides in his Against Demades (fr. 86 Jensen) describes the city as rhaidiestera ("more easygoing"). Plato uses kerannuein<sup>29</sup> ("to mix") in the Philebus (61b-c):<sup>30</sup> Let's pray to the gods, Protarchus, and mix (kerannuōmen) (some wine)! Also Alcaeus in The Sacred Marriage (Alc. Com. fr. 15):

30 Quoted also (in a slightly less direct form) at 10.423a-b, a context in which the observations that follow are more apposite.

< ... > κεραννύουσιν ἀφανίζουσί τε.

'Υπερείδης Δηλιακώ· καὶ τὸν κρατήρα τὸν Πανιώνιον κοινή οἱ Έλληνες κεραννύουσιν. ὡνοχόουν τε παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέστατοι παίδες, ὡς ὁ τοῦ Μενελάου νίος:

οἰνοχόει δ' υίὸς Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.

καὶ Εὐριπίδης δ' ὁ ποιητής ἐν παισὶν ἀνοχόησε. Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης φησί πυνθάνομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Εὐριπίδην τὸν ποιητὴν οἰνοχοεῖν Αθήνησι τοις δρχησταίς καλουμένοις, ώρχοῦντο | δὲ οὖτοι περὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀπόλλωνος νεών τοῦ Δηλίου τών πρώτων όντες 'Αθηναίων καὶ ένεδύοντο ἱμάτια τῶν Θηραϊκών, ὁ δὲ ᾿Απόλλων οὖτός ἐστιν ὧ τὰ Θαργήλια άγουσι, καὶ διασώζεται Φλυῆσιν ἐν τῷ Δαφνηφορείω γραφή περί τούτων, τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεί καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ 'Ρόδιος 'Αριστοτέλους ὢν μαθητής, καὶ οὖτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, Σαπφώ τε ἡ καλὴ πολλαχοῦ Λάριχον τὸν άδελφον | έπαινεί ώς οίνοχοούντα έν τω πρυτανείω τοίς Μυτιληναίοις, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οἱ εὐγενέστατοι τῶν παίδων τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην ἐκτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι τῶν θυσιῶν, πάντα τοὺς Αἰολείς μιμούμενοι, ώς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τόνους τῆς φωνής, τοσαύτη δ' ήν ή των παλαιοτέρων τρυφή περί

31 Cited (but not quoted) also at 1.18b; 5.192b-c.

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<sup>32</sup> Phlya was Euripides' ancestral deme, and "the Laurel-Bearer" was a cult-name of Apollo. The Thargelia festival was celebrated in Athens in late May and was common to a number of Ionian cities, hence presumably the connection to the temple specifically of Delian Apollo.

They mix (*kerannuousin*) (wine) and make it disappear.

Hyperides in On Delos (fr. 69 Jensen): And the Greeks collectively mix (kerannuousin) the Panionian mixing-bowl. Among the ancients, the boys from the best families used to pour the wine, as for example Menelaus' son (Od. 15.141):<sup>31</sup>

And the son of famous Menelaus poured the wine.

The poet Euripides (test. 20) was also one of the boys who poured wine. Theophrastus, at any rate, says in his On Drunkenness (fr. 576 Fortenbaugh = E. test. 33b): I myself have heard that the poet Euripides used to pour wine in Athens for the so-called "dancers". These were members of the most distinguished Athenian families, who danced around the temple of Delian Apollo wearing Thracian robes. This is the Apollo in whose honor they celebrate the Thargelia festival, and a painting that depicts these events is preserved in the sanctuary of the Laurel-Bearer in Phlya.<sup>32</sup> Hieronymus of Rhodes, who was a pupil of Aristotle, tells the same story in his On Drunkenness (fr. 28 Wehrli). The lovely Sappho (fr. 203a) repeatedly praises her brother Larichus for pouring wine in the town-hall for the Mytileneans. Among the Romans as well, the sons of the noblest families perform this duty at public sacrifices, imitating the Aeolians in all respects, including in the accent with which they speak.33 The luxury the ancients en-

<sup>33</sup> Latin was believed by some ancient authorities to be a dialect of Greek and in particular to be most closely related to Aeolian (in which Sappho wrote); cf. Stevens, *CJ* 102 (2006/7) 115–44.

τὰς πολυτελείας ὤστε μὴ μόνον οἰνοχόους ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰνόπτας. ἀρχὴ γοῦν ἐστιν οἱ οἰνόπται παρὰ ᾿Αθηναίοις, ἦς μνημονεύει ἐν ταῖς Πόλεσιν Εὔπολις ἐν τούτοις: |

οῦς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἵλεσθ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰνόπτας πρὸ τοῦ,
 νυνὶ στρατηγοὺς < . . . > ὧ πόλις, πόλις,
 ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς.

οί δε οἰνόπται οὕτοι εφεώρων τὰ έν τοῖς δείπνοις, εἰ κατ' ἴσον πίνουσιν οἱ συνόντες. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ εὐτελής, ως ὁ δήτωρ φησὶ Φιλίνος ἐν τῆ Κροκωνιδών Διαδικασία καὶ ὅτι τρεῖς ἦσαν οἱ οἰνόπται, οἴτινες καὶ παρείχου τοίς δειπνούσι λύχνους καὶ θρυαλλίδας. έκάλουν δέ τινες τούτους καὶ ὀφθαλμούς. Ι παρά δὲ Έφεσίοις οἱ οἰνοχοοῦντες ήθεοι τῆ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος έρρτη ταθροι έκαλοθντο, ως Αμερίας φησί. Έλλησπόντιοι δ' ἐπεγχύτην ὀνομάζουσι τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ την κρεανομίαν κρεωδαισίαν, ως φησι Δημήτριος ό Σκήψιος ἐν ἔκτω καὶ εἰκοστῶ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ Διακόσμου. τοις δε θεοις οινοχοοῦσάν τινες ίστοροῦσι τὴν Αρμονίαν, ως Καπίτων ἱστορεῖ ὁ ἐποποιός, ᾿Αλεξανδρεὺς δὲ γένος, ἐν δευτέρω Ἐρωτικών. ᾿Αλκαῖος δὲ καὶ τὸν Έρμην εἰσάγει αὐτῶν οἰνοχόον, ὡς καὶ Σαπφὼ λένουσα.

κή δ' Ι άμβροσίας μεν

d

<sup>34 &</sup>lt; epencheö, "pour in from above".

 $<sup>^{35}</sup>$  Various portions of the same fragment are quoted at 2.39a; 11.475a; cf. 5.192c.

joyed was so extravagantly expensive that they had not just wine-pourers, but wine-inspectors. The wine-inspectors, at any rate, were a class of magistrates in Athens, and the office is mentioned by Eupolis in his *Cities* (fr. 219), in the following passage:

men you wouldn't have chosen previously as wineinspectors, but are now generals . . . Oh city, city! You're lucky rather than clever!

These wine-inspectors kept an eye on what went on at dinner parties, making sure that the guests drank equal amounts. The office was an undistinguished one, as the orator Philinus notes in his Lawsuit Involving the Croconidae (II, ii.219 Baiter-Sauppe); he also says that there were three wine-inspectors, who supplied the dinner-guests with lamps and wicks. Some people referred to them instead as "eyes". The young men who poured wine at the festival of Poseidon in Ephesus were known as "bulls", according to Amerias (p. 6 Hoffmann). The inhabitants of the Hellespont refer to the boy who pours wine as an epenchutes, 34 and to the woman who divides the meat among the guests as a kreōdaisia ("meat-distributer"), according to Demetrius of Scepsis in Book XXVI of his Trojan Battle-Order (fr. 16 Gaede). Some authorities report that Harmonia pours wine for the gods, according to the epic poet Capito, whose family was from Alexandria, in Book II of the Erotica. But Alcaeus (fr. 447) introduces Hermes as their wine-pourer, as does Sappho (fr. 141.1-3)35 when she says:

A bowl of ambrosia

κράτηρ ἐκέκρατ',

"Ερμαις δ' έλων όλπιν θέοισ' ἐοινοχόησε.

οί δὲ παλαιοὶ τοὺς πρὸς ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ταύταις κήρυκας ἐκάλουν. "Ομηρος

κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ φέρου θεῶν⁴ ὅρκια πιστά, ἄρνε δύω καὶ οἶνον ἐύφρονα, καρπὸν ἀρούρης, ἀσκῷ ἐν αἰγείῳ· φέρε δὲ κρητήρα φαεινὸν κήρυξ Ἰδαῖος ἠδὲ χρύσεια κύπελλα.

καὶ πάλιν Ι

е

άτὰρ κήρυκες ἀγαυοὶ ὅρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον, κρητῆρι δὲ οἶνον μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν.

Κλείδημος δὲ τοὺς μαγείρους κήρυκάς φησι καλεισθαι. καὶ τὴν Ἡβην δέ τινες ἀνέπλασαν οἰνοχοοῦσαν αὐτοῖς, ἴσως διὰ τὸ ἡβητήρια καλεῖσθαι τὰ συμπόσια. Κλεινοῦς δὲ τῆς οἰνοχόου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπίκλην δὲ Φιλαδέλφου, μνημονεύει Πτο- λεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ ἀγησάρχου | ἐν τῆ τρίτη τῶν Περὶ

<sup>4</sup> The manuscripts of Homer have  $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \ \phi \hat{\epsilon} \rho o \nu$ .

<sup>36</sup> The second half of the verse is quoted also at 2.40a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> A much fuller account of Cleidemus' speculations is preserved at 14.660a—e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The remark ought to follow directly on the reference to Hermes as wine-pourer in Alcaeus and Sappho above, marking the material on heralds that intervenes as drawn from a different source.

had been mixed up there, and Hermes picked up a vessel and poured wine for the gods.

The ancients referred to the individuals assigned to provide these services as heralds. Homer (II. 3.245–8):

And heralds brought the gods' pledge-victims, by which trust is established, through the city, that is, two lambs and cheerful wine, crop of the field.<sup>36</sup>

in a goatskin bag. And the herald Idaeus brought a shining mixing-bowl and gold goblets.

And again (Il. 3.268-70):

But the noble heralds assembled the gods' pledge-victims, by which trust is established, and mixed wine in a bowl, and poured water over the kings'

hands.

Cleidemus (FGrH 323 F 5c)<sup>37</sup> claims that cooks were referred to as heralds. But some sources represented Hebe as pouring wine for them instead,<sup>38</sup> perhaps because drinking parties are referred to hēbētēria.<sup>39</sup> Cleino, the woman who poured wine for King Ptolemy (nicknamed Philadelphus),<sup>40</sup> is mentioned by Ptolemy son of Agesarchus in Book III of his History Involving Philopator

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  Cf. Hdt. 2.133.4, quoted at 10.438b (although the traditional text of Herodotus has  $en\bar{e}b\bar{e}t\bar{e}ria$ ).

<sup>40</sup> Ptolemy II (reigned 285/3-246 BCE).

Φιλοπάτορα Ἱστοριῶν. Πολύβιος δὲ ἐν τἢ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτἢς ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐστάναι φησὶ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως μονοχίτωνας, ῥυτὸν κρατοῦντας ἐν ταῖς χερσάν

'Επὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐκπίνων τὸ ποτήριον ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη: ||

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(A.) τήνδ' έγὼ μεστὴν ἄπαξ ἐπονομάσας προπίομαι συγγενέσι πίστωμα φιλίας.

πρὸς ον ἔτι πίνοντα των παρόντων τις προσέθηκε τὰ λειπόμενα ἰαμβεῖα:

πιων ἐρῶ τὰ λοιπά· πνίγομαι γάρ. (Β.) ἀλλ' ἐπιρρόφει.

καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἐκπιὼν ἔφη· ταῦτα μὲν Κλέαρχος ἐν Κιθαρφδῷ. ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἄμφιδος Ἐρίθους παρακελεύομαι

ό παις σοβείτω τοις ποτηρίοις συχνούς.

καί·Ι

b

πίμπλα σὺ μὲν ἐμοί, σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ δώσω πιεῖν· ἀμυγδαλῆ μὲν παιζέτω παρ' ἀμυγδαλῆν.

ταῦτα δ' ἔφη Ξέναρχος ἐν Διδύμοις. αἰτούντων οὖν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cleino is otherwise unknown. But her position as Ptolemy's wine-pourer is unusual enough that, given his appreciation of her physical beauty (cf. the report from Polybius that follows), the historian must have mentioned her as one of the king's lovers; cf. 13.577f.

(FGrH 161 F 3).<sup>41</sup> Polybius in Book XIV (11.2) of his *History* reports that statues of her wearing nothing but a tunic and holding a drinking-horn in her hands stood in Alexandria in many parts of the city.<sup>42</sup>

After he made these remarks, Ulpian began to drain his

cup and said:

(A.) After I recite their names, I'm going to drink this cup full of wine as a toast that represents a pledge of my affection for my relatives.

While he was still drinking, one of the other guests responded by adding the rest of the iambic passage:

And after I empty it, I'll tell you the rest; because I'm choking. (B.) Well—bottoms up!

After he finished his drink, Ulpian said: Clearchus (said) this in *The Citharode* (fr. 1). But I have some advice drawn from Amphis' *Day-Laborers* (fr. 18):

Let the slave drive us on repeatedly with the cups!

And:

You fill a cup for me, and I'll give you a drink! Let the almonds play side-by-side!

Xenarchus said this in Twins (fr. 3). Some members of the

<sup>42</sup> The same passage is quoted at 13.576f (in the course of a discussion specifically of Ptolemy's appreciation of beautiful women).

τῶν μὲν πλέον οἴνου, τῶν δὲ ἴσον ἴσῳ φασκόντων κίρνασθαι, καὶ εἰπόντος τινὸς Ἄρχιππον εἰρηκέναι ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀμφιτρύωνι:

τίς ἐκέρασε σφῶν, ὧ κακόδαιμον, ἴσον ἴσ $\phi$ ;,

καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Πυτίνη·

τὸν δ' ἴσον ἴσφ φέροντ' ἐγὼ δ' ἐκτήκομαι,

έδοξε πᾶσι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κράσεων | τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις. καί τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι Μένανδρος ἐν Ἦρωι ἔφη

χοῦς κεκραμένου οἴνου λαβὼν ἔκπιθι τοῦτον,

- δ Δημόκριτος έφη· Ἡσίοδος μέν, ὧ έταῖροι, παραινεῖ τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἰέμεν οἴνου.
- δι' δν καὶ 'Αναξίλας ἐν Νηρεῖ ἔφη·

καίτοι πολύ γ' ἐσθ' ἥδιον· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ἔπινον <ἂν> τρὶς ὕδατος, οἴνου δ' ἐν μόνον.

''Αλεξις δ' ἐν Τιτθῆ ἔτι σωφρονικώτερον κιρνάναι παρακελεύεται: Ι

d (A.) ίδού, πάρεστιν οἶνος· οὐκοῦν ἐγχέω
 † κρίτωνα †; (Β.) πολὺ βέλτιον ἕνα καὶ τέτταρας.

group requested more wine, while others asked for it to be mixed one-to-one; and after someone observed that Archippus says in *Amphitryon II* (fr. 2):

Which of them mixed the wine one-to-one, you bastard?,

and that Cratinus says in The Wine-Flask (fr. 196):

wine that can take being mixed one-to-one; but I'm wasting away,

everyone agreed to discuss how the ancients mixed their wine. When one person observed that Menander said in *The Hero* (fr. 4 Sandbach):

a pitcher of mixed wine; take it and drink it up!,

Democritus said: Hesiod (Op. 596), my friends, advises us

to pour three parts of water, and put in the fourth of wine.

Anaxilas in Nereus (fr. 23) was alluding to him when he said:

even though it's a lot more delicious; because I'd never

drink three parts of water and only one of wine.

But Alexis in *The Wet-Nurse* (fr. 228) encourages us to mix it even more moderately:

(A.) Look—here's some wine; should I pour it in [corrupt]? (B.) One-to-four's a lot better.

(A.) ύδαρη λέγεις· ὅμως δὲ ταύτην ἐκπιὼν † λέγε τι καὶ † διατριβήν τε τῷ πότῷ ποιῶμεν.

καὶ Διοκλής ἐν Μελίσσαις

(A.) πῶς δὲ καὶ κεκραμένον πίνειν τὸν οἶνον δεῖ με; (Β.) τέτταρα καὶ δύο.

ή δ' οὖν κρᾶσις αὕτη παρὰ τὸ ἔθος οὖσα ἐπέμνησε τάχα καὶ τὴν θρυλουμένην παροιμίαν·

η πέντε πίνειν η τρί η μη τέτταρα

e ἢ γὰρ δύο πρὸς | πέντε πίνειν φασὶ δεῖν ἢ ἔνα πρὸς τρεῖς. περὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς κράσεως Ἰων ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χίου φησὶν ὅτι εὐρὼν ὁ μάντις Παλαμήδης ἐμαντεύσατο πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἔλλησι πίνουσιν τρεῖς πρὸς ἔνα κυάθους. οἱ δ' ἐπιτεταμένως χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ δύο οἴνου ἔπινον πρὸς πέντε ὕδατος. Νικοχάρης γοῦν ἐν ᾿Αμυμώνῃ πρὸς τοὔνομα παίζων ἔφη·

Οἰνόμαος Ιοὖτος, χαῖρε· πέντε καὶ δύο, κάγώ τε καὶ σὺ συμπόται γενοίμεθα.

τὰ παραπλήσια εἴρηκε καὶ ἐν Λημνίαις. ᾿Αμειψίας δ᾽ ἐν ᾿Αποκοτταβίζουσιν· † ἐγὰ δὲ Διόνυσος πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰμὶ πέντε καὶ δύο. † Εὔπολις Αἰξί·

Διόνυσε χαιρε μή τι πέντε και δύο;

f

<sup>43</sup> Sc. to Troy.

<sup>44</sup> The first element in the other man's name is oinos ("wine"), hence the speaker's enthusiasm at having met him.

(A.) That's a watery mixture you're describing. But all
the same, after you drink this
† say something and † and let's get busy
drinking!

Also Diocles in Honey-Bees (fr. 7):

(A.) How should I mix the wine I'm drinking? (B.) Four-to-two.

Because this proportion was unusual, it immediately reminded us of the well-known proverb (adesp. com. fr. \*732):

Drink either five or three, but at any rate not four.

Because people claim that you should drink either five-to-two or three-to-one. As for the latter proportion, the poet Ion in his On Chios (FGrH 392 F 2) claims that after the seer Palamedes discovered it, he prophesied that the Greeks would have a successful voyage<sup>43</sup> if they drank three ladles (of water) for each one (of wine). People who were drinking hard, on the other hand, used to consume two parts of wine to five of water. Nicochares in Amymone (fr. 2), for example, played on a character's name and said:

Hey Oenomaus<sup>44</sup>—greetings! Five-to-two; let's you and me become drinking buddies.

He says something similar in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 16). Amipsias in *Cottabus-Players* (fr. 4, unmetrical): † But I am Dionysus for all of you five-to-two. † Eupolis in *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 6):

Greetings, Dionysus! Maybe five-to-two?

Έρμιππος Θεοίς

427

· b

ἔπειθ' ὅταν πινώμεθ' ἢ διψώμεθα, εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦθ' † ὁ οἶνος ωκαιρας γενου !! οὖκ ἀστου καὶ πηλουγω † φέρω παίζων ἄμα καυθεὶς γεγένηται τοῦτο πέντε καὶ δύο.

παρὰ δὲ ἀνακρέοντι εἶς οἴνου πρὸς δύο ὕδατος:

ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμὶν ὧ παῖ κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχέας ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου κυάθους ὡς ἂν † ὑβριστιῶς † ἀνὰ δηὖτε βασσαρήσω.

καὶ προελθών τὴν ἀκρατοποσίαν Σκυθικὴν καλεῖ πόσου

ἄγε δηὖτε μηκέτ' οὕτω
πατάγω τε κάλαλητῷ
Σκυθικὴν πόσιν Ι παρ' οἴνω
μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ', ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῆ ἔκτη, Κλεομένη τὸν βασιλέα Σκύθαις ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ ἀκρατοπότην γενόμενον ἐκ τῆς μέθης φασὶ μανῆναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ὅταν βούλωνται ἀκρατέστερον πίνειν, ἐπισκυθίσαι λέγουσι. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης περὶ τούτων οὕτως γράφει·

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$  A slightly shorter version of the fragment is quoted at 11.475c.  $^{46}$  Cf. 11.499f.  $^{47}$  Cleomenes I (Poralla #436), reigned c.520–490 BCE. Cf. 10.436e.

Hermippus in Gods (fr. 24):

Then whenever we drink or we're thirsty, we pray to this † the wine [corrupt] not [corrupt] and [corrupt] † I bring, joking that when it

got hot, it turned into five-to-two.

But in Anacreon (PMG 356(a))<sup>45</sup> the mixture is one part wine to two parts water:

Come on, slave—bring us a pot, so I can drink a toast without pausing to breathe, after I pour in ten ladles of water, followed by five of wine, letting me † violently † turn into a drunken madman.

And further on (PMG 356(b)) he refers to consuming unmixed wine as "Scythian drinking":46

Come on—let's not practice Scythian drinking any longer, while we're consuming wine, with banging and shouting; instead, let's drink a bit to the accompaniment of beautiful hymns.

According to Herodotus in Book VI (84.1), the Spartans too claim that after their king Cleomenes<sup>47</sup> spent time with some Scythians and took up drinking unmixed wine, his drunkenness drove him crazy. And whenever the Spartans themselves want to drink particularly strong wine (akratesteron), they say that they are drinking Scythian style. Chamaeleon of Heracleia in his On Drunkenness (fr. 10 Wehrli), at any rate, writes the following about them: since

ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεομένη τὸν Σπαρτιάτην φασὶν οἱ Λάκωνες αμανῆναι διὰ τὸ Σκύθαις ὁμιλήσαντα | μαθεῖν ἀκρατοποτεῖν. ὅθεν ὅταν βούλωνται πιεῖν ἀκρατέστερον, ἐπισκύθισον" λέγουσιν. ἀχαιὸς δ' ἐν Αἴθωνι σατυρικῷ τοὺς σατύρους ποιεῖ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδαρῆ πίνειν καὶ λέγοντας.

- (Α.) μῶν Ἁχελῷος ἦν κεκραμένος πολύς;
- (Β.) ἀλλ' ουδε λείξαι τουδε τῷ γένει θέμις.
- (Α.) καλῶς μὲν οὖν † ἄγειν σκύθη † πιεῖν.

<sup>°</sup>Ησαν δ' αἱ τῶν ἀκρατοποτῶν ἐπιχύσεις, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, οὐ παλαιαί· ἀλλ' | ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ μὲν σπένδειν ἀποδεδομένον τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁ δὲ κότταβος τοῖς ἐρωμένοις. ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς τῷ κοτταβίζειν ὄντος τοῦ παιγνίου Σικελικοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος πεποίηκε·

Σικελον κότταβον άγκύλη † δαΐζων †.

διὸ καὶ τὰ σκολιὰ καλούμενα μέλη τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν πλήρη ἐστί· λέγω δ' οἶον καὶ Πίνδαρος πεποίηκε·

χάριτάς τ' 'Αφροδισίων ἐρώτων, ὄφρα σὺν Χειμάρω μεθύων 'Αγαθωνίδα βάλω κότταβον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The longest Greek river; it ran between Acarnania and Aetolia, and empties into the Ionian Sea at the extreme northwest end of the Gulf of Corinth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> A drinking game that involved tossing wine-lees at a target; discussed at length at 15.665d–8f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Sc. of references to cottabus and love together (see above), the preceding remark about the Sicilian origins of the game hav-

the Spartans claim that Cleomenes the Spartiate went crazy because he spent time with Scythians and learned to drink unmixed wine. As a consequence, whenever they want to drink particularly strong wine (akratesteron), they say "Mix it Scythian style!" Achaeus in the satyr play Aethon (TrGF 20 F 9) represents the satyrs as being unhappy about drinking watery wine and saying:

- (A.) A lot of Acheloüs<sup>48</sup> wasn't mixed into it, was it?
- (B.) Our family's not allowed even to soil our tongues with this!
- (A.) Well, then, it's alright † to bring Scythian † to drink.

According to Theophrastus in his On Drunkenness (fr. 570 Fortenbaugh), it was not the ancient practice to pour toasts while drinking unmixed wine. Instead, the initial libations were reserved for the gods, while cottabus<sup>49</sup> was for the people you were in love with. Because they devoted considerable attention to cottabus, which was a Sicilian game, according to a passage of Anacreon of Teos (PMG 415):

† dividing † the Sicilian cottabus with his wrist.

This is why the lyrics of the ancient poets known as skolia are full (of this).<sup>50</sup> I am referring to passages like the one composed by Pindar (fr. \*128):

and the pleasures of physical love, so that I can get drunk with Cheimarus and throw cottabus for Agathonidas.

ing been inserted from a different source. For skolia, see 15.693f–6d.

τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων | ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν. διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβοίας φησίν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην τεθνάναι·

πεσον δέ νιν λέληθεν οὐδεν εκ χερός, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδῷ· "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ."

Οὐκ ἐμέθυον δ' οἱ πάλαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πιττακὸς Περιάνδρω τῷ Κορινθίω παρήνει μὴ μεθύσκεσθαι μηδὲ f κωμάζειν, "ἴν", ἔφη, "μὴ γνωσθῆς Ιοἷος ὢν τυγχάνεις, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷος προσποιῆ·"

κάτοπτρον (γὰρ) είδους χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ.

διὸ καὶ καλῶς οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι λέγουσι τὸν οἶνον οὐκ ἔχειν πηδάλια. Ξενοφῶν γοῦν ὁ Γρύλου παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ποτὲ τῷ Σικελιώτη πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντος τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσαγορεύσας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν τύραννον, "τί δή," ἔφη, "ὧ Διονύσιε, ΙΙ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ ὀψοποιὸς ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ ποικίλος ἀναγκάζει ἡμᾶς εὐωχουμένους ἐσθίειν καὶ μὴ βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ κοσμίως ἡμῦν παρατίθησι τὴν τράπεζαν σιγῶν;" καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν σατυρικῷ ψησιν ὡς ἄρα

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Stheneboea was the wife of King Proetus of Tiryns, but fell in love with Bellerophon, a visitor from Corinth. When Bellerophon refused to sleep with her, she accused him of rape, and he was sent off to King Iobates of Lycia with orders that a way be found to assure his death. The second verse of the fragment is parodied at Cratin. fr. 299.4 (quoted at 11.782e).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Pittacus of Mitylene (c.650-570 BCE) was a politician and one of the traditional Seven Sages, as was the less savory Periander of Corinth (tyrant c.627-587 BCE).

They dedicated the bits of food that fell off the table to their dead friends. This explains what Euripides (fr. 664) says about Stheneboea, when she believes that Bellerophon is dead:<sup>51</sup>

She notices every crumb that drops from her hand, and immediately says: "For the Corinthian stranger!"

People did not get drunk in the old days, and Pittacus in fact advised Periander of Corinth not to get drunk or become involved in wild parties, "So that no one realizes", he said, "the sort of person you actually are, letting you pretend to be the sort of person you aren't." For (A. fr. 393)

Bronze reflects your appearance, but wine reflects the mind.  $^{53}$ 

This is why people who like to quote proverbs are right to say that wine lacks rudders (Strömberg p. 30). When Xenophon the son of Gryllus,<sup>54</sup> at any rate, was visiting Dionysius of Sicily once, and the wine-pourer tried to force him to drink, he addressed the tyrant by name and said: "Why is it, Dionysius, that your chef, who's talented and inventive, doesn't force us to eat when we're at a feast and don't want anything, but instead keeps quiet and calmly sets the table beside us?" Sophocles as well says in a satyr play (fr. 735) that in fact

53 The fragment is assigned to Aeschylus by Stobaeus.

<sup>54</sup> I.e. the famous Xenophon of Athens (PAA 734300). The Dionysius in question may well be Dionysius II (tyrant of Syracuse 367–357 BCE), who was both interested in philosophy and a heavy drinker, in which case the anecdote belongs to the final years of Xenophon's life.

τὸ πρὸς βίαν πίνειν ἴσον πέφυκε τῷ διψῆν κακόν.

όθεν είρηται καὶ τὸ οἶνος ἄνωγε γέροντα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα χορεύειν. Σθένελός τε ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ κακῶς είρηκεν

οἶνος καὶ φρονέοντας ἐς ἀφροσύνην ἀναβάλλει. Ι

b ό δὲ Φωκυλίδης ἔφη·

χρη δ' ἐν συμποσίω κυλίκων περινισομενάων ήδέα κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο παραμένει παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρυφῶν ἤρξαντο καὶ χλίδησαι<sup>5</sup>, κατερρύησαν ἀπὸ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ λαβόντες σύμμαχον τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ ραστώνην ἀνειμένως ἤδη καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐχρῶντο τῇ μέθῃ, ὁδηγούσης οἶμαι τῆς παρασκευῆς εἰς τὰς ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν ταῖς Ἡοίαις εἶπεν |

οἷα Διώνυσος δῶκ' ἀνδράσι χάρμα καὶ ἄχθος. ὅστις ἄδην πίνη, οἶνος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο μάργος, σὺν δὲ πόδας χεῖράς τε δέει γλῶσσάν τε νόον τε δεσμοῖς ἀφράστοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἑ μαλθακὸς ὕπνος.

καὶ Θέογνις δέ φησιν.6

ήκω δ' ώς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι· οὔτε τι νήφων εἴμ' οὔτε λίαν μεθύων.

5 χλίδησαι Olson: χλιδώσι Α

<sup>6</sup> The version of the text preserved by Athenaeus varies widely from the traditional one preserved in the manuscripts and printed by West.

c

being forced to

drink is just as bad as being thirsty.

This is the source of the saying that wine encourages an old man to dance even when he does not want to. $^{55}$  The poet Sthenelus (TrGF 32 T 4 = SH 736) was not wrong to say:

Wine drives even thoughtful people to thoughtless behavior.

And Phocylides (fr. 14 Diehl3) said:

As the cups are going around at a party, you should sit there and chatter pleasantly as you drink your wine.

This is still the custom even today among some Greeks. But when they began to live a pampered, luxurious lifestyle, they slipped off their chairs onto couches; made relaxation and leisure their allies; and began to get drunk in a careless, sloppy way, being led into hedonism, in my opinion, by their possessions. This is why Hesiod in the *Ehoiai* (fr. 239) said:

Just as Dionysus gave men both pleasure and trouble. If someone drinks as much as he wants, the wine assaults him like a madman, and wraps his feet, hands, tongue, and mind in invisible bonds, and soft sleep welcomes him.

Theognis (477-86) as well says:

I have come like wine a man is delighted to drink;
I am not the least bit sober, but neither am I too
drunk.

55 Cf. Eriph. fr. 1 (quoted at 4.134c); Macar. 6.25.

δς δ' ἃν ὑπερβάλλη πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖνος |

τής αὐτοῦ γνώμης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα, τὰ νήφοσι γίγνεται αἰσχρά.

αἰδεῖται δ' ἔρδων οὐδὲν ὅταν μεθύη, τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων τε καὶ ἤπιος. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα

γιγνώσκων μὴ πῖν' οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην, πρὶν μεθύειν ἄρξη δ', ἀπανίστασο, μή σε βιάσθω γαστὴρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτριν ἐφημέριον.

'Ανάχαρσίς τε ὁ σοφὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν τῆς άμπέλου δύναμιν τῷ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ κλήματα | αὐτῆς δεικνὺς ἔλεγεν ὡς εἰ μὴ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔτος ἔτεμνον οἱ Ἑλληνες τὴν ἄμπελον, ἤδη κἂν ἐν

Σκύθαις ἢν.

d

Οὐ καλῶς δὲ οἱ πλάττοντες καὶ γράφοντες τὸν Διόνυσον, ἔτι τε οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἰνωμένον ἐπιδείκνυνται γὰρ τοῦς θεαταῖς ὅτι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ οἶνος. καίτοι γ' οὐδ' ἄν, οἶμαι, ἄνθρωπος σπουδαῖος τοῦθ' ὑπομείνειεν. εἰ δ' ὅτι κατέδειξεν ἡμῖν τὸν οἶνον, διὰ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὖτως διακείμενον, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν | Δήμητρα θερίζουσαν ἢ ἐσθίουσαν ποιήσουσιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν τοῦτο διαμαρτάνειν πρῶτος

 $<sup>^{56}\,\</sup>text{A}$  legendary Scythian wise man, mentioned already by Herodotus (4.46.1, 76–7); cf. 4.159c; 10.437f–8a, 445f; 14.613d.

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>$  For Scythia as a land without grapevines, cf. Antiph. fr. 58 (quoted at 10.441d). But the Scythians certainly enjoyed wine when they imported it from elsewhere (10.427a–c).

If someone drinks more than is appropriate, he is no longer

in control of his thoughts and his mind; he makes foolish remarks that embarrass sober people.

and his behavior is shameless when he is drunk, even if he was previously sensible and gentle. But since you understand

this, do not drink excessive amounts of wine; get up and leave before you start feeling drunk, so that your stomach

does not turn on you, as if you were a low-born day-laborer.

When the wise Anacharsis<sup>56</sup> (fr. A24 Kindstrand) explained the power of the grapevine to the Scythian king, he showed him its tendrils and said that if the Greeks did not cut their vines back every year, they would already have made their way to Scythia.<sup>57</sup>

The sculptors and painters who represent Dionysus as intoxicated are making a mistake, as are the people who drag him through the middle of the marketplace on a wagon in the same condition;<sup>58</sup> because they are sending a message to the audience that the god is less powerful than his wine. No serious person, I am convinced, would accept this. And if (the claim is) that they represent him in this condition because he taught us about wine, they will obviously want to represent Demeter as harvesting or eating grain! Since I would say that Aeschylus (test. 117a) makes

<sup>58</sup> Sc. as part of a festival procession in honor of the god.

γαρ έκεινος και ούχ, ως ένιοι φασιν, Ευριπίδης παρήγαγε την των μεθυόντων όψιν είς τραγωδίαν έν γάρ τοις Καβείροις εισάνει τους περι τον Ίάσονα μεθύοντας, α δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἐποίει, ταῦτα τοῖς ήρωσι περιέθηκε μεθύων γοῦν ἔγραφε τὰς τραγωδίας. διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλής αὐτῶ μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι "ὧ Αἰσχύλε, εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ εἰδώς γε ποιείς," ως ιστορεί Χαμαιλέων έν τω Περί Αἰσχύλου. άγνοοῦσί τε οἱ λέγοντες πρώτον Ἐπίχαρμον || ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνην παραγαγείν μεθύοντα, μεθ' ον Κράτητα έν Γείτοσι, καὶ Αλκαῖος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς καὶ Αριστοφάνης ό κωμωδιοποιός μεθύοντες έγραφον τὰ ποιήματα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι μεθυσκόμενοι λαμπρότερον ἐν τῶ πολέμω ήγωνίσαντο, παρά δε Λοκροίς τοίς Έπιζεφυρίοις εἴ τις ἄκρατον ἔπιε μὴ προστάξαντος ἰατροῦ θεραπείας ένεκα, θάνατος ἦν ἡ ζημία Ζαλεύκου τὸν νόμον θέντος. παρά δὲ Μασσαλιήταις ἄλλος νόμος τὰς γυναϊκας ύδροποτείν. ἐν δὲ Μιλήτω ἔτι καὶ νῦν b φησι Θεόφραστος | τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ νόμιμον, παρὰ δὲ 'Ρωμαίοις ούτε οἰκέτης οἶνον ἔπινεν οὔτε γυνη έλευθέρα οὔτε τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἔφηβοι μέχρι τριάκοντα έτων, άτοπος δε δ Ανακρέων δ πάσαν αύτου την ποίησιν έξαρτήσας μέθης τη γάρ μαλακία καὶ τῆ

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Radt on Aeschylus' Cabeiroi (TrGF III p. 214).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> A condensed (epitomized) version of the same material is preserved at 1.22a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> According to Arist. Po. 1449<sup>b</sup>5–9 (drawing on what hard evidence, if any, we do not know), Crates' new, structurally more sophisticated style of comedy was directly dependent on the work of the Sicilian poets.

this mistake; because he—and not Euripides, as some authorities assert—was the first to bring the spectacle of drunks onto the tragic stage, given that he brings Iason's companions onstage drunk in his Cabeiroi. 59 The tragic poet attributed the same behavior to his heroes as he indulged in himself; at any rate, he used to write his tragedies drunk, which is why Sophocles (test. 52a) criticized him and said: "Aeschylus, even if you find the right words, you do so unconsciously," according to Chamaeleon in his On Aeschylus (fr. 40a Wehrli).60 Those who claim that Epicharmus, followed by Crates in Neighbors, 61 was the first to bring a drunk on stage, are similarly ill-informed.62 The lyric poet Alcaeus and the comic poet Aristophanes also produced their poetry while drunk, and many other men fought more brilliantly in war when drunk. In Epizypherian Locris, if anyone drank unmixed wine without a doctor requiring him to do so for medicinal purposes, the penalty was death; the law was proposed by Zaleucus.63 In Massilia there is a different law, which specifies that women are to drink nothing but water; this is still the custom even today in Miletus, according to Theophrastus (fr. 579b Fortenbaugh). In Rome no slave or free woman used to drink wine, and neither did any free boy under the age of 30. Anacreon, who connected all his poetry to drunkenness, is an unusual case; he is maligned for surrendering

<sup>62</sup> The testimonium (like the mention of Aristophanes in the sentence that follows) is omitted in Kassel-Austin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Zaleucus (mid-7th century BCE) was the great lawgiver of Epizypherian Locris and was famous for his severity. Ael. VH 2.37–8 appears to be drawing on the same source (through the description of Roman drinking habits).

τρυφή ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαβέβληται, οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι νήφων ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὢν προσποιεῖται μεθύειν οὐκ οὔσης ἀνάγκης.

Οἱ δὲ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν τὸν Διόνυσον φάσκουσιν μανιῶν εἶναι αἴτιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, | βλασφημοῦντες οὐ μετρίως. ὅθεν ὁ Μελανιππίδης ἔφη

πάντες δ' ἀπεστύγεον ὕδωρ τὸ πρὶν ἐόντες ἀίδριες οἴνου· τάχα δὴ τάχα τοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπωλλύοντο, τοὶ δὲ παράπληκτον χέον ὀμφάν.

᾿Αριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης φησίν εἰ ὁ οἶνος μετρίως ἀφεψηθείη, πινόμενος ἦττον μεθύσκει τὴν γὰρ δύναμιν ἀφεψηθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀσθενεστέραν γίγνεσθαι. μεθύσκονταί τε, φησίν, οἱ γεραίτεροι τάχιστα δι ὀλιγότητα καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντος φύσει θερμοῦ. καὶ οἱ παντελῶς δὲ Ινέοι τάχιον μεθύσκονται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐνυπάρχοντος θερμοῦτῷ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου προσγινομένω κρατοῦνται ῥαδίως. μεθύσκονται δὲ κἀν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώρις ὕες μὲν σταφυλῆς στεμφύλων χορτασθέντες καὶ τὸ τῶν κοράκων καὶ τῶν κυνῶν γένος τὴν οἰνοῦτταν καλουμένην φαγόντα βοτάνην, πίθηκος δὲ καὶ ἐλέφας πιόντες οἶνον. διὸ καὶ τὰς θήρας ποιοῦνται τῶν πιθήκων καὶ τῶν κοράκων μεθυσθέντων, τῶν μὲν οἴνω, τῶν δὲ τῆ οἰνούττα.

τὸ δ' ἐνδελεχῶς μεθύειν,

himself to effeminate luxury in his poetry, but most people are unaware that he was sober when he composed, and merely pretended to be drunk, despite being a decent person, when there was no need to do so.

Those who misunderstand the power of wine claim that Dionysus is responsible for people going insane, which is an extraordinarily blasphemous assertion. This is why Melanippides (*PMG* 760) said:

They all came to despise water, despite having previously known nothing of wine; and very very soon some of them died, while others began to talk like lunatics.

Aristotle says in his On Drunkenness (fr. 669): If wine is boiled down a bit, it is less intoxicating when consumed; because its strength is reduced when it is boiled. Older people, he claims, get drunk more rapidly, because they have less natural heat inside them and the heat is weaker. The very young, on the other hand, get drunk quite rapidly because of the large amount of heat inside them; for they are easily overpowered by the additional heat that comes from the wine. Of the irrational animals, pigs get drunk when fed grape pomace, as do ravens and dogs when they eat the plant known as oinoutta, 64 and monkeys and elephants when they drink wine. This is why people hunt monkeys and ravens when the animals are drunk, the former on wine, the latter on oinoutta.

But what pleasure is there,

<sup>64</sup> Cognate with oinos ("wine").

φησὶ Κρώβυλος ἐν ἀπολειπούση, Ι

e τίν' ἡδονὴν ἔχει ἀποστεροῦντα ζῶνθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὃ μέγιστον ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν ἔσχεν ἡ φύσις;

καὶ Ἄλεξις δὲ ἐν τῆ τοῦ Φρυγίου διασκευῆ φησιν

εὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι πρότερον τὸ κραιπαλᾶν παρεγίγνεθ' ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν εἶς οἶνόν ποτε προσίετο πλείω τοῦ μετρίου. νυνὶ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν οὐ προσδοκῶντες τῆς μέθης ἤξειν προχείρως τοὺς ἀκράτους πίνομεν.

f τὸν δὲ Σαμαγόρειον οἶνον καλούμενόν φησιν ὁ ᾿Αριστοτέλης ἀπὸ τριῶν κοτυλῶν κερασθεισῶν μεθύσκειν ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα ἄνδρας.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Δημόκριτος καὶ πιὼν ἔφη· τούτοις εἴ τις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει, παρίτω. ἀκούσεται γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Εὔηνον·

σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἔστω, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.

έγω δ' ἐπεὶ παρεξέβην περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων κράσεων διαλεγόμενος, ἐπαναλήψομαι τὸν λόγον τὰ ὑπὸ ᾿Αλκαίου τοῦ μελοποιοῦ λεχθέντα ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλλόμενος· ΙΙ φησὶ γάρ που οὖτος·

< ... > ἔγχεε κέρναις ἔνα καὶ δύο.

430

<sup>65</sup> Called *The Woman Who Left Her Husband* at 10.443f, where the fragment is quoted again with a minor variant in the first line.

<sup>66</sup> A considerably longer version of the fragment is quoted in a similar context at 9.367e. The entire section on Alcaeus that follows is treated by Voigt as fr. 464 (under the rubric "ad commentationes antiquorum pertinentia").

says Crobylus in *The Woman Who Was Trying to Leave Her Husband*<sup>65</sup> (fr. 3),

in being constantly drunk, if it means depriving yourself, while you're still alive, of the ability to think clearly, which is our best natural feature?

Alexis as well says in the revised version of his *The Phrygian* (fr. 257):

If we had the hangover before we got drunk, no one would ever consume more wine than he should. But as it is, we don't expect there to be any penalty for getting drunk, so we readily drink unmixed wines.

Aristotle (fr. 670) claims that if as little as three cups of what is referred to as Samagoreian wine is mixed (with water), it can get more than 40 men drunk.

After he completed these remarks and had a drink, Democritus said: If anyone wants to object to anything I have said, let him step forward! Because the response he will get is, to quote Evenus (fr. 1.4 West<sup>2</sup>):<sup>66</sup>

You can think that, but I think something else!

But since I digressed in my discussion of ancient mixingproportions, I will return to my main topic, taking to heart the comment of the lyric poet Alcaeus (fr. 346.4), who says somewhere:<sup>67</sup>

Mix it one-to-two, and pour it in the cup!

 $^{67}$  The entire fragment is quoted at 10.430c–d, and most of it appears again at 11.481a.

έν τούτοις γάρ τινες οὐ τὴν κρᾶσιν οἴονται λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ σωφρονικὸν ὄντα καθ' ἔνα κύαθον πίνειν καὶ πάλιν κατὰ δύο. τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς Χαμαιλέων ἐκδέδεκται τῆς ᾿Αλκαίου φιλοινίας ἀπείρως ἔχων. κατὰ γὰρ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν πίνων ὁ ποιητὴς οὖτος εὐρίσκεται χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν τούτοις

ὔει μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἐκ δ᾽ ὀράνω μέγας χείμων, πεπάγαισιν δ᾽ ὐδάτων | ῥόαι

κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων, ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσᾳ μόλθακον ἀμφις ... > γνόφαλλον.

# θέρους δέ

h

τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνω, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται,

ά δ' ὤρα χαλέπα, πάντα δὲ δίψαισ' ὖπὰ καύματος.

# τοῦ δ' ἔαρος.

ἦρος ἀνθεμόεντος ἐπάιον ἐρχομένοιο.

# καὶ προελθών

έν δε κέρνατε τω μελιάδεος ὅττι τάχιστα κράτηρα.

<sup>7</sup> κύαθον ἄκρατον Α: ἄκρατον del. Olson

For some authorities do not believe that he is referring in this passage to how the wine should be mixed, but insist that, being a temperate individual, he is encouraging his addressee to drink one ladleful at a time, and then two at a time. This is the interpretation of Chamaeleon of Pontus (fr. 12 Wehrli), who is unacquainted with Alcaeus' fondness for wine. Because this poet can be found drinking in every season and situation: during the winter (cheimōn), in the following passage (fr. 338.1–2, 5–8):

Zeus is pouring rain, a great storm (*cheimōn*) is descending from the sky, and the rivers' streams are frozen.

Defeat the storm (cheimōn) by heaping wood on the fire and mixing up plenty of honey-like wine; and . . . soft wool around your brow.

And in summer (fr. 347.1-2):68

Moisten your lungs with wine. For the star<sup>69</sup> is rising, the season is a harsh one, and the heat makes everything thirsty.

And in the spring (fr. 367.1):

I realized that flowery spring was coming.

And further on (fr. 367.2-3):

Mix up a bowl of honey-sweet wine as quick as you can!

68 Quoted also at 1.22e-f.

69 Sirius; see 1.22e n.

έν δὲ τοῖς συμπτώμασιν

οὐ χρῆ κάκοισι θῦμον ἐπιτρέπην. προκόψομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενοι, ἄ Βύκχι· φάρμακον δ' ἄριστον οἶνον ἐνεικαμένοις μεθύσθην.

έν δὲ ταῖς εὐφρόναις.

c

d

νῦν χρη μεθύσθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν πώνην, ἐπεὶ δὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

καὶ καθόλου δὲ συμβουλεύων φησίν.

μηδεν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρεον άμπέλω.

πως οὖν ἔμελλεν ὁ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φιλοπότης νηφάλιος εἶναι καὶ καθ' ἔνα καὶ δύο κυάθους πίνειν; αὐτὸ γοῦν τὸ ποιημάτιον, φησὶ Σέλευκος, ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τοῖς οὕτως ἐκδεχομένοις. φησὶ γάρ·

πώνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχν' | ὀμμένομεν; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα.

κὰδ δ' ἄερρε κυλίχναις μεγάλαις, ἄϊτα, ποικίλαις

οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἶος λαθικάδεα ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ'. ἔγχεε κέρναις ἔνα καὶ δύο πλήαις κὰκ κεφάλας, <ἀ> δ' ἀτέρα τὰν ἀτέραν κύλιξ

ώθήτω,

In misfortune (fr. 335):

We should not surrender our heart to troubles; for we'll get nowhere by being miserable, Bucchis. The best remedy is to fetch some wine and get drunk.

And in happy times (fr. 332):

Now everyone should get drunk and be forced to drink, since the fact is that Myrsilus is dead.

And in general his advice is (fr. 342):

Plant no other tree before a grapevine.

How likely is it, then, that someone this fond of drinking is a teetotaler who consumes only one or two ladlesful at a time? The poem itself, at any rate, says Seleucus (fr. 79 Müller), contradicts those who interpret it this way. Because the poet says (Alc. fr. 346):<sup>70</sup>

Let's drink! Why are we waiting for the lamps?

There's only a sliver of daylight left.

Take down the fancy large cups, sweet boy;
for the son of Semele and Zeus<sup>71</sup> gave human beings
wine

to help them forget their troubles. Mix it one-to-two, and pour it in the cup,

filling it to the brim! Let the cups crowd against one another!,

 $<sup>^{70}</sup>$  A shorter version of the fragment is quoted at 11.481a.  $^{71}$  Dionysus.

ένα πρὸς δύο ρητῶς κιρυάναι κελεύων. ὁ δ' Ανακρέων ἔτι ζωρότερον ἐν οἷς φησι

καθαρή δ' ἐν κελέβη πέντε <τε> καὶ τρεῖς ἀναχείσθω.

Φιλέταιρος δ' ἐν Τηρεῖ δύο ὕδατος πρὸς τρεῖς ἀκράτου. λέγει δὲ οὕτως·

πεπωκέναι δοκεῖ τὸν | κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀκράτου.

Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Κοριαννοῖ δύο ὕδατος πρὸς τέσσαρας οἴνου, λέγων ὧδε·

- (Α.) ἄποτος, ὧ Γλύκη.
- (Γλ.) ύδαρη 'νέχεέν σοι; (Α.) παντάπασι μεν οὖν ύδωρ.
- (Γλ.) τί ἡργάσω; πῶς ὧ κατάρατε <δ '> ἐνέχεας;
- (Β.) δύ ὕδατος, ὧ μάμμη. (Γλ.) τί δ' οἴνου; (Γλ.) τέτταρας.
- (Γλ.) ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακας. βατράχοισιν οἰνοχοεῖν σ '
  ἔλει
- f "Εφιππος δ' έν Κίρκη | τρεῖς πρὸς τέτταρας
  - (A.) οἶνον πίοις ἃν ἀσφαλέστερον πολὺ ὑδαρῆ. (B.) μὰ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ τρία καὶ τέτταρα.
  - (Α.) οὕτως ἄκρατον, εἰπέ μοι, πίη; (Β.) τί φής;

ἴσον ἴσφ δὲ Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Κονισάλφ·

 $<sup>^{72}</sup>$  The discussion of proportions of wine and water that follows appears to come from the same source as the very similar collection of material that breaks off at 10.427a.

<sup>73</sup> Sc. "because they appreciate water!"

thus specifically ordering that the wine be mixed one-to-two.  $^{72}$  Anacreon (PMG 409) asks for it to be even stronger in the passage where he says:

Let five-to-three be poured into a clean cup!

Philetaerus in *Tereus* (fr. 15) (mentions) two parts water to three parts unmixed wine, putting it as follows:

He appears to have drunk the combination of two parts (water)

with three parts unmixed wine.

Pherecrates in *Corianno* (fr. 76) (mentions) two parts water to four of wine, putting it this way:

(A.) It's undrinkable, Glyce.

(Glyce) Did she pour something watery into your cup? (A.) Actually, it's *entirely* water.

(Glyce) What did you do? How did you mix it for her, you nasty creature?

(B.) Two parts water, ma'am—(Glyce) And how much wine? (B.) Four parts.

(Glyce) Damn you to hell! You ought to be pouring wine for frogs!<sup>73</sup>

Ephippus in Circe (fr. 11) (mentions) three-to-four:

(A.) You'd be much safer drinking watery wine. (B.) No, by earth! Three-to-four!

(A.) Tell me—you really drink it that strong? (B.) What do you mean?

Timocles in *Conisalus* (fr. 22) (mentions) a mix of one-to-one:

πατάξω τ' ἴσον ἴσφ ποτη**ρίο**ις μεγάλοις ἄπασαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν φράσαι. ΙΙ

431 καὶ "Αλεξις ἐν Δορκίδι ἢ Ποππυζούση:

τρεῖς φιλοτήσίας ἐγὼ μεστὰς προπίνω <γ '> ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένας.

καὶ Ξέναρχος ἢ Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Πορφύρα

μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, <δν> σὺ λάπτεις ἴσον ἴσφ.

Σώφιλος δ' ἐν Ἐγχειριδίω.

συνεχής ἄκρατος ἐδίδοτ' ἴσον ἴσφ· πάλιν τὴν μείζον' ἤτουν.

"Αλεξις Τοκιστῆ ἢ Καταψευδομένω

(Τρ.) μὴ παντελῶς αὐτῷ δίδου | ὑδαρῆ. κατανοεῖς; ἴσον ἴσῳ μικροῦ. καλῶς. (Α.) ἡδύ γε τὸ πῶμα. ποταπὸς ὁ Βρόμιος, Τρύφη; (Τρ.) Θάσιος. (Α.) ὅμοιον. καὶ δίκαιον τοὺς ξένους πίνειν ξενικόν, τοὺς δ΄ ἐγγενεῖς ἐπιγώριον.

έν δὲ Ὑποβολιμαίω.

ἀπνευστί τ' ἐκπιὼν ώς ἄν τις ἥδιστ' ἴσον ἴσφ κεκραμένον.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Athenaeus (or his source) expresses similar doubts about the authorship of the play at 7.319a (quoting fr. 8), but at 6.225c (quoting fr. 7) assigns it unambiguously to Xenarchus.

<sup>75</sup> I.e. "Dionysus" (and thus here metonymically "wine"). Thasian wine (below) was regarded as being of particularly high quality.

I'll smack you into telling me the whole truth, by using big cups mixed one-to-one.

Also Alexis in Dorcis or The Girl Who Popped Her Lips (fr. 59):

I'm proposing a toast of three full friendship-cups mixed one-to-one.

And Xenarchus (fr. 9) or Timocles in Porphyra:74

No, by Dionysus—whom you lap up one-to-one!

Sophilus in *The Dagger* (fr. 4):

Strong wine mixed one-to-one was being offered constantly; on top of that, they kept asking for the larger cup.

Alexis in The Loan-Shark or The Liar (fr. 232):

(Tryphe) Don't offer him wine that's mixed real watery. Do you understand? About one-to-one. Fine.

(A.) What I'm drinking tastes good! Where's your Bromius<sup>75</sup> from, Tryphe?

(Tryphe) Thasos. (A.) It's all the same. It's right for foreigners

to drink foreign wine, and for natives to drink the local variety.

And in The Supposititious Child (fr. 246.3-4):76

emptying them without pausing for a breath, mixed one-to-one, the most delicious proportion possible.

Μένανδρος Άδελφοῖς

όκτώ τις ύποχείν ἀνεβόα καὶ δώδεκα Ι κυάθους, έως κατέσεισε φιλοτιμούμενος.

κατασείειν δε έλεγον έπι των έν τοις πότοις προπινόντων, την μεταφοράν λαμβάνοντες άπο των τούς καρπούς κατασειόντων. "Αλεξις δ' έν 'Αποκοπτομένη"

οὐ συμποσίαρχος ἦν γάρ, ἀλλὰ δήμιος δ Χαιρέας, κυάθους προπίνων είκοσιν.

Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐν Αὐλητρίδι

έπὰν κυάθους πίνη τις, ὧ Κρίτων, δέκα, Ι άεὶ παρ' ἔκαστον ἐνδελεχῶς ποτήριον πίνει τὸ λοιπόν, τοὺς λογισμοὺς δ' έξεμεῖ. ταθτα σκόπει πρὸς σαυτόν.

οὐκ ἀγλαφύρως δὲ Λύσανδρος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, ὥς φησιν Ήγήσανδρος έν Υπομνήμασι, τὸν οἶνον ύδαρη πωλούντων τῶν καπήλων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω, κεκραμένον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πωλεῖν, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἀκρατέστερον ώνοιντο, τὸ παραπλήσιον καὶ "Αλεξις είρηκεν έν Αἰσώπω οῦτως

(Αι.) κομψόν γε τοῦτ' ἐστὶν παρ' ὑμῖν, ὧ Σόλων, Ι έν ταις 'Αθήναις, δεξιώς θ' ευρημένον. (Σο.) τὸ ποῖον; (Αι.) ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οὐ πίνετε

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> A longer version of the fragment is quoted at 11.502b-c.

<sup>77</sup> Literally "to shake down".

<sup>78</sup> Cited at 13.562d as The Man Who Was Mutilated.

<sup>79</sup> Lysander (Poralla #504) was Sparta's greatest commander in the final phase of the Peloponnesian War; he died in 395 BCE.

Menander in Brothers (fr. 2):

Someone kept shouting for them to pour eight ladles, or

twelve, until his taste for competition knocked them down (*kateseise*) on the floor.

They used the verb *kataseiein*<sup>77</sup> to describe individuals who proposed toasts at drinking parties, borrowing the image from people who shake fruit out of trees. Alexis in *The Girl Who Was Mutilated*<sup>78</sup> (fr. 21):

Because Chaereas wasn't a symposiarch, but a public executioner, proposing 20 cups as toasts.

Diodorus of Sinope in The Pipe-Girl (fr. 1):

When someone drinks ten ladles, Crito, after that, along with each cup that he goes on drinking, he pukes out his brains.

Think about how that might apply to you.

According to Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 22, *FHG* iv.417), Lysander the Spartiate<sup>79</sup> was being quite subtle when he ordered the merchants selling diluted wine in the army camp to offer it as already mixed, in order to force them to buy it stronger in the first place. Alexis says something similar in *Aesop* (fr. 9), as follows:

(Aesop) This is an ingenious idea you've got in Athens,

Solon, and cleverly conceived.

(Solon) What specifically? (Aesop) You don't drink unmixed wine

ἄκρατον. (Σο.) οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον πωλοῦσι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις εὐθέως κεκραμένον, οὐχ ἴνα τι κερδαίνωσι, τῶν δ' ἀνουμένων προνοούμενοι τοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑγιεῖς ἔχειν ἐκ κραιπάλης. τοῦτ' ἔσθ', ὁρᾶς, 'Ελληνικὸς πότος, μετρίοισι χρωμένους ποτηρίοις λαλεῖν τι καὶ ληρεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡδέως. Ι τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτερον λουτρόν ἐστιν, οὐ πότος, ψυκτῆρι πίνειν καὶ κάδοις. (Αι.) θάνατος μὲν οὖν.

432

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πίνειν δ' εἰς μέθην, φησὶν ἐν ἔκτω Νόμων Πλάτων. οὖτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει πλην έν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ έορταις οὐδ' ἀσφαλές, οὕτ' οὖν περὶ νάμους έσπουδακότα, έν οξς έμφρονα εξναι πρέπει μάλιστα νύμφην καὶ νυμφίον μεταβολήν βίου οὐ μικράν μεταλλάτοντας, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον όπως ότι μάλιστα έξ έμφρόνων αἰεὶ γίγνηται | σχεδον γαρ άδηλον όποία νύξ ή φως αὐτο γεννήσει. κάν τῶ πρώτω δὲ τῶν Νόμων φησί: μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ Λυδοί χρώνται καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ "Ιβηρες καὶ Θρᾶκες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη, καθάπερ ύμεις, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε. Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾶκες ἀκράτω παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναικές τε και πάντες αυτοί, και κατά των ίματίων καταχεόμενοι καλὸν καὶ εὔδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα έπιτηδεύειν νενομίκασι. Πέρσαι δὲ καὶ σφόδρα μὲν χρώνται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τουφαῖς, ἃς ὑμεῖς ἀπο-

<sup>80</sup> I.e. in the marketplace.

<sup>81</sup> The text is slightly condensed and thus garbled.

at your parties. (Solon) Yeah—because it's not easy to! They sell it

in the wagons<sup>80</sup> already mixed—

not to make a profit, but because they're looking out for

the buyers, to keep them from having a headache after they drink all night. You see, this is the Greek way of drinking: use cups of a modest size,

and have a bit of banter and nice conversation with one another.

The other style amounts to bathing, not drinking— I mean, drinking from a wine-cooling vessel or buckets. (Aesop) Actually, it amounts to death!

According to Plato in Book VI of the Laws (775b-c), drinking until you are intoxicated is not appropriate or safe anywhere except at the festivals celebrated in honor of the god who gave us wine. Nor should it be encouraged at weddings, where the bride and groom ought certainly to have their wits about them, since a major change is taking place in their lives, and in order that their offspring may be produced by the most thoughtful individuals possible; for it is entirely unclear what day or night will produce them. And in Book I of his Laws (637d-e) he says:81 of drunkenness itself, as the Lydians, Persians, Carthaginians, Celts, Iberians, Thracians, and similar peoples engage in it, just as you, Spartans, avoid it completely. The Scythians and Thracians universally, men and women alike, drink wine with no water in it at all, and as they spill it over their clothing, they think they are engaged in wonderful behavior that shows how lucky they are. The Persians as well indulge in many other luxuries you reject, but do so in a more orderly way

Βάλλετε, Ι ἐν τάξει δὲ μᾶλλον τούτων. ἔπινον πολλοι<sup>8</sup> καὶ ἄλφιτα ἐπιβάλλοντες τῷ οἴνῳ, ὡς ὁ Δελφὸς Ἡγήσανδρος φησίν. Ἐπίνικος γοῦν, Μνησιπτολέμου ἀνάγνωσιν ποιησαμένου τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, ἐν αἶς ἐγέγραπτο ὡς Σέλευκος ἐπηλφίτωσε, γράψας δρᾶμα Μνησιπτόλεμον καὶ κωμφδῶν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς πόσεως ταῖς ἐκείνου χρώμενος φωναῖς ἐποίησε λέγοντα.

ἐπ' ἀλφίτου πίνοντα τοῦ θέρους ποτὲ Ι
ἰδῶν Σέλευκον ἡδέως τὸν βασιλέα
ἔγραψα, καὶ παρέδειξα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι,
κᾶν τὸ τυχὸν ἢ πραγμάτιον ἢ σφόδρ' εὐτελές,
σεμνὸν δύναται τοῦθ' ἡ δύναμις ἡ 'μὴ ποεῖν.
"γέροντα Θάσιον τόν τε γῆς ἀπ' ᾿Ατθίδος
ἐσμὸν μελίσσης τῆς ἀκραχόλου γλυκὺν
συγκυρκανήσας ἐν σκύφῳ χυτῆς λίθου,
Δήμητρος ἀκτῆ πᾶν γεφυρώσας ὑγρὸν
κατησίμωσε πῶμα, καύματος λύσιν."

δ δ' αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ κὰν Θηράσι ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπάττοντας λέκιθον ἀντὶ ἀλφίτου πίνειν, καὶ λέγεσθαι Ι ταύτην τὴν πόσιν καλλίονα τῆς ἐξ ἀλφίτων.

Προπόσεις δὲ τὰς γινομένας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐκ ἦν ἔθος ποιεῖν οὐδὲ φιλοτησίας

# 8 πολλοί tantum CE: οί πολλοί Α

82 The Seleucus in question might be either Seleucus II (reigned 246/5-225 BCE) or Seleucus III (reigned 225-222 BCE).

83 The "aged Thasian" is old Thasian wine (a particularly fine variety); the "efflux of the bee" is honey (the Attic variety being

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than these other nations. Many people used to sprinkle barley groats on the wine they drank, according to Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 23, FHG iv.418). When Mnesiptolemus (FGrH 164 T 2), for example, gave a reading of his History, in which he recorded that Seleucus<sup>82</sup> sprinkled barley groats on his wine, Epinicus wrote a play entitled Mnesiptolemus (fr. 1), in which he made fun of him and had a character quote what Mnesiptolemus said about Seleucus' drinking:

In the summer once I saw King Seleucus happily drinking wine mixed with barley groats, and I wrote about it, making it clear to the masses that even if the event itself was no big deal, or utterly insignificant,

my powers can render it important.
"Enmixing an aged Thasian and the sweet Attic efflux of the irrascible bee in a vessel of cast stone, 83 and spanning the entire liquid drink with Demeter's corn, he sent it to its fate as a solution to solar warmth."

The same author<sup>84</sup> records that in the Therad islands they sprinkle gruel rather than barley groats on their wine when they drink it, and that this way of consuming it is allegedly better than when groats are used.

It was not the Spartan custom to offer the toasts that are generally part of drinking parties, or to drink the associ-

generally judged the best in the world); and the "vessel of cast stone" is a ceramic cup.

84 Hegesander.

διὰ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις·

καὶ τόδ' ἔθος Σπάρτη μελέτημά τε κείμενόν ἐστι· πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνοφόρον κύλικα, μηδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομαστὶ λέγοντα Ι μηδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτερὰν χεῖρα κύκλῳ θιάσου

ἄγγεα Λυδή χεὶρ ηὖρ' Ἀσιατογενής, καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπιδέξια, καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι

" pokaketo vat

έξονομακλήδην ῷ προπιεῖν ἐθέλει.
εἶτ' ἀπὸ τοιούτων πόσεων γλώσσας τε λύουσιν
εἰς αἰσχροὺς μύθους σῶμά τ' ἀμαυρότερον

τεύχουσιν πρὸς δ' ὄμμ' ἀχλὺς ἀμβλωπὸς ἐφίζει, λῆστις δ' ἐκτήκει μνημοσύνην πραπίδων, Ι νοῦς δὲ παρέσφαλται δμῶες δ' ἀκόλαστον

όυς σε παρεσφακται σμε ἔχουσιν

ηθος· ἐπεισπίπτει δ' οἰκοτριβης δαπάνη.
οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κόροι πίνουσι τοσοῦτον
ὥστε φρέν' εἰς ἱλαρὰν † ἀσπίδα † πάντ'
ἀπάγειν

έις τε φιλοφροσύνην γλώσσαν μέτριόν τε γέλωτα.

τοιαύτη δὲ πόσις σώματί τ' ώφέλιμος

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 $<sup>^{85}</sup>$  The reference is now to Athenians (rather than Spartans, as in the first four verses and again below).

ated friendship cups in one another's honor. Critias makes this clear in his *Elegies* (fr. B 6 West², encompassing both quotations):

This is an established custom and practice in Sparta: to drink from one's own wine-cup,

and not to offer toasts, mentioning individuals by

or going from left to right in a circle around the party.

An Asian-born Lydian hand invented their vessels.<sup>85</sup>

along with the idea of extending toasts from left to right, and of calling

on the man one wishes to toast by name.

Then the result of this sort of drinking is that their tongues are set loose

to make ugly remarks, and their bodies are rendered

weaker. A dark mist settles over their eyes;

forgetfulness leaches memory from their minds;

and their intelligence is hobbled. Their slaves behave wildly, and the extravagance that lays a house waste descends upon them.

Sparta's young men, on the other hand, drink only enough

to transport their mind entirely to cheerful † shield †,

and their tongue to friendly behavior and restrained laughter.

This type of drinking is good for one's body,

γνώμη τε κτήσει τε καλῶς δ' εἰς ἔργ' 'Αφροδίτης ||

πρός θ' ὕπνον ἥρμοσται, τὸν καμάτων λιμένα, πρὸς τὴν τερπνοτάτην τε θεῶν θνητοῖς Ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὴν Εὐσεβίης γείτονα Σωφροσύνην.

έξης τε πάλιν φησίν

433

b

αί γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον κυλίκων προπόσεις παραχρῆμα

τέρψασαι λυποῦσ' εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ δίαιθ' ὁμαλῶς διάκειται, Ι ἔσθειν καὶ πίνειν σύμμετρα πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ πονεῖν εἶναι δυνατούς· οὕκ ἔστ' ἀπότακτος ἡμέρα οἰνῶσαι σῶμ' ἀμέτροισι πότοις.

Φίλοινος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς οἶνον ἔτοιμος, φιλοπότης δὲ ὁ πρὸς πότους, κωθωνιστὴς δὲ ὁ μέχρι μέθης. πλεῖστον δὲ ἔπινε τῶν μὲν ἡρώων Νέστωρ ὁ τριγέρων φανερῶς γὰρ αὐτὸς προσέκειτο τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον τῷ οἴνῷ καὶ τοῦ ἀγαμέμνονος αὐτοῦ, ὃν ὡς πολυπότην ἐπιπλήσσει ὁ ἀχιλλεύς, ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ καὶ τῆς μεγίστης μάχης ἐνεστηκυίας οὐκ ἀπέχεται | καὶ τοῦ πίνειν. φησὶ γοῦν Θμηρος.

Νέστορα δ' οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ πίνοντά περ ἔμπης. καὶ μόνου δὲ τούτου τῶν ἡρώων τὸ ποτήριον ἡρμή-

<sup>86</sup> Cognate with  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}n$  (a wine-flask of some sort; see 11.483a-4c).

mind, and property; it is also nicely suited to sex and to sleep, which is the harbor for fatigue, and to Health, who is the most pleasant god for mortals,

and to Piety's neighbor Self-Restraint.

And again immediately after this, he says:

Because an excessive number of cups drunk as toasts offers pleasure

in the short term, but causes pain in the long run.

The Spartan way of life rests on an even keel: eating and drinking moderate amounts, so that

one can

think straight and work hard. No day is set aside to intoxicate one's body with endless drinking.

Someone who is eager for wine (oinos) is philoinos; someone eager to have drinking parties (potoi) is philopotos; and someone who drinks until he is drunk is a kōthōnistēs. 86 Nestor drank more than any other hero, despite being extremely old; because he openly applied himself to wine more than the rest did, including Agamemnon himself, whom Achilleus attacks for drinking so much (Il. 1.225). Even when an extremely important battle is going on, Nestor does not stop drinking. Homer says, at any rate (Il. 14.1):

Even though Nestor was drinking, he did not fail to hear the sound of battle.

Nestor's cup is also the only one Homer describes (Il.

νευκεν, ώς τὴν ἀσπίδα. ἐστρατεύετο γὰρ μετ' αὐτοῦ καθάπερ καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐκείνης, ῆς φησιν ὁ Ἔκτωρ καὶ μέχρι οὐρανοῦ ἤκειν τὸ κλέος. οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι δέ τις καὶ τὸ ποτήριον αὐτοῦ λέγων φιάλην Ἄρεως κατὰ τὸν ἀντιφάνους Καινέα, ἐν ῷ λέγεται οὕτως.

εἶτ' ἤδη δὸς φιάλην Ἄρεως, κατὰ Τιμόθεον, ξυστόν τε Ι βέλος.

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοποσίαν ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ παρ' ἀχιλλέως φιάλην λαμβάνει δῶρον ἐν τῷ Ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ Ἐπιτελουμένῳ ἀλγῶνι, † οὐχ ὅτι καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ νικηθέντι ἔδωκε δέπας ὁ ἀχιλλεύς (τοῖς γὰρ φιλοπόταις οὐ παρέπεται τὸ νικᾶν διὰ τὸ ῥάθυμον), ἢ ὅτι διὰ δύψαν μάλιστα λείπονται οἱ πύκται διὰ τὸ βαρείσθαι τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντες. ὁ δὲ Εὔμηλος λαμβάνει θώρακα δραμὼν ἄθλον ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ ἀμυχθείς, ἀσφαλείας ὅπλον.

Τῆς δὲ δίψης οὐδέν | ἐστι πολυποθητότερον. διόπερ καὶ τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη, τὸ πολυπόθητον διὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸ δίψος γὰρ πᾶσιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμποιεῖ τῆς περιττῆς ἀπολαύσεως. διὸ καὶ ὁ

Σοφοκλής φησι

9 τὴν ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδα ΑCE: ἀχιλλέως del. Olson

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> The manuscripts have "in the same way he does Achilleus' shield" (cf. *Il*. 18.478–608), which must represent a misguided gloss that has intruded into the text, as the reference that follows specifically to *Nestor's* shield makes clear.

<sup>88</sup> This passage is discussed at length at 11.487f-94b.

<sup>89</sup> Something has gone seriously wrong with the text at this point, perhaps via a combination of intrusive notes and the loss of some lines. Nestor does not take part in the chariot-racing contest

11.632–7), just as he does his shield,<sup>87</sup> because Nestor brought his cup with him on the expedition (*Il.* 11.632), precisely as he brought his famous shield, the reputation of which, according to Hector, "reached heaven" (*Il.* 8.192).<sup>88</sup> It would not be a mistake to refer to his cup as "Ares' libation-bowl", to quote Antiphanes' *Caineus* (fr. 110 = Timoth. *PMG* 797), where the following is said:

Then at this point give me Ares' libation bowl, to quote Timotheus, and a shaved missile.

Nestor gets a libation-bowl, in fact, as a gift from Achilleus in *The Contest Celebrated in Honor of Patroclus* (Il. 23.615–24) because he liked to drink, <sup>89</sup> † not because Achilleus gave him a goblet when he was not defeated—for heavy drinkers tend not to win athletic contests, since they grow careless—or because boxers generally lose when they grow thirsty, because their hands grow heavy when they hold them out. Whereas Eumelus gets a breast-plate (Il. 23.560–2), which is a piece of protective equipment, because he fell during the course of the race and was injured (Il. 23.394–7).

No desire is more urgent than thirst. This is why the poet referred to Argos as "thirsty" (Il. 4.171), which is to say "much-longed-for" as a result of the lapse of time; because thirst always produces a powerful desire for full satisfaction. This is why Sophocles (fr. 763 = adesp. com. fr. \*120) says:

(although his son Antilochus did), and when Achilleus gives him a libation-bowl as a gift of honor afterward, he says that he does so because Nestor's advanced age renders him unable to compete in manly sports such as boxing.

90 Sc. "since the Achaeans had been gone from there".

διψώντι γάρ τοι πάντα προσφέρων σοφὰ οὐκ ἂν πλέον τέρψειας ἢ πιεῖν διδούς.

καὶ ὁ ἀρχίλοχος.

μάχης δὲ τῆς σῆς, ὥστε διψέων πιεῖν, ὡς ἐρέω.

καὶ τῶν τραγικῶν δέ τις ἔφη. Ι

ἴσχειν κελεύω χεῖρα διψῶσαν φόνου.

καὶ ἀνακρέων·

φίλη γὰρ εἶς ξείνοισιν ἔασον δέ με διψέοντα πιεῖν.

καὶ Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Παιδείας ποιεῖ τὸν Κυρον τάδε λέγοντα: ἐγὰ ὑμῖν διψῶ χαρίσασθαι. Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῆ Πολιτείᾳ: ὅταν, οἶμαι, δημοκρατουμένη πόλις ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα κακῶν οἰνοχόων προστατούντων τύχη καὶ πορρωτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἀκράτου μεθυσθῆ. ΙΙ ἔπινε δὲ καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Μακεδὼν πλεῖστον, ὥς φησιν Ἔφιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος Ταφῆς, καὶ εὐρώστῳ τῷ σώματι διῆγε, καίτοι τῷ πιεῖν ἐγγεγυμνασμένος ἄν. ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν αἰτήσας ποτὲ ποτήριον δίχουν καὶ πιὼν προύπιε τῷ Πρωτέᾳ. καὶ δς λαβὼν καὶ πολλὰ ὑμνήσας τὸν βασιλέα ἔπιεν, ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων κρο-

<sup>91</sup> Quoted at greater length at 10.443f-4a; cf. 11.505d.

<sup>92</sup> Proteas (Berve i #664) grew up with Alexander the Great and was one of his closest associates; cf. 4.129a (probably an oblique reference to the passage of Ephippus cited here).

<sup>93</sup> A chous was a liquid measure, equivalent (on the Attic standard) to about three quarts.

# BOOK X

Because, let me assure you, if you offered a thirsty man wisdom of every sort,

you'd give him less pleasure than by offering him a drink.

Also Archilochus (fr. 125 West2):

I'm as eager to fight you as a thirsty man is for a drink.

So too one of the tragedians said (adesp. tr. fr. 96):

I urge you to restrain your hand, which is thirsty for bloodshed.

# Also Anacreon (PMG 389):

For you are a friend to strangers; allow me, thirsty as I am, to drink.

Likewise Xenophon in Book III of his Education (Cyr. 5.1.1) represents Cyrus as saying the following: I'm thirsty to do you favors. Plato in his Republic (562c-d):91 whenever, I suppose, a democratically governed city thirsty for freedom has bad wine-pourers in charge, and gets more drunk on unmixed wine than it should. Proteas of Macedon<sup>92</sup> was also a heavy drinker, according to Ephippus in his On the Burial of Alexander and Hephaestion (FGrH 126 F 3); he was in good physical health his entire life, despite the fact that he spent much of his time drinking. At one point, for example, Alexander asked for a cup that could hold two choēs, 93 drained it, and toasted Proteas. Proteas took the cup, praised the king at length, and emptied it; and everyone applauded. Shortly

ταλισθήναι. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τὸ αὐτὸ ποτήριον αἰτήσας ὁ Πρωτέας καὶ πάλιν πιῶν προὔπιε τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀλλέξανδρος λαβῶν | ἔσπασε μὲν γενναίως, οὐ μὴν ὑπήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἀφεὶς τῶν χειρῶν τὸ ποτήριον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου νοσήσας ἀπέθανε, τοῦ Διονύσου, φησί, μηνίσαντος αὐτῷ, διότι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ τὰς Θήβας ἐπολιόρκησεν. ἔπινε δὲ ὁ ἀλέξανδρος πλεῖστον, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μέθης συνεχῶς κοιμᾶσθαι δύο ἡμέρας καὶ δύο νύκτας. δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς Ἐφημερίσιν αὐτοῦ, ἃς ἀνέγραψαν Εὐμένης τε ὁ Καρδιανὸς καὶ Διόδοτος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος. Μένανδρος δὲ ἐν Κόλακί φησι:

(Βι.) κοτύλας | χωροῦν δέκα ἐν Καππαδοκία κόνδυ χρυσοῦν, Στρουθία, τρὶς ἐπέπιον μεστόν γε. (Στ.) ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας. (Βι.) οὐκ ἔλαττον, οὐ μὰ τὴν ἀθηνῶν. (Στ.) μέγα γε.

Νικοβούλη δὲ ἢ ὁ ἀναθεὶς ταύτη τὰ συγγράμματά φησιν ὅτι παρὰ Μηδείφ τῷ Θεσσαλῷ δειπνῶν ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος εἴκοσιν οὖσιν ἐν τῷ συμποσίφ πᾶσι προὔπιε, παρὰ πάντων τὰ ἴσα λαμβάνων, καὶ ἀναστὰς

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Thebes was not just besieged, but destroyed and enslaved by Alexander when it revolted from him in 335 BCE. Alexander died in Babylon in 323 BCE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Eumenes (Berve i #317) was probably the secretary (*grammateus*) first of Alexander's father Philip, and then of Alexander himself. Diodotus (Berve i #272) is otherwise unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Bias is a braggart soldier, and Strouthias is the eponymous flatterer. The first two verses are quoted also at 11.477f.

#### BOOK X

thereafter, Proteas asked for the same cup, and again drained it and toasted the king. Alexander took the cup and made a concerted effort to empty it, but could not manage the feat, and instead collapsed on his pillow and let the cup slip from his hands. He fell sick and died as a consequence, says Ephippus, because Dionysus was angry at him, since he besieged the god's native city of Thebes. He keander used to drink heavily, to the extent that he sometimes got so drunk that he slept for two days and nights straight. This is revealed in his *Journals* (*FGrH* 117 F 2b), which were composed by Eumenes of Cardia (*FGrH* 117 T 1) and Diodotus of Erythrae. Menander says in *The Flatterer* (*Kolax* fr. 2 Sandbach): He

(Bias) In Cappadocia, Strouthias, I drained a gold cup that held ten ladles— I did it three times, and it was full! (Strouthias) You've drunk more than King Alexander! (Bias) Certainly no less, by Athena! (Strouthias) That's a lot!

Nicoboule<sup>97</sup>—or whoever assigned her treatises to her—claims (FGrH 127 T 1, F 1) that when Alexander was having dinner with Medeius of Thessaly,<sup>98</sup> he drank a toast to everyone in the party. There were 20 of them, and they all

<sup>97</sup> Presumably a famous courtesan known to have associated with Alexander, and who could therefore be presented as an eyewitness of his final hours. Athenaeus cites the same treatise again at 12.537d.

<sup>98</sup> Medeius (or Medius) of Larissa (Berve i #521) was another member of Alexander's inner circle, and the party referred to is the one (also mentioned above) after which he fell sick and died.

<ἐκ> τοῦ συμποσίου μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀνεπαύετο. Καλλισθένης δὲ ὁ σοφιστής, ὡς Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιός φησιν d έν τοις 'Απομνημονεύμασι | και 'Αριστόβουλος και Χάρης ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις, ἐν τῷ συμποσίω τοῦ Αλεξάνδρου της του άκράτου κύλικος είς αὐτὸν έλθούσης ώς διωθείτο, εἰπόντος τέ τινος αὐτῷ, "διὰ τί οὐ πίνεις;", "οὐδὲν δέομαι", ἔφη, "Αλεξάνδρου πιὼν τοῦ ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι." Δαρεῖος δὲ ὁ τοὺς μάγους άνελων επιγεγραμμένον είχεν έπι του μνήματος. ήδυνάμην καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολύν καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλώς. Κτησίας δὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φησιν οὐκ εἶναι τῶ e βασιλεί μεθυσθήναι Ιπαρά δὲ Πέρσαις τῶ βασιλεί ἐφίεται μεθύσκεσθαι μιᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ἡ θύουσι τῷ Μίθρη. γράφει δὲ οὔτως περὶ τούτου Δοῦρις ἐν τῆ έβδόμη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐν μόνη τῶν ἑορτῶν τῶν ἀγομένων ύπο Περσών τω Μίθρη βασιλεύς μεθύσκεται καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὀρχείται τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπέχονται κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην της όρχησεως. Πέρσαι γαρ ώσπερ ιππεύειν ούτω καὶ ὀρχείσθαι μανθάνουσι καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν Ι της έργασίας ταύτης κίνησιν έμμελη τινα λαμβάνειν γυμνασίαν της τοῦ σώματος ρώμης. εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ Αλέξανδρος ἐμέθυεν, ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνδς έν Ίστορικοῖς Υπομνήμασιν, ως καὶ ἐπὶ ὄνων . ἄρματος κωμάζειν· ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο, φησί, καὶ οἱ τῶν

101 The god of medicine (as opposed to the supposedly divine Alexander).

<sup>99</sup> Or perhaps "died". 100 Callisthenes of Olynthus (Berve i #408) was a companion of Alexander from the beginning of his campaigns, but the outspokenness and lack of social grace evident in this anecdote eventually led to his downfall.

responded in the same way; shortly thereafter he left the party and fell asleep.99 According to Lynceus of Samos in his Memoirs (fr. 34 Dalby) and Aristobulus (FGrH 139 F 32) and Chares (FGrH 125 F 13) in their Histories, when the cup of unmixed wine came to the sophist Callisthenes<sup>100</sup> (FGrH 124 T 12) at a drinking party given by Alexander, and he tried to refuse it, someone said to him, "Why aren't you drinking?" He responded: "I've got no desire, when I'm drinking Alexander's wine, to need Asclepius'101 assistance instead." The Darius who put the Magi to death<sup>102</sup> had inscribed on his tomb: "I was able to drink lots of wine and handle it well." Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 50) says that in India the king is not allowed to get drunk, whereas in Persia the king is allowed to get drunk on only one day, when they sacrifice to Mithra. Duris writes as follows about this topic in Book VII of his History (FGrH 76 F 5): At only one of the festivals the Persians celebrate, that in honor of Mithra, does the king get drunk and perform the Persian dance. 103 No one else in Asia does this: instead. they all avoid dancing on that day. For the Persians learn to dance in the same way they learn to ride horses, 104 and they believe that the movement this activity involves includes exercise that promotes physical strength. According to Carystius of Pergamum in the Historical Commentary (fr. 4, FHG iv.357), Alexander used to get so drunk, that he traveled on a donkey-cart when he went revelling; the Per-

 $<sup>^{102}</sup>$  Darius I of Persia (reigned 522/1–486 BCE); implicitly distinguished here from Darius III, whom Alexander overthrew.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. 1.16a (quoting Xenophon); 14.629d.

<sup>104</sup> I.e. as a fundamental part of their education; cf. Hdt. 1.136.2.

Περσῶν βασιλεῖς. μήποτ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ άφροδίσια είχεν δρμήν έξυδαροῦσθαι γάρ φησιν δ Αριστοτέλης έν τοις Φυσικοίς Προβλήμασι των τοι-Θεόφραστόν φησι λέγειν ὅτι ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ εὖ διέκειτο πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια. 'Ολυμπιάδος γοῦν καὶ παρανακλινάσης αυτώ Καλλιξείναν την Θετταλην έταίραν περικαλλεστάτην οὖσαν, συνειδότος τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου (εὐλαβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ γύννις εἴη), πολλάκις ήτει αὐτή τὸν Αλέξανδρον συγγενέσθαι, καὶ Φίλιππος δ' ὁ τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου πατηρ φιλοπότης ην, ώς ίστορεί Θεόπομπος έν τη έκτη καὶ εἰκοστή τῶν Ίστοριῶν, κάν ἄλλω δὲ μέρει τῆς Ἱστορίας | γράφει Φίλιππος ἦν τὰ μὲν φύσει μανικὸς καὶ προπετὴς ἐπὶ τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ διὰ μέθην ἦν γὰρ πολυπότης καὶ πολλάκις μεθύων έξεβοήθει. έν δὲ τῶ τρίτη καὶ πεντηκοστή περί των έν Χαιρωνεία γενομένων είπων καί ώς έπὶ δείπνον ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παραγενομένους τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων πρέσβεις φησίν ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἀποχωρησάντων έκείνων εὐθέως μετεπέμπετό τινας τῶν ἐταίρων, καλείν δ' έκέλευε τὰς αὐλητρίδας καὶ Αριστόνικον τὸν κιθαρωδον καὶ Δωρίωνα τον αὐλητὴν | καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς εἰθισμένους αὐτῷ συμπίνειν περιήγετο γὰρ πανταχοῦ τοὺς τοιούτους ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ κατασκευασάμενος ην όργανα πολλά συμποσίου καὶ συνουσίας. ών ναρ φιλοπότης και τον τρόπον ακόλαστος και βωμο-

435

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$  Berve i #406 (otherwise unknown). Olympias (Berve i #581) was Alexander's mother.

<sup>106</sup> Where Philip crushed Athens and Thebes in 338 BCE.

<sup>107</sup> Berve i #132; Stephanis #367.

sian kings, he claims, did the same. This may be why Alexander had no sex-drive; because Aristotle in his Physical Problems (872b20-5) reports that the semen of men who behave this way becomes watery. So too Hieronymus in his Letters (fr. 38 Wehrli) says that Theophrastus (fr. 578 Fortenbaugh) claims that Alexander was impotent. Olympias, at any rate, had the Thessalian courtesan Callixeina, 105 who was extremely beautiful, lie down beside him—Philip was also aware of what was going on—since they were worried that he was a pansy; and she frequently begged Alexander to have sex with the girl. Alexander's father Philip also liked to drink, according to Theopompus in Book XXVI of his History (FGrH 115 F 163). So too in another part of his History he writes (FGrH 115 F 282): Philip was manic and prone to rushing head-long into danger, in part because this was his nature, but in part because of his heavy drinking; for he consumed large amounts of wine and often went into battle drunk. And in Book LIII (FGrH 115 F 236), after describing what happened at Chaeronea<sup>106</sup> and how Philip invited the Athenian ambassadors who came to see him to dinner, he says: As soon as they were gone. Philip summoned some of the members of his inner circle, and told them to fetch the pipe-girls, Aristonicus the citharode, 107 Dorion the pipe-player, 108 and the others who routinely drank with him; for Philip took people like this around with him everywhere, and had plenty of equipment ready for drinking parties and festivities. Because since he liked to drink and was personally

108 Stephanis #805; presumably to be identified with the Dorion about whom numerous anecdotes are preserved at 8.337b-8b.

λόχους εἶχε περὶ αύτὸν συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ὄντων καὶ τῶν τὰ γέλοια λεγόντων. πιὼν δὲ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν καὶ μεθυσθεὶς πολὺ καὶ ἀφεὶς ιο ἄπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἤδη πρὸς ἡμέ-d ραν ἐκώμαζεν ὡς τοὺς πρέσβεις ι τοὺς τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων. Καρύστιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, ὅτε, φησί, μεθύειν προῃρεῖτο Φίλιππος, τοῦτ᾽ ἔλεγε· "χρὴ πίνειν ᾿Αντίπατρος γὰρ ἱκανός ἐστι νήφων." κυβεύοντος δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ καί τινος ἀγγείλαντος ὡς ᾿Αντίπατρος πάρεστι, διαπορήσας ὧσεν ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην τὸν ἄβακα.

Φιλοπότας δὲ καὶ μεθύσους καταλέγει Θεόπομπος Διονύσιον τὸν νεώτερον, Σικελίας τύραννον, ὂν καὶ τὰς δψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου διαφθαρῆναι. ᾿Αριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῆ Συρακοσίων Πολιτεία | καὶ συνεχῶς φησιν αὐτὸν ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα μεθύειν· διὸ καὶ ἀμβλυωπότερον γενέσθαι τὰς ὅψεις. Θεόφραστος δέ φησι καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ κολακεύοντας τὴν τυραννίδα προσποιεῖσθαι μήτε τὰ παρατιθέμενα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων μήτε τὰς κύλικας ὁρῶν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διονυσίου χειραγωγεῖσθαι· Ποιὸ κληθῆναι Διονυσιοκόλακας. ἔπινε δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ Νυσαῖος ὁ τυραννήσας Συρακοσίων καὶ ᾿Απολλοκράτης· Διονυσίου δὲ

10 καὶ πατάξας ἀφεὶς Α: καὶ παίξας ἀφεὶς CE: πατάξας/ παίξας del. Olson

11 προσποιείσθαι μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διονυσίου χειραγωγεῖσθαι καὶ μήτε τὰ παρατιθέμενα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων μήτε τὰς κύλικας ὁρᾶν ΑCE undisciplined, he was surrounded by large numbers of smart-asses, musicians, and comedians. After he drank all night and became extremely intoxicated, he let everyone else leave and now, as day was breaking, wandered off drunk to visit the Athenian ambassadors. Carystius says in his Historical Commentaries (fr. 3, FHG iv.357): When Philip decided to get drunk, he used to say the following: "We need to start drinking; because if Antipater's 109 sober, that's enough." On one occasion, when he was shooting dice and someone announced that Antipater had arrived, he had no idea what to do and shoved the board he was using to keep score under his couch.

Theopompus (FGrH 115 F 283a) includes in his list of people who liked to drink wine and get drunk the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Younger, 110 whose vision was damaged by the wine, 111 Aristotle in his Constitution of the Syracusans (fr. 605.1) claims that Dionysius was sometimes drunk for 90 days straight, which is why his vision deteriorated. Theophrastus (fr. 548 Fortenbaugh) says that the members of his inner circle, as a way of flattering his power, pretended to be unable to see the food they were served or the cups, and that Dionysius himself directed them to them; they were accordingly referred to as "Dionysius-flatterers". 112 The Syracusan tyrant Nysaeus

also drank a great deal, as did Apollocrates; they were sons

 $<sup>^{109}</sup>$  Antipater (Berve i #94) was one of Philip's senior advisors and later served as Alexander's regent in Greece.

<sup>110</sup> Reigned 367-357 BCE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Cf. Ael. VH 6.12. A condensed version of what follows (to 10.440b) is preserved at Ael. VH 2.41.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. 6.249e-f (drawing on Hegesander) with n.

f τοῦ Ι προτέρου οὖτοι νίοί, ώς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῆ τεσσαρακοστῆ κἀν τῆ έξης τῶν Ἱστοριῶν. γράφει δὲ οὕτως περὶ τοῦ Νυσαίου Νυσαίος ὁ τυραννήσας ύστερον Συρακοσίων ωσπερ έπὶ θανάτω συνειλημμένος καὶ προειδώς ὅτι μῆνας ὁλίγους ἤμελλε ἐπιβιώσεσθαι γαστριζόμενος καὶ μεθύων διηγέν. ἐν δὲ τη τριακοστή ένάτη φησίν Απολλοκράτης δ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου υίὸς ἀκόλαστος || ἦν καὶ φιλοπότης καὶ των κολακευόντων τινές αυτον παρεσκεύαζον ως ένι μάλιστα άλλοτριώτατα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διακείσθαι. καὶ Ἱππαρῖνον δὲ τὸν Διονυσίου φησὶν ὑπὸ μέθης τυραννοῦντα ἀποσφαγήναι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Νυσαίου καὶ τάδε γράφει Νυσαίος ὁ Διονυσίου τοῦ προτέρου υίδς κύριος τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενος πραγμάτων κατεσκευάσατο τέθριππον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ποικίλην ἀνέλαβεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀψοφαγίαν καὶ τὴν οἰνοφλυγίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν | παίδων καὶ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα συντελή τούτοις πέφυκε καὶ τὴν δίαιταν διῆγεν οὕτως, ἐν δὲ τῆ τεσσαρακοστή πέμπτη ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ Τιμολάου λέγων τοῦ Θηβαίου φησίν· οὐκ ὀλίγων γὰρ ἤδη γενομένων ἀσελγῶν περὶ τὸν βίον τὸν καθ ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς πότους οὐδένα νομίζω των έν ταις πολιτείαις ὄντων οὔτ' ἀκρατέστερον οὖτε λιχνότερον οὖτε δοῦλον γεγονέναι μᾶλλον τῶν ἡδονῶν, εἰ μή, ὥσπερ εἶπον, Τιμόλαον. ἐν δὲ τῆ τρίτη καὶ εἰκοστῆ περὶ Χαριδήμου τοῦ 'Ωρείτου | διηγούμενος, δυ 'Αθηναΐοι πολίτην έποι-

<sup>113</sup> Dionysius I was tyrant of Syracuse from the end of the 5th century BCE until his death in 367. Hipparinus (who ruled Syracuse for several years beginning in 353) and Nysaeus (who took over power after Hipparinus' assassination) were half-brothers of

of Dionysius I,113 according to Theopompus in Books XL and XLI of his History. He writes as follows about Nysaeus (FGrH 115 F 188): Nysaeus, who later became tyrant of Syracuse, acted as if he had been arrested on a capital charge and knew beforehand that he had only a few months to live, and spent his time gorging himself and getting drunk. And in Book XXXIX he says (FGrH 115 F 185): Apollocrates, the son of the tyrant Dionysius, was out of control and liked to drink; some of his flatterers tried to make him as hostile as possible to his father. He also reports (FGrH 115 F 186) that Dionysius' son Hipparinus was murdered because he ran the city drunk. And as for Nysaeus, he writes the following (FCrH 115 F 187): After Nysaeus, the son of Dionysius I, took political control of Syracuse, he got a four-horse chariot for himself, adopted elaborately embroidered clothing, along with gluttony, wine-guzzling, sexual abuse of boys and women, and everything else that goes along with such behavior, and spent his time that way. In Book XLV (FGrH 115 F 210) the same author, in his discussion of Timolaus of Thebes, 114 says: For although there had already up to this point been quite a few individuals who showed no restraint in their day-today life and their drinking, in my opinion no one who exercised political power ever showed less self-control, or was more of a glutton or more enslaved to pleasure than, as I said, Timolaus. And in Book XXIII (FGrH 115 F 143), in his description of Charidemus of Oreus, whom the Athe-

Dionysius II, while Apollocrates was actually the son of Dionysius II rather than of Dionysius I.

114 Timolaus was a (most likely pro-Macedonian) Theban general who was somehow held responsible for the disastrous revolt of 335 BCE.

ήσαντο, φησίν· τήν τε γὰρ δίαιταν έωρᾶτο τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀσελγῆ καὶ τοιαύτην ποιούμενος ὤστε πίνειν καὶ μεθύειν αἰεί, καὶ γυναίκας ἐλευθέρας ἐτόλμα διαφθείρειν· καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθεν ἀκρασίας ὤστε μειράκιόν τι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τῶν 'Ολυνθίων αἰτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὁ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν ἦν εὐειδὲς καὶ χάριεν, ἐτύγχανε δὲ μετὰ Δέρδου τοῦ Μακεδόνος αἰχμάλωτον γεγενημένον. ἔπινε δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ ἀ Αρκαδίων (ἄδηλον δ' | εἰ ὁ Φιλίππφ διεχθρεύσας), ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ ὅπερ ἀνέγραψε Πολέμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ Πόλεις Ἐπιγραμμάτων·

τοῦ πολυκώθωνος τοῦτ' ἠρίον 'Αρκαδίωνος ἄστεος ὤρθωσαν τῆδε παρ' ἀτραπιτῷ υίῆες Δόρκων καὶ Χαρμύλος. ἔφθιτο δ' ὧνήρ, ὤνθρωφ', ἐκ χανδὸν ζωροποτῶν κύλικας.

Έρασίξενον δέ τινα πεπωκέναι πλείστόν φησι τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα:

ου βαθυν οινοπότην Ἐρασίξενον ή δὶς ἐφεξῆς Ι ἀκρήτου φανερῶς ἄχετ' ἔχουσα κύλιξ.

ἔπινε δὲ πλείστον καὶ ᾿Αλκέτας ὁ Μακεδών, ὥς φησιν

<sup>12</sup> Callimachus probably wrote  $\tau \delta \nu$  (thus the corrrector to the Palatine Anthology, followed by Gow–Page).

116 Derdas was a member of the royal house of Elimeia, and

<sup>115</sup> Charidemus of Oreus (Berve i #823), a city on the island of Euboea, was a mercenary commander; the grant of Athenian citizenship came most likely in 357/6 BCE (D. 23.65, etc.), but is perhaps to be dated to the mid-360s instead.

nians made a citizen, <sup>115</sup> he says: Because he openly led a depraved existence, to the extent that he was constantly drinking and in a stupor, and he went so far as to seduce free women. He became so reckless that he attempted to ask the Olynthian city council for a boy who was goodlooking and graceful, and who had happened to be taken prisoner along with Derdas of Macedon. <sup>116</sup> Arcadion as well drank large amounts—it is unclear if this is Philip's bitter enemy<sup>117</sup>—as the epigram (anon. FGE 1624–7) copied by Polemon in his On Epigrams by City (fr. 79 Preller) makes clear:

This tomb, which belongs to Arcadion of the many cups,

was erected here beside the path that leads to the city

by his sons Dorcon and Charmylus. The man died, sir, by gulping down six cups of strong wine.

A certain Erasixenus drank a lot, according to his epigram (Call.  $HE\ 1325-6=AP\ 7.454$ ):<sup>118</sup>

Because Erasixenus was not a serious drinker, two cups

in a row of unmixed wine patently carried him off.

Alcetas of Macedon<sup>119</sup> also drank large amounts, according

fought for Philip II of Macedon in his war with Olynthus in 349–348 BCE. 117 Arcadion of Achaea; cf. 6.249c–d.

118 Athenaeus' version of the text is substantially different

from that preserved elsewhere.

 $^{119}$  A late 6th-century BCE king of Macedon (father of Amyntas I).

"Αριστος δ Σαλαμίνιος, καὶ Διότιμος δ Αθηναίος. οδτος δε καὶ Χώνη ἐπεκαλεῖτο ἐντιθέμενος γὰρ τῷ στόματι χώνην ἀπαύστως ἔπινεν ἐπιχεομένου οἴνου, όθεν καὶ Χώνη ἐπεκλήθη, ὥς φησι Πολέμων. Κλεομένης δε ο Λακεδαιμόνιος ότι καὶ ἀκρατοπότης ήν προείρηται ὅτι δὲ διὰ μέθην ἐαυτὸν καὶ μαχαίρα κατέτεμεν Ἡρόδοτος | ἱστόρησε. καὶ Ἁλκαῖος δ' ὁ ποιητής φιλοπότης ήν, ώς προείπον. Βάτων δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ "Ιωνος τοῦ Ποιπτοῦ φιλοπότην φησὶ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐρωτικώτατον τὸν Ἰωνα, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοις Ἐλεγείοις ἐρᾶν μὲν ὁμολογεί Χρυσίλλης τῆς Κορινθίας, Τελέου δὲ θυγατρός ῆς καὶ Περικλέα τὸν 'Ολύμπιον ἐρᾶν φησι Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἡσιόδοις. Εέναρχος δ' ὁ 'Ρόδιος διὰ τὴν πολυποσίαν Μετρητὴς έπεκαλείτο μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Εὐφορίων ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν Χιλιάσι. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μυτιληναίος ἐν ταίς Περὶ Αλέξανδρον Ίστορίαις περί Καλάνου | είπων τοῦ 437 Ίνδοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὅτι ρίψας ἐαυτὸν εἰς πυρὰν νενημένην ἀπέθανε, φησὶν ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ διέθηκεν 'Αλέξανδρος γυμνικόν άγωνα καὶ μουσικόν έγκωμίων. έθηκε δέ, φησί, καὶ διὰ τὴν φιλοινίαν τῶν Ίνδων καὶ ἀκρατοποσίας ἀγωνα, καὶ ἦν ἆθλον τω μὲν πρώτω τάλαντον, τῷ δὲ δευτέρω τριάκοντα μναῖ καὶ τῷ τρίτω δέκα. τῶν οὖν πιόντων τὸν οἶνον παραχρῆμα μὲν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> PAA 365385; unidentified, but since the other men referred to in this section of Athenaeus were all prominent generals or politicians, most likely he was as well (cf. PAA 365395, 365850, 365865).
<sup>121</sup> Cf. the modern "beer-bong".

<sup>122</sup> The comic poets referred to the late 5th-century BCE Athenian statesman Pericles (*PAA* 772645) as "Olympian" because of the enormous power he exercised; cf. Ar. Ach. 530 with Olson ad loc.

to Aristus of Salamis (FGrH 143 F 3), as did Diotimus of Athens. 120 The latter was nicknamed Funnel: because he would put a funnel in his mouth and drink non-stop as wine was poured into it, 121 as a consequence of which he was nicknamed Funnel, according to Polemon (fr. 79 Preller, continued). That Cleomenes of Sparta drank unmixed wine was noted earlier (10.427b); Herodotus (6.75) claimed that his drunkenness led to him castrating himself. The poet Alcaeus also liked to drink, as I noted earlier (10.429a, 430a-d). Bato of Sinope in his On the Poet Ion (FGrH 268 F 6) claims that Ion liked to drink and was very interested in sex. Ion himself in his Elegies (fr. 31 West<sup>2</sup>) admits to being in love with Chrysilla of Corinth, the daughter of Teleus; according to Teleclides in Hesiods (fr. 18), Olympian Pericles<sup>122</sup> was also in love with her. Xenarchus of Rhodes was nicknamed Amphora because he drank so much; the epic poet Euphorion mentions him in the Chiliads (fr. 49, p. 39 Powell). Chares of Mytilene in his History Involving Alexander (FGrH 125 F 19), after describing how the Indian philosopher Calanus threw himself onto a heaped-up pyre and died, says that Alexander held athletic competitions and a musical contest in the singing of praise-songs at his tomb. 123 Because the Indians love wine, he claims, he also held a contest in drinking it unmixed; first prize was a talent, second prize was 30 minas, 124 and third prize was 10. 35 of those who drank the

 $<sup>^{123}</sup>$  A much fuller version of the anecdote is preserved at Plu. Alex. 69.3–70.1. Calanus (Berve i #396) died near Susa in 324 BCE.  $^{124}$  I.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  talent.

έτελεύτησαν ύπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. μικρον δε διαλιπόντες έν ταις σκηναις έξ. ο δε b πλείστον πιων καὶ | νικήσας ἔπιε μεν ἀκράτου χοᾶς τέσσαρας καὶ τὸ τάλαντον ἔλαβεν, ἐπεβίωσε δὲ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας έκαλειτο δὲ Πρόμαχος. Τίμαιος δέ φησιν ώς Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος τῆ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῆ τῶ πρώτω έκπιόντι χοᾶ ἆθλον ἔθηκε στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ὅτι πρώτος ἐξέπιε Ξενοκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ λαβών τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον καὶ ἀναλύων τῶ Ἑρμῆ τῶ ίδρυμένω ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπέθηκεν, ῷπερ εἰώθει καὶ τοὺς ἀνθινοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἐπιτιθέναι στεφάνους ἐσπέρας άπαλλασσόμενος ώς αύτόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω ἐθαυμάσθη. ο την δε των Χοων εορτην την Αθήνησιν Ι έπιτελουμένην Φανόδημός φησι Δημοφώντα τὸν βασιλέα <...> βουλόμενον ὑποδέξασθαι παραγενόμενον τὸν 'Ορέστην 'Αθήναζε. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ θέλων αὐτὸν προσιέναι οὐδ' ὁμόσπονδον γενέσθαι μήπω δικασθέντα ἐκέλευσε συγκλεισθήναι τε τὰ ιερὰ καὶ γοὰ οίνου έκάστω παρατεθήναι, τώ πρώτω έκπιόντι είπων ἇθλον δοθήσεσθαι πλακούντα. παρήγγειλέ τε καὶ τοῦ πότου παυσαμένους τους μεν στεφάνους οις έστεφάνωντο πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ μὴ τιθέναι διὰ Ι τὸ ὁμορόφους γενέσθαι τῶ 'Ορέστη, περὶ δὲ τὸν χοᾶ τὸν ξαυτοῦ ἔκαστον περιθείναι και τη ιερεία αποφέρειν τους στεφάνους

<sup>125</sup> Berve i #660. 126 Dionysius II of Syracuse (as in all the anecdotes that follow), for whom cf. 10.435d n.

 $<sup>^{127}</sup>$  Xenocrates of Chalcedon, who became head of the Academy in 339 BCE and was famous for his  $s\bar{o}phrosun\bar{e}$ .

<sup>128</sup> Philodemus preserves a very similar anecdote (= Timae. FGrH 566 F 158b).

<sup>129</sup> Demophon (a son of Theseus) was an early king of Athens,

wine died on the spot from a chill, and another six did so after lingering briefly in their tents. The man who drank the most and took the prize consumed four pitchers of unmixed wine and was awarded the talent, and survived for four days; his name was Promachus. 125 Timaeus (FGrH 566 F 158a) reports that the tyrant Dionysius<sup>126</sup> set a gold garland as the prize for the first man to drain his pitcher at the Choes festival; the first person to finish his wine was the philosopher Xenocrates. 127 who took the gold garland and hung it on the herm located in front of his courtyard, on which he normally hung his garlands made of flowers when he came home in the evening. 128 People were astonished at this. As for the Choes festival celebrated in Athens, Phanodemus (FCrH 325 F 11) claims that King Demophon . . . because he wanted to entertain Orestes when he visited Athens. 129 Because Demophon was unwilling to allow Orestes to enter the temples or participate in any libations, since his trial had not yet been held, he ordered that all the temples were to be locked and that each man was to be served his own pitcher (chous) of wine, and announced that a cake would be awarded as a prize to the first person to finish his pitcher. He also announced that, after they finished drinking, they were not to dedicate the garlands they were wearing in the temples, given that they had been under the same roof as Orestes. Instead, they were to put their garlands around their individual pitchers and take them to the sanctuary in the Marshes for the

where Orestes came to be tried for the murder of Clytaemestra. The story that follows is an aetiological myth intended to explain some of the odd features of the Athenian version of the Choes festival.

πρὸς τὸ ἐν Λίμναις τέμενος, ἔπειτα θύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα. καὶ ἔκτοτε τὴν ἑορτὴν κληθῆναι Χοᾶς. τῇ δὲ ἐορτῆ τῶν Χοᾶν ἔθος ἐστὶν ᾿Αθήνησι πέμπεσθαι δῶρά τε καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τοῖς σοφισταῖς, οἴπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνεκάλουν ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὥς φησιν Εὐ-βουλίδης ὁ διαλεκτικὸς ἐν δράματι Κωμασταῖς οὔτως·

σοφιστιậς, κάκιστε, καὶ Χοῶν δέη † τῶν μισθοδώρων † οὐκ ἀδείπνων ἐν τρυφῆ †.

Άντίγονος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Διονυσίου Βίου τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου τοῦ Ἐπικληθέντος Μεταθεμένου φησὶ τὸν Διονύσιον τοῖς οἰκέταις συνεορτάζοντα ἐν τῆ τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῆ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ γῆρας χρῆσθαι ἢ παρειλήφεσαν ἐταίρᾳ ὑποστρέψαντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συνδειπνοῦντας·

< ... > οὐ δύναμαι τανύσαι, λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος.

ην δε δ Διονύσιος ετι εκ νέου, ως φησι Νικίας δ Νικαεὺς εν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς, πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια | f ἐκμανὴς καὶ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας εἰσήει παιδίσκας ἀδιαφόρως. καί ποτε πορευόμενος μετά τινων γνωρίμων ως ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ παιδισκεῖον, εἰς δ τῆ προτεραία παρεληλυθως ὤφειλε χαλκοῦς, ἔχων τότε κατὰ τύχην ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα πάντων ὁρώντων ἀπεδίδου. ἀνάχαρσις δ' ὁ Σκύθης παρὰ Περιάνδρω τεθέντος ἄθλου περὶ τοῦ πίνειν ἤτησε τὸ νικητήριον πρωτος

 $<sup>^{130}</sup>$  Because he left the Stoa to follow Epicurus; see 7.281d–e. He lived to be 80.

<sup>131</sup> Adapted from Od. 21.152.

priestess, and were then to carry out the rest of the ritual inside the temple. Ever since that time, the festival has been known as the Choes. It is the custom in Athens for presents to be sent to the sophists during the Choes festival, along with their wages. The sophists for their part used to invite their students to dinner, according to Eubulides the dialectician in his play *Revellers* (fr. 1), as follows:

You want to be a sophist, you bastard, and you're eager for the Choes,

when wages are given † not of dinnerless in luxury †.

Antigonus of Carystus in his On the Life of Dionysius of Heracleia, Nicknamed Deserter<sup>130</sup> (p. 126 Wilamowitz = fr. 41 Dorandi = Dion. Heracl. fr. 428, SVF i.94) says that when Dionysius was celebrating the Choes festival with the members of his household, and his advanced age prevented him from having sex with the prostitute they had invited to join them, he turned around and said to the men having dinner with him:

I am unable to make it taut; someone else can have her. 131

Even as a young man, according to Nicias of Nicaea in his Successions (FHG iv.464), Dionysius was crazy about sex and visited common prostitutes indiscriminately. At one point, he was walking along the street with some students and came to the brothel he had visited the previous day, where he owed a small sum of money; since he happened to have it with him then, he extended his hand and paid his debt in full view of everyone. Anacharsis the Scythian was visiting Periander, and when a drinking-contest was held, he tried to claim the prize on the ground that he

438 μεθυσθεὶς τῶν συμπαρόντων, ΙΙ ὡς ὅντος τέλους τούτου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ πότῷ νίκης ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ τρέχειν. Λακύδης δὲ καὶ Τίμων οἱ φιλόσοφοι κληθέντες πρός τινα τῶν γνωρίμων ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ βουλόμενοι συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔπινον προθυμότερον. τῆ μὲν οὖν πρώτη τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ Λακύδης ἀπήει πρότερος ἐπιπολάσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ποτοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα ἔφη·

ἢράμεθα μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν εκτορα δίον.

τῆ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προαπιόντος τοῦ Τίμωνος διὰ τὸ μὴ b δυνηθῆναι ἐκπιεῖν τὴν προποθεῖσαν αὐτῷ κύλικα | ὁ Λακύδης ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐπανάγοντα εἶπε·

δυστήνων δέ τε παίδες έμφ μένει άντιόωσιν.

Μυκερίνον δὲ τὸν Λἰγύπτιον ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεί διὰ τῆς δευτέρας ἀκούσαντα παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ὅτι ὀλιγοχρόνιός ἐστι, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλὰ ὁπότε γένοιτο νὺξ πίνειν καὶ εὐπαθείν οὕτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα· καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔλεα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλση νεμόμενον, ἔτι τε ὅπου πύθοιτο ἡβητήρια εἶναι μεθύσκεσθαι. καὶ Ἅμασιν δὲ τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Ἡρόδοτος πολλὰ πεπωκέναι φησίν. Ἑρμείας Ι δ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐν τρίτη Σικελικῶν φιλοπότην φησὶ γενέσθαι Νικοτέλη τὸν Κορίνθιον. Φαινίας δὲ ὁ Ἐρέ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Plu. Mor. 155f-6a preserves a slightly fuller version of a very similar anecdote. For Periander, see 10.427e n.

<sup>133</sup> Lacydes (PAA 601060) became head of the Academy in 241/0 BCE and died in 206/5. Timo of Phlius (also a resident of Athens; PAA 890905) died in 230 BCE.

<sup>134</sup> Reigned 2539/2489-2511/2451 BCE.

was the first person there who got drunk, as if this were the goal and a drinking-contest could be won in the same way a footrace is.<sup>132</sup> The philosophers Lacydes and Timo<sup>133</sup> were invited to the house of one of their pupils for two days, and since they wanted to fit in with the other guests, they drank aggressively. On the first day, Lacydes left before anyone else, since the wine upset his stomach, and when Timo saw him going out, he said (*Il*. 22.393):

We achieved great glory; we killed brilliant Hector.

The next day, Timo left before the others, because he was unable to finish the cup that was given to him as a toast, and when Lacydes saw him heading out, he said (*Il.* 6.127):

Wretched are those whose children confront my might!

Herodotus in Book II (133.4) reports that when Mycerinus of Egypt<sup>134</sup> heard from his seers that he was not going to live long, he surrounded himself with lamps when evening came, and drank and enjoyed himself constantly day and night; and he wandered around in the marshes, the woods, and anywhere he heard that parties (hēbētēria)<sup>135</sup> were going on, and got drunk. Herodotus (2.173.1, 174.1) also claims that Amasis, another king of Egypt, <sup>136</sup> drank large amounts. Hermeias of Methymna in Book III of the History of Sicily (FGrH 558 F 1) says that Nicoteles of Corinth<sup>137</sup> liked to drink. Phaenias of Eresus in his work

135 Cf. 10.425e with n. 136 Reigned 570-526 BCE.

<sup>137</sup> According to D.S. 14.10.3, Nicoteles of Corinth was one of the leaders of the Syracusan revolt again Dionysius I; he was killed in 404 BCE.

σιος έν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τυράννων 'Αναίρεσις ἐκ Τιμωρίας Σκόπαν φησὶ τὸν Κρέοντος μὲν υἰόν, Σκόπα δὲ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ὑιδοῦν φιλοποτοῦντα διατελέσαι καὶ την ἐπάνοδον την ἀπὸ των συμποσίων ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τεσσάρων βασταζόμενον ούτως οἴκαδε ἀπιέναι. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῆ ἔκτη τῶν 'Ιστοριῶν 'Αντίοχόν φησι τὸν βασιλέα φίλοινον γενόμενον | μεθύσκεσθαί τε καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ πλέον, εἶθ' έσπέρας πάλιν αφυπνιζόμενον έπιπίνειν. έχρημάτιζέ τε, φησί, νήφων μεν βραχέα τελέως, μεθύων δε τὰ πολλά. διὸ περὶ αὐτὸν δύο ἦσαν οἱ διοικοῦντες τὴν βασιλείαν, "Αριστος καὶ Θεμίσων, Κύπριοι μεν γένος καὶ ἀδελφοί, ἐρώμενοι δὲ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ Αντιόχου. πολυπότης δὲ ἦν καὶ Αντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ κληθεὶς Έπιφανής, ὁ ὁμηρεύσας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ὃν ἱστορεῖ Πτολεμαίος ὁ Εὐεργέτης ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων κάν τῶ πέμπτω | φάσκων αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἰνδικούς κώμους καὶ μέθας τραπέντα πολλά ἀναλίσκειν. καὶ τὰ περιλειπόμενα δὲ τῶν χρημάτων μεθ' ἡμέραν κωμάζων ότε μεν έξεχει, άλλοτε δε έν ταις δημοσίαις όδοις ιστάμενος έλεγε τίνι ή τύχη δίδωσι, λαβέτω" καὶ ρίψας τὸ ἀργύριον ἄχετο. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλεκτὸν στέφανον ρόδων έχων έπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ χρυσοϋφῆ τήβενναν φορών μόνος έρέμβετο λίθους ύπο μάλης έχων, οξς έβαλλε των ιδιωτών τους ακολουθούντας

<sup>138</sup> The Scopadae ruled the Thessalian city of Crannon in the 6th century BCE; cf. Pl. *Prt.* 339a-b (quoting a fragment of poetry attributed to Simonides).

<sup>139</sup> The location of this fragment in Book VI suggests that the Antiochus in question is Antiochus II (reigned 261–246 BCE).

entitled Revenge-Killings of Tyrants (fr. 14 Wehrli) says that Scopas, 138 who was the son of Creon and the grandson of the elder Scopas, enjoyed drinking throughout his life and used to return from parties seated on a litter and carried by four men, and that this is how he got home. Phylarchus in Book VI of his History (FGrH 81 F 6) claims that King Antiochus<sup>139</sup> liked wine, and that he got drunk and slept a lot, and then in the evening would wake up again and drink some more. Antiochus did not do much business at all sober, he says, but instead did most of it drunk. This is why he had two assistants who managed his kingdom, Aristus and Themison, 140 who were brothers from Cyprus and were both Antiochus' boyfriends. The King Antiochus known as Epiphanes, 141 who was held hostage in Rome, also drank large amounts; Ptolemy Euergetes discusses him in Books III and V of his Commentaries (FGrH 234 F 3) and reports that after he became interested in Indian parties and drinking-bouts, he began to spend large amounts of money. When he was wandering around drunk after the sun came up, he would sometimes dump the rest of his money on the ground, while at other times he would stand in the city streets and say: "Whoever chance gives it to can have it!" And then he would throw his money in the air and leave. He often wandered around alone, with a garland woven out of roses on his head and wearing a toga into which gold had been worked, and carrying stones under his arm, which he threw at the private citizens who trailed him. 142 He used to bathe in the public

<sup>141</sup> Antiochus IV (reigned 175-164 BCE).

 $<sup>^{142}</sup>$  Presumably waiting for the moment when he would abruptly empty his pockets.

αὐτῷ. ἐλούετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς κοινοὺς λουτρῶνας μύροις Ι άλειφόμενος, ὅτε καί ποτε συνιδών τις αὐτὸν ίδιώτης έφη, "μακάριος εἶ, ὧ βασιλεῦ πολυτελὲς όζεις." καὶ ὃς ἡσθείς, "ἐγώ σε", φησίν, "ὑπέρκορον τούτου ποιήσω." καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὑδρίσκην ύπερ δύο χοᾶς έχουσαν παχέος μύρου καταχυθήναι ἐκέλευσεν, ώς καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀγοραιοτέρων είς τὸ ἐκχυθὲν συγκυλισθήναι. ὀλίσθου τε γενομένου αὐτός τε ὁ Αντίοχος ἔπεσε καγχάζων καὶ οἱ πλείστοι των λουομένων τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπασχον. Η Πολύβιος δ' έν τη έκτη καὶ εἰκοστη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καλεῖ αὐτὸν Έπιμανη και οὐκ Ἐπιφανη διὰ τὰς πράξεις οὐ μόνον γαρ μετα δημοτών ανθρώπων κατέβαινεν είς δμιλίας. άλλα και μετά των παρεπιδημούντων ξένων των εύτελεστάτων13 συνέπινεν, εί δε και των νεωτέρων, φησί. αἴσθοιτό τινας συνευωχουμένους ὁπουδήποτε, παρῆν μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ . τὸ παράδοξον ἀνισταμένους φεύγειν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ την βασιλικην έσθητα Ι άποβαλών τήβενναν άναλαβων περιήει την άγοράν. έν δε τη πρώτη καὶ τριακοστή ὁ αὐτὸς Πολύβιός φησι συντελοῦντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ Αυτιοχεία αγώνας συγκαλέσαι πάντας Έλληνας καὶ των βουλομένων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. καὶ πλείστων παραγινομένων έν τοις γυμνασίοις, πάντας έκ χρυσῶν δλκείων ἤλειφε κροκίνω μύρω καὶ κινναμωμίνω καὶ ναρδίνω καὶ άμαρακίνω καὶ ἰρίνω, καὶ

13 καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων Α: καὶ μετὰ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων CE; cf. 5.193d μετὰ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων . . . τῶν εὐτελεστάτων

baths and cover himself with perfume, and on one occasion a private citizen saw him and said: "You're a lucky man, your majesty; you smell like money!" Antiochus was pleased and responded: "I'll fill you to the brim with this!", and ordered a pitcher that contained more than two choes of thick perfume to be dumped over the man's head, so that all the common people were able to roll around in the perfume that had been poured out. The floor became slippery, and Antiochus himself fell down laughing, as did most of those who were having a bath. 143 Polybius in Book XXVI (1<sup>a</sup>) of his *History*<sup>144</sup> refers to him as Epimanes ("the Madman") rather than Epiphanes ("God Apparent") because of his behavior; for not only did he associate with average people, but he drank with the least distinguished strangers who were visiting the country. And if he heard, says (Polybius), that some young men were having a feast somewhere, he showed up with a drinking-horn and a group of musicians, causing most of them to leap up in surprise and try to run away. He also frequently discarded his royal robes, put on a toga, and circulated through the marketplace. The same Polybius says in Book XXXI (Plb. 30.26) that when Antiochus held games in Antioch, he invited all the Greeks and many others who were interested to watch them. 145 Although there were large crowds in the competition sites, he covered them all with crocus-, cinnamon-, nard-, marioram-, and iris-perfumes drawn from

 <sup>143</sup> A different version of this anecdote is preserved at 5.194a c, where it (like the material below) is attributed to Polybius Book
 XXVI.
 144 Cf. 5.193c-e (a fuller version).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Material virtually identical to what follows is preserved at 5.194c, 195c-f.

συγκαλών αὐτοὺς εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν χίλια τρίκλινα, ποτέ δε χίλια πεντακόσια | συνεπλήρου μετά πολυτελεστάτης κατασκευής, και ὁ χειρισμὸς τής διακονίας δι αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο κατὰ γὰρ τὰς εἰσόδους έφιστάμενος οθς μεν είσηγεν, οθς δ' ανέκλινεν, καὶ τούς διακόνους δέ τούς τὰς παραθέσεις εἰσφέροντας αὐτὸς εἰσῆγε, καὶ περιπορευόμενος οδ μεν προσεκάθιζεν, οδ δε προσανέπιπτε, και ποτε μεν αποθέμενος μεταξύ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιήει τὸν πότον προπόσεις λαμβάνων όρθὸς ἄλλοτε | παρ' ἄλλοις, ἄμα δὲ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων εἰσεφέρετο όλος συγκεκαλυμμένος καὶ ἐτίθετο εἰς τὴν γῆν ὡς εἶς ὢν τῶν μίμων καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ὁ Βασιλεύς άναπηδήσας ώρχεῖτο καὶ προσέπαιζε τοῖς μίμοις, ὥστε πάντας αἰσχύνεσθαι. τοιαῦτα ἀπεργάζεται τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ή πρὸς τῆ μέθη ἀπαιδευσία. φιλοπότης δ' ήν καὶ ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ Αντίοχος, ὁ ἐν Μηδία πρὸς Αρσάκην πολεμήσας, ως ἱστορεί Ποσειδώνιος ὁ ᾿Απαμεὺς Ι ἐν τῆ ἐκκαιδεκάτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν. άναιρεθέντος γοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν Αρσάκην θάπτοντα αὐτὸν λέγειν "ἔσφηλέν σε ἀντίογε θάρσος καὶ μέθη ήλπιζες γάρ έν μεγάλοις ποτηρίοις την Αρσάκου βασιλείαν έκπιείν." Αντίοχος δε δ μέγας έπικαλούμενος, δυ 'Ρωμαΐοι καθείλον, ώς ίστορεί Πολύβιος έν τη είκοστη, παρελθών είς Χαλκίδα της Ευβοίας συνετέλει γάμους, πεντήκοντα μεν έτη γεγονώς καὶ δύο τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀνειληφώς, τήν τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Antiochus VII Sidetes; he invaded Media in 130 BCE, and was killed there in 129. Arsaces is the dynastic name of the Parthian king Phraates II; cf. 4.153a n.

gold bowls. He also invited them to feasts, on one occasion filling 1000 banqueting-rooms with extremely expensive fixtures, on another 1500. In addition, he supervised all the serving himself: he stood at the entrance, and guided some people in and settled others in their couches; he personally led the servants who brought the food into the room; and he circulated around, sitting next to someone here and lying down next to someone else there. And sometimes he would put down a bit of food when he was halfway done with it, or a cup, and would leap up and change his position, or make his way around the party, standing beside various people and accepting toasts, while simultaneously participating in the entertainment. He was in fact carried in by the mimes, entirely wrapped up, and set on the ground as if he were one of them; and when the musicians gave a signal, the king leapt up and began to dance and act along with the mimes, which embarrassed everyone. This is what unsophisticated drunken behavior does to its unfortunate victims. The Antiochus who shared his name, 146 and who fought a war against Arsaces in Media, also liked to drink, according to Posidonius of Apameia in Book XVI of his History (FGrH 87 F 11 = fr. 63 Edelstein-Kidd). After he was killed, therefore, Arsaces said as he was burying him: "Your boldness and your drunkenness tripped you up, Antiochus; because you thought you were going to swallow up Arsaces' kingdom in large cups." According to Polybius in Book XX (8), after Antiochus (nicknamed the Great; this is the man the Romans overthrew)147 arrived in Euboean Chalcis, he got married; he was 50 years old and had already undertaken his two greatest tasks, the liberation of

<sup>147</sup> Reigned 222-187 BCE.

f έλευθέρωσιν, ώς αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ τὸν Ιπρὸς 'Ρωμαίους πόλεμον. έρασθείς οὖν παρθένου Χαλκιδικής κατά τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν ἐφιλοτιμήσατο γημαι αὐτήν, οἰνοπότης ὢν καὶ μέθαις χαίρων ἦν δ' αύτη Κλεοπτολέμου μεν θυγάτης ένδς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, κάλλει δὲ πάσας ὑπερβάλλουσα, καὶ τοὺς γάμους συντελών έν τη Χαλκίδι αὐτόθι διέτριψε τὸν χειμώνα, των ένεστωτων οὐδ' ήντινοῦν ποιούμενος πρόνοιαν έθετο δὲ καὶ τῆ παιδὶ ὄνομα Εὔβοιαν. ἡττηθεὶς οὖν τῷ πολέμω ἔφυγεν εἰς εἰς Εφεσον μετὰ τῆς νεογάμου. ἐν δὲ τη δευτέρα ὁ αὐτὸς Πολύβιος ἱστορεῖ ΙΙ "Αγρωνα τὸν Ἰλλυριών βασιλέα ήσθέντα έπὶ τῷ νενικηκέναι τοὺς μέγα φρονούντας Αίτωλούς πολυπότην όντα καὶ είς μέθας καὶ εὐωχίας τραπέντα πλευρίτιδι ληφθέντα άποθανείν. ἐν δὲ τὴ ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκοστὴ ὁ αὐτὸς Γενθίωνά φησι τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν πολυποσίαν πολλά ποιείν ἀσελγη κατά τὸν βίον, νύκτωρ τε αἰεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μεθύοντα. ἀποκτείναντα δὲ καὶ Πλεύρατον τὸν ἀδελφὸν γαμεῖν μέλλοντα τὴν Μονουνίου θυγατέρα αὐτὸν γημαι την παίδα καὶ ώμῶς χρησθαί Ι τοις άρχομένοις, και Δημήτριον δέ φησι τον έκ της 'Ρώμης την όμηρείαν διαφυγόντα έν τη τρίτη καὶ τριακοστή βασιλεύσαντα Σύρων πολυπότην όντα τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας μεθύσκεσθαι. 'Οροφέρνην τε ολίγον χρόνον Καππαδοκίας βασιλεύσαντα καὶ παριδόντα τὰς πατρίους ἀγωγάς φησιν ἐν τῆ τριακοστή δευτέρα είσαγαγείν την Ίακην καὶ τεχνιτικὴν ἀσωτίαν.

<sup>148</sup> In autumn 231 BCE. 149 c.181 BCE; Genthius' brother was in fact probably named Plator rather than Pleuratus.

<sup>150</sup> Demetrius I Soter of Syria (reigned 161-151/0 BCE).

the Greeks, as he himself referred to it, and his war against the Romans. He fell in love, then, with a young Chalcidian woman while this war was still going on, and became fixated on marrying her, even though he was a wine-drinker who liked to get drunk. She was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, who belonged to the upper class, and was the most beautiful woman in the city. He spent the winter there in Chalcis in order to complete the marriage, paying no attention whatsoever to larger developments; he referred to the girl as Euboea. After he lost the war, then, he escaped to Ephesus with his new bride. In Book II (4.6) the same Polybius reports that the Illyrian king Agron, who was delighted to have defeated the proud Aetolians, but who consumed large amounts of wine and spent his time at drinking parties and feasts, caught pneumonia and died. 148 In Book XXIX (13) the same author claims that the Illyrian king Genthion drank so much that he engaged in a great deal of ugly behavior throughout his life and was constantly intoxicated day and night. After he killed his brother Pleuratus. 149 who was about to marry Monounius' daughter, he married the girl himself and treated his subjects cruelly. In Book XXXIII (19) Polybius says that Demetrius, who escaped when he was being held hostage in Rome and became king of Syria, 150 drank large amounts and spent most of the day intoxicated. And in Book XXXII (11.10) he claims that Orophernes, who was briefly king of Cappadocia<sup>151</sup> and rejected the traditional local customs, introduced the elaborate Ionian style of debauchery. 152

 $<sup>^{151}</sup>$  c.160-c.155 BCE.

 $<sup>^{152}</sup>$  For the Ionians' alleged addiction to luxury, see 12.523e–4c, 524f–5e.

Διόπερ ὁ θειότατος Πλάτων καλῶς νομοθετεῖ ἐν τῷ δευτέρω τοὺς παίδας μέχρι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ παράπαν οίνου μη γεύεσθαι ού γαρ χρη πυρ έπι πυρ ς όχετεύειν, οίνου δε μετρίου γεύεσθαι | μέχρι τριάκοντα έτων, μέθης δὲ καὶ πολυοινίας τὸ παράπαν τὸν νέον ἀπέχεσθαι. τετταράκοντα δὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα ἐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις εὐωχηθέντα καλείν τούς τε άλλους θεούς καὶ δὴ (καὶ) Διόνυσον παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτών τελετην άμα καὶ παιδιάν, ην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπίκουρον τῆς τοῦ γήρως αὐστηρότητος ἐδωρήσατο τὸν οἶνον<sup>15</sup> φάρμακον, ὥστε ἀνηβᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ δυσθυμίας λήθην γίγνεσθαι, καὶ έξης δέ φησι λόγος | καὶ φήμη ὑπορρεῖ, ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὖτος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρυιᾶς "Ηρας διεφορήθη της ψυχής την γνώμην διὸ τάς τε Βακχείας καὶ τὴν μανικὴν πᾶσαν ἐμβάλλει χορείαν τιμωρούμενος, όθεν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεδώρηται.

Φάλαικος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασι γυναῖκά τινα ἀναγράφει πολυπότιν Κλεὼ ὄνομα

χρυσωτὸν κροκόεντα περιζώσασα χιτῶνα τόνδε Διωνύσω δῶρον ἔδωκε Κλεω οὖνεκα συμποσίοισι μετέπρεπεν, ἶσα δὲ πίνειν Ι οὖτις οἱ ἀνθρώπων ἤρισεν οὐδαμά πω.

ότι δε φίλοινον το των γυναικών γένος κοινόν. ούκ

14 added from the traditional text of Plato

 $^{15} \tau \dot{o} \nu \ o \bar{i} \nu o \nu$  (omitted in my translation) is also preserved in the traditional text of Plato, but is difficult to incorporate into the syntax of the sentence and most likely represents a misguided superlinear note that made its way into the text.

e

This is why the wonderful Plato in Book II (Lg. 666a-b, condensed and adapted) is right to make it a law that boys are not even to taste wine until they are 18 years old; for there is no reason to add fire to fire. 153 A young man may consume a limited amount of wine up to the age of 30, but should completely avoid becoming intoxicated or drinking large quantities. Once a man reaches age 40, he may invoke the gods after he dines in the common mess, and in particular may summon Dionysus to the rite celebrated by the elders and to the good times they have; Dionysus granted this to human beings as a drug to help us deal with the bitterness of old age, allowing us to recover our youth and forget our discouragement. And immediately after this he says (Lg. 672b): A legend and a rumor circulate quietly, to the effect that this god's sanity was stripped from him by his stepmother Hera. This is why, when he punishes people, he forces them to act like bacchants and to engage in wild dancing of all kinds; he has accordingly given us wine for this very purpose.

Phalaecus in his Epigrams (HE 2935-8) describes a

woman named Cleo who drinks large amounts:

After she wrapped this gold-spangled, saffron-colored tunic about

herself, Cleo offered it as a gift to Dionysus because she stood out at drinking parties, and no one ever

came close to consuming as much wine as she did.

That women like wine is a commonplace. Xenarchus in his

153 I.e. "to bring coals to Newcastle".

άχαρίτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ξέναρχος ἐν τῷ Πεντάθλῳ γυναῖκά τινα παράγει φρικτότατον ὅρκον ὀμνύουσαν τόνδε·

<ούτως> έμοὶ γένοιτο σοῦ ζώσης, τέκνον, ἐλευθέριον πιοῦσαν οἶνον ἀποθανεῖν.

παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ως φησι Πολύβιος ἐν τῆ ἔκτη, απείρηται γυναιξί πίνειν οίνον τὸ δὲ καλούμενον πάσσον πίνουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖται μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀσταφίδος καί έστι παραπλήσιος πινόμενος τῶ Αἰνοσθενεῖ f τω Ινλυκεί καὶ τω Κρητικώ· διὸ πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον τοῦ δίψους χρώνται αὐτώ, λαθεῖν δ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον την γυναικά πιούσαν οίνον πρώτον μέν γαρ ούδ' έχει οίνου κυρείαν ή γυνή πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φιλεῖν δεῖ τοὺς συγγενείς τοὺς έαυτης καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔως ἐξανεψιῶν καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν καθ' ἡμέραν, ὁπόταν ἴδη πρῶτον. λοιπὸν ἀδήλου τῆς ἐντυχίας οὔσης τίσιν ἀπαντήσει φυλάσσεται τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα κᾶν γεύσηται μόνον οὐ προσδεί διαβολής. Η "Αλκιμος δ' ὁ Σικελιώτης ἐν τῆ ἐπιγραφομένη τῶν βίβλων Ἰταλικῆ πάσας φησὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλία γυναῖκας μὴ πίνειν οἶνον άπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας Ἡρακλῆς περὶ τὴν Κροτωνιᾶτιν γενόμενος έπεὶ πρός τινα οἰκίαν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν διψων αφίκετο, προσελθων ήτει πιειν έντευθεν. έτυχε δ΄ ή γυνή τοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν κεκτημένου πίθον οἴνου λαθραίως ὑποίξασα καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα δεινὸν έφη ποιήσειν αὐτόν, εἰ ξένου χάριν τὸν πίθον τοῦτον ανοίξειεν, ύδωρ δ' εκέλευσεν αυτον προσενεγκείν. Ι Ήρακλης δ' έπὶ θύραις έστως καὶ ἀκούσας ταῦτα τὸν μεν άνδρα αὐτῆς σφόδρα ἐπήνεσεν, ὃν ἐκέλευσεν

441

<sup>154</sup> In place of the expected "water of freedom".

<sup>155</sup> Latin passum.

The Pentathlete (fr. 5) quite amusingly brings a woman onstage swearing the following absolutely horrifying oath:

Thus might it be granted me, my child, while you are still alive.

to die once I drink the wine of freedom. 154

In Rome, according to Polybius in Book VI (11a.4), women are forbidden to drink wine; they drink what is referred to as passon155 instead. Passon is made from raisins, and when you drink it, it resembles Aegosthenic or Cretan grape-must; this is why people consume it when they are desperately thirsty. A woman cannot go undetected when she drinks wine: this is because, first of all, women are unable to hold their wine, and on top of that they are required to kiss their own relatives and their husband's relatives as far extended as first cousins once removed, and to do so every day, whenever they first see them. Moreover, since who she is going to run into is entirely a matter of chance, she stays on her guard; because even if she only has a taste, that is enough to ruin her reputation. Alcimus of Sicily in his book entitled The History of Italy (FGrH 560 F 2) claims that no Italian woman drinks wine for the following reason: Heracles was near Croton and was thirsty, and when he came to a house that stood beside the road, he went up to it and asked the people who lived there to give him a drink. The wife of the man whose house it was happened to have opened a storage-jar of wine without his knowledge, and she told her husband that it would be a terrible mistake to open this jar for the sake of a stranger, and encouraged him to offer their visitor water. Heracles was standing by the door and heard what she said, and he warmly praised

αὐτὸν παρελθόντα εἴσω σκοπεῖν τὸν πίθον καὶ δς εἰσελθων λίθινον εὖρε τὸν πίθον γεγονότα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίαις γυναιξὶν πάσαις ἐν αἰσχρῷ κεῖσθαι τὸ πίνειν οἶνον διὰ τὴν προκειμένην αἰτίαν. οἷαι δ' εἰσὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ελλησι μεθύουσαι αἱ γυναῖκες παραδίδωσιν Ἀντιφάνης μὲν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ακοντιζομένη οὕτω·

γείτων έστί τις |
κάπηλος· οὖτος εὐθὺς ὅταν ἔλθω ποτὲ
διψῶσα, μόνος οἶδ' ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ κεράννυται.
οὔθ' ὑδαρὲς οὔτ' ἄκρατον οἶδ' ἐγώ ποτε
πιοῦσα.

καὶ ἐν Μύστιδι: γυναῖκες δέ εἰσιν αἱ διαλεγόμεναι:

(A.) βούλει καὶ σύ, φιλτάτη, πιεῖν; (B.) καλῶς ἔχει μοι. (A.) τοιγαροῦν ‹ἐμοὶ› φέρε· μέχρι γὰρ τριῶν ‹δεῖν› φασι τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς.

"Αλεξις δὲ 'Ορχηστρίδι

(Α.) γυναιξὶ δ' ἀρκεῖ πάντ', ἐὰν οἶνος παρῆ πίνειν διαρκής. (Β.) ἀλλὰ μήν, νὴ τὰ θεώ, Ι ἔσται γ' ὅσον ἃν βουλώμεθ', ἔσται καὶ μάλα ἡδύς γ', ὀδόντας οὐκ ἔχων, ἤδη σαπρός, πέπων, γέρων γε δαιμονίως. (Α.) ἀσπάζομαι γραῦν Σφίγγα· πρὸς ἐμὲ † ὡς αἰνίγματα. λέγε καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Ы

<sup>156</sup> Sc. for resisting his wife's suggestion.

the woman's husband <sup>156</sup> and told him to go inside and have a look at the storage-jar; when the man did so, he discovered that the jar had turned to stone. Even today this is regarded as evidence among all the local women that drinking wine is unacceptable behavior, for the reason described above. Antiphanes in his *The Girl Who Was Hit by a Javelin* (fr. 25) conveys what Greek women are like when they get drunk, as follows:

There's a neighborhood bartender; whenever I'm thirsty and I go in there, he's

the only one who knows how I like my wine mixed. I don't think I've ever had it too watery or straight.

Also in The Female Initiate (fr. 163); women are speaking:

(A.) Would you like a drink, my dear?

(B.) That's fine by me! (A.) Alright then, bring me one;

because people say we ought to honor the gods up to three times.

Alexis in The Dancing-Girl (fr. 172):

(A.) Women have everything they need, provided there's enough

wine to drink. (B.) Let me assure you, by the two goddesses,

we'll have as much as we want, and it'll be absolutely delicious: no teeth, fully fermented, ripe, and devilishly old. (A.) Hello, you old Sphinx! To me † like riddles;

tell me the rest!

έν δὲ Δὶς Πενθοῦντι Ζωπύρας τινὸς μνημονεύων φησί· καὶ Ζωπύρα.

οίνηρὸν ἀγγεῖον.

Αντιφάνης Βάκχαις.

έπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστι, κακοδαίμων σφόδρα ὅστις γαμεῖ γυναῖκα, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς Σκύθαις· ἐκεῖ μόνον γὰρ οὐχὶ φύετ' ἄμπελος. Ι

e Ξέναρχος Πεντάθλω·

ὄρκον δ' έγω γυναικός είς οἶνον γράφω.

Πλάτων Φάωνι διηγούμενος όσα διὰ τὸν οἶνον συμβαίνει ταῖς γυναιξί φησιν

εἶέν, γυναῖκες < . . . > ὡς ὑμῖν πάλαι οἶνον γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοιαν εὕχομαι. ὑμῖν γὰρ οὐδέν, καθάπερ ἡ παροιμία, ἐν τῷ καπήλῳ νοῦς ἐνεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ. εἰ γὰρ Φάωνα δεῖσθ' ἰδεῖν, προτέλεια δεῖ ὑμᾶς ποῆσαι πολλὰ πρότερον τοιαδί: | πρῶτα μὲν ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κουροτρόφῳ προθύεται πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης, ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων, κίχλαι ἑκκαίδεχ' ὁλόκληροι μέλιτι μεμιγμέναι, λαγῷα δώδεκ' ἐπισέληνα. τἄλλα δὲ ἤδη † ταῦτ' εὐτελέστατα: † ἄκουε δή.

f

 $<sup>^{157}</sup>$  In place of the expected "in water".

## BOOK X

And in *Grieving Twice* (fr. 56) he mentions someone named Zopyra and says:

and Zopyra,

who's a pot full of wine.

Antiphanes in Bacchants (fr. 58):

But since this is impossible, anyone who gets married is in terrible trouble—except in Scythia; because that's the only place where grapevines don't grow!

Xenarchus in The Pentathlete (fr. 6):

I write a woman's oath in wine. 157

Plato in *Phaon* (fr. 188), describing everything that happens to women because of wine, says:

Alright, ladies . . . I've been praying for a long time for your foolishness to turn into wine; because your mind doesn't look to me to be in the wineshop, as the saying goes.

If you want to see Phaon, you have to make lots of preliminary sacrifices of the following sort first.

Number one, a preliminary offering is made to me, the Rearer of Children:

an uncastrated cake, a pregnant wheat-paste cake, 16 perfect thrushes in honey-sauce,

and 12 moon-shaped bits of hare-meat. As for the

now † these items very cheap †. Pay attention!

βολβών μὲν 'Ορθάννη τρί' ἡμιέκτεα, Κονισάλφ δὲ καὶ παραστάταιν δυοῖν || μύρτων πινακίσκος χειρὶ παρατετιλμένων· λύχνων γὰρ ὀσμὰς οὐ φιλοῦσι δαίμονες. † πυργης τετάρτης † Κυσί τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις, Αόρδωνι δραχμή, Κυβδάσφ τριώβολον, ἤρφ Κέλητι δέρμα καὶ θυλήματα. ταῦτ' ἐστι τἀναλώματ'. εἰ μὲν οὖν τάδε προσοίσετ', εἰσέλθοιτ' ἄν· εἰ δὲ μή, μάτην ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν διὰ κενῆς βινητιᾶν.

Αξιόνικος δ' ἐν Φιλίννη φησί·

γυναικὶ δὴ πίστευε μὴ πίνειν ὕδωρ.

Καὶ ὅλα δὲ ἔθνη περὶ μέθας διατρίβοντα | μνήμης ήξίωται. Βαίτων γοῦν ὁ ἀλεξάνδρου βηματιστὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένω Σταθμοὶ τῆς ἀλεξάνδρου Πορείας καὶ ἀλμύντας ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς τὸ τῶν Ταπύρων ἔθνος φησὶν οὕτω φίλοινον εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἀλείμματι ἄλλω μηδενὶ χρῆσθαι ἢ τῷ οἴνω, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Κτησίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν Φόρων

442

<sup>158</sup> Thought to be an aphrodisiac (cf. 1.5c [quoting another passage from the same play]; 2.63e–4b); Orthannes was an ithyphallic fertility deity.

159 A pun on murton ("clitoris"), with an allusion to the partial pubic depilation practiced by fashionable Athenian women and accomplished either by plucking the hair by hand or singeing it off with a lamp. Conisalus was another ithyphallic fertility deity. But the word translated here as "attendants" can also mean "testicles" (cf. 9.395f), so that part of the joke is that Conisalus' name stands in for his most prominent physical feature: an erect penis.

160 Also mentioned in an early 4th-century Athenian inscription (IG II² 4962.9–10; deities associated

Three half-measures of hyacinth bulbs<sup>158</sup> for Orthannes,

and a little platter of myrtle berries<sup>159</sup> plucked by hand for Conisalus and his two attendants; because the deities dislike the smell of lamps. † [corrupt] four † for the Hounds and the Huntsmen:<sup>160</sup>

a drachma for Lordon; three obols for Cybdasus; a hide and sacrificial barley-cakes for the hero Celes <sup>161</sup>

This is what you have to spend. If you brought these items, you'd get in. Otherwise, you can long in vain to be fucked.

Axionicus says in Philinne (fr. 5):

Trust a woman-not to drink water!

Whole peoples, moreover, have been thought to deserve being described as spending all their time drunk. Alexander's quartermaster Baiton, <sup>162</sup> for example, in his treatise entitled *Stages of Alexander's Journey (FGrH* 119 F 1), along with Amyntas in his *Stages (FGrH* 122 F 5), claim that the Tapyrians like wine so much that they anoint themselves with nothing else. Ctesias in his *On the Trib*-

with Asclepius). But exactly who the Hounds and Huntsmen were—and thus the point of what must be another sexually oriented joke—is obscure, although cf. Hsch.  $\kappa$  4763 "Hound: this refers to the male genitals".

161 Lordon, Cybdasus, and Celes are invented names that recall terms for three sexual positions, in which the woman threw her head back and her pelvis forward; bent forward "doggy style"; and sat astride the man, respectively.
162 Berve i #198.

οὖτος δὲ καὶ δικαιοτάτους αὐτοὺς λέγει εἶναι. Άρμόδιος δὲ ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Παρὰ Φιγαλεῦσι Νομίμων φιλοπότας φησὶ γενέσθαι Φιγαλεῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας | καὶ ἀποδημεῖν ἐθισθέντας. Φύλαρχος δ᾽ ἐν ἔκτη Βυζαντίους οἰνόφλυγας ὅντας ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις οἰκεῖν, ἐκμισθώσαντας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν θαλάμους μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῖς ξένοις, πολεμίας σάλπιγγος οὐδὲ ἐν ὕπνοις ὑπομένοντας ἀκοῦσαι. διὸ καὶ πολεμουμένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ προσκαρτερούντων τοῖς τείχεσι Λεωνίδης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσε τὰ καπηλεῖα ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν σκηνοπηγεῖν, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ ἐπαύσαντο λιποτακτοῦντες, ὥς φησι Δάμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Βυζαντίου. Μένανδρος δ᾽ ἐν ᾿Αρρηφόρῳ ἢ Αὐλητρίδι: |

πάντας μεθύσους τοὺς ἐμπόρους ποιεῖ τὸ Βυζάντιον. ὅλην ἐπίνομεν τὴν νύκτα διὰ σὲ καὶ σφόδρ᾽ ἄκρατόν μοὶ δοκῶἀνίσταμαι γοῦν τέτταρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων.

κωμφδοῦνται δὲ ὡς μέθυσοι ᾿Αργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι ὑπὸ ᾿Εφίππου ἐν Βουσίριδι. ποιεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγοντα·

(Ηρ.) οὐκ οἶσθά μ' ὄντα, πρὸς θεῶν, Τιρύνθιον 'Αργεῖον; οἳ μεθύοντες αἰεὶ τὰς μάχας Ι πάσας μάχονται. (Β.) τοιγαροῦν φεύγουσ' ἀεί.

d

е

utes Paid throughout Asia (FGrH 688 F 54) records the same information; he also claims that they are the most honest people in the world. Harmodius of Lepreum in his On the Customs in Phigaleia (FGrH 319 F 2) claims that the Phigaleians, whose city is on the Messenian border and who are used to being away from home, like to drink. Phylarchus in Book VI (FGrH 81 F 7) (says) that because the inhabitants of Byzantium guzzle wine, they live in the bars and rent out their own bedrooms, wives and all, to foreigners, and cannot stand to hear a war-trumpet even in their dreams. This is why, when they were being attacked at one point and failed to show any courage in defending their walls, their general Leonides ordered bars to be set up under canopies on top of the walls, and even then they barely stopped deserting their positions, according to Damon in his On Byzantium (FGrH 389 F 1). Menander in The Arrhephoros or The Pipe-Girl (fr. 66):

Byzantium gets all the merchants drunk. We drank all night long because of you—and awfully strong wine, it seems to me!

At any rate, I'm getting up with four heads.

The Argives and the Tirynthians are ridiculed for being drunks by Ephippus in *Bousiris* (fr. 2). He represents Heracles as saying:

(Heracles) Aren't you aware, by the gods, that I'm a Tirynthian Argive? They always fight all their battles drunk. (B.) Which is why they always run away! Μιλησίους δ' Εὔβουλος ἐν Κατακολλωμένῳ ὑβριστὰς εἶναί φησι μεθυσθέντας. Πολέμων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ Πόλεις Ἐπιγραμμάτων περὶ Ἡλείων λέγων παρατίθεται τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

<sup>3</sup>Ηλις καὶ μεθύει καὶ ψεύδεται. οἷος έκάστου οἶκος, τοιαύτη καὶ συνάπασα πόλις.

Θεόπομπος δ' εν τῆ δευτέρα καὶ εἰκοστῆ περὶ Χαλκιδέων ἱστορῶν τῶν ἐν Θράκη φησίν ἐτύγχανον γὰρ τῶν μὲν βελτίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑπερορῶντες, ἱ ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πότους καὶ ῥαθυμίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀκολασίαν ώρμηκότες ἐπιεικῶς, ὅτι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ Θρᾶκες πολυπόται <κοινόν>16. διὸ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἔφη

καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηϊκίην μὲν ἀπέστυγε χανδὸν ἄμυστιν οἰνοποτεῖν, ὀλίγω δ' ἤδετο κισσυβίω.

ἐν δὲ τἢ πεντηκοστἢ ὁ Θεόπομπος περὶ Μηθυμναίων τάδε λέγει· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια προσφερομένους πολυτελῶς, μετὰ τοῦ κατακεῖσθαι καὶ πίνειν, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ποιοῦντας. ἔπαυσεν οὖν 443 αὐτοὺς τούτων Κλεομένης ∥ ὁ τύραννος, ὁ καὶ τὰς μαστροποὺς τὰς εἰθισμένας προαγωγεύειν τὰς ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας ⟨καὶ⟩¹¹ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας τὰς ἐπιφανέστατα πορνευομένας ἐνδήσας εἰς σάκκους καταποντί-

16 add. Kaibel

17 add. Wilamowitz

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> A rustic drinking-cup of some sort; cf. 11.477c (where these verses are quoted again, along with two more).

<sup>164</sup> Probably in power by the 340s BCE.

<sup>165</sup> Sc. for the local men.

Eubulus in *The Man Who Was Glued to the Spot* (fr. 49) claims that the Milesians get out of control when drunk. Polemon in his discussion of the Eleans in his *On Epigrams by City* (fr. 80 Preller) quotes the following epigram (*FGE* 1628–9):

Elis is drunk and full of lies. The character of the individual households is the same as that of the city as a whole.

Theopompus says in Book XXII (FGrH 115 F 139), in his account of the Chalcideans who live in Thrace: Because the fact was that they showed disdain for better habits, and had instead got deeply involved in drinking parties, laziness, and a considerable amount of undisciplined behavior. That all Thracians like to drink is a commonplace. This is why Callimachus (fr. 178.11–12 Pfeiffer) said:

For he hated to drink wine greedily in a long Thracian draft, but enjoyed a small *kissubion*. 163

In Book L (FGrH 115 F 227) Theopompus says the following about the inhabitants of Methymna: consuming their provisions in an expensive style, while lying down and drinking, but accomplishing nothing worth the amount of money they spent. The tyrant Cleomenes<sup>164</sup> made them stop behaving this way; he also ordered certain individuals to tie up the women who had made a business of arranging illicit sexual liaisons with the wives and daughters of free men, <sup>165</sup> along with three or four of those who had prostituted themselves most overtly, in sacks, and drown

σαι τισὶν προστάξας, καὶ Ερμιππος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν Έπτὰ Σοφῶν Περίανδρον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, ἐν δὲ τῆ δευτέρα τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, Ἰλλυριοί, φησί, δειπνοῦσι καθήμενοι καὶ πίνουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας είς τὰς συνουσίας, καὶ καλὸν αὐταῖς προπίνειν οἷς αν τύχωσι των παρόντων έκ δὲ των συμποσίων | αὖται τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπάγουσι, καὶ κακόβιοι δὲ πάντες εἰσὶ καὶ ζώννυνται τὰς κοιλίας ζώναις πλατείαις ὅταν πίνωσι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον μετρίως ποιοῦσιν, ἐπειδαν δε σφοδρότερον πίνωσι, μαλλον αίει συνάγουσι την ζώνην. Αρδιαίοι δέ, φησί, κέκτηνται προσπελατῶν ὥσπερ εἰλώτων τριάκοντα μυριάδας, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν μεθύουσιν καὶ ποιοῦνται συνουσίας καὶ διάκεινται πρὸς έδωδην καὶ πόσιν ἀκρατέστερον. διὸ καὶ Κελτοὶ πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰδότες αὐτῶν τὴν άκρασίαν παρήγγειλαν | άπασι τοῖς στρατιώταις δείπνον ώς λαμπρότατον παρασκευάσαντας κατά σκηνην έμβαλείν είς τὰ σιτία πόαν τινὰ φαρμακώδη δυναμένην διακόπτειν τὰς κοιλίας καὶ διακαθαίρειν. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς αύτους έρριψαν, ακράτορες των γαστέρων γενόμενοι.

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐφεξῆς καταλέξαντος τοῦ Δημοκρίτου ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη πάντων τούτων εἶναι τῶν δεινῶν μητρόπολιν τὸν οἶνον, δι' δν καὶ Ι τὰς μέθας καὶ τὰς

<sup>166</sup> See 10.427e n.

<sup>167</sup> Literally "neighbors".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> The serf-class in Sparta, who were little better than slaves. This sentence from Theopompus is quoted also at 6.271e.

<sup>169</sup> Sc. where they drowned. The story as Athenaeus preserves it is so truncated as to be almost incoherent. But the implication is

them in the sea. Hermippus in his On the Seven Wise Men (fr. 13 Wehrli) (reports that) Periander<sup>166</sup> did this as well. (Theopompus) says in Book II of his History of Philip (FGrH 115 F 39): The Illyrians eat dinner and drink sitting down, and bring their wives to their parties. It is acceptable for the women to drink toasts in honor of anyone who happens to be there, and they guide their husbands home from their drinking parties. They all live a hard life, and they wrap wide belts around their bellies when they drink. Initially they do not fasten them very tight; but once they start drinking more seriously, they constantly cinch their belts tighter and tighter. The inhabitants of Ardia, he claims, own 300,000 prospelatai, 167 who resemble helots<sup>168</sup>. They get drunk and have parties every day, and are completely undisciplined when it comes to food and drink. When the Celts, who were aware of the Ardians' lack of self-discipline, were at war with them, therefore, they sent around orders to all their soldiers to prepare the most fantastic dinner possible in their tents, but to add to the food an herb with a medicinal quality that caused it to disturb the intestines and empty them out. After this happened, some of the Ardians were captured by the Celts and executed, while others lost control of their bowels and threw themselves into the rivers. 169

After Democritus offered a long series of remarks along these lines, Pontianus observed that wine is the fundamental source<sup>170</sup> of all these horrors, and is responsible

that the enemy were allowed to capture the Celtic camp; gorged themselves on the food they found there; and then became too sick to resist when a counter-attack was mounted.

170 Literally "mother-city".

μανίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς παροινίας γίνεσθαι· οὖ τοὺς ἐκπαθῶς μεταλαμβάνοντας οὐ κακῶς ὁ Χαλκοῦς ἐπικαλούμενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῦς Ἐλεγείοις κυλίκων ἐρέτας ἔφη·

καί τινες οἶνον ἄγοντες ἐν εἰρεσία Διονύσου, συμποσίου ναῦται καὶ κυλίκων ἐρέται, < ... > περὶ τοῦδε· τὸ γὰρ φίλον οὐκ ἀπόλωλε.

"Αλεξις δ' ἐν Κουρίδι περί τινος πλέον πίνοντος διαλεγόμενός φησιν

ό μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς υἱός, οἷον ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως
ε εἴδετε, τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, Οἰνοπίων | τις ἢ
Μάρων τις ἢ Κάπηλος ἢ <καὶ> Τιμοκλῆς·
μεθύει γάρ, οὐδὲν ἔτερον. ὁ δ᾽ ἔτερος—τί ἂν
τύχοιμ᾽ ὀνομάσας; βῶλος, ἄροτρον, γηγενὴς
ἄνθρωπος.

χαλεπὸν οὖν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τὸ μεθύειν καὶ καλῶς πρὸς τοὺς οὕτως λάπτοντας τὸν οἶνον ὁ αὐτὸς ᾿Αλεξις ἐν ᾿Οπώρᾳ (ἐταίρας δ᾽ ὄνομα τὸ δρᾶμα ἔχει) φησίν

οἶνον πολὺν οὐ κεκραμένον <σὺ> πίνεις μεστὸς ὢν κοὐκ ἐξεμεῖς;

κάν Δακτυλίω.

<sup>171</sup> Oenopion was a son of Dionysus (cf. 1.26b-c); Maron gave Odysseus the extraordinarily strong wine that got the Cyclops drunk (Od. 9.196–212); and Timocles may be the late 4th-century comic poet (PAA 887000). Capelus is not an Athenian name and

for drunkenness and insanity, as well as for boorish behavior. The Dionysius nicknamed Chalcous was quite right to refer in his *Elegies* (fr. 5 West²) to those who consume it eagerly as "rowers of cups":

And some who transport wine in Dionysus' oarage, drinking-party sailors and rowers of cups, . . . about this: for what they love has not vanished.

Alexis in *The Female Barber* (fr. 113), discussing someone who drinks more than he should, says:

As for my son, as you've just seen, this is what he's turned into: an Oenopion, a Maron, a Capelus, or even a Timocles.<sup>171</sup>
Because he's drunk; that's all there is to it. And the other guy—what would be the right word for him? A clod, a plow, someone

born from the earth!

Getting drunk, my friends, is accordingly problematic behavior. The same Alexis in *Opora* (fr. 169)—the play's title is the name of a courtesan—is quite right to say about people who lap up their wine this way:

So you're drinking h you're full—and

lots of unmixed wine, even though you're full—and you're not throwing up?

And in The Ring (fr. 44):

ought perhaps to be printed without an initial capital and translated "and a bartender, wine-merchant".

εἶτ' οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τὸ μεθύειν κακὸν | μέγιστον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ βλαβερώτατον;

κάν Ἐπιτρόπω δ' ἔφη·

πολύς γὰρ οἶνος πόλλ' ἁμαρτάνειν ποεί.

Κρώβυλός τ' ἐν ᾿Απολιπούση:

τὸ γὰρ ἐνδελεχῶς μεθύειν τίν' ἡδονὴν ἔχει ἀποστεροῦντα ζῶνθ' ἐαυτὸν τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὁ μέγιστον ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν ἔσχεν ἡ φύσις;

οὐ χρὴ οὖν μεθύειν. καὶ γὰρ <ὅταν>18 δημοκρατουμένη πόλις, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν ὀγδόω Πολιτείας, ‖ ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα κακῶν οἰνοχόων προστατούντων τύχη καὶ πορρωτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἀκράτου αὐτῆς μεθυσθῆ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας δή, ἂν μὴ πάνυ πρῷοι ὧσι καὶ πολλὴν παρέχωσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κολάζει αἰτιωμένη ὡς μιαρούς τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικούς, τοὺς δὲ κατηκόους τῶν ἀρχόντων προπηλακίζει. ἐν δὲ τῷ τῶν Νόμων ἔκτω ψησί· τὴν πόλιν εἶναι δεῖ δίκην κεκραμένην κρατῆρος, οῦ μαινόμενος μὲν ὁ οἶνος ἐγκεχυμένος ζεῖ, κολαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἐτέρου θεοῦ καλὴν | κοινωνίαν λαβὼν ἀγαθὸν πῶμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπεργάζεται. τὸ γὰρ παροινεῖν ἐκ τοῦ μεθύειν γίνεται. διὸ καὶ ᾿Αντιφάνης ἐν ᾿Αρκαδία φησίν·

# 18 add. Kaibel ex Platone

 $<sup>^{172}</sup>$  A slightly abbreviated version of this fragment is quoted at 10.429e.

 $<sup>^{173}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  shorter quotation from the same passage appears at 10.433f.

#### BOOK X

So isn't getting drunk the biggest problem people have, and the one that does them the most damage?

And in The Guardian (fr. 82) as well he said:

Because lots of wine leads to lots of mistakes.

Also Crobylus in The Woman Who Left Her Husband (fr. 3): $^{172}$ 

Because what's so nice about being constantly drunk, when it means depriving yourself, while you're still alive, of the ability to think clearly, which is our best natural feature?

You should therefore not get drunk. For according to Plato in Book VIII of the Republic (562c–d),  $^{173}$  whenever a democratically governed city thirsty for freedom has bad wine-pourers in charge of it, and gets more drunk on strong wine than it should, unless its officials are extremely mild and give it considerable freedom, it punishes them, complaining that they are nasty and oligarchically-inclined, and brutalizes any citizens who obey the officials. And in Book VI of his Laws (773c–d) he says: The city needs to be tempered like a mixing-bowl: when the wine is poured into it, it bubbles madly, but when it is disciplined by a different, sober god, it yields a nice combination of the two and produces something good and not too strong to drink. For getting drunk leads to boorish behavior. This is why Antiphanes in Arcadia (fr. 42) says:

 $^{174}$  The title of the play is given as Arcas (or  $\it The\ Arcadian)$  at 13.586a.

οὖτε γὰρ νήφοντα δεῖ οὐδαμοῦ, πάτερ, παροινεῖν, οὖθ' ὅταν πίνειν δέῃ νοῦν ἔχειν. ὅστις δὲ μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ,

<...> μικρῷ πεποιθὼς ἀθλίῳ νομίσματι, εἰς ἄφοδον ἐλθὼν ὅμοιον πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὅψεται, | ἂν σκοπῆ τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν τοῦ βίου τεκμήρια τὰς φλέβας <θ'> ὅποι φέρονται, τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰς κάτω

τεταμένας, δι' ὧν ὁ θνητὸς πᾶς κυβερνᾶται βίος.

έν δὲ Αἰόλῳ διαβάλλων ὅσα δεινὰ πράττουσιν οἱ πλέον πίνοντές φησι

Μακαρεύς ἔρωτι τῶν ὁμοσπόρων μιᾶς πληγείς τέως μὲν ἐπεκράτει τῆς συμφορᾶς κατεῖχέ θ' αὐτόν· εἶτα παραλαβών ποτε οἶνον στρατηγόν, δς μόνος θνητῶν ἄγει Ι τὴν τόλμαν εἰς τὸ πρόσθε τῆς εὐβουλίας, νύκτωρ ἀναστὰς ἔτυχεν ὧν ἡβούλετο.

καλώς οὖν ἄρα καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης ᾿Αφροδίτης γάλα τὸν οἶνον ἔφη εἰπών·

ήδύς τε πίνειν οἶνος, Αφροδίτης γάλα,

d

<sup>175</sup> Macareus, a son of Aeolus, the Homeric king of the winds, fell in love with and eventually raped his sister Canace; cf. E. Aiolos (frr. 13a-41) with testimonia; Ar. Nu. 1371-3; Ra. 1078-81; Plu. Mor. 312c-d.

### BOOK X

Because when you're sober, you should never act like a drunken boor, honored sir, and when you should be drinking,

you shouldn't act sensibly. If someone's prouder than a human being should be,

and relies on a bit of nasty money,

when he goes to the toilet, he'll see that he's just like everyone else,

if he examines the biological evidence the doctors discuss

and where his veins head, some of them extending up,

others down, which control our entire mortal existence.

And in Aeolus (fr. 19), expressing his disgust for all the terrible behavior of people who drink too much, he says:

Macareus<sup>175</sup> was stung with love for one of his sisters, and for a while he stayed in control of the situation

and restrained himself. But then one day he drafted wine—  $\,$ 

which is the leading cause of mortal recklessness getting

out ahead of intelligent behavior—as his general, and he left his bed that night and got what he wanted.

Aristophanes (fr. 613) was accordingly quite right to refer to wine as "Aphrodite's milk" when he said:

and wine that's nice to drink, Aphrodite's milk,

ου πολύν σπώντες ένιοι παρανόμων ἀφροδισίων

ὄρεξιν λαμβάνουσιν.

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς καὶ ἐξοίνους τινὰς κέκληκε λέγων οὕτως Κόμων καὶ Ῥοδοφῶν τῶν ἐν Ῥόδω πολιτευσαμένων ὄντες ἦσαν ἔξοινοι, καὶ ὁ Κόμων εἰς κυβευτὴν σκώπτων | τὸν Ῥοδοφῶντα ἔλεγεν

ὧ γέρον, ἢ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι κυβευταί,

'Ροδοφῶν <τε ἐκείνω><sup>19</sup> τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἀνείδιζεν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχόμενος λοιδορίας. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῆ ἑκκαιδεκάτη τῶν 'Ιστοριῶν περὶ ἄλλου 'Ροδίου διαλεγόμενός φησι· τοῦ δὲ Ἡγησιλόχου τὰ μὲν ἀχρείου γεγονότος ὑπὸ οἰνοφλυγίας καὶ κύβων καὶ παντάπασιν οὐκ ἔχοντος ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς 'Ροδίοις, ἀλλὰ διαβεβλημένου διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν τὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ παρὰ | τοῖς ἑταίροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις. εἶθ' ἐξῆς λέγων περὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ἢν κατεστήσατο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπιφέρει· καὶ πολλὰς μὲν γυναῖκας εὐγενεῖς καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἤσχυναν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ παΐδας καὶ νεανίσκους διέφθειραν. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προέβησαν ἀσελγείας, ὥστε καὶ κυβεύειν ἤξίωσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ διωμολογοῦντο τοὺς

 $^{19}$  'Ροδοφών <τ<br/>ε ἐκείνω> Schweighäuser: ῥοδοφώντα ἔλεγεν Α

 $<sup>^{176}</sup>$  For the word, cf. 8.349a (Macho); 14.613c; Arnott on Alex. fr. 64.

<sup>177</sup> Rhodophon (mid-2nd century BCE) was pro-Roman (Plb. 27.7.3 with Walbank ad loc.), and Comon was thus presumably a member of Rhodes' anti-Roman faction.

since it gives some people an appetite for illicit sex, if they consume large quantities of it.

Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 20, FHG iv.417) refers to certain individuals as exoinoi ("complete drunks"), <sup>176</sup> saying the following: Comon and Rhodophon, who were members of the political class in Rhodes, <sup>177</sup> were exoinoi. Comon made fun of Rhodophon for shooting dice, saying:

Old man, young dice-players are pressing you very hard. 178

while Rhodophon criticized Comon for his interest in women and his lack of self-control, insulting him in every possible way. Theopompus in Book XVI of his History (FGrH 115 F 121, encompassing both quotations) discusses another Rhodian and says:179 since Hegesilochus was worthless because he guzzled wine, shot dice, and had a terrible reputation on Rhodes, and was instead criticized by the members of his own faction, as well as the other citizens, for the profligate life he led. Then immediately after this, discussing the oligarchy Hegesilochus and his friends established, he continues: They also disgraced many women who came from good families and from the houses of leading citizens, and corrupted substantial numbers of boys and young men. They became so depraved, that they considered it acceptable to shoot dice with one another for the control of free women, and made agreements among

178 A parody of *Il.* 8.102 (Diomedes to Nestor), where the subject of the verb is "spearsmen". 179 The reference is to events in the late 350s BCE, when an oligarchic faction on Rhodes, supported by the Carian satrap Mausolus, led the island into revolt from the Second Athenian League.

έλάττω τοις ἀστραγάλοις βάλλοντας ήντινα χρή τῶν 445 πολιτίδων | τω νικώντι είς συνουσίαν άγανείν, οὐδεμίαν ύπεξαιρούμενοι πρόφασιν, άλλ' ὅπως ἔκαστος20 είη δυνατός πείθων η βιαζόμενος, ούτω προστάττοντες άγειν. καὶ ταύτην τὴν κυβείαν ἔπαιζον μὲν καὶ τῶν άλλων 'Ροδίων τινές, ἐπιφανέστατα δὲ καὶ πλειστάκις αὐτὸς ὁ Ἡγησίλοχος ὁ προστατεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἀξιῶν, Ανθέας δὲ ὁ Λίνδιος, συγγενης δὲ εἶναι φάσκων Κλεοβούλου τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὡς φησι Φιλόμνηστος ἐν τῶ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Ῥόδω Σμινθείων, πρεσβύτερος καὶ εὐb δαίμων ἄνθρωπος | εὐφυής τε περὶ ποίησιν ὢν πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν, ἐσθῆτά τε Διονυσιακὴν φορών καὶ πολλοὺς τρέφων συμβάκχους, ἐξῆγέν τε κῶμον αιεί μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. καὶ πρώτος εξρε τὴν διὰ των συνθέτων ονομάτων ποίησιν, ή Ασωπόδωρος ο Φλιάσιος ὕστερον ἐχρήσατο ἐν τοῖς Καταλογάδην Ίάμβοις, οὖτος δὲ καὶ κωμωδίας ἐποίει καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ἐν τούτω τῷ τρόπω τῶν ποιημάτων, ἃ ἐξῆρχε τοις μεθ' αύτου φαλλοφορούσι.

Τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ὁ δὲ πάροινος, ἱ ἔφη, καλέ μου Ποντιανέ, παρὰ τίνι κεῖται: καὶ ὃς ἔφη:

ἀπολεῖς μ' ἐρωτῶν,

κατὰ τὸν καλὸν ᾿Αγάθωνα,

20 ὅπως ἃν ἔκαστος ACE: del. Meineke

c

<sup>180</sup> Used like dice, except that they had only four sides.

<sup>181</sup> One of the Seven Wise Men: see 8.360d n.: 10.448b n.

<sup>182</sup> Although Kassel-Austin include Antheas among the comic poets, no fragments of his comedies survive and Meineke was rightly dubious that he wrote actual stage-dramas.

themselves that those who had the lowest total when they were playing knucklebones<sup>180</sup> had to bring whichever citizen-woman was requested for the winner to have sex with. Nor did they accept any excuses; instead, they ordered each man to bring them using whatever power of persuasion or physical force he could apply. Other Rhodians also played this game, but most overtly and most often Hegesilochus himself-who thought that he deserved to be the leading man in the city! According to Philomnestus in his On the Smintheian Festival in Rhodes (FGrH 527 F \*2). Antheas of Lindus (SH 46), who claimed to be related to the sage Cleoboulus, 181 was very old and rich, and a talented poet. He imitated Dionysus throughout his entire life by wearing Dionysiac clothing and maintaining a large number of fellow-bacchants, and was always at the head of a revelling-band day and night. Antheas invented the style of poetry that featured compound words, which Asopodorus of Phlius later used in his Prose Iambs (SH 222). He also wrote comedies 182 and many other poems of this type, and performed the leading parts in them for the phallic processions that accompanied him.

When he heard this, Ulpian asked: Where is the word paroinos ("abusively drunk")<sup>183</sup> attested, my good Pontianus? And (Pontianus) responded:

You'll be the death of me with these questions, to quote the noble Agathon (TrGF 39 F 13),

 $^{183}$  Pontianus used the cognate verb  $paroine\bar{o}$  twice at 10.444b, including in Antiph. fr. 42.2.

καὶ σὺ χώ νέος τρόπος ἐν οὐ πρέποντι τοῖς λόγοισι χρώμενος.

έπεὶ δὲ πάντων ἡμᾶς εὐθύνας σοι διδόναι κέκριται, Αντιφάνης ἐν Λυδῷ εἴρηκε·

< . . . > Κολχὶς ἄνθρωπος πάροινος.

σὺ δὲ παροινῶν καὶ μεθύων οὐδέπω κόρον ἔχεις οὐδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνεις ὅτι ὑπὸ μέθης ἀπέθανεν Εὐμένης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ὁ | Φιλεταίρου τοῦ Περγάμου βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κτησικλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Χρόνων. ἀλλ' οὐ Περσεὺς ὁ ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων καθαιρεθείς· κατ' οὐδὲν γὰρ τὸν πατέρα Φίλιππον ἐμιμήσατο. οὕτε γὰρ περὶ γυναῖκας ἐσπουδάκει οὕτε φίλοινος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς μέτριον ἔπινε δειπνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐν τῆ ἔκτη καὶ εἰκοστῆ. σὰ δέ, ὧ Οὐλπιανέ, ἀρρυθμοπότης μὲν εἶ κατὰ τὸν Φλιάσιον Τίμωνα· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνόμασε τοὺς τὸν πολὺν | σπῶντας οἶνον ἄκρατον ἐν τῷ δευτέρω τῶν Σίλλων·

ήὲ βαρὺν βουπλήγα τομώτερον ἡ Λυκόοργος, ὅς ῥα Διωνύσου ἀρρυθμοπότας ἐπέκοπτεν, ἐκ δὲ ῥυτὰ ῥίπτασκεν ἀπληστοίνους τ' ἀρυταίνας

 $<sup>^{184}\,\</sup>mathrm{Reigned}$  263–241 BCE; Philetaerus preceded him on the throne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Perseus was the last king of Macedon (reigned 179–168 BCE); his father was Philip V (reigned 222–179).

 $<sup>^{186}</sup>$  The final portion of the third verse is quoted also at 10.424b.

 $<sup>^{187}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  mythological Thracian king, who attacked the young Di-

you and your modern fashion of using words inappropriately.

But since a decision has been made that we must be scrutinized by you on every subject, Antiphanes says in *The Lydian* (fr. 144):

a paroinos Colchian.

You, however, never have enough of being paroinos and drunk, and you fail to take into account the fact that Eumenes of Pergamum, <sup>184</sup> the nephew of Philetaerus, king of Pergamum, died from excessive drinking, according to Ctesicles in Book III of the Annals (FCrH 245 F 2). The Perseus <sup>185</sup> who was deposed by the Romans, on the other hand, did not; because he did not resemble his father Philip in any way. For he was uninterested in women, and did not like wine; instead, not only did he himself drink only a modest amount at dinner, but the same was true of the friends who were with him, according to Polybius in Book XXVI (XXV.3.7). Whereas you, Ulpian, are an "arrhythmic drinker", to quote Timo of Phlius. Because this is how he referred in Book II of the Silloi (SH 778) <sup>186</sup> to people who gulp down large amounts of unmixed wine:

or a heavy ax for killing bulls, sharper than
Lycurgus, 187
who of course cut down Dionysus' arrhythmic
drinkers
and tossed away the drinking-horns and the ladles
that could never be too full of wine.

onysus and his nurses with an ax of the sort referred to here and was driven mad as a consequence  $(II.\ 6.130-40)$ .

οὐ ποτικὸς δέ. ὡνόμασε δὲ ποτικὸν ἀλκαῖος Γανυμήδει οὕτως < ... > ὅτι δὲ τὸ μεθύειν καὶ τὰς ὅψεις ἡμῶν
f πλανῷ σαφῶς ἔδειξεν ἀλνάχαρσις | δι' ὧν εἴρηκε,
δηλώσας ὅτι ψευδεῖς δόξαι τοῖς μεθύουσι γίγνονται.
συμπότης γάρ τις ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐν τῷ
συμποσίῳ ἔφη· "ὧ ἀλνάχαρσι, γυναῖκα γεγάμηκας
αἰσχράν." καὶ ὂς ἔφη· "πάνυ γε κἀμοὶ δοκεῖ· ἀλλά μοι
ἔγχεον, ὧ παῖ, ποτήριον ἀκρατέστερον, ὅπως αὐτὴν
καλὴν ποιήσω."

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς προπιών τινι τῶν ἐταίρων ἔφη· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀντιφάνην, ὧ φιλότης, δς ἐν

Άγροίκοις φησίν ||

446 (Α.) ὅλην μύσας ἔκπινε. (Β.) μέγα τὸ φορτίον.

(Α.) οὐχ ὄστις αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐμπείρως ἔχων,

πίθι οὖν, ὧ έταῖρε. καὶ

(Α.) μη μεστάς άεὶ

**ἔλκωμεν**,

ο αὐτός φησιν 'Αντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Τραυματία,

άλλὰ καὶ λογισμὸς εἰς μέσον παταξάτω τις, καί τι καὶ μελίσκιον, στροφὴ λόγων παρελθέτω τις. ἡδύ τοι ἔστιν μεταβολὴ παντὸς ἔργου πλὴν ἐνὸς < ... > παραδίδου δ' ἐξῆς ἐμοὶ

189 The quotation has fallen out of the text.

190 Sex.

 $<sup>^{188}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  rare adjective formed from the verb  $pin\bar{o}$  ("drink [wine]"), here apparently to be taken in the sense "merely fond of drinking", or perhaps "fun to drink with".

On the other hand, you are not potikos. <sup>188</sup> Alcaeus in Ganymede (fr. 9) used the word potikos, as follows: <sup>189</sup> . . . That being drunk confuses our vision was made clear by Anacharsis' remark (fr. A31A Kindstrand), when he brought out the fact that drunks perceive the world incorrectly. Someone who was at a drinking party with him saw his wife there and said: "Anacharsis, you're married to an ugly woman." And Anacharsis said: "I agree entirely. Pour me a cup full of stronger wine, slave, so I can make her attractive!"

After this, Ulpian drank a toast to one of the other guests and said: To quote Antiphanes, my friend, who says in *Rustics* (fr. 4):

(A.) Shut your eyes and drink the whole cup! (B.) That's a big load.

(A.) Not for someone who's got experience with it.

So drink up (pithi), my friend, and

 $\mbox{(A.) Let's not always keep emptying full cups,} \\$ 

as the same Antiphanes puts it in The Wounded Man (fr. 205),

but let's have a bit of conversation bounce around between us instead, and a little singing;

and let's have some clever remarks present themselves! It's nice

to have a change from activities of all kinds—except one.  $^{190}$ 

... And after that, hand me

τὸν ἀρκεσίγυιον, ὡς ἔφασκ' Εὐριπίδης.

(Β.) Εὐριπίδης γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν; Ι (Α.) ἀλλὰ τίς:

(Β.) Φιλόξενος δήπουθεν. (Α.) οὐθὲν διαφέρει, ὁ τῶν ἐλέγχεις μ' ἔνεκα συλλαβῆς μιᾶς.

καὶ ὅς, τὸ δὲ πῖθι τίς εἴρηκεν; ἀπεσκοτώθης, φίλτατε, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, σπάσας οἴνου τοσοῦτον. παρὰ Κρατίνω ἔχεις ἐν ᾿Οδυσσεῦσι·

τη νῦν τόδε πῖθι λαβὼν ήδη, καὶ τοὕνομά μ' εὐθὺς ἐρώτα.

καὶ ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μύστιδι: Ι

(A.) σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ πῖθι. (B.) τοῦτο μέν σοι πείσομαι·

καὶ γὰρ ἐπαγωγόν, ὧ θεοί, τὸ σχῆμά πως τῆς κύλικός ἐστιν ἄξιόν τε τοῦ κλέους τοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς. οὖ μὲν ἦμεν ἄρτι γὰρ ἐξ ὀξυβαφίων κεραμεῶν ἐπίνομεν τούτῳ δέ, τέκνον, πολλὰ κἀγάθ' οἱ θεοὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ δοῖεν δς ἐποίησέ σε, Ι τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ τῆς ἀφελείας οὕνεκα.

καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Βαλανείω.

ἔγχεον μεστήν· τὸ θνητὸν περικάλυπτε τῷ θεῷ. πῖθι· ταῦτα γὰρ <παρ'> ἡμῶν Διὸς Ἑταιρείου, πάτερ.

h

c

d

<sup>191</sup> PMG 832.

<sup>192</sup> Odysseus addresses the Cyclops.

<sup>193</sup> Quoted again at 11.494d.

#### BOOK X

the limb-strengthener, as Euripides put it.

(B.) Euripides actually said that? (A.) Who else?

(B.) Philoxenus, 191 I imagine. (A.) It doesn't make any difference,

buddy; you're criticizing me because of a single syllable.

But the other man said: Who uses the form *pithi* ("drink!")? You blacked out, my dear sir, replied Ulpian, from gulping down so much wine. You can find the word in Cratinus' *Odysseuses* (fr. 145):<sup>192</sup>

Here—take this now, and drink (*pithi*) it, and immediately ask me my name!

Also Antiphanes in The Female Initiate (fr. 161):193

(A.) But as for you—drink (*pithi*)! (B.) I'll do what you say;

because the fact is, by the gods, that the shape of the

is rather attractive and fits the reputation of the festival. Because where we were just now, we were drinking out of ceramic cruets!

May the gods grant many blessings, my child, to the craftsman who produced you, on account of your simple, symmetrical shape.

And Diphilus in The Bathman (fr. 20):

Pour a full cup! Wrap your mortal part in the god! Drink (pithi)! Because this is what we have to offer from Zeus Patron of Comrades, old sir!

Άμειψίας Σφενδόνη

λαγὸν ταράξας πίθι τὸν θαλάσσιον.

Μένανδρος Αὐλητρίσι

(Α.) έλλέβορον ἤδη πώποτ' ἔπιες, Σωσία;

(Σω.) ἄπαξ. (Α.) πάλιν νῦν πῖθι μαίνει γὰρ κακῶς.

Πίομαι δὲ ἄνευ τοῦ  $\bar{v}$  λεκτέον, ἐκτείνοντας δὲ τὸ  $\bar{\iota}$ . οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει καὶ τὸ Ὁμηρικόν·

πιόμεν' έκ βοτάνης.

καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης Ἱππεῦσιν Ι

οὔποτ' ἐκ ταὐτοῦ <μεθ' ἡμῶν πίεται> ποτηρίου.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις.

πικρότατον οίνον τήμερον πίη τάχα.21

ένίοτε δὲ καὶ συστέλλουσι τὸ ῖ, ὡς Πλάτων ἐν Ταῖς ᾿Αφ᾽ Ἱερῶν

οὐδ' ὄστις αὐτῆς ἐκπίεται τὰ χρήματα.

καὶ ἐν Σύρφακι·

< . . . > καὶ πίεσθ' ὕδωρ πολύ.

21 πίε. τάχα ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πιοῦμαι Α: τάχα κτλ. del. Dindorf

 $^{197}\,\mathrm{The}\,\mathrm{metrical}\,\mathrm{value}\,\mathrm{of}\,\mathrm{the}\,\mathrm{\it iota}\,\mathrm{cannot}\,\mathrm{in}\,\mathrm{fact}\,\mathrm{be}\,\mathrm{determined}$  in this line.

<sup>194</sup> Quoted (but without the name of the poet or the play) also at 9.400c.
195 Referred to as *The Arrhephoros or The Pipe-Girl* at 10.442c; 13.559d.
196 I.e. not *pioumai*.

#### BOOK X

Amipsias in The Sling (fr. 17):194

Stir up the sea-hare and drink (pithi) it!

Menander in Pipe-Girls 195 (fr. 69):

(A.) Did you ever drink hellebore at any point, Sosias?

(Sosias) Just once. (A.) Drink (pithi) it again now; because you're seriously insane!

The word should be pronounced *piomai* ("I will drink"), without the *upsilon* <sup>196</sup> and with the *iota* lengthened. Because this is how the Homeric form is spelled (*Il*. 13.493):

in order to drink (piomen'), leaving the grass.

Also Aristophanes in Knights (1289):

Never will he drink (*pietai*) with us from the same cup.

And in another passage (fr. 614):197

You may perhaps drink (piēi) very bitter wine today.

But sometimes they shorten the *iota*, for example Plato in Women Coming from a Sacrifice (fr. 9):

and not someone who'll drink up (ekpietai) her money.

And in The Rabble (fr. 179):

And you'll drink (piesth') lots of water.

πίε δὲ δισυλλάβως Μένανδρος ἐν Ἐγχειριδίω.

(A.) <πίε.> (B.) πιεῖν ἀναγκάσω τὴν ἱερόσυλον πρῶτα. Ι

f καί·

 $\langle \ldots \rangle \tau \hat{\eta}, \pi i \epsilon.^{22}$ 

καὶ σὺ οὖν, ὧ έταῖρε, κατὰ τὸν Ἄλεξιν, δς ἐν Διδύμοις φησί·

τούτω πρόπιθ', ἵνα καὐτὸς ἄλλω·

καὶ γένηται ἡ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι καλουμένη ἐπίστιος. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ μελοποιός· ||

447 μηδ' ὤστε κῦμα πόντιον λάλαζε, τῆ πολυκρότη σὺν Γαστροδώρη καταχύδην πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον.

τοῦτο δ' ἡμεῖς ἀνίσωμά φαμεν. σὰ δὲ πιὼν μὴ φοβηθης ὡς εἰς τοὖπίσω μέλλων καταπεσεῖσθαι τοῦτο γὰρ παθεῖν οὖ δύνανται οἱ τὸν κατὰ Σιμωνίδην πίνοντες οἶνον

< ... > ἀμύντορα δυσφροσυνάων.

άλλ', ὥς φησιν Άριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, εἰς τὰ

22 πίε καὶ πῖνε A: καὶ πῖνε del. Meineke

<sup>198</sup> If Dindorf's correction of the manuscripts' anisōna is right, the word (otherwise unattested) would seem to mean "an equal share" (cognate with anisoō), i.e. "[a cup] shared by everyone".

Menander uses the disyllabic form *pie* in *The Dagger* (fr. 138 Koerte):

(A.) Drink (pie)! (B.) First I'm going to force the woman who committed sacrilege to drink.

Also (Od. 9.347):

Here! Drink (pie)!

So you too (should drink), my friend, to quote Alexis, who says in *Twins* (fr. 55):

Drink a toast to him, so he can drink one to someone else!

Then we could have what is referred to in Anacreon as an *epistios* ("hearthside [cup], fireside [cup]"). Because the lyric poet says (*PMG* 427):

And don't jabber like the sea's wave, drinking your *epistios* in great gulps in the company of the wily Gastrodora.

We, on the other hand, refer to this as an *anisōma*. <sup>198</sup> As for you, do not worry that you are likely to fall over backward after you drink; because this is impossible for people who drink the wine Simonides (fr. 23 West<sup>2</sup>) refers to as

a bulwark against unhappy thoughts.

According to Aristotle in his On Drunkenness (fr. 671),199 it

 $^{199}\,\mathrm{Cf.}\,$  1.34b, where the philosopher's remarks are quoted more briefly.

νῶτα καταπίπτουσιν οἱ τὸν κρίθινον πεπωκότες, δυ πῖνον καλοῦσι, λέγων οὕτως πλὴν ἴδιόν τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς τῶν κριθῶν, Ι τὸ καλούμενον πῖνον. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν λοιπῶν τε καὶ μεθυστικῶν οἱ μεθυσθέντες ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ μέρη πίπτουσι καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ δεξιὰ καὶ πρηνεῖς καὶ ὅπτιοι. μόνοι δὲ οἱ τῷ πίνῳ μεθυσθέντες εἰς τοὐπίσω καὶ ὅπτιοι κλίνονται. τὸν δὲ κρίθινον οἶνον καὶ βρῦτόν τινες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ.

βρῦτον δὲ τὸν χερσαῖον † οὐ δυεῖν †.

καὶ ἀρχίλοχος·

ὤσπερ αὐλῷ βρῦτον ἢ Θρέϊξ ἀνὴρ ἢ Φρὺξ ἔμυζε· κύβδα δ' ἦν πονεομένη.

· μνημονεύει | τοῦ πώματος Αἰσχύλος ἐν Λυκούργῳ·

κάκ τωνδ' έπινε βρύτον ἰσχναίνων χρόνφ κάσεμνοκόμπει τουτ' εν άνδρεία τιθείς.

Έλλάνικος δ' ἐν Κτίσεσι, καὶ ἐκ ρίζῶν, φησί, κατασκευάζεται τὸ βρῦτον, γράφων ὧδε πίνουσι δὲ βρῦτον ἔκ τινων ρίζῶν, καθάπερ οἱ Θρᾶκες ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν. Έκαταῖος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περιηγήσεως εἰπὼν περὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ἀρτοφάγοι εἰσὶν ἐπιφέρει τὰς κριθὰς ἐς τὸ πῶμα καταλέουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῆ τῆς Εὐρώπης Περιόδῳ

<sup>200</sup> Beer.

<sup>201</sup> Used when drinking beer, to avoid swallowing the barley-lees. Archilochus, however, is describing a blowjob.

<sup>202</sup> The word is here treated as neuter rather than masculine.
203 Cf. 10.418e.

is instead those who drink barley-wine 200 (known as pinos) who collapse on their backs. He puts it as follows: except that something peculiar happens in the case of substances derived from barley, by which I mean what is referred to as pinos. For individuals who get drunk on other intoxicants collapse onto various parts of their anatomy, to the left, or the right, or onto their faces or their backs. By contrast, only those who get drunk on pinos fall over backward and lie supine. Some authorities refer to barley-wine as brutos, for example Sophocles in Triptolemus (fr. 610):

and the mainland brutos † not to go down †.

Also Archilochus (fr. 42 West2):

She was sucking away like a Thracian or a Phrygian consuming

brutos with a straw;<sup>201</sup> she was bent over and working hard.

Aeschylus mentions the drink in Lycurgus (fr. 124):

He was drinking *brutos* from them, and eventually drained them dry;

and he swaggered around, acting like he'd accomplished a brave deed.

Hellanicus in the Foundations (FGrH 4 F 66), on the other hand, claims that bruton<sup>202</sup> is made from roots. He writes as follows: They drink bruton made from certain roots, in the same way that the Thracians drink it made from barley. Hecataeus in Book II of the Tour (FGrH 1 F 323a)<sup>203</sup> reports that the Egyptians eat bread, and then continues: They grind up barley to produce the substance they drink. And in his Journey through Europe (FGrH 1 F 154)

Παίονάς φησι | πίνειν βρῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ παραβίην ἀπὸ κέγχρου καὶ κονύζης<sup>23</sup>. ἀλείφονται δέ, φησίν, ἐλαίῳ ἀπὸ γάλακτος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη.
 Τῷ δ' ἡμετέρῳ χορῷ οἶνος φίλος † ον †

θυρσοφόρος μέγα πρεσβεύων Διόνυσος, φησὶν Ίων ὁ Χίος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις.

αὕτη γὰρ πρόφασις παντοδαπῶν λογίων, αἵ τε Πανελλήνων ἀγοραὶ θαλίαι τε ἀνάκτων, ἐξ οὖ βοτρυόεσσ' οἰνὰς ὑπὸ χθονίων | πτόρθον ἀνασχομένη θαλερῷ ἐπτύξατο πήχει αἰθέρος· ὀφθαλμῶν δ' ἐξέθορον πυκινοὶ παῖδες, φωνήεντες ὅταν πέση ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν· παυσάμενοι δὲ βοῆς νέκταρ ἀμέλγονται, πόνον ὅλβιον ἀνθρώποισιν, ξυνὸν τοῦ χαίρειν φάρμακον αὐτοφυές. τοῦ θαλίαι, φίλα τέκνα, φιλοφροσύναι τε χοροί τε | τῶν ἀγαθῶν

βασιλεὺς οἶνος ἔδειξε φύσιν. τῷ σύ, πάτερ Διόνυσε, φιλοστεφάνοισιν ἀρέσκων

<sup>23</sup> κονύζης Musurus: κόνυζαν Α

e

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<sup>204</sup> Butter.

he says that the Paeonians drink *brutos* made from barley, and  $parabi\bar{e}$  made from millet and fleabane; and they smear themselves, he claims, with oil made from milk.<sup>204</sup> So much for these topics.

To our group friendly wine † [corrupt] †

thyrsus-bearing, widely powerful Dionysus,

says Ion of Chios in his Elegies (fr. 26 West2);

because this is an excuse for eloquence of all kinds,

along with the gatherings of all the Greek peoples and feasts celebrated by their kings,

ever since the grape-cluster-covered vine raised its shoot.

assisted by the earth-gods, and enwrapped the air in its

vigorous arm; and children leapt forth, one after another,

from its eyes, crying out when they fell on top of each other,

although formerly silent. But after they cease to shout,

they are pressed to produce nectar, hard work that brings human beings blessings,

a natural drug associated with happiness.

Feasts belong to it, as do beloved children, and friendliness, and dances performed by good people.

King Wine reveals character.

Therefore, Father Dionysus, you who please garlandloving

ἀνδράσιν, εὐθύμων συμποσίων πρύτανι, χαῖρε· δίδου δ' αἰῶνα, καλῶν ἐπιήρανε ἔργων, πίνειν καὶ παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν.

"Αμφις δ' ἐν Φιλαδέλφοις ἐπαινῶν τὸν τῶν φιλοποτῶν φησι βίον: ||

448 κατὰ πόλλ' ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν φιλοποτῶν ἤπερ ὑμῶν τῶν μόνον ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ νοῦν ἔχειν εἰωθότων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ συντετάχθαι διὰ τέλους φρόνησις οὖσα διὰ τὸ λεπτῶς καὶ πυκνῶς πάντ' ἐξετάζειν δέδιεν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ὁρμᾶν προχείρως, ἡ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ σαφῶς τί ποτ' ἀφ' ἐκάστου πράγματος συμβήσεται διαλελογίσθαι δρậ τι καὶ νεανικὸν |
b καὶ θερμόν.

Μέλλοντος δέ τι τούτοις προστιθέναι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη· ὥρα ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ζητεῖν τι καὶ περὶ γρίφων, ἴνα τι καν βραχὺ διαστῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ποτηρίων, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Καλλίου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίου ἐπιγραφομένην Γραμματικὴν Τραγωδίαν. ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς ζητήσωμεν πρότερον μὲν τίς ὁ ὅρος τοῦ γρίφου, τίνα δὲ Κλεοβουλίνη ἡ Λινδία προὔβαλλεν ἐν τοῖς Αἰνίγμασιν· ἱκανῶς γὰρ εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ἑταῖρος | ἡμῶν Διότιμος ὁ Ὀλυμπηνός· ἀλλὰ πῶς οἱ κωμωδιο-

 $<sup>^{205}</sup>$  A glancing allusion to the next topic to be taken up (cf. 10.459b; 11.460a-b).

<sup>206</sup> For The Literal Tragedy, see 7.276a; 10.453c–4a with nn. 207 The daughter of Cleoboulus of Lindus (8.360d n.; cf. 10.445a). For her lost Obscure Sayings (in dactylic hexameter, like many riddles), see D.L. 1.89.

men, president of cheerful drinking parties hail to you! Grant us the time, assistant in good deeds,

to drink, and to play, and to have just thoughts!

Amphis in Men Who Loved Their Brothers (fr. 33) praises the life of people who like to drink and says:

I've got lots of reasons for recommending the life of us who like to drink over the life of you who're merely

used to maintaining a sensible attitude inside your heads.

Because the mentality that always stresses order, since it examines everything in a careful, thoughtful way, lacks the courage to rush into matters headlong. Whereas the opposite mentality, since it

doesn't calculate the likely outcome of every
eventuality

precisely, accomplishes something fresh and bold.

As Ulpian was on the verge of adding further remarks to the above, Aemilianus said: It is time, my friends, for us to take up the question of riddles (griphot), allowing us a break, even if a brief one, from our cups, 205 although (we will) not (pursue the matter) in the style of the play by Callias of Athens entitled The Literal Tragedy. 206 Instead, let us first consider what the definition of a riddle is, and what riddles Cleoboulina of Lindus 207 posed in her Obscure Sayings—for our friend Diotimus of Olympene discusses them at considerable length—and also what refer-

ποιοί αὐτῶν μέμνηνται, καὶ τίνα κόλασιν ὑπέμενον οί μη λύσαντες, καὶ ὁ Λαρήνσιος ἔφη ὁ μὲν Σολεὺς Κλέαρχος ούτως δρίζεται γρίφος πρόβλημά έστι παιστικόν, προστακτικόν τοῦ διὰ ζητήσεως εύρεῖν τῆ διανοία τὸ προβληθέν τιμης η έπιζημίου χάριν είρημένον. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Γρίφων ὁ αὐτὸς Κλέαρχός φησιν έπτὰ είδη είναι γρίφων. έν γράμματι μέν, οΐον έροθμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ā, ώς ὄνομά τι ἰχθύος ἢ φυτοῦ, ὁμοίως δὲ κἂν | d έχειν τι κελεύη των γραμμάτων ή μη έχειν, καθάπερ οί άσιγμοι καλούμενοι τῶν γρίφων ὅθεν καὶ Πίνδαρος πρὸς τὸ σ̄ ἐποίησεν ώδήν, οἱονεὶ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιία προβληθέντος. ἐν συλλαβη δὲ λέγονται γρίφοι, οίον έρουμεν έμμετρον ότιδήποτε οδ ήγείται Βα- οἷον Βασιλεύς. ἢ ὧν έχει τελευτὴν τὸ -ναξ, ώς Καλλιάναξ. ἢ ὧν τὸν λέοντα καθηγεῖσθαι, οἷον Λεωνίδης, η έμπαλιν τελικον είναι, οδον Θρασυλέων, έν ονόματι δέ, οξον έροθμεν ονόματα άπλα η σύνθετα e δισύλλαβα, Ιοῦ μορφή τις ἐμφαίνεται τραγικὴ ἢ πάλιν ταπεινή, η άθεα ονόματα, οξον Κλεώνυμος, η θεοφόρα, οἷον Διονύσιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἤτοι ἐξ ἐνὸς θεοῦ ἢ πλεόνων, οἷον Έρμαφρόδιτος ἢ ἀπὸ Διὸς ἄρχεσθαι, Διοκλής, η Ερμού, Ερμόδωρος η λήγειν εί τύχοι είς -

<sup>208</sup> See 10.455b-c, 467b (quoting part of the poem).

<sup>209</sup> Literally "a metrical word".

<sup>210</sup> Like Leonides and Thrasyleon (below), a personal name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Genitive Dios, whence Diocles.

ence the comic poets make to them, and how individuals who failed to solve them were punished. Larensius responded: Clearchus of Soli (fr. 86 Wehrli, including the material from On Riddles below) offers the following definition: A griphos is a facetious question that requires one to use a process of intellectual inquiry to discover what is being referred to, and that is articulated with an eye to a reward or a punishment. In his On Riddles, on the other hand, the same Clearchus claims that there are seven types of riddles. First are those that involve an individual letter. for example when we are asked to come up with words that begin with alpha, such as the name of a fish or a plant, or similarly if (the riddle-poser) specifies that the word is to contain a particular letter, or not contain it, as in the case of what are referred to as asigmatic riddles. This is why Pindar (fr. 79) composed a song directed against sigma, 208 posing a riddle, as it were, within a lyric poem. Next, riddles are posed syllabically, for example when we are asked to come up with some word used in poetry<sup>209</sup> that begins with ba-, such as basileus ("king"), or with words that end with -nax, like Callianax, <sup>210</sup> or that begin with  $le\bar{o}n$  ("lion"), for example Leonides, or alternatively that end with it, for example Thrasyleon. Next (are riddles that) involve specific nouns, for example when we are asked to come up with simple or compound bisyllabic nouns whose form appears to be tragic or the opposite, colloquial; or with names that have no divine element in them, for example Cleonymus, or that contain a divine name, for example Dionysius, and in the latter case either the name of one god or of more than one, for example Hermaphroditus; or with names that begin with Zeus,211 for example, Diocles, or with Hermes, for example, Hermodorus; or perhaps

νικος. οἱ δὲ μὴ εἰπόντες ὡς προσετάττετο ἔπινον τὸ ποτήριον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέαρχος οὕτως ὡρίσατο· τἱ δέ ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, καλέ μου Οὐλπιανέ, ζήτει. περὶ δὲ τῶν γρίφων ἀντιφάνης μὲν ἐν Κνοιθιδεῦ ἢ Γάστρωνί | φησιν

ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν τοὺς κελεύοντας λέγειν γρίφους παρὰ πότον ῷόμην ληρεῖν σαφῶς λέγοντας οὐδέν· ὁπότε προστάξειέ τις εἰπεῖν ἐφεξῆς ὅ τι φέρων τις μὴ φέρει, ἐγέλων νομίζων λῆρον, οὐκ ἂν γενόμενον οὐδέποτέ γ', οἶμαι, πρᾶγμα παντελῶς λέγειν, ‖ ἐνέδρας δ' ἔνεκα. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔγνωχ' ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἦν· φέρομεν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι δέκα ἔρανόν τιν', οὐ φέρει δὲ τούτων τὴν φορὰν οὐδείς. σαφῶς οὖν ὅ τι φέρων τις μὴ φέρει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἦν θ' ὁ γρῖφος ἐνταῦθα ῥέπων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ κἄστι συγγνώμην ἔχον· ἀλλ' οἶα λογοποιοῦσιν ἐν τῷ πράγματι οἱ τἀργύριον μὴ κατατιθέντες. ὡς σφόδρα ἱ Φίλιππος ἆρ' ἦν εὐτυχής τις, νὴ Δία.

έν δὲ ἀφροδισίω.

<sup>212</sup> E.g. Hellanicus.

213 The discussion of cups is ultimately put off until the next

day; cf. 10.459b.

<sup>214</sup> There may be a lacuna in the text after verse 14 (thus Dindorf). If not, the point is obscure, but the reference must be to Philip II of Macedon, who was—from the Athenian perspective, at any rate—a notorious liar.

<sup>215</sup> A learned cook is speaking with the man who has hired him

to produce a meal.

449

b

with one that ends in *-nikos*. <sup>212</sup> Anyone who failed to respond as requested drank the contents of the cup. This is how Clearchus defined the word; but you, my good Ulpian, must take up the question of what the cup in question is. <sup>213</sup> On the subject of riddles, Antiphanes in *The Man from Mt. Cnoithideus or Pot-Belly* (fr. 122) says:

Before this, I thought that people who tried to get others to respond to riddles

while they were drinking were talking nonsense and obviously

making no sense. Whenever someone ordered me to answer and tell him what a man doesn't carry when he's carrying it,

I laughed, because I thought he was talking nonsense, describing

something that could absolutely never happen, as far as I could tell,

just to trick me. But now I realize this

was true! Because there are ten of us bearing the cost of a dinner party, and not one of the ten is carrying

his share

of the burden. So this is obviously a case of someone carrying something

but not carrying it, which is what the riddle was hinting at.

There's an excuse for this, however;

but the wild stories the people who don't pay

their money tell in the course of the business . . .

What a

really lucky guy Philip is, by Zeus!214

And in The Sex-Fiend (fr. 55):215

(A.) πότερ' ὅταν μέλλω λέγειν σοι τὴν χύτραν, <χύτραν> λέγω

η τροχοῦ ῥύμαισι τευκτὸν κοιλοσώματον κύτος, πλαστὸν ἐκ γαίης, ἐν ἄλλη μητρὸς ὀπτηθὲν στέγη,

νεογενοῦς ποίμνης δ' ἐν αὑτῆ πνικτὰ γαλατοθρέμμονα,

τακερόχρωτ' είδη κύουσαν; (Β.) Ἡράκλεις, ἀποκτενείς

ἆρά μ', εἰ μὴ γνωρίμως μοι πάνυ φράσεις κρεῶν χύτραν.

(A.) εὖ λέγεις. Εουθῆς μελίσσης νάμασιν δὲ συμμιγῆ

μηκάδων αίγων ἀπόρρουν θρόμβον, ἐγκαθειμένον εἰς πλατὰ στέγαστρον ἁγνῆς παρθένου Δηοῦς κόρης,

λεπτοσυνθέτοις τρυφῶντα μυρίοις καλύμμασιν, η σαφῶς πλακοῦντα φράζω σοι; (Β.) πλακοῦντα βούλομαι.

(A.) Βρομιάδος δ' ίδρῶτα πηγῆς; (B.) οἶνον εἰπὲ συντεμών.

(A.) λιβάδα νυμφαίαν δροσώδη; (B.) παραλιπὼν ὕδωρ φάθι. Ι

(A.) κασιόπνουν δ' αὔραν δι' αἴθρας;
 (Β.) σμύρναν εἰπέ, μὴ μακράν,
 μηδὲ τοιοῦτ' ἄλλο μηδέν, μηδὲ τοὔμπαλιν λέγων,

μησε τοιουτ αλλο μησεν, μησε τουμπαλιν λέγων, ὅτι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἔργον εἶναι μεῖζον, ὥς φασίν τινες,

αὐτὸ μὲν μηδέν, παρ' αὐτὸ δ' ἄλλα συστρέφειν πυκνά.

c

d

- (A.) When I'm about to mention the cookpot to you—should I say "a cookpot"
- or "a hollow-bodied concavity, forged under the impulse of a wheel,
- moulded of earth, baked in a separate chamber sprung from its mother,
- and pregnant within with casseroled, milk-nourished portions of a new-born
- flock, tender-fleshed forms"? (B.) Heracles! You'll be the death
- of me, if you don't refer in a perfectly intelligible way to a "cookpot full of meat".
- (A.) Very good. Should I refer to "a curdled mass that flows from bleeting she-goats,
- mingled with streams spawned by a tawny honeybee, nested
- in a broad wrapper belonging to Deo's sacred virgin daughter,
- and luxuriant with countless fine-textured veilings"; or should I describe it clearly to you as "a cake"? (B.)

  I prefer "a cake".
- (A.) "The sweat of Bromius' spring"? (B.) Keep it short—say "wine"!
- (A.) "A dewy nymphaic font"? (B.) Drop that and use the word "water"!
- (A.) "A cassia-breathing trans-ethereal waft"? (B.) Say "incense"; don't stretch it out,
- and don't say anything else like that—or the opposite, either;
- because this looks like a lot of work, to talk like some people do,
- not actually naming anything, but putting together a mass of other words that allude to it.

καὶ "Αλεξις δὲ ἐν "Υπνω τοιούτους γρίφους προβάλλει"

(A.) οὐ θνητὸς οὐδ' ἀθάνατος, ἀλλ' ἔχων τινὰ σύγκρασιν, ὥστε μήτ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου μέρει μήτ' ἐν θεοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ φύεσθαί τ' ἀεὶ ! καινῶς φθίνειν τε τὴν παρουσίαν πάλιν, ἀόρατος ὄψιν, γνώριμος δ' ἄπασιν ὤν.

(Β.) ἀεὶ σὺ χαίρεις, ὧ γύναι, μ' αἰνίγμασι—

- (Α.) καὶ μὴν ἀπλᾶ γε καὶ σαφῆ λέγω μαθεῖν.
- (Β.) τίς οὖν τοιαύτην παῖς ἔχων ἔσται φύσιν;

(Α.) ὕπνος, βροτείων, ὧ κόρη, παυστὴρ πόνων.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Σφιγγοκαρίωνι τοιούτους γρίφους προβάλλει, αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπιλύων αὐτούς·

(A.) ἔστι λαλῶν ἄγλωσσος, ὁμώνυμος ἄρρενι θῆλυς,

οἰκείων ἀνέμων ταμίας, δασύς, ἄλλοτε λείος, Ι ἀξύνετα ξυνετοῖσι λέγων, νόμον ἐκ νόμου ἔλκων εν δ' ἐστὶν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἂν τρώση τις ἄτρωτος. τί ἔστι τοῦτο; τί ἀπορεῖς; (Β.) Καλλίστρατος. (Α.) πρωκτὸς μὲν οὖν οὖτός <γε> σὰ δὲ ληρεῖς ἔχων.

οὖτος γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν ἄγλωττος λάλος,

e

f

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Since, as Speaker B sees it, Callistratus (*PAA* 561575; a prominent Athenian politician in the first half of the 4th century BCE) is a babbler (verses 1–3), an effeminate (verse 1), devoted to generating endless legislation (verse 3), and impervious to criticism (verse 4).

<sup>217</sup> Sc. when it produces farts.

#### BOOK X

Alexis in Sleep (fr. 242) also poses riddles of this type:

(A.) Not mortal or immortal, but containing a mixture, so as to live neither in the human sphere nor in the divine, but to always both be coming into being

afresh and nonetheless diminishing its presence, unseen by eyes, but recognized by all.

- (B.) You're always happy to use riddles, woman, to
- (A.) In fact, what I'm saying is simple and easy to understand.
- (B.) So what child could ever be like this?
- (A.) Sleep, my girl, who puts an end to mortal troubles.

Eubulus in *Sphinx-Carion* (fr. 106) poses riddles of this type, but solves them himself:

- (A.) It is something that lacks a tongue, but speaks; the female shares a name with the male;
- it safeguards many winds; is hairy, but at other times hairless;
- says what makes no sense to the sensible; and extracts one law from another.
- It is one and many; and if someone wounds it, it remains unwounded.
- What is it? Why are you puzzled? (B.) It's Callistratus!<sup>216</sup>
- (A.) No—it's an asshole. You're always talking nonsense.
- An asshole's both tongueless and capable of speech;<sup>217</sup>

ἒν ὄνομα πολλοῖς, τρωτὸς ἄτρωτος, δασὺς λεῖος. τί βούλει; πνευμάτων πολλῶν φύλαξ ∥

450 ἀττελεβόφθαλμος, † μὴ πρόστομος †, ἀμφικέφαλος, αἰχμητής, παίδων ἀγόνων γόνον ἐξαφανίζων.

## ίχνεύμων Αἰγύπτιος

τῶν γὰρ κροκοδίλων οὖτος ᢤὰ λαμβάνων πρὶν θηριοῦσθαι τὸν γόνον καταγνύει, ἔπειτ' ἀφανίζει. διότι δ' <ἔστ' > ἀμφίστομος; κεντεῖ κάτωθε, τοῖς δὲ χείλεσιν δάκνει

οἶδ' ἐγὼ δς νέος ὤν ἐστιν βαρύς, ἃν δὲ γέρων ἢ, ἄπτερος ὢν κούφως πέταται καὶ γῆν ἀφανίζει.

# πάππος ἀπ' ἀκάνθης οὖτος γὰρ

νέος μὲν ὢν ἱ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ σπέρματι,
 ὅταν δ' ἀποβάλη τοῦτο, πέτεται κοῦφος ὤν,
 δήπουθεν ὑπὸ τῶν παιδίων φυσώμενος.

έστιν ἄγαλμα μεμυκὸς ἄνω, τὰ κάτω δὲ κεχηνός, εἰς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς τετρημένον ὀξὺ διαπρό, ἀνθρώπους τίκτον κατὰ τὴν πυγὴν ἕν' ἕκαστον,

<sup>218</sup> Sc. when penetrated by a penis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> The solution to the riddle, which follows in the next four verses, is in iambic trimeter, unlike the riddle itself (above), which is—as often; cf. 10.448b n.—in dactylic hexameter. Cf. below.

<sup>220</sup> Sc. by eating them. But the sense of the line-and-a-half that follows is obscure.

221 The solution to the riddle is again in iambic trimeter rather than dactylic hexameter; cf. above.

they all share a single name; when wounded, 218 it's unwounded; it's hairy and hairless. What more do you want? It's a guardian of many winds.

locust-eyed, † without protruding lips †, two-headed, a spearsman, which makes the spawn of unborn young vanish.

An Egyptian mongoose;219

Because this creature gets crocodile eggs and breaks them before the spawn turns into a beast, and then makes them vanish.<sup>220</sup> Why is it two-mouthed?

It stings from beneath, and it bites with its lips.

I know something that is heavy when young; but when it is old,

it flies off lightly, despite lacking wings, and makes the earth disappear.

Thistle-down: because this<sup>221</sup>

is attached to the seed when young; but once it releases its seed, it flies off lightly, when children blow on it, obviously.

There is an extraordinary object that is closed tight on top, but wide open on the bottom, and is pierced straight through from head to foot, and produces one person at a time from its butt.

ὧν οἱ μὲν μοίρας ἔλαχον βίου, οἱ δὲ πλανῶνται, † αὐτὸ δ' ἔκαστος ἔχων αὐτόν, καλέω δὲ φυλάττειν †. |

- c ταῦτα δ' ὅτι κληρωτικὸν σημαίνει ὑμεῖς διακρίνατε, ἴνα μὴ πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐβούλου λαμβάνωμεν. ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν τῷ Προβλήματί φησιν.
  - (Α.) ἰχθύσιν ἀμφίβληστρον ἀνὴρ πολλοῖς περιβάλλειν

οἰηθεὶς μεγάλη δαπάνη μίαν εἴλκυσε πέρκην καὶ ταύτην ψευσθεὶς ἄλλην κεστρεὺς † ἴσον αὐτὴν

ηρεν. βουλομένη δ' επεται πέρκη μελανούρω.
(Β.) κεστρεύς, ἀνήρ, μελάνουρος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι λέγεις.

οὐδὲν λέγεις γάρ. (Α.) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω. Ε ἔστι τις δς τὰ μὲν ὅντα διδοὺς οὐκ οἶδε δεδωκὼς οἷσι δέδωκ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔχων ὧν οὐδὲν ἐδεῖτο.

(Β.) διδούς τις οὐκ ἔδωκεν οὐδ΄ ἔχων ἔχει; οὐκ οἶδα τούτων οὐδέν. (Α.) οὐκοῦν ταῦτα καὶ ὁ γρῖφος ἔλεγεν. ὅσα γὰρ οἶσθ' οὐκ οἶσθα νῦν

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<sup>222</sup> I.e. a klērōtērion, used to allot jurors to particular courts in Athens by means of balls dropped in from the top; see Rhodes on [Arist.] Ath. 64.2–3 (with further bibliography). Jurors who were chosen to serve were paid for their time; others could return and try again the next day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> "A perch follows a *melanouros*" (an unidentified fish) is identified as a proverb at 7.319c.

<sup>224</sup> These two verses (like the second exchange between the speakers below) are in iambic trimeter, whereas the various riddles and mock-riddles are all in dactylic hexameter; cf. 10.448b n.

- Some of them are allotted the right to life, while others are made to wander off.
- † itself each one having him, and I summon to stand guard †.

You may judge for yourselves that these verses refer to an allotment-machine, <sup>222</sup> keeping me from having to cite the entire passage from Eubulus. Antiphanes says in *The Puzzle* (fr. 192):

- (A.) A man who expected to cast a net around a large number
- of fish caught a single perch at enormous expense; and a gray mullet who was disappointed in the perch brought another † equal
- her. A perch willingly follows a melanouros. 223
- (B.) A gray mullet, sir, a melanouros—I don't know what you're talking about;
- you're not making sense. (A.) Then I'll explain it clearly.<sup>224</sup>
- There is a man who, when he gives what he has, is unaware that he has given it
- to those he has given it to, nor that he has what he did not need at all.
- (B.) Someone giving something didn't give it, and he's got it even though he doesn't?
- I don't understand a word of this. (A.) Well, that's exactly what
- the riddle said. Because now you don't know what you know,

οὐδ' ὅσα δέδωκας οὐδ' ὅσ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἔχεις.
τοιοῦτο τοῦτ' ἦν. (Β.) τοιγαροῦν κἀγώ τινα
εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς βούλομαι γρῖφον. (Α.) λέγε.
(Β.) πίννη καὶ τρίγλη φωνὰς ἰχθῦ δύ ἔχουσαι !
πόλλ' ἐλάλουν, περὶ ὧν δὲ πρὸς ὅν τ' ῷοντο
λέγειν τι,

οὐκ ἐλάλουν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμάνθανεν, ὥστε πρὸς δν μὲν

ην αὐταῖς ὁ λόγος, πρὸς δ' αὐτὰς πολλὰ λαλούσας—

αὐτὰς ἀμφοτέρας ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιτρίψαι.

έν δε Σαπφοῖ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης αὐτὴν τὴν ποιήτριαν προβάλλουσαν ποιεῖ γρίφους τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, ἐπιλυομένου τινὸς οὕτως. ἡ μὲν γάρ φησιν

(Σα.) ἔστι φύσις θήλεια βρέφη σώζουσ' ὑπὸ κόλποις !

αύτης, ὄντα δ' ἄφωνα βοην ἴστησι γεγωνον καὶ διὰ πόντιον οἶδμα καὶ ἠπείρου διὰ πάσης οἷς ἐθέλει θνητών, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲ παροῦσιν ἀκούειν ἔξεστιν· κωφην δ' ἀκοῆς αἴσθησιν ἔχουσιν.

ταθτά τις ἐπιλυόμενός φησιν

(Β.) ή μὲν φύσις γὰρ ἣν λέγεις ἐστὶν πόλις, βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτῆ διατρέφει τοὺς ῥήτορας.

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or what you've given, or what you got in return for it. That's what it was. (B.) Alright, I want

to tell you a riddle. (A.) Go ahead.

(B.) A pinna and red mullet—two fish that have voices—

were having a long discussion, but were not talking about what they thought they

were, or to the person they thought they were. For he understood nothing, and as a consequence the conversation

was with him, but they were having a long discussion with one another—

and I hope Demeter smashes them both!

In Sappho (fr. 194, encompassing all three passages) Antiphanes represents the poetess herself as posing riddles in this way, while a male character tries to solve them, as follows. For she says:

(Sappho) It is a female creature that keeps its children safe beneath the folds

of its garment. And though they are mute, they raise a resounding cry

through the sea-surge and the whole mainland to whichever mortals they wish, and even those who are not there

can hear them, deaf though their perception is.

The man trying to solve the riddles says the following:

(B.) Yes—because the object you're describing is a city,

and the children she nourishes inside herself are the politicians.

οὖτοι κεκραγότες δὲ τὰ διαπόντια τἀκ τῆς ᾿Ασίας καὶ τἀπὸ Θράκης λήμματα ΙΙ ἔλκουσι δεῦρο. νεμομένων δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν κάθηται λοιδορουμένων τ᾽ ἀεὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὕτ᾽ ἀκούων οὕθ᾽ ὁρῶν. (Σα.) < ... > πῶς γὰρ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, ὧ πάτερ, ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος; (Β.) ἢν ἀλῷ τρὶς παρανόμων. < ... > καὶ μὴν ἀκριβῶς ᢤόμην ἐγνωκέναι τὸ ῥηθέν. ἀλλὰ δὴ λέγε.

ἔπειτα ποιεί τὴν Σαπφὼ διαλυομένην τὸν γρίφον οὕτως:

(Σα.) θήλεια μέν νυν ἐστὶ φύσις ἐπιστολή, βρέφη δ' ἐν αὐτἢ περιφέρει τὰ γράμματα: ! ἄφωνα δ' ὄντα <ταῦτα> τοῖς πόρρω λαλεῖ οῖς βούλεθ' ἔτερος δ' ἂν τύχη τις πλησίον ἑστὼς ἀναγιγνώσκοντος οὐκ ἀκούσεται.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Θησεῖ τρεῖς ποτε κόρας Σαμίας φησὶν ᾿Αδωνίοισιν γριφεύειν παρὰ πότον προβαλεῖν δ' αὐταῖσι τὸν γρῖφον, "τί πάντων ἰσχυρότατον;" καὶ τὰν μὲν εἰπεῖν, "ὁ σίδηρος," καὶ φέρειν τούτου λόγου τὰν ἀπόδειξιν, διότι τούτω πάντ' ὀρύσσουσίν τε καὶ τέμνουσι καὶ χρῶντ' εἰς ἄπαντα. εὐδοκιμούσα δ' ἐπάγειν τὰν δευτέραν | φάσκειν τε τὸν χαλκέα πολὺ κρείττω φέρειν ἰσχύν ἐπεὶ τοῦτον κατεργαζόμενον καὶ

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<sup>225</sup> Referring to the graphē paranomōn, an Athenian legal procedure that allowed for the prosecution of a person who proposed a law or decree contrary to an existing law or decree. Anyone convicted three times on such a charge lost the right to participate in the city's political deliberations.

226 Important evidence for silent reading already in the 4th century BCE.

They shout and bring the overseas revenues from Asia and Thrace to us here. And while they're splitting the money up among themselves and constantly calling each other names,

the people sit nearby, and don't hear or see anything.
(Sappho)... For how, old sir, could
a politician lack a voice? (B.) If he's convicted three
times of making an illegal proposal!<sup>225</sup>
... And yet I thought I'd figured out
exactly what you said. But tell me (the answer).

Then he represents Sappho as offering the correct solution to the riddle, as follows:

(Sappho) The female creature is a writing tablet, and the children she carries around inside herself are the letters.

Even though they're mute, they speak to anyone they want

who's far away. And if someone else happens to be standing

nearby, he won't hear the man who's reading.226

Diphilus in *Theseus* (fr. 49) claims that once upon a time three Samian girls were telling riddles at the Adonia festival over drinks, and one of them posed the riddle, "What's the strongest thing in the world?" The first girl said "Iron," and offered as an explanation for her answer that it can dig or cut anything, and is used for purposes of all sorts. She got a positive response for this; but the second girl spoke next and said that a blacksmith is much more powerful, because in the course of his work he bends iron, no matter

τὸν σίδηρον τὸν σφοδρὸν κάμπτειν, μαλάσσειν, ὅ τι αν χρήζη ποεῖν. τὰν δὲ τρίταν ἀποφῆναι πέος ἰσχυρότατον πάντων, διδάσκειν δ΄ ὅτι καὶ τὸν χαλκέα στένοντα πυγίζουσι τούτω. ἀχαιὸς δ΄ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς γλαφυρὸς ῶν ποιητὴς περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἔσθ΄ ὅτε καὶ μελαίνει τὴν φράσιν καὶ πολλὰ αἰνιγματωδως ἐκφέρει, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἦριδι σατυρικῆ. λέγει γάρ·

λιθάργυρος ! ὅλπη παρηωρεῖτο χρίματος πλέα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην γραπτὸν ἐν διπλῷ ξύλῳ κύρβιν.

τον γὰρ λευκὸν ἱμάντα βουληθεὶς εἰπεῖν, ἐξ οὖ ἡ ἀργυρὰ λήκυθος ἐξήρτητο, Σπαρτιάτην γραπτὸν ἔφη²⁴ ἀντὶ τοῦ Σπαρτιᾶτιν σκυτάλην. ὅτι δὲ λευκῷ ἱμάντι περιειλοῦντες τὴν σκυτάλην οἱ Λάκωνες ἔγραφον ἃ ἠβούλοντο εἴρηκεν ἱκανῶς ᾿Απολλώνιος ὁ Ὑρόδιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ᾿Αρχιλόχου. καὶ Στησίχορος δ᾽ ἐν Ἑλένη

< . . . > λιθαργύρεον ποδανιπτήρα

έφη. Ίων δὲ ἐν Φοίνικι ἢ Καινεῖ δρυὸς ίδρῶτα εἴρηκε τὸν ἰξὸν ἐν τούτοις·

<sup>24</sup> ἔφη κύρβιν ΑCE: κύρβιν del. Olson

227 An oxide of lead, created by heating lead in air, and used for vessels because of its yellowish or reddish color.

228 The thong—Plutarch refers to it instead as a long strip of papyrus—was removed from the dispatch-stick after the message was written on it, and was sent off by itself; it could be read only

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how strong it is, and softens it, and does whatever he wants with it. But the third girl insisted that the strongest object in the world is a dick, and explained that when someone sticks his dick up the blacksmith's ass, it makes him groan. Although Achaeus of Eretria (TrGF 20 T 7) is a poet who composes elegantly, he occasionally uses obscure language and expresses himself in a confusing fashion, as for example in the satyr play Iris (TrGF 20 F 19), where he says:

A flask made of litharge<sup>227</sup> and full of ointment was suspended alongside the inscribed Spartiate tablet on a double peg.

Because when he wanted to refer to the white thong from which the silver oil-flask was hanging, he referred to it as an "inscribed Spartiate" rather than as a "Spartan message-staff". As for the fact that the Spartans wrapped their message-staffs in white thongs and wrote what they wanted on them, <sup>228</sup> Apollonius of Rhodes discusses this at length in his *On Archilochus*. So too Stesichorus in *Helen (PMG* 188) used the phrase

a foot-washing basin made of litharge.

Ion in *Phoenix or Caineus* (*TrGF* 19 F 40) referred to mistletoe as "oak-sweat" in the following passage:

when wrapped around another stick of precisely the same diameter, and thus provided a modestly secure means for the Spartans to communicate with their military commanders in the field. Cf. Plu. Lys. 19.5–7.

δρυός μ' ίδρὼς καὶ θαμνομήκης ῥάβδος Ι ἥ τ' Αἰγυπτία βόσκει λινουλκὸς χλαῖνα θήραγρος πέδη.

Θεοδέκτην δὲ τὸν Φασηλίτην φησὶν Ερμιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους Μαθητῶν ἱκανώτατον γεγονέναι ἀνευρεῖν τὸν προβληθέντα γρῦφον καὶ αὐτὸν προβαλεῖν ἑτέροις ἐπιδεξίως, οἷον τὸν περὶ τῆς σκιᾶς· ἔφη γὰρ εἶναί τινα φύσιν, ἢ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ φθίσιν ἐστὶ μεγίστη, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐλαχίστη. λέγει δ' οὕτως: |

f τίς φύσις οὔθ' ὄσα γαῖα φέρει τροφὸς οὔθ' ὄσα πόντος

οὔτε βροτοῖσιν ἔχει γυίων αὔξησιν ὁμοίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν γενέσει πρωτοσπόρῳ ἐστὶ μεγίστη, ἐν δὲ μέσαις ἀκμαῖς μικρά, γήρᾳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ μορφῆ καὶ μεγέθει μείζων πάλιν ἐστὶν ἀπάντων;

κάν τῷ Οἰδίποδι δὲ τῆ τραγῳδία τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εἴρηκεν αἰνιττόμενος·

εἰσὶ κασίγνηται δισσαί, ὧν ἡ μία τίκτει || τὴν ἐτέραν, αὐτὴ δὲ τεκοῦσ' ὑπὸ τῆσδε τεκνοῦται.

τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ Καλλισθένης ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φησιν, ὡς ᾿Αρκάδων πολιορκούντων Κρῶμνον (πολίχνιον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἱδρυμένον πλησίον Μεγάλης πόλεως)

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<sup>229</sup> Mistletoe berries were boiled and used to produce an adhesive substance ("birdlime"), which was smeared on the end of sticks and used to trap small birds; cf. Ar. Av. 527 with Dunbar ad loc.
230 I.e. a hunting-net? Flax was not widely grown in Greece, and linen made from it was instead imported from Egypt.
231 Called Cromne below.

Oak-sweat, and

a stick as long as a bush is wide,<sup>229</sup> and my Egyptian cloak

of spun flax,<sup>230</sup> the shackle I use to catch wild creatures, keep me fed.

According to Hermippus in his On Isocrates' Students (fr. 77 Wehrli), Theodectas of Phaselis (TrGF 72 T 10) was quite talented at figuring out any riddle presented to him and at posing clever riddles for others, for example the one about the shadow; because he said that there was a creature that is biggest when it is born and when it dies, but smallest at its prime. He puts it as follows (TrGF 72 F 18):

What creature is not among those the nourishing earth or the sea produces,

and has limbs that do not grow like those of mortal beings,

but is instead largest at its first-sown birth, tiny at its mid-most prime, and in extreme old age once again larger than at any other point in shape and size?

And in his tragedy *Oedipus* (*TrGF* 72 F 4) he refers in a riddling way to night and day:

There are twin sisters, one of whom gives birth to the other, and after giving birth she is herself born from the one she bore.

Callisthenes in his History of Greece (FGrH 124 F 13) offers a story along the following lines: When the Arcadians were besieging Cromnus<sup>231</sup>—this is a small fortified site

'Ιππόδαμος ὁ Λάκων εἶς ὢν τῶν πολιορκουμένων διεκελεύετο τῷ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤκοντι κήρυκι, δηλῶν ἐν αἰνιγμῷ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς κατάστασιν, ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ μητρὶ λύεσθαι τὸ γύναιον δέχ ἡμερῶν τὸ ἐν ᾿Απολλωνίῳ δεδεμένον, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι ἱ λύσιμον ἐσόμενον ἐὰν αὖται παρέλθωσι. καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης ἐμήνυεν σαφῶς τὸ μήνυμα: αὔτη γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ᾿Απολλωνίῳ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ᾿Απόλλωνος θρόνον διὰ γραφῆς ἀπομεμιμημένος Λιμὸς ἔχων γυναικὸς μορφήν. φανερὸν οὖν ἐγένετο πᾶσιν ὅτι δέκα ἡμέρας ἔτι καρτερῆσαι δύνανται οἱ πολιορκούμενοι διὰ τὸν λιμόν συνέντες οὖν οἱ Λάκωνες τὸ λεχθὲν ἐβοήθησαν κατὰ κράτος τοῖς ἐν τῷ Κρώμνῃ. πολλοὶ δὲ ⟨τῶν⟩<sup>25</sup> γρίφων καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσιν οἷον

ἄνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα Ι οὕτω συγκόλλως ὥστε σύναιμα ποεῖν.

τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνει σικύας προσβολήν. καὶ τὸ Πανάρκους δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γρίφων, ὅτι βάλοι ξύλῳ τε καὶ οὐ ξύλῳ καθημένην ὅρνιθα καὶ οὐκ ὅρνιθα ἀνήρ τε κοὐκ ἀνὴρ λίθῳ τε καὶ οὐ λίθῳ· τούτων γάρ ἐστι τὸ μὲν νάρθηξ, τὸ δὲ νυκτερίς, τὸ δὲ εὐνοῦχος, τὸ δὲ κίσηρις. καὶ Πλάτων δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Νόμων μνημονεύει· τοὺς τῶν τεχνυδρίων

25 add. Kaibel

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<sup>232</sup> Poralla #389; the events in question took place in 364 BCE. Although Athenaeus does not say as much, the story assumes that Hippodamus was speaking from the city's walls, in full hearing of the Arcadians.

<sup>233</sup> Heated cupping glasses were used to draw blood to the

located near Megalopolis—Hippodamus of Sparta, 232 who was one of the people trapped by the siege, used a riddle to make their situation clear, by ordering the herald the Spartans had sent to them to take a message to his mother, telling her that she needed to set the woman who was tied up inside Apollo's precinct free within ten days, since after ten days were up, it would no longer be possible to free her. He used this oblique way of speaking to get his message across clearly; because the woman in question was the figure Famine, who was depicted in a woman's form in a painting beside Apollo's throne within his precinct. It was thus apparent to everyone that the people under siege could hold out for only ten more days, because they were running out of food; and the Spartans, who understood what they were told, accordingly came in full force to relieve the men in Cromne. Many riddles are of this type, for example:

I saw a man who was using fire to glue bronze to another man

so tightly that he bound them together by blood.

This refers to the application of a cupping glass.<sup>233</sup> Panarces' riddle is of the same sort, according to Clearchus in his On Riddles (fr. 94 Wehrli): On a stick that was no stick sat a bird that was no bird, and a man who was no man hit it with a stone that was no stone; the objects in question are a fennel-stalk, a bat, a eunuch, and a pumice-stone. Plato too mentions this riddle in Book V of the Laws;<sup>234</sup> phi-

surface of the skin for blood-letting and the like; cf. 6.257a n.; 10.424b; Olson on Ar. Pax 541-2.

 $^{234}$  The reference is in fact to Book V of the Republic (479b–c), where Plato is discussing not philosophers but the essential ambiguity of evaluative adjectives.

φιλοσόφους τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν ἔφη ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν ἐοικέναι καὶ τῷ τῶν παίδων | αἰνίγματι τῷ περί τοῦ εὐνούχου της βολης πέρι της νυκτερίδος, Ε καὶ ἐφ' οὖ αὐτὸν αὐτὴν αἰνίττονται βαλείν. καὶ τὰ Πυθαγόρου δὲ αἰνίγματα τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ώς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Ποιημάτων καρδίαν μη έσθίειν άντι του άλυπίαν άσκειν. πύρ μαχαίρα μὴ σκαλεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ τεθυμωμένον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐριδαίνειν· πῦρ γὰρ ὁ θυμός, ἡ δὲ ἔρις μάχαιρα. ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πᾶσαν πλεονεξίαν φεύγειν καὶ στυγείν, ζητείν δὲ Ι τὸ ἴσον. λεωφόρους26 μὴ στείχειν ἀντὶ τοῦ γνώμη <τῶν>27 πολλῶν μὴ ἀκολουθείν είκη γαρ έκαστος ο τι αν δόξη αποκρίνεται τὴν δ' εὐθεῖαν ἄγειν ἡγεμόνι χρώμενον τῷ νῷ. μὴ καθήσθαι έπὶ χοίνικα ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐφ΄ ημέραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀεὶ προσδέχεσθαι. ‹ἀποδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι 28 ἀντὶ τοῦ ... > ὅρια γὰρ καὶ πέρας ζωῆς ὁ θάνατος τοῦτον οὖν οὐκ ἐᾶ μετὰ λύπης καὶ Φροντίδος προσίεσθαι, τῶ δὲ Θεοδέκτη παραπλησίως ἔπαιζε γρίφους καὶ Δρομέας f ὁ Κῷος, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος, | καὶ ᾿Αριστώνυμος ὁ ψιλοκιθαριστής, ἔτι δὲ Κλέων ὁ Μίμαυλος ἐπικαλούμενος, ὄσπερ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν μίμων ἄριστος

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> λεωφόρους όδοὺς ΑCE: όδοὺς om. D.L. 8.17

<sup>27</sup> add. Schweighäuser

<sup>28</sup> add. Schweighäuser (cf. D.L. 8.17)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Longer versions of very similar material are preserved at Arist. fr. 159 (from Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*); D.L. 8.17–18.
<sup>236</sup> Perhaps to be identified with the otherwise unknown para-

<sup>236</sup> Perhaps to be identified with the otherwise unknown parasite mentioned by Hegesander of Delphi at 4.132c.

losophers who occupy themselves with trivial matters, he claimed, are like people who pose ambiguous questions at banquets, or like the children's riddle about the eunuch and how he throws something at the bat, asking what he hit it with and what it was sitting on. Pythagoras' puzzles are also of this type, according to Demetrius of Byzantium in Book IV of On Poems (FHG ii.624):235 "Don't eat your heart" means "Try not to get upset"; "Don't poke at the fire with a knife" means "Don't pick a fight with a man who's already angry" (because "the fire" stands for "anger", and "a knife" stands for "an argument"); "Don't cheat a scale" means "Avoid and abhor any type of greed, and aim to be fair": "Don't walk on the main roads" means "Don't follow popular opinion" (because everyone gives what he takes to be the right answer, without thinking about it) "but follow a straight course and be guided by your intelligence"; "Don't sit on a measuring-cup" means "Don't think about the short term; always anticipate tomorrow"; "When you're leaving a place, don't turn back at the border" means . . . (because death is the boundary and edge of life, and he thus forbids us to approach it with grief or worry). According to Clearchus (fr. 93 Wehrli), Dromeas of Cos<sup>236</sup> played with riddles in much the same way that Theodectas did, 237 as was also true of Aristonymus the solo lyre-player, 238 as well as of Cleon (nicknamed "the Mime-Actor"), 239 who was the best Italian mime-actor to perform without a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Cf. 10.451e-2a.

<sup>238</sup> Stephanis #398; cf. 12.538e. For solo lyre-playing, see 14.637f-8a.

<sup>239</sup> Stephanis #1457.

γέγονεν αὐτοπρόσωπος ὑποκριτής καὶ γὰρ Νυμφοδώρου περιην έν τῷ μνημονευομένῳ μίμῳ. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἰσχόμαχος ὁ κῆρυξ ἐγένετο ζηλωτής, ὃς ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἐποιεῖτο τὰς μιμήσεις ὡς δ' εὐδοκίμει, μεταβας έν τοις θαύμασιν υπεκρίνετο μίμους, τοιούτοι δ' ήσαν οθς ἐποίουν γρίφους, || οξον ἀγροίκου τινὸς ὑπερπλησθέντος καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος, ὡς ἠρώτα αὐτὸν 453 ο ιατρος μη είς έμετον έδειπνησεν, "οὐκ έγωγε," είπειν, "άλλ' εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν." καὶ πτωχῆς τινος τὴν γαστέρα πονούσης, έπεὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς έπυνθάνετο μὴ έν γαστρὶ ἔχει, "πῶς γάρ", εἶπε, "τριταία μὴ βεβρωκυῖα;" τῶν Αριστωνύμ<ου . . . >ων δ' ἦν εὐπαρύφων λόγων, καὶ Σωσιφάνης ὁ ποιητής εἰς Κηφισοκλέα τὸν ὑποκριτήν εἶπεν λοιδορῶν αὐτὸν ὡς εὐρύστομον "ἐνέβαλον γὰρ αν σου", φησίν, "είς τὰ ἰσχία λίθον, εί μη καταρραίνειν έμελλον | τους περιεστηκότας." αρχαιότατος δ' έστὶ λογικὸς γρίφος καὶ τῆς τοῦ γριφεύειν φύσεως οἰκειότατος "τί πάντες οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διδάσκομεν:" καί "τί ταὐτὸν οὐδαμοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ;" καὶ πρὸς τούτοις "τί ταὐτὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν θαλάττη;" τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὁμωνυμία καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτος καὶ ὄφις καὶ αἰετὸς καὶ κύων ἐστὶν ἐν οὐρανῶ καὶ ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐν θαλάσση, τὸ δὲ χρόνον σημαίνει ἄμα γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁ αὖτὸς καὶ οὖδαμοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπω

<sup>240</sup> Stephanis #1894; cf. 1.19f.

<sup>241</sup> Stephanis #1304. 242 Stephanis #1400.

<sup>243</sup> Sc. because he was a lakkopröktos (literally "cistern-ass"), as a result of having been buggered so often and so hard.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. Ar. V. 21–3.
245 Sc. because arktos ("bear") can also refer to the constellation known today as the Great Bear or Big Dipper, as well as to a type of crab; ophis ("serpent") can also

mask; he was even better than Nymphodorus<sup>240</sup> in the mime-style just referred to. The herald Ischomachus<sup>241</sup> was his follower; originally he did impersonations in the marketplace, but after he got a reputation, he changed course and performed mimes in stage-shows. The riddles they performed were of the following sort: for example, a country bumpkin ate too much and felt sick, and when the doctor asked him if he had eaten until he threw up, he said: "No; actually, I was tossing my food down." And when an old beggar-woman had an upset stomach, and the doctor asked if perhaps she was pregnant, she said: "How's that possible, when my belly's been empty for three days now?" Of Aristonymus' . . . was of the crudest remarks. When the poet Sosiphanes (TrGF 92 T 3) was insulting the actor Cephisocles<sup>242</sup> for being a loud-mouth, he said: "I would have thrown a stone at your rear end, if there weren't a risk of splattering the bystanders."243 There is a very old type of riddle that involves logic and is closely connected to the essential character of posing such questions: "What do we all teach, even though we don't know it?", and "What's simultaneously nowhere and everywhere?", and in addition "What's found in the sky, on the earth, and in the sea?"244 The final example involves words with multiple meanings; because an arktos, an ophis, an aietos, and a kuon can all be found in the sky, the earth, and the sea.<sup>245</sup> (The one before that) alludes to time, which is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere, because it does not exist in any specific spot.

refer to the constellation Draco, as well as to various kinds of eel; aietos ("eagle") can also refer to the constellation Aquila, as well as to the eagle ray; and  $ku\bar{o}n$  ("dog") can also refer to Sirius (the "Dog Star"), as well as to a dogfish.

 τὴν φύσιν | ἔχειν. τὸ δὲ προάγον ἐστὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν τοῦτο γὰρ οὐθεὶς ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενος διδάσκει τὸν

πλησίον.

d

Ο δὲ ᾿Αθηναίος Καλλίας (ἐζητοῦμεν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον περὶ αὐτοῦ) μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν γενόμενος τοῖς χρόνοις Στράττιδος ἐποίησε τὴν καλουμένην Γραμματικὴν Θεωρίαν οὕτω διατάξας. πρόλογος μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων, ὃν χρὴ λέγειν²9 διαιροῦντας κατὰ τὰς παραγραφὰς καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν καταστροφικῶς ποιουμένους εἰς τἄλφα·

<τὸ ἄλφα>, βῆτα, γάμμα, Ι δέλτα, θεοῦ γὰρ εἶ, ζῆτ², ἦτα, θῆτ², ἰῶτα, κάππα, λάβδα, μῦ, νῦ, ξεῖ, τὸ οὖ, πεῖ, ῥῶ, τὸ σίγμα, ταῦ, <τὸ> ὖ, παρὸν <τὸ> φεῖ, <τὸ> χεῖ τε τῷ ψεῖ εἰς τὸ ὧ.

ό χορὸς δὲ γυναικῶν ἐκ τῶν σύνδυο πεποιημένος αὐτῷ ἐστιν ἔμμετρος ἄμα καὶ μεμελοπεποιημένος τόνδε τὸν τρόπον βῆτα ἄλφα βα, βῆτα εἶ βε, βῆτα ἦτα βη, βῆτα ἰῶτα βι, βῆτα οὖ βο, βῆτα ὖ βυ, βῆτα ὧ βω, καὶ

 $^{29}$  ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων, ὃν χρὴ λέγειν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων Α: ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων $^2$  del. Petitus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> I.e. "a personality". Or perhaps the Greek means "having breath", in which case what follows must mean "because even though none of us knows about this (i.e. about whether his breath stinks or not), whoever stands close to him knows at once."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Strattis appears to belong to the very end of the 5th century BCE or the beginning of the 4th (his *Anthroporestes* dates to after 408, and his *Atalantus or Atalanta* is said to have been staged "much later" than Aristophanes' *Frogs* in 405), whereas the comic playwright Callias dates to the 440s and 430s or so (test. 3–\*5) and is thus perhaps someone different from the poet referred to here

And the initial example refers to having a soul;<sup>246</sup> because even though none of us knows his soul, he informs anyone who comes in contact with him about it.

Callias of Athens (Call. Com. test. \*7)—we explored some questions having to do with him previously (7.276a; 10.448b)—was a bit earlier than Strattis (test. 3)<sup>247</sup> and wrote the so-called *Literal Review*, which he organized as follows. The play's prologue consists of letters, and when you read it aloud, you need to follow the punctuation and bring it all full circle, ending with *alpha*:

The letter alpha,  $b\bar{e}ta$ , gamma, delta, ei (which belongs to a god),  $^{248}$ 

zēta, ēta, thēta, iōta, kappa, labda, mu,

nu, xei, the letter ou, pei, rhō, the letter sigma, tau, the letter u.

also the letters *phei* and *chei*, followed by the letter *psei* and ending in the letter  $\bar{o}$ .

His chorus<sup>249</sup> consisted of women who represented pairs of letters and sang in meter, in a lyric style, in the following way: bēta alpha ba, bēta ei be, bēta ēta bē, bēta iōta bi, bēta ou bo, bēta u bu, bēta ō bō, and likewise in the antistro-

(= TrGF 233). The plays by Euripides and Sophocles mentioned below and supposedly influenced by the *Literal Review*, on the other hand, date to 431 BCE and perhaps the early 420s, respectively.

<sup>248</sup> Sc. to Apollo, upon whose temple an image of the letter E was somehow suspended (Plu. *Mor.* 384d–94c, esp. 384f–5a).

249 "Chorus" is apparently used here and below to refer not just to the 24 individuals (one per letter) who sang and danced in the *orchestra*, but to their initial entrance song (normally called the *parodos*).

πάλιν ἐν ἀντιστρόφω τοῦ μέλους καὶ τοῦ μέτρου γάμμα ἄλφα (γα), γάμμα εἶ (γε), γάμμα ἦτα (γη), γάμμα ιὧτα (γι), γάμμα οὖ (γο), γάμμα ὖ (γυ), ε γάμμα ὧ (γω), καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συλλαβῶν | ὁμοίως ἐκάστων τό τε μέτρον καὶ τὸ μέλος ἐν ἀντιστρόφοις ἔχουσι πᾶσαι ταὐτόν. ὥστε τὸν Εὐριπίδην μὴ μόνον ὑπονοεῖσθαι τὴν Μήδειαν ἐντεῦθεν πεποιηκέναι πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλος αὐτὸ μετενηνοχότα φανερὸν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διελεῖν φασιν ἀποτολμῆσαι τὸ ποίημα τῷ μέτρω τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντα καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι οὕτως.

έγω οὔτ' έμαυτὸν οὕτε σ' άλγυνω < . . . > ταῦτ' < . . . > ἐλεγχθείς.  $^{30}$ 

διόπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς ἀντιστρόφους ἀπὸ τούτου παρf εδέχοντο πάντες, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς τὰς τραγφδίας. Ι καὶ μετὰ τὸν χορὸν εἰσάγει πάλιν ἐκ τῶν φωνηέντων ἡῆσιν οὕτως (ἡν δεῖ κατὰ τὰς παραγραφὰς ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγοντα διαιρεῖν, ἵν' ἡ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ὑπόκρισις σῷζηται κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν)·

(A.) ἄλφα μόνον, ὧ γυναῖκες, εἶ τε δεύτερον λέγειν μόνον χρή. (Χο.) καὶ τρίτον μόνον γ' ἐρεῖς.

30 Sophocles actually wrote έγὼ οὕτ' ἐμαυτὸν οὕτε σ' ἀλγυ-νῶ. τί ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἐλέγχεις;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> An almost imcomprehensibly odd assertion (also made at 7.276a, where the information is specifically said to be drawn from Book I of Clearchus' *On Riddles*, which must again be Athenaeus' source here).

phic portion of the song and the meter: gamma alpha ga, gamma ei ge, gamma ēta gē, gamma iōta gi, gamma ou go, gamma u gu, gamma ō gō, and so on similarly through each of the other syllables, all of which have the same metrical and lyrical structure organized in antistrophic form. Euripides is accordingly not only suspected of having composed his entire Medea using this as his source, but has also patently borrowed the song itself. And people say that after Sophocles (test. 175b) heard this song, he got up the nerve to put his work into verse and wrote the following in his Oedipus (332–3):

I will cause pain neither to myself nor to you if convicted of these crimes. 251

As a consequence, apparently, all the other (poets) adopted antistrophic songs into their tragedies from this source. After the chorus, <sup>252</sup> moreover, he introduces a speech made up of vowels (you need to follow the punctuation when you read it aloud, as with the passage discussed above, <sup>253</sup> so that the delivery-style intended by the poet is preserved to the extent possible); it goes as follows:

- (A.) You must pronounce "alpha" all by itself, ladies, and after that
- "ei" all by itself. (Chorus) You'll pronounce the third one all by itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Sc. of stealing poetic material? But the argument is obscure (and, to the extent it is clear, ridiculous).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> I.e. the chorus' opening processional song; see above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> At 10.453c-d.

(A.) ἦτ' ἄρα φήσω. (Xo.) τό τε τέταρτόν αὖ μόνον

ίῶτα, πέμπτον οὖ, τό θ' ἔκτον ὖ μόνον λέγε. (Α.) λοίσθιον <λέγειν> δὲ φωνῶ σοι τὸ ὧ τῶν ἔπτὰ φωνῶν, ἔπτὰ δ' ἐν μέτροις μόνον. || καὶ τοῦτο λέξασ' εἶτα δὴ σαυτῆ λάλει.

454

Δεδήλωκε δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰαμβείων γράμμα πρῶτος οὖτος ἀκολαστότερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, πεφρασμένον δὲ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον

κύω γὰρ, ὧ γυναῖκες. ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ, φίλαι, ἐν γράμμασι σφῷν τοὕνομ' ἐξερῶ βρέφους. ὀρθὴ μακρὰ γραμμή 'στιν ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς μέσης μικρὰ παρεστῶσ' ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπτία. ἔπειτα κύκλος πόδας ἔχων βραχεῖς δύο.

δθεν ὕστερον, ὡς <ầν>31 ὑπονοήσειε τις, Μαιάνδριος b μεν ὁ Ι συγγραφεὺς μικρὸν διὰ τῆς ερμηνείας τῆ μιμήσει παρεγκλίνας συνέγραψεν εν τῶν Παραγγελμάτων φορτικώτερον τοῦ ἑηθέντος, Εὐριπίδης δε τὴν ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ τὴν ἐγγράμματον ἔοικε ποιῆσαι ἑῆσιν. βοτὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγράμματος αὐτόθι δηλῶν τοὔνομα τοῦ Θησέως ἐπιγεγραμμένον οὕτως.

> έγω πέφυκα γραμμάτων μεν οὐκ ἴδρις, μορφας δε λέξω και σαφη τεκμήρια.

# 31 add. Meineke

 $<sup>^{254}</sup>$  Literally "a letter"; but the style in this section is extremely awkward, and the author (presumably the routinely opaque Clearchus) is plainly referring to a set of letters rather than only one.  $^{255}$  I.e.  $\Psi\Omega,$  which Dalechamp took to be the first two letters of  $\psi \dot{\omega} \alpha$  ("rotten stench" and thus here "fart").

# BOOK X

(A.) Right; I'll say "ēta". (Chorus) And then pronounce the fourth all

by itself, "iōta"; and the fifth, "ou"; and the sixth, "u", all by itself. (A.) I urge you to pronounce "ō" as the

of the seven vowels, seven in meter all by themselves. And after you've pronounced that one, say it to yourself.

This author was the first to use iambic verse to describe a word<sup>254</sup> that has a rather crude meaning, but is alluded to in the following fashion:

For I'm pregnant, ladies. But since I'm embarrassed, my friends,

I'll tell you the baby's name by spelling it.

There's a big letter that stands up straight, and emerging from its middle

on either side are small parts that lean backward. Then there's a circle with two tiny feet. 255

This is the source, one might suspect, on which the proseauthor Maeandrius drew later on (although he deviated a bit from the original when he imitated it, by way of interpretation) when he made one of his *Precepts* (*FGrH* 491 F 6) even cruder than the passage discussed above. Euripides as well appears to have used this as the basis for the speech that describes the shape of individual letters in his *Theseus* (fr. 382). An illiterate shepherd is there, trying to describe an inscription that reads "Theseus", as follows:

I don't know how to read or write, but I'll describe their shapes and offer you a clear account.

κύκλος τις ως τόρνοισιν ἐκμετρούμενος, οὖτος δ' ἔχει σημεῖον ἐν μέσω σαφές: Ι τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πρῶτα μὲν γραμμαὶ δύο, ταύτας διείργει δ' ἐν μέσαις ἄλλη μία· τρίτον δὲ βόστρυχός τις ὡς εἰλιγμένος· τὸ δ' αὖ τέταρτον ἡ μὲν εἰς ὀρθὸν μία, λοξαὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς τρεῖς κατεστηριγμέναι εἴσιν· τὸ πέμπτον δ' οὐκ ἐν εὐμαρεῖ φράσαι· γραμμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἐκ διεστώτων δύο, αὖται δὲ συντρέχουσιν εἰς μίαν βάσιν· τὸ λοίσθιον δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ προσεμφερές.

d τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πεποίηκε καὶ ᾿Αγάθων ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς Ι ἐν τῷ Τηλέφῳ· ἀγράμματος γάρ τις κἀνταῦθα δηλοῦ τὴν τοῦ Θησέως ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως·

γραφης ὁ πρώτος ην μεσόμφαλος κύκλος· 
ὀρθοί τε κανόνες ἐζυγωμένοι δύο,
Σκυθικῷ τε τόξῷ <τὸ> τρίτον ην προσεμφερές· 
ἔπειτα τριόδους πλάγιος ην προσκείμενος· 
ἐψ΄ ἐνός τε κανόνος ησαν < . . . > δύο· 
ὅπερ δὲ τὸ τρίτον, ην τελευταιον πάλιν.

καὶ Θεοδέκτης δ' ὁ Φασηλίτης ἄγροικόν τινα ἀγράμματον | παράγει καὶ τοῦτον τὸ τοῦ Θησέως ὄνομα διασημαίνοντα

γραφής ὁ πρῶτος ἦν † μαλακόφθαλμος † κύκλος. ἔπειτα δισσοὶ κανόνες ἰσόμετροι πάνυ,

c

<sup>256</sup> I.e. ΘΗΣΕΥΣ ("Theseus").

# BOOK X

There's a circle neatly measured out, as if turned on a lathe,

with a prominent mark in the middle.

As for the second letter, there are two lines, first of all,

and one more, in the middle, that connects them. The third resembles a curling lock of hair; as for the fourth, one line stands up straight, and three crooked ones are propped up against it. The fifth letter's not easy to describe: there are two lines that are separate from one another,

although they merge into a single base. And the last letter's like the third.<sup>256</sup>

The tragic poet Agathon has a similar passage in his *Tele-phus* (*TrGF* 39 F 4). For there as well an illiterate person describes an inscription that reads "Theseus," as follows:

The first letter in the inscription was a circle with a dot in the center;

there were also two upright bars attached to one another,

and the third letter looked like a Scythian bow. Next was a trident turned sideways;

and two . . . were on a single bar.

The third letter appeared again as the last.

Theodectas of Phaselis (TrGF 72 F 6) also brings an illiterate peasant onstage, and he too describes Theseus' name:

The first letter in the inscription was a circle † with a soft eye †.

Then there were two bars of exactly the same length,

τούτους δὲ πλάγιος διαμέτρου συνδεῖ κανών, τρίτον δ' ελικτῷ βοστρύχῳ προσεμφερές. επειτα τριόδους πλάγιος ως εφαίνετο, πέμπται δ' ἄνωθεν ἰσόμετροι ῥάβδοι δύο, αὖται δὲ συντείνουσιν εἰς βάσιν μίαν· | εκτον δ' ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν εἶφ', ὁ βόστρυχος.

καὶ Σοφοκλής δὲ τούτῳ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησεν ἐν ᾿Αμφιαράῳ σατυρικῷ τὰ γράμματα παράγων ὀρχούμενον.

Νεοπτόλεμος δε ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν Χαλκηδόνι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θρασυμάχου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγεγράφθαι τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:

τοὕνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σὰν ὖ μῦ ἄλφα χεῖ οὖ σάν, πατρὶς Χαλκηδών ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη.

τὸ δὲ Καστορίωνος τοῦ Σολέως, ὡς ὁ Κλέαρχός φησιν, εἰς τὸν Πῶνα ποίημα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τῶν ποδῶν ‖ ἔκαστος ὅλοις ὀνόμασιν περιειλημμένος πάντας ὁμοίως ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ ἀκολουθητικοὺς ἔχει τοὺς πόδας, οἶον·

σὲ τὸν βολαῖς νιφοκτύποις δυσχείμερον ναίονθ' ἔδραν, θηρονόμε Πάν, χθόν' Ἀρκάδων, κλήσω γραφῆ τῆδ' ἐν σοφῆ πάγκλειτ' ἔπη

258 I.e. ΘΡΑΣΥΜΑΧΟΣ ("Thrasymachus").

f

455

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Presumably the Thrasymachus of Chalcedon who appears in Plato's *Republic* (85 A 8 D–K). The epigram violates the otherwise firm rule that the deceased's native land is not named unless he is buried abroad, casting doubt on its authenticity.

and a sideways bar in between connected them.
The third letter resembled a twisting lock of hair.
Then came what looked like a trident turned sideways;

and fifth were two bars of equal length on top, which converged into a single base.

And the sixth was what I described earlier, the lock of

Sophocles as well has a similar passage in the satyr play *Amphiaraus* (fr. 121), where he brings a man onstage who dances the letters.

Neoptolemus of Parium in his On Epigrams (fr. 7 Mette) claims that the following epigram (anon. FGE 1568-9) is inscribed on the tomb of the sophist Thrasymachus<sup>257</sup> in Chalcedon:

My name is  $th\bar{e}ta$ ,  $rh\bar{o}$ , alpha, san, u, mu, alpha, xei, ou, san,  $^{258}$ 

my fatherland is Chalcedon; and my trade is wisdom.

According to Clearchus (fr. 88 Wehrli), Castorion of Soli's poem in honor of Pan (SH 310) is composed in the following way. Each foot consists of complete words, and all the feet it contains can stand either at the head of the line or within it, for example:

You who inhabit an abode made wintry by bolts of rattling snow, Pan, tender of wild beasts, the land of Arcadia,

I shall invoke you by knitting together in this clever composition,

συνθείς, ἄναξ, δύσγνωστα μη σοφῷ κλύειν, μωσοπόλε θήρ, κηρόχυτον δς μείλιγμ' ίεις,

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. τούτων δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν ποδῶν, ὡς ἂν τἢ τάξει θῆς, τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον ἀποδώσει, οὕτως:

σὲ τὸν βολαῖς νιφοκτύποις δυσχείμερον, νιφοκτύποις σὲ τὸν βολαῖς δυσχείμερον.

καὶ ὅτι τῶν ποδῶν ἔκαστός ἐστι ἐνδεκαγράμματος. ἔστι καὶ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀλλ' ἐτέρως ποιῆσαι, ἄστε πλείω πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἔχειν οὕτω λέγοντας.

μέτρον φράσον μοι τῶν ποδῶν <μέτρον λαβών>. λαβὼν μέτρον μοι τῶν ποδῶν μέτρον φράσον. οὐ βούλομαι γὰρ τῶν ποδῶν μέτρον λαβεῖν. λαβεῖν μέτρον γὰρ τῶν ποδῶν οὐ βούλομαι.

Πίνδαρος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσιγμοποιηθεῖσαν ὡδήν, Ι c ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι Κλέαρχος, οἱονεὶ γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιία προβληθέντος, ὡς πολλῶν τούτω προσκρουόντων διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ σίγμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκιμάζειν, ἐποίησε:32

<sup>32</sup> A truncated version of the text, which ought to read ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβων / καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων.

h

 $<sup>^{259}</sup>$  Counting what is printed in our text as  $\it iota\text{-} \rm subscript$  as a letter.

# BOOK X

lord, widely-renowned phrases that are difficult for dull listeners,

poetic beast, you who produce a soothing song moulded from wax.

The rest is similar. But each foot will produce the same metrical pattern, no matter where you place it in the line, as follows:

You who inhabit an abode made wintry by bolts, You who an abode inhabit by bolts made wintry.

In addition, each foot contains eleven letters.<sup>259</sup> It is also possible to compose in a different way than this, allowing for the creation of a number of lines out of one, by putting it thus:

Tell me the meter after you measure the feet. After you measure the feet, tell me the meter. Because I do not wish to measure the feet. Because to measure the feet I do not wish.

According to the same Clearchus (fr. 88 Wehrli, continued), <sup>260</sup> Pindar was referring to the asigmatic style of poetry, and a sort of riddle, as it were, is posed in his lyrics, since many people became upset with him as a result of his inability to avoid the letter sigma and because they disapproved of this tendency, when he wrote (fr. 70b.1–3, lacunose):<sup>261</sup>

 $^{260}$  Cf. 10.448c–d (also quoting Clearchus and referring to, but not quoting, Pindar).

<sup>261</sup> Quoted again at 11.467b (also lacunose).

πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ < ... > καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις.

ταῦτα σημειώσαιτ' ἄν τις πρὸς τοὺς νοθεύοντας Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως τὴν ἄσιγμον ὧδήν, ἥτις ἐπιγράφεται Κένταυροι. καὶ ὁ εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνη ποιηθεὶς τῷ Λάσῳ ὕμνος ἄσιγμός ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἱ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Μουσικῆς, οὖ ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον.

*ἔστιν εὐπορῆσαι καὶ ἄλλων γρίφων*·

ἐν Φανερᾶ γενόμαν, πάτραν δέ μου άλμυρὸν ὕδωρ

ἀμφὶς ἔχει μήτηρ δ' ἔστ' Αριθμοῖο πάις.

Φανερậ μὲν οὖν λέγει τῆ Δήλφ, ἥτις ὑπὸ θαλάσσης περιέχεται, μήτηρ δ' ἡ Λητώ, ἦτις Κοίου ἐστὶ θυγάτηρ Μακεδόνες δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν κοίον προσαγοε ρεύουσι. Ι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πτισάνης

κριθης ἀφλοίου χυλὸν ὀργάσας πίε.

πεποίηται δὲ τῆς πτισάνης τοὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ πτίσσειν καὶ ἀνεῖν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοχλίου· φέρεται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τεύκρου 'Ορισμοῖς'

262 At 14.624e-f, Athenaeus, again citing Heracleides, quotes a slightly different—but still asigmatic—version of the fragment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> I.e. Hades (as god of the dead, better left unnamed). Kora is a Doric form of Korē ("the Girl"), i.e. Demeter's daughter Persephone. <sup>264</sup> Apollo or Artemis. <sup>265</sup> Because "Delos" is literally "clear, apparent", and the adjective phaneros (feminine phanera) means "visible, evident" vel sim.

Before this, song walked a straight line . . . and people regarded the letter san as dishonest.

One might point to this passage in responding to those who question the authenticity of the asigmatic song entitled *Centaurs* attributed to Lasus of Hermione (*PMG* 704). The hymn Lasus wrote in honor of Demeter of Hermione is also asigmatic, according to Heracleides of Pontus in Book III of *On Music* (fr. 161 Wehrli). Its opening line is (*PMG* 702.1):<sup>262</sup>

I celebrate Demeter and Kora, wife of the Well-Known One.<sup>263</sup>

One can also find many other riddles:

I was born on Phanera, and saltwater enfolds my fatherland. But my mother is Number's child.

By Phanera the speaker<sup>264</sup> means Delos,<sup>265</sup> which is surrounded by the sea, while the speaker's mother is Leto, who is the daughter of Coius;<sup>266</sup> and the Macedonians use the word *koios* to mean "number". And referring to barley-gruel:

Soften up the juice of husked barley and drink it.

The noun ptisanē ("barley-gruel") is formed from ptissein ("to pound, rough-mill [grain]") and anein (also "to pound, rough-mill [grain]"). 267 And referring to a snail; this one is preserved in Teucrus' Definitions (FGrH 274 F 3):

266 Cf. Hes. Th. 404-6.

 $^{267}\,ptisan\bar{e}$  is in fact related to ptissein, but has no connection to anein.

ζῷον ἄπουν ἀνάκανθον ἀνόστεον ὀστρακόνωτον ὅμματά τ' ἐκκύπτοντα προμήκεα κεἰσκύπτοντα.

'Αντιφάνης δ' ἐν Αύτοῦ 'Ερῶντί φησι: !

f τροφαλίδας τε λινοσάρκους, μανθάνεις; τυρὸν λέγω.

'Αναξανδρίδης Αἰσχρậ.

άρτίως διηρτάμηκε, καὶ τὰ μὲν διανεκή σώματος μέρη δαμάζετ' ἐν πυρικτίτοισι γᾶς· Τιμόθεος ἔφη ποτ', ἄνδρες, τὴν χύτραν, οἶμαι, λέγων.

Τιμοκλής δ' ἐν ήρωσιν

(A.) ώς δ' ἦν ἦρμένη βίου τιθήνη, πολεμία λιμοῦ, φύλαξ φιλίας, ἰατρὸς ἐκλύτου βουλιμίας, ΙΙ τράπεζα. (B.) περιέργως <γε>, νὴ τὸν οὐρανόν ἐξὸν φράσαι "τράπεζα" συντόμως.

456

Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ ᾿Αδώνιδι χρησμὸν δοθῆναι λέγων Κινύρα ὑπὲρ ᾿Αδώνιδος τοῦ υἱοῦ φησιν

& Κινύρα, βασιλεῦ Κυπρίων, ἀνδρῶν δασυπρώκτων,

παῖς σοι κάλλιστος μὲν ἔφυ θαυμαστότατός τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων, δύο δ' αὐτὸν δαίμον' ὀλεῖτον, Ι ἡ μὲν ἐλαυνομένη λαθρίοις ἐρετμοῖς, ὁ δ' ἐλαύνων.

b

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Cf. the very similar riddle at 2.63b with n.

 $<sup>^{269}</sup>$  Because the cheese in question was set in linen netting to dry.  $^{270} = PMG$  798.

An animal with no foot, or spine, or bones, but with a back made of shell,

and that pops its long eyes in and out.268

Antiphanes says in *The Man Who Was in Love with Himself* (fr. 51):

and linen-fleshed curdlings. Do you understand? I'm referring to cheese.<sup>269</sup>

Anaxandrides in Aeschra (fr. 6):

He's just now finished the butchering, and the longcut

portions of flesh are being subdued in fire-formed bits of earth;

thus Timotheus at some point, gentlemen, referring, I believe, to a cookpot.<sup>270</sup>

Timocles in Heroes (fr. 13):

(A.) And thus was carried away the nurse of life, enemy of starvation, guardian of friendship, healer of unbounded ravenousness—the table. (B.) Elaborately expressed, by heaven—when you could've just said "the table"!

Plato in his *Adonis* (fr. 3) reports that Cinyras received an oracle about his son Adonis, and says:

Cinyras, king of the hairy-assed Cyprians, your son is the most amazingly beautiful person in the entire world. But two divinities will bring about his ruin,

the goddess by being rowed with secret oars, the god by rowing.

λέγει δ' 'Αφροδίτην καὶ Διόνυσον ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἤρων τοῦ 'Αδώνιδος. καὶ τὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς δὲ αἴνιγμα 'Ασκληπιάδης ἐν τοῖς Τραγωδουμένοις τοιοῦτον εἶναί φησιν

ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὖ μία φωνή, καὶ τρίπον, ἀλλάσσει δὲ φύσιν μόνον ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν

έρπετὰ γίνονται καὶ ἀν' αἰθέρα καὶ κατὰ πόντον. ἀλλ' ὁπόταν πλείστοισιν ἐρειδόμενον ποσὶ βαίνη, ἔνθα τάχος γυίοισιν ἀφαυρότατον πέλει αὐτοῦ.

 γριφώδη δ' ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδη ταῦτα πεποιημένα, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σιμωνίδου·

μιξονόμου τε πατηρ ἐρίφου καὶ σχέτλιος ἰχθὺς πλησίον ἠρείσαντο καρήατα· παίδα δὲ νυκτὸς δεξάμενοι βλεφάροισι Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνον οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τιθηνείσθαι θεράποντα.

φασὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπί τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναθημάτων ἐν Χαλκίδι τοῦτ' ἐπιγεγράφθαι, πεποιῆσθαι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τράγον καὶ δελφῖνα, περὶ ὧν εἶναι τὸν λόγον \ τοῦτον. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπιγόνειου³³ ψαλτήριον δελφῖνα καὶ τράγον εἰργασμένον εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ εἶναι τὸν βουφόνον καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν διθύραμβον. οἱ δέ φασιν ἐν

33 έπιγόνειον West: ἐπιτόνιον ΑCE

272 The solution is "Man"; cf. 2.49c with n.

 $<sup>^{271}</sup>$  Sc. and had sex with him, Aphrodite (who was "rowed") being a passive partner, Dionysus (who did the "rowing") an active one. For Adonis and Aphrodite, cf. 2.69b–d with n.

He is referring to Aphrodite and Dionysus; because they were both in love with Adonis.<sup>271</sup> Asclepiades in his *Stories Told in Tragedy (FGrH* 12 F 7a = AP 14.64) claims that the riddle of the Sphinx went as follows:

There is a creature upon the earth that has two feet and four, a single voice,

and three feet as well; of all that moves on land, and through the air, and in the sea, it alone alters its nature.

But when it makes its way propped on the largest number of feet,

then the swiftness in its limbs is the weakest.<sup>272</sup>

The following passage composed by Simonides (fr. 69 Diehl) also has a riddling character, according to Chamaeleon of Heracleia in his On Simonides (fr. 34 Wehrli):

The father of a kid that grazes on anything and a miserable fish

lean their heads close to one another. But when they take a child

of night in with their eyes, they are unwilling to tend to

the ox-slaying servant of King Dionysus.

Some authorities claim that this text was inscribed on one of the ancient dedications in Chalcis, and that a billy-goat and a dolphin were depicted on this dedication and these lines describe them. Others maintain that the reference is to a dolphin and a billy-goat carved on an *epigoneion* harp,<sup>273</sup> and that the "ox-slaying servant of Dionysus" is a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Cf. 4.183c (whence West's correction of the text).

Τουλίδι τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ θυόμενον βοῦν ὑπό τινος τῶν νεανίσκων παίεσθαι πελέκει. πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οὕσης εἰς χαλκεῖον δοθῆναι τὸν πέλεκυν τὸν οὖν Σιμωνίδην ἔτι νέον ὄντα βαδίσαι πρὸς τὸν χαλκεία κομιούμενον αὐτόν. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην κοιμώμενον καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν καρκίνον εἰκῆ κείμενον καὶ ἐπαλλήλως ἔχοντα τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, Ιοὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ προειρημένον πρόβλημα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἐρίφου πατέρα τὸν ἀσκὸν εἶναι, σχέτλιον δὲ ἰχθὺν τὸν καρκίνον, νυκτὸς δὲ παίδα τὸν ὕπνον, βουφόνον δὲ καὶ Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν πέλεκυν. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ ἔτερον ἐπίγραμμα ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὁ παρέχει τοῖς ἀπείροις τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπορίαν

φημὶ τὸν οὖκ ἐθέλοντα φέρειν τέττιγος ἄεθλον τῷ Πανοπηιάδη δώσειν μέγα δεῖπνον Ἐπειῷ. Ι

f λέγεται δὲ ἐν τῆ Καρθαίᾳ διατρίβοντα αὐτὸν διδάσκειν τοὺς χορούς, εἶναι δὲ τὸ χορηγεῖον ἄνω πρὸς
᾿Απόλλωνος ἱερῷ μακρὰν τῆς θαλάσσης. ὑδρεύεσθαι
οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σιμωνίδην
κάτωθεν, ἔνθα ἦν ἡ κρήνη. ἀνακομίζοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὸ
ὕδωρ ὄνου, ὃν ἐκάλουν Ἐπειὸν διὰ τὸ μυθολογεῖσθαι
τοῦτο δρᾶν ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀναγεγράφθαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ
᾿Απόλλωνος ἱερῷ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν μῦθον, ἐν ῷ ὁ Ἐπειὸς
τὸ ὑδροφορεῖ τοῖς ᾿Ατρείδαις, ‖ ὡς καὶ Στησίχορός φησιν

<sup>274</sup> Simonides' home-town, on the island of Ceos.

<sup>275</sup> Sc. to be sharpened.

<sup>276</sup> From which the bellows were made.

<sup>277</sup> Because the word (karkinos) also means "crab".

dithyramb. And others say that when an ox is sacrificed to Dionysus in Iulis,<sup>274</sup> it is struck with an ax by one of the young men. The festival was approaching, and the ax was sent to the blacksmith's shop,<sup>275</sup> Simonides, who was still young, accordingly went there to fetch it. When he saw the craftsman asleep, and his bellows and tongs scattered on the ground with their business ends facing one another, he went to his friends and told them the riddle quoted above; because the "father of a kid" is a goat-skin sack;<sup>276</sup> the "miserable fish" is the tongs;<sup>277</sup> the "child of night" is sleep; and the "ox-slaying servant of Dionysus" is the ax. Simonides also wrote another epigram (fr. 70 Diehl) that baffles those unfamiliar with history:

I declare that he who is unwilling to endure the cicada's task will provide a large dinner for Epeius son of Panopeus.

The story goes that he was spending time in Carthaea training their choruses, and the chorus-school was on high ground next to Apollo's temple, a long way from the sea. Everyone, including Simonides' students, accordingly had to fetch their water from down below, where the spring was. A donkey brought their water up for them, and they called it Epeius, because legend had it that Epeius used to do this, and because there was a painting in Apollo's temple depicting the story of the Trojan War, in which he could be seen fetching water for the Atreidae, as Stesichorus (*PMG* 200) says:

φκτιρε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὕδωραἰεὶ φορέοντα Διὸς κούρα βασιλεῦσιν.

ύπαρχόντων οὖν τούτων ταχθήναί φασι τῷ μὴ παραγινομένω τῶν χορευτῶν εἰς τὴν ὡρισμένην ὥραν παρεέχειν τῷ ὄνω χοίνικα κριθῶν. τοῦτ΄ οὖν κἀν τῷ ποιήματι λέγεσθαι, καὶ εἶναι τὸν μὲν οὐ φέροντα τὸ τοῦ τέττιγος ἄεθλον τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἄδειν, Πανοπηιάδην δὲ τὸν ὄνον, μέγα δὲ δεῖπνον τὴν χοίνικα τῶν κριθῶν. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Θεόγνιδος τοῦ ποιητοῦ· Ι

ήδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρός, τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος στόματι.

σημαίνει γὰρ κόχλον. τοιοῦτον δ' ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ ῥήματα λέγειν ἀνθρώπων ὀνόμασιν ὅμοια, οἶον·

λαβων άριστόνικον έν μάχη κράτος.

καὶ τὸ περιφερόμενον

πέντ' ἄνδρες δέκα ναυσὶ κατέδραμον εἰς ἕνα.
χῶρον, Ι
ἐν δὲ λίθοις ἐμάχοντο, λίθον δ' οὐκ ἦν
ἀνελέσθαι:

<sup>278</sup> Epeius son of Panopeus was distinguished enough to compete in Patroclus' funeral games (*Il.* 23.664–99, 829–40), and ultimately built the wooden horse that brought the war to an end (*Od.* 8.492–3). Stesichorus thus presumably used the phrase "carrying water" figuratively, to mean "working for in a subordinate position".

<sup>279</sup> Literally "a *choenix*" (a standard dry measure).

h

For the daughter of Zeus pitied him, since he was always carrying water for the kings.<sup>278</sup>

Under these circumstances, they say, any member of the chorus who failed to arrive on time had to provide the donkey with a measure<sup>279</sup> of barley. This is accordingly what the poem means, and the man "who does not endure the cicada's task" is someone unwilling to sing; "the son of Panopeus" is the donkey; and the "large dinner" is the measure of barley. The passage by the poet Theognis (1229–30) is similar:

For now the corpse from the sea summons me home, speaking with a living voice, though dead.

Because the reference is to a conch-shell.<sup>280</sup> Using words that are identical with the names of individual persons is similar, for example (adesp. tr. fr. 97):

getting the upper hand, which brings glorious victory (aristonikos)<sup>281</sup> in battle.

Also the commonplace:

Ten men in five ships<sup>252</sup> descended to a single place and fought among stones, although no stone could be lifted.

<sup>280</sup> Sc. which is being used as a trumpet.

281 Cf. the personal name Aristonicus (e.g. 10.435b).

<sup>282</sup> Or perhaps "five men in ten ships", which would fit the paradoxical character of the rest of the riddle.

δίψη δ' έξώλλυντο, ὕδωρ δ' ὑπερεῖχε γενείου.

τίνα δὲ κόλασιν ὑπέμενον Αθήνησιν οἱ μὴ λύσαντες τὸν προτεθέντα γρίφον, εἴ γε ἔπινον φιάλην <ἄλμη>34 κεκερασμένην, ώς καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος προείπεν ἐν τῷ ὅρῳ; < . . . > κάν τῶ πρώτω δὲ Περὶ Παροιμιῶν γράφει ούτως τῶν γρίφων ἡ ζήτησις οὐκ ἀλλοτρία φιλοσοφίας έστί, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν τῆς παιδείας ἀπόδειξιν έν τούτοις έποιοθντο, προέβαλλον Ι γάρ παρά τους πότους οὐχ ὧσπερ οἱ νῦν ἐρωτῶντες ἀλλήλους, τίς τῶν άφροδισιαστικών συνδυασμών ή τίς ή ποίος ιχθύς ήδιστος ή τίς ακμαιότατος, έτι δε τίς μετ 'Αρκτούρον η μετὰ Πλειάδα η τίς μετὰ Κύνα μάλιστα βρωτός; καὶ έπὶ τούτοις ἄθλα μὲν τοῖς νικῶσι φιλήματα μίσους άξια τοις έλευθέραν αἴσθησιν ἔχουσι, ζημίαν δὲ τοις ήττηθείσιν τάττουσιν ἄκρατον πιείν, δυ ήδιον τής Υγιείας πίνουσι κομιδή γάρ έστι ταθτά γε τινος τοῖς Φιλαινίδος καὶ τοῖς Αρχεστράτου συγγράμμασιν ένωκηκότος, έτι δὲ περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Γαστρο-

34 add. Dobree

<sup>283</sup> Diels suggested that the solution to the riddle is that the men fought among reefs, upon which they were stranded after their boats sank, and that they died of thirst in the middle of the sea. Caponigro, on the other hand, took the men to be almonds in their shells, and the stones teeth, and argued that the man who ate the almonds followed them with a cup of water.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Sc. of a proverb. Cf. 10.448c (although Clearchus is not quoted there as saying anything of the sort), 458f–9b (where the question is at last taken up, after another long digression).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> In mid-September, mid-May, and mid-July, respectively.

### BOOK X

They were perishing of thirst, but the water rose above their chips. 283

How were Athenians who failed to solve the riddle they were set punished, if they drank a libation-bowl (of wine) mixed with saltwater, as Cleachus said above in his definition?<sup>284</sup>... So too in Book I of On Proverbs (fr. 63.I Wehrli) he writes as follows: Inquiry into riddles is not alien to philosophy, and the ancients used them to show off their education. For as they were drinking, they used to pose questions-not, however, as people do today, when they ask one another which sexual position, or which fish or variety of fish is the most delicious or the most precisely in season, and then which one is particularly good eating after Arcturus rises, or the Pleiades, or the Dog-Star.<sup>285</sup> And they reward those who answer these questions correctly with kisses that would disgust anyone of decent sensibilities, and penalize those who get their question wrong by requiring them to drink unmixed wine, which they enjoy more than the cup dedicated to Hygieia ("Health"). For such behavior is, in fact, characteristic of an individual who has spent time with the treatises of Philaenis and Archestratus<sup>286</sup> (test. 4 Olson-Sens) and who has, moreover, devoted himself to the so-called Gastrologies. 287 In-

286 Philaenis of Samos or Leucas (probably early 4th century BCE) wrote an explicit treatise on sexual behavior referred to also at 5.220f; 8.335b, d—e (quoting Chrysippus). Archestratus was a gastronomic poet particularly interested in seafood; almost everything known of him is preserved in Athenaeus (e.g. 9.384b, 399d—e).

 $^{287}$  Cf. 8.337b (the first Gastrology said to have been composed by Archestratus' teacher, the otherwise obscure Terpsion).

λογίας ἐσπουδακότος ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰς τοιαύτας, τῶ πρώτω ἔπος <ἢ>35 ἰαμβεῖον εἰπόντι τὸ ἐγόμενον έκαστον λέγειν καὶ τῶ κεφάλαιον εἰπόντι ἀντειπεῖν τὸ έτέρου ποιητοῦ τινος, ζότι >36 εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν εἶπε γνώμην έτι δε λένειν έκαστον ιαμβείον, πρός τε τούτοις έκαστον εἰπεῖν ὄσων ἂν προσταχθη συλλαβῶν ἔμμετρον, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ συλλαβων έχεται θεωρίας, δμοίως δε τοις ειρημένοις ήγεμόνος έκαστου<sup>37</sup> λέγειν ὄνομα των έπὶ Τροίαν ἢ των Τρώων, καὶ πόλεως ὄνομα τῶν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία λέγειν ἀπὸ Ι f τοῦ δοθέντος γράμματος, τὸν δ' ἔχόμενον τῶν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐναλλάξαι, ἄν τε Ἑλληνίδος άν τε βαρβάρου τάξη τις. ώστε την παιδιάν μη άσκεπτον οὖσαν μηνύματα γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου προς παιδείαν οἰκειότητος ἐφ' οἷς ἆθλον ἐτίθεσαν στέφανον καὶ εὐφημίαν, οἷς μάλιστα γλυκαίνεται τὸ φιλείν άλλήλους.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Κλέαρχος ‖ εἴρηκε. καὶ ἃ προβάλλειν δεῖ τοιαῦτά τινα εἶναι ἡγοῦμαι στίχον εἰπεῖν Ὁμηρικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα ἀρχόμενον καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

στοιχείον καταλήγοντα.

ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα. ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.

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<sup>35</sup> add. Meineke

<sup>36</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>37</sup> έκαστον Olson: έκάστου Α

stead, they preferred riddles of the following sort: After the first man recited a line of epic or iambic poetry, everyone had to respond by giving the line that came next; or if the first man offered the gist of a passage, they had to cite in turn something from another poet that expressed the same opinion, and each man had to quote an iambic line as well. In addition, everyone had to recite a poetic line that contained a specified number of syllables, or a set number of lines that featured a particular combination of letters and syllables. Along the same lines as the riddles mentioned earlier, everyone might be required to give the name of a commander of the forces that attacked Troy, or of the Trojan forces; or he might be asked to name a city in Asia that began with a specific letter, while the next man and those who followed would take turns giving the names of cities in Europe, either Greek or barbarian, as ordered. The game thus required considerable thinking and was informative about how well-educated each member of the group was. The prizes they set for these contests were garlands and congratulations, which made their mutual affection even more enjoyable.

This is what Clearchus has to say. In my estimation, the challenges they were expected to pose were of the following sort: To recite a Homeric line that begins with *alpha* 

and ends with the same letter:

And standing close beside him she spoke winged words. (Il. 4.92)

But come now, the whip and the shining reins. (Il. 5.226)

circular shields and flapping animal-skins. (Il. 5.453)

καὶ πάλιν δμοίως ἰαμβεῖα.

άγαθὸς ἀνὴρ λέγοιτ' ᾶν ὁ φέρων τάγαθά. ἀγαθὸς ᾶν εἴη χώ φέρων καλῶς κακά. Ι

b 'Ομηρικοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ϵ ἐπὶ τὸ ϵ.

εὖρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε. ἐν πόλει ὑμετέρη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἔμελλον ἐγώ γε.

δμοίως καὶ ἰαμβεῖα.

εὐκαταφρόνητός ἐστι πενία, Δερκύλε. ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι τὸν βίον < . . . > διάπλεκε.

Όμήρου ἀπὸ η ἐπὶ τὸ η.

ή μὲν ἄρ' ὧς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. Ι ἡ δ' ἐν γούνασι πίπτε Διώνης δῖ ἀφροδίτη.

*ἴαμβοι*·

ή τῶν φίλων σοι πίστις ἔστω κεκριμένη. ἀπὸ τοῦ ῖ ἔπὶ τὸ ῖ 'Ομήρου

'Ιλίου ἐξαπολοίατ' ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι. Ίππόλοχος δ ' ἔμ' ἔτικτε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φημι γενέσθαι.

ἀπὸ τοῦ σ εἰς τὸ σ.

συμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ' ἢν Άγαμέμνονα εἴπης.

And again iambic lines (adesp. com. fr. 121.1-2) in the same way:

He who bears good fortune well would be called a good man.

He who bears troubles well would also be good.

Homeric lines beginning and ending with *epsilon*:

She found Lycaon's faultless, powerful son. (Il. 4.89) in your city; since I was unlikely. (Il. 5.686)

Also iambic lines (adesp. com. fr. 121.3-4) in the same way:

It's easy to look down on poverty, Dercylus. Weave your life using the materials you have.

Lines from Homer beginning and ending with ēta:

After speaking thus, gray-eyed Athena departed. (Il. 5.133)

Bright Aphrodite fell upon Dione's knees. (Il. 5.370)

Iambic lines (adesp. com. fr. 121.5):

Let it be determined how faithful your friends are.

Lines beginning and ending with iōta from Homer:

Might they vanish from Ilium, uncared-for and obscure. (Il. 6.60)

Hippolochus sired me, and I claim to be his child. (Il. 6.206)

Beginning and ending with sigma:

of all the Danaans—not even if you name Agamemnon. (Il. 1.90)

σοφός έστιν ὁ φέρων τάπὸ ‹τῆς› τύχης καλῶς. Ι

d άπὸ τοῦ ω εἰς τὸ ω.

ώς δ' ὅτ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου νέφος ἔρχεται οὐρανὸν εἴσω.

ώρθωμένην πρὸς ἄπαντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχω.

προβάλλειν δὲ δεῖ καὶ στίχους ἀσίγμους, οἷον

πάντ' ἐθέλω δόμεναι, καὶ ἔτ' οἴκοθεν ἄλλ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

καὶ πάλιν στίχους Όμηρικοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συλλαβῆς καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης δηλοῦντας ὅνομα, οἷον·

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας. Ι <Αἴας>.38

Φυλείδης, δυ τίκτε διίφιλος ἱππότα Φυλεύς. ΄ <Φυλεύς >.<sup>39</sup>

ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθώ, Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων.

Ίων. εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι στίχοι Ὁμηρικοὶ δηλοῦντες σκευῶν ὀνόματα ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἐσχάτης συλλαβῆς, οἶον·

όλλυμένων Δαναῶν όλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός. ὅλμος.

<sup>38</sup> add. Kaibel

 $<sup>^{39}</sup>$  add. Kaibel

### BOOK X

Wise is he who bears easily what fortune gives. (adesp. com. fr. 121.6)

Beginning and ending with ōmega:

As when a cloud rises into the sky from Olympus. (Il. 16.364)

My spirit meets every challenge head-on. (adesp. com. fr. 121.7)

They were also expected to call for asigmatic lines, for example:

I am willing to turn them all over, and to add even more from my house. (Il. 7.364)

Likewise Homeric lines whose first and last syllables combined produce a name, for example:

Ajax brought twelve ships from Salamis ( $\it{Il}$ . 2.557), yielding "Ajax".

Phyleides, whom the horseman Phyleus, dear to Zeus, sired (Il. 2.628),

yielding "Phyleus".

A pair of fine physicians, Podaleirius and Machaon (Il. 2.732),

yielding "Ion". There is also another set of Homeric lines whose first and last syllables combined produce the names of utensils, for example:

The heart in your breast mourns for the Danaans, who are perishing (Il. 8.202),

yielding "mortar".

μυθεῖται κατὰ μοῖραν, ἄ πέρ κ' οἴοιτο καὶ ἄλλος. μύλος.

λυγρὸς ἐών, μή πού τι κακὸν καὶ μεῖζον ἐπαύρῃ. Ιου Ιάλλοι στίνοι δηλοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀργῆς καὶ τοῦ

f λύρη. Ι ἄλλοι στίχοι δηλοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἐδωδίμων τί·

άργυρόπεζα Θέτις, θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο γέροντος. ἄρτος.

μή τι σὺ ταῦτα ἔκαστα διείρεο μηδὲ μετάλλα. μῆλα.

Έπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὴν παρέκβασιν πεποιήμεθα περὶ τῶν γρίφων, λεκτέον ἤδη καὶ τίνα κόλασιν ὑπέμενον οἱ μὴ λύσαντες τὸν προτεθέντα γρίφον. ἔπινον οὖτοι ἄλμην παραμισγομένην τῷ αὑτῶν ποτῷ καὶ ἔδει προσενέγκασθαι<sup>40</sup> τὸ ποτήριον ἀπνευστί, ὡς ᾿Αντιφάνης || δηλοῦ ἐν Γανυμήδει διὰ τούτων·

(A.) οἴμοι περιπλοκὰς λίαν ἐρωτῷς. (Λα.) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς φράσω· τῆς ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ παιδὸς εἰ ξύνοισθά τι, ταχέως λέγειν χρὴ πρὶν κρέμασθαι. (Α.) πότερά μοι

 $^{40}$ μὴ προσενέγκασθαι Α: μὴ del. Olson

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Returning to the topic proposed at 10.457c (cf. 10.448c). <sup>289</sup> Ganymede (the son of Laomedon, king of Troy) was kidnapped by Zeus; cf. *Il.* 5.265–7; 20.232–5 (cf. 13.566c–d); *h. Ven.* 202–17 (although in all these passages his father is called Tros); *Il. Parv.* fr. 29 Bernabé; E. *Tr.* 820–2.

What he says is right, and he thinks what anyone else would (*Od.* 17.580).

yielding "millstone".

sorry creature that you are, lest perhaps some even greater trouble come to you (Od. 18.107),

yielding "lyre". Other lines have first and last syllables that produce an edible object:

silver-footed Thetis, daughter of the old man of the sea (Il. 1.538),

yielding "bread".

Do not inquire into each of these matters or ask me about them (*Il.* 1.550),

yielding "apples".

Having digressed at considerable length on the topic of riddles, I must now say something about how they were punished if they failed to solve the riddle they were set. 288 People in this situation drank saltwater mixed into their wine and were expected to empty the cup without taking a breath, as Antiphanes makes clear in the following passage from Ganymede (fr. 75):289

(A.) Poor me! You're asking much too complicated questions. (Laomedon) Alright, I'll say it clearly:

if you know anything about the kidnapping of my child.

you need to tell me quickly, before you're hung up. (A.) Are you posing

γρίφον προβάλλεις τοῦτον εἰπεῖν, δέσποτα, τῆς ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ παιδὸς εἰ ξύνοιδά τι, ἢ τί δύναται τὸ ῥηθέν; (Λα.) ἔξω τις δότω ἱμάντα ταχέως. (Α.) εἶέν· οὖκ ἔγνων ἴσως. ἔπειτα τοῦτο ζημιοῖς με; μηδαμῶς· ἱ ἄλμης δ' ἐχρῆν τι παραφέρειν ποτήριον. (Λα.) οἶσθ' οὖν ὅπως δεῖ τοῦτό σ' ἐκπιεῖν; (Λ.) ἐγώ;

κομιδή γε. (Λα.) πως; (Α.) ἐνέχυρον ἀποφέροντά

(Λα.) οὖκ, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε ποιήσαντα δεῖ ἔλκειν ἀπνευστί.

τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν γρίφων εἰπόντων τῶν δειπνοσοφιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἑσπέρα καταλαμβάνει ἀναπεμπαζομένους τὰ εἰρημένα, τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐκπωμάτων λόγον εἰς αὔριον ἀναβαλώμεθα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Μεταγένους Φιλοθύτην·

κατ' ἐπεισόδιον | μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχήσω τὸ θέατρον

περὶ τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τὸν λόγον ἑξῆς ποιούμενος.

b

С

### BOOK X

this to me as a riddle to solve, master, (when you ask) if I know anything about the kidnapping of your child?

If not, what's the point of what you said? (Laomedon) Someone hurry up and

bring me out a strap! (A.) Okay-maybe I didn't figure it out.

So are you punishing me for this? Don't! You should've been passing a cup of saltwater around.

(Laomedon) Well, do you know how you have to drink it? (A.) Me?

I certainly do. (Laomedon) How? (A.) I have to get a guarantee of safety from you!

(Laomedon) No; you have to put your hands behind your back

and empty it without taking a breath.

This is the extent of the learned banqueters' remarks about riddles.<sup>290</sup> But since evening is overtaking us, as we mull over their comments, let us defer a report of their conversation about drinking-vessels until tomorrow. For to quote Metagenes' The Man Who Loved Sacrifices (fr. 15),291

I vary my plot interlude by interlude, in order to feast my audience on many novel appetizers,

by offering my account of drinking-vessels next.

290 The speaker of these closing words is the overall narrator "Athenaeus", addressing his friend Timocrates.

291 Cf. 10.411b n.

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"Αγε δή, τίς ἀρχὴ τῶν λόγων γενήσεται;,

κατὰ τὸν κωμφδιοποιὸν Κηφισόδωρον, ἐταῖρε Τιμόκρατες. συναχθέντων γὰρ ἡμῶν καθ' ὥραν μετὰ σπουδῆς διὰ τὰ ἐκπώματα ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ἔτι καθημένων ἀπάντων, πρὶν καί τι διαλεχθῆναι ἔφη· παρὰ μὲν τῷ ᾿Αδράστῳ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, καθίσαντες οἱ ἀριστεῖς δειπνοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Πολύιδος ἱερὰ θύων ἐν ὁδῷ παραπορευόμενον τὸν Πετεὰ κατέσχεν καὶ κατακλίνας ἐν τῆ πόᾳ θαλλίαν τε κατακλάσας ἀντὶ τραπέζης παρέθηκε τῶν τυθέντων. καὶ τῷ Αὐτολύκῳ ‖ ἐλθόντι

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< ... > Ἰθάκης ές πίονα δημον

ή τροφὸς καθημένω δηλονότι—οὔτως γὰρ ἐδείπνουν οἱ τότε—τὸν 'Οδυσσέα, φησὶν ὁ ποιητής,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I.e. both by anticipation of the discussion of cups of all sorts announced at 10.459b and recorded in this Book (see 11.460a-b with n.), and by the prospect of the drinking party that was to accompany it.
<sup>2</sup> I.e. before they reclined on their couches, when the actual drinking began; cf. 11.461e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Athenaeus repeatedly cites Antimachus of Colophon's *Thebaid* in Book XI (also 468a-b, 475d-e, 482f, 486a), and Wyss accordingly identified this as fr. 18 Matthews. For other fragments of scholarly discussions of the question of whether the ancients sat to eat, see 1.11f, 17f.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Polyidus was an Corinthian seer, while Peteus was an early 204

# **BOOK XI**

Alright-where should my account begin?,

to quote the comic poet Cephisodorus (fr. 13), my friend Timocrates. Because we had gathered on time and with considerable excitement, motivated by the drinking vessels; and while everyone was still seated, and before there had been any conversation, Ulpian said: In Adrastus' house, my friends, the nobles eat dinner seated, whereas when Polyidus was making a sacrifice beside a road, he stopped Peteus, who was traveling along it; had him lie down on the grass; broke up some twigs to serve as a table; and served him a portion of the meat. And when Autolycus came (Od. 19.399)

to the rich land of Ithaca

and was sitting there, obviously—because that is how people in those days ate dinner—the nurse, according to Homer, set Odysseus  $(Od.\ 19.400-2)$ :

king of Athens; but the story to which Athenaeus refers is otherwise unattested.

5 Odysseus' maternal grandfather, who gave the hero his name in the incident to which these verses refer.

<sup>6</sup> The quotation helps document Ulpian's claim that people in ancient times ate while seated rather than reclining, but disrupts the syntax of the sentence and seems to have been spliced awkwardly into it.

παίδα νέον γεγαώτα κιχήσατο θυγατέρος ής τόν ρά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοις ἐπὶ γούνασι θήκε παυομένω δόρποιο,

ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔστησεν. ἡμεῖς οὖν μὴ διατρίβωμεν, ἀλλ' ήδη καταb κλινώμεθα, ἵν' ἡμῖν ὁ Πλούταρχος | περὶ ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται ποτηρίων ἀποδοὺς τὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς κύλικας πλήρεις ἄπασι προπίῃ. ποτήρια δὲ πρῶτον οἶδα ὀνομάσαντα τὸν ᾿Αμόργιον ποιητὴν Σιμωνίδην ἐν Ἰάμβοις οὕτως:

ἀπὸ τράπεζαν εἶλέ † νιν † ποτήρια.

καὶ ὁ τὴν ᾿Αλκμαιωνίδα δὲ ποιήσας φησίν

νέκυς δὲ χαμαιστρώτου ἔπι τείνας εὐρείης στιβάδος, παρέθηκ αὐτοῖσι θάλειαν δαῖτα ποτήριά τε, στεφάνους δ' ἐπὶ κρασὶν ἔθηκεν.

ἄπερ ὼνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως, ὡς τὸ ἔκπωμα οἱ c Αττικοί, ἐπεὶ ὑδροποτεῖν καὶ οἰνοποτεῖν | λέγουσιν. ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἐν Ἱππεῦσιν:

γαμφηλήσι δράκοντα κοάλεμον αίματοπώτην. κάν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ ἔφη·

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Plutarch begins to speak only at 11.461e, after the group finally lies down. Although a discussion of cups is promised at 10.459b, the words are those of the external narrator Athenaeus rather than of Plutarch.

 $<sup>^8\, {\</sup>rm For}$  the kulix (a common term for a drinking cup), see 11.480b–1c.

#### BOOK XI

He found his daughter's new-born son; Eurycleia set the child on his knees as he was finishing dinner,

on his knees, rather than beside his knees. So let us not waste any time, but lie down at once, so that Plutarch can offer us a speech about cups (potēria), as he promises, and can toast us all with full kulikes. It is my understanding that the first author to use the term potēria is the poet Simonides of Amorgus in the Iambs (Semon. fr. 26 West²), as follows:

He removed the table † him † potēria.

So too the author of the Alcmaeonis (fr. 2 Bernabé) says:

He stretched their corpses out on a broad camp-bed spread on the ground, set a rich meal and *potēria* beside them, and placed garlands on their heads.

The word is derived from posis ("drink"); compare the use of ekpōma ("drinking vessel") by Attic authors, who employ the verbs hudropotein ("to drink water") and oinopotein ("to drink wine"). Aristophanes in Knights (198):

a stupid blood-drinking (haimatopōtēs) serpent in its beak.

He also said in the same play (124):

<sup>9</sup> potēria, posis, and all the words cited below, along with the common verb pinō ("to drink"), can in fact be traced to a single Indo-European root that refers to drinking.

πολλῷ γ' ὁ Βάκις διεχρῆτο¹ τῷ ποτηρίῳ.

καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Τυραννίδι

<...> κρείττων <...> μί ἐστὶ χιλίων ποτηρίων.

ό δὲ ἀνακρέων ἔφη·

οἰνοπότης δὲ πεποίημαι.

ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡῆμα καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῆ· οἰνοποτάζων | ἀ γὰρ εἴρηκε. καὶ Σαπφὰ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔφη·

† πολλὰ² † δ' ἀνάριθμα ποτήρια κάλέφαις.

καὶ ἀλκαῖος.

έκ δὲ ποτήριον πώνης Διννομένη παρίσδων.

τιμάται δὲ καὶ ἐν ᾿Αχαίᾳ Δημήτηρ Ποτηριοφόρος κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ανθέων χῶραν, ὡς Αὐτοκράτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρᾳ ᾿Αχαϊκῶν. ἄξιον δὲ εἶναι νομίζω ζητῆσαι ὑμᾶς πρὸ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ποτηρίων, ὧν πλῆρές ἐστι τὸ κυλικεῖον τοδί—εἴρηται γὰρ οὕτως ἡ τῶν ποτηρίων σκευοθήκη παρ ᾿Αριστοφάνει μὲν ἐν Γεωργοῖς: Ι

ώσπερ κυλικείου τοὐθόνιον προπέπταται.

ἔστι καὶ παρὰ ἀναξανδρίδη ἐν Μελιλώτφ· < . . . >. Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Λήδα·

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts of Aristophanes have  $\hat{\epsilon}\chi\rho\hat{\eta}\tau$ o.

 $^{2}$  POxy. 1232 has ἀργύρα  $\tau^{5}$  ἀνάριθμα.

е

An extract from a much larger fragment quoted at 11.481b The question is identified only at the end of 11.460f, after the digression on cupstands.

Bakis certainly got a lot of use out of that *potērion*! Also Pherecrates in *Tyranny* (fr. 152.10):<sup>10</sup>

But that "single cup" is larger than 1000 normal potēria!

And Anacreon (eleg. fr. 4 West2) said:

I've turned into a wine-drinker (oinopotēs).

Homer also uses the word; for he says *oinopotazōn* ("when drinking wine") (*Il.* 20.84). Sappho as well said in Book II (fr. 44.10):

† many † countless potēria and ivory.

Also Alcaeus (fr. 376):

You sit beside Dinnomene and drain your poterion.

Demeter Potēriophoros ("Cup-Bearer") is worshipped in Achaea in the area around Anthea, according to Autocrates in Book II of the *History of Achaea* (FGrH 297 F 1). Another question I feel we should take up before your catalogue of cups, which fill this cupstand (kulikeion) here 11—this is the term Aristophanes uses in Farmers (fr. 106) for a cabinet that holds potēria:

It's stretched out in front, like the linen curtain on a kulikeion.

The word is also found in Anaxandrides' *Melilot* (fr. 30):<sup>12</sup> . . . Eubulus in *Leda* (fr. 62):

12 The quotation has fallen out of the text.

ώσπερεὶ σπονδὴν διδοὺς ἐν τῷ κυλικείῳ συντέτριφεν τὰ ποτήρια.

κάν Ψαλτρία δ' ἔφη:

τὰ κυλικεῖα δὲ

έξεῦρεν ἡμῖν.

έν δὲ Σεμέλη ἢ Διονύσω.

Έρμῆς ὁ Μαίας λίθινος, δυ προσεύγμασιν ἐν τῷ κυλικείῷ λαμπρὸυ ἐκτετριμμένου.

f Κρατίνος δ' ὁ νεώτερος ἐν Χείρωνι:

πολλοστῷ δ' ἔτει ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων οἴκαδ' ἥκω, συγγενεῖς καὶ φράτερας καὶ δημότας εὐρὼν μόλις εἰς τὸ κυλικεῖον ἐνεγράφην Ζεὺς ἔστι μοι Ἑρκεῖος, ἔστι Φράτριος, τὰ τέλη τελῶ.

"Αξιον δ' ἐστὶ ζητήσαι εἰ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι μεγάλοις ἔπινον ποτηρίοις. Δικαίαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσσήνιος Νο ἀ Αριστοτέλους μαθητής ἐν τῷ Περὶ Άλκαίου μικροῖς φησιν αὐτοὺς ἐκπώμασι κεχρήσθαι καὶ ὑδαρέστερον πεπωκέναι. Χαμαιλέων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, εἴ γε τῆς φωνῆς μνημονεύω, φησίν εἰ δὲ οἱ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρώμενοι καὶ τῷ πλουτεῖν προτιμῶσι

<sup>13</sup> I.e. the people who would normally be able to attest to the fact that the long-lost speaker was an Athenian.

14 Zeus Herkeios ("of the Courtyard") was the patron god of an individual household, while Zeus Phratrios was the patron god of the phratry (an ill-understood Athenian kinship group).

15 Resuming the construction temporarily abandoned at

11.460d.

#### BOOK XI

Just like someone making a treaty, he smashed the cups that were in the *kulikeion*.

In The Harp-Girl (fr. 116) as well he said:

And he found

the kulikeia for us.

And in Semele or Dionysus (fr. 95):

Hermes the son of Maia, made of stone, whom with prayers polished till he shines in the *kulikeion*.

Cratinus Junior in Cheiron (fr. 9):

After many years I've escaped from our enemies and come home; since I had trouble

locating any relatives or members of my phratry or my deme, 13

I enrolled myself in the *kulikeion*. This is my Zeus Herkeios and my Zeus Phratrios, <sup>14</sup> and where I pay my dues.

A question that deserves discussion<sup>15</sup> is whether the ancients used large cups when they drank. Because Aristotle's student Dicaearchus of Messene in his On Alcaeus (fr. 98 Wehrli) claims that they used small drinking vessels and drank their wine mixed with a considerable amount of water. Chamaeleon of Heracleia in his On Drunkenness (fr. 9 Wehrli), on the other hand—if I can remember how he puts it—says: If powerful, wealthy people prize the drunkenness discussed here, that comes as no surprise.

την μέθην ταύτην, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. οὐκ ἔχοντες γὰρ έτέραν ήδονην ταύτης καλλίω οὐδὲ μᾶλλον εὐχερή καταφεύγουσιν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τὸν οἶνον ὅθεν δη καὶ τὰ μεγάλα τῶν ἐκπωμάτων ἐπιχώρια γέγονε τοῖς δυνάσταις. Ιού γὰρ παλαιὸν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γέ ἐστι παρὰ τοις Ελλησιν, άλλα νεωστι ευρέθη πεμφθεν έκ των βαρβάρων έκείνοι γαρ απεστερημένοι της παιδείας όρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν πολὺν οἶνον καὶ πορίζονται τροφάς περιέργους καὶ παντοίας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις οὖτ' ἐν γραφαῖς οὖτ' < . . . > ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον εύρήσομεν ποτήριον εὐμέγεθες εἰργασμένον πλην τῶν έπὶ τοις ήρωικοις τὸ γὰρ ρυτὸν ὀνομαζόμενον μόνοις τοις ήρωσιν ἀπεδίδοσαν, δ και δόξει τισιν έχειν ἀπορίαν, εἰ μή τις ἄρα φήσειε διὰ τὴν Ι ὀξύτητα τῆς έπιφανείας των δαιμόνων καταδειχθήναι τούτο. χαλεπούς γάρ καὶ πλήκτας τοὺς ήρωας νομίζουσι καὶ μαλλον νύκτωρ ή μεθ' ήμέραν όπως οδν μή δια τὸν τρόπον, άλλα δια την μέθην φαίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, δημιουργούσιν αὐτοὺς πίνοντας ἐκπώμασι μεγάλοις, καί μοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν οὐ κακῶς οἱ φάσκοντες τὸ μέγα ποτήριον φρέαρ αργυρούν είναι. έν τούτοις αγνοείν έοικεν ὁ Χαμαιλέων ὅτι οὔκ ἐστι μικρὸν τὸ παρ' 'Ομήρω διδόμενον τῶ Κύκλωπι ὑπ' 'Οδυσσέως κισσύβιον Ιού γαρ αν τρίς πιων ούτως κατηνέχθη ύπο μέθης τηλικούτος ών. ἦν οὖν καὶ τότε μεγάλα ποτήρια,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Drinking-horns; cf. 11.496f–7e, especially 11.497e, where this observation is attributed to Theophrastus (another member of Aristotle's school).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. 5.192a (apparently referring to the same passage, which is most naturally taken as drawn from Chamaeleon, although it patently interrupts the course of the discussion here).

Because the fact that they have no pleasure that is finer or easier to indulge in than this means that they take refuge in wine, as one might expect; as a consequence, the largest drinking vessels tend to belong to rulers. For this is not an ancient custom among the Greeks, but a new discovery foisted upon them by the barbarians, whose lack of education inclines them to drink large amounts and to fix themselves all kinds of odd food. But nowhere in Greece, either in paintings or . . . , will we find a large cup manufactured in ancient times, with the exception of those referred to in heroic tales; because they gave what are referred to as rhyta<sup>16</sup> exclusively to heroes. Some people will regard this as puzzling, unless they have it explained to them that this image reflects the fierceness typical of appearances by minor divinities. For heroes are thought to be harsh and violent, and to be seen more often at night than during the day; and in order that they might appear to act thus not by inclination, but because they are drunk, they are depicted as drinking out of large vessels. In my opinion, authorities who claim that a large cup is a "silver well" are correct.<sup>17</sup> In this passage, Chamaeleon seems unaware that the kissubion Odysseus offers the Cyclops in Homer  $(Od. 9.346)^{18}$  is not a small vessel; if it were, he would not have got so drunk after three drinks, given his size. 19 These were accordingly large cups, unless one tries to pin the re-

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  Quoted at 11.477b, in the middle of an extended discussion of the vessel, to which the remarks that follow properly belong as well.

<sup>19</sup> A virtually identical remark appears at 11.481e.

εἰ μὴ αἰτιάσεταί τις τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ οἴνου, ἢν αὐτὸς Ὁμηρος ἐξηγήσατο, ἢ τὸ ἄηθες τῆς πόσεως τοῦ Κύκλωπος, ἐπεὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐγαλακτοπότει. ἢ τάχα καὶ βαρβαρικὸν ἦν τὸ ἔκπωμα, εἴπερ μέγα ἦν, ἐκ τῆς Κικόνων εἰλημμένον λείας. τί οὖν ἔχομεν λέγειν περὶ τοῦ Νέστορος ποτηρίου, ὃ μόλις ἂν νέος βαστάσαι ἴσχυεν,

- < ... > Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρε,
- περὶ οὖ καὶ αὐτοῦ διδάξει τι ἡμᾶς | ὁ Πλούταρχος; ὤρα
  οὖν κατακλίνεσθαι.

Καὶ κατακλιθέντων, ἀλλὰ μήν, ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφη, κατὰ τὸν Φλιάσιον ποιητὴν Πρατίναν,

οὐ γῶν αὐλακισμέναν ἀρῶν, ἀλλ' ἄσκαφον ματεύων,

κυλικηγορήσων ἔρχομαι, οὐ τῶν Κυλικράνων εἶς ὑπάρχων, οῢς χλευάζων Έρμιππος ὁ κωμφδιοποιὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις φησίν

εἰς τὸ Κυλικράνων βαδίζων σπληνόπεδον ἀφικόμην εἶδον οὖν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ μάλ' ὡραίαν πόλιν.

<sup>20</sup> Most of the passage is quoted at 11.465b-c.

21 In fact, Homer's Cyclopes are quite familiar with wine, as

Polyphemus himself makes clear (Od. 9.357-8).

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  Whence also, in a slightly round-about fashion, the wine itself (Od. 9.196–201). Homer never says where the *kissubion* is from, but the most obvious reading of the story is that Odysseus finds it in the Cyclops' cave.

sponsibility on the strength of the wine, which Homer himself described  $(Od.\ 9.209-11),^{20}$  or on the Cyclops' lack of experience with drinking, since he generally consumed milk (cf.  $Od.\ 9.248-9,\ 297).^{21}$  Or perhaps this was a barbarian vessel, if it was in fact large, and was part of the plunder taken from the Ciconians<sup>22</sup> (cf.  $Od.\ 9.41-2$ ). What then can we say about Nestor's cup, which young men could barely lift, even though  $(Il.\ 11.637)$ 

the aged Nestor hoisted it easily,

and about which Plutarch will offer us some instruction?<sup>23</sup> It is accordingly now time for us to take our couches.<sup>24</sup>

After we lay down, Plutarch said: I am indeed here to discuss cups  $(kulik\bar{e}gor\bar{e}s\bar{o}n)^{25}$  and, to quote the poet Pratinas of Phlius (PMG 710), am

not plowing land that has already been broken, but seeking virgin soil.

I am nonetheless not one of the Culicranoi<sup>26</sup> the comic poet Hermippus makes fun of in his *Iambs* (fr. 4 West<sup>2</sup>), when he says:

As I went along I came to the splenetic plain of the Culicranoi;

I thus saw Heracleia, which is quite a lovely city.

23 The question of Nestor's cup is taken up at great length at 11.477f-93e (drawing in particular on Asclepiades of Myrlea).

24 Cf. 11.459d with n.

25 For the verb (attested outside of Athenaeus only at Poll. 6,29), cf. 11.480b.

 $^{26}$  As if the name were cognate with kulix (cf. 11.480b-1c, to which the material that follows would seem properly to belong).

'Ηρακλεωται δ' είσιν ούτοι οί ύπο τη Οίτη κατοικούντες, ως φησι Νίκανδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνός, ὀνομασθήναι φάσκων αὐτοὺς ἀπό τινος Κύλικος | γένος Αυδοῦ, ένὸς τῶν Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσαμένων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτων καὶ Σκυθίνος ὁ Τήιος ἐν τἢ ἐπιγραφομένη Ἱστορίη λέγων ούτως Ἡρακλῆς λαβὼν Εὔρυτον καὶ τὸν υίὸν ἔκτεινε φόρους πρήσσοντας παρ' Εὐβοέων. Κυλικρήνας έξεπόρθησε ληζομένους καὶ αὐτόθι πόλιν έδείματο Ἡράκλειαν || τὴν Τρηχινίαν καλεομένην. Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς ᾿Αδαῖον καὶ ᾿Αντί-462 γονόν φησιν ούτως της δ' Ἡρακλείας της ύπο την Οίτην καὶ Τραχίνος τῶν οἰκητόρων μεθ' Ἡρακλέους τινές ἀφικόμενοι ἐκ Λυδίας Κυλικρᾶνες, οἱ δ' Άθαμάνες, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ τόποι διαμένουσιν οἷς οὐδὲ τῆς πολιτείας μετέδοσαν οι Ἡρακλεῶται συνοικοῦσιν, ἀλλοφύλους ύπολαβόντες. Κυλικράνες δε λέγονται, ὅτι τους ώμους κεχαραγμένοι κύλικας ήσαν. οίδα δέ καὶ Έλλάνικον ἐν Ἐθνῶν 'Ονομασίαις λέγοντα | ὅτι Λιβύων τῶν νομάδων τινὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο κέκτηνται ἢ . κύλικα καὶ μάχαιραν καὶ ὑδρίαν, καὶ ὅτι οἰκίας ἔχουσιν έξ ανθερίκου πεποιημένας μικράς όσον σκιάς ένεκα, ας καὶ περιφέρουσιν όπου αν πορεύωνται, πολλοίς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυριοίς τόπος διαβόητός ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος Κύλικες, παρ' & έστι τὸ Κάδμου καὶ Αρμονίας μνημείον, ως ίστορεί Φύλαρχος έν τη δευτέρα καὶ εἰκοστῆ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, καὶ Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῶ Περὶ τοῦ Μορύχου ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶν ἐπ' ἄκρα τῆ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Cadmus and Harmonia were the king and queen of Thebes, but were forced into exile as a result of Dionysus' wrath; A.R. 4.516–17 and [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.5.4 agree that they settled in Illyria, and Apollonius refers specifically to their tomb.

The Heracleots in question live in the foothills of Mt. Oeta. according to Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 12), who claims that they got their name from a certain Cylix; he was a Lydian by birth and was one of the men who fought alongside Heracles. Scythinus of Teos also mentions them in his work entitled the History (FGrH 13 F 1), where he says the following: After Heracles captured Eurytus and his son, who were trying to extract tribute from the Euboeans, he killed them. He sacked the territory of the Culicranoi, who survive by raiding others, and founded the city known as Trachinian Heracleia there. Polemon says the following in Book I of his Response to Adaeus and Antigonus (fr. 56 Preller): Some of the inhabitants of the Heracleia located in the foothills of Oeta and of Trachis were Culicranes who came from Lydia with Heracles, while others were Athamanes, from whom the area continues (to get its name). When the Athamanes tried to settle there, the Heracleots refused to share political power with them, and instead treated them like aliens; they are known as Culicranes because they had cups (kulikes) tattooed on their shoulders. I am also aware that Hellanicus in Names. of Ethnic Groups (FGrH 4 F 67) claims that some Libyan nomads own nothing but a kulix, a knife, and a water-jar, and have tiny houses made of asphodel-stem which are just large enough to offer provide some shade, and which they carry around with them wherever they go. Many people also know of the existence of an area in Illyria known as Cylices, where the tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia<sup>27</sup> is located, according to Phylarchus in Book XXII of his History (FGrH 81 F 39). So too Polemon in his On Morychus (fr. 75 Preller) says that there is a hearth in the temple of Olympian Earth located outside the city walls in Syracuse,

νήσφ πρὸς τῷ Γῆς Ὀλυμπίας | ἱερῷ ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους έσχάραν τινὰ είναι, ἀφ' ής, φησί, τὴν κύλικα ναυστολοῦσιν ἀναπλέοντες μέχρι τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ νεω της Αθηνας αόρατον ασπίδα και ούτως αφιασιν είς την θάλασσαν κεραμέαν κύλικα, καθέντες είς αὐτὴν ἄνθεα καὶ κηρία καὶ λιβανωτὸν ἄτμητον καὶ ἄλλα άττα μετὰ τούτων ἀρώματα.

'Ορών οὖν ὑμών καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ συμπόσιον κατὰ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ξενοφάνη πλήρες ὂν πάσης θυμηδίας Ι

νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες ἀπάντων καὶ κύλικες πλεκτούς δ' ἀμφιτιθεί στεφάνους. άλλος δ' εὐῶδες μύρον ἐν φιάλη παρατείνει κρητήρ δ' έστηκεν μεστός ευφροσύνης

άλλος δ' οίνος έτοιμος, δς ούποτέ φησι προδώσειν.

μείλιχος έν κεράμοις, άνθεος όζόμενος. έν δὲ μέσοις άγνην όδμην λιβανωτός ιησιν. ψυγρον δ' έστιν ύδωρ και γλυκύ και καθαρόν! παρκέαται δ' άρτοι ξανθοί γεραρή τε τράπεζα τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη: βωμός δ' ἄνθεσιν άν τὸ μέσον πάντη

πεπύκασται,

μολπη δ' άμφις έχει δώματα και θαλίη. χρη δὲ πρώτον μὲν θεὸν ύμνεῖν εὕφρονας ἄνδρας εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις.

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<sup>28</sup> The construction is left dangling here, but the thread of the argument resumes at 11.463c.

at the very tip of the island, and that when they put out to sea, they take a *kulix* from there and keep it with them until the shield on the temple of Athena is no longer visible. At that point, they drop the cup (which is made of terracotta) into the sea, after putting flowers, honeycomb, solid chunks of frankincense, and various other spices as well, into it.

Since I can see for myself, then, that your party is full of happiness of every sort,  $^{28}$  as in the description offered by Xenophanes of Colophon (fr. B 1 West<sup>2</sup>):

For now the floor is clean, as are everyone's hands and the cups. (One slave) places woven garlands around (our heads),

while another offers us fragrant perfume in a bowl; and a mixing-bowl full of good cheer stands in the middle.

Another type of wine, sweet as honey and smelling of flowers,

is ready in the jars, and promises that we will never run out of it.

In our midst is frankincense that produces a sacred scent;

and the water is cold, delicious, and pure.

Golden-brown loaves of bread have been set beside us, along with a table full of honor and heavy with cheese and dense honey.

In the middle is an altar covered on all sides with flowers:

song and dance and celebration fill the house.

Reasonable men should begin by offering a hymn in the god's honor,

using respectable vocabulary and clean words,

f σπείσαντάς τε καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι

πρήσσειν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν ἐστι προχειρότερον, οὐχ ὕβρεις· πίνειν δ' ὁπόσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.

ανδρών δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον δς ἐσθλὰ πιών ἀναφαίνει.

ώς ἢ μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἄμφ' ἀρετῆς, οὔ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτήνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων οὐδὲ < . . . > κενταύρων, πλάσμα<τα> τῶν προτέρων,

η στάσιας σφεδανάς· τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν· !!

θεών <δὲ> προμηθείην αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν.

καὶ ὁ χαρίεις δ' Άνακρέων φησίν

ού φιλέω, δε κρητήρι παρὰ πλέφ οἰνοποτάζων νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυόεντα λέγει,

άλλ' ὄστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ'
᾿Αφροδίτης
συμμίστων ἐραπῆς μυμάσκεται εὐφορα

συμμίσγων έρατης μνήσκεται εύφροσύνης.

ο καὶ Ἰων δὲ ὁ Χῖός φησιν·

χαιρέτω ήμέτερος βασιλεὺς σωτήρ τε πατήρ τε ήμιν δὲ κρητήρ' οἰνοχόοι θέραπες

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Most of verses 2–3 are quoted again at 11.496c, in a discussion of the vessel known as a *prochutes*; despite Athenaeus (or his source) there, the word in this passage clearly means "pouring vessel, pitcher", not "drinking vessel, cup".

# BOOK XI

after they pour a libation and pray for the power to

what is right; for this is what one ought to prefer, rather than ugly words and actions. Then they should drink as much as a person can and still

make it home without a servant's assistance, unless he is extremely old.

They should also praise the man who behaves well when he drinks,

so that excellence is recalled and aspired to.

But they ought not to spend their time describing battles fought by Titans, or Giants,

or centaurs, stories our ancestors made up, or their violent quarrels; topics of this sort are worthless.

Instead, they should always have good forethought for the gods.

So too the witty Anacreon says (eleg. fr. 2 West2):

I dislike the man who talks of quarrels and war, which is full of tears,

as he drinks wine beside a full mixing-bowl;

better someone who combines the Muses' glorious gifts with those of

Aphrodite, and fixes his mind on the cheer we all desire.

Ion of Chios (fr. 27 West<sup>2</sup>)<sup>29</sup> as well says:

Hail to our king, savior, and father! Let the servants who pour the wine mix up a

κιρυάντων προχύταισιν ἐν ἀργυρέοις· † ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς

οἶνον ἔχων χειρῶν νιζέτω εἰς ἔδαφος. † Ι σπένδοντες δ' άγνῶς 'Ηρακλεῖ τ' 'Αλκμήνη τε, Προκλεῖ Περσείδαις τ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν 'ττω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή, ὀρχείσθω τις έκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης. ὅντινα δ' εὐειδὴς μίμνει θήλεια πάρευνος, κεῖνος τῶν ἄλλων κυδρότερον πίεται.

έποιοῦντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ καλούμενοι σοφοὶ συμποτικὰς ὁμιλίας. παραμυθεῖται γὰρ ὁ οἶνος καὶ τὴν τοῦ γήρως δυσθυμίαν φησὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, διόπερ συνιοῦσι καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς ταύτας λαλιὰς

οὐδὲ εῗς ἃν εὐλόγως < . . . > φθονήσαι νοῦν ἔχων,

κατὰ τοὺς ᾿Αλέξιδος Ταραντίνους,

οῗ τῶν πέλας οὐδέν ἀδικοῦμεν οὐδέν ἀδρ' <οὐκ> οἶσθ' ὅτι τὸ καλούμενον ζῆν τοῦτο διατριβῆς χάριν ! ὅνομ' ἐστίν, ὑποκόρισμα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης μοίρας; ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ μὲν εὖ τις ἣ κακῶς φήσει με κρίνειν, οὐκ ἔχοιμ' ἄν <σοι> φράσαι·

<sup>30</sup> Procles (a descendant of Heracles) was the mythical founder of one of the Spartan royal houses, while Perseus established the royal dynasty in Argos.

31 Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Rhodian Lindos, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, and Periander of Corinth (all early 6th century BCE).

222

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bowl for us using silver pitchers (prochutai); † and the gold

having wine of hands let it wash onto the floor! †
Let us pour holy libations to Heracles and Alcmene,
and to Procles and the descendants of Perseus,<sup>30</sup>
although we begin with Zeus;

and let us drink and enjoy ourselves! Let the songs go on all night;

and let someone dance, and volunteer to lead the celebration!

If anyone has a beautiful woman waiting in his bed, he will drink more boldly than the rest.

The so-called Seven Wise Men<sup>31</sup> also held drinking parties. For wine offers consolation for the misery of old age, according to Theophrastus in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 569 Fortenbaugh), which is why,<sup>32</sup> when we gather for these Dionysiac conversations,

no one with any sense would have reasonable grounds for resenting our behavior,

to quote Alexis' Men of Tarentum (fr. 222, including what follows),

since we're not hurting the people around us. Don't you realize that this "life", as it's called, is just a word designed to amuse us, a nice way of referring to our fate as human beings? Whether someone will say I'm right or I'm wrong, I can't tell you that.

32 See 11.462c n., 463e with n.

ἔγνωκα δ' οὖν οὕτως ἐπισκοπούμενος, εἶναι μανιώδη πάντα τἀνθρώπων ὅλως, ἀποδημίας δὲ τυγχάνειν ἡμᾶς ἀεὶ τοὺς ζῶντας, ὤσπερ εἰς πανήγυρίν τινα, ἀφειμένους ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ σκότους εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν εἰς τὸ φῶς τε τοῦθ', ὁ δὴ ὁρῶμεν. δς δ' ἄν πλεῖστα γελάση καὶ πίη Ικαὶ τῆς ᾿Αφροδίτης ἀντιλάβηται τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὅν ἀφεῖται, κᾶν τύχη γ', ἐράνου τινός, πανηγυρίσας ἤδιστ' ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν καλὴν οὖν Σαπφώ.3

ἔλθε, Κύπρι, χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως συμμεμείγμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ οἰνοχόεισα

τούτοις τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐμοῖς τε καὶ σοῖς.

Πρὸς οὖς λεκτέον ὅτι τρόποι εἰσὶ πόσεων κατὰ πόλεις ἴδιοι, ὡς Κριτίας παρίστησιν ἐν τῆ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ διὰ τούτων ὁ μὲν Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἐκ μεγάλων κυλίκων ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δ᾽ ἀττικὸς ἐκ μικρῶν ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς ἱ ἐκπώματα προπίνει ὅτῳ ἄν βούλωνται μεγάλα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔκαστος πίνει, ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ οἰνοχόος ὅσον ἂν ἀποπίη.

 $^3$  These verses are also preserved in a papyrus, which offers ἔνθα δὴ σὺ † συ αν † ἔλοισα Κύπρι in v. 12 and ἐμμείχμενον (ὀμμείχμενον Norsa) at the beginning of v. 14.

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 <sup>33</sup> Aphrodite.
 34 I.e. those who might be tempted to criticize a party of this sort (11.463c).
 35 I.e. passing a single cup around the circle counter-clockwise.

But I've thought about it, and I've come to the following conclusion:

human existence is entirely, completely insane, and as long as we're alive, we're enjoying a reprieve, like going to a festival; we've been released from death and darkness, and allowed to have a party in this light we see. And whoever laughs the most, and drinks the most,

and grabs Aphrodite during the time he's released, or a dinner party if he gets the chance—

he's the happiest when he goes home after the festival.

So to quote the lovely Sappho (fr. 2.13-16):

Come, Cypris,<sup>33</sup> and daintily pour nectar mixed with celebrations into gold

for these friends of yours and mine.

cups

In response to such people,<sup>34</sup> we should note that drinking-styles vary by city, as Critias establishes in his Constitution of the Spartans (88 B 33 D-K), in the following passage: Chians and Thasians (drink) from left to right,<sup>35</sup> from large cups; Athenians (drink) from left to right, from small cups; and Thessalians propose toasts with large vessels to anyone they want. The Spartans, however, drink from individual cups, and the slave who pours the wine (replaces) whatever they drink. Anaxandrides in Rus-

τοῦ δ' ἐπιδέξια πίνειν μνημονεύει καὶ Αναξανδρίδης ἐν Άνροίκοις ούτως !!

464

(Α.) τίνα δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι πίνειν τρόπον νῦν ἐστε: λέγετε. (Β.) τίνα τρόπον ήμεις; τοιούτον οίον αν και σοι δοκή. (Α.) βούλεσθε δήπου τὸν ἐπιδέξι, ὧ πάτερ. λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ πίνοντι; (Β.) τὸν ἐπιδέξια λέγειν; "Απολλον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι;

παραιτητέον δ' ἡμιν τὰ κεράμεα ποτήρια καὶ γὰρ Κτησίας, παρά Πέρσαις, φησίν, ον αν βασιλεύς άτιμάση, κεραμέοις χρήται. Χοιρίλος δ' ὁ ἐποποιός Ι h  $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$ 

> χθέζινον όλβον έχω κύλικος τρύφος άμφὶς έανός.

άνδρων δαιτυμόνων ναυάγιον, οξά τε πολλά πνεθμα Διωνύσοιο πρὸς "Υβριος ἔκβαλεν ἀκτάς.

έγω δε εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ἥδιστα πολλάκις ἐστὶ τὰ κεράμεα έκπώματα, ώς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν έκ τῆς Κόπτου καταγόμενα μετά γάρ άρωμάτων συμφυραθείσης της γης c όπταται, καὶ Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῶ | Περὶ Μέθης αἰ Ροδιακαί, φησί, προσαγορευόμεναι χυτρίδες διά τε

4 χθέζινον Olson: χερσὶν ΑCΕ

37 A reference to the perideipnon, an ill-attested funeral rite in

the course of which the dead man was eulogized.

38 Coptos was a major transit-point in Upper Egypt for goods

<sup>36</sup> Simply a respectful form of address for any older man: Speaker A and Speaker B are not necessarily related.

 $\it tics$  (fr. 1) refers to the practice of drinking from left to right, as follows:

(A.) What style are you ready to drink in now? Tell me! (B.) What style are we ready for? Whatever style you'd like.

(A.) I suppose, father,<sup>36</sup> that you want us to go from left to right

and speak in honor of the man who's drinking? (B.)
Go

from left to right and speak? Apollo! Like over a corpse?<sup>37</sup>

We should refuse to use ceramic cups; Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 40), in fact, claims that in Persia anyone the king is unhappy with uses vessels of this sort. And the epic poet Choerilus (fr. 9 Bernabé) says:

In my hands is yesterday's happiness—a fragment of a shattered cup,

a bit of driftwood left by dinner-party guests, like those Dionysus'

gusts cast up in large numbers on the coast of Outrage.

But I am well aware that people often prefer ceramic drinking vessels, for example those brought downriver to us from Coptos;<sup>38</sup> because the clay is mixed with spices before the cups are fired. So too Aristotle says in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 672, encompassing both quotations): What are referred to as Rhodian cookpots are brought to

moving between the Red Sea region and Alexandria (the hometown of Plutarch, who is speaking here).

την ηδονην είς τας μέθας παρεισφέρονται καὶ δια τὸ θερμαινομένας τον οίνον ήττον ποιείν μεθύσκειν σμύρνης γάρ καὶ σχοίνου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐτέρων εἰς ύδωρ έμβληθέντων έψονται καὶ παραγεόντων είς τὸν οἶνον ἦττον μεθύσκουσιν. κἀν ἄλλω δὲ μέρει φησίν αί Ροδιακαί χυτρίδες γίνονται σμύρνης, σχοίνου, ανήθου. κρόκου. βαλσάμου, αμώμου, κινναμώμου συνεψηθέντων ἀφ' ὧν τὸ γινόμενον τῶ οίνω παραχυθέν ούτω <τὰς > μέθας | ἴστησιν ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀφροδισίων παραλύειν τὰ πνεύματα πέττον. οὐ δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς έκμανώς πίνειν ἀποβλέποντας εἰς τὸ πλήθος τών καλών τούτων καὶ παντοδαπών κατὰ τὰς τέχνας έκπωμάτων. την δε μανίαν τους πολλούς φησιν δ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῆ Εἰσαγωγικῆ Περὶ ᾿Αγαθῶν Καὶ Κακών Πραγματεία τοις πλείστοις προσάπτειν. καλείσθαι γοῦν τὴν μὲν γυναικομανίαν, τὴν δ' όρτυγομανίαν τινὲς δὲ καὶ δοξομανείς καλοῦσι τοὺς φιλοδόξους, καθάπερ τοὺς φιλογύνας γυναικομανεῖς καὶ τοὺς φιλόρνιθας Ι ὀρνιθομανεῖς, τὸ αὐτὸ σημαινόντων τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων, ὥστε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ ἀλλοτρίως καλεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, καὶ γαρ ὁ φίλοψος καὶ ὁ ὀψοφάγος οῗον ὀψομανής ἐστι καὶ ό φίλοινος οίνομανης καὶ ώσαύτως ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως τῆς μανίας κειμένης ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὡς άμαρτάνουσι μανικώς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον άπαρτωμένοις, ήμεις οὖν, ώς καὶ παρ' Αθηναίοις έγίνετο, ἄμα ἀκροώμενοι τῶν γελωτοποιῶν τούτων καὶ

<sup>5</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the word erōtomanēs ("crazy about love") at 13.599e.

drinking parties both because people enjoy using them and because they make the wine less intoxicating when warmed up; for they add myrrh, aromatic rush, and other similar substances to the water before bringing it to a boil, and when they pour the water into the wine, they get less drunk. And in another section he says: Rhodian cookpots are prepared by boiling together myrrh, aromatic rush, anise, saffron, costmary, Siam cardamom, and cinnamon. When the liquid produced using these substances is poured into the wine, it prevents one from getting drunk so effectively that it even paralyzes sexual desire by modifying the forces that inspire it. We should not, therefore, drink insanely (ekmanos), as we gaze at this massive collection of beautiful drinking vessels produced in every imaginable way. As for the word mania ("madness, insanity"), Chrysippus in his Introductory Treatise on Goods and Evils (fr. 667, SVF iii.167) says that people routinely attach it to a large number of other terms. 39 They refer, for example, to gunaikomania ("being crazy about women") and ortugomania ("being crazy about quail"); and some refer to individuals who are eager for a good reputation (doxa) as doxomaneis, much as they refer to those who like women (gunaikes) as gunaikomaneis or those who like birds (ornithes) as ornithomaneis, these being parallel terms, so that it comes as no surprise that others are formed this way as well. And in fact someone who likes fish (opson) and eats it greedily is opsomanēs, as it were; someone who likes wine (oinos) is oinomanes: and so on in similar cases, where it is unsurprising that the word mania is applied to the individuals in question, since they make crazy mistakes and are substantially detached from reality. So let us then have something to drink, as we listen to these comics and mimes, and to the

f μίμων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν ὑποπίνωμεν. Ιλέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁ Φιλόχορος ούτωσί ᾿Αθηναῖοι τοῖς Διονυσιακοίς άγωσι το μέν πρώτον πριστηκότες καὶ πεπωκότες εβάδιζον επί την θέαν και έστεφανωμένοι έθεώρουν, παρά δε τὸν ἀνώνα πάντα οἶνος αὐτοῖς ώνοχοείτο καὶ τραγήματα παρεφέρετο, καὶ τοῖς χοροῖς είσιοθσιν ένέχεον πίνειν καὶ διηγωνισμένοις ὅτ΄ έξεπορεύοντο ένέχεον πάλιν μαρτυρείν δε τούτοις καὶ Φερεκράτη τὸν κωμικόν, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ήλικίας ούκ ἀσίτους εἶναι τοὺς θεωροῦντας. Φανόδημος || δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν φησι τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις 465 Διονύσου τὸ γλεῦκος φέροντας τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους ἐκ τῶν πίθων τῷ θεῷ κιρνάναι, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς προσφέρεσθαι δθεν καὶ Λιμναῖον κληθηναι τὸν Διόνυσον, ὅτι μιχθὲν τὸ γλεῦκος τῶ ὕδατι τότε πρῶτον ἐπόθη κεκραμένον. διόπερ ονομασθήναι τὰς νύμφας καὶ τιθήνας τοῦ Διονύσου, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον αὐξάνει τὸ ὕδωρ κιρνάμενον. ήσθέντες οὖν τῆ κράσει ἐν ώδαῖς ἔμελπον τὸν Διόνυσον, χορεύοντες καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντες Εὔαν τε<sup>7</sup> καὶ Διθύραμβον καὶ Βακχευτάν Ι καὶ Βρόμιον, καὶ Θεόφραστος δ' έν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης φησὶν ὅτι τοῦ Διονύσου τροφοί αι νύμφαι κατ' άλήθειαν αι γάρ άμπελοι πλείστον ύγρον χέουσι τεμνόμεναι καὶ κατά

 <sup>6</sup> τὰς πηγὰς νύμφας ΑCE: πηγὰς del. Kaibel
 7 Εὔαν τε Kaibel (cf. Hsch. ε 6709); Εὐάνθη Α

<sup>40</sup> Ouoted at 11.485d.

 $<sup>^{41}</sup>$  Sc. as part of the Pithoigia festival; cf. 10.437b–c (again citing Phanodemus).

other artists as well, just as the Athenians did. Philochorus (FGrH 328 F 171) says the following about them: During their Dionysiac contests, the Athenians used to have lunch and something to drink before attending the show, and they watched the performances with garlands on their heads. Wine was poured for them and snacks were served throughout the entire competition, and when the choruses entered, they offered them a drink, and after they finished and were on their way out, they offered them another. The comic author Pherecrates (fr. 101)40 also attests to the fact that up to his own time the spectators never went hungry. Phanodemus (FGrH 325 F 12) reports that the Athenians brought grape-must drawn from their storage-jars to the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes (en Limnais), mixed it for the god, and then consumed it themselves. 41 This is why Dionysus has the epithet Limnaios ("of the Marsh"), because this is the first time that grape-must was combined with water and drunk mixed with something else. This is the reason the nymphs are referred to as Dionysus' nurses, because when water is mixed with the wine, it increases its volume. 42 So because they liked the mixing, they sang songs in Dionysus' honor, dancing and invoking him as Euas, Dithurambos, Bakcheutas, and Bromios. 43 Theophrastus in his On Drunkenness (fr. 573 Fortenbaugh) also claims that the nymphs are in fact Dionysus' nurses; because when grapevines are pruned, they emit a considerable quantity of liquid and seemingly weep.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. 2.38c-d; 15.693d-e (citing Philochorus). This comment interrupts the flow of Phanodemus' narrative and has presumably been inserted into it by Athenaeus.

<sup>43</sup> These are all cult-titles of the god.

φύσιν δακρύουσι. διόπερ καὶ Εὐριπίδης ενα τῶν τοῦ Ἡλίου ἵππων φησὶν εἶναι

Βακχίου φιλανθέμου Αἴθοπα πεπαίνοντ' ὀρχάτους ὀπωρινούς· ἐξ οὖ βροτοὶ καλοῦσιν οἶνον αἴθοπα.

καὶ 'Οδυσσεὺς ὤπασεν

μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, \
c εν δέπας ἐμπλήσας, ὕδατος δε ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα
χεῦ', ὀδμὴ δ' ἡδεῖα ἀπὸ κρητήρος ὀδώδει.

Τιμόθεος δ' έν Κύκλωπι

ἔγχευε δ' εν μεν δέπας κίσσινον μελαίνας σταγόνος ἀμβρότας ἀφρῷ βρυάζον, εἴκοσιν δε μέτρ' ἐνέχευ', ἀνέμισγε δ' αἷμα Βακχίου νεορρύτοισιν δακρύοισι νυμφῶν.

οίδα δέ τινας, ἄνδρες θιασώται, καὶ μέγα φρονήσαντας οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ πλούτω ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτῆσθαι πολλὰ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρὰ τε καὶ χρυσὰ. ὧν εἶς ἐστι καὶ Πυθέας Ι ὁ ᾿Αρκὰς ἐκ Φιγαλείας, δς καὶ ἀποθνήσκων οὐκ ὥκνησεν ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπιγράψαι αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι τάδε·

<sup>8</sup> δ' is absent from the traditional text of Homer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> So. that carry his sun-chariot through the sky. But the connection between this remark and the argument that surrounds it is unclear; cf. 1.26b.

# BOOK XI

This is why Euripides (fr. 896) claims that one of Helios' horses<sup>44</sup> is

Aethops, who ripens the rows of vines that belong to the flower-loving Bacchic god in the autumn:

mortals accordingly refer to wine as aithops ("fiery").

And Odysseus provided<sup>45</sup> (Od. 9.208–10)

honey-sweet red wine, filling a single goblet; and he poured 20 measures of water

over it, and a delicious smell rose from the mixingbowl.

Timotheus in Cyclops (PMG 780):

He poured in a single ivy-wood<sup>46</sup> goblet of dark, ambrosial drops—the goblet was filled with foam—and poured 20 measures over it, mixing together the Bacchic god's blood with the fresh-shed tears of the nymphs.

I am aware, my fellow-revellers, that some people are less proud of being rich than they are of owning large numbers of silver and gold drinking vessels. One example is Pytheas of Arcadian Phigaleia who, when he was dying, did not hesitate to require his family to inscribe the following on his tomb (FGE 315–18):

<sup>45</sup> Sc. to the Cyclops. But in Homer the subject is actually Maron, from whom Odysseus got the wine.

<sup>46</sup> kissinos; apparently intended as a learned gloss of the problematic Homeric word kissubion (discussed at 11.476f–7e).

Πυθέα μνήμα τόδ' ἔστ', ἀγαθοῦ καὶ σώφρονος άνδρός.

δς κυλίκων ἔσχεν πλήθος ἀπειρέσιον άργυρέων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἡλέκτροιο φαεινοῦ, τών προτέρων πάντων πλείονα πασάμενος.

τοῦτο δ' ἱστορεῖ Άρμόδιος ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ι Τῶν Κατὰ Φινάλειαν Νομίμων. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν ὀνδόω Παιδείας περὶ Περσών λέγων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα καὶ μην έκπώματα ην μεν ώς πλείστα έχωσιν, τούτω καλλωπίζονται ην δ' έξ άδίκων φανερώς η μεμηχανημένα, οὐδεν τούτω αἰσχύνονται πολύ γὰρ ηὔξηται έν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρδεια. ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους δι' έκπώματα τοῖς υίοῖς κατηράσατο, ὡς ὁ τὴν κυκλικην Θηβαίδα πεποιηκώς φησιν, ότι αὐτῶ παρέθηκαν έκπωμα δ άπηγορεύκει, λέγων ούτως

αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενης ήρως ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης πρώτα μεν Οίδιπόδη καλήν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν άργυρέην Κάδμοιο θεόφρονος αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα χρύσεον έμπλησεν καλον δέπας ήδέος οίνου. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ὡς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατρὸς ἑοῖο τιμήεντα γέρα, μέγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεσε θυμῶ. !! αίψα δὲ παισὶν ἐοῖσι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαρὰς άργαλέας ήρατο θοην δ' οὐ λάνθαν' Έρινύν ώς οὖ οἱ πατρώι ἐνηέι ‹ἐν› φιλότητι δάσσαιντ', άμφοτέροισι δ' ἀεὶ πόλεμοί τε μάχαι

 $\tau \epsilon$ .

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466

This is the tomb of Pytheas, a good, thoughtful man who owned an enormous number of cups made of silver, as well as of gold and glistening electrum.

having acquired a larger collection than anyone before him.

Harmodius of Lepreum reports this in his On the Customs in Phigaleia (FGrH 319 F 3). Xenophon in Book VIII (8.18) of the Education writes the following in the course of his discussion of the Persians: Moreover, if they own a particularly large number of drinking vessels, they are extremely proud of the fact. And if they have accomplished this in a patently dishonest way, they feel no shame on that account; because they regard crime and greed as quite glorious. According to the author of the Thebaid (fr. 2 Bernabé), which is part of the epic cycle, Oedipus cursed his sons on account of some drinking vessels, because they set a vessel beside him that he had forbidden them to use. The poet puts it as follows:

But the divinely-sired hero, blond Polynices, first placed a beautiful silver table which had belonged

to reverent Cadmus beside Oedipus, and then filled a fine gold goblet with delicious wine.

But when (Oedipus) noticed his father's precious possession set beside him, tremendous grief invaded his heart.

and immediately he called down fearsome curses on both his sons—nor did the swift Fury ignore him—

asking that they not divide their inheritance in gentle friendship, but both have endless wars and battles.

Καικίλιος δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ ἀπὸ Καλῆς ἀκτῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἱστορίας ᾿Αγαθοκλέα φησὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ ἐπιδεικνύντα τοῖς ἑταίροις φάσκειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκεράμευσε κατεσκευακέναι ταῦτα. Ι ὁ δὲ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν τοῖς Λαρισαίοις ᾿Ακρίσιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπώματα ὅσα πλεῖστα εἶχεν, ὥς φησιν ὁ τραγικός·

πολὺν δ' ἀγῶνα πάγξενον κηρύσσεται, χαλκηλάτους λέβητας ἐκτιθεὶς φέρειν καὶ κοῖλα χρυσόκολλα καὶ πανάργυρα ἐκπώματ', εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα δίς. Ι

c Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἐν ἔκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ<sup>9</sup> τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Λυσίμαχόν φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, καλέσαντα ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Ἦκρον τὸν τυραννήσαντα οὐ μόνον Βαβυλωνίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Σελευκέων μετὰ τριακοσίων, μετὰ τὸ τὰς τραπέζας ἀρθῆναι τετράμνουν ἐκάστῳ τῶν τριακοσίων ἔκπωμα δοῦναι ἀργυροῦν, καὶ σπονδοποιησάμενον προπιεῖν ἄμα πᾶσιν καὶ ἀποφέρεσθαι ἔδωκε τὰ ποτήρια. ἀντικλείδης δ' ὁ ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ Νόστων περὶ Γρᾶ διηγούμενος τοῦ τὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς Λέσβον στείλαντος σὺν ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι,

 $^9$  ἔκτη καὶ δεκάτη (i.e. ις΄) Müller: εἴκοσι καὶ ἕκτη (i.e. κς΄) Α

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Literally "that he had worked as a potter", as again at 11.781d. Agathocles ruled Syracuse for several decades at the end of the 4th century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd; his father had owned a large pottery workshop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Doubtless the contest at which Acrisius, who was in exile in Larisa, was accidentally killed by a discus thrown by Perseus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Emended from the manuscript's "Book XXVI" by Müller on the ground that the passage ought to stand immediately after the

The orator Caecilius of Calacte in his On History (FGrH 183 F 2) claims that when the tyrant Agathocles showed off his gold drinking vessels to his inner circle, he used to say that he had had to get his hands dirty<sup>47</sup> to produce them. The Acrisius who appears in Sophocles' Men of Larisa (fr. 378) also owned an enormous number of drinking vessels, according to the tragic poet:

He is announcing a great contest, 48 open to all comers,

and is setting out as the prizes basins of hammered bronze,

hollow cups inlaid with gold, and drinking vessels of solid silver, twice 60 in number.

Posidonius in Book XVI<sup>49</sup> of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 13 = fr. 65 Edelstein–Kidd) reports that Lysimachus of Babylon invited Himerus, who controlled not just Babylon, but Seleucia as well, to dinner along with 300 other people. After the tables had been removed, <sup>50</sup> he presented each of his 300 guests with a silver drinking vessel that weighed four pounds; <sup>51</sup> poured a libation; toasted them all simultaneously; and gave them their cups to take home. Anticleides of Athens in Book XVI of the *Homecomings* (*FGrH* 140 F 4), <sup>52</sup> in the course of his discussion of Gras, who along with some other kings led the colony that set off

description of Himerus' drunken ambition and death in FGrH 87 F 11 = fr. 63 Edelstein–Kidd (quoted at 10.439d-e). The anecdote thus apparently belongs in 129 BCE.

<sup>50</sup> Sc. at the end of the meal, when the drinking party was about to begin.

<sup>51</sup> Literally "four minas"; cf. 11.782a n.

52 Plu. Mor. 163a-d offers another version of the story.

καὶ ὅτι χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς δηλώσας καθεῖναι διαπλέοντας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι εἰς τὸ πέλαγος παρθένον, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τῶν¹ο ἐν Μηθύμνη τινὲς περὶ τῆς ἀφεθείσης εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν παρθένου καὶ φασῖν ἱ ἐρασθέντα αὐτῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινά, ῷ ἦν τοὕνομα Ἦναλος, ἐκκολυμβῆσαι βουλόμενον ἀνασῶσαι τὴν παιδίσκην. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ κύματος αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους κρυφθέντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἤδη τῆς Μηθύμνης οἰκουμένης παραγενέσθαι τὸν Ἔναλον καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον < ... >, καὶ ὅτι ἡ μὲν παρθένος παρὰ ταῖς Νηρῆσι διέτριβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἔβοσκεν ἵππους· καί ποτε καὶ κύματος¹¹ ||

# EK TOY IA

781b ἐπιφερομένου μεγάλου συγκολυμβήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐκc βῆναι ἱ ἔχοντα κύπελλον χρυσοῦ οὕτω θαυμασίου ὡς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτῷ παραβαλλόμενον οὐδὲν διάφορον εἶναι χαλκοῦ. τιμιώτατον δ' ἦν πάλαι τὸ τῶν ἐκπωμάτων κτῆμα. ἀχιλλεὺς οὖν ὡς ἐξαίρετόν τι εἶχεν ἀνάθημα δέπας,

οὐδέ τις ἄλλος

οὖτ' ἀνδρῶν πίνεσκεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ < . . . > οὖτέ τεῳ σπένδεσκε < . . . >, ὅτε μὴ Διί.

10 δὲ περὶ τῶν Α: περὶ del. Meineke

11 A number of leaves were missing from the manuscript from which the text in A was drawn, and the text that follows is drawn from the Epitome (which has its own system of Casaubon pagenumbers). Manuscript A resumes following the section numbered 784d. for Lesbos, reports that they had an oracle specifying that as they were crossing the sea, they were to drop a young woman into it for Poseidon. He then writes as follows: Some of the inhabitants of Methymna<sup>53</sup> tell a story about the young woman who was thrown into the sea, and say that one of the leaders of the expedition, who was named Enalus,<sup>54</sup> had fallen in love with the girl and wanted to swim out and rescue her. At that point they were both covered by a wave and disappeared; but later on, after Methymna had been settled, Enalus appeared and described how . . . , and (told them) that the girl was living with the Nereids, and that he himself was a groom for Poseidon's horses. And then when a large wave

# FROM BOOK ELEVEN

came along, he dived down along with it and emerged holding a goblet made of such extraordinary gold that what they had was no better than bronze in comparison to it. In ancient times, owning drinking vessels brought enormous prestige. Achilleus accordingly treated his goblet as a special, sacred object (*Il.* 16.225–7):<sup>55</sup>

and neither did any other

man drink from it . . .
nor did he pour libations to anyone . . . except to
Zeus.

53 A city on Lesbos, where the colony was heading.

55 The passage is referred to again at 11.783a-b.

 $<sup>^{54}\,\</sup>mbox{Literally}$  "In-the-Sea", an unsurprising name for a minor sea-divinity.

καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος δὲ τὸν υίὸν λυτρούμενος τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις κειμηλίοις καὶ δέπας δίδωσι περικαλλές. αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Ζεὺς τῆς Ἡρακλέους γενέσεως ἄξιον ἡγεῖται δῶρον ᾿Αλκμήνη δοθῆναι ποτήριον, ὅπερ ᾿Αμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεὶς δίδωσιν.

d άδ' ὑποδεξαμένα θαήσατο χρύσεον αἶψα ποτήριον.

τὸν δὲ Ἦλιον ὁ Στησίχορος ποτηρίω διαπλεῖν φησι τὸν ἀκεανόν, ὧ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περαιωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας ὁρμῶντα. οἴδαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ Βαθυκλόους τοῦ ἀρκάδος ποτήριον, ὁ σοφίας ἄθλον ὁ Βαθυκλῆς τῷ κριθέντι ἀρίστω τῶν καλουμένων ⟨ἐπτὰ⟩¹² σοφῶν ἀπέλιπε. τὸ δὲ Νέστορος ποτήριον πολλοὶ κεραμεύουσι πλεῖστοι γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνεγράψαντο. καὶ θεοφιλὲς δὲ τὸ ποτήριον

χρυσέοις (γοῦν) δεπάεσσιν

<...> ἀλλήλους

δεξιοῦνται. ἐλευθέριον δέ, φησί, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἐν οἴνῷ διάγειν, μὴ κωθωνιζόμενον μηδὲ Θρακίω νόμῷ ἄμυ-

12 add. Meineke

<sup>56</sup> The dead Hector.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Alcmene's mortal husband. For the story, cf. 11.474f (citing Pherecydes and Herodorus of Heracleia), 475b-c (citing Charon of Lampsacus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Quoted at 11.469e-f, in the course of an extended discussion of the story.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The Sun-god, who used the cup as a way to get back to his rising-place in the East at night. It was thus available to take

So too Priam, when he tries to ransom his son<sup>56</sup> with his most brilliant treasures, offers (*Il*. 24.234) a beautiful goblet. Zeus himself, moreover, regards a cup as an appropriate gift to offer Alcmene in return for producing Heracles, and presents it to her, disguised as Amphitryon<sup>57</sup> (adesp. *PMG* 952):

And she accepted the gold cup and was immediately astonished by it.

Stesichorus (PMG 185)<sup>58</sup> claims that Helios<sup>59</sup> used to sail across the ocean in a drinking cup, and that Heracles as well used it to get to the other side when he set off after the cattle of Geryon. I am also familiar with the cup that belonged to Bathycles of Arcadia, which he left behind as a prize for whoever was judged the best of the so-called Seven Wise Men.<sup>60</sup> Many people get their hands dirty<sup>61</sup> with Nestor's cup, by which I mean that a large number of people produced treatises discussing it.<sup>62</sup> The gods also like cups; at any rate they toast (Il. 4.3—4)

one another with gold

goblets.

A mark of a free man, says (Athenaeus), is to drink one's wine carefully, not consuming large amounts at one time or gulping the wine without pausing to breathe, as the

Heracles to the furthest western edge of the world, where Geryon lived. 60 For the Seven Wise Men, see 11.463c n. For the story of Bathycles' cup, see D.L. 1.28–9; the prize went to Thales (cf. 11.495d).

61 For the image, cf. 11.466a with n.

62 See 11.461d n.

στιν οἰνοποτείν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πόματι φάρμακον ὑγείας

έγκιρυάναι τὸν λόγον. Ι

Ότι διὰ σπουδης εἶχον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐγκόλαπτον ἱστορίαν ἔχειν ἐν ἐκπώμασιν ἐν ταύτη δὲ τῆ τέχνη εὐδοκίμησαν Κίμων καὶ ᾿Αθηνοκλης. ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ λιθοκολλήτοις ἐκπώμασι. Μένανδρος δέ πού φησι καὶ ποτήριον τορνευτὸν καὶ τορευτά. ᾿Αντιφάνης

άλλοι δὲ καὶ δὴ βακχίου παλαιγενοῦς ἀφρῷ † σκιὰ καὶ † χρυσοκόλλητον δέπας μεστόν, κύκλῳ χορεῦον, ἔλκουσι γνάθοιν όλκοῖς ἀπαύστοις, παντελῶς ἐστραμμένον † τἄνω κάτω δεικνήντες

φησὶ πρός τινα Νικόμαχος

ὧ <χαῖρε> χρυσόκλυστα καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐμῶν. Φιλιππίδης·

τὰ ποτήρι' ἃν ἴδης τὰ παρεσκευασμένα, ἄπαντα χρυσᾶ, τρόφιμε, νὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὑπερήφαν', ἁγὼ μὲν παρεξέστην ἰδών κρατῆρες ἀργυροῖ, κάδοι μείζους ἐμοῦ.

"Οτι Παρμενίων συγκεφαλαιούμενος εν ταῖς Πρὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολαῖς τὰ Περσικὰ λάφυρα, ποτη-782 ρίων, || φησί, χρυσῶν σταθμὸς τάλαντα Βαβυλώνια

f

<sup>63</sup> Wilamowitz suggested that a poetic quotation lurks behind these words.

<sup>64</sup> Also mentioned in the catalogue of famous engravers at 11.782b

 $<sup>^{65}</sup>$  There were  $60\ minas$  in an Attic talent, and a Babylonian

Thracians do, but mixing conversation into the drinking, like a drug intended to keep you healthy.<sup>63</sup>

The ancients were interested in having stories engraved on their drinking vessels; Cimon and Athenocles<sup>64</sup> were famous for work of this sort. They also used vessels with inset jewels. Menander (fr. 438) refers somewhere to a cup produced on a lathe and to those decorated with relief work. Antiphanes (fr. 234):

Others use jaws that never cease to work to drain a goblet inlaid with gold that dances in a circle

and is full of ancient-born, Bacchic liquid with foam † and a shadow †, and exhibit it turned completely upside-down.

Nicomachus (fr. 4) says to someone:

Hello there, you who vomit up gold-inlaid (cups) and gold . . .

Philippides (fr. 28):

If you see the cups they've got ready, young master—they're all made of gold, by heaven, and they're gorgeous; I was knocked out when I saw them.

Silver mixing-bowls! Wine-jars bigger than me!

Parmenion in his *Letters to Alexander*, totaling up the spoils taken from the Persians, says: The weight of the gold cups: 73 Babylonian talents, 52 *minas*. 65 The weight of the

talent was 20% larger and thus weighed about 72 pounds (Hdt. 3.89.2; Ael. VH 1.22). For Parmenion, see 11.508e n.

έβδομήκοντα καὶ τρία, μναῖ πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο. ποτηρίων λιθοκολλήτων σταθμὸς τάλαντα Βαβυλώνια πεντήκοντα καὶ ἔξ, μναῖ τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρες. ἔθος δ' ἦν πρότερον ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλεσθαι, μεθ' ο τὸν οἶνον. Ξενοφάνης

οὐδέ κεν ἐν κύλικι πρότερον κεράσειέ τις οἶνον ἐγχέας, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ καὶ καθύπερθε μέθυ.

# 'Ανακρέων

φέρ' ὕδωρ φέρ' οἶνον, ὧ παῖ, φέρε <δ'> ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμὶν στεφάνους ἔνεικον, ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἐρωτα πυκταλίζω.

πρὸ δὲ τούτων Ἡσίοδος

κρήνης τ' αἰενάου καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἥ τ' ἀθόλωτος, τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἱέμεν οἴνου.

b Θεόφραστος ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱ κρᾶσιν ἐναντίως εἶχε τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ νῦν παρ᾽ Ἑλλησιν ὑπάρχοντι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπέχεον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸν οἶνον, ὅπως ἐν τῷ πίνειν ὑδαρεστέρῳ χρῷντο τῷ ποτῷ καὶ τούτου ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἦττον ὀρέγοιντο τοῦ λοιποῦ. καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ εἰς τοὺς κοττάβους κατανήλισκον.

Ένδοξοι δὲ τορευταὶ Ἀθηνοκλῆς, Κράτης, Στρατόνικος, Μυρμηκίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, Καλλικράτης ὁ

<sup>66</sup> Presumably from On Drunkenness (the title of the work having been removed by the Epitomator, like most of the titles in this section).

cups set with jewels: 56 Babylonian talents, 34 minas. It was standard practice in the past to put water in one's cup first, and add the wine afterward. Xenophanes (fr. B 5 West<sup>2</sup>):

No one would pour wine into his cup first and then mix it; instead, water with wine on top of it.

Anacreon (PMG 396):

Bring water, slave! Bring wine! Come!—bring us garlands
woven of flowers, so that I can box with Eros!

And before them Hesiod (Op. 595-6):

Pour three parts of water drawn from a spring that flows continually

without stopping and is clear, and add the fourth part, of wine.

Theophrastus (fr. 571):<sup>66</sup> Since in ancient times the method of mixing wine was the opposite of what prevails among Greeks today. Because they did not pour the water into the wine, but the wine into the water, so that when they were drinking they could consume something more diluted, and so that after they enjoyed this, they would have a diminished appetite for more. They also wasted most of it playing cottabus.<sup>67</sup>

Athenocles, 66 Crates, Stratonicus, Myrmecides of Miletus, Callicrates of Sparta, 69 and Mys were famous en-

 $<sup>^{67}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  drinking-party game that involved throwing one's wine-lees at a target; cf. 11.479c–e with nn.; 15.665b–8f.

<sup>68</sup> Mentioned in a similar context at 11.781e.

<sup>69</sup> Poralla #406.

Λάκων καὶ Μῦς, οὖ εἴδομεν σκύφον Ἡρακλεωτικὸν τεχνικῶς ἔχουτα Ἰλίου ἐντετορευμένην πόρθησιν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

γραμμὰ Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός. εἰμὶ δὲ ἔργον Ἰλίου αἰπεινᾶς, ἃν ἔλον Αἰακίδαι.

στι κλεινοὶ λέγονται παρὰ Κρησὶν οἱ ἐρώμενοι. σπουδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς παίδας ἁρπάζειν καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς παρὰ αὐτοῖς ἄδοξόν ἐστιν ἐραστοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν. καλοῦνται δὲ οἱ ἀρπασθέντες παρασταθέντες. διδόασι δὲ τῷ ἀρπασθέντι στολὴν καὶ βοῦν καὶ ποτήριον ἡν καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γενόμενοι φέρουσιν, ἵνα δῆλοι ὧσι κλεινοὶ γενόμενοι.

όρậς δ',13 ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας, εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ώφελοῦσι τοὺς φίλους.

d αὖξει γὰρ καὶ τρέφει μεγαλύνει τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἡ ἐν τοῖς πότοις διατριβή, ἀναζωπυροῦσα καὶ ἀνεγείρουσα μετὰ φρονήσεως τὸν ἐκάστου νοῦν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος·

άνίκ' ἀνθρώπων καματώδεες οἵχονται μέριμναι στηθέων ἔξω πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου

 $^{13}$  The traditional text of Aristophanes omits  $\delta^{*}$  and punctuates  $\delta\rho\hat{q}s;$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> For the painter Parrhasius (PAA 767505; late 5th/early 4th century BCE), cf. 12.543c–4a; 15.687b–c. The sculptor Mys is PAA 663415.

# BOOK XI

gravers. I saw a Heracleot *skuphos* produced by the latter that featured a finely engraved Sack of Troy and had the following inscribed upon it (anon. *FGE* 1852–3):

Parrhasius<sup>70</sup> sketched the design, while Mys did the work. I depict events at lofty Ilium, which the Aeacidae<sup>71</sup> captured.

On Crete, boys who have adult male lovers are known as *kleinoi*. <sup>72</sup> The Cretans are very interested in kidnapping boys, and it is embarrassing in their country for the goodlooking ones not to have an adult lover. The boys who have been kidnapped are known as *parastathentes* ("companions" *vel sim*.). When they kidnap a boy, they give him a robe, an ox, and a cup; <sup>73</sup> after they get older, they still wear the robe, as a way of making it obvious that they are *kleinoi*.

When people drink, you see, that's when they get rich, are successful, win their lawsuits, are happy, and help their friends. (Ar. Eq. 92-4)

Because spending time drinking expands, nourishes, and enlarges one's soul, by invigorating an individual's mind and waking it up, making him think, as Pindar (fr. 124b.5–8) says:<sup>74</sup>

when the cares that wear human beings out vanish from their breasts. All of us alike swim in a sea

<sup>71</sup> I.e. Achilleus and his son Neoptolemus.

<sup>72</sup> Literally "famous ones".

<sup>73</sup> Cf. 11.502b (citing Hermonax).

 $<sup>^{74}</sup>$  The four verses that precede these (Pi. fr. 124a) are preserved at 11.480c, where see n.

πάντες ἴσα νέομεν ψευδη πρὸς ἀκτάν ος μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεὸς τότε, τοὶ δ' αὖ πλουτέοντες.

εἶτ' ἐπάγει·

<...> ἀέξονται φρένας ἀμπελίνοις τόξοις δαμέντες.

'Αγκύλη. ποτήριον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοττάβων παιδιὰν χρήσιμον. Κρατίνος·

πιείν δε θάνατος οίνον ἢν ὕδωρ ἐπῆ.
ἀλλ' ἴσον ἴσφ μάλιστ' ἀκράτου δύο χοᾶς
πίνουσ' ἀπ' ἀγκύλης, ἐπονομάζουσα < . . . >, Ι
ἵησι λάταγας τῷ Κορινθίφ πέει.

καὶ Βακχυλίδης.

e

εύτε τὴν ἀπ' ἀγκύλης ἵησι < ... > τοῖς νεανίαις, λευκὸν ἀντείνασα πῆχυν.

έντεῦθεν ἐννοοῦμεν τοὺς παρ' Αἰσχύλω ἀγκυλητοὺς κοττάβους. λέγονται δὲ καὶ δόρατα ἀγκυλητὰ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἄλλα ἀπὸ ἀγκύλης ἤτοι τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρός. καὶ ἡ κύλιξ δὲ ἀγκύλη<sup>14</sup> διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιὰν

14 ἡ ἀγκύλη CE: ἡ del. Kaibel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> This quotation must originally have served to introduce (and justify) the long catalogue of cups that makes up most of the rest of this Book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> This is a misinterpretation, as the passages cited below—in all of which the word is more easily taken as having its normal sense "bend of the wrist"—make clear. For the drinking-game known as cottabus, see 11.479c—e with nn.; 15.665b—8f.

# BOOK XI

of gilded wealth toward a treacherous coast; he who is now poor was once rich, while the wealthy for their part . . .

After which he continues (fr. 124b.9):

will grow haughty, mastered by the grapevine's arrows. 75

Ankulē. A cup used to play cottabus.  $^{76}$  Cratinus (fr. 299):  $^{77}$ 

It would kill her to drink wine with water in it.
Instead, she drinks two pitchers of strong stuff, mixed one-to-one; and she calls out his name and tosses her wine-lees

from her ankulē in honor of the Corinthian dick.

Also Bacchylides (fr. 17):78

when

she extends her white forearm and makes the from-the-ankulē toss for the young men.

On this basis we can make sense of the Aeschylean (fr. 179.4)<sup>79</sup> ankulētoi kottaboi. Certain spears are referred to as ankulēta, while others are mesankula, the words being derived from ankulē in the sense "right hand".<sup>80</sup> The cup

 $^{77}\, The$  subject is Stheneboea, who is in love with the Corinthian stranger Bellerophon; cf. 10.427d–e (quoting the passage from Euripides from which Cratinus' fourth verse is adapted) with n.

78 Quoted also, in slightly more complete form, at 15.667c.

79 From a fragment quoted at 15.667c-d.

 $^{80}$  In fact, the adjectives are derived from  $ankul\bar{e}$  in the sense "throwing-thong"; cf. 12.534e with n.

χείρα ἐν τἢ προέσει. ἢν γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς πεφροντισμένον καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως κότταβον προίεσθαι καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐφρόνουν μέγα ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ εὖ ἀκοντίζειν. ἀνομάσθη οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς χειρὸς σχηματισμοῦ, ὃν ποιούμενοι εὐρύθμως ἐρρίπτουν εἰς τὸ κοττάβιον. Ι καὶ οἴκους δὲ ἐπιτηδείους κατεσκεύαζον εἰς ταύτην τὴν παιδιάν.

"Οτι παρὰ Τιμαχίδα αἰακὶς ἡ κύλιξ καλεῖται.
"Ακατος. ποτήριον ἐοικὸς πλοίφ. Ἐπικράτης.

κατάβαλλε τἀκάτεια, <καὶ τὰ> κιλίκια αἴρου τὰ μείζω, κεὐθὺ τοῦ καρχησίου ἄνελκε τὴν γραῦν, τὴν νέαν δ' ἐπουρίσας πλήρωσον, εὐτρεπῆ τε τὸν κοντὸν ποοῦ καὶ τοὺς κάλως ἔκλυε καὶ χάλα πόδα. ||

"Αροκλον, ή φιάλη παρὰ τῷ Κολοφωνίῳ Νικάνδρῳ.
"Αλεισον καὶ δέπας τὸ αὐτό. "Ομηρος ἐν 'Οδυσσείᾳ περὶ Πεισιστράτου

έν δ' οἶνον ἔχευε

χρυσείφ δέπαϊ.

είτα παρακατιών τὸ αὐτό.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. 11.479d-e (material very similar to this and what follows, drawn from Hegesander of Delphi).

<sup>82</sup> Literally "skiff". Cf. 11.702a.

<sup>83</sup> akateia (punning on akatos in the sense "drinking cup").

<sup>84</sup> karchēsion, another cup-name (11.474e-5c).

<sup>85</sup> The fragment is omitted by Schmidt.

<sup>86</sup> As if the word were formed from a privative alpha + ous

(kulix) as well is called an ankulē because the right hand bends at the wrist (epankuloun) during the throw. For the ancients had given careful thought to how to throw cottabus gracefully and elegantly; many people were prouder of this than of throwing a javelin well. (The cup) thus got its name from the motion of the hand produced when they tossed (its contents) at the target in a smooth motion. They also built rooms specifically for this game.

A cup (kulix) is referred to as an aiakis in Timachidas

(fr. 20 Blinkenberg).

Akatos. 82 A cup that resembles a boat. Epicrates (fr. 9):

Drop the small sails, 83 and raise the larger ones made of goat-hair! Hoist the old woman straight up the masthead, 84 fill the younger one up, and full speed ahead! Get the pole ready, let out the reefs, and ease off on the sheets!

*Aōton*. A Cyprian term for a drinking vessel, according to Pamphilus.<sup>85</sup> Philetas (fr. 2 Dettori = fr. 30 Spanoudakis) describes it as a cup that lacks a handle.<sup>86</sup>

Aroklon. Used by Nicander of Colophon (fr. 129

Schneider) to refer to a bowl (phiale).

Aleison and depas ("goblet") describe the same object. Homer in the Odyssey (3.40-1), referring to Pisistratus:

He poured wine into

a gold depas.

Then further on, in regard to the same vessel (Od. 3.50):

("ear, handle")—as it in fact almost certainly is. Cf. 11.483a (citing Simaristus, who may thus be Philetas' source); Hsch.  $\alpha$  8997, 9000; Suda  $\alpha$  2860.

τοὖνεκα σοὶ < . . . > δώσω χρύσειον ἄλεισον.

καὶ έξης τὸ αὐτὸ πάλιν

δῶκε δὲ Τηλεμάχω καλὸν δέπας.

φησὶν οὖν ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανός· δοκεῖ μοι φιαλῶδες εἶναι τὸ δέπας· σπένδουσι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ. Ι λέγει γοῦν ε΄Ομηρος δέπας, δι᾽ οὖ Διὶ μόνῳ σπένδεσκεν ᾿Αχιλλεύς. καλεῖται δὲ δέπας ἤτοι ὅτι δίδοται πᾶσι τοῖς σπένδειν βουλομένοις εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πίνειν, ἢ ὅτι δύο ὧπας εἶχε· ταῦτα δὲ ἂν εἴη τὰ ὧτα. τὸ δὲ ἄλεισον ἤτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν λεῖον εἶναι ἢ ὅτι ἀλίζεται ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὑγρόν. ὅτι δὲ δύο ὧτα εἶχε δῆλον·

ἢ τοι ὁ καλὸν ἄλεισον ἀναιρήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, χρύσεον ἄμφωτον.

ἀμφικύπελλον δε λέγων αὐτὸ οὐδεν ἄλλο σημαίνει ἢ ὅτι ἦν ἀμφίκυρτον. Σιληνὸς δε ἀμφικύπελλόν φησι τὸ μὴ ἔχον ὧτα. ἄλλοι δε τὴν ἀμφὶ ἀντὶ τῆς περὶ εἶναι, ἵν' ἢ περίποτον, τὸ πανταχόθεν πίνειν ἐπιτήδειον. Παρ- c θένιος δε διὰ τὸ περικεκυρτῶσθαι τὰ ὡτάρια· Ι κυφὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ κυρτόν. ἀλίκητος δε τὸ μὲν κύπελλόν

<sup>87</sup> The subject at this point is Athena disguised as Mentor.

<sup>88</sup> Presumably in On Nestor's Cup (a vessel described by Homer specifically as a depas), cited at length at 11.488a-93c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Quoted at 11.781c.

 $<sup>^{90}</sup>$  Cf. EM p. 61.32–5, where a closely related view is assigned to Apollonius the son (or student) of Archibius.

<sup>91</sup> These are all false etymologies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> The adjective is used exclusively in Homer of the *depas*. A jumble of closely related material is preserved at 11.482e-3a, where *Od.* 22.9-10 is quoted again.

### BOOK XI

I will accordingly give you the gold aleison.

And shortly thereafter, referring again to the same vessel  $(Od.\ 3.63)$ :87

And she gave Telemachus the beautiful depas.

And the second of the second o

Asclepiades of Myrlea<sup>88</sup> accordingly says: In my opinion, a depas resembles a phialē ("bowl"); because they use it to pour libations. Homer (Il. 16.225–7)<sup>89</sup> refers, for example, to the depas Achilleus used to pour libations for Zeus alone. The vessel is referred to as a depas either because it is offered to everyone (didotai pasi) who wants to make a libation or have a drink, or because it had two faces (duo ōpas), which is to say two handles (ōtas). It is referred to as an aleison either because it is extremely shallow (agan leion), 90 or because the liquid is collected (halizetai . . . hugron) in it. 91 That it had two handles is apparent (Od. 22.9–10):

He was in fact just about to lift a beautiful gold two-handled *aleison*.

When he refers to it as amphikupellos<sup>92</sup> (e.g. Od. 3.63), he means specifically that both ends were hollow (amphikurtos).<sup>93</sup> Silenus, however, claims that a vessel that is amphikupellos lacks handles, while other authorities assert that amphi-is used in place of peri-, making the compound equivalent to peripotos, i.e. "suitable for drinking from from every side". Parthenius (says) that the adjective reflects the fact that the handles are convex; because kuphos means "convex". Whereas Anicetus claims that kupellos

<sup>93</sup> Cf. 11.482e with n.

φησι φιάλην εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀμφικύπελλον ὑπερφίαλον, τὸ ὑπερήφανον καὶ καλόν. εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ ποικίλον τῷ κατασκευῷ ἄλεισον θέλει τις ἀκούειν, ἔξω λειότητος ὄν. Πείσανδρος δέ φησιν Ἡρακλέα Τελαμῶνι τῆς ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατείας ἀριστεῖον ἄλεισον δοῦναι.

Ότι ἐστὶ ποτήριον ᾿Αμαλθείας κέρας καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς

καλούμενον.

"Αμφωτις. 15 ξύλινον ποτήριον, ῷ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἀγροίκους Φιλητᾶς φησι, τοὺς ἀμέλγοντας εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας.

"Αμυστις. καλεῖται μὲν οὕτω πόσις τις, ἡν ἔστιν ἀπνευστὶ πίνειν μὴ μύσαντα. καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω καὶ τὰ ποτήρια, ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι πιεῖν εὐμαρῶς. καὶ τὸ ῥήμα δὲ ἐξημύστισε φασί, τὸ ἐφ' ἐν πνεῦμα πιεῖν, ὡς ὁ κωμικὸς Πλάτων

λύσας † δὲ ἀργὴν † στάμνον εὐώδους ποτοῦ ἵησιν εὐθὺς κύλικος εἰς κοῖλον κύτος·

<sup>15</sup> Hsch.  $\alpha$  4166 has the word (followed by a very similar definition) in the form  $\tilde{a}\mu\phi\omega\xi\iota\varsigma$ .

94 As if the word were formed from privative-alpha + leios

("smooth, plain"). These are all false etymologies.

95 I.e. during Heracles' expedition against the city, which ended with the death of Priam's father Laomedon. Telamon (the father of Salaminian Ajax) entered Troy before Heracles during the sack, and Heracles was so insulted that he almost killed him ([Apollod.] Bib. 2,6,4). Cf. PMG 899 (quoted at 15.695c).

96 An error, more likely by the Epitomator than by Athenaeus himself, who apparently cited Callixeinus' mention at 5.198a (in a description of an extraordinary procession organized by Ptolemy is a term for a phialē ("bowl"), and that amphikupellos is equivalent to hyperphialos ("proud, overbearing"), i.e. "magnificent and beautiful". Alternatively, one might choose to take aleison to mean an elaborately crafted object, which thus cannot be referred to as leios. 94 Pisander (fr. 11 Bernabé) claims that Heracles gave an aleison to Telamon as a prize for his outstanding service during the expedition against Troy. 95

There is a type of cup referred to as an Amaltheia's horn

and an eniautos ("year").96

Amphōtis. According to Philetas (fr. 1 Dettori = fr. 29 Spanoudakis), a wooden cup used by peasants, who milk into it and therefore drink from it.

Amustis. This is a term for a style of drinking, specifically when someone drinks with his mouth wide open<sup>97</sup> without stopping to take a breath. Cups from which one can drink easily are also referred to this way. In addition, people use the term exēmustise, meaning "to drink without pausing for a breath", for example the comic author Plato (fr. 205):

After he opens a † white † cask of fragrant drink, he pours it straight into the cup's hollow cavity.

II Philadelphus) of a man who "was carrying a golden horn of Amaltheia; he was called 'The Year'." Cf. 11.472a, 474e, 483e-f. Amaltheia's horn (used to feed the infant Zeus) was much like our horn of plenty (e.g. Cratin. fr. 261 with K-A ad loc.; adesp. com. fr. 708; Anacr. PMG 361.1-2); cf. 11.497c, 503b; 12.542a; 14.643a.

97 mē musanta, with amustis thus understood to be derived

from privative-alpha + muō ("close one's mouth").

έπειτ' ἄκρατον κοὐ τεταργανωμένον ἔπινε κἀξημύστισεν. |

 ἔπινον δὲ τὴν ἄμυστιν μετὰ μέλους, μεμετρημένου πρὸς ὠκύτητα χρόνου. ὡς ᾿Αμειψίας·

(A.) αὔλει μοι μέλος, σὺ δ᾽ ἆδε πρὸς τήνδ᾽ ἐκπίομαι δ᾽ ἐγὰ τέως.
(B.) αΰλει σύ, καὶ <σὺ> τὴν ἄμυστιν λάμβανε.
"οὐ χρὴ πόλλ᾽ ἔχειν θνητὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐρᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν σὺ δὲ κάρτα φείδη."

'Αντιγονίς, ἔκπωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Αντιγόνου, ὡς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου Σελευκὶς καὶ ἀπὸ Προυσίου Προυσιάς<sup>16</sup>. Ι

f 'Αναφαία. ή θερμοποτίς παρά Κρησίν.

'Αρύβαλλος. ποτήριον κάτωθεν εὐρύτερον, ἄνω δὲ συνηγμένον, ὡς τὰ συσπαστὰ βαλάντια, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα ἀρυβάλλους τινὲς καλοῦσιν. 'Αριστοφάνης 'Ιππεῦσι·

κατασπένδειν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀρυβάλλῳ ἀμβροσίαν.

οὐ πόρρω δέ ἐστι τοῦ ἀρυστίχου ὁ ἀρύβαλλος· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρύτειν καὶ βάλλειν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρόχουν ἄρυστιν. Σοφοκλῆς·

16 Προυσιάς Schweighäuser (cf. 11.475f): προυσίς CE

 $<sup>^{98}</sup>$  The quotation = anon. *PMG* 913; but the final phrase may be the speaker's own addition to it.

 $<sup>^{99}</sup>$  Cf. 11.497f (citing Apollodorus of Athens).

<sup>100</sup> An unlikely but not impossible etymology.

Then he began to drink unmixed wine that lacked any taste

of vinegar, and drained the cup without pausing for a breath (exēmustisen).

They drank this way to music, keeping track of who drank the fastest. For example Amipsias (fr. 21):

(A.) Play some pipe-music for me! And you—sing along with her! Meanwhile, I'm going to empty my cup.

(B.) You—play the pipes! And you—get the amustis! "A mortal creature doesn't need much—just making love and eating a lot. But you're really cheap!"98

Antigonis. A drinking vessel named after King Antigonus, in the same way that a Seleukis is named after Seleucus, and a Prousias is named after Prousius.<sup>99</sup>

Anaphaia. A Cretan term for a cup used for hot drinks.

Aruballos. A cup that is wider at the bottom and narrower at the top, like the type of purses that are closed with a drawstring, which some authorities refer to as aruballoi because of the resemblance. Aristophanes in Knights (1094–5):

and to be using an *aruballos* to pour ambrosia over your head.

An *aruballos* is not much different from an *arustichos*; the word is formed from *arutein* ("to draw, dip [liquid]") and *ballein* ("to throw").<sup>100</sup> People also refer to a pitcher (*prochous*) as an *arustis*. Sophocles (fr. 764):

έστὶ δὲ καὶ πόλις Ἰώνων Ἄρυστις.

'Αργυρίς. είδος ποτηρίου, οὐ μόνου ἐξ ἀργύρου. 'Αναξίλας

< ... > καὶ πίνειν έξ ἀργυρίδων χρυσών.

Βατιάκιον, λαβρώνιος, τραγέλαφος, πρίστις. ποτηρίων ὀνόματα. Περσικὴ δὲ φιάλη ἡ βατιάκη. ἀλλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς Πρὸς τοὺς Ἐν τῇ ἀσία Σατράπας φέρεταί τις ἐπιστολὴ ἐν ἢ ταῦτα γέγραπται· βατιάκαι ἀργυραῖ κατάχρυσοι τρεῖς. κόνδυα ἀργυρᾶ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἔζ· τούτων ἐπίχρυσα τριάκοντα καὶ τρία. τισιγίτης ἀργυροῦς εἶς. Ιμύστροι ἀργυροῦ κατάχρυσοι τριάκοντα καὶ δύο. λαγυνοθήκη ἀργυρα μία. οἰνοφόρον βαρβαρικὸν ἀργυροῦν ποικίλον ἔν. ἄλλα ποτήρια παντοδαπὰ μικρὰ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐννέα, ῥυτὰ<sup>17</sup> καὶ βατιάκαι Λυκιουργεῖς ἐπίχρυσοι καὶ θυμιατήρια καὶ τρυβλία.

Βήσσα. ποτήριον παρ' Αλεξανδρεῦσι πλατύτερον

έκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν, ἐστενωμένον ἄνωθεν.

Βαυκαλίς. ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία καὶ αὕτη, ὡς Σώπατρος ὁ παρωδός: † βαυκαλὶς ἡ τετράκυκλος †. καὶ πάλιν

νάμα μελισσών ήδὺ μὲν ὅρθρου καταβαυκαλίσαι τοῖς ὑπὸ πολλῆς κραιπαλοβόσκου δίψης κατόχοις.

17 ἄλλα ποτήρια μικρὰ ῥυτὰ CE: ἄλλα ποτήρια μικρὰ del. Wilamowitz

### BOOK XI

You goddamned bitch wandering the streets drunk holding your *arusteis* like this!

There is also a city in Ionia known as Arustis.

Arguris. A type of cup, not made exclusively of silver (arguros). Anaxilas (fr. 39):

and to drink from gold argurides.

Batiakion, labrōnios, tragelaphos, pristis. Names of cups. 101 A batiakē is a Persian bowl (phialē). A letter from King Alexander preserved in his Letters to the Satraps in Asia contains the following passage: Gilded silver batiakai: three. Silver kondua: 176, 33 of them gilded. One silver tisigitēs. Gilded silver spoons: 32. One silver lagynos-case. One elaborately decorated silver barbarian-style wine-jar. Other small cups of all sorts: 29, including rhyta, gilded Lycian-made batiakai, incense-burners, and bowls.

Bēssa. An Alexandrian term for a cup that is wider

toward the bottom and narrower on top. 102

Baukalis. This is another Alexandrian vessel, for example the parodist Sopater (fr. 24, unmetrical): † the four-ringed baukalis †. Again (fr. 25):

It's nice, first thing in the morning, to *baukalis*-down a bee-stream <sup>103</sup> as a way of dealing with the oppressive

thirst that results from an all-night drinking party,

101 In origin this must be a gloss on Diph. fr. 81.1 (quoted at 11.484e). 102 Perhaps to be connected with the drinking-horn shaped like the Egyptian dancer Bēsas mentioned in the epigram preserved at 11.497d. 103 I.e. some honey.

c κατασκευάζουσι δέ, φησίν, οἱ ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία τὴν ὕαλον μεταρρυθμίζοντες πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις ἰδέαις ποτηρίων, παντὸς τοῦ πανταχόθεν κατακομιζομένου κεράμου τὴν ἰδέαι μιμούμενοι. Λύσιππον τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιόν φασι Κασάνδρω χαριζόμενον, ὅτε συνώκισε τὴν Κασάνδρειαν, φιλοδοξοῦντι καὶ βουλομένω ἴδιόν τινα εὐρέσθαι κέραμον διὰ τὸ πολὺν ἐξάγεσθαι τὸν Μενδαίον οἶνον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, φιλοτιμηθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ γένη παραθέμενον κεραμίων ἐξ ἐκάστου ἀποπλασάμενον ἴδιον ποιῆσαι πλάσμα.
 d Βῖκος, Ξενοφῶν ᾿Αναβάσεως πρώτα: Κῦρος ἔπειπε

Βίκος. Ξενοφων Αναβάσεως πρώτω Κύρος έπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεείς. ἐστὶ δὲ φιαλώδες ποτήριον

κατὰ τὸν Παριανὸν Πολυδεύκην.

Βομβυλιός. θηρίκλειον 'Ροδιακόν, οὖ περὶ τῆς ἰδέας Σωκράτης φησίν· οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιάλης πίνοντες ὅσον θέλουσι τάχιστ' ἀπαλλαγήσονται, οἱ δ' ἐκ βομβυλιοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν στάζοντος < . . . > ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ζῷόν τι.

Βρομιάδες. ἔκπωμα ὅμοιον τοῖς μακροτέροις τῶν

σκύφων.

 $\Gamma$ ραμματικόν. ἔκπωμα τὸ γράμματα ἔχον ἐγκε-χαραγμένα. Ἄλεξις $^{18}$ 

18 Manuscript A resumes at this point.

105 In fact, a bikos is a transport-jar most often used for wine,

as the quotation from Xenophon makes clear.

<sup>104</sup> Cassander founded Cassandreia in 316 BCE (D.S. 19.52), and if this story is not apocryphal, it must belong at the very end of Lysippus' career. Mendaean wine was one of the most famous ancient varieties (e.g. Eub. fr. 123.4, quoted at 1.23b).

The inhabitants of Alexandria, (Athenaeus) reports, work with glass, transforming it into cups of a wide variety of shapes and imitating the look of all the types of pottery imported from every corner of the world. They say that the sculptor Lysippus did a favor for Cassander when Cassander founded Cassandreia and wanted to establish his reputation by inventing a distinctive pottery shape, since he was exporting Mendaean wine from his city on a massive scale; <sup>104</sup> Lysippus got hard to work, assembled a large number of pots of various sorts, made casts of them all, and produced a distinctive form.

Bikos. Xenophon in Book I (9.25) of the Anabasis: Cyrus used to send bikoi half-full of wine. According to Polydeuces of Parium, this is a cup that resembles a phialē

("bowl").105

Bombulios. A Rhodian Thericleian<sup>106</sup> (cup), about whose shape Socrates (Antisth. SSR V A 64) says: People who drink as much as they want from a bowl (phialē) will finish sooner, whereas those who drink from a bombulios, whose contents trickle out slowly... The word also refers to a living creature.<sup>107</sup>

Bromiades. 108 A drinking vessel that resembles the

larger types of skuphoi.

Grammatikon. A drinking vessel with letters (grammata) engraved on it. Alexis (fr. 272):

<sup>106</sup> For Thericleian pottery, see 11.470d-2d.

<sup>107</sup> A bumblebee.

<sup>108</sup> Cognate with the divine name Bromius (i.e. Dionysus).

# IA

466d (A.) τὴν ὄψιν εἶπω τοῦ ποτηρίου γέ σοι πρώτιστον. ἦν γὰρ στρογγύλον, μικρὸν πάνυ, παλαιόν, ὧτα συντεθλασμένον σφόδρα, |
ε ἔχον κύκλῳ τε γράμματ'. (B.) ἆρά γ' ἔνδεκα χρυσᾶ, Διὸς Σωτῆρος; (A.) οὖκ ἄλλου μὲν οὖν.

τοιοῦτον εἴδομεν ποτήριον γραμματικὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν Καπύη τῆς Καμπανίας τῆ ᾿Αρτέμιδι, ἀργυροῦν, ἐκ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν ἐπῶν κατεσκευασμένον καὶ ἐντετυπωμένα ἔχον τὰ ἔπη χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ὡς τὸ Νέστορος ὅν. ᾿Αχαιὸς δ᾽ ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν ˙ Ομφάλη καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ γραμματικοῦ ποτηρίου ποιεῖ τοὺς σατύρους τάδε λέγοντας. Ι

ό δὲ σκύφος με τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖ πάλαι τὸ γράμμα φαίνων δέλτ, ἰῶτα καὶ τρίτον οὖ, νῦ τό τ᾽ ῦ πάρεστι, κοὖκ ἀπουσίαν ἐκ τοὖπέκεινα σὰν τό τ᾽ οὖ κηρύσσετον.

ἐν τούτοις λείπει τὸ ῦ στοιχεῖον, ἐπεὶ πάντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῷ ο̄ ἀπεχρῶντο οὐ μόνον ἐφ' ἣς νῦν τάττεται ‖
467 δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε τὴν δίφθογγον ἔδει σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ ο̄ μόνου γράφουσι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ε̄ γράφουσιν καὶ ὅταν καθ' αῦτὸ μόνον ἐκφωνῆται καὶ

f

<sup>109</sup> Cf. 11.489b-c (from the extended discussion of Nestor's cup), where the same information is expressed, but in almost entirely different words.

<sup>110</sup> A less complete version of the first verse is quoted also at 11.498e.

 $<sup>^{111}\,\</sup>mathrm{Spelling}\,\,\Delta\mathrm{IONT\SigmaO}$  ("[Property] of Dionysus"; see below).

### BOOK XI

# **BOOK ELEVEN**

(A.) First of all, let me tell you what the cup looked like. It was globular; quite small; old; its handles were badly damaged; and it had letters around the exterior.
(B.) Eleven letters?
of gold? saying "Property of Zeus the Savior?" (A.)

That's the name.

I saw a grammatikon cup of this type dedicated to Artemis in Capua in Campania; it was made of silver, the design was inspired by the Homeric poems, and it had the verses engraved on it in gold letters that identified it as Nestor's property. <sup>109</sup> The tragic author Achaeus in Omphale (TGrF 20 F 33) <sup>110</sup> also represents the satyrs as saying the following about a grammatikon cup:

The god's skuphos has been summoning me for a long time now

by showing me its inscription: delta; iota; third comes ou; nu and u are there; and after them san and ou announce their presence. 111

The letter *upsilon* is missing in this passage, since the ancients universally did not use the letter *omicron* only for the purpose it serves today, but use *omicron* alone when they want to indicate the diphthong. Similarly, they write the letter *epsilon* both when the vowel is pro-

112 I.e. the combination of *omicron-upsilon* (which is what one would expect as the genitive ending of "Dionysus", rather than the bare *omicron*—which the speaker of this fragment refers to misleadingly as an "ou").

όταν συζευγνυμένου τοῦ τ. κἀν τοῖς προκειμένοις οὖν οἱ σάτυροι τοῦ Διονύσου τὴν τελευταίαν συλλαβὴν διὰ τοῦ ο̄ μόνου ὡς βραχέος ἐγκεχαραγμένου ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι συνυπακούεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ ῦ, ἵν' ἢ Διονύσου. τὸ δὲ σὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίγμα Δωρικῶς εἰρήκασιν· οἱ γὰρ μουσικοί, καθάπερ πολλάκις 'Αριστόξενός φησι, τὸ σίγμα λέγειν | παρητοῦντο διὰ τὸ σκληρόστομον εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον αὐλῷ. τὸ δὲ ρ̄ διὰ τὸ εὔκολον πολλάκις παραλαμβάνουσι. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς τὸ σὲγκεχαραγμένον ἔχοντας σαμφόρας καλοῦσιν. 'Αριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις·

οὖτ' αὐτὸς οὖθ' ὁ ζύγιος οὖθ' ὁ σαμφόρας.

καὶ Πίνδαρος δέ φησι

πρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ < . . . > καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον < . . . > ἀπὸ στομάτων. 19

μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἐκπώματος ὡς οὕτως καλουμένου Εὔβουλος ἐν Νεοττίδι οὕτως· Ι

(Α.) μισῶ κάκιστον γραμματικὸν ἔκπωμ' ἀεί· ἀτὰρ ὡς ὅμοιον οὑμὸς υίὸς ἄχετο ἔχων φιάλιον τῷδε. (Β.) πολλὰ γίνεται ὅμοια.

<sup>19</sup> The text is also preserved in a papyrus, which has ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβων and κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισω ἀπὸ στομάτων.

114 Cf. 10.448d (where the passage is merely alluded to),

c

<sup>113</sup> What Aristoxenus meant, however, was that the poets tried to avoid using the *sound* represented by the letter *sigma/san*, not that they tried to avoid saying "sigma". On the poets' occasional attempts to compose asigmatically, see 10.455b-d.

nounced by itself and when it forms a diphthong with *iōta*. In the passage cited above, therefore, the satyrs made it clear in regard to the final syllable of the genitive form of *Dionusos* that, although the inscription features only what would appear to be the short vowel *omicron*, the letter *upsilon* needs to be heard along with it, yielding *Dionusou* ("[Property] of Dionysus"). They use the Doric san rather than sigma; because, as Aristoxenus notes repeatedly (fr. 87 Wehrli), the poets tried to avoid saying "sigma", since the letter is difficult to pronounce and ill-suited to the pipes. 113 They frequently incorporate *rho*, on the other hand, because it is easily pronounced. They refer to horses with a sigma-brand as samphoroi ("san-bearers"). Aristophanes in Clouds (122):

neither you yourself, nor your yoke-horse, nor your samphoras.

Pindar (fr. 70b.1-3, lacunose)114 as well says:

Before an extended song . . . and the false san emerged . . . from their mouths.

Eubulus in *Neottis* (fr. 69) refers to a *grammatikon* drinking vessel specifically by this name, as follows:

(A.) I've always hated a nasty grammatikon drinking vessel.

But the little bowl my son had when he left was a lot like this one! (B.) Lots of them look the same.

 $455b{\rm -c}$  (quoting a slightly different, but still asigmatic version of the lines).

Γυάλας. Φιλητᾶς ἐν ἀΛτάκτοις Μεγαρέας οὕτω φησὶ καλεῖν τὰ ποτήρια, γυάλας. Παρθένιος δ' ὁ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ τῶν Παρὰ τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Λέξεων Ζητουμένων φησί· γυάλας. ποτηρίου εἶδος, ὡς Μαρσύας γράφει ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὕτως· ὅταν εἰσίη ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπαντᾶν οἴνου πλήρη γυάλαν ἔχοντά τινα, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα σπένδειν.

 $\Delta$ ινος.  $^{20}$   $\Delta$ ιονύσιος  $^{21}$   $\delta$  Σινωπεὺς εν Σωζούση καταλέγων ὀνόματα ποτηρίων μνημονεύει καὶ τούτου λέ-

γων ούτως.

ď

(A.) ὅσα δ' ἐστὶν εἴδη Θηρικλείων τῶν καλῶν, γυάλαι δικότυλοι, τρικότυλοι, δῖνος μέγας χωρῶν μετρητήν, κυμβίον, σκύφοι, ρυτά. (B.) ποτήρι' ἡ γραῦς, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει.

Κλεάνθης δ' δ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μεταλήψεως Ι ε ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκευασάντων φησὶν ὀνομασθῆναι τήν τε Θηρίκλειον κύλικα καὶ τὴν Δεινιάδα. Σέλευκος δ' εἰπῶν ἐκπώματος εἶναι γένος τὸν δῖνον παρατίθεται Στράττιδος ἐκ Μηδείας·

οἶσθ' ῷ προσέοικεν, ὡ Κρέων, τὸ βρέγμα σου; ἐγῷδα· δίνῳ περικάτω τετραμμένῳ.

'Αρχέδικος δ' ἐν Διαμαρτάνοντι παράγων οἰκέτην τινὰ περὶ ἐταιρίδων διαλεγόμενόν φησι:

 $^{20}$   $\Delta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nuos$  A (as all three manuscripts throughout this section)  $^{21}$  ốτι καὶ τοῦτο ποτηρίου ὅνομα Διονύσιος Α: ὅτι . . . ὄνομα del. Dindorf

<sup>115</sup> Sc. of Macedon.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted again, at greater length, at 11.471b.

Gualas. Philetas in the Miscellany (fr. 3 Dettori = fr. 31 Spanoudakis) says that this is a Megarian term for cups, gualas. Dionysius' student Parthenius says in Book I of On Problematic Words in the Historians: Gualas. A type of cup, as Marsyas the priest of Heracles (FGrH 135/6 F 21) writes in the following passage: Whenever the king<sup>115</sup> enters the city, someone is to meet him holding a gualas full of wine, and he is to take it and pour a libation.

Dinos. Dionysius of Sinope in The Girl Who Was Rescued (fr. 5) offers a list of names of cups and mentions this

one, saying the following:

(A.) All the types of nice Thericleian cups: gualai with a capacity of two kotuloi, or three; a big dinos

that could hold an amphora; a kumbion; skuphoi;

drinking horns.

(B.) The old woman's got an eye for cups—but nothing else!

The philosopher Cleanthes in his On Substitution (fr. 591, SVF i.133)<sup>116</sup> says that Thericleian cups and Deiniades got their names from the people who manufactured them. Seleucus (fr. 48 Müller) first identifies the dinos as a type of drinking vessel, and then cites a passage from Strattis' Medea (fr. 35):

Do you know what your forehead looks like, Creon? I do: like a *dinos* turned upside-down!

Archedicus in *The Man Who Made Mistakes* (fr. 1) brings a slave onstage discussing courtesans, and says:

(A.) Νικοστράτην τιν' ἤγαγον πρώην σφόδρα γρυπήν, Σκοτοδίνην ἐπικαλουμένην, ὅτι | δῖνον ποτ' ἦρεν ἀργυροῦν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ. (B.) δῖνον: < . . . . > δεινόν, ὧ θεοί.

έστὶ καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς ᾿Απολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν

(A.) ούτοσὶ δίνος. (B.) τί δίνος; (A.) καὶ καλαθίσκος ούτοσί.

Τελέσιλλα δὲ ἡ ᾿Αργεία καὶ τὴν ἄλω καλεῖ δῖνον. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ τὸν ποδονιπτῆρα δῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Φιλητᾶς φησιν ἐν ᾿Ατάκτοις. !!

468 Δέπαστρον. Σιληνὸς καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν Γλώσσαις παρὰ Κλειτορίοις τὰ ποτήρια καλείσθαι. ἀντίμαχος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν πέμπτφ Θηβαΐδος φησί

πάντα μάλ', ὅσσ' Ἄδρηστος ἐποιχομένους ἐκέλευσε

ρεξέμεν εν μεν ὕδωρ, εν δ' ἀσκηθες μελι χεῦαν ἀργυρέω κρητῆρι, περιφραδέως κερόωντες: νώμησαν δε δέπαστρα θοῶς βασιλεῦσιν ἀχαιῶν ἐνσχερὼ ἐστηῶσι, καὶ ἐς λοιβὴν χέον εἶθαρ χρυσείῃ προχόω.

καὶ πάλιν

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f

<sup>117</sup> Literally a "twirl, whirl".

 $<sup>^{118}</sup>$  Literally a "little basket"; mentioned at 14.630a as another type of dance.

(A.) Two days ago I brought a girl named Nicostrate, who had a real

hook-nose; her nickname was Scotodine, because she once stole a silver *dinos* when it was dark (*skotos*).

(B.) A dinos? . . . dangerous, by the gods!

A  $dinos^{117}$  is also a type of dance, as Apollophanes establishes in  $The\ Fool\ (fr.\ 1)$ :

(A.) This here's a dinos. (B.) What's a dinos? (A.) And this here's a kalathiskos. 118

Telesilla of Argos (*PMG* 723) also refers to a threshing-floor as a *dinos*. The inhabitants of Cyrene call a foot-washing basin a *dinos*, according to Philetas in the *Miscellany* (fr. 4 Dettori = fr. 21 Spanoudakis).

Depastron. Silenus and Cleitarchus in the Glossary claim that the inhabitants of Cleitoria use this as a term for cups. Antimachus of Colophon says in Book V of the Thebaid (fr. 21 Matthews):

absolutely everything that Adrastus ordered them to do

as they approached. They poured water and virgin honey

into a silver mixing-bowl, combining them carefully; and they quickly distributed *depastra* to the Achaean kings

who stood in a row, and immediately poured them enough for a libation

with a gold pitcher.

And again (fr. 19.8-10 Matthews):

άλλοι δε κρητήρα πανάργυρον ήδε δέπαστρα οἰσόντων χρύσεια, τά τ' εν μεγάροισιν εμοῖσι κείαται.

κάν τοῖς έξης δέ φησι

καὶ χρύσεια δέπαστρα καὶ ἀσκηθὲς κελέβειον ἔμπλειον μέλιτος τὸ ῥά οἱ προφερέστερον εἴη. Ι

 Δακτυλωτόν. ἔκπωμα οὔτως καλούμενον παρὰ \*Ιωνι ἐν ᾿Αγαμέμνονι·

> οἴση δὲ δῶρον ἄξιον δραμήματος ἔκπωμα δακτυλωτόν, ἄχραντον πυρί, Πελίου μέγ' ἆθλον, Κάστορος δ' ἔργον ποδῶν.

Έπιγένης μὲν οὖν ἀκούει τὸ ἄμφωτον ποτήριον, εἰς δ οἷόν τε τοὺς δακτύλους διείρειν ἐκατέρωθεν· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ἐν κύκλῳ τύπους ἔχον οἷον δακτύλους, ἢ τὸ ἔχον έξοχὰς οἷα τὰ Σιδώνια ποτήρια, ἢ τὸ λείον. "ἄχραντον δὲ πυρί" παρὰ τὸ 'Ομηρικόν·

d <... > ἄπυρον | κατέθηκε λέβητα,

τὸ ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων ὑποδοχὴν ἢ τὸ πρὸς ψυχροποσίαν εὖθετον. τινὲς δὲ τὸ κέρας. περὶ δὲ τὴν Μολοσσίδα οἱ βόες ὑπερφυῆ ἱστοροῦνται κέρατα

 $^{120}\,\mathrm{Repeated}$  virtually word-for-word at 11.468f (at the very end of this entry), but with the definition credited to Philemon

rather than Epigenes.

<sup>119</sup> The cup in question belonged to Pelias, king of Iolcus, and was offered as the prize in the footrace at his funeral games (cf. below), which Castor won. It is now being offered to someone else for a cognate service, perhaps to a messenger who has brought Clytemestra news of Agamemnon's return.

# BOOK XI

Let others fetch a solid silver mixing-bowl and gold *depastra*, which are stored in my house!

And in the lines immediately after this he says (fr. 23.5–6 Matthews):

and gold depastra and an untouched jar full of the finest honey he had.

Daktulōtos. A drinking vessel is referred to this way in Ion's Agamemnon (TrGF 19 F 1):

You will carry off a gift worthy of the race you ran, a daktulōtos drinking vessel, untouched by fire, a prize cherished by Pelias, to commemorate what Castor's feet accomplished. 119

Epigenes takes this as a reference to a cup with two handles, into which one can insert one's fingers (daktuloi) from either side. But other authorities (maintain) that it is a cup with impressions resembling fingers all around it, 120 or one with embossed decoration, like Sidonian cups, or one that is smooth. "Untouched by fire" is an allusion to the Homeric phrase (Il. 23.267):

he set as a prize a basin that had never felt the fire,

i.e., one suitable for having cold water poured into it, or appropriate for cold drinks. But some authorities (believe) that a drinking horn is in question. <sup>121</sup> The cows in Molossia

 $^{121}\,\mathrm{The}$  comment is repeated below, suggesting that several scholarly sources have been crudely combined here.

ἔχειν περὶ ὧν τῆς κατασκευῆς Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ ἐξ ὧν πιθανὸν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Μολοσσίας ἡ Ἰωλκός, ἐν ἦ ὁ ἐπὶ Πελία ἀγὼν ἐτέθη. βέλτιον δὲ λέγειν, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος ἐν τῷ τοῦ δράματος ἐξηγητικῷ, ὅτι παρήκουσεν Ὁμήρου λέγοντος |

πέμπτω δ' ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκεν.

ἔδοξε γὰρ ἔκπωμα εἶναι ἐστὶ δὲ χαλκίον ἐκπέταλον λεβητῶδες, ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον πρὸς ὑδάτων ψυχρῶν ὑποδοχάς. δακτυλωτὸν δ' οἷον κύκλῳ τὴν φιάλην κοιλότητας ἔχουσαν ἔνδοθεν οἷον δακτύλων, ἢ ἐπεὶ περιείληπται τοῖς τῶν πινόντων δακτύλοις. τινὲς δὲ "ἀπύρωτον φιάλην" τὸ κέρας οὐ γὰρ γίνεται διὰ πυρός. λέγοι δ' ἄν ἴσως κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἔκπωμα τὴν φιάλην. Φιλήμων δ' ἐν τοῖς ᾿Αττικοῖς ᾿Ονόμασιν ἢ f Γλώτταις προθεὶς "καλπίς" | φησι δακτυλωτὸν ἔκπωμα καὶ τὸ ἄμφωτον, εἰς ὅ ἐστιν οἷόν τε τοὺς δακτύλους ἐκατέρωθεν διείρειν. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἔχον κύκλῳ δακτυλοειδεῖς τύπους τινάς.

Έλέφας. οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ποτήριόν τι, ὡς Δαμόξενός φησιν ἐν Αὐτὸν Πενθοῦντι

(A.) εἰ δ' οὐχ ἱκανόν σοι, τὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἥκει φέρων

ό παῖς. (Β.) τί δ' ἐστι τοῦτο, πρὸς  $\theta$ εῶν; (Α.) ρυτὸν  $\parallel$ 

<sup>122</sup> Cf. 11.468c with n.

 $<sup>^{123}\,\</sup>mathrm{Literally}$  "elephant" or (more appropriate here) "elephant's tusk".

are reported to have exceptionally long horns—Theopompus (FGrH 115 F 284) describes how they are made (into drinking vessels)—and it is plausible that the speaker had one of these; Iolcus, where Pelias' funeral games were held, is near Molossia. A better interpretation, according to Didymus in his commentary on the play (p. 89 Schmidt), is that Ion misunderstood Homer when he said (Il. 23.270):

and he set a two-handled  $phial\bar{e}$  untouched by fire as fifth prize.

Because he took this to be a drinking vessel, whereas it is in fact an open bronze vessel that resembles a basin and is suited to having cold water poured into it. The *phialē* is *daktulōtos* in that it has depressions all around its interior, like those produced by fingers (*daktuloi*), or else because people grasp it with their fingers when they drink from it. Some authorities claim that a "*phialē* untouched by fire" is a drinking-horn, because fire is not used to produce drinking-horns. But perhaps he is referring metaphorically to the *phialē* as a drinking vessel. Philemon in his *Attic Vocabulary* or *Glossary* begins with the lemma *kalpis* and says: A *daktulōtos* drinking vessel with two handles, into which one can insert one's fingers from either side; but other authorities believe that this is a cup with impressions resembling fingers all around it. 122

Elephas. 123 This was a term for a cup of some sort, as Damoxenus says in *The Man Who Mourned for Himself* (fr. 1):

(A.) If that's not enough for you, the slave's here with the *elephas*. (B.) What's that, by the gods? (A.) A drinking-horn 469

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δίκρουνον ήλίκον τι τρεῖς χωροῦν χοᾶς, Αλκωνος ἔργον. προὔπιεν δέ μοι ποτὲ ἐν Κυψέλοις Άδαῖος.

μνημονεύει τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου καὶ Ἐπίνικος ἐν Ὑποβαλλομέναις, οὖ τὸ μαρτύριον παρέξομαι ἐν τῷ περὶ

τοῦ ρυτοῦ λόγω.

Έφηβος. τὸ καλούμενον ποτήριον ἐμβασικοίταν οὕτως φησὶ καλεῖσθαι Φιλήμων ὁ ᾿Αθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ᾿Αττικῶν ᾿Ονομάτων ἢ Γλωσσῶν. Στέφανος δ᾽ ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Φιλολάκωνί φησι: |

(Σω.) τούτφ προέπιεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κώμην τινά. (Β.) καινόν τι τοῦτο γέγονε νῦν ποτήριον; (Σω.) κώμη μὲν οὖν τις έστὶ περὶ τὴν Θουρίαν.

(Β.) εἰς τὰς Ῥοδιακὰς ὅλος ἀπηνέχθην ἐγὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους, Σωσία, τοὺς δυσχερεῖς.

'Ηδυποτίδες. ταύτας φησὶν ὁ Σάμιος Λυγκεὺς 'Ροδίους ἀντιδημιουργήσασθαι πρὸς τὰς 'Αθήνησι Θηρικλείους, 'Αθηναίων μὲν²² τοῖς πλουσίοις διὰ τὰ βάρη χαλκευσαμένων τὸν ῥυθμὸν τοῦτον, 'Ροδίων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐλαφρότητα τῶν ποτηρίων | καὶ τοῖς πένησι τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τούτου μεταδιδόντων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ 'Επιγένης ἐν 'Ηρωίνη διὰ τούτων'

 $^{22}$  μèν αὐτοῖς πλουσίως Α: μèν αὐτὰς τοῖς πλουσίοις Musurus: μèν τοῖς πλουσίοις tantum Olson

 $^{126}\,\mathrm{The}\,\mathrm{verb}$  more often means "to asted", hence the joke that follows.

<sup>124</sup> At 11.497a.

<sup>125</sup> The word "ephebe" is normally used to describe a young man who is just on the edge of becoming an adult; cf. 11.494f.

with two mouths and big enough to hold three *choes*; Alcon made it, and Adaeus once toasted me with it in Cypsela.

Epinicus in Women Who Try to Pass off Supposititious Children (fr. 2.4) also mentions this cup; I will cite his testimony when I discuss drinking-horns. 124

Ephēbos. 125 Philemon of Athens in his On Attic Vocabulary or Glossary says that this is another name for the cup referred to as an embasikoitas. The comic author Stephanus says in The Man Who Loved Sparta (fr. 1):

(Sosias) The king presented him126 with a village.

(B.) Is this some new kind of cup?

(Sosias) No-it's an actual village near Thuria.

(B.) I was totally carried away, Sosias, to the Rhodian cups and the aggravating *ephēboi*.

Hēdupotides. <sup>127</sup> Lynceus of Samos (fr. 16a Dalby) <sup>128</sup> claims that the Rhodians produced these to compete with the Thericleian cups made in Athens; but whereas the Athenians produced this shape only for the rich, because of the amount of metal required, the Rhodians offered the poor an opportunity to participate in this fashion as well, since their cups were so light. Epigenes mentions them in *The Heroine* (fr. 5.3–4), in the following passage: <sup>129</sup>

127 Literally "cups for delicious drinks" vel sim.

128 Clearly another fragment of the Letter to Diagoras cited at

e.g. 3.109d-e; 7.285e-f, 295a-b; 14.654a.

129 Two additional verses of the same fragment, along with an abbreviated and slightly different version of the third, are quoted at 11.502e.

ψυκτήρια, κύαθον, κυμβία, ρυτὰ τέτταρα, ήδυποτίδας τρεῖς, ήθμὸν ἀργυροῦν.

Σήμος δ' ἐν πέμπτη Δηλιάδος ἀνακεῖσθαί φησιν ἐν Δήλφ χρυσήν ἡδυποτίδα Ἐχενίκης ἐπιχωρίας γυναικός, ἦς μνημονεύει καὶ ἐν τἢ ὀγδόη. Κρατῖνος δ' ὁ νεώτερός φησι

παρ' Άρχεφῶντος ήδυποτίδας δώδεκα.

d Ἡράκλειον, Πείσανδρος ἐν δευτέρφ Ἡρακλείας Ι τὸ δέπας ἐν ῷ διέπλευσεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἶναι μέν φησιν Ἡλίου, λαβεῖν δ' αὐτὸ παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλέα. μήποτε δὲ ἐπεὶ μεγάλοις ἔχαιρε ποτηρίοις ὁ ἤρως, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παίζοντες οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν ποτηρίφ ἐμυθολόγησαν. Πανύασις δ' ἐν πρώτφ Ἡρακλείας παρὰ Νηρέως φησὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου φιάλην κομίσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ διαπλεῦσαι εἰς Ἐρύθειαν, ὅτι δὲ εἶς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τῶν πλεῖστον πινόντων προείπομεν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἡλιος ἐπὶ σοτηρίου | διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησίν.

'Αέλιος δ' 'Υπεριονίδας δέπας ἐσκατέβαινε χρύσεον, ὄφρα δι' ὧκεανοῖο περάσας ἀφίκοιθ' ἱαρᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς, ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον παίδας τε φίλους,

<sup>130</sup> She was a member of a politically prominent local family, and the cup appears to be mentioned in several Delian temple inscriptions.

cooling-vessels, a ladle, kumbia, four drinking-horns, three  $h\bar{e}dupotides$ , a silver wine-strainer.

Semus in Book V of the *History of Delos* (*FGrH* 396 F 9) reports that a gold *hēdupotis* that belonged to a local woman named Echenice<sup>130</sup> is dedicated on Delos; he mentions her in Book VIII as well (*FGrH* 396 F 15). Cratinus Junior (fr. 14) says:

a dozen  $h\bar{e}dupotides$  from Archephon. <sup>131</sup>

Hērakleion. Pisander in Book II of the Epic of Heracles (fr. 5 Bernabé) claims that the goblet in which Heracles sailed across the ocean belonged to Helios, although Heracles got it from Ocean. But perhaps the fact that the hero liked large cups led poets and prose-authors to play on the idea of their size and come up with the story that he sailed in one. Panyasis in Book I of the Epic of Heracles (fr. 9 Bernabé) says that Heracles got Helios' phialē from Nereus and sailed over to Erytheia. 132 I noted earlier (10.412b, 441a-b) that Heracles was an extremely heavy drinker. Stesichorus (PMG 185)133 claims that Helios used to travel to the West in a cup, as follows:

Hyperion's son Aelios embarked in a gold goblet, in order to cross the ocean and come to the depths of the sacred, gloomy night, and to his mother, and the wife he married when she was a girl, and the children he loved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> PAA 211865; described as a parasite at 6.244a-d (citing Macho).

<sup>132</sup> Sc. to steal Geryon's cattle (one of his 12 Labors).

<sup>133</sup> Alluded to (but not quoted) also at 11.781d, where see n.

δ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα δάφναισι κατάσκιον !
 f ποσὶ παῖς Διός.

καὶ ἀντίμαχος δ' ούτωσὶ λέγει

τότε δη χρυσέω ἐν δέπαι 'Ήέλιον πόμπευεν ἀγακλυμένη Ἐρύθεια.

καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἡλιάσιν·

ἔνθ' ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς
† ισου † πατρὸς Ἡφαιστοτευχὲς
δέπας, ἐν τῷ διαβάλλει
πολὺν οἰδματόεντα
† φέρει δρόμου πόρον οὐθεις †
μελανίππου προφυγών
ἱερᾶς νυκτὸς ἀμολγόν. ||

470 Μίμνερμος δὲ Ναννοῖ ἐν εὐνἢ φησι χρυσἢ κατεσκευασμένῃ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου τὸν Ἡλιον καθεύδοντα περαιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, αἰνισσόμενος τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ ποτηρίου. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

'Ηέλιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἤματα πάντα, οὐδέ ποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία ἵπποισίν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπὴν ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Ηὼς ὧκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῷ. Ι τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κῦμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή, ποικίλη, 'Ἡφαίστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη, χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, ὑπόπτερος, ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ εὕδονθ' ἀρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' 'Εσπερίδων

b

Meanwhile the son of Zeus strode into the sacred grove shaded with laurel trees.

Antimachus (fr. 86 Matthews) as well says the following:

At that time, in fact, renowned Erytheia was sending  $\bar{\mathbf{E}}$ elios off in a gold goblet.

Aeschylus too in The Daughters of Helios (fr. 69):

there in the West [corrupt] his father's goblet, fashioned by Hephaestus, in which he traverses the vast, wave-swollen † he bears of a course a way no one † after escaping the gloom of sacred night with its dark horses.

Mimnermus in Nanno (fr. 12 West²) makes a riddling allusion to the hollow shape of the cup, claiming that Helios goes to sleep in a gold bed Hephaestus made specifically for this purpose, and travels to the East in it. He puts it as follows:

Eelios had eternal hard work assigned to him, nor is there ever any rest for him or his horses, once rosy-fingered Dawn leaves the ocean and mounts into the sky. For he is carried through the waves on a lovely, elaborately crafted bed forged by Hephaestus' hands from precious gold and equipped with wings. As he sleeps, it takes him rapidly over the water's surface, from the Hesperides' country

γαΐαν ἐς Αἰθιόπων, ἵνα δὴ θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι ἐστᾶσ², ὄφρ' Ἡὼς ἠριγένεια μόλη· ἔνθ' ἐπέβη ἐτέρων ὀχέων Ὑπερίονος υἰός.

Θεόλυτος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ "Ωρων ἐπὶ λέβητός φησιν | c αὐτὸν διαπλεῦσαι, τοῦτο πρώτου εἰπόντος τοῦ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσαντος. Φερεκύδης δ' ἐν τἢ τρίτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν προειπὼν περὶ τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ ἐπιφέρει· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἔλκεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ τόξον ὡς βαλῶν, καὶ ὁ "Ἡλιος παύσασθαι κελεύει, ὁ δὲ δείσας παύεται. "Ἡλιος δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ δέπας τὸ χρύσεον, ὁ αὐτὸν ἐφόρει σὺν ταῖς ἵπποις, ἐπὴν δύνῃ, διὰ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς έψην, ἴν' ἀνίσχει.²3 ἔπειτα πορεύεται Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ δέπα τούτῳ ἐς τὴν d' Ἐρύθειον. | καὶ ὅτε δὲ ἦν ἐν τῷ πελάγει, 'Ωκεανὸς πειρώμενος αὐτοῦ κυμαίνει τὸ δέπας φανταζόμενος. ὁ δὲ τοξεύειν αὐτὸν μέλλει, καὶ αὐτὸν δείσας 'Ωκεανὸς παύσασθαι κελεύει.

'Ηθάνιον. 'Ελλάνικος ἐν Αἰγυπτιακοῖς οὕτως γράφει· Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις κεῖται φιάλη χαλκῆ καὶ κύαθος χαλκοῦς καὶ ἠθάνιον χάλκεον.

Ἡμίτομος. ἔκπωμά τι παρ ᾿Αττικοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀνομασθέν, φησὶν Πάμφιλος ἐν Γλώσσαις.

Θηρίκλειος. ἡ κύλιξ | αὕτη ἐγκάθηται περὶ τὰς λαγόνας ἱκανῶς βαθυνομένη ὧτά τε ἔχει βραχέα ὡς

23 ἀνίσχει ὁ ἥλιος Α: ὁ ἥλιος del. Kaibel

e

<sup>134</sup> I.e. from the extreme West to the extreme East.

 $<sup>^{135}\,\</sup>mathrm{What}$  follows is garbled and appears to represent two versions of the story run awkwardly together.

to the land of the Ethiopians, 134 where his swift chariot and horses stand waiting until early-born Dawn arrives.

Then Hyperion's son embarks into a different vehicle.

Theolytus in Book II of the Annals (FGrH 478 F 1), on the other hand, claims that (Heracles) crossed the ocean in a cauldron, the first person to say this having been the author of the Titanomachy (fr. 8 Bernabé). Pherecydes in Book III of his History (FGrH 3 F 18a) first discusses Ocean and then continues: 135 Heracles aimed his bow at him, as if intending to shoot him; but Helios ordered him to stop, and he was frightened and did so. In return, Helios gave Heracles the gold goblet that carried him and his horses, after he set, through the ocean by night to Dawn's country, where he rises. Heracles then traveled to Erytheia in this goblet. While he was at sea, Ocean tested him by appearing and trying to swamp the goblet; Heracles was on the verge of shooting him with his bow, but Ocean was frightened and told him to stop.

 $\bar{E}$ thanion. 136 Hellanicus in the History of Egypt (FGrH 4 F 53) writes as follows: In their homes the Egyptians have a bronze phiale, a bronze ladle, and a bronze

ēthanion.

*Hēmitomos*.<sup>137</sup> An Attic drinking vessel that gets its name from its shape, according to Pamphilus in the *Glossary* (fr. VIIII Schmidt).

Thericleian. This kulix has concave sides, is fairly deep, and has short handles, inasmuch as it is a kulix. Alexis in

<sup>136 &</sup>quot;small strainer".

<sup>137</sup> Literally "half-section".

αν κύλιξ οὖσα. καὶ μήποτε Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἡσιόνη Θηρικλείφ ποιεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πίνοντα, ὅταν οὕτωσὶ λέγη:

γενόμενος δ' έννους μόλις ήτησε κύλικα, καὶ λαβὼν έξης πυκνὰς ἔλκει καταντλεῖ, κατά τε τὴν παροιμίαν ἀεί ποτ' εὖ μὲν ἀσκός, εὖ δὲ θύλακος ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν.

ότι δὲ κύλιξ ἐστὶν ἡ Θηρίκλειος σαφῶς παρίστησιν ἱ Θεόφραστος ἐν τἢ Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἱστορία. διηγούμενος γὰρ περὶ τῆς τερμίνθου φησί: τορνεύεσθαι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ κύλικας Θηρικλείους, ὥστε μηδένα <ἂν> διαγνῶναι πρὸς τὰς κεραμέας. κατασκευάσαι δὲ λέγεται τὴν κύλικα ταύτην Θηρικλῆς ὁ Κορίνθιος κεραμεύς, ἀφ' οὖ καὶ τοὔνομα ἔχει, γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν ᾿Αριστοφάνη. μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς κύλικος Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν Νεμέα οὔτως·

(Σπ.) χώρει σὰ δεῦρο, Θηρικλέους πιστὸν τέκνον, γενναῖον εἶδος· ὄνομά σοι τί θώμεθα; ||
471 ἀρ' εἶ κάτοπτρον φύσεος, ἢν πλῆρες δοθῆς; οὐδέν ποτ ἄλλος δεῦρο δή, γεμίσω σ' ἐγώ.

γραῦ Θεολύτη, γραῦ. (Θε.) τί με καλεῖς σύ; (Σπ.) φιλτάτη,

ΐν' ἀσπάσωμαι. δεῦρο παρ' ἐμέ, Θεολύτη, παρὰ τὸν νέον ξύνδουλον. οὐτωσὶ καλῶς.

 $<sup>^{138}</sup>$  Aristophanes lived c.448-388 BCE.

Hesione (fr. 88) perhaps represents Heracles as drinking from a Thericleian when he says the following:

The moment he regained consciousness, he asked for a *kulix*; and as soon as he got it, he drank down

and emptied off plenty of them. As the proverb says, this guy's always good at being a wineskin, and equally good

at being a grain-sack.

Theophrastus in his *Inquiry into Plants* (5.3.2) establishes beyond any doubt that a Theracleian is a type of *kulix*. For in the course of his description of the terebinth tree he says: Thericleian *kulikes* can be produced on a lathe from the wood of this tree, and no one would be able to distinguish them from the ceramic variety. The Corinthian potter Thericles is said to have manufactured this type of *kulix*, to which he lent his name; he was a contemporary of the comic author Aristophanes. Theopompus in *Nemea* (fr. 33) mentions this *kulix*, as follows:

(Spinther) Come over here, trustworthy child of Thericles,

noble shape! What should we call you?

Maybe "a mirror of an individual's character", if you're full when you're handed to him?

That's definitely it. Come here, let me fill you up! Old Theolyte! Old woman! (Theolyte) Why are you

calling me? (Spinther) So

I can say hello to you, sweetheart. Come here to me, Theolyte;

meet your new fellow-slave! Like that; very nice.

(Θε.) Σπινθὴρ τάλας, πειρậς με; (Σπ.) ναί, τοιοῦτό τι:

φιλοτησίαν δὲ <τήνδε> σοι προπίομαι. δέξαι· πιοῦσα δ' όπόσον ἄν σοι θυμὸς ἦ, Ι ἐμοὶ παράδος τὸ πρῶτον.

Κλεάνθης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μεταλήψεως συγγράμματί φησι· τὰ τοίνυν εὐρήματα καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπά ἐστιν, οἷον Θηρίκλειος, Δεινιάς, Ἰφικρατίς· ταῦτα γὰρ πρότερον συνιστορεῖν τοὺς εὐρόντας. φαίνεται δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖ τοῦτο, μεταβεβληκὸς ἂν εἴη μικρὸν τοὕνομα. ἀλλά, καθάπερ εἴρηται, οὐκ ἔστιν πιστεῦσαι τῷ τυχόντι. ἄλλοι δ' ἱστοροῦσι Θηρίκλειον ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ ποτήριον διὰ τὸ δορὰς θηρίων αὐτῷ ἐντετυπῶσθαι. | Πάμφιλος δ' ὁ ᾿λλεξανδρεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Διόνυσον τοὺς θῆρας κλονεῖν σπένδοντα ταῖς κύλιξι ταύταις κατ' αὐτῶν. μνημονεύει τοῦ ἐκπώματος καὶ ᾿λντιφάνης ἐν ὑμοίοις οὕτως·

ώς δ' ἐδείπνησαν (συνάψαι βούλομαι γὰρ τἀν μέσφ)

καὶ Διὸς Σωτῆρος ἦλθε Θηρίκλειον ὄργανον, τῆς τρυφερᾶς ἀπὸ Λέσβου σεμνογόνου σταγόνος πλῆρες, ἀφρίζον, ἕκαστος δεξιτερῷ δ' ἔλαβεν.

καὶ Εὔβουλος ἐν μὲν Δόλωνι

διένιψα δ' οὐδεν σκεῦος οὐδεπώποτε

h

<sup>139</sup> Cf. 11.467d-e.

<sup>140</sup> Sc. to provide a reliable etymology in such cases.

<sup>141</sup> Called Women Who Looked Like One Another at 4.158c. Meineke combined these verses with the passage from the same play preserved at 14.642a to produce fr. 172.

(Theolyte) Spinther, you bastard—are you making a pass at me? (Spinther) Yeah—something like that.

I'm proposing a toast to you, with this friendship cup. Take it—and after you drink as much as you want, give it back right away!

Cleanthes in his treatise On Substitution (fr. 591, SVF i.133):139 the inventions, therefore, and whatever else belongs in the same category, such as a Thericleian, a Deinias, or an Iphicratis; because in the past these carried their inventors' identities with them. This is true even today; and if this is not the case, the name may have changed a bit. But, as has been noted, you cannot trust people at random. 140 Other authorities report that this style of cup came to be referred to as a Thericleian because the skins of wild animals (thēria) were embossed on it. But Pamphilus of Alexandria (fr. X Schmidt) (claims that the name came) from the fact that Dionysus drives the wild animals crazy (thēras klonein) by pouring libations over them with this type of kulix. Antiphanes in Men Who Looked Like Each Other 141 (fr. 172.1-4) mentions this vessel, as follows:

They dined this way—I want to give a summary account of what happened in the middle—and a Thericleian vessel dedicated to Zeus the Savior came.

full of the luxurious, nobly-born drop from Lesbos, and foaming. Each man took it in his right hand.

Also Eubulus in Dolon (fr. 30):

I never, ever washed a dish;

d καθαρώτερον γὰρ τὸν κέραμον ἠργαζόμην ἢ Θηρικλῆς τὰς κύλικας, ἡνίκ᾽ ἦν νέος.

έν δὲ Κυβευταίς

e

ἄρτι μὲν μάλ' ἀνδρικὴν
τῶν Θηρικλείων ὑπεραφρίζουσαν † παρα †,
κωθωνοχειλῆ, ψηφοπεριβομβήτριαν,
μέλαιναν, εὐκύκλωτον, ὀξυπύνδακα,
στίλβουσαν, ἀνταυγοῦσαν, ἐκνενιμμένην,
κισσῷ κάρα βρύουσαν, ἐπικαλούμενοι |
εἶλκον Διὸς Σωτῆρος.

'Αραρώς δ' ἢ Εὔβουλος ἐν Καμπυλίωνι

ὧ γαῖα κεραμί, τίς σε Θηρικλῆς ποτε ἔτευξε κοίλης λαγόνος εὐρύνας βάθος; ἢ που κατειδὼς τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν, ὡς οὐχὶ μικροῖς ἦδεται ποτηρίοις.

"Αλεξις δ' ἐν Ἱππεῦ·

καὶ Θηρίκλειός τις κύλιξ, στέφανον κύκλφ ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτηκτόν τινα.

καὶ ἐν Ἱππίσκω.

μεστην ἀκράτου Θηρίκλειον ἔσπασε κοίλην ὑπερθύουσαν.

f Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῆ ὀγδόη καὶ εἰκοστῆ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Athenaeus also expresses doubts about the authorship of the play at 13.562c, but assigns it unambiguously to Eubulus at 7.295e; 13.571f; 14.642c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Referred to as Agonis or The Brooch at 8.339c; 15.678e (simply The Brooch also at 3.120b; 11.502e–3a).

because I used to make my pottery cleaner than Thericles made his *kulikes*, when I was young.

And in Dice-Players (fr. 56):

A moment ago they were draining a muscular Thericleian with foam running over the top [corrupt]

and a brim like a Spartan flask, which rattles when a pebble's rolled around inside it,

and is black and round and pointed on the bottom, and shines and gleams and has been carefully washed.

and is covered on top with ivy; and they were invoking

Zeus the Savior.

Araros or Eubulus (fr. 42) in Campylion:142

Potter's earth, what Thericles was it who made you, drawing broad the depth of your hollow side? Perhaps someone familiar with a woman's nature, who knew they don't like tiny cups!

Alexis in The Knight (fr. 101):

And a Thericleian *kulix*, with a gold garland around it; because it wasn't just gilded!

And in The Brooch<sup>143</sup> (fr. 5):

He drained a hollow Thericleian cup that was full to overflowing of unmixed wine.

Timaeus in Book XXVIII of the History (FGrH 566 F 33)

Θηρικλείαν καλεῖ τὴν κύλικα γράφων οὕτως Πολύξενός τις τῶν ἐκ Ταυρομενίου μεθεστηκότων ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἔτερά τε δῶρα παρὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου καὶ κύλικα Θηρικλείαν λαβὼν ἐπανῆκεν. ᾿Αδαῖος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Διαθέσεως τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπολαμβάνει Θηρίκλειον εἶναι καὶ καρχήσιον. ὅτι δὲ διαφέρει σαφῶς παρίστησι || Καλλίξεινος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ᾿Αλεξανδρείας φάσκων τινὰς ἔχοντας Θηρικλείους πομπεύειν, τοὺς δὲ καρχήσια. ὁποῖον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τὸ καρχήσιον ἐν τοῖς έξῆς λεχθήσεται. καλεῖται δέ τις καὶ Θηρίκλειος κρατήρ, οῦ μνημονεύει Ἦλεξις ἐν Κύκνφ.

φαιδρός δὲ κρατὴρ Θηρίκλειος ἐν μέσφ ἔστηκε, λευκοῦ νέκταρος παλαιγενοῦς πλήρης, ἀφρίζων· ὃν λαβὼν ἐγὼ κενὸν τρίψας, ποήσας λαμπρόν, ἀσφαλῆ βάσιν στήσας, συνάψας καρπίμοις κισσοῦ κλάδοις ἔστεψα. !

θηλυκῶς δὲ τὴν Θηρίκλειον εἶπε Μένανδρος ἐν Θεοφορουμένη.

μέσως μεθύων <την> Θηρίκλειον έσπασε. καὶ ἐν Μηναγύρτη·

472

<sup>144</sup> The events in question probably belong to the early 330s BCE and involve Timoleon's military and political intervention on Sicily.

145 A reference to two details from the long description of Ptolemy II's procession in Alexandria, the first preserved also at 5.199b, the other alluded to also at 11.474e. Cf. 11.783c n.

<sup>146</sup> At 11.474e–5c. 147 But the definite article—which is the only evidence of what Menander took to be the grammatical gender of the object in question (doubtless a *kulix*)—must be supplied, and the masculine would do just as well.

refers to a Thericleian kulix, writing as follows: Polyxenus, who was one of the people from Tauromenium who had changed sides, was assigned to go on the embassy, and he returned with gifts from Nicodemus that included a Thericleian kulix. 144 Adaeus in his On the Sense of Words understands a Thericleian to be identical to a karchēsion. But Callixeinus establishes beyond any doubt that they are different in his On Alexandria (FGrH 627 F 2a), when he says that some members of the procession carried Thericleians, while others carried karchēsia. 145 What a karchēsion is will be discussed below. 146 There is also something known as a Thericleian mixing-bowl, which Alexis mentions in Cycnus (fr. 124):

A shining Thericleian mixing-bowl stood in the middle, full of ancient-born, white nectar, and foaming over. I took it when it was empty and polished it, buffed it, and set it firmly on its base, and wove together some berry-covered ivy twigs,

which I wrapped around it.

Menander in *The Girl Who Was Possessed by a God* (*Theophor.* fr. 4 Körte-Thierfelder) referred to a Thericleian in the feminine: 147

Although he was half-way drunk, he drained the Thericleian.

And in The Mendicant Priest of Rhea (fr. 235):148

 $^{148}$  Nothing in the fragment as it is preserved in the manuscripts suggests the gender of the Thericleian.

< ... > προπίνων Θηρίκλειον τρικότυλον.

# καὶ Διώξιππος ἐν Φιλαργύρφ.

- (Α.) της Θηρικλείου της μεγάλης χρεία 'στί μοι.
- (Β.) εὖ οἶδα. (Α.) καὶ τῶν Ῥοδιακῶν ἤδιστα γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων † αἴσχεα † ποτηρίων εἴωθα πίνειν.

Πολέμων δ' ἐν πρώτω Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθήνησιν ᾿Ακροc πόλεως Ι οὐδετέρως ἀνόμασεν εἰπών τὰ χρυσᾶ Θηρίκλεια ὑπόξυλα Νεοπτόλεμος ἀνέθηκεν. ᾿Απολλόδωρος
δ' ὁ Γελῷος ἐν Φιλαδέλφοις ἢ ᾿Αποκαρτεροῦντί φησιν

ἐφεξῆς στρώματ', ἀργυρώματα, Θηρίκλειοι <καί> τορευτὰ πολυτελῆ ποτήρια ἔτερα.

Αριστοφών δ' έν Φιλωνίδη·

(A.) τοιγαροῦν ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρτίως ὁ δεσπότης δι ἀρετὴν τῶν Θηρικλείων εὐκύκλωτον ἀσπίδα, ἱ ὑπεραφρίζουσαν, τρυφῶσαν, ἴσον ἴσω κεκραμένην.

προσφέρων έδωκεν. (Β.) οἶμαι, χρηστότητος οὕνεκα.

(Α.) εἶτ' ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε βαπτίσας ἐρρωμένως.

# Θεόφιλος δ' έν Βοιωτία.

 $^{149}\,\mathrm{Cf.}$  11.469b, where this verse is referred to (but not quoted).

150 The question of the grammatical gender of the word is abruptly abandoned in what follows, presumably marking Athenaeus' return to his initial source.

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offering a Thericleian that held three *kotylai* as a toast.

Also Dioxippus in The Miser (fr. 4):

- (A.) I need the big (fem.) Thericleian.
- (B.) I realize that. (A.) The Rhodians<sup>149</sup> too—because I tend

to be happiest when I'm drinking out of cups [corrupt]

like that.

But Polemon in Book I of *On the Athenian Acropolis* (fr. 1 Preller) used the word as a neuter, saying: Neoptolemus dedicated the gold (neut.) Thericleians with wooden cores. <sup>150</sup> Apollodorus of Gela says in *Men Who Loved Their Brothers or The Man Who Starved to Death* (fr. 4):

after that, bed-clothes, silver vessels, Thericleians, and other expensive cups with relief work.

Aristophon in Philonides (fr. 13):

(A.) So as a reward for my courage, my master just now

brought a perfectly round Thericleian shield, foaming over at the top, dainty, and mixed one-toone,

and gave it to me. (B.) Because you were so helpful, I suppose.

(A.) And then he gave me a vigorous soaking—and set me free!

Theophilus in *The Girl from Boeotia* (fr. 2):

τετρακότυλον δὲ κύλικα κεραμεᾶν τινα τῶν Θηρικλείων, πῶς δοκεῖς, κεραννύει καλῶς, ἀφρῷ ζέουσαν οὐδ' ἂν Αὐτοκλῆς οὕτως μὰ τὴν γῆν εὐρύθμως τῆ δεξιᾳ ἄρας ἐνώμα.

# e ἐν δὲ Προιτίσι·

καὶ κύλικα < . . . > Θηρίκλειον εἰσφέρει πλέον ἢ κοτύλας χωροῦσαν ἔπτ' ᾿Αγαθῆς Τύχης.

Ίσθμιον. Πάμφιλος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ὁνομάτων Κυπρίους τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν.

Κάδος. Σιμμίας ποτήριον, παρατιθέμενος 'Ανακρέοντος

ήρίστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ <μικρὸν> ἀποκλάς, οἴνου δ᾽ ἐξέπιον κάδον.

Έπιγένης δ' έν Μνηματίφ φησίν

(A.) κρατῆρες, κάδοι, όλκεῖα, κρουνεῖ (B.) ἔστι † δὲ † κρουνεῖα; (A.) ναί.

< . . . > ἀλλὰ τί καθ' | ἔκαστον δεῖ λέγειν; ὄψει γὰρ αὐτός. (Β.) βασιλέως υίὸν λέγεις <Καρῶν> ἀφῖχθαι; (Α.) δηλαδή, Πιξώδαρον.

# 'Ηδύλος 'Επιγράμμασι·

<sup>151</sup> Unidentified; the name is a common one.

<sup>152</sup> Quoted also at 14.646d (in the context of a discussion of *itrion*, "sesame-cake"). A *kados* is generally a "jar", not a "cup".

<sup>153</sup> Smaller portions of the fragment are quoted also at 11.480a, 486b-c. 154 The word (cognate with krounos, "spring"; presumably another vessel associated with drinking

One of those ceramic Thericleian *kulikes* that holds four *kotulai*, if you can believe it—he's mixing it

nicely, so it bubbles and foams. Not even Autocles, <sup>151</sup> by earth, could pick it up and move it that smoothly with his right hand!

And in The Daughters of Proetis (fr. 10):

And he brings in a Thericleian *kulix* dedicated to Good Luck that holds more than seven *kotulai*.

Isthmion. Pamphilus in his On Nouns (fr. XI Schmidt) says that this is a Cyprian term for a cup.

Kados. Simmias (identifies this as) a cup, citing Anacreon (PMG 373.1-2):152

I broke off a bit of crisp sesame-cake and had it for lunch,

and I drank a kados of wine.

Epigenes says in The Tomb (fr. 6):153

(A.) Mixing-bowls, kadoi,

basins, krouneia. 154 (B.) There are † but † krouneia? (A.) Yeah—

but why should I list them individually?

You'll see for yourself. (B.) You say the Carian king's son's arrived? (A.) Absolutely; his name's Pixodarus. 155

Hedylus in the Epigrams (HE 1853-6):

wine) is not attested elsewhere, hence perhaps the lack of an entry for it in Athenaeus' catalogue.

155 Satrap of Caria 340/39-335/4 BCE.

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b

πίνωμεν, καὶ γάρ τι νέον, καὶ γάρ τι παρ' οἶνον ||
εὔροιμ' ἄν λεπτὸν καί τι μελιχρὸν ἔπος.
ἀλλὰ κάδοις Χίου με κατάβρεχε καὶ λέγε,
"παῖζε.

Ἡδύλε·" μισῶ ζῆν ἐς κενὸν οὐ μεθύων.

# καὶ ἐν ἄλλφ.

έξ ἠοῦς εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς πάλι Σωκλῆς εἰς ἠοῦν πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις, εἶτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἴχεται ἀλλὰ παρ'

οἶνον

Σικελίδεω παίζει πουλὺ μελιχρότερον, Ι ἐστὶ δὲ † δὴ πολὺ † στιβαρώτερος· ὡς δ' ἐπιλάμπει

ἡ χάρις ὤστε, φίλος, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυε.

Κλείταρχος δ' έν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τὸ κεράμιόν φησιν Ἰωνας κάδον καλεῖν. Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῆ τρίτη, φοινικηίου, φησίν, οἴνου κάδον.

Καδίσκος. Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι ποτηρίου εἶδος. ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ῷ τοὺς Κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὡς ἀντικλείδης φηc σὶν ἐν τῷ Ἐξηγητικῷ γράφων | οὕτως: Διὸς Κτησίου

<sup>156</sup> Unidentified.

 $<sup>^{157}</sup>$  I.e. the epigrammatist Asclepiades of Samos; cf. Theoc. 7.40 with Gow ad loc.

<sup>158</sup> A diminutive form of kados (above).

<sup>159</sup> His Attic Vocabulary or Glossary, cited at 11.469a.

<sup>160</sup> If the author's name is emended to Autocleides (to match the reference to Autocleides' *Expository Treatise* at Plu. *Nic.* 23) here, it ought to be emended at 9.409f–10a as well.

Let's drink! Because when I'm drinking, I'm capable of inventing

something new and clever and as sweet as honey to say.

So drench me with *kadoi* of Chian wine, and say: "Write a poem,

Hedylus!" I hate being sober and living for nothing.

And in another passage (HE 1857-62):

From dawn to nightfall, and again from nightfall to dawn,

Socles<sup>156</sup> drinks, using *kadoi* that hold four *choes*; and then suddenly, somehow or other—he's gone!

But when he's drinking.

he writes poetry that's much more delicious than what Sicelidas<sup>157</sup> produces,

and he's † a whole lot † sturdier. As long as you've got the gift, my friend, stay drunk and write!

Cleitarchus in his *Glossary* reports that the Ionians refer to a wine-jar (*keramion*) as a *kados*. And Herodotus says in Book III (20.1): a *kados* of date-wine.

Kadiskos. <sup>158</sup> Philemon in the treatise cited earlier <sup>159</sup> (identifies this as) a type of cup. This is a vessel people use when they establish a cult of Zeus Ktēsias, according to Anticleides in his Expository Treatise ([Anticleides] FGrH 140 F 22 = Autocleides FGrH 353 F \*1), <sup>160</sup> where he writes as follows: Cult-images of Zeus Ktēsias should be

σημεία ίδρύεσθαι χρη ὧδε· καδίσκον καινὸν δίωτον ἐπιθηματοῦντα στέψαι τὰ ὧτα ἐρίῳ λευκῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου < . . . > τοῦ κροκίου, καὶ ἐσθεῖναι ὅ τι ἂν εὕρης καὶ εἰσχέαι ἀμβροσίαν. ἡ δ' ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία· ἄπερ ἔμβαλε. μνημονεύει τοῦ καδίσκου καὶ Στράττις ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Λημνομέδα λέγων οὔτως·

Έρμης, ὃν ἔλκουσ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ προχοιδίου, οἱ δ' ἐκ καδίσκου <γ'> ἴσον ἴσφ κεκραμένον. Ι

d Κάνθαρος. ὅτι μὲν πλοίου ὅνομα κοινόν, ὅτι δὲ καὶ ποτήριόν τι οὕτω καλεῖται ᾿Αμευψίας ἐν ᾿Αποκοττα-βίζουσί φησι:

ή Μανία, φέρ' ὀξύβαφα καὶ κανθάρους.

"Αλεξις δ' ἐν Κρατεία—ὁ δὲ λόγος περί τινος ἐν καπηλείφ πίνοντος·

εἶθ' ὁρῶ τὸν Ἑρμαΐσκον τῶν άδρῶν τούτων τινὰ κάνθαρον καταστρέφοντα, πλησίον δὲ κείμενον στρωματέα καὶ γύλιον αὐτοῦ.

e Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Παμφίλῳ πολλάκις μεμνημένος τοῦ ὀνόματός φησιν·

έγω δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν ὂν κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς οἰκίας καινὸν καπηλεῖον μέγα,

<sup>161</sup> Alluded to (but not quoted) at 1.32b, where "Hermes" is said to be a beverage of some type.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Ar. Pax 143, quoted at 11.486e.

<sup>163</sup> Quoted at slightly greater length at 15.667f.

established as follows. Place a lid on a new two-handled *kadiskos*; wrap the handles with white wool, and from the right shoulder and the front . . . of the piece of wool; put whatever you find into it; and pour in ambrosia. Ambrosia is clean water, olive oil, and fruit of all sorts; place these items inside it. The comic author Strattis in *Lemnomeda* (fr. 23)<sup>161</sup> also mentions a *kadiskos*, saying the following:

Hermes, which some people drink from a little pitcher,

while others drink it mixed one-to-one from a kadiskos.

Kantharos. That this is the name of a boat is a commonplace. <sup>162</sup> But Amipsias in Cottabus-Players (fr. 2.1)<sup>163</sup> says that there is also a type of cup referred to this way:

Mania! Bring some vinegar cruets and kantharoi!

Alexis in *Crateia*<sup>164</sup> (fr. 120)—the plot involves a person drinking in a bar:

Then I see Hermaïscus turning one of these fat *kantharoi* upside-down, and his bed-clothes and backpack are lying next to him.

Eubulus in *Pamphilus* (fr. 80, encompassing all three quotations) uses the word repeatedly and says:

And as for me—because a big new wineshop happened to be directly opposite the house—

164 Athenaeus generally refers elsewhere to the play as Crateia or The Pharmacist (3.107a; 6.254a; 8.340a; 15.678c; simply as Crateia also at 8.340c).

ένταῦθ' ἐπετήρουν τὴν τροφὸν τῆς παρθένου, κεράσαι κελεύσας τὸν κάπηλόν μοι χοᾶ ὀβολοῦ, παραθεῖναί θ' ὡς μέγιστον κάνθαρον.

καὶ πάλιν

ό δὲ κάνθαρος πάλαι κενός· ὡς ξηραίνεται. καὶ ἔτι·

f ἄμα δὲ λαβοῦσ' ἠφάνικε πηλίκον | τινὰ οἴεσθε μέγεθος † ἀρεσιαν † μέγαν πάνυ καὶ ξηρὸν ἐποίησ' εὐθέως τὸν κάνθαρον.

Ξέναρχος δ' έν Πριάπω φησὶ τάδε

(A.) σὺ δὲ μηκέτ' ἔγχει, παιδάριον, εἰς ἀργυροῦν, εἰς τὸ βαθὰ δ' ἐπανάγωμεν εἰς τὸν κάνθαρον, || παιδάριον, ἔγχει. (B.) νὴ Δί', εἰς τὸν κάνθαρον.

Έπιγένης Ἡρωίνη·

άλλ' οὐδὲ κεραμεύουσι νῦν τοὺς κανθάρους, ὧ τάλαν, ἐκείνους τοὺς άδρούς, ταπεινὰ δὲ καὶ γλαφυρὰ πάντες < . . . > ὡσπερεὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ποτήρι', οὐ τὸν οἶνον πιόμενοι.

Σωσικράτης Φιλαδέλφοις.

λεπτή δὲ κυρτοῖς ἐγγελῶσα κύμασιν αὔρα, κόρη Σκείρωνος, ἡσύχω ποδὶ προσῆγε πράως καὶ καλῶς τὸν κάνθαρον.

<sup>165</sup> Probably a comment by the nurse, who is still thirsty.

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b

 $<sup>^{166}</sup>$  I.e. blowing from the direction of the so-called Scironian Rocks, from the Megarid into the Saronic Gulf (Thphr. Vent. 62; Hsch.  $\sigma$  894). The passage is most naturally taken as referring to a ship rather than a cup.

I kept an eye out there for the girl's nurse; and I told the bartender to mix me a pitcher of wine that cost an obol, and to set the biggest *kantharos* he had beside me.

And again:165

The *kantharos* has been empty for a long time now! How dry it is!

## And also:

As soon as she took hold of a remarkably big [corrupt], really big, she's made it disappear; and she immediately drained the *kantharos*.

Xenarchus in Priapus (fr. 10) says the following:

(A.) Don't pour any more into the silver cup, boy; let's head off into the deep sea! Pour it into the kantharos, boy! (B.) Right, by Zeus! Into the kantharos!

Epigenes in The Heroine (fr. 4):

But nowadays they're not manufacturing those fat *kantharoi*, fool; they're all making fancy shallow ones, as if they were planning to drink the cups rather than the wine.

Sosicrates in Men Who Loved Their Brothers (fr. 2):

A light breeze—Sciron's daughter<sup>166</sup>—laughing among the curling waves, gently and carefully, on quiet foot, brought the *kantharos*.

Φρύνιχος Κωμασταίς

εἶτα κεραμεύων ἃν οἴκοι σωφρόνως Χαιρέστρατος έκατὸν <ἃν> τῆς ἡμέρας † ἔκλαιεν † οἴνου κανθάρους.

Νικόστρατος Διαβόλω.

(A.) ή ναῦς δὲ πότερον εἰκόσορός ἐστ' ἢ κύκνος, ἢ κάνθαρος; τουτὶ γὰρ ἂν πύθωμ' ἔτι, αὐτὸς περανῶ τὰ πάντ'. (B.) ἀμέλει κυκνοκάνθαρος ἔξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κεκεραμευμένος.<sup>24</sup>

Μένανδρος δὲ Ναυκλήρω.

(A.) ἥκει λιπὼν Αἰγαῖον ἁλμυρὸν βάθος | Θεόφιλος ἡμῖν. ὧ Στράτων, ὡς εἰς καλὸν τὸν υἱὸν εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ σεσωμένον πρῶτος λέγω σοι τόν τε χρυσοῦν κάνθαρον. (Στρ.) ποῖον; (A.) τὸ πλοῖον.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα

(Στρ.) τὴν ναῦν σεσῶσθαί μοι λέγεις; (Α.) ἔγωγε μήν·
† κείνην ναῦν Καλλικλῆς ἐποίησε τὸν καλούμενον †, Εὐφράνωρ <δ'> ἐκυβέρνα Θούριος.

<sup>24</sup> The fourth verse should perhaps be deleted (thus Dindorf).

<sup>167</sup> Literally "swan".

<sup>168</sup> The first verse is borrowed from E. Tr. 1 (quoted also at

Phrynichus in Revellers (fr. 15):

Then Chaerestratus, modestly producing pots at home.

would be † wailing † 100 kantharoi of wine per day.

Nicostratus in The Slanderer (fr. 9):

(A.) The ship—is it a 20-oared kuknos<sup>167</sup>
 or a kantharos? If I get this additional information,
 I'll work out all the rest for myself. (B.) Don't worry—it's a kuknokantharos
 that's formed from both of these.

Menander in *The Ship-Owner* (fr. 246, encompassing both quotations):<sup>168</sup>

(A.) Theophilus has come, leaving the salty depth of the Aegean

to visit us. Straton, it's so wonderful that I can be the first to inform you that your son's good luck has held, and he's safe—as is your gold kantharos!

(Straton) What kantharos? (A.) Your ship.

# And shortly after this:

(Straton) You're saying my ship got home safe? (A.) I certainly am!

† that ship Callicles built

the man known as; † and Euphranor of Thurii was the helmsman.

1.4a), while a slightly more complete version of the fifth is preserved at Macrob. Sat. 5.21.15.

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς ἀντίγονον Περὶ Ζωγράφων φησίν ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πειρίθου γάμῳ πεποίηκεν d "Ίππυς² τὴν μὲν οἰνοχόην καὶ τὸ κύπελλον | λίθινα, χρυσῷ τὰ χείλη περιτεραμνίσας, τὰς δὲ κλισίας ἐλατίνας χαμᾶζε ποικίλοις στρώμασι κεκοσμημένας, ἐκπώματα δὲ κεραμέους κανθάρους, καὶ τὸν λύχνον ὁμοίως ‹τὸν› ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐξηρτημένον, ἀνακεχυμένας ἔχοντα τὰς φλόγας. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Κανθάρου κεραμέως ἀνομάσθη τὸ ἔκπωμα Φιλέταιρός φησιν ἐν ἀχιλλεῖ·

Πηλεύς· ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἐστὶν ὅνομα κεραμέως, Ι ξηροῦ λυχνοποιοῦ, Κανθάρου, πενιχροῦ πάνυ, ἀλλ' οὐ τυράννου νὴ Δία.

ότι δὲ καὶ γυναικεῖον κοσμάριόν ἐστιν κάνθαρος Αντιφάνης εἴρηκεν ἐν Βοιωτία.

Καρχήσιον. Καλλίξεινος ὁ 'Ρόδιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ 'Αλεξανδρείας φησὶν ὅτι ποτήριόν ἐστιν ἐπίμηκες, συνηγμένον εἰς μέσον ἐπιεικῶς, ὅτα ἔχον μέχρι τοῦ πυθμένος καθήκοντα καὶ τάχα²6 διὰ τὸ ἀνατετάσθαι f οὕτως ἀνόμασται. ἀρχαιότατον Ιδ' ἐστὶ ποτήριον τὸ καρχήσιον, εἴ γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁμιλήσας 'Αλκμήνη ἔδωκε

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ίππυς Dindorf: Ἱππεύς ΑCE

<sup>26</sup> ἐστὶ δὲ ἰκανῶς ἐπίμηκες ποτήριον τὸ καρχήσιον, καὶ τάχα Α: ἐστὶ δὲ κτλ. om. CE, del. Kaibel

<sup>169</sup> For the title of the work, see 11.497f n.

<sup>170</sup> Plin. Nat. 35.141 mentions a Hippys who painted a Posei-don and a Victory, hence Dindorf's emendation of the manuscripts' Hippeus (otherwise unknown). The scene combines rusticity and ostentation, as befits the wedding party of the Lapith

Polemon says in his Response to Antigonus on Painters (fr. 63 Preller): 169 In his Wedding of Pirithous in Athens, Hippys 170 represents the wine-pitcher and the cup as made of stone, although he gilds their lips; the couches as made of fir-limbs laid on the ground, even if covered with embroidered bed-clothes; and the drinking vessels as ceramic kantharoi, as also in the case of the lamp suspended from the ceiling, with its flames projecting in various directions. Philetaerus in Achilleus (fr. 4) claims that the drinking vessel is called after a potter named Cantharus:

Peleus; Peleus is the name of a potter<sup>171</sup>—
a skinny lampmaker called Cantharus, who's really poor.

But it's not a tyrant's name, by Zeus!

Antiphanes in *The Girl from Boeotia* (fr. 62) says that a *kantharos* is also an item of jewelry worn by women.

Karchēsion. Callixenus of Rhodes in his On Alexandria (FGrH 627 F 3)<sup>172</sup> reports that this is a tall cup that is fairly narrow in the middle and has handles that extend down to its base; perhaps it gets its name from how long and thin it is.<sup>173</sup> The karchēsion is a very old type of cup, if Zeus gave one to Alcmene after he slept with her, as a gift in re-

king Pirithous, where the guest-list included the Centaurs (cf. 11.476b with n.; 14.613a-b with n.).

 $^{171}$  Punning on  $p\bar{e}los$  ("mud", i.e. "potter's clay"), as also at 9.383b—c and in a fragment of epic parody at 15.699b.

172 See 11.472a n.

 $^{173}$  Because the word was also used for a mast-tip; see the fragment of Asclepiades of Myrlea cited below.

δώρον αὐτὸ τῆς μίξεως, ὡς Φερεκύδης ἐν τῆ δευτέρα ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδωρος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης. ᾿Ασκληπιάδης δ' ὁ Μυρλεανὸς κεκλῆσθαί φησιν αὐτὸ ἀπό τινος τῶν ἐν τῆ νηὶ κατασκευασμάτων τοῦ γὰρ ἱστοῦ τὸ μὲν κατωτάτω πτέρνα καλεῖται, ἢ ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὴν ληνόν, τὸ δ' οἷον εἰς μέσον τράχηλος, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει καρχήσιον. ‖ ἔχει δὲ τοῦτο κεραίας ἄνωθεν νευούσας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπίκειται τὸ λεγόμενον αὐτῷ θωράκιον, τετράγωνον πάντη πλὴν τῆς βάσεως καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς αὖται δὲ προὔχουσι μικρὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐξωτέρω. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θωρακίου εἰς ὕψος ἀνήκουσα καὶ ὀξεῖα γιγνομένη ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη ἠλακάτη. μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν καρχησίων καὶ Σαπφὼ ἐν τούτοις

κήνοι δ' ἄρα πάντες καρχάσι' ήχον κἄλειβον· ἀράσαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔσλα γάμβρφ.

Σοφοκλής Τυροί·

προσβηναι μέσην τράπεζαν ἀμφὶ σῖτα καὶ καρχήσια, Ι

 πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν φάσκων προσεληλυθέναι τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ καρχήσια ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῦς ἀρχαίοις ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν

<sup>174</sup> For the story, cf. 11.781c-d, 475b-d.

<sup>175</sup> Most likely another fragment of On Nestor's Cup; cf. 11.783a-b n., 477f-93e; Macrob. Sat. 5.21.5.

 $<sup>^{176}\, \</sup>rm The$  first three verses of the fragment (joined to this passage by Ahrens) are quoted at 2.39a; 10.425c–d; cf. 5.192c.

turn for the sex, as Pherecydes in Book II (FGrH 3 F 13a) and Herodorus of Heracleia (FGrH 31 F 16) report. 174 Asclepiades of Myrlea 175 claims that the name comes from one of the items of gear in a ship; because the lowest part of the mast, where it sits in the mast-socket, is referred to as the pterna ("heel"); the central section is the trachēlos ("neck"); and the part near the tip is the karchēsion. This part supports yard-arms that bend downward on either side, and the so-called thōrakion ("crow's-nest"), which is rectilinear everywhere except in its base and its upper section (which extend straight out a bit further on either side), sits on top of it. On top of the thōrakion is the so-called ēlakatē ("distaff"), which extends straight up and ends in a point. Sappho (fr. 141.4–6)176 mentions karchēsia in the following passage:

So they all held *karchasia* 

and poured a libation; and they prayed that everything good might come to the bridegroom.<sup>177</sup>

Sophocles in Tyro (fr. 660):

to approach the middle of the table, around the food and the karchēsia,

by which he meant that the snakes had come up the table and were in the vicinity of the food and the karchēsia;<sup>178</sup> because the ancients, as Homer represents

 $<sup>^{177}</sup>$  Kaibel (following Macrobius) misguidedly added Cratin. fr. 40 to the text of Athenaeus at this point.

<sup>178</sup> Presumably a miraculous sign of some sort.

κεκραμένα τιθέναι ποτήρια, καθά καὶ "Ομηρος ποιει. ἀνομάσθη δὲ τὸ καρχήσιον διὰ τὸ τραχύσματα ἔχειν κεγχροειδή, καὶ εἴρηται κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ ἔ πρὸς τὸ ā ἀντὶ τοῦ κερχήσιον διὸ καὶ "Ομηρος τοὺς ὑπὸ δίψους κρατουμένους καρχαλέους εἶπεν. Χάρων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τοῖς "Ωροις παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις c ψησὶν | ἔτι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν δείκνυσθαι τὸ δέπας τὸ δοθὲν ᾿Αλκμήνη ὑπὸ Διός, ὅτε ᾿Αμφιτρύωνι εἰκάσθη.

Κάλπιον. ποτηρίου τι γένος Ἐρυθραίου, ως φησι

Πάμφιλος είναι δ' αὐτὸ οἱόν ἐστι τὸ σκαφίον.

Κελέβη, τούτου τοῦ ἐκπώματος ἀνακρέων μνημονεύει

ἄγε δη φέρ' ήμίν, ὧ παῖ, κελέβην, ὅκως ἄμυστιν προπίω, τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἐγχέας ὅδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου κυάθους.

άδηλον δὲ πότερον εἶδός ἐστι ποτηρίου ἢ πᾶν ποτήριον κελέβη καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ χέειν εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν λοιβὴν ἤτοι λείβειν τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑγροῦ συνήθως Ι ἀ ἔταττον, ἀφ' οὖ λέγεται καὶ ὁ λέβης. Σιληνὸς δὲ καὶ Κλείταρχος τοὺς Αἰολεῖς φασιν οὕτω καλεῖν τὸ ποτήριον. Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸ ποτήριον θερμοποτίδα καλούμενον τὴν κελέβην εἶναι. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις ποιμενικὸν ἀγγεῖον μελιτηρὸν τὴν

<sup>179</sup> Literally "rough", i.e. "rough-throated, raspy".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Cf. 11.474f (where this comment clearly belongs, everything in between having presumably been added from a different source) with n.

<sup>181</sup> Quoted at slightly greater length at 10.427a.

them, made it a habit to set cups full of mixed wine on the table. The *karchēsion* got its name from the fact that it has rough sections that look like grains of millet (*kenchros*), although it is pronounced with an *alpha* substituted for the *epsilon* in the expected *kerchēsion*. This is why Homer (*Il*. 21.541) referred to people who are desperately thirsty as *karchaleoi*. <sup>179</sup> Charon of Lampsacus in his *Annals* (*FGrH* 262 F 2) claims that even up to his own day the goblet Zeus in disguise as Amphitryon gave to Alcmene was on display in Sparta. <sup>180</sup>

Kalpion. A type of Erythraean cup, according to Pamphilus (fr. XII Schmidt); it resembles a small bowl

(skaphion).

*Kelebē*. Anacreon (*PMG* 356(a).1–5)<sup>181</sup> mentions this vessel:

Come on, slave—bring us a *kelebē*, so I can drink a toast without pausing to breathe, after I pour in ten ladles of water, followed by five of wine.

It is unclear whether this is a specific type of cup, or whether any cup can be referred to as a *kelebē* because wine is poured (*cheein*) into it for a libation (*loibē*) or to make a libation (*leibein*); they routinely used this verb to refer to any liquid, hence the word *lebēs* ("cauldron, basin"). Silenus and Cleitarchus claim that the Aeolians use this term for a cup; Pamphilus (fr. XIII Schmidt) (says) that the cup referred to as a *thermopotis* is identical with a *kelebē*, while Nicander of Colophon in his *Glossary* (fr. 138 Schneider) (claims) that a *kelebē* is a cup used by shep-

κελέβην εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν πέμπτῳ Θηβαΐδος φησί·

κήρυκας αθανάτοισι φέρειν μέλανος οἴνοιο ασκὸν ἐνίπλειον κελέβειόν <θ'> ὅττι φέριστον Ιοισιν ἐνὶ μεγάροις κείτο μέλιτος πεπληθός.

καὶ πάλιν

e

ἀτὰρ ἀμφίθετον κελέβειον ἑλόντες ἔμπλειον μέλιτος τὸ ῥά οἱ προφερέστερον ἦεν.

άλλαχοῦ δέ φησιν·

καὶ χρύσεια δέπαστρα καὶ ἀσκηθὲς κελέβειον ἔμπλειον μέλιτος τὸ ρά οἱ προφερέστερον εἴη.

σαφως γὰρ νῦν κελέβειον ἀντὶ ἀγγείου τινὸς τέθεικε, προειπων ποτήρια δέπαστρα. Θεόκριτος δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν ταῖς Φαρμακευτρίαις φησίν

στέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέφ οἰὸς ἀώτφ. Ι f καὶ Εὐφορίων·

η ε πόθεν ποταμών κελέβη ἀποήφυσας ὕδωρ;

'Ανακρέων·

οίνοχόει δ' άμφίπολος μελιχρον οΐνον τρικύαθον κελέβην έχουσα.

Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Λεπτὸς ἐξηγούμενος Θεοδωρίδα τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα μέλος τὴν κελέβην φησὶ τίθεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ

<sup>182</sup> Quoted also at 11.468b.

 $<sup>^{183}</sup>$  Literally "the Skinny". The note is expanded a bit (but with

herds to hold honey. And in fact Antimachus of Colophon says in Book V of the *Thebaid* (fr. 22 Matthews):

heralds to bring a skin-bag full of dark wine for the immortals, and the best *kelebeion* that lay within his house, full of honey.

And again (fr. 20.2-3 Matthews):

but taking a two-handled *kelebeion* full of honey, the finest one he had.

And elsewhere he says (fr. 23.5–6 Matthews):182

and gold goblets and an untouched *kelebeion* full of the finest honey he had.

He thus clearly used *kelebeion* here to refer to a storage vessel of some sort, since he mentioned goblets before this. Theocritus of Syracuse says in his *Women Practicing Witchcraft (Id.* 2.2):

Cover the *keleba* with purple sheep's wool! Also Euphorion (fr. 131, p. 52 Powell):

Or from what river did you draw water with a  $keleb\bar{e}$ ? Anacreon (PMG 383):

A slave-girl holding a three-kuathos kelebē pours wine as sweet as honey.

Dionysius Leptos, 183 in the course of explicating Theodoridas' lyric poem in honor of Eros (SH 741), says that

no reference to Dionysius or Theodoridas) at 11.496d. For Thericleians, cf. 11.470d-2e.

όρθοῦ ποτηρίου οἷον Προυσιάδος καὶ Θηρικλείου. ||

Κέρας. τοὺς πρώτους λέγεται τοῖς κέρασι τῶν βοῶν πίνειν ἀφ' οὖ τὸν Διόνυσον κερατοφυἢ πλάττεσθαι ἔτι τε ταῦρον καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πολλῶν ποιητῶν. ἐν δὲ Κυζίκῳ καὶ ταυρόμορφος ἵδρυται. ὅτι δὲ τοῖς κέρασιν ἔπινον δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ μέχρι νῦν λέγεσθαι, ὅταν συμμίσγωσι τῷ οἴνῳ τὸ ὕδωρ, κεράσαι φάσκοντες. καὶ τὸ ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐν ῷ κιρνᾶται ὁ οἶνος κρατὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκιρνᾶσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, Ι <ἢν²τ ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατς, οἷον κερατήρ, ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ κέρας ἐγχεῖσθαι τὸ πόμα. διαμένει δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ τῶν κεράτων κατασκευή καλοῦσι γοῦν ἔνιοι ταῦτα ῥυτά. καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν δὲ πολλοὶ παράγουσι πίνοντας τοὺς ἀρχαίους κέρασι. Πίνδαρος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Κενταύρων λέγων

<ανδρ>οδάμαν<τα> δ' ἐπεὶ Φῆρες δάεν ριπὰν μελιαδέος οἴνου, ἐσσυμένως ἀπὸ μὲν λευκὸν | γάλα χερσὶ τραπεζᾶν ἄθεον, αὐτόματοι δ' ἐξ ἀργυρέων κεράτων

καὶ Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν τῆ ἑβδόμη τῆς ἀναβάσεως διηγούμενος τὸ παρὰ τῷ Θρακὶ Σεύθη συμπόσιον γράφει

27 add. Kaibel

πίνοντες έπλάζοντο.

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С

<sup>184</sup> Literally "horn".

<sup>185</sup> Cf. E. Ba. 100 with Dodds ad loc., 920-1.

<sup>186</sup> This is the correct etymology; cf. 3.123a.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. 11.496f-7e.

the word  $keleb\bar{e}$  is used of a tall cup like a Prousias or a Thericleian.

Keras. 184 It is said that people originally drank using cows' horns: as a consequence, statues of Dionysus have horns, and many poets also refer to him as a bull. 185 In Cyzicus he is worshipped in the form of a bull. That people used to drink using horns (kerades) is apparent from the vocabulary used even today, in that when they combine the water and the wine, they say that they are mixing (kerasai) them. In addition, the vessel in which the wine is mixed (kirnatai) is referred to as a krater, because the water is mixed (with wine) in it;186 alternatively, the word may be from keras ("horn"), as if it were kerater, from the fact that what they drink is poured into the horn. Drinking-horns are still manufactured today, although some people refer to them as rhuta. 187 Many poets also represent the ancients as drinking out of horns. Pindar, referring to the Centaurs (fr. 166):

When the Phēres<sup>188</sup> caught the man-taming scent of the honey-sweet wine, they quickly shoved the white milk off the tables with their hands, and began to reel about uninvited, drinking from silver horns.

Likewise Xenophon in Book VII (2.23) of his Anabasis, in the course of describing the party given by Seuthes the

 $^{188}$  Another name for the Centaurs. The reference is to the wedding of Pirithous (11.474c–d n.), where the Centaurs ran wild.

οὖτως· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν σὺν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην, ἠσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προὔτεινον. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἔκτῃ περὶ Παφλαγόνων διηγούμενός φησι· κατακείμενοι δ' ἐν στιβάσιν ἐδείπνουν καὶ ἔπινον κερατίνοις ποτηρίοις. Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν Περραιβίσι τοὺς Περραιβοὺς παρίστησιν ἀντὶ ποτηρίων τοῖς κέρασι χρωμένους διὰ τούτων·

άργυρηλάτοις κέρασι χρυσᾶ στόμια προσβεβλημένοις.

καὶ Σοφοκλής Πανδώρα.

καὶ πληρες ἐκπιόντι χρύσεον κέρας Ι τρώμει † γέμοντα † μαλθακης ὑπ' ὧλένης.

Ερμιππος Μοίραις

Ы

οἶσθα νῦν ὅ μοι πόησον; τήνδε νῦν μή μοι δίδου, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κέρατος αὖ μοι δὸς πιεῖν ἄπαξ μόνον.

Λυκοῦργος δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Δημάδου Φίλιππόν φησι τὸν βασιλέα προπίνειν κέρατι τούτοις οἷς ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο. τοὺς δὲ Παιόνων βασιλεῖς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν δευτέρα Φιλιππικῶν, τῶν βοῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γινομένων μεγάλα κέρατα φυόντων, ὡς χωρεῖν τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας χόας, ἐκπώματα ποιεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, τὰ

<sup>189</sup> In fact, the quotation (slightly different from what the manuscripts of Xenophon preserve) represents Xenophon's description of how his negotiations with Seuthes began, and the dinner (a substantial portion of the description of which is quoted at 4.150f-1e) took place the next day. Cf. 1.15e for similar confusion involving Xenophon's account of Seuthes' party.

Thracian, <sup>189</sup> writes as follows: When Xenophon and his companions entered Seuthes' house, they began by greeting one another and drinking horns of wine in one another's honor, in the Thracian style. And in Book VI (1.4), in the course of describing the Paphlagonians, <sup>190</sup> he says: They lay down on camp-beds and had dinner, and drank out of cups made of horn. Aeschylus in *The Women of Perrhaebia* (fr. 185) establishes that the Perrhaebi use horns rather than cups, in the following passage:

horns of hammered silver with gold rims attached.

Also Sophocles in Pandora (fr. 483):

and after he empties a full gold horn, she'll smash it † teeming † under her soft arm.

Hermippus in Fates (fr. 44):

Do you know what you need to do for me? Don't offer me this one now; instead, let me drink just once out of the horn.

The orator Lycurgus in his Against Demades (fr. 59 Conomis) claims that King Philip would drink toasts from a horn in honor of people he was well-disposed to. But Theopompus in Book II of the History of Philip (FGrH 115 F 38) says that because Paeonian cows produce horns large enough to hold three or four choes, their kings make

190 Xenophon is actually describing the behavior of the Greeks while they were in Paphlagonian territory, although he notes that they had not brought the drinking-horns they used with them, but had found them in the country.

χείλη περιαργυροῦντας καὶ χρυσοῦντας. Ι καὶ Φιλόξενος δ' δ Κυθήριος έν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένω Δείπνω φησίν.

πίνετο νεκτάρεον πωμ' έν χρυσέαις προτομαίς † τε ἄλλων † κεράτων. † ἔβρεχον δὲ κατὰ μικρόν †.

Αθηναίοι δὲ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ποιοῦντες κέρατα ἔπινον ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἔστι γοῦν τοῦτο εύρεῖν ἐν τοῖς Δημιοπράτοις άναγεγραμμένον ούτως < ... > ἐκ στήλης ἀνακειμένης έν ακροπόλει ή τὰ ἀναθήματα περιέχει κέρας ἔκπωμα άργυροῦν, καὶ περισκελὶς πρόσεστι.

Κέρνος. ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν, ἔχον ἐν αύτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους, έν οίς, φησίν, μήκωνες f λευκοί, πυροί, Ικριθαί, πισοί, λάθυροι, ὧχροι, φακοί, δ δὲ βαστάσας αὐτὸ οἷον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται, ώς ίστορεῖ ἀμμώνιος ἐν τρίτω Περὶ Βωμῶν καὶ Θυσιῶν.

Κισσύβιον. τὸ μόνωτον ποτήριον Φιλήμων, Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τρίτω Γλωσσῶν τὸ κίσσινον ποτήριον σημαίνειν παρ' Εὐριπίδη ἐν 'Ανδρομέδα: ||

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πᾶς δὲ ποιμένων ἔρρει λεώς. δ μεν γάλακτος κίσσινον φέρων σκύφος. πόνων αναψυκτήρ', δ δ' αμπέλων γάνος.

<sup>191</sup> The quotation has fallen out of the text.

<sup>192</sup> For what follows, cf. 11.478c-d, which makes it clear that this material is drawn from Polemon's On the Sacred Fleece.

drinking vessels out of them, covering the lips with silver or gold. So too Philoxenus of Cythera says in his poem entitled *The Dinner Party* (Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836(d)):

A nectar-like drink

was being consumed from gold animal-head cups † and of others † made from horns, † and they were drenching little by little †.

The Athenians used to make silver horns and drink from them. The following, for example, can be found inscribed in the records of the public auctions thus:  $^{191}$ ... from a stele set up on the Acropolis that contains a list of the dedications (IG II $^2$  1407.38): a silver drinking-horn, and a decorative band is attached to it.

Kernos. 192 A ceramic vessel that contains a large number of smaller cups attached to one another, in which, he reports (Polemon fr. 88 Preller), are white poppy-seed, grains of wheat and barley, peas, vetch-seeds, birds' pease, and lentils. The man who carries it, in the same way that someone might carry a sacred winnowing-shovel, tastes these, according to Ammonius in Book III of On Altars and Sacrifices (FGrH 361 F 2).

Kissubion. A cup with a single handle, according to Philemon. Neoptolemus of Parium in Book III of the Glossary (fr. 10a Mette) (claims) that the word is used in Euripides' Andromeda (fr. 146) to refer to a cup made of ivy wood (kissinos):

All the shepherd-folk wandered in; one man brought an ivy-wood bowl (kissinos skuphos) full of milk,

which offers refreshment after hard work, another the gleaming product of the vines.

τὸ γὰρ κισσύβιον, φησί, λέγεται ἐπὶ συνόδου ἀγροικικῆς, ἔνθα προσήκει μάλιστα τὸ ξύλινον ποτήριον. Κλείταρχος δέ φησιν Αἰολεῖς τὸν σκύφον κισσύβιον καλεῖν Μαρσύας δὲ κύπελλον καὶ τὸ ξύλινον ποτήριον. Εὔμολπος δὲ γένος τι ποτηρίου, ἴσως, φησίν, κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐκ κισσίνου κατασκευασθὲν ξύλου. Νίκανδρος δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῷ | πρώτῳ τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν γράφει· ἐν τῇ ἱεροποιίῃ τοῦ Διδυμαίου Διὸς κισσοῦ σπονδοποιέονται πετάλοισιν, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκπώματα κισσύβια φωνέεται. "Ομηρος·

κισσύβιον μετά χερσὶν έχων μέλανος οἴνοιο.

'Ασκληπιάδης δ' ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος, σκύφει, φησί, καὶ κισσυβίφ τῶν μὲν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μετρίων οὐδεὶς ἐχρῆτο, συβῶται δὲ καὶ νομεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγρῷ Πολύφημος μὲν τῷ κισσυβίφ, θατέρφ δὲ c Εὔμαιος. Καλλίμαχος δ' ἔοικε | διαμαρτάνειν ἐν τῆ συγχρήσει τῶν ὀνομάτων, λέγων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰκίου ξένου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ 'Αθηναίφ Πόλλιδι συνεστιασθέντος αὐτῶ·

καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηϊκίην μὲν ἀνήνατο χανδὸν ἄμυστιν ζωροποτείν<sup>28</sup>, ὀλίγῳ δ' ἤδετο κισσυβίῳ.

 $^{28}$  10.442f (supported by a papyrus) has ἀπέστυγε χανδὸν ἄμυστιν / οἰνοποτεῖν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Quoted again at 11.498f (along with *Od.* 14.112–13, which is more relevant to the discussion there).

 $<sup>^{194}</sup>$  Sc. at Od. 9.346–61. Homer never says where the cup comes from, but the obvious implication of the text is that Odysseus found it in the Cyclops' cave.

Because the word kissubion, he says, is used in connection with gatherings of country-folk, when a wooden cup is most appropriate. Cleitarchus claims that the Aeolians refer to a bowl (skuphos) as a kissubion, whereas Marsyas (FGrH 135/6 F 22) says that another word for a wooden cup is kupellos. Eumolpus (identifies) this as a type of cup, perhaps, he says, originally made of ivy (kissinos) wood. Nicander of Colophon writes in Book I of his History of Aetolia (fr. 1 Schneider): In the ritual in honor of Didymean Zeus, they pour libations from ivy (kissos) leaves, which is why ancient drinking vessels are referred to as kissubia. Homer (Od. 9.346):

holding a kissubion of dark wine in my hands.

Asclepiades of Myrlea says in his On Nestor's Cup: 193 No one from the city or who was even moderately well-to-do used a bowl (skuphos) or a kissubion. Instead it was swine-herds, shepherds, and country-folk: Polyphemus used a kissubion, 194 while Eumaeus (Od. 14.112) used a skuphos. Callimachus (fr. 178.11–14 Pfeiffer) seemingly uses the words incorrectly, when he says of the stranger from Icus who was entertained along with him 196 in the house of Pollis of Athens:

For he in fact hated drinking strong wine greedily in a long

Thracian draft, but liked a small kissubion.

 $^{195}$  Verses 11–12 are quoted also at 10.442f, while verses 15–16 are quoted at 1.32b–c.

196 I.e. the poem's narrator.

τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ τόδ' ἔλεξα περιστείχοντος ἀλείσου τὸ τρίτον.

ό γὰρ λέγων ἄλεισον τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κισσύβιον τὴν ἀκριβῆ θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ διαφυλάττει. εἰκάσειε l
d δ' ἄν τις τὸ κισσύβιον τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐργασθῆναι ἐκ κισσίνου ξύλου. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμολογοῦσιν αὐτὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ χωρεῖν

οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὅδε χείσεται.

καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄφεως κατάδυσις χειή, ἡ καταδεχομένη τὸ ζῷον· καὶ κήθιον τὸ χήτιον τὸ χωροῦν τοὺς ἀστραγάλους. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ 
Κύκλου τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν κισσύβιον κυμβίον ἔφη γράφων 
e οὕτως· | καὶ αὐτὸν 'Οδυσσεὺς ὁρῶν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα

πληρώσας τοῦ οἴνου κυμβίον δίδωσι πιεῖν.

Κιβώριον. Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς Εὐφορίωνα φησι τὸν ποιητὴν παρὰ Πρυτάνιδι δειπνοῦντα καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος κιβώριά τινα δοκοῦντα πεποιῆσθαι πολυτελώς, τοῦ κώθωνος εὖ μάλα προβεβηκότος, λαβὼν εν τῶν κιβωρίων ὡς ἐξοινῶν καὶ μεθύων ἐνεούρησε. Δίδυμος δέ φησι ποτηρίου εἶδος εἶναι, καὶ τάχ' αν εἴη τὰ λεγόμενα σκυφία διὰ τὸ

 $<sup>^{197}</sup>$  Deponent future infinitive of  $\it chandan\bar{o}$  ("hold, contain").

<sup>198</sup> The word is used at Il. 22.93, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> The word is not attested elsewhere in the sense "box" with a *chi*, and the odd spelling must be a product of the awkward attempt to derive *kissubion* from *cheisthai*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Cited again at 11.481e. The Cycle in question is the Epic Cycle (including but not limited to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*).

# BOOK XI

To him I said the following, as the bowl (aleison) was going around for the third time.

For anyone who refers to an *aleison* and a *kissubion* as identical is not respecting the precise sense of the words. One might conjecture that *kissubia* were originally made of ivy (*kissinos*) wood by shepherds. But other authorities derive the word from *cheisthai*, <sup>197</sup> in the sense "to have room for" (*Od.* 18.17):

This threshold will accommodate (cheisetai) us both.

The place snakes descend to, that gives the creature somewhere to hide, is also a *cheiē* ("hole"); <sup>198</sup> and the little *chētos* <sup>199</sup> used to store knucklebones is a *kēthion* ("dicebox"). Dionysius of Samos in his *On the Cycle* (*FGrH* 15 F 4a)<sup>200</sup> wrote as follows, claiming that the Homeric *kissubion* is a *kumbion*: <sup>201</sup> And when Odysseus sees him doing this, he fills a *kumbion* with the wine and offers it to him to drink.

Kibōrion. Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 21, FHG iv.417) claims that the poet Euphorion was having dinner with Prytanis, and Prytanis showed him some kibōria that seemed to be very expensively made. After the party had gone on for a long time, Euphorion, who had consumed a large amount of wine and was drunk, took one of the kibōria and urinated in it. Didymus (p. 75 Schmidt) says that this was a type of cup; perhaps it is to be identified

 $<sup>^{201}</sup>$  Apparently a comment on Od.~9.345–6; what Odysseus has just seen Polyphemus do is snatch two more members of his crew and prepare them for dinner (Od.~9.344).

f κάτωθεν εἰς στενὸν | συνῆχθαι ὡς τὰ Αἰγύπτια κιβώρια.

Κόνδυ. ποτήριον 'Ασιατικόν. Μένανδρος Κόλακι

κοτύλας χωροῦν δέκα ἐν Καππαδοκία κόνδυ χρυσοῦν, Στρουθία.

ἵΙππαρχος ἀΑνασφζομένοις·

(A.) προσέχεις τι τούτῳ τῷ στρατιώτῃ; † τοῦ δε δειου †
ἀργύριον οὖτος; οὐδαμόθεν, εὖ οἶδ' ἐγώ,
ἀλλ' ἢ δαπίδιον ἐν ἀγαπητὸν ποικίλον,
Πέρσας ἔχον καὶ γρῦπας ἐξώλεις τινὰς || τῶν Περσικῶν. (Β.) ἐς κόρακας, ὧ μαστιγία.
(Α.) καὶ κόνδυ καὶ ψυκτήριον καὶ κυμβίον.

Νικόμαχος δ' ἐν πρώτω Περὶ Ἑορτῶν Αἰγυπτίων φησί: τὸ δὲ κόνδυ ἐστὶ μὲν Περσικόν, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν † ἢν Ἔρμιππος ἀστρολογικὸς ὡς ὁ κόσμος ἐξ οὖ τῶν θεῶν τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰ καρπώσιμα γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ γῆς † διὸ ἐκ τούτου σπένδεσθαι. Παγκράτης δ' ἐν πρώτω Βοκχορηΐδος·

αὐτὰρ ὅ γε σπείσας ἐκ κόνδυος ἀργυφέοιο Ι νέκταρ ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπὴν οἶμον ἔβαινε πόδα.

Κονώνειος. Ἰστρος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος ἐν πρώτφ Πτολεμαΐδος τῆς Ἐν Αἰγύπτφ Πόλεως γράφει οὕτως· κυλίκων Κονωνείων ζεῦγος καὶ Θηρικλείων χρυσοκλύστων ζεῦγος.

478

b

<sup>202</sup> Cf. 3.72a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Quoted at greater length at 10.434b–c.

<sup>204</sup> See 11.486c (on the supposed origin of the name).

with what are called skuphia because the lower part tapers to a nub like an Egyptian bean (kibōrion).<sup>202</sup>

Kondu. An Asiatic cup. Menander in The Flatterer (Kol. fr. 2.1-2 Körte-Thierfelder):203

in Cappadocia, Strouthias, a gold kondu that held ten ladles.

Hipparchus in Men Who Were Returning Home Safely (fr. 1):

(A.) Are you paying any attention to this soldier? [corrupt]

silver . . . this guy? From nowhere, I'm sure of thatexcept one nice embroidered rug with Persians and some damned Persian griffins on it. (B.) To hell with you, you lowlife! (A.) And a kondu, a wine-cooling vessel, and a

kumbion

Nicomachus says in Book I of On Egyptian Festivals (FGrH 662 F 1): The kondu is a Persian vessel, but originally  $\dagger$  which the astrologer Hermippus (SH 486 = fr. 102) Wehrli) that the created order from which the marvels and profitable deeds of the gods occurred on earth, † which is why it is used to pour libations. Pancrates in Book I of the Bocchoreïs (SH 602):

But after he poured a libation of nectar from a silver kondu, he set off on a journey to another land.

Konōneios. 204 Callimachus' student Istrus writes as follows in Book I of The Egyptian City of Ptolemaïs (FGrH 334 F 47): a pair of Konōneis kulikes and a pair of gilded Thericleians.

Κότυλος. τὰ μόνωτα ποτήρια κότυλοι, ὧν καὶ ἀλλκαῖος μνημονεύει. Διόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λυκόφρονα παρὰ Σικυωνίοις καὶ Ταραντίνοις ἐπιπολάζειν φησὶ τὸ ἔκπωμα, εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ λουτηρίῳ ἐοικὸς βαθεῖ ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὖς ἐνιαχῆ, μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰων ὁ Χῖος

< . . . > κότυλον οἵνου πλέον

c λέγων. Ι Έρμιππος δὲ ἐν Θεοῖς·

τόν τε κότυλον πρώτον ήνεγκ' ἐνέχυρον τών γειτόνων.

καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Διὶ Κακουμένῳ

< ... > τὸν κότυλον φέρει

φησί. καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἐν Βαβυλωνίοις· < . . . >. Εὔβουλος δ᾽ ἐν ἸΟδυσσεῖ ἢ Πανόπταις·

ο δ' ίερεὺς Εὐήγορος ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖσιν έστὼς τὴν καλὴν σκευὴν ἔχων οἶνον ἐξέσπενδε κοτύλω.

Πάμφιλος δὲ ποτηρίου φησὶν εἶναι γένος, ἴδιον δ' εἶναι Διονύσου. Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Δίου Κωδίου φησί· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τελετὴν ποιεῖ καὶ αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης καὶ νέμει ὅσοι ἄνω τὸ κέρνος περιενηνοχότες. τοῦτο | δ' ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους·

<sup>205</sup> Cf. 11.478e (clearly drawn from the same passage).
206 The quotation has fallen out of the text, but is preserved at Poll. 10.85.

Kotulos. Kotuloi are cups with a single handle, and are mentioned by Alcaeus (fr. 417). Diodorus in his To Lycophron (Gloss. Ital. 128 K-A) says that this vessel is common in Sicyon and Tarentum, and resembles a deep loutērion; sometimes it has a handle. 205 Ion of Chios (TrGF 19 F 51) also mentions it, saying:

a kotulos full of wine.

Hermippus in Gods (fr. 29):

And first he brought the *kotulos* as security from his neighbors.

And Plato says in Zeus Abused (fr. 48):

He brings the kotulos.

Also Aristophanes in *Babylonians* (fr. 68):<sup>206</sup>... Eubulus in *Odysseus or Men Who See Everything* (fr. 71):

The priest Euagorus was standing in their midst holding a beautiful vessel and pouring a libation of wine from a *kotulos*.

Pamphilus (fr. XVII Schmidt) claims that this is a type of cup associated with Dionyus in particular. Polemon says in his On the Sacred Fleece (fr. 88 Preller):<sup>207</sup> After this, he carries out the ritual, removing what is in the sacred chamber and dividing the contents among everyone who has helped hold the kernos up and carry it around. The latter is a ceramic vessel that contains a large number of smaller cups (kotuliskoi) attached to one another; in these are

 $^{207}$  Cf. 11.476e–f (a slightly condensed version of the same material) with n.

ένεισι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅρμινοι, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάθυροι, ὧχροι, φακοί, κύαμοι, ζειαί, βρόμος, παλάθιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα, ὄιον ἔριον ἄπλυτον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσας οἷον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται.

Κοτύλη. 'Αριστοφάνης Κωκάλω † ἄλλαι ὑποπρεσβύτεραι γρᾶες Θασίου μέλανος μεστὸν κεραμευομέναις κοτύλαις μεγάλαις ἔγχεον ἐς σφέτερον δέμας ε οὐδὲν ἀκόσμον, ἔρωτι βιαζόμεναι μέλανος | οἴνου ἀκράτου. † Σιληνὸς καὶ Κλείταρχος ἔτι τε Ζηνόδοτος τὴν κύλικα·

πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυν κοτυλήρυτον ἔρρεεν αἷμα. καί·

πολλά μεταξὺ πέλει κοτύλης καὶ χείλεος ἄκρου. Σιμάριστος δὲ τὸ λεπτὸν ποτήριον οὕτως καλείσθαι. Διόδωρος δὲ τὸν παρά τισι κότυλον κοτύλην ὧνομακέναι τὸν ποιητήν.

< . . . > πύρνον καὶ κοτύλην.<sup>29</sup>

ον κύλικα μὲν οὐκ εἶναι, οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ὧτα, παραπλήσιον δ' ὑπάρχειν λουτηρίω βαθεῖ, ποτηρίου δὲ εἶδος εἶναι. δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καί τισι τῶν Ἰώνων λεγόμενον κότυλον, ον ὅμοιον ὅντα τῷ προειρημένῳ ἐν οὖς ἔχειν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Κράτης ἐν Παιδιαῖς καὶ Ἔρμιππος ἐν Θεοῖς. Ἀθηναῖοι

<sup>29</sup> The traditional text of Homer has κοτύλην καὶ πύρνον.

 $<sup>^{208}</sup>$  Cf. Zenob. 5.71 (who, however, has kulikos for Athenaeus'  $kotul\bar{e}s$  ).  $^{209}$  Literally "the poet".

sage, white poppy-seed, grains of wheat and barley, peas, vetch-seeds, birds' pease, lentils, beans, emmer, oats, a cake of dried fruit, honey, olive oil, wine, milk, and a bit of unwashed sheep's wool. The man who carries it, in the same way that someone might carry a sacred winnowing-shovel, tastes these items.

Kotulē. Aristophanes in Cocalus (fr. 364, unmetrical and lacunose): † Other elderly hags were using large ceramic kotuloi to pour . . . full of dark Thasian (wine) into their bodies, not at all indecorous, driven by their desire for unmixed dark wine. † Silenus and Cleitarchus, along with Zenodotus, (identify this with) a kulix (Il. 23.34):

And blood was flowing everywhere around the corpse by the cupful (*kotulēruton*).

Also:208

There's many a slip 'twixt the kotulē and the lip.

Simaristus (claims) that this is a term for a small, fine cup. Diodorus says that Homer<sup>209</sup> (Od. 15.312) refers to what some people call a *kotulos* as a *kotulē*:

wheat-bread and a kotulē.

This, (he says,) is not a *kulix*, since it lacks handles, but resembles a deep *louterion* and is a type of cup;<sup>210</sup> it might also be what the Aetolians and some Ionians refer to as a *kotulos*, which resembled the vessel discussed above, but has a single handle. Crates mentions it in *Children's Games* (fr. 29), as does Hermippus in *Gods* (fr. 29).<sup>211</sup>

 $^{210}$  Cf. 11.478b (where the work in question is identified as Diodorus'  $To\ Lycophron)$  with n.  $^{211}$  Quoted at 11.478c.

δὲ μέτρον τι καλοῦσι κοτύλην. Θουκυδίδης· ἐδίδοσαν μὲν αὐτῶν ἑκάστῷ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ μῆνας κοτύλην ὕδατος καὶ δύο κοτύλας σίτου. ᾿Αριστοφάνης Προάγωνι·

ό δ' ἀλφίτων < . . . > πριάμενος τρεῖς χοίνικας κοτύλης δεούσας ἐκτέα λογίζεται. ||

479 'Απολλόδωρος δὲ ποτηρίου τι γένος ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔγκοιλον. πᾶν δὲ τὸ κοῖλον κοτύλην, φησίν, ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρῶν κοῖλον ὅθεν καὶ κοτυλήρυτον αἷμα τὸ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρυσθῆναι δυνάμενον. καὶ ἐν κοτύλη δέ τις παιδιὰ καλεῖται, ἐν ἡ κοιλάναντες τὰς χεῖρας δέχονται τὰ γόνατα τῶν νενικηκότων οἱ νενικημένοι καὶ βαστάζουσιν αὐτούς. Διόδωρος δ' ἐν Ἰταλικαῖς Γλώσσαις καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, ὡς φησι Πάμφιλος, τὴν κοτύλην καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἡμίναν, παρατιθέμενος Ἐπιχάρμου· |

καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ διπλάσιον χλιαρόν, ἡμίνας δύο.

καὶ Σώφρων· κατάστρεψον, τέκνον, τὰν ἡμίναν. κοτυλίσκην δ' εἴρηκε Φερεκράτης ἐν Κοριαννοῦ·

 $\langle \ldots \rangle$  (B.) τὴν κοτυλίσκην. (A.) μηδαμῶς.

'Αριστοφάνης ἐν 'Αχαρνεῦσι·

κοτυλίσκιον τὸ χείλος ἀποκεκρουμένον.

b

 $<sup>^{212}</sup>$  Sc. per day; referring to the Athenian prisoners held in the stone-quarries in Syracuse after the failure of the Sicilian Expedition.  $^{213}$  A reference to  $\it Il.$  23.34 (quoted at 11.478e).

 <sup>214</sup> Thus presumably Crates in Children's Games, cited above.
 215 That the word is cited from Epicharmus and Sophron but from no one else leaves little doubt that it is a bit of Western Greek vocabulary.
 216 Quoted also at 14.648d.

The Athenians refer to a unit of measure as a *kotulē*. Thucydides (7.87.2): For eight months they gave each of them a *kotulē* of water and two *kotulai* of grain. <sup>212</sup> Aristophanes in *The Proagon* (fr. 481):

He bought three *choinikes* of barley-groats minus one *kotulē*, but he's charging me for a *hekteus*!

Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 254) (identifies this as) a type of high, deep cup. The ancients, he says, referred to anything hollow, for example the hollow of one's hands, as a kotulē; blood that can be scooped up in one's cupped hands is accordingly referred to as kotulērutos. <sup>213</sup> There is also a game known as "In a kotulē", in which the losers have to cup their hands, take the knees of the winners in them, and pick them up. <sup>214</sup> According to Pamphilus (fr. VIII Schmidt), Diodorus in the Italian Glossary and Heracleitus (say) that a kotulē is also referred to as a hēmina. <sup>215</sup> He cites a passage from Epicharmus (fr. 289): <sup>216</sup>

and to drink twice as much warm water, two hēminai.

Also Sophron (fr. 100): Turn the  $h\bar{e}mina$  upside-down, child! Pherecrates uses the diminutive  $kotulisk\bar{e}$  in Corianno (fr. 75.4):<sup>217</sup>

(B.) the kotuliskē. (A.) Don't!

Aristophanes in Acharnians (459):218

a little kotuliskē with a chipped rim.

 $^{217}$  An extract from a fragment quoted at greater length at 11.481 a-b (where the manuscripts, however, offer the accusative form of  $kulisk\bar{e}$  rather than of  $kotulisk\bar{e}$ ).  $^{218}$  The manuscripts of Aristophanes have kuliskion or variants thereof, rather than Athenaeus' kotuliskion (which is probably correct).

κοτύλη δὲ καλείται καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἰσχίου κοιλότης, καὶ αἱ τοῦ πολύποδος ἐν ταῖς πλεκτάναις ἐπιφύσεις παραγώγως κοτυληδόνες. καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα δ' Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἡδωνοῖς κοτύλας εἴρηκεν·

- ό δὲ χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις ὀτοβεῖ.
- Μαρσύας δέ φησι | τὸ ἐν τῷ ἰσχίῳ ὀστοῦν καλεῖσθαι ἄλεισον καὶ κύλικα. κοτυλίσκος δὲ καλεῖται ὁ ἱερὸς τοῦ Διονύσου κρατηρίσκος, καὶ οἷς χρῶνται οἱ μύσται, ὡς Νίκανδρός φησιν ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς παρατιθέμενος τὸ ἐκ Νεφελῶν ᾿Αριστοφάνους·
  - < ... > μηδὲ στέψω κοτυλίσκον.

Σιμμίας δὲ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν κοτύλην ἄλεισον.

Κοτταβίς. 'Αρμόδιος ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ Φιγάλειαν Νομίμων διεξιὼν περὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δείπνων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· καθαγισάντων ταῦτα ἐν ἀ κεραμέα κοτταβίδι πιεῖν ἑκάστω Ι μικρόν, καὶ ὁ προσφέρων ἀνεῖπεν "εὐδειπνίας." 'Ηγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν 'Υπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἀρχή, 'Εν τἢ ἀρίστη πολιτεία, φησίν· ὁ καλούμενος κότταβος παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν, ὧς φησιν Δικαίαρχος, πρῶτον εἰσαγαγόντων. τοσαύτη δὲ ἐγένετο σπουδὴ περὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ὥστε εἰς τὰ συμπόσια παρεισφέρειν ἆθλα κοτταβεῖα καλούμενα. εἶτα κύλικες αἱ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> A reference to *Il.* 5.305–6. <sup>220</sup> From the lost original version of the play (rather than the revised version preserved for us today). <sup>221</sup> An extract from a much longer fragment quoted at 4.148f–9d (this section at 4.149a–b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Cf. 11.782e-f (from the Epitomator, with no mention of Hegesander) with n. For cottabus, see 15.665d-8f.

The hollow part of the hip-joint is also called the  $kotul\bar{e}$ ,  $^{219}$  and the sucker-pads on an octopus' tentacles are referred to (e.g. Od.~5.433) with a term derived from this,  $kotul\bar{e}$ -dones. In addition, Aeschylus in Edonians (fr. 57.6) refers to cymbals as kotulai:

and another creates an uproar with bronze-edged kotulai.

But Marsyas (FGrH 135/6 F 23) says that the hip-bone is referred to as an aleison or kulix. The small sacred mixing-bowl of Dionysus used by the initiates is called a kotuliskos, according to Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 13), who cites the verse from Aristophanes' Clouds (fr. 395):<sup>220</sup>

and that I not garland a kotuliskos.

Simmias glosses kotulē as aleison.

Kottabis. Harmodius of Lepreum in his On the Customs in Phigaleia (FGrH 319 F 1.15–16),<sup>221</sup> in the course of offering details of the local dining practices, writes the following: After they dedicated these items, each guest was given a little wine to drink in a ceramic kottabis; the man who served it would say "Enjoy your dinner!" Hegesander of Delphi in his Commentaries, which begin with the words "In the best state", says (fr. 32, FHG iv.419):<sup>222</sup> What is known as cottabus was a later addition to drinking parties; according to Dicaearchus (fr. 97 Wehrli), the Sicilians were the first to introduce it. They were so devoted to this activity that they also introduced prizes, known as kottabeia, to their parties. Subsequently, the cups that ap-

χρήσιμαι μάλιστ' είναι δοκούσαι κατεσκευάζοντο, καλούμεναι κοτταβίδες. πρὸς δὲ Ι τούτοις οἶκοι κατεσκευάζοντο κυκλοτερεῖς, ἵνα πάντες εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ κοττάβου τεθέντος ἐξ ἀποστήματος ἴσου καὶ τόπων ὁμοίων ἀγωνίζοιντο περὶ τῆς νίκης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἔδει γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐρείσαντα καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀγκυλώσαντα ύγρῶς ἀφεῖναι τὴν λάταγα οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὸ πῖπτον ἐκ τῆς κύλικος ὑγρόν. ὥστε ἔνιοι μεῖζον ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς κοτταβίζειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκοντίζειν μέγα φρονούντων.

Κρατάνιον. μήποτε τὸ νῦν καλούμενον κρανίον f ἔκπωμα οὕτως ἀνόμαζον | οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. Πολέμων γοῦν ἢ ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ἑλλαδικὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐν ᾿Ολυμπία λέγων Μεταποντίνων ναοῦ γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· ναὸς Μεταποντίνων, ἐν ῷ φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ δύο, οἰνοχόαι ἀργυραῖ δύο, ἀποθυστάνιον ἀργυροῦν, φιάλαι τρεῖς ἐπίτρυσοι. ναὸς Βυζαντίων, || ἐν ῷ Τρίτων κυπαρίσσινος ἔχων κρατάνιον ἀργυροῦν, Σειρὴν ἀργυρα, καρχήσια δύο ἀργυρα, κύλιξ ἀργυρα, οἰνοχόη χρυση, κέρατα δύο. ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἡρας τῷ παλαιῷ φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ τριάκοντα, κρατάνια ἀργυρα δύο, χύτρος ἀργυροῦς, ἀποθυστάνιον χρυσοῦν, κρατὴρ χρυσοῦς, Κυρηναίων ἀνάθημα, βατιάκιον ἀργυροῦν.

Κρουνεία. Έπιγένης Μνηματίω

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peared to be best suited to the business began to be produced; these were known as *kottabides*. In addition, round rooms began to be constructed, so that when the target<sup>223</sup> was placed in the middle, everyone would be able to compete for the prize from an equal distance and identical locations. They were anxious not only to hit the mark, but to carry out the entire activity gracefully; because the participants had to lean on their left elbow, bend their right wrist, and toss the *latax*—this was their term for the liquid that fell from the cup—fluidly. As a consequence, some people were prouder of playing cottabus well than others were of throwing the javelin.

Kratanion. Perhaps this is the term the ancients used for the drinking vessel referred to today as a kranion. Polemon (fr. 22 Preller), at any rate—or whoever the author of the work entitled An Account of Hellas is—writes the following about the treasury of the Metapontians at Olympia: A treasury belonging to the Metapontians, within which are: 132 silver phialai; 2 silver wine-pitchers; a silver apothustanion; and three gilt phialai. A treasury belonging to the Byzantines, within which are: a Triton made of cypress-wood, holding a silver kratanion; a silver Siren; two silver karchēsia; a silver kulix; a gold wine-pitcher; and two drinking-horns. Inside the old temple of Hera are: 30 silver phialai; two silver kratania; a silver cook-pot; a gold apothustanion; a gold mixing-bowl, dedicated by the people of Cyrene; and a silver batiakion.

Krouneia. Epigenes in The Tomb (fr. 6.1-2):<sup>224</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Literally "the kottabos".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> An excerpt from a longer fragment quoted at 11.472e-f (but with the second verse corrupt); cf. 11.486b-c.

(Α.) κρατῆρες, κάδοι, δλκεία, κρουνεί. (Β.) ἔστι γὰρ κρουνεία; (Α.) ναί.

Κυαθίς. κοτυλώδες ἀγγεῖον. | Σώφρων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένφ μίμφ Γυναῖκες Αῗ τὰν Θεόν Φαντι Ἐξελᾶν ὑποκατώρυκται δὲ ἐν κυαθίδι τρικτὺς ἀλεξιφαρμάκων.

Κύλιξ. Φερεκράτης Δουλοδιδασκάλω.

νυνὶ δ' ἀπόνιζε τὴν κύλικα δώσων πιεῖν, ἔγχει τ' ἐπιθεὶς τὸν ἡθμόν.

ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ κεράμεα ποτήρια καὶ λέγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυλίεσθαι τῷ τροχῷ· ἀφ' ὧν καλεῖται τό τε κυλικεῖον, ἐν ῷ τίθεται τόπῳ τὰ ποτήρια, κἂν ἀργυρᾶ τυγχάνη c ὄντα, καὶ τὸ κυλικηγορεῖν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆ! κύλικί τις ἀγορεύη. ᾿Αθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν πυξίδα καλοῦσι κυλιχνίδα διὰ τὸ τῷ τόρνῳ κεκυλίσθαι. ἐγένοντο δ' ἐπίσημοι κύλικες αἴ τε ᾿Αργεῖαι καὶ αί ᾿Αττικαί. καὶ τῶν μὲν ᾿Αττικῶν μνημονεύει Πίνδαρος ἐν τοῦσδε·

ὧ Θρασύβουλ', ἐρατᾶν ὅχημ' ἀοιδᾶν τοῦτό ⟨τοι⟩ πέμπω μεταδόρπιον. ἐν ξυνῷ κεν εἶη συμπόταισίν τε γλυκερὸν καὶ Διωνύσοιο καρπῷ καὶ κυλίκεσσιν ἀθηναίαισι κέντρον.

αί δ' 'Αργείαι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὸν τύπον ἔχειν διάφορον d πρὸς τὰς Ι 'Αττικάς. φοξαὶ γοῦν ἦσαν τὸ χεῖλος, ὡς Σιμωνίδης φησὶν ὁ 'Αμόργιος·

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> A false etymology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Cf. 11.460d-f.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. 11.461e with n.  $\,$  228 Other portions of the fragment are preserved at 11.782d; 14.641b–c.

(A.) Mixing-bowls, kadoi, basins, krouneia. (B.) There are really krouneia? (A.) Yeah.

Kuathis. A vessel that resembles a kotulē. Sophron in the mime entitled Women Who Claim to Be Driving out the Goddess (fr. 3): A three-fold sacrifice of healing drugs has been buried beneath it in a kuathis.

Kulix. Pherecrates in The Slave Teacher (fr. 45):

Now wash out the *kulix*, so you can give me a drink; and put a strainer over it and pour some wine.

These are ceramic cups which get their name from the fact that they are turned (*kuliesthai*) on a potter's wheel;<sup>225</sup> they in turn are the source of the terms *kulikeion* (the place where cups are stored, even if they are made of silver)<sup>226</sup> and *kulikēgorein* (when someone makes a speech while drinking from a *kulix*).<sup>227</sup> The Athenians also refer to a physician's storage box as a *kulichnis*, because it has been turned (*kekulisthai*) on a lathe. Argive and Attic *kulikes* were much sought-after. Pindar (fr. 124a)<sup>228</sup> mentions the Attic variety in the following passage:

Thrasybulus, I send you this carriage of lovely songs as an after-dinner treat. At your party it might be a pleasant spur for your guests, for Dionysus'

fruit, and for your Athenian kulikes.

The Argive variety apparently have a different shape than the Attic. They had a pointed (*phoxai*) rim, at any rate, according to Simonides of Amorgos (Semon. fr. 27 West<sup>2</sup>):

αὕτη δὲ φοξὴ χεῖλος «Άργείη κύλιξ»,30

ή εἰς ὀξὰ ἀνηγμένη, οἷοί εἰσιν οἱ ἄμβικες καλούμενοι. τὸ γὰρ φοξὸν ἐπὶ τούτου τάττουσι, καθότι "Ομηρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Θερσίτου

φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλήν.

καὶ ἔστιν οἷον φαοξός, ὁ πρὸς τὰ φάη ὀξὺς ὁρώμενος. διάφοροι δὲ κύλικες γίνονται καὶ ἐν τῆ τοῦ συσσίτου ε ἡμῶν ἀθηναίου πατρίδι Ναυκράτει: Ι εἰσὶν γὰρ φιαλώδεις μέν, οὐ κατὰ τόρνον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δακτύλῳ πεποιημέναι, καὶ ἔχουσιν ὧτα τέσσαρα, πυθμένα εἰς πλάτος ἐκτεταμένον (πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τῆ Ναυκράτει κεραμεῖς ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ πλησίον τῶν κεραμείων πύλη Κεραμικὴ καλεῖται) καὶ βάπτονται εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀργυραῖ. ἐπαινοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ Χῖαι κύλικες, ὧν μνημονεύει Ἑρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις.

Χία δὲ κύλιξ ὑψοῦ κρέμαται περὶ πασσαλόφιν.

Γλαύκων δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις Κυπρίους φησὶ τὴν κοτύλην κύλικα | καλεῖν. Ἑρμῶναξ δ' ἐν Συνωνύμοις οὕτως γράφει· ἄλεισον, ποτήριον, κύπελλον, ἄμφωτις, σκύφος, κύλιξ, κώθων, καρχήσιον, φιάλη. Άχαιὸς δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐν ἀλκμαίωνι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύλικες παραγώγως κυλιχνίδας εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων·

άλλ' ώς τάχιστα μέλανα δεῦρ' ἀμνὸν φέρειν κοινόν τε χρὴ κρατῆρα καὶ κυλιχνίδας.

 $^{30}$  The final two words of the quotation (which are necessary to the sense in Athenaeus and must have been lost accidentally) are preserved at  $\Sigma$  Il. 2.219 (cited below).

# BOOK XI

This is an Argive kulix with a pointed rim,

that is, one with a sharp tip, like what are referred to as *ambikes*. Because this is how they use the adjective *phoxos*, as Homer does in his description of Thersites (*Il.* 2.219):

He had a pointed (phoxos) head.

The word is, as it were, phaoxos, "someone who appears sharp around his eyes" (phaē oxus).<sup>229</sup> Excellent kulikes can also be found in Naucratis, the native city of our fellow-guest Athenaeus. They resemble phialai, but are made not on a lathe, but by hand, as it were; and they have four handles and a broadly extended base—there are many potters in Naucratis, and the gate nearest to the potters' quarter is called the Ceramic Gate because of them—and are painted to make them resemble silver. Chian kulikes also have a good reputation; Hermippus mentions them in Soldiers (fr. 55):

A Chian *kulix* is hanging high up on a wall-peg.

Glaucon in his Glossary says that the Cyprians refer to a kotulē as a kulix. Hermonax writes as follows in Synonyms: aleison, potērion, kupellon, amphōtis, skuphos, kulix, kōthōn, karchēsion, phialē. Achaeus of Eretria in Alcmaeon (TrGF 20 F 14) uses the derivative form kulichnides rather than kulikes in the following passage:

But as fast as you can, you need to bring a black lamb here, and a mixing-bowl we can share, and some kulichnides.

<sup>229</sup> A false etymology.

481 καὶ ἀλκαῖος || κυλίχνας.

πώνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχν' ὀμμένομεν; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα·

κὰδ δ' ἄερρε κυλίχναις μεγάλαις, ἄϊτα, ποικίλαις

οῗνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος <υῗος> λαθικάδεα ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ'. ἔγχεε κέρναις ἔνα καὶ < ...> πλήαις.

καὶ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ.

λάταγες ποτέονται κυλίχναν ἀπὺ Τηίαν,

ώς διαφόρων γινομένων καὶ ἐν Τέφ κυλίκων. Φερεκράτης Κοριαννοῦ·

(A.) ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου γὰρ δίεφθος ἔρχομαι, ξηρὰν ἔχουσα τὴν φάρυγα. (Β.) δώσω πιεῖν.

(Α.) γλίσχρον γέ μοὐστὶ τὸ σίαλον νὴ τὼ θεώ.

(B.) † εἰ λάβω κυρισοι † τὴν κυλίσκην. (A.) μηδαμῶς

μικράν γε κινείται γὰρ εὐθύς μοι χολή, ἐξ οὖπερ ἔπιον ἐκ τοιαύτης φάρμακον. ἐς τὴν ἐμὴν νῦν ἔγχεον τὴν μείζονα.

ὅτι δὲ μεγάλοις ποτηρίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἐχρῶντο ὁ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε Φερεκράτης ἐν Τυραννίδι διὰ τούτων

εἶτ' ἐκεραμεύσαντο τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ποτήρια πλατέα, τοίχους οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοὔδαφος μόνον,

b

c

Quoted at slightly greater length at 10.430c-d; cf. 10.430a.
 Dionysus.
 Part of verse 4 is quoted also (in a slightly different form) at 11.479b.

And Alcaeus (fr. 346.1-5)230 (used the form) kulichnes:

Let's drink! Why are we waiting for the lamps?

There's only a sliver of daylight left.

Take down the fancy large *kulichnai*, sweet boy; for the son of Semele and Zeus<sup>231</sup> gave human beings wine

to help them forget their troubles. Mix it one  $\dots$  filling it!

Also in Book X (fr. 322):

Drops of wine are flying from Teian kulichnes;

for excellent *kulikes* can also be found on Teos. Pherecrates in *Corianno* (fr. 75):<sup>232</sup>

(A.) Because I'm coming from the bathhouse, having been boiled to death;

my throat's dry. (B.) I'll give you something to drink.

(A.) My spit's sticky, by the two goddesses!

(B.) † If I get [corrupt] † the kuliskē. (A.) Don't (use) the little one! My stomach's been upset ever since I drank medicine out of a cup like that.

This time pour my drink into this bigger one I've got!

The same Pherecrates claims that women used large cups, in the following passage from *Tyranny* (fr. 152):<sup>233</sup>

Then they had flat cups made for their husbands with no sides, just a bottom

 $^{233}$  Although the word *kulikes* occurs in the fourth line of this fragment, it is only marginally relevant to the topic at hand. The final verse is quoted also at 11.460c.

κούχὶ χωροῦντ' οὐδὲ κόγχην, ἐμφερῆ γευστηρίοις·

σφίσι δέ <γ''> αὐταῖσιν βαθείας κύλικας ὥσπερ ὁλκάδας

οἰναγωγούς, περιφερεῖς, λεπτάς, μέσας γαστροιίδας.

οὐκ ἀβούλως, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν κατεσκευασμέναι αὖθ, ὅπως ἀνεκλογίστως πλεῖστος οἶνος ἐκποθῆ. Ι εἶθ' ὅταν τὸν οἶνον αὐτὰς αἰτιώμεθ' ἐκπιεῖν, λοιδοροῦνται κὼμνύουσι μὴ πιεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μίαν. ἡ δὲ κρείττων ἡ μί' ἐστὶ χιλίων ποτηρίων.

Κυμβία. τὰ κοῖλα ποτήρια καὶ μικρὰ Σιμάριστος. Δωρόθεος δέ· γένος ποτηρίων βαθέων τὰ κυμβία καὶ ὀρθῶν, πυθμένα μὴ ἐχόντων μηδὲ ὧτα. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ ᾿Αριστονίκου τὰ κυφά. Νίκανδρος δ᾽ ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς τὸ χωρὶς ἀτίων ποτήριον ἀνομακέναι Θεόπομπον ἐν Μήδω. Φιλήμων Φάσματι·

ἔπιεν ἡ Ῥόδη κυμβίον | ἀκράτου· κατασέσειχ' ὑμᾶς ἄνω.

Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν ἔκτῳ Περὶ τοῦ Κύκλου τὸ αὐτὸ οἴεται εἶναι κισσύβιον καὶ κυμβίον φησὶ γὰρ ὡς Ὁδυσσεὺς πληρώσας κυμβίον ἀκράτου ἄρεξε τῷ Κύκλωπι. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ μικρὸν τὸ διδόμενον αὐτῷ κισσύ-

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<sup>234</sup> Or "son".

 $<sup>^{235}</sup>$  Cf. 11.477d–e (a reference to the same passage) with n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Homer uses the word *kissubion*, hence Athenaeus' conclusion that Dionysius equated the two terms.

that wouldn't even hold a sip, like sampling-bowls. But for themselves they ordered *kulikes* as deep as wine-transport

ships, nice and round, with thin walls that swell out in

the middle into pot-bellies.

And that wasn't a mistake; they'd planned it long ago, so they could drink lots of wine and no one would notice.

Then whenever we accuse them of consuming it all, they call us names and swear they only had a single cup.

But that "single cup" is bigger than 1000 normal

Kumbia. Small concave cups, according to Simaristus. Dorotheus: Kumbia are a type of tall, deep cup with no base or handles. Ptolemy the student<sup>234</sup> of Aristonicus (Aristonic. test. 4 Razzetti) (claims that these are) cups with a slumped shape. Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 14) (says that) Theopompus in The Mede (fr. 32) uses the word to refer to a cup that lacks handles. Philemon in The Phantom (fr. 87):

# **Bhode** drank

a *kumbion* of unmixed wine; she's knocked you onto your feet.

Dionysius of Samos in Book VI of On the Cycle (FGrH 15 F 4b)<sup>235</sup> believes that a kissubion is identical to a kumbion; because he says that after (Od. 9.346) Odysseus filled a kumbion<sup>236</sup> of unmixed wine, he offered it to the Cyclops. The kissubion offered to the Cyclops in Homer cannot be a small vessel; because (if it were), he would not have be-

βιον παρ' 'Ομήρω· οὐ γὰρ ἃν τρὶς πιὼν μέγιστος ὧν τὸ σῶμα ταχέως ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης κατηνέχθη. τοῦ κυμβίου μνημονεύει καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μειδίου ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ φάσκων ῥυτὰ καὶ κυμβία. καὶ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Εὐέργου | καὶ Μνησιβούλου. φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐπίμηκες εἶναι τὸ ποτήριον καὶ στενὸν τῷ σχήματι, παρόμοιον πλοίῳ. καὶ 'Αναξανδρίδης ἐν 'Αγροίκοις·

(A.) μεγάλ' ἴσως ποτήρια προπινόμενα καὶ μέστ' ἀκράτου κυμβία ἐκάρωσεν ὑμᾶς. (B.) ἀνακεχαίτικεν μὲν οὖν.

"Αλεξις Ίππεῖ·

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(A.) τά τε κυμβία ⟨ἆρ'⟩ ἦν ∥ πρόσωπ' ἔχοντα χρυσᾶ παρθένων; (B.) νὴ τὸν Δί', ἦν γάρ. (A.) ὧ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐν τῆ Πρὸς ἀγήτορα τὸν Λάκωνα Ἐπιστολῆ ὡς κυαθώδες ἀγγεῖον τὸ κυμβίον παραδίδωσι γράφων οὕτως θαυμάζουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ πῶς κύαθον μὴ κεκτημένος, ἀλλὰ κυμβίον μόνον, φιάλην προσεκέκτητο. δοκεῖ δή μοι τὸ μὲν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρείας ἔνεκα, τὸ δὲ τῆς τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς εἰς τὴν κτῆσιν παρειληφέναι. κυάθῳ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐχρῶντο τότε οὐδὲ κοτύλῃ ἡ κρατῆρα γὰρ ἴστασαν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐκ ἀργυροῦν οὐδὲ λιθοκόλλητον, ἀλλὰ γῆς Κωλιάδος. τοῦτον δ' ὁσάκις ἐπί τι πληρώσαιεν, ἀποσπείσαντες τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκ τῆς φιάλης ψνοχόουν ἐφεξῆς, τὸν νεοκρᾶτα

 $<sup>^{237}</sup>$  Kaibel misguidedly inserted additional references to Demosthenes drawn from Macrob. 5.21.9 here.

come drunk so quickly after having had three drinks, given how large he is. Demosthenes in his Against Meidias (21.158) mentions a kumbion, saying that drinking-horns and kumbia accompany him everywhere. <sup>237</sup> So too in his Against Euergus and Mnesibulus (47.58). The grammarian Didymus (p. 75 Schmidt) argues that the cup has a long, narrow shape, like a ship. Also Anaxandrides in Rustics (fr. 3):

(A.) Perhaps the big cups that were offered as toasts and the *kumbia* full of unmixed wine stunned you. (B.) Actually, they knocked us off our feet!

Alexis in The Knight (fr. 100):

(A.) And did the *kumbia* have girls' faces made of gold on them?
(B.) Yes, by Zeus, they did. (A.) Oh miserable me!
What problems I've got!

Eratosthenes in his Letter in Response to Agetor of Sparta (p. 201 Bernhardy), on the other hand, writes as follows, implying that a kumbion is a vessel that resembles a kuathos: The same people are amazed at the fact that, if he did not own a kuathos, but only a kumbion, he also owned a phialē. In my opinion, the former was for human beings to use, whereas he had acquired the latter in addition in order to honor the gods. In those days, they did not use a ladle (kuathos) or a cup (kotulē); instead, they set up a mixing-bowl—and not one made of silver or with inset jewels, but one made of clay from Colias—in honor of the gods. And every time they filled it for some reason, they poured a libation to the gods with the phialē, and then poured wine

βάπτοντες τῷ κυμβίῳ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν παρ' ὑμῖν ποιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς φιδιτίοις. εἰ δέ ποτε πλεῖον πιεῖν βουληθεῖεν, προσπαρετίθεσαν τοὺς καλουμένους κοτύλους, κάλλιστα καὶ εὐποτώτατα ἐκπωμάτων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οὖτοι τῆς αὐτῆς κεραμείας. ὅταν δ' Ἔφιππος ἐν Ἐφήβοις λέγη: Ι

οὐ κύλικας ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα Χαιρήμων φέρει; οὐ κυμβίοισι πεπολέμηκ' Εὐριπίδης;,

οὐ τὸν τραγικὸν λέγει ποιητήν, ἀλλά τινα ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, ἤτοι φίλοινόν τινα ἢ αἰτίαν ἔχοντα οὐ χρηστήν, ὅς φησιν ἀντίοχος ὁ ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῇ Μέση Κωμφδία Κωμφδουμένων Ποιητῶν τὸ γὰρ ἐπάγεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐστιάσεις κυμβία καὶ δοκεῖν τούτοις διαμάχεσθαι εἰς ἐκάτερα τείνει. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Νηρηίσιν!

(A.) δὸς δὴ τὸν χοᾶ
 αὐτῷ σύ, Κῶμε, καὶ τὸ κυμβίον φέρων.
 (B.) Εὐριπίδης τις τήμερον γενήσεται.

καὶ "Εφιππος ἐν 'Ομοίοις ἢ 'Οβελιαφόροις·

d

Διονυσίου δὲ δράματ' ἐκμαθεῖν δέοι καὶ Δημοφῶντος ἄττ' ἐπόησεν εἰς Κότυν, ρήσεις τε κατὰ δεῖπνον Θεόδωρός μοι λέγοι, Λάχητί τ' οἰκήσαιμι τὴν ἐξῆς θύραν,

<sup>240</sup> PAA 444547; known only from the passages quoted below.

Chaeremon is perhaps the tragic poet (TrGF 71).

<sup>241</sup> Dionysius is Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse and would-be tragic poet (PAA 350340; TrGF 76 T 5). Nothing else is known of Demophon (PAA 321650) or Laches (PAA 602162). But the Cotys 342

 $<sup>^{238}</sup>$  I.e. in Sparta. For the Spartan messes, see 4.138b–41f, esp. 141a–e.  $^{239}$  Sc. as the mixing-bowl.

for everyone, one person after the next, using the *kumbion* to dip out the wine they had just mixed, just as people do nowadays in your country<sup>238</sup> at the men's messes. And if they ever wanted to drink more, they also set out what were known as *kotuloi*, which were their finest vessels and the easiest to drink from. These were made from the same material.<sup>239</sup> When Ephippus says in *Ephebes* (fr. 9):

Doesn't Chaeremon bring *kulikes* to dinner parties? Doesn't Euripides wage war with *kumbia*?,

he is not referring to the tragic poet, but to another individual by the same name, <sup>240</sup> either someone who likes wine or someone with a bad reputation, according to Antiochus of Alexandria in his On the Poets Ridiculed in Middle Comedy; because the charge of bringing kumbia to feasts and of having a reputation for using them as weapons would apply in either case. Anaxandrides also mentions this Euripides in Nereids (fr. 33):

(A.) Give him the pitcher, Comus—and bring the *kumbion* too!
(B.) He's going to turn into a Euripides today!

Also Ephippus in Men Who Looked Like One Another or Spitbearers (fr. 16):

May I have to memorize Dionysius' plays, along with everything Demophon wrote about Cotys; may Theodorus recite speeches to me during dinner; may I live next door to Laches;<sup>241</sup>

in question is presumably the 4th-century BCE king of Thrace (see 4.131a n.), while Theodorus must be the mid-4th-century tragic actor (O'Connor #230; Stephanis #1157; PAA 506155).

κυμβία τε παρέχοιμ' έστιῶν Εὐριπίδη.

ότι δὲ καὶ πλοῖον ἡ κύμβη Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ἀνδρομέδα φησίν· |

ίπποισιν ἢ κύμβαισι ναυστολεῖς χθόνα;

κύββα ποτήριον Άπολλόδωρος Παφίους.

Κύπελλον, τοῦτο πότερόν ἐστιν ταὐτὸν τῷ ἀλείσῷ καὶ τῷ δέπαι ‹καὶ μόνον› ὀνόματι διαλλάσσει·

τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσέοισι κυπέλλοις υἷες ᾿Αχαιῶν δειδέχατ᾽ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν;

η διάφορος ην ό τύπος καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸ δέπας καὶ τὸ ἄλεισον ἀμφικύπελλον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο † κυφὸν δὲ μόνον †; ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς κυφότητος τὸ κύπελλον, ὥσπερ f καὶ τὸ ἀμφικύπελλον. ἱ ἢ ὅτι παραπλήσιον ην ταῖς πέλλαις, συνηγμένον μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν κυφότητα; ἢ ἀμφικύπελλα οἷον ἀμφίκυρτα ἀπὸ τῶν ὤτων, διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῆ κατασκευῆ, φησὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ποιητής.

ἢ τοι ὁ καλὸν ἄλεισον ἀναιρήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, χρύσεον ἄμφωτον.

'Αντίμαχος δ' ἐν πέμπτφ Θηβαΐδος·

πᾶσιν δ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἐποιχόμενοι κήρυκες χρύσεα καλὰ κύπελλα τετυγμένα νωμήσαντο.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Cited also at 11.483a.

 $<sup>^{243}</sup>$  Cf. 11.783a–c (perhaps from the same source, and certainly a closely related discussion).

<sup>244</sup> These are false etymologies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Cf. EM p. 90.43-6 (citing Aristarchus).

<sup>246</sup> Quoted also at 11.783b.

### BOOK XI

and may I furnish Euripides with *kumbia* when I'm giving a feast!

Sophocles in Andromeda (fr. 127) says that a  $kumb\bar{e}$  is also a boat:

Do you travel the earth on horseback or on kumbai?

Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 224)<sup>242</sup> (reports that) the Paphians (refer to) a cup as a kubba.

Kupellon. Is this the same as an aleison or a depas, 243 and is the only difference the name:

The sons of the Achaeans then stood up and toasted them

from all sides with gold kupella (Il. 9.670-1)?

Or is the shape different, and is a kupellon not amphikupellon, like a depas or an aleison, but is it thus † but only bulging †? Because the word kupellos is derived from kuphotēs ("bentness, squatness"), as is amphikupellos.<sup>244</sup> Or did it resemble pellai, although it was more compressed and thus more squat? Or are they called amphikupella in the sense amphikurta ("gibbous, convex on both sides"), referring to the handles, because this is how they are constructed?<sup>245</sup> For Homer says (Od. 22.9–10):<sup>246</sup>

He was in fact just about to lift a beautiful gold two-handled *aleison*.

Antimachus in Book V of the Thebaid (fr. 24 Matthews):

The heralds approached all the commanders and distributed beautiful *kupella* made of gold.

Σιληνὸς δέ φησι κύπελλα ἐκπώματα σκύφοις ὅμοια, ὡς καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, < . . . > !!

483 <...> κύπελλα δὲ νεῖμε συβώτης.

Εύμολπος δὲ ποτηρίου γένος, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυφὸν εἶναι. Σιμάριστος δὲ τὸ δίωτον ποτήριον Κυπρίους, τὸ δὲ δίωτον καὶ τετράωτον Κρῆτας. Φιλητᾶς δὲ Συρακοσίους κύπελλα καλεῖν τὰ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῶν ἄρτων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καταλείμματα.

Κύμβη. Φιλήμων ἐν ταῖς ᾿Αττικαῖς Φωναῖς κύλικος εἶδος. ᾿Απολλόδωρος δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐτυμολογιῶν Πα-

φίους τὸ ποτήριον καλεῖν κύββα.

Κώθων. Λακωνικὸν ποτήριον, Ιοὖ μνημονεύει Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτω Κύρου Παιδείας. Κριτίας δ' ἐν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία γράφει οὔτως χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τὰ σμικρότατα ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑποδήματα ἄριστα Λακωνικὰ ‹καὶ› ἱμάτια φορεῖν ἤδιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα κώθων Λακωνικός, ἔκπωμα ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς στρατείαν καὶ εὐφορώτατον ἐν γυλιῷ. οὖ δὲ ἔνεκα στρατιωτικόν, πολλάκις ἀνάγκη ὕδωρ πίνειν οὐ καθαρόν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ λίαν κατάδηλον εἶναι τὸ πόμα εἶτα ἄμβωνας ὁ κώθων ἔχων ὑπολείπει Ι τὸ οὐ καθαρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῆ ‹ . . . ›³¹ τῶν Πρὸς ᾿Αδαῖον καὶ ᾿Αντίγονον, ὅτι κεραμέοις ἀγγείοις ἐχρῶν-

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<sup>31</sup> ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Preller

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> The quotation has fallen out of the text, along with the reference to Homer that followed.

<sup>248</sup> Cited also at 11.482e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Sc. deserve commendation.

<sup>250</sup> Sc. when one is drinking from a kothon. Cf. Plu. Lyc. 9.4-5.

But Silenus says: *Kupella* are drinking vessels that resemble *skuphoi*, for example Nicander of Colophon (fr. 140 Schneider):<sup>247</sup> . . . (*Od.* 20.253):

The swineherd distributed kupella.

Eumolpus, on the other hand, (claims that a kupellon is) a type of cup (and that the name comes) from the fact that it is kuphos ("squat"). Simaristus (says that) the Cyprians (use the term kupellon for) a two-handled cup, while the Cretans (use it for) a two- or four-handled cup. But Philetas (fr. 10 Dettori = fr. 38 Spanoudakis = Gloss. Ital. 29 K-A) (claims that) the Syracusans refer to the scraps of barley-cake and bread left on the table as kupella.

Kumbē. Philemon in his Attic Vocabulary (says that this is) a type of kulix. Apollodorus in his On Etymologies (FGrH 244 F 224)<sup>248</sup> (reports that) the Paphians refer to a

cup as a kubba.

Kōthōn. A Spartan cup, mentioned by Xenophon in Book I (2.8) of the Education of Cyrus. Critias writes as follows in the Constitution of the Spartans (88 B 34 D–K): Apart from these matters, the smallest details of their way of life. 249 The best shoes, as well as the robes that are most comfortable to wear and convenient, are the Spartan variety; the kōthōn, a drinking vessel particularly well-suited to military campaigning and easily carried in a backpack, is also characteristic of Sparta. The reason it is well-suited to military use is that soldiers are frequently forced to drink dirty water. In the first place, then, it is not easy to see what one is drinking; 250 second, the fact that the kōthōn has a rim that curves in means that the muck is trapped inside it. So too Polemon in Book . . . of his Response to Adaeus and Antigonus (fr. 61 Preller) writes as follows, (arguing) that

το οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γράφει οὕτως ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ἀρχαϊκὸν ἢν τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς ἀγωγῆς γένος, ὁ καὶ νῦν δρᾶται παρά τισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Ἄργει μὲν ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις θοίναις, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς, ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπινικίοις καὶ τοῖς γάμοις τῶν παρθένων, πίνουσιν ἐκ κεραμέων ποτηρίων ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμποσίοις καὶ φιδιτίοις ἐν πιθάκναις < . . . > μνημονεύει | αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχίλοχος ἐν Ἐλεγείοις ὡς ποτηρίου οὕτως.

άλλ' ἄγε σὺν κώθωνι θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς φοίτα καὶ κοίλων πώματ' ἄφελκε κάδων, ἄγρει δ' οἶνον ἐρυθρὸν ἀπὸ τρυγός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νηφέμεν ἐν φυλακῆ τῆδε δυνησόμεθα,

ώς τῆς κύλικος λεγομένης κώθωνος. ἀριστοφάνης Ἱππεῦσιν

εἰς τὰς ἱππαγωγοὺς εἰσεπήδων ἀνδρικῶς, πριάμενοι κώθωνας, οἱ δὲ <καὶ> σκόροδα | καὶ κρόμμυα.

Ήνίοχος Γοργόσι

πιεῖν πιεῖν τις ἐγχείτω λαβὼν † πυριγενή κυκλοτερή βραχύωτον παχύστομον κώθωνα παῖδα φάρυγος.

Θεόπομπος Στρατιώτισιν

έγω γαρ <αν> κωθωνος έκ στρεψαύχενος πίοιμι τον τράχηλον ανακεκλασμένη;

the Spartans used ceramic vessels: In fact, this sort of education, which some Greeks practice even today, was traditional: at the public feasts in Argos, and at the public festivals in Sparta, as well as at their victory celebrations and the wedding feasts for their girls, they drink out of ceramic cups. Whereas at their other parties and at the men's messes in casks . . . Archilochus in the *Elegies* (fr. 4.6–9 West²) refers to a  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}n$  as a type of cup, as follows:

But come now—take a kōthōn and make your way through the rowing-benches of the swift ship; draw something to drink from the hollow jars;

and separate the red wine from the lees. Because we

going to be able to stay sober during this watch,

treating the *kōthōn* like what is generally called a *kulix*. Aristophanes in *Knights* (599–600):

They bought *kōthōnes* and jumped bravely into the horse-transports, while others purchased garlic and onions.

Heniochus in Gorgons (fr. 1):

Let someone fetch † a fire-born, rounded, shorthandled,

thick-lipped  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}n$ , a slave to serve my throat, and pour me something to drink, to drink!

Theopompus in Female Soldiers (fr. 55):

Because I'd bend my neck back and drink out of a throat-twisting kōthōn?

"Αλεξις Έρίθοις.

εἶτα τετρακότυλον ἐπεσόβει κώθωνά μοι, παλαιὸν οἴκων κτῆμα.

άπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου καὶ ἀκρατοκώθωνας καλοῦσι τοὺς πλέονα ἄκρατον σπῶντας, ὡς Ὑπερείδης f έν τῶ Κατὰ Δημοσθένους. Καλλίξεινος δ' Ι έν τετάρτω Περί 'Αλεξανδρείας άναγράφων την τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου πομπην καὶ καταλέγων πολλά ἐκπώματα γράφει καὶ τάδε κώθωνες διμέτρητοι δύο, περί δε τοῦ κωθωνίζεσθαι καὶ ὅτι χρήσιμός ἐστι διὰ χρόνου ὁ κωθωνισμός Μνησίθεος ὁ Άθηναῖος ἰατρὸς ἐν τῆ Περὶ Κωθωνισμοῦ Ἐπιστολή φησιν οὕτως συμβαίνει τοὺς μεν πολύν ἄκρατον έν ταις συνουσίαις πίνοντας μεγάλα βλάπτεσθαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ΙΙ τὸ μέντοι κωθωνίζεσθαι διά τινων ήμερων δοκεί μοι ποιείν τινα καὶ τοῦ σώματος κάθαρσιν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς άνεσιν. γίγνονται γάρ τινες ήμιν έκ των καθ' ήμέραν συμποσίων ἐπιπόλαιοι δριμύτητες ταύταις οὖν ἐστι τῶν μὲν πόρων οἰκειότατος ὁ διὰ τῆς οὐρήσεως, τῶν δὲ καθάρσεων ή διὰ τῶν κωθωνισμῶν πρέπει μάλιστα. κατανίζεται γάρ τὸ σώμα τοῖς οἴνοις ὑνρὸν γὰρ καὶ θερμον ο οίνος το δε αφ' ήμων διηθούμενον οδρόν έστιν δριμύ, τὰ γοῦν ξμάτια τούτω χρώμενοι δύμματι

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Athenaeus generally refers elsewhere to the play as *The All-Night Festival or Day-Laborers* (3.96a; 4.170b; 6.248a; 12.516d; simply as *The All-Night Festival* also at 9.385f).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> A quotation of E. Med. 49. <sup>253</sup> Cf. 6.246a.

<sup>254</sup> Another extract from the work quoted at length at 5.196a–203b (5.199e–f for the specific passage quoted here) and alluded to repeatedly in this Book; cf. 11.783c n.

Alexis in Day-Laborers<sup>251</sup> (fr. 181):

Then he started shooing a four-kotuloi kōthōn, "the ancient

property of my house,"252 at me.

The name of this cup is the source of the term akratokōthōnes, which they apply to people who gulp down large quantities of unmixed wine (akratos), as for example Hyperides in his Against Demosthenes (p. 24 Jensen). 253 Callixeinus in Book IV of On Alexandria (FGrH 627 F 2c)<sup>254</sup> writes the following in the course of offering an account of Philadelphus' procession and listing a large number of drinking vessels: two kothones with a capacity of two amphoras. As for drinking large amounts (kōthōnizesthai) and the fact that doing so occasionally is good for one's health, the Athenian physician Mnesitheus says the following in his Letter on the Subject of Drinking Large Amounts (Kōthōnismos) (fr. 45 Bertier): The fact is that some people suffer considerable physical and mental damage when they drink large quantities of unmixed wine at parties. In my opinion, however, drinking large amounts (kōthōnizesthai) from time to time cleanses the body somehow and relaxes the mind. Our routine drinking parties leave us with certain superficial acridities. The most effective means of excreting these is via urination, whereas the best means of clearing them out is by drinking large amounts. For wine washes the body clean, since it is moist and warm, whereas the urine that is filtered out of us is acrid. Fullers. for example, use it as a detergent to wash robes. Keep

Β πλύνουσιν οἱ γναφεῖς. τρία δὲ παραφύλαττε ὅταν κωθωνίζη· μὴ πονηρὸν οἶνον πίνειν μηδὲ ἄκρατον μηδὲ τραγηματίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς κωθωνισμοῖς. ὅταν δ᾽ ἱκανῶς ἔχης ἤδη, μὴ κοιμῶ πρὶν ἂν ἐμέσης πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον. εἶτα ἐὰν μὲν ἐμέσης ἱκανῶς, ἀναπαύου μικρὸν περιχεάμενος ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δυνηθῆς ἱκανῶς κενῶσαι σαυτόν, πλείονι χρῆσαι τῷ λουτρῷ καὶ εἰς τὴν πύελον κατακλίθητι σφόδρα εἰς θερμὸν ὕδωρ. Πολέμων δ᾽ ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Πρὸς ᾿Αδαῖον καὶ ᾿Αντίγονόν Ι c φησι· Διόνυσος Τέλειος καθήμενος ἐπὶ πέτρας· ἐξ εὐωνύμων δ᾽ αὐτοῦ σάτυρος φαλακρός, ἐν τῆ δεξιῷ κώθωνα μόνωτον ῥαβδωτὸν κρατῶν.

Λαβρώνια. ἐκπώματος Περσικοῦ εἶδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πίνειν λαβρότητος ἀνομασμένον. πλατὺ δ' ἐστὶ τῆ κατασκευῆ καὶ μέγα· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὧτα μεγάλα. Μέναν-

δρος Άλιει.

d

εὐποροῦμεν, οὐδὲ μετρίως ἐκ Κυΐνδων χρυσίον, Ι Περσικαὶ στολαὶ δ' ἐκεῖναι πορφυραῖ, τορεύματα ἔνδον ἔστ', ἄνδρες, † ποτηρίδια τορεύματα † κἀκτυπωμάτων πρόσωπα, τραγέλαφοι, λαβρώνια.

έν δὲ Φιλαδέλφοις.

ήδη δ' ἐπιχύσεις διάλιθοι, λαβρώνιοι, Πέρσαι δ' ἔχοντες μυιοσόβας είστήκεσαν.

Ίππαρχος δ' ἐν Θαΐδι-

(A.) ὁ λαβρώνιος δ' ἔσθ' οὖτος ὄρνις; (B.) 'Ηράκλεις· Ι three things in mind when you drink large amounts ( $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}$ - $niz\bar{e}i$ ). Do not drink low-quality wine or unmixed wine, and do not eat snacks when you are drinking large amounts (en tois  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}nismois$ ). When you have finally had enough, do not go to sleep until you vomit at least a bit; afterward, if you vomit enough, take a bath and rest a little. But if you are unable to empty your stomach sufficiently, take a longer bath and lie in the tub in particularly warm water. Polemon says in Book V of his Response to Adaeus and Antigonus (fr. 60 Preller): Dionysus Teleios sitting on a rock; to his left is a bald satyr holding a one-handled, ribbed  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}n$  in his right hand.

Labrōnia. A type of Persian drinking vessel that gets its name from the greediness (labrotēs) with which people drink. <sup>255</sup> It is broad and large in its design, and has big handles. Menander in *The Fisherman* (fr. 26):<sup>256</sup>

We're rich—really rich! Inside the house, gentlemen, is Cyindian gold, the famous purple Persian robes, engraved cups, † little engraved cups † and figures worked in relief, goat-stag cups, labrōnia.

And in Men Who Loved Their Brothers (fr. 395):

Now there are wine-jugs set with precious stones, and *labrōnia*;

and Persians are standing there holding fly-whisks.

Hipparchus in Thaïs (fr. 3):

(A.) This labronios—is it a bird? (B.) Heracles!

 $^{255}$  A false etymology; cf. 7.310f (a very similar etymology offered for labrax, "sea-bass").  $^{256}$  The end of the fourth verse is quoted also at 11.500e (where the manuscripts, however, offer  $labr\bar{o}nioi$  rather than  $labr\bar{o}nia$ ). 353

e ποτήριον χρυσοῦς διακοσίους ἄγον.

(Α.) ὢ περιβοήτου, φιλτάτη, λαβρωνίου.

Δίφιλος Τιθραύστη καὶ ἄλλα γένη καταλέγων ποτηρίων φησί

(Α.) πρίστις, τραγέλαφος, βατιάκη, λαβρώνιος. † ἀνδραποδιον † δὴ ταῦθ', ὀρῷς, ἥκιστά γε, ἐκπωμάτων δ' ὀνόματα. (Β.) πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας. (Α.) ὁ λαβρώνιος χρυσῶν δε, παῖδες, εἴκοσι.

f Δίδυμος δ' ὅμοιον εἶναί φησιν αὐτὸ βομβυλιῷ ἱ ἡ Βατιακίω.

Δάκαιναι. κυλίκων εἶδος οὕτως λεγόμενον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμου, ὡς τὰ ἀττικὰ σκεύη, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπιχωριάσαντος ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ < ... > αἱ Θηρίκλειαι λέγονται. ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσι.

Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ "Χῖον ἐκ Λακαινᾶν" † κυλίκων μέθυ ἡδέως καὶ φίλως †.

Λεπαστή. οἱ μὲν ὀξύνουσι τὴν τελευταίαν, ὡς καλή, οἱ δὲ παροξύνουσιν, ὡς μεγάλη. Η τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ποτήριον ἀνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὰς μέθας καὶ τὰς ἀσωτίας πολλὰ ἀναλισκόντων, οῦς λαφύκτας καλοῦμεν. κύλικες δ᾽ ἦσαν μεγάλαι. ᾿Αριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη·

<sup>257</sup> Cf. 11.784a (originally a gloss on this verse).

<sup>260</sup> The first three verses of the fragment are quoted at 12.527c.

 $^{261}$  Like the connection of the word to  $lapsai~(< lapt\bar{o})$  below, a false etymology.

<sup>258</sup> Or "slaves". 259 Literally "Spartans". Discussion of the *lagunos* belongs here alphabetically, but is omitted and taken up instead at 11.499b—e.

# BOOK XI

It's a cup, and it weighs 200 gold staters!
(A.) Oh, my dear—what a famous labrōnios!

Diphilus in *Tithraustes* (fr. 81) lists various types of cups and says:

(A.) A pristis, a goat-stag cup, a batiakē, a labrōnios. 257

† a slave † in fact, you see, these aren't at all; they're the names of drinking vessels. (B.) By Hestia!

(A.) And the *labrōnios*, children, <sup>258</sup> cost 20 gold coins!

Didymus (p. 75 Schmidt) says that it resembles a bombulios or a batiakion.

Lakainai.<sup>259</sup> A type of kulix that gets its name either from the fabric, like Attic vessels, or from the shape, which is indigenous there, just as . . . Thericleians get their name. Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 225.3–4):<sup>260</sup>

and Sybaritic feasts and "Chian (wine) from *Lakainai*"

† of cups wine in a pleasant, friendly way †.

Lepastē. Some authorities place an acute accent on the final syllable, as with kalé ("beautiful"), whereas others place it on the penult, as with megálē ("large"). This cup got its name from the people who spend large amounts of money on drinking parties and other profligate behavior, and whom we refer to as laphuktai.  $^{261}$  They were large kulikes.  $^{262}$  Aristophanes in Peace (916):

262 Thus Aristophanes of Byzantium and Apollodorus of Athens, cited at 11.485d.

† τί δητα πίοις οἴνου κύλικα † λεπαστήν;32

άφ' ης έστι λάψαι, τουτέστιν άθρόως πιεῖν, κατεναντίον τῷ λεγομένω βομβυλιῷ. Φησὶν γάρ που ὁ αὐτός·

τὸ δ' αἶμα λέλαφας τοὐμόν, ὧναξ δέσποτα,

οἷον "ἄθρουν μ' ἐξέπιες". ἐν δὲ Γηρυτάδη:

ην δε

τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐορτή· περιέφερε † δὲ | κύκλω λεπαστὴν ἡμῖν †

ταχὺ προσφέρων παῖς † ἐνέχει τε † σφόδρα κυανοβενθῆ,

τὸ βάθος παρίστησιν ὁ κωμικὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου. ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν ἀσκληπιῷ.

τὴν δὲ γραῦν τὴν ἀσθενοῦσαν πάνυ πάλαι, τὴν βρυτικήν,

ρίζιον τρίψας τι μικρον δελεάσας τε γεννική το μέγεθος κοίλη λεπαστή, τοῦτ' ἐπόησεν ἐκπιεῖν.

# Φιλύλλιος Αύγη·

πάντα γὰρ ἦν μέστ' ἀνδρῶν <καὶ> μειρακίων πινόντων· ὁμοῦ † δ' ἄλλων †

 $^{32}$  A garbled and unmetrical version of the line, which ought most likely to read τί δητ', ἐπειδὰν ἐκπίης οἴνου νέου λεπαστήν;

h

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Literally "to lap up". <sup>264</sup> Cf. 11.784d.

<sup>265</sup> For bruton as a word for beer, cf. 10.447b-c.

# BOOK XI

† Why indeed might you drink a *kulix* of wine † a *lepastē*?

The name is the source of the verb *lapsai*, <sup>263</sup> i.e., "to drink all at once", which is the opposite (of how one drinks) with what is referred to as a *bombulios*. <sup>264</sup> Because the same author says somewhere (Ar. fr. 615):

You've lapped up (*lelaphas*) my blood, lord and master!,

as if to say "You've drunk me up with one gulp!" And in *Gerytades* (fr. 174) the comic author emphasizes the depth of the cup:

The occasion

was a festival. A slave was bringing † a *lepastē* around in a circle to us †

and serving us rapidly † and was pouring it in † very dark blue depths.

Antiphanes in Asclepius (fr. 47):

And as for the old woman who'd been sick for a really long time, the one who drinks a lot of beer (brutikē), 265

he ground up a little bit of root and used a hollow lepastē of generous proportions as a lure to make her drink it up.

Philyllius in Auge (fr. 5):

Because the whole place was full of men and boys drinking; and along with them † of others †

γραδίων ἦν μεγάλαισιν οἴνου χαίροντα λεπασταῖς.

Θεόπομπος Παμφίλη:

σπόγγος, | λεκάνη, πτερόν, λεπαστὴ πάνυ πυκνή, ἣν ἐκπιοῦσ᾽ ἄκρατον ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος τέττιξ κελαδεῖ.

καὶ ἐν Μήδω·

c

ď

ως ποτ' ἐκήλησεν Καλλίστρατος υἷας 'Αχαιων, κέρμα φίλον διαδούς, ὅτε συμμαχίαν ἐρέεινεν οἶον δ' οὐ κήλησε δέμας λεπτον 'Ραδάμανθυν Ι Λύσανδρον κώθωνι, πρὶν αὐτῷ δῶκε λεπαστήν.

'Αμερίας δέ φησι τὴν οἰνοχόην λεπαστὴν καλεῖσθαι. 'Αριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ 'Απολλόδωρος γένος εἶναι κύλικος. Φερεκράτης Κραπατάλλοις: † τῶν θεατῶν δ' ὅστις διψἢ λεπαστὴν λαψάμενος μεστὴν ἐκκαρυβδίσαι. † Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιός φησιν Δόλοπας οὕτω καλεῖν τὴν κύλικα. Λυκόφρων δ' ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ Περὶ Κωμῳδίας παραθέμενος τὰ Φερεκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναί | φησι γένος κύλικος τὴν λεπαστήν. Μόσχος δ'

<sup>266</sup> The standard equipment used to make oneself vomit and then clean up afterwards.

<sup>267</sup> Dactylic hexameter, and containing a certain amount of Homeric language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Probably a reference to the organization of the Second Delian League in 378/7 BCE; Callistratus is *PAA* 561575. Rhadamanthys was a Cretan lawgiver and eventually a judge in Elysium (*Od.* 4.563–4); but who the Lysander to whom he is assimilated is, is unclear.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. 11.464f.

# BOOK XI

there was . . . of old women enjoying large lepastai of wine.

Theopompus in Pamphile (fr. 41):

a sponge, a basin, a feather,  $^{266}$  and a solidly built  $lepast\bar{e},$ 

which she used to drink unmixed wine dedicated to the Good Divinity,

and is now singing like a cicada.

And in The Mede (fr. 31):267

As Callistratus once bewitched the sons of the Achaeans,

by handing out small change of the type they like, when he was asking for an alliance;<sup>268</sup>

it was only the thin Rhadamanthys—that's Lysander—that he

didn't charm with his  $k\bar{o}th\bar{o}n$ , until he gave him a  $lepast\bar{e}$ .

Amerias (p. 10 Hoffmann) says that a wine-pitcher is referred to as a lepastē, whereas Aristophanes (Ar. Byz. fr. 411 Slater) and Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 258) claim that it is a type of kulix. Pherecrates in Small Change (fr. 101, corrupt and unmetrical):<sup>269</sup> † Anyone in the audience who's thirsty, after he laps up a full lepastē, to swallow down like Charybdis †. Nicander of Colophon (fr. 142 Schneider) says that this is the word the Dolopes use for a kulix. Lycophron in Book IX of On Comedy (fr. 85 Strecker) cites the passage from Pherecrates (fr. 101, quoted above) and expresses his own opinion that a lepastē is a type of kulix. Moschus in the explanatory notes to the

έν έξηγήσει 'Ροδιακών Λέξεων κεραμεοῦν ἀγγεῖον φησιν αὐτὸ εἶναι, ἐοικὸς ταῖς λεγομέναις πτωματίσιν, ἐκπεταλώτερον δέ. 'Αρτεμίδωρος δ' ὁ 'Αριστοφάνειος ποτήριον ποιόν. 'Απολλοφάνης δὲ Κρησί·

καὶ λεπαστά μ' άδύοινος εὐφρανεῖ δι' άμέρας.

Θεόπομπος Παμφίλη·

λεπαστὴ μάλα συχνή, | ἣν ἐκπιοῦσ᾽ ἄκρατον ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος περίστατον βοῶσα τὴν κώμην ποεῖ.

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Θυατειρηνός, κύλιξ, φησί, μείζων, παρατιθέμενος Τηλεκλείδου έκ Πρυτάνεων

καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον εκκειν ἐξ ἡδύπνου λεπαστῆς. ΙΙ

486 Ερμιππος Μοίραις

f

ην έγω πάθω τι τήνδε την λεπαστην έκπιών, τῷ Διονύσω πάντα τάμαυτοῦ δίδωμι χρήματα:

Λοιβάσιον. κύλιξ, ὤς φησι Κλείταρχος καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνός, < . . . > ῷ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπισπένδουσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, σπονδεῖον δὲ ῷ τὸν οἶνον, καλεῖσθαι λέγων καὶ λοιβίδας τὰ σπονδεῖα ὑπὸ ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Κολοφωνίου.

 $^{271}$  Doric dialect.  $^{272}$  Strikingly similar to fr. 41 (quoted at 11.485b–c, and supposedly from the same play).

273 A third verse probably from the same fragment is quoted at 170d.

274 Cognate with leibō, "pour".

 $^{275}$  Cognate with  $spend\bar{o}$ , "make a drink-offering".

<sup>270</sup> Presumably from his work on culinary terms; cf. 1.5b n.

Rhodian Vocabulary says that it is a ceramic vessel that resembles what are referred to as ptōmatides, but has a more extended shape. Aristophanes' student Artemidorus<sup>270</sup> (says that it is) a cup of some type. Apollophanes in *Cretans* (fr. 7):<sup>271</sup>

And a *lepastē* of sweet wine will keep me happy all day long.

Theopompus in Pamphile (fr. 42):272

and a really large *lepastē*, which she used to drink unmixed wine dedicated to the Good Divinity, and is now making the village aghast with her racket.

Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 15) says: A rather large kulix, and cites a passage from Teleclides' Prytaneis (fr. 27.1–2):<sup>273</sup>

and to drink honey-sweet wine from a *lepastē* that puts you pleasantly to sleep.

Hermippus in Fates (fr. 45):

If I die before I finish drinking the contents of this lepastē,

I leave all my money to Dionysus.

Loibasion.<sup>274</sup> A kulix, according to Cleitarchus and Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 16)... which they use to pour libations of olive oil during rituals, whereas a spondeion<sup>275</sup> is used for libations of wine; he notes that spondeia are referred to as loibides by Antimachus of Colophon (fr. 26 Matthews).

Λέσβιος. ὅτι ποτηρίου εἶδος, Ἡδύλος παρίστησιν ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν οὐτωσὶ λέγων: Ι

ἡ διαπινομένη Καλλίστιον ἀνδράσι, θαῦμα κοὐ ψευδές, νῆστις τρεῖς χόας ἐξέπιεν ἢς τόδε σοί, Παφίη, † ζωρεσμιτρησι † θυωθὲν κεῖται πορφυρέης Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλου. ἢν <σὺ> σάου πάντως ὡς καὶ † πάντων ἀπ' ἐκείνης †
 σοὶ τοῖχοι γλυκερῶν σῦλα Φέρωσι πότων.

Λουτήριον. Ἐπιγένης Μνηματίφ ἐν τῷ τῶν ποτηρίων καταλόγφ φησί

(A.) κρατήρες, κάδοι, | c δλκεία, <κρουνεί '. (B.) ἔστι γὰρ> κρουνεία; (A.) ναί.

λουτήρι'. ἀλλὰ τί καθ' ἔκαστον δεῖ λέγειν; ὅψει γὰρ αὐτός.

Λυκιουργείς. φιάλαι τινèς οὔτως καλοῦνται ἀπὸ Λύκωνος τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου, ὡς καὶ Κονώνειοι αἱ ὑπὸ Κόνωνος ποιηθεῖσαι. μνημονεύει τοῦ Λύκωνος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου κἀν τῷ Πρὸς Τιμόθεον Ὑπὲρ Χρέως λέγων οὔτως φιάλας Λυκιουργεῖς δύο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρὸς Τιμόθεον γράφει δίδωσιν

277 Aphrodite, called "Paphian" from her cult-center Paphos

on Cyprus. 278 Cognate with louō, "wash".

<sup>280</sup> In fact, Lycon is not mentioned in the text of either speech

<sup>276</sup> Literally "Lesbian".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> A slightly longer version of the fragment (which however omits the word *loutēri(a)* at the beginning of the third verse) is quoted at 11.472e-f; cf. 11.480a.

Lesbios. <sup>276</sup> Hedylus in the Epigrams (HE 1837–42) (establishes) that this is a type of cup, saying the following:

Callistion, who keeps up with the men when she drinks—an amazing boast,

but true—drank three pitchers on an empty stomach.

This is her *Lesbion*, Paphian goddess,<sup>277</sup> made of red glass

and full of the sweet scent of [corrupt], which is dedicated to you.

Therefore keep her wholly safe, so that also † of everything from her †

your walls might be loaded with the plunder of her happy drinking parties.

*Loutērion*.  $^{278}$  Epigenes in *The Tomb* (fr. 6.1–4),  $^{279}$  in his list of cups, says:

(A.) Mixing-bowls, kadoi,

basins, krouneia. (B.) There are really krouneia? (A.) Yeah—

and *loutēria*. But why should I list them individually? You'll see for yourself.

Lukiourgeis. Certain phialai are referred to this way, the name coming from Lycon, who produced them, just as Konōneioi are phialai made by Conon. Demosthenes mentions Lycon in his On the Crown and his Against Timotheus on Account of a Debt:280 two Lukiourgeis phialai. And in his Against Timotheus he writes: Along

as we have it, and the brief quotation that follows comes from [D.] 49.31.

ἀποθείναι τῷ Φορμίωνι μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἄλλας φιάλας Λυκιουργεῖς | δύο. 'Ηρόδοτος δ' ἐν ἑβδόμῃ προβόλους δύο Λυκιουργίδας ἡμιεργέας. ὅτι ἀκόντιά ἐστι πρὸς λύκων θήραν ἐπιτήδεια ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐν Λυκία εἰργασμένα. ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὰς ὑπὸ Λυκίου φησὶ κατεσκευασμένας ἡν δὲ οὖτος τὸ γένος Βοιώτιος ἐξ 'Ελευθερῶν, υίὸς Μύρωνος τοῦ ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ, ὡς Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν πρώτω Περὶ 'Ακροπόλεως. ἀγνοεῖ δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ὅτι τὸν τοιοῦτον σχηματισμὸν ἀπὸ κυρίων ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἄν τις εὕροι γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πόλεων | ἢ ἐθνῶν 'Αριστοφάνης τε γὰρ ἐν Εἰρήνη φησί·

τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἔσται Ναξιουργὴς κάνθαρος.

Κριτίας τε ἐν τῆ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία: κλίνη Μιλησιουργής καὶ δίφρος Μιλησιουργής, κλίνη Χιουργής καὶ τράπεζα 'Ρηνιοεργής. 'Ηρόδοτός τε ἐν τῆ ἐβδόμη φησί: προβόλους δύο Λυκοεργέας. μήποτ' οὖν καὶ παρὰ <τῷ 'Ηροδότῳ ὡς καὶ παρὰ >³³ τῷ Δημοσθένει γραπτέον Λυκιοεργέας, ἵν' ἀκούηται τὰ ἐν Λυκία εἰργασμένα.

Μέλη. οὔτω καλεῖταί τινα ποτήρια, ὧν μνημονεύει 'Ανάξιππος ἐν Φρέατι λέγων οὔτως: |

# 33 add. Schweighäuser

<sup>282</sup> PAA 610500 (fl. c.450–430 BCE?); the floruit of Lycius' father Myron (PAA 663220) is c.470–440 BCE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> The text of Herodotus—quoted again below, in a different form—is defective at this point, and does not include the word translated "half-finished" here (presumably an intrusive gloss on *lukiourgides*).

with these objects, he gives Phormio two additional phialai, which were Lukiourgeis, to store. Herodotus in Book VII (76):<sup>281</sup> two half-finished lukiourgides spears. These are javelins of a type used to hunt wolves (lukoi), or else they were made in Lycia. The grammarian Didymus, in his explication of the passage (pp. 314–15 Schmidt), says that these are phialai produced by Lycius;<sup>282</sup> Lycius' family was from Boeotian Eleutherai, and his father was the sculptor Myron, according to Polemon in Book I of On the Acropolis (fr. 2 Preller). The grammarian is unaware that such formations are nowhere attested as based on personal names, but are always drawn from the names of cities or peoples. Thus Aristophanes says in Peace (143):

And my ship will be a Naxiourgēs ("Naxian-made") beetle-craft.<sup>283</sup>

And Critias in the Constitution of the Spartans (88 B 35 D-K):<sup>284</sup> a Milēsiourgēs ("Milesian-made") couch and a Milēsiourgēs stool; a Chiourgēs ("Chian-made") couch, and a Rhēnioergēs ("Rhenian-made") table. And Herodotus in Book VII (76): two Lykoergeis spears. Perhaps, therefore, one ought to write Lukioergeis in Herodotus, <sup>285</sup> just as in Demosthenes, so that the reference is to spears manufactured in Lycia.

Melē. This is a term for certain cups, which are mentioned by Anaxippus in The Well (fr. 8), as follows:

<sup>283</sup> kantharos; cf. 11.473d.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. Critias fr. B 2 West2 (quoted at 1.28b-c).

<sup>285</sup> As in the other quotation of the passage, above.

f σὺ δὲ τὴν μέλην, Συρίσκε, ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν ἔνεγκον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμ᾽ ἐκείνη, μανθάνεις; καὶ κατάχεον.

Μετάνιπτρον. ή μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὴν ἀπονίψωνται διδομένη κύλιξ. ἀντιφάνης Λαμπάδι:

Δαίμονος ἀΥαθοῦ μετάνιπτρον, ἐντραγεῖν, σπονδή, κρότος. || 487 Δίφιλος Σαπφοῖ·

Άρχίλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε την μετανιπτρίδα μεστην Διὸς Σωτήρος, Άγαθοῦ Δαίμονος.

ένιοι δε τὴν μετὰ τὸ νίψασθαι πόσιν, ὡς Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσσαις. Καλλίας δ' ἐν Κύκλωψι

καὶ δέξαι τηνδὶ μετανιπτρίδα τῆς Ύγιείας.

Φιλέταιρος 'Ασκληπιῷ.

ένέσεισε μεστην ἴσον ἴσφ μετανιπτρίδα μεγάλην, έπειπων της Υγιείας τοῦνομα.

Φιλόξενος δ' ὁ διθυραμβοποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῷ δείπνῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀπονίψασθαι τὰς χεῖρας | προπίνων τινί φησι:

σὺ δὲ τάνδ' † εκβακχια † εὔδροσον πλήρη μετανιπτρίδα δέξαι·

<sup>287</sup> I.e. dedicating the contents to the goddess by that name.

 $<sup>^{286}\,\</sup>mathrm{A}$  separate, partially overlapping version of the fragment is quoted at 11.487b.

#### BOOK XI

And you, Syriscus—take this *melē* and carry it to the tomb for her, do you understand? And pour out the contents.

Metaniptron. The kulix offered after (meta) dinner, when they wash their hands (aponipsontai). Antiphanes in Lampas (fr. 135.1–2):<sup>286</sup>

a metaniptron dedicated to the Good Divinity, (something) to nibble on, a libation, applause.

Diphilus in Sappho (fr. 70):

Archilochus, take this *metaniptris* full of Zeus the Savior, the Good Divinity!

But some authorities claim that the word refers to the wine they drink after they wash their hands (meta to nipsasthai), for example Seleucus in the Glossary (fr. 59 Müller). Callias in Cyclopes (fr. 9):

And accept this *metaniptris* here dedicated to Hygieia ("Health").

Philetaerus in Asclepius (fr. 1):

He brandished a large *metaniptris* full of wine mixed one-to-one, pronouncing the name of Hygieia ("Health") over it. <sup>287</sup>

The dithyrambic poet Philoxenus in his poem entitled The Dinner Party (PMG 836(c)) toasts someone after they wash their hands and says:

But you—accept this [corrupt] *metaniptris* drenched in dew and full;

πραΰ τί τοι Βρόμιος γάνος τόδε δοὺς ἐπὶ τέρψιν πάντας ἄγει.

Άντιφάνης Λαμπάδι

τράπεζα † φυστημινεις † ἀλλὰ μὴν Δαίμονος ᾿Αγαθοῦ μετάνιπτρον.

Νικόστρατος Άντερώση.

μετανιπτρίδ' αὐτῷ τῆς Ύγιείας ἔγχεον.

Μαστός. Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὡς Πάμφιλός φησι, Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν.

Μαθαλίδας Βλαΐσος ἐν | Σατούρνω φησίν

έπτὰ μαθαλίδας ἐπίχεε ἡμῖν τῶ γλυκυτάτω.

Πάμφιλος δέ φησι· μήποτε ἐκπώματός ἐστιν εἶδος, ἢ μέτρον οἷον κύαθος. Διόδωρος δὲ κύλικα ἀποδίδωσι. Μάνης. ποτηρίου εἶδος. Νίκων Κιθαρωδῶ·

καὶ πάνυ τις εὐκαίρως "προπίνω", φησί, "<σοί>, πατριῶτα." μάνην δ' εἶχε κεραμεοῦν άδρόν, χωροῦντα κοτύλας πέντ' ἴσως. ἐδεξάμην.

παρέθετο τὰ ἰαμβεῖα καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Πάμφιλος. Ι d καλεῖται δὲ μάνης καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοττάβου ἐφεστηκός,

c

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Dionysus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> A separate, partially overlapping version of the fragment is quoted at 11.486f.

<sup>290</sup> An identical verse is quoted at 15.693a, as part of a larger fragment assigned to Nicostratus' *Pandrosus* (= fr. 18.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Literally "breast" (presumably from its shape).

by offering this gentle, refreshing drink, Bromius<sup>288</sup> induces everyone to enjoy themselves.

Antiphanes in Lampas (fr. 135.1-2):289

a table [corrupt] but certainly a *metaniptron* dedicated to the Good Divinity.

Nicostratus in The Female Rival in Love (fr. 3):290

Pour him a *metaniptris* dedicated to Hygieia ("Health")!

Mastos.<sup>291</sup> According to Pamphilus (fr. XXI Schmidt), Apollodorus of Cyrene (fr. 5 Dyck) (claims that) the inhabitants of Cyrene use this as a term for a cup.

Blaesus uses the word mathalides in Saturnus (fr. 2):

Pour us seven mathalides of your sweetest wine!

Pamphilus (fr. XIX Schmidt) says: Perhaps this is a type of drinking vessel, or a unit of measure, like a *kuathos*. Diodorus glosses it "*kulix*".

Manēs. A type of cup. Nico in The Citharode (fr. 1):

And at just the right moment someone says: "I drink to you,

my fellow-countryman!" He had a large ceramic manēs

that held maybe five kotylai. I accepted it.

Didymus (pp. 73–5 Schmidt) and Pamphilus (fr. XX Schmidt) both cited these lines. The term *manēs* is also used for the object that rests on top of the cottabus-stand,

έφ' οὖ τὰς λάταγας ἐν παιδιᾳ ἔπεμπον· ὅπερ ὁ Σοφοκλης ἐν Σαλμωνεῖ χάλκειον ἔφη κάρα, λέγων οὕτως·

τάδ' ἐστὶ κνισμὸς καὶ φιλημάτων ψόφος· τῷ καλλικοσσαβοῦντι νικητήρια τίθημι καὶ βαλόντι χάλκειον κάρα.

# 'Αντιφάνης 'Αφροδίτης Γοναῖς·

- (A.) ἐγὼ διδάξω· καθ' ὅσον ἂν τὸν κότταβον ἀφεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πλάστιγγα < . . . >
- (B.) < ... > ποίαν; (A.) τοῦτο τοὖπικείμενον | ἄνω τὸ μικρόν (B.) τὸ πινακίσκιον λέγεις; (A.) τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πλάστιγξ—οὖτος ὁ κρατῶν γίγνεται.
- (Β.) πως δ' εἴσεταί τις τοῦτ'; (Α.) ἐὰν θίγη μόνον αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ τὸν μάνην πεσεῖται καὶ ψόφος ἔσται πάνυ πολύς. (Β.) πρὸς θεων, τῷ κοττάβω πρόσεστι καὶ Μάνης τις ὥσπερ οἰκέτης;

# Έρμιππος Μοίραις

ράβδον δ' όψει (φησί) τὴν κοτταβικὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην, μάνης δ' οὐδὲν λατάγων ἀίει τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν πλάστιγγ' | ἂν ἴδοις παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς κηπαίας ἐν τοῦσι κορήμασιν οὖσαν.

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 $<sup>^{292}\,\</sup>mathrm{An}$  extract from a longer fragment quoted at 15.666f–7a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> A common Athenian slave-name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> An extract from a longer fragment quoted at 15.668a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> Literally "the chaff, the husks".

at which they throw their wine-lees in the course of the game. Sophocles in *Salmoneus* (fr. 537) referred to this as a "bronze head", putting it as follows:

What you have here is titillation and the sound of kisses;

I'm setting this as the prize for whoever's the best cottabus-player and hits the bronze head.

Antiphanes in The Birth of Aphrodite (fr. 57.5-13):292

(A.) I'll teach you. To the extent that someone throws his

kottabos onto the disk-

(B.) What disk? (A.) This little object

set on top— (B.) Are you talking about the little platter?

(A.) That's the disk;—this guy wins.

(B.) How's anyone going to know? (A.) If he just touches

it, it'll fall onto the *manēs*, and there'll be an enormous clatter. (B.) By the gods—does the *kottabos* 

also have a Manes<sup>293</sup> to serve it?

Hermippus says in Fates (fr. 48.5-10):294

You'll see the cottabus-stand rolling around in the dust, <sup>295</sup> and the *manēs* no longer pays attention to the wine-lees.

You'd also notice the poor disk lying in the trash beside the hinge of the back door.

Νεστορίς. περὶ τῆς ἰδέας τοῦ Νέστορος ποτηρίου φησὶν ὁ ποιητής:

πὰρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, δ οἴκοθεν ἦγ' δ γεραιός.

χρυσείοις ήλοισι πεπαρμένον οὔατα δ' αὖτοῦ τέσσαρ' ἔσαν, δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἔκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν. Η ἄλλος μὲν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τραπέζης πλεῖον ἐόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν.

ἐν τούτοις ζητείται πρώτον μὲν τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ χρυσείοις ήλοισι πεπαρμένον, ἔπειτα τί τὸ οὔατα δ' αὐτοῦ τέσσαρ' ἔσαν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ποτήριά φησιν ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος δύο ὧτα ἔχειν. πελειάδας δὲ πῶς ἄν τις ὑπόθοιτο νεμομένας περὶ ἔκαστον τῶν ὅτων; πῶς δὲ καὶ λέγει δύο πυθμένας εἶναι τοῦ ποτηρίου; ἰδίως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μογοῦντες ὶ ἐβάσταζον τὸ ποτήριον, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν. ταῦτα προθέμενος ὁ ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ζητεῖ περὶ τῶν ήλων, πῶς πεπαρμένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ δέχεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ἔξωθεν δεῖν ἐμπείρεσθαι τοὺς χρυσοῦς ήλους τῷ ἀργυρῷ ἐκπώματι κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐμπαιστικῆς τέχνης λόγον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ᾿Αχιλλέως σκήπτρου·

<sup>298</sup> Sc. that are mentioned by Homer.

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 $<sup>^{296}</sup>$  Literally "the poet".  $^{297}$  The passage is quoted at even greater length at 11.492e-3a.

# BOOK XI

Nestoris. As for what Nestor's cup looked like, Homer<sup>296</sup> says (Il. 11.632–7):<sup>297</sup>

And (she set) beside them an exquisitely beautiful goblet, which the old man had brought from home.

It was pierced with gold studs, and had four handles, with a pair of gold doves feeding on either side of each; and there were two bases beneath it.

Another man would have had difficulty raising it from the table

when it was full. But the aged Nestor hoisted it easily.

The first question that arises in connection with this passage is what "pierced with gold studs" means, and after that, what the claim that it "had four handles" means; because the other cups<sup>298</sup> have two handles, according to Asclepiades of Myrlea in his On the Nestoris. And how is one to understand the doves that are feeding under each handle? And what does he mean by saying that the cup had two bases? This is another odd remark, when he claims that other people lifted the cup only with difficulty, "but the aged Nestor hoisted it easily". Asclepiades first poses these questions, and then takes up the problem of the studs, that is, how we ought to understand the assertion that the cup was pierced by them. Some authorities claim that the gold studs must be driven into the silver cup from the outside, in the style of embossed work, as also in the case of Achilleus' staff (Il. 1.245-6):

ως φάτο χωόμενος<sup>34</sup>, ποτι δε σκήπτρον βάλε γαίη γρυσείοις ήλοισι πεπαρμένου.

ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ὡς τῶν ἥλων ἐμπεπερονημένων | καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥοπάλων. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξίφους τοῦ ᾿Αγαμέμνονος

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος: ἐν δέ οἱ ἡλοι χρύσειοι πάμφαινον, ἀτὰρ περὶ κουλεὸν ἦεν ἀργύρεον.

Απελλής μεν οὖν ὁ τορευτής ἐπεδείκνυεν, φησίν, ἡμῖν έν τισι Κορινθιακοῖς έργοις τὴν τῶν ἤλων θέσιν έξονη δ' ην όλίγη τοις κολαπτήρσιν έπηρμένη καὶ οίονεὶ κεφαλίδας ήλων ἀποτελοῦσα, πεπάρθαι δὲ λένεται τους ήλους ύπο του ποιητού ούχ ὅτι ἔξωθεν πρόσd κεινται καὶ | πεπαρμένοι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐμπεπαρμένοις ἐοίκασιν ἔξω τε ολίγω προύχουσι, μετέωροι της ἄλλης έπιφανείας όντες, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὤτων οὕτως διορίζονται, ὅτι εἶχεν μὲν δύο ὧτα ἄνω, καθότι καὶ τἄλλα ποτήρια, άλλα δε δύο κατά το κύρτωμα μέσον εξ άμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν μικρά, παρόμοια ταῖς Κορινθιακαις ύδρίαις. ὁ δὲ ᾿Απελλης ἐντέχνως ἄγαν ὑπέδειξε την των τεσσάρων ώτων σχέσιν έχουσαν ώδε. έκ μιας οίονεὶ ρίζης, ήτις τῷ πυθμένι προσκυρεῖ, καθ' έκάτερον τὸ οὖς διασχιδεῖς εἰσι Ι ράβδοι ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν, οὐ πολύ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστώσαι διάστημα, αὖται μέχρι τοῦ χείλους διήκουσαι τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ μικρὸν ἔτι μετεωριζόμεναι κατά μεν την απόστασιν τοῦ άγγείου φυλάττουσι τὴν διάσχισιν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἀπολῆγον πρὸς

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  The traditional text of Homer has Πηλείδης.

Thus he spoke, in anger; and he hurled the staff, which was pierced

with gold studs, to the ground.

Because it is apparent that the studs are attached (to the staff) in the same way they sometimes are to clubs. So too in the case of Agamemnon's sword (Il. 11.29-31):

And he threw a sword about his shoulder. The gold studs

shone on it, and it was silver around the scabbard.

The metal-worker Apelles, he says, showed us how the studs were placed in some pieces he produced in Corinth: there were tiny bumps that had been produced by a punch, and which terminated in what might have been nail-heads. Homer says that the cup was pierced by the studs not because they are attached to it from the outside and driven through, but because they seem to have been driven in from the interior and project out a bit, so that they are elevated above the rest of the surface. As for the handles, they offer the following conclusions: It had two handles on top, like the other cups, and two other, smaller handles on its two sides, in the middle, where the belly swells out. like those on Corinthian water-jars. Apelles very artfully showed the position of the four handles, which was as follows: From a single root, as it were, attached to the base, extend split coils of clay on either side of the vessel, one per handle and not very far apart from one another. These stretch as high as the lip of the cup, and in fact rise a bit above it; as long as they are separated from the vessel, they maintain their distance from one another, whereas near

τὴν τοῦ χείλους ἔρεισιν πάλιν συμφυεῖς ‹εἰσιν›. καὶ γίνεται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τέτταρα ὧτα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ . ἐπὶ πάντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐνίων ποτηρίων τὸ εἶδος τῆς κατασκευής θεωρείται, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν λεγομένων Σελευκίδων, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν δυείν πυθμένων ζητούμενον Ι πως λέγεται τὸ δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν, διαλύουσιν ούτως τινές. τῶν ποτηρίων τινὰ μὲν ἔνα πυθμένα ἔχειν τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ συγκεγαλκευμένον τῶ ὅλω ποτηρίω. καθότι τὰ λεγόμενα κυμβία καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ εί τι φιαλώδές έστι την ίδέαν τινά δὲ δύο, ώσπερ τὰ ώοσκύφια καὶ τὰ κανθάρια καὶ τὰς Σελευκίδας καὶ τὰ καρχήσια καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια· ἔνα μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πυθμένα τὸν κατὰ τὸ κύτος συγκεχαλκευμένον ὅλῳ τῷ άγγείω, έτερον δε τον πρόσθετον, απο οξέος άρχομενον, καταλήγοντα δ' είς πλατύτερον, έφ' οδ ισταται τὸ ποτήριον. Η καὶ τὸ τοῦ Νέστορος οὖν δέπας φασὶν είναι τοιούτον. δύναται δὲ καὶ δύο πυθμένας ύποτίθεσθαι, τὸν μὲν οἷον τοῦ ποτηρίου φέροντα τὸν ὅλον όγκον καὶ κατὰ μείζονα κυκλοειδή περιγραφήν έξαρσιν έχοντα τοῦ ὕψους σύμμετρον, τὸν δὲ κατ' ἐλάττω κύκλον συνεχόμενον έν τῷ μείζονι, καθ' ὅσον συννεύειν συμβέβηκεν είς όξυ τον φυσικόν του ποτηρίου πυθμένα, ώστε ύπὸ δυοίν πυθμένοιν φέρεσθαι τὸ έκπωμα. Διονύσιος δε δ Θράξ έν 'Ρόδω λέγεται την Νεστορίδα κατασκευάσαι τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτῷ συνενεγκάντων | τάργύριον ὅπερ Προμαθίδας ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης έξηγούμενος την κατά τον Διονύσιον διάταξίν φησιν σκύφον είναι παρακειμένως έχοντα τὰ ὧτα, καθάπερ αἱ δίπρωροι τῶν νεῶν, περὶ δὲ τὰ ὧτα τὰς περιστεράς ώσπερεί δέ τινα ροπάλια δύο ύποκείσθαι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> This sentence is quoted again at 11.503e-f.

the end, when they are about to touch the lip, they come back together. There are thus four handles. This style of construction is not seen in the case of all cups, but only in certain types, notably what are referred to as Seleukides. As for the question concerning the two bases, that is, what it means to say that "there were two bases beneath it", some authorities resolve the matter as follows: Some cups have a single base that is an organic part of the vessel as a whole and is attached directly to it, as for example what are referred to as kumbia, phialai, and anything shaped like a phialē. But others have two bases, such as ōioskuphia, kantharia, Seleukides, karchēsia, and the like; because the first base is the one that is located beneath the bowl and is attached directly to the vessel as a whole, whereas the second base is the one that has been added to it, and that begins with a pointed section and ends in a broader part, upon which the cup stands.<sup>299</sup> Nestor's goblet, they claim, was of the latter sort. But it is also possible that two bases are meant, the first, as it were, supporting the entire weight of the cup and at its point of maximum circumference extending as far out as the vessel is tall, while the other disk, which has a smaller circumference, is attached to the larger one, at the point where the natural base of the cup contracts to a nub, with the result that the cup is supported by two bases. Dionysius Thrax (test. 5 Linke) is said to have constructed a model of the Nestoris, the silver having been contributed by his students; Promathidas of Heracleia (FGrH 430 F 8), in his description of Dionysius' design, says that it was a skuphos with pairs of handles set beside one another, like ships with two prows, and that the doves were placed on either side of the handles. Objects

τῷ ποτηρίῳ πλάγια διὰ μήκους ταῦτα δ' εἶναι τοὺς δύο πυθμένας. ὁποῖόν τι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐν Καπύη πόλει τῆς Καμπανίας ἀνακείμενον τῆ ᾿Αρτέμιδι ποτήριον, ὅπερ λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι Νέστορος γεγονέναι ἐστὶ δὲ ἀργύρεον, χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἱ ἐντετυπωμένα ἔχον

τὰ 'Ομηρικὰ ἔπη.

Έγω δέ, φησὶν ὁ Μυρλεανός, τάδε λέγω περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἤμερον τροφὴν πρώτοι διαταξάμενοι τοις άνθρώποις, πειθόμενοι τὸν κόσμον είναι σφαιροειδή, λαμβάνοντες έκ τε τοῦ ήλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης σχήματος έναργεῖς τὰς φαντασίας, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ιδίον35 τροφὴν τῶ περιέχοντι κατά την ίδεαν τοῦ σχήματος άφομοιοῦν εἶναι δίκαιον ένόμιζον, διὸ τὴν τράπεζαν κυκλοειδή κατεσκευάσαντο καὶ τοὺς τρίποδας τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς | καθαγιζομένους. φθόεις κυκλοτερείς καὶ ἀστέρας ἔχοντας, ους καὶ καλοῦσι σελήνας, καὶ τὸν ἄρτον δ' ἐκάλεσαν ὅτι τῶν σχημάτων ὁ κύκλος ἀπήρτισται καὶ ἔστι τέλειος, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον οὖν τὸ δεχόμενον τὴν ὑγρὰν τροφὴν κυκλοτερές ἐποίησαν κατὰ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νέστορος καὶ ἰδιαίτερον ἐστιν, ἔχει γὰρ καὶ άστέρας, οθς ήλοις ὁ ποιητής ἀπεικάζει διὰ τὸ τοὺς αστέρας περιφερείς είναι τοις ήλοις όμοίως καὶ ώσπερ έμπεπηγέναι τῶ οὐρανῶ, καθὼς καὶ "Αρατός φησιν ἐπ' antow 1

35 ἰδίον Schweighäuser: ἀίδιον Α

<sup>300</sup> Cf. 11.466c with n.

<sup>301 &</sup>quot;the created order", i.e. "the world, the universe" vel sim.

 $<sup>^{302}</sup>$  For the  $pho\ddot{\imath}s$  (a cheese-and-honey cake), see 14.647d–e.

resembling two rods were attached to the bottom of the cup, running horizontally lengthwise; these were the two bases. A cup like this is on display today in the city of Capua in Campania; it is dedicated to Artemis, and the locals claim that it is actually Nestor's cup. It is made of silver and has the Homeric lines embossed on it in gold letters.<sup>300</sup>

But I for my part, says the Myrlean, have the following to say about the cup. The ancients were the first to organize a civilized style of dining for human beings, and because they believed that the kosmos<sup>301</sup> was shaped like a sphere, given that they got their clearest impression of its form from the sun and the moon, they thought it right to make everything associated with their own dining style resemble what the world that surrounded them looked like. They accordingly made their tables and the tripods they dedicated to the gods round, and made their pastries (phoïdes)302 circular and decorated them with stars (which they refer to as selēnai<sup>303</sup>). They also adopted the term artos ("loaf of bread"), because its circular shape is regular (apērtistai)304 and perfect; and they made the cup that held their liquid nourishment round, to imitate the shape of the kosmos. Nestor's cup, however, is rather unusual, since it has stars, which the poet compares to studs on account of the fact that stars are round, just as studs are, and seem to have been stuck into the sky, just as Aratus (Phaen. 453) says in regard to them:

 $<sup>^{303}</sup>$  Literally "moons"; cf. Hsch.  $\sigma$  379 "selēnas: sacrificial cakes (popana) that resemble a star, baked cakes".

<sup>304</sup> A false etymology.

οὐρανῷ αἰὲν ἄρηρεν<sup>36</sup> ἀγάλματα νυκτὸς ἰούσης.

περιττῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔφρασεν ὁ ποιητής, τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἥλους παρατιθεὶς τῆ τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ἐκπώματος φύσει, τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκτυπῶν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς χρόας οὐσίαν ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἀργύρω προσέοικεν, οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες χρυσῷ διὰ τὸ πυρῶδες. ὑποθέμενος οὖν κατηστερισμένον τὸ τοῦ Νέστορος ποτήριον μεταβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, οἶς δὴ τεκμαίρονται τὰ περὶ f τὴν ζωὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Ι λέγω δὲ τὰς πελειάδας ὅταν γὰρ εἴπη·

δύο<sup>37</sup> δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο,

πελειάδας οὐ σημαίνει τὰς ὅρνιθας, ἄς τινες ὑπονοοῦσι περιστερὰς εἶναι, ἁμαρτάνοντες· ἔτερον γὰρ εἶναί φησιν ᾿Αριστοτέλης πελειάδα καὶ ἔτερον περιστεράν. πελειάδας δ᾽ ὁ ποιητὴς καλεῖ νῦν τὰς Πλειάδας, πρὸς ἃς σπόρος τε καὶ ἀμητὸς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀρχὴ γενέσεως καὶ συναιρέσεως, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡσίρδος·

Πληιάδων ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων Η ἄρχεσθ' ἀμητοῖ, ἀρότοιο δὲ δυσομενάων.

καὶ Ἄρατος·

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αί μὲν ὁμῶς ὀλίγαι καὶ ἀφεγγέες, ἀλλ' ὀνομασταὶ

 $^{36}$  The traditional text of Aratus has  $\epsilon \vec{v} \ \dot{\epsilon} \nu \acute{\alpha} \rho \eta \rho \epsilon \nu.$ 

37 The traditional text of Homer has δοιαί (as at 11.487f).

always fixed in the sky, as ornaments of the passing night.

Homer was very careful about how he described this, contrasting the gold studs to the rest of the vessel, which was made of silver, and creating an impression of the stars and the sky that matches what can be seen of their actual color; because the sky resembles silver, while the fiery nature of the stars makes them look like gold. After hinting, then, that Nestor's cup is covered with stars, the poet moves on to the most important fixed stars, which human beings use as a source of information about their lives. I refer to the "doves"; for when he says (Il. 11.634–5):

with a pair of gold doves (peleiades) feeding on either side of each,

he does not mean the birds known as *peleiades*, which some authorities take to be pigeons (*peristerai*); this is an error, since Aristotle (*HA* 544<sup>b</sup>1–2) says that a *peleias* is different from a *peristeras*. Instead, the poet is here using the term *peleiades* to refer to the Pleiades, which fix the times for sowing and harvesting crops, the point at which they begin to be generated and gathered in, just as Hesiod (*Op*. 383–4) says:

Begin your harvest when the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas,

are on the rise, and your plowing when they start to set.

Also Aratus (Phaen. 264-7):

Although few and faint, they are nonetheless muchdiscussed

ηρι καὶ ἐσπέριαι, Ζεὺς δ' αἴτιος, εἰλίσσονται, ὅς<sup>38</sup> σφισι καὶ θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἀρχομένοιο σημαίνειν ἐπένευσεν ἐπερχομένου τ' ἀρότοιο.

τὰς οὖν τῆς τῶν καρπῶν γενέσεως καὶ τελειώσεως προσημαντικὰς Πλειάδας οἰκείως ἐνετόρευσε τῷ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Νέστορος ὁ ποιητὴς ποτηρίω καὶ γὰρ ! τοῦτο τῆς ἐτέρας τροφῆς δεκτικὸν ἀγγείον. διὸ καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τὰς Πελειάδας φέρειν φησί:

τῆ μέν τ' οὐδὲ ποτητὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ Πέλειαι τρήρωνες, ταί τ' ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν.

οὐ γὰρ τὰς πελειάδας τὰς ὅρνεις φέρειν νομιστέον τῷ Διὶ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν, ὡς <οίν<sup>39</sup> πολλοὶ δοξάζουσιν (ἄσεμνον γάρ), ἀλλὰ τὰς Πλειάδας· οἰκεῖον γὰρ τὰς προσημαινούσας τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τὰς ὥρας, ταύτας καὶ τῷ Διὶ φέρειν τὴν ἀμβροσίαν. διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν πτηνῶν αὐτὰς χωρίζει λέγων· |

τῆ μέν τ' οὐδὲ ποτητὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ Πέλειαι. ὅτι δὲ τὰς Πλειάδας τὸ ἐνδοξότατον τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἄστρων ὑπείληφε, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ προτάττειν αὐτὰς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων συναρίθμησιν

έν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται,

38 Although the manuscripts of Aratus are divided, with some supporting Athenaeus, the proper reading is most likely ο σφισι.
39 add. Dobree

as they move around in the morning and the evening, and Zeus is responsible,

since he gave his consent that they were to mark the beginning

of summer and winter, and the arrival of plowingseason.

Homer thus quite aptly embossed the Pleiades, which herald the birth and the maturity of our crops, on the cup of the supremely wise Nestor; for this vessel held other types of food as well. This is why he claims that the Peleiades bring Zeus his ambrosia (Od. 12.62–3):

Not even birds can get by via this route, not even the timid

Peleiai, which bring ambrosia to father Zeus.

Because one ought not to imagine that the birds known as *peleiades* bring Zeus his ambrosia, as many authorities suppose—this would be undignified—but that the Pleiades do; for it is appropriate that the figures who herald the beginning of the seasons to human beings also bring Zeus his ambrosia. This is why Homer distinguishes them from the birds, by saying (*Od.* 12.62):

Not even birds can get by via this route, not even the Peleiai.

As for the fact that he judged the Pleiades to be the most important of the fixed stars, this is apparent from the fact that he puts them first when he enumerates them along with the others (*Il.* 18.485–7):

And in it were all the signs with which the sky is wreathed,

Πληϊάδας θ' Υάδας τε τό τε σθένος 'Ωρίωνος "Αρκτον θ', ην καὶ "Αμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν. Ι

έπλανήθησαν δ' οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζοντες τὰς Πελειάδας όρνεις είναι πρώτον μεν έκ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ σχηματισμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρόσθεσιν τοῦ γράμματος ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι τὸ τρήρωνες μόνον ἐδέξαντο εἶναι ἐπίθετον πελειάδων. έπει διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν εὐλαβὴς ἡ ὄρνις αύτη τρείν δ' έστι τὸ εὐλαβείσθαι, πιθανὸν δ' έστι τὸ έπίθετον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πλειάδων τιθέμενον μυθεύονται γαρ καὶ αὖται τὸν 'Ωρίωνα φεύγειν, διωκομένης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Πληιόνης ὑπὸ τοῦ ஹίωνος. Ι ἡ δὲ τοῦ ονόματος έκτροπή, καθ' ην αι Πλειάδες λέγονται Πέλειαι καὶ Πελειάδες, παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστι τῶν ποιητῶν. πρώτη δε Μοιρώ ή Βυζαντία καλώς εδέξατο τὸν νοῦν τῶν Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων ἐν τῆ Μνημοσύνη ἐπιγραφομένη φάσκουσα τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τῷ Διὶ τὰς Πλειάδας κομίζειν Κράτης δ' ὁ κριτικὸς σφετερισάμενος αὐτῆς τὴν δόξαν ώς ἴδιον ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον, καὶ Σιμωνίδης δε τὰς Πλειάδας Πελειάδας εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις.40

δίδωτι δ' εὖ < ... > | Έρμᾶς ἐναγώνιος. f Μαιά (δο >ς εὐπλοκάμοιο παῖς. **ἔτικτε δ' Ἄτλας ἐπτὰ ἰοπλοκάμων φιλᾶν** θυγατρῶν τάν γ' ἔξοχον εἶδος, ταὶ καλέονται Πελειάδες οὐράνιαι.

40 The fragment as Athenaeus preserves it is badly corrupt.

<sup>305</sup> Ouoted at 11.491a-c. 306 Literally "Memory", but presumably referring to the goddess by that name, who was the mother of the Muses (e.g. Hes. Th. 52-61). Cf. 11.503f with n. 384

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the Pleiades, the Hyades, mighty Orion, and the Bear, which some refer to by the name "the Wagon".

Many authorities went wrong by taking the Peleiades to be birds, being misled first by the poetic form of the word, which involves the addition of a letter, and then because they assumed that the adjective trēron ("timid") is an epithet applied exclusively to doves, since this bird is cautious as a consequence of its lack of strength, and the verb trein means "to be cautious". But the epithet can reasonably be applied to the Pleiades as well, since the traditional story is that they are trying to get away from Orion, who is chasing their mother Pleione. The variation in the name, by which the Pleiades are referred to as Peleiai and Peleiades, occurs in many poets. The first to correctly grasp what the Homeric lines mean was Moero of Byzantium (fr. 1, p. 21 Powell),305 who said in her poem entitled Mnemosyne306 that the Pleiades bring Zeus his ambrosia. The literary scholar Crates (fr. 59 Broggiato) appropriated her interpretation and published it as if it were his own argument. Simonides (PMG 555)307 as well refers to the Pleiades as Peleiades in the following passage:

Hermes god of contests, the child of fair-tressed Maia, grants well . . . ; she was the most beautiful of the seven beloved darkhaired daughters born to Atlas, who are referred to as the heavenly Peleiades.

 $^{307}\,\mathrm{The}$  second verse in particular is preserved by other sources in a significantly different—and seemingly better—form.

σαφῶς γὰρ τὰς Πλειάδας οὖσας Ἄτλαντος θυγατέρας Πελειάδας καλεῖ, καθάπερ καὶ Πίνδαρος·

έστὶ δ' έοικὸς

όρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων μὴ τηλόθεν 'Ωαρίωνα νεῖσθαι.

σύνεγγυς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Ὠρίων τῇ ἀστροθεσία τῶν Πλειάδων διὸ καὶ ὁ περὶ ταύτας μῦθος, ὅτι φεύγουσι μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Πληιόνης τὸν Ὠρίωνα. ὀρείας δὲ λέγει τὰς Πλειάδας ἐν ἴσω τῷ οὐρείας κατὰ παράλειψιν τοῦ ῦ, ἐπειδὴ κεῖνται ἐπὶ ‖ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ Ταύρου. καὶ Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐκφανέστερον προσπαίζων τῷ ὀνόματι κατὰ τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν.

αί δ' ἔπτ' ᾿Ατλαντος παίδες ἀνομασμέναι πατρὸς μέγιστον ἆθλον οὐρανουστεγῆ κλαίεσκον, ἔνθα νυκτέρων φαντασμάτων ἔχουσι μορφὰς ἄπτεροι Πελειάδες.

ἀπτέρους γὰρ αὐτὰς εἴρηκε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὅρνεις ὁμωνυμίαν. ἡ δὲ Μοιρὼ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτόν φησι: |

Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα
τίς νιν
ἠείδει μακάρων ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι.
τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄντρῳ
ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' ، Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων

491

b

<sup>308</sup> Cf. 11.490e.

He thus patently refers to the Pleiades, who are Atlas' daughters, as Peleiades, as Pindar (N. 2.10-12) does as well:

It is reasonable that Orion not travel far from the mountain-dwelling Peleiades;

for Orion is located close to the constellation of the Pleiades, hence the traditional story about them, which is that they are trying to get away from Orion along with their mother Pleionē. His reference to the Pleiades as *oreiai* ("mountain-dwelling") is equivalent to calling them *oureiai*, with the *upsilon* omitted, because they are located next to Taurus' tail (*oura*). So too Aeschylus (fr. 312), playing even more openly on the name and relying on the similar pronunciation:

They who are called the seven daughters of Atlas wailed constantly for their father's immense labor in supporting the roof of the sky, where they have the shape

of night-time visions, the wingless Peleiades.

For he referred to them as wingless because of the fact that they share a name with the birds. Moero herself (fr. 1, p. 21 Powell)<sup>308</sup> puts it as follows:

Zeus, then, grew up on Crete, and none of the blessed ones

knew about him; but all his limbs grew ever larger. The timid ones, then, fed him within the sacred cave, bringing ambrosia from Ocean's streams;

νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰἐν ἀφύσσων γαμφηλῆς φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιόεντι. τῷ καὶ νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον ποίησε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἐγκατένασσεν. ὡς δ' αὕτως τρήρωσι Πελειάσιν ὤπασε τιμήν, Ιαὶ δή τοι θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἄγγελοί εἰσιν.

καὶ Σιμμίας δ' ἐν τῆ Γοργοῖ φησιν·
αἰθέρος ἀκεῖαι πρόπολοι πίλναντο Πέλειαι.

Ποσείδιππός τ' έν τῆ ἀσωπία·

οὐδέ τοι ἀκρόνυχοι ψυχραὶ δύνουσι Πέλειαι.

Λαμπροκλής δ' δ διθυραμβοποιός καὶ ρητώς αὐτὰς εἶπεν δμωνυμεῖν ταῖς περιστεραῖς ἐν τούτοις·

αἴ τε ποταναῖς ὁμώνυμοι πελειάσιν αἰθέρι κεῖσθε.

καὶ ὁ τὴν εἰς Ἡσίοδον δὲ ἀναφερομένην ποιήσας ᾿Αστρονομίαν αἰεὶ Πελειάδας αὐτὰς λέγει Ι

d <... > τὰς δὲ βροτοὶ καλέουσι Πελειάδας.καὶ πάλιν:

<... > χειμέριαι δύνουσι Πελειάδες. καὶ πάλιν

c

# BOOK XI

and a great eagle always scooped up nectar from a rock

and fetched it in its beak for wily Zeus to drink.

After he defeated his father Cronus, therefore, widevoiced Zeus

made the eagle immortal and settled him in heaven. So too he bestowed an honor on the timid Peleiades, who bring news of summer and winter.

Simmias as well says in his Gorgo (fr. 7, p. 112 Powell):

The Peleiai, swift servants of the upper air, were drawing near.

Also Posidippus in his *Story of Aesop* (Posidipp. 145 Austin–Bastianini = *SH* 698):

Nor indeed are the cold Peleiai, who rise at dusk, setting.

The dithyrambic poet Lamprocles (PMG 736) said expressly that they share a name with the pigeons (peristerai), in the following passage:

And you who share a name with winged doves (*peleiades*) are set in the sky.

So too the author of the Astronomy attributed to Hesiod (fr. 288) always calls them Peleiades:

whom mortals refer to as Peleiades.

And again (fr. 289):

The wintry Peleiades are setting.

And again (fr. 290):

< . . . > τῆμος ἀποκρύπτουσι Πελειάδες.

οὐδὲν οὖν ἄπιστον καὶ "Ομηρον τὰς Πλειάδας κατὰ ποιητικὸν νόμον Πελειάδας ἀνομακέναι. ἀποδεδειγμένου οὖν τοῦ ὅτι Πλειάδες ἦσαν ἐντετορευμέναι τῷ ποτηρίῳ, καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν ἄτων δύο ὑποθετέον εἴτε βούλεταί τις ὀρνιθοφυεῖς κόρας εἴτ' αὖ καὶ ἀνθρωποε ειδεῖς, ἄστροις δὲ πεποικιλμένας. Ιτὸ μέντοι

άμφὶς ἔκαστον

χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο

ούχ ώς περὶ εν ἔκαστον ἀκουστέον· γενήσονται γὰρ οὕτως ὀκτὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν· ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἔσχισται μὲν ἐκάτερον τῶν ἄτων εἰς δύο σχίσεις, τούτων δ' αὖ συνάφεια κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑπόληξιν, ἔκαστον μὲν ἄν λέγοιτο καθὸ τέτταρες αἱ πᾶσαι σχίσεις τῶν ἄτων, ἐκάτερον δὲ καθὸ συμφυῆ πάλιν ἐπὶ τέλει γίνεται τῆς ἀποστάσεως αὐτῶν. ὅταν οὖν εἶπη·

δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν,

f καθ' έκατέραν | τὴν σχίσιν τῶν ἄτων ἀκουσόμεθα μίαν Πελειάδα· ἃς δοιὰς εἶπεν καθὸ συμφυεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλήλαις καὶ συνεζευγμέναι. τὸ γὰρ δοιοὶ καὶ δοιαὶ σημαίνει καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀριθμὸν εἶδος, τὸ δύο, οἷον·

δοιοὺς δὲ τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα. καί:

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at the time when the Peleiades disappear.

It is therefore not at all unbelievable that Homer as well refers to the Pleiades, as poets do, as Peleiades. Now that it has been demonstrated that the Pleiades were engraved on the cup, we must assume that there were two of them per handle, regardless of whether one wants to conceive of them as girls who resemble birds, or as having a human shape but covered with stars. The phrase

with gold (doves) feeding

on either side of each,

moreover, should not be understood as referring to each individual handle-section; because in that case there will be eight of them. But since each handle is divided into two parts, and they connect again at the very end, the word "each" must be used in a way consistent with the fact that the total number of handle-sections is four, although each pair comes together again when they are done being separated. So when he says (*Il*. 11.634–5):

with a pair of gold doves feeding on either side of each; and there were two bases beneath it,

we should understand that there is only one Peleiad per handle-section, and that he referred to them as a "pair" only because they are connected and associated with one another. For the words *doioi* and *doiai* refer to numerical character, i.e. "two", for example (Od. 4.129):

two (doioi) tripods, and ten talents of gold.

And (Od. 16.253):

< ... > δοιὼ θεράποντε.

σημαίνει δε καὶ τὸ συμφυες καὶ τὸ συνεζευγμένον κατ' ἀριθμόν, ὡς ἐν τούτοις:

δοιοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπήλυθε θάμνους ἐξ ὁμόθεν πεφυῶτας ὁ μὲν φυλίης, ὁ δ' ἐλαίης. ΙΙ

492 γενήσονται οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄτων τέσσαρες Πελειάδες. ἔπειθ' ὅταν ἐπενέγκη τὸ

δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν,

ἀκουστέον οὐ πυθμένας δύο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἀναγνωστέον, ὡς ὁ Θρὰξ Διονύσιος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σύνθετον ὑποπυθμένες, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν Πελειάδων ἀκούωμεν, ὅτι τέσσαρες μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅτων, δύο δὲ ὑποπυθμένες, τουτέστιν ὑπὸ τῷ πυθμένι οἷον ὑπο
b πυθμένιοι ὥστε διακρατείσθαι τὸ δέπας ὑπὸ | δυεῖν Πελειάδων ὑποκειμένων τῷ πυθμένι, ἔξ δὲ τὰς πάσας γενέσθαι Πλειάδας, ἐπείπερ ὁρῶνται τοσαῦται, λέγονται δὲ ἑπτά, καθότι καὶ Ἄρατός φησιν

έπτάποροι δὴ ταί γε μετ' ἀνθρώποις<sup>41</sup>
καλέονται<sup>42</sup>,
εξ οἶαί περ ἐοῦσαι ἐπόψιαι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.

41 Although the manuscripts of Aratus are divided, with some supporting Athenaeus, the proper reading is most likely  $\mathring{a}\nu\theta\rho\acute{a}\pi\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$ .

 $^{42}$  The manuscripts of Aratus have ὑδέονται (a much rarer word with a similar sense).

two (doiō) servants.

The word also signifies something that has merged and been closely associated when counted, as in the following passage (Od. 5.476–7):

he crawled in beneath a pair (*doioi*) of bushes that had grown together; one was wild olive, the other domesticated.

There must accordingly be four Peleiades. Then when he adds the comment (II. 11.634–5):

with a pair of gold doves feeding on either side of each; and there were two  $(du\bar{o})$  bases beneath it  $(hupo\ puthmenes\ \bar{e}san)$ ,

we should not take this to mean that there were two bases, and neither should we read the words separately, as Dionysius Thrax does. Instead, we need to read this as the compound adjective hupoputhmenes ("under-base") and thus understand, as regards the Peleiades, that there were four of them on the handles, while two more were "under-base", which is to say that they were placed on the base underneath (hupo tōi puthmeni), as if the word were hupoputhmenioi. The goblet was thus supported by a pair of Peleiades located beneath the base, and there were a total of six Peleiades, since this is how many are visible, although there are said to be seven, as Aratus (Phaen. 257–61) notes:

People in fact refer to them as moving along seven paths, although only six are visible to the eye.

οὐ μέν πως ἀπόλωλεν ἀπευθὴς ἐκ Διὸς ἀστήρ, ἐξ οὖ καὶ γενεήθεν ἀκούομεν, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὕτως εἴρεται. ἐπτὰ δὲ κεῖναι ἐπιρρήδην καλέονται. ⁴3 |

c τὸ ὁρώμενον οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις καὶ ἐν τῆ φαινομένη κατασκευῆ προσηκόντως ἐτόρευσεν. τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς σημαίνειν πείθονται τὸν ποιητὴν ὅταν λέγη·

τῆ μέν τ' οὐδὲ ποτητὰ παρέρχεται οὐδὲ πέλειαι τρήρωνες, ταί τ' ἀμβροσίην Διὶ πατρὶ φέρουσιν, ἀλλά τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λὶς πέτρη· ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατὴρ ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι, |

d ὑπὸ τῆς ὁξύτητος τῶν πλαγκτῶν πετρῶν καὶ τῆς λειότητος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι λέγων μίαν τῶν Πλειάδων, ἄλλην δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς ἐνίεσθαι χάριν τοῦ σῷζειν τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, ποιητικῶς αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι τῶν Πλειάδων ἔξ ὁρωμένων ὅμως ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁνόμασιν ἔπτά. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας οὐκ οἰκείως τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐντετυπῶσθαι τὰς Πλειάδας, ξηρῶν τροφῶν οὔσας σημαντικάς, λεκτέον ὅτι τὸ δέπας ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ετροφῶν Ι ἐστιν δεκτικόν κυκεὼν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶ πόσις ἐν τῷ κράματι τυρὸν ἔχουσα καὶ ἄλφιτον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα κυκώμενα καὶ οὕτω πινόμενα λέγει ὁ ποιητής.

 $^{43}$  After this verse, Athenaeus offers εξ οἶαί περ ἐοῦσαι ἐπόψιαι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν (= v. 258, repeated in error).

<sup>309</sup> The word Homer uses for Nestor's cup.

<sup>310</sup> Portions of this passage are quoted and discussed also at 1.10a-b, 24f-5a.

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It is by no means the case that any star has vanished without notice from the sky

from the time when we first heard of them. But that is precisely what

is said, and they are explicitly referred to as seven.

(Homer) thus accurately engraved what is seen among the stars into the pattern visible (on Nestor's cup). (Some authorities) are in fact convinced that the poet is referring to Zeus' behavior, when he says (Od. 12.62–5):

Not even birds can get by via this route, including the timid

Peleiai that bring ambrosia to father Zeus;

for the smooth rock always takes away one of them.

But the father adds another, to maintain their number.

For by saying that one of Pleiades is taken away by the sharpness and smoothness of the Wandering Rocks, but that Zeus adds another, to keep up their number, he alludes poetically to the fact that although only six Pleiades are visible, their number nonetheless remains the same, and they are said to be seven in both number and name. In response to those who claim that it is inappropriate for the Pleiades to be engraved on the cup, since they mark the seasons for the production of dry foods, it should be noted that a depas<sup>309</sup> is used to hold both types of food; because kukeōn, which is a drink made from a mixture of cheese and barley-groats, is produced in it. Homer refers to both ingredients as being mixed together (kukōmena) and drunk like that (Il. 11.624, 628–32, 638–41).<sup>310</sup>

τοῖσι δὲ τεῦχε κυκειῶ ἐυπλόκαμος Ἑκαμήδη,

η σφωιν < ... > μὲν ἐπιπροΐηλε τράπεζαν < ... > ἐύξοον, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς χάλκειον κάνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμυον ποτῷ<sup>44</sup> ὅψον ἢδὲ μέλι χλωρόν, παρὰ δ' ἀλφίτου ἱεροῦ ἀκτήν, Ιπὰρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, δ οἴκοθεν ἦγ' ὁ γεραιός,

έν τῷ ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ εἰκυῖα θεῆσιν οἴνῳ Πραμνείῳ, ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνῆ τυρόν κνήστι χαλκείῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ πάλυνεν πινέμεναι δ' ἐκέλευεν<sup>45</sup>, ἐπεί ρ' ὧπλισσε κυκειῶ.

τὸ δὲ

f

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άλλος μεν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τραπέζης !! πλείον εόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν

οὖκ ἀκουστέον ἐπὶ μόνων Μαχάονος καὶ Νέστορος, ὡς οἴονταί τινες, τὸ ὃς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὃ λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαχάονος

άλλ' δς μεν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τραπέζης, ἐκ τοῦ μογέων δηλοῦσθαι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τέτρωται.

44 Contrast the reading  $\pi o \tau o \hat{v}$  at 1.24f with n.

45 Although the manuscripts of Aratus are divided, with some supporting Athenaeus, the proper reading is most likely  $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ .

<sup>311</sup> The warrior drinking with Nestor at this point in the story.
312 The expected form of the masculine nominative singular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> The expected form of the masculine nominative singular relative pronoun.

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Fair-tressed Hecamede made them a kukeiōn,

and she set . . . a polished table beside . . . them, and a bronze bread-basket

upon it, along with an onion and pale honey,

to eat as they drank; and (she set) beside them sacred barley-groats,

as well as an exquisitely beautiful cup, which the old

man had brought from home.

In it, then, the woman who resembled goddesses mixed them a  $kukei\bar{o}n$ 

using Pramneian wine; and she grated goat-cheese over it

with a bronze grater, and sprinkled white barleygroats on top,

and encouraged them to drink after she prepared the kukeiōn.

But as for the remark (Il. 11.636-7):

Another (allos) man would have had difficulty raising it from the table

when it was full. But the aged Nestor hoisted it easily,

this should not be taken as referring exclusively to Machaon<sup>311</sup> and Nestor, as some authorities believe, taking *hos* as standing for ho, <sup>312</sup> in reference to Machaon, and reading (II. 11.636):

But he (all' hos) would have had difficulty raising it from the table.

on the ground that the reference to the "difficulty" makes

ότι δὲ καθ' "Ομηρον ὁ Μαχάων οὐ τέτρωται ἐν ἄλλοις δειχθήσεται. ἀγνοοῦσιν δ' ὅτι τὸ ἄλλος "Ομηρος οὐκ ἐπὶ μόνων Μαχάονος καὶ Νέστορος ἔθηκε, δύο γὰρ ὁ οὖτοι πίνουσιν, Ι ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἂν "ἔτερος" τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ δύο τάσσεσθαι πέφυκεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων·

οἴσετε δ' ἄρν', ἔτερον λευκόν, έτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν.

ἔπειτα δὲ τὸ ὃς ἀντὶ προτακτικοῦ τοῦ ὃ "Ομηρος οὐδέποτε τίθησι τοὔμπαλιν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὃς ὑποτακτικοῦ παραλαμβάνει τὸ προτακτικὸν ὅ, οἶον

ένθα δε Σίσυφος έσκεν, δ κέρδιστος γένετ' άνδρων.

ἐλλείπει οὖν τό τις μόριον· τὸ γὰρ πλῆρές ἐστιν· ἄλλος μέν τις μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε | τραπέζης πλεῖον ἐόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν, ὡς παντὸς ἀνθρώπου μόλις ἂν ἀποκινήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τὸ ποτήριον, τοῦ δὲ Νέστορος αὐτὸ ῥαδίως βαστάζοντος δίχα πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας. τὸ γὰρ ποτήριον ὑφίσταται μέγα κατὰ τὸ κύτος καὶ βαρὺ τὴν ὁλκήν, ὅπερ φιλοπότης ὢν ὁ Νέστωρ ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς συνηθείας ῥαδίως βαστάζειν ἔσθενε. Σωσίβιος δ' ὁ λυτικὸς προθεὶς τὰ ἔπη·

άλλος μεν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τραπέζης Ι πλειον εόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν,

d

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> I.e. elsewhere in the work of Asclepiades of Myrlea (or whoever is being excerpted here), not elsewhere in the *Learned Banqueters*.

it clear (that this interpretation is right), since Machaon had been wounded. That Homer does not actually claim that Machaon has been wounded will be demonstrated elsewhere. These people, however, are unaware that Homer did not use allos ("another man") to refer to Machaon and Nestor alone; for there are two of them drinking, and in that case he would have said heteros ("the other"), since this is the word employed when two individuals are involved, as in the following passage (Il. 3.103):

Fetch lambs, one (heteros) a white male, the other (heterē) a black female!

In addition, Homer never uses hos in place of an initial ho. On the other hand, he does use a properly initial ho in place of a subordinate hos, for example (Il. 6.153):

There dwelt Sisyphus, who (ho) was the canniest man that ever lived.

The missing element is thus tis; because the full sense is, "Any other (allos . . . tis) man would have had difficulty raising it from the table when it was full. But the aged Nestor hoisted it easily," meaning that anyone else would have had difficulty raising the cup from the table, but Nestor picked it up easily, without trouble or effort. For the cup has a large bowl and is heavy, but because Nestor liked to drink, he had considerable practice at picking it up and was thus strong enough to do so easily. Sosibius (FCrH 595 F 26), whose specialty is resolving literary puzzles, begins by citing these verses (Il. 11.636–7):

Another man would have had difficulty raising it from the table

when it was full. But the aged Nestor hoisted it easily,

γράφει κατὰ λέξιν νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμώμενόν ἐστι τῷ ποιητῆ ὅτι τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς εἶπε μογέοντας ἀείρειν τὸ δέπας, τὸν δὲ Νέστορα μόνον ἀμογητί. ἄλογον δ' <ἄν>⁴6 ἐδόκει Διομήδους καὶ Αἴαντος, ἔτι δ' ᾿Αχιλλέως παρόντων εἰσάγεσθαι τὸν Νέστορα γενναιότερον, τῆ ἡλικία προβεβηκότα. τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως κατηγορουμένων τῆ ἀναστροφῆ χρησάμενοι ἀπολύομεν τὸν ποιητήν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου |

πλείον έόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν,

άπὸ τοῦ μέσου ἐξελόντες τὸ γέρων τάξομεν τοῦ πρώτου στίχου πρὸς την άρχην ὑπὸ τὸ ἄλλος μέν, εἶτα τὸ έξ ἀρχης συνερούμεν άλλος μεν γέρων μογέων άποκινήσασκε τραπέζης πλείον έόν, ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ ἀπονητὶ άειρεν. νῦν οὖν οὕτω τεταγμένων ὁ Νέστωρ φαίνεται τῶν μὲν λοιπῶν πρεσβυτῶν μόνος τὸ δέπας ἀμογητὶ αείρων, ταθτα καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος λυτικὸς Σωσίβιος, ὃν ούκ άχαρίτως διέπαιξε διά τὰς πολυθρυλήτους ταύτας καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας | λύσεις Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος βασιλεύς, λαμβάνοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ σύνταξιν βασιλικήν, μεταπεμψάμενος τους ταμίας εκέλευσεν, εαν παραγένηται ὁ Σωσίβιος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῆς συντάξεως. λέγειν αὐτῶ ὅτι ἀπείληφε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παραγενομένω καὶ αἰτοῦντι εἰπόντες δεδωκέναι αὐτῶ τὰς ἡσυχίας εἶχον, ὁ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθών κατεμέμφετο τους ταμίας. Πτολεμαίος (δε) μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς καὶ ἥκειν κελεύσας μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, ||

46 add. Olson

 $<sup>^{314}</sup>$  Ptolemy II of Egypt (reigned 285/3–246 BCE), founder of the Museum and of the Library at Alexandria.

and then writes specifically as follows: The poet is criticized nowadays for saying that the others would have lifted the goblet only with difficulty, whereas Nestor alone hoisted it effortlessly. And it might seem illogical, when Diomedes and Ajax, as well as Achilleus, are there, to refer to Nestor, who was an extremely old man, as being better than them. But by making use of the technique of anastrophē ("inversion, rearrangement"), I find the poet not guilty of these charges that are brought against him. For if we remove the word gerōn ("aged") from the middle of the following hexameter (Il. 11.637):

when it was full. But the aged Nestor hoisted it easily, and put it near the beginning of the first line (Il. 11.636), after allos men, we will then construe the beginning: Another old man would have had difficulty raising it from the table when it was full, but Nestor hoisted it without any trouble. So if the words are arranged thus, Nestor is presented as the only individual within the subset of old men who can hoist the goblet effortlessly. Thus Sosibius (FGrH 595 T 4), the extraordinary resolver of literary puzzles, of whom King Ptolemy Philadelphus<sup>314</sup> made witty fun because of this famous solution and others like it. Sosibius was drawing a royal stipend, and Ptolemy summoned his paymasters and told them that, if Sosibius came to ask for his money, they were to tell him that he had already received it. Shortly thereafter Sosibius appeared and asked to be paid, and they told him that they had given him his money, and refused to discuss the matter further. Sosibius therefore went to the king and complained about his paymasters, and Ptolemy summoned them and told them to bring with them the books that listed everyone who re-

494 ἐν οἷς αἱ ἀναγραφαί εἰσι τῶν τὰς συντάξεις λαμβανόντων, λαβῶν ταύτας εἰς χεῖρας καὶ<sup>47</sup> κατιδῶν ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπειληφέναι αὐτὸν οὕτως ἦν ὀνόματα ἐγγεγραμμένα ταῦτα, Σωτῆρος Σωσιγένους Βίωνος ᾿Απολλωνίου<sup>48</sup>· εἰς ἃ ἀποβλέψας ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν, "ὧ θαυμάσιε λυτικέ, ἐὰν ἀφέλης τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ σω- καὶ τοῦ Σωσιγένους τὸ -σι- καὶ τοῦ Βίωνος τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν<sup>49</sup> καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ ᾿Απολλωνίου, εῦρήσεις σαυτὸν ἀπειληφότα κατὰ τὰς σὰς ἐπινοίας. καὶ

ταῦτ' οὐχ | ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὑτοῦ<sup>50</sup> πτεροῖς,

κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον Αἰσχύλον, ἁλίσκη, ἀπροσδι-

ονύσους λύσεις πραγματευόμενος."

"Ολμος. ποτήριον κερατίου τρόπον εἰργασμένον. Μενεσθένης ἐν τετάρτῳ Πολιτικῶν γράφει οὕτως: ᾿Αλβατάνης δὲ στρεπτὸν καὶ ὅλμον χρυσοῦν. ὁ δὲ ὅλμος ἐστὶ ποτήριον κερατίου τρόπον εἰργασμένον, ὕψος ὡς πυγονιαῖον.

 $^{47}$  εἰς χεῖρας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Α: ὁ βασιλεὺς om. CE, del. Kaibel  $^{48}$  Ἀπολλωνίου Lehrs: ᾿Απόλλωνος Δίωνος Α: ᾿Απόλλωνος tantum CE

 $^{49}$  συλλαβην βι A: βι om. CE, del. Herwerden

 $^{50}$  The correct reading is almost certain the plural  $α \dot{v} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ .

316 Referring to an eagle hit by an arrow fletched with its own

feathers. Cf. Ar. Av. 808 with Dunbar ad loc.

h

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> The story is slightly garbled; what the list should contain is the names of everyone who had recently been paid, not everyone who regularly drew a royal stipend.

ceived a stipend. <sup>315</sup> He took the books in his hands and inspected them, and said that he too believed that Sosibius had got his money, for the following reason: The names on the list were Soterus, Sosigenes, Bion, and Apollonius, and after the king looked them over, he said: "My extraordinary puzzle-solver, if you take the So- from Soterus, the -si-from Sosigenes, the initial syllable from Bion, and the final syllable from Apollonius, you will find, by applying your own methods, that you have already got your money. You are caught

thus not by others, but by means of your own feathers,

to quote the marvellous Aeschylus (fr. 139.4),<sup>316</sup> since you spend your time producing unpoetic solutions<sup>317</sup> to poetic problems."

Holmos. A cup made in the same style as a small drinking-horn. <sup>318</sup> Menesthenes writes as follows in Book IV of the *Politics* (FHG iv.451–2): a chain-mail collar from Albatane and a gold holmos. A holmos is a cup made in the same style as a small drinking-horn, and is about 15 inches<sup>319</sup> tall.

317 Literally "nothing-to-do-with-Dionysus solutions".

318 This definition is repeated word-for-word below, and the most economical explanation would seem to be that Athenaeus has drawn it straight—and clumsily—from Menesthenes. A holmos is normally a "mortar".

319 Literally "a pugōn" (also known as a "bare cubit"), the distance from the elbow to the first joint of the fingers, = 5/6 of a cubit.

'Οξύβαφον. ἡ μὲν κοινὴ συνήθεια οὕτως καλεῖ τὸ ὅξους δεκτικὸν σκεῦος. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὅνομα ποτηρίου, οῦ c μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Πυτίνη | οὕτως·

πῶς τις αὐτόν, πῶς τις ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ πότου παύσειε, τοῦ λίαν πότου; ἐγῷδα· συντρίψω γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς χοᾶς καὶ τοὺς καδίσκους συγκεραυνώσω σποδῶν καὶ τἆλλα πάντ' ἀγγεῖα τὰ περὶ τὸν πότον, κοὐδ' ὀξύβαφον οἰνηρὸν ἔτι κεκτήσεται.

ότι δέ ἐστι τὸ ὀξύβαφον εἶδος κύλικος μικρᾶς κεραμέας σαφῶς παρίστησιν ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μύστιδι διὰ τούτων γραῦς ἐστι φίλοινος ἐπαινοῦσα κύλικα μεγάλην καὶ ἐξευτελίζουσα τὸ ὀξύβαφον ὡς βραχύ. εἰd πόντος | οὖν τινος πρὸς αὐτήν·

 $\langle (A.) \sigma \hat{v} \delta^{\circ} \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \hat{a} \pi \hat{\iota} \theta \iota,$ 

 $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \iota \lambda^{51}$ 

(Β.) τοῦτο μέν σοι πείσομαι καὶ γὰρ ἐπαγωγόν, ὧ θεοί, τὸ σχῆμά πως τῆς κύλικός ἐστιν ἄξιόν τε τοῦ κλέους τοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς. οὖ μὲν ἦμεν ἄρτι γὰρ ἐξ ὀξυβαφίων κεραμεῶν ἐπίνομεν τούτω δέ, τέκνον, πολλὰ κἀγάθ οἱ θεοὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ δοῖεν ὃς ἐποίησέ σε, τῆς συμμετρίας καὶ τῆς † ἀσφαλείας τὸ οὕνεκα.

51 add. Schweighäuser

52 At 10.446c Athenaeus offers the correct reading ἀφελείας.

## BOOK XI

Oxubaphon. Common usage refers in this way to a vessel that holds vinegar (oxos). But this is also the name of a cup mentioned by Cratinus in Wine-Flask (fr. 199), as follows:

How, how could someone put a stop to his drinking, his excessive drinking? I know—I'll crush his pitchers, and smash his wine-buckets and all the other vessels he uses when he drinks to bits; he won't even own an *oxubaphon* that holds wine after this!

Antiphanes in *The Female Initiate* (fr. 161)<sup>320</sup> establishes unambiguously that an *oxubaphon* is a type of small ceramic cup, in the following passage. After someone says to a woman:

(A.) But as for you—drink!,

she says:

(B.) I'll do what you say; because the fact is, by the gods, that the cup's shape is rather attractive, and it fits the festival's reputation. Because where we were just now, we were drinking out of ceramic oxubapha! May the gods grant many blessings, my child, to the craftsman who produced you, on account of your symmetrical shape and † security †.

 $^{320}$  Quoted also at 10.446c (but with the correct reading in the final verse).

κάν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὖν τοῖς ᾿Αριστοφάνους ἀκουσόμεθα ποτήριον τὸ ὀξύβαφον, ὅταν ὁ Διόνυσος λέγῃ ἱ ε περὶ τῶν ᾿Αθήνησι δημαγωγῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἤτουν ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἀπελθόντα ὀξυβάφω δύο οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἡγητέον εἶναι ἢ ὅτι ἐκπώματα ἤτουν. καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀποκοτταβίζουσι δὲ ὀξύβαφον τιθέμενον εἰς ὁ τὰς λάταγας ἐγχέουσιν οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἂν εἴη ἢ ἐκπέταλον ποτήριον. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ ὀξυβάφον ὡς ποτηρίου καὶ Εὔβουλος ἐν Μυλωθρίδι

καὶ πιεῖν χωρὶς † μέτρω † ὀξύβαφον εἰς τὸ κοινόν εἶθ ὑπώμνυτο ὁ μὲν οἶνος ὄξος αὐτὸν εἶναι γνήσιον, Ι τὸ δ' ὄξος οἶνον αῦτὸ μᾶλλον θατέρου.

Οἰνιστηρία. οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκείρειν τὸν σκόλλυν ἔφηβοι, φησὶ Πάμφιλος, εἰσφέρουσι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μέγα ποτήριον πληρώσαντες οἴνου, δ καλοῦσιν οἰνιστηρίαν, καὶ σπείσαντες τοῦς συνελθοῦσι διδόασι πιείν.

"Ολλιξ. Πάμφιλος ἐν 'Αττικαῖς Λέξεσι τὸ ξύλινον ποτήριον ἀποδίδωσι.

Παναθηναϊκόν. Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν ἔκτη καὶ τριακοστῆ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὡς οὕτω καλουμένων τινῶν ποτηρίων μέμνηται γράφων οὕτως ‖ ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὀνύχινοι σκύφοι καὶ συνδέσεις τούτων μέχρι δικοτύλων καὶ Παναθηναϊκὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μὲν δίχοα, τὰ δὲ καὶ μείζονα.

f

495

<sup>321</sup> Sc. because Dionysus was the god of wine and drinking. 322 Cf. 15.667e-f.

<sup>323</sup> See 11.469a n.

In Aristophanes' Babylonians (fr. 75) as well, therefore, we will take the word oxubaphon to refer to a cup, when Dionysus describes how the Athenian demagogues asked him for two oxubapha after he went to court for his trial; for it is impossible to conclude that they asked for anything other than drinking vessels. <sup>321</sup> So too the oxubaphon set out for people playing cottabus to dump their wine-lees into <sup>322</sup> could scarcely be anything other than a broad, shallow cup. Eubulus in The Girl Who Worked a Mill (fr. 65) also refers to an oxubaphon as a cup:

and to drink separately  $\dagger$  two measures  $\dagger$  an oxubaphon in common. Then the wine offered a motion

that the trial be postponed, on the ground that it was itself legitimate vinegar,

while the vinegar argued that it was more wine than it was the opposite.

Oinistēria. According to Pamphilus (fr. XXIV Schmidt), ephebes<sup>323</sup> who are about to cut their long hair short fill a large cup referred to as an oinistēria with wine (oinos) as an offering to Heracles, and after they pour a libation, they offer a drink to the people who accompany them.

Ollix. Pamphilus in Attic Vocabulary (fr. XXV Schmidt)

defines this as a wooden cup.

Panathenaikon ("Panathenaic [cup]"). The philosopher Posidonius in Book XXXVI of his History (FGrH 87 F 25 = fr. 76 Edelstein-Kidd) mentions certain cups as referred to this way, writing as follows: There were also skuphoi made of onyx, and sets of these that held as much as two kotuloi; also very large Panathenaika, some with a capacity of two choes, others even larger.

Πρόαρου. κρατηρ ξύλινος, εἰς δυ τὸν οἶνον κιρνᾶσιν οἱ Αττικοί.

κοίλοις έν προάροις,

φησὶ Πάμφιλος.

Πελίκαι. Καλλίστρατος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι Θραττῶν Κρατίνου ἀποδίδωσι κύλικα. Κράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρφ ᾿Αττικῆς Διαλέκτου γράφει οὕτως· οἱ χόες πελίκαι, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ἀνομάζοντο. ὁ δὲ τύπος ἢν τοῦ ἀγγείου πρότερον μὲν τοῖς Παναθηναϊκοῖς | ἐοικώς, ἡνίκα ἐκαλεῖτο πελίκη, ὕστερον δὲ ἔσχεν οἰνοχόης σχῆμα, οἷοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τῆ ἑορτῆ παρατιθέμενοι, ὁποίους δή ποτε ὅλπας ἐκάλουν, χρώμενοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ οἴνου ἔγχυσιν, καθάπερ Ἰων ὁ Χῖος ἐν Εὐρυτίδαις φησίν·

έκ ζαθέων πιθακνών ἀφύσαντες ὅλπαις οἶνον ὑπερφίαλον κελαρύζετε.

νυνὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγγεῖον καθιερωμένον τινὰ τρόπον ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ παρατίθεται μόνον, τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν χρείαν πῖπτον μετεσχημάτισται, ἀρυταίνῃ μάλιστα ἐοικός, ὁ δὴ καλοῦμεν χόα. τὴν δὲ | ὅλπην Κλείταρχος Κορινθίους μέν φησι καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυπρίους τὴν λήκυθον ἀποδιδόναι, Θεσσαλοὺς δὲ τὴν πρόχοον. Σέλευκος δὲ πελίχναν Βοιωτοὺς μὲν τὴν κύλικα, Εὐφρόνιος δὲ ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι τοὺς χόας.

<sup>324</sup> Seemingly formed from pro- ("forward, forth") +  $aru\bar{o}$  ("draw liquid").

<sup>325</sup> A fragment of some anonymous epic or elegiac poet quoted by Pamphilus for the sake of this word.

326 I.e., presumably, the Choes festival in Athens; cf. 10.437b–d.

 $Proaron.^{324}$  A wooden mixing-bowl, in which the inhabitants of Attica mix wine. Pamphilus (fr. XXX Schmidt) says  $(SH\ 1011).^{325}$ 

in hollow proara.

Pelikai. Callistratus in the Commentary on Cratinus' Thracian Women (p. 325 in Nauck (ed.), Aristophanis Byzantii . . . fragmenta = Cratin. fr. 88) defines this as a kulix. But Crates in Book II of the Attic Dialect (FGrH 362 F 8 = fr. 108 Broggiato) writes as follows: Pitchers (choes) were referred to, as I noted, as pelikai. The shape of the vessel was previously like that of a Panathenaikon (at which time it was referred to as a pelikē), but later it took on the look of an oinochoē ("wine-pitcher"), like those set beside people at the festival. 326 These were the type they referred to in those days as olpai, and which were used to pour wine, as Ion of Chios says in The Sons of Eurytus (TrGF 19 F 10):

Draw potent wine from sacred jars and pour it gurgling forth from olpai!

Whereas nowadays the use of vessels of this type is restricted, as it were, and they are only set beside us at the festival, while the shape of the type that has come into common use (and which we refer to as a chous) has evolved, and is more like an arutaina ("dipper"). Cleitarchus claims that the Corinthians, Byzantines, and Cypriots refer to a lēkuthos as an olpē, while the Thessalians use this as a term for a prochoos. But Seleucus (says) that the Boeotians refer to a kulix as a pelichna, whereas Euphronius in the Commentaries (fr. 107 Strecker) (says) that they use the term for choes.

Πέλλα. ἀγγεῖον σκυφοειδές, πυθμένα ἔχον πλατύτερον, εἰς δ ἤμελγον τὸ γάλα. "Ομηρος:

ώς ὅτε μυῖαι σταθμῷ ἔνι βρομέωσι ἐυγλαγέας<sup>53</sup> κατὰ πέλλας.

τοῦτο δὲ Ἱππῶναξ λέγει πελλίδα· Ι

ἀκ πελλίδος πίνοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆ
 κύλιζ, ὁ παῖς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν κατήραζε,

δηλον, οἶμαι, ποιῶν ὅτι ποτήριον μὲν οὐκ ἦν, δι᾽ ἀπορίαν δὲ κύλικος ἐχρῶντο τῇ πελλίδι. καὶ πάλιν

ἐκ δὲ τῆς πέλλης ἔπινον· ἄλλοτ' αὐτός, ἄλλοτ' ᾿Αρήτη προὔπινεν.

Φοῖνιξ δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἐπὶ φιάλης τίθησι τὴν λέξιν λέγων οὕτως:

Θαλής γάρ, ὅστις ἀστέρων < ... > ὀνήιστος καὶ τῶν τότ², ὡς λέγουσι, πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐὼν ἄριστος, ἔλαβε πελλίδα χρυσῆν.

e καὶ ἐν ἄλλφ δὲ μέρει φησίν·

έκ πελλίδος <γάρ> τάργανον κατηγυίης χωλοισι δακτύλοισι τἢτέρῃ σπένδει, τρέμων οιον περ ἐν βορηίω νωδος.

53 The traditional text of Homer has  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\gamma\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ .

# BOOK XI

*Pella*. A vessel shaped like a *skuphos*, but with a broader base, which was used for milking. Homer (*Il.* 16.641–2):

as when flies

buzz around the pellai full of milk in a barn.

Hipponax (fr. 21 Degani) refers to this vessel as a pellis:

drinking from a *pellis*; because she didn't have a *kulix*, since her slave had tripped and broken it,

thus making it clear, I think, that a *pellis* was not a cup, but was something they used when they lacked a *kulix*. And again (fr. 22 Degani):

They were drinking from the  $pell\bar{e}$ , and sometimes he was toasting Arete, and sometimes she was toasting him.

Phoenix of Colophon in his *Iambs* (fr. 4, p. 234 Powell) uses the word to refer to a *phialē*, putting it as follows:

Because Thales, who of stars . . . . . . and was the most useful and far and away the best, so they say, of people in those times, got a gold *pellis*. 327

And elsewhere (fr. 5, p. 235 Powell) he says:

For he pours a libation of vinegar from a broken pellis with the gnarled fingers of one hand, shivering like a broken-down old man in a north wind.

327 For Thales' prize, cf. 11.781d n.

Κλείταρχος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις πελλητήρα μὲν καλεῖν Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Αἰολεῖς τὸν ἀμολγέα, πέλλαν δὲ τὸ ποτήριον. Φιλητᾶς δ' ἐν ᾿Ατάκτοις τὴν κύλικα Βοιωτούς.

Πενταπλόα. μνημονεύει αὐτῆς Φιλόχορος ἐν δευ
f τέρᾳ ᾿Ατθίδος. ᾿Αριστόδημος δ΄ ἐν τρίτῳ | Περὶ Πινδάρου τοῖς Σκίροις φησὶν ᾿Αθήναζε ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων δρόμου τρέχειν δ΄ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας
ἀμπέλου κλάδον κατάκαρπον τὸν καλούμενον ὧσχον.
τρέχουσι δ΄ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου μέχρι τοῦ τῆς
Σκιράδος ᾿Αθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ, καὶ ὁ νικήσας λαμβάνει
κύλικα τὴν λεγομένην πενταπλόαν καὶ κωμάζει μετὰ
δοροῦ. || πενταπλόα δ΄ ἡ κύλιξ καλεῖται καθ΄ ὅσον
οἶνον ἔχει καὶ μέλι καὶ τυρὸν καὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ ἐλαίου
βραχύ.

Πέταχνον. ποτήριον ἐκπέταλον, οὖ μνημονεύει ᾿Αλεξις ἐν Δρωπίδῃ πρόκειται δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾿Αριστοφάνης ἐν Δράμασι λέγων

< ... > πάντες δ' ἔνδον πεταχνοῦνται.

Πλημοχόη. σκεῦος κεραμεοῦν βεμβικῶδες έδραῖον ἡσυχῆ, ὁ κοτυλίσκον ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῆ τελευταία τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρα, ἢν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ι προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ἢ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν

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 $<sup>^{328}</sup>$  Celebrated on 12 Skirophorion (late June/early July); see Austin–Olson on Ar. Th. 834–5.

<sup>329</sup> Literally "fivefold", for the five edible substances it held. 330 I.e., presumably, "getting drunk"; cf. Phot. p. 426.9.

Cleitarchus in his *Glossary* (claims that) the Thessalians and Aeolians refer to a milk-pail as a *pellētēr*, and to a cup as a *pella*. But Philetas in the *Miscellany* (fr. 5 Dettori = fr. 33 Spanoudakis) (claims that) the Boeotians use the term for a *kulix*.

Pentaploa. Philochorus mentions this in Book II of the History of Attica (FGrH 328 F 15). Aristodemus in Book III of On Pindar (FGrH 383 F 9) says that a footrace for ephebes is held at the Skira festival in Athens, 328 and that they run holding a bit of grapevine with grape-clusters attached, which is referred to as an ōschos. They run from the temple of Dionysus to the temple of Athena Skiras, and the winner gets the kulix known as a pentaploa and celebrates with a chorus. The kulix is referred to as pentaploa<sup>329</sup> because of the fact that it contains wine, honey, cheese, barley-groats, and a little olive oil.

Petachnon. A broad, shallow cup mentioned by Alexis in *Dropides* (fr. 60); the passage was cited earlier (3.125f). Aristophanes also refers to it in *Dramas* (fr. 301), saying:

Everyone inside is petachnizing.330

Plēmochoē.<sup>331</sup> A ceramic vessel that resembles a top, but is relatively stable; some people employ the term kotuliskos for it, according to Pamphilus (fr. XXVIII Schmidt). It is used at Eleusis on the final day of the Mysteries, which is accordingly referred to as Plēmochoai.<sup>332</sup> On this day they fill two plēmochoai, and standing facing east in the case of one, and facing west in the case of

 $<sup>^{331}</sup>$  The first element in the name is cognate with the verb  $pimpl\bar{e}mi$ , "fill".  $^{332}$  Poll. 10.74 preserves similar information, but in almost entirely different words.

<.... > ἀνιστάμενοι ἀνατρέπουσίν τε ἐπιλέγοντες ρήσιν μυστικήν. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τὸν Πειρίθουν γράψας, εἶτε Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης, λέγων οὕτως.

ίνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' εἰς χθόνιον χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν.

Πρίστις. ὅτι ποτηρίου εἶδος προείρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ βατιακίου λόγω.

Προχύτης. εἶδος ἐκπώματος, ἱ ὡς Σιμάριστος ἐν τετάρτω Συνωνύμων. Ἰων δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Ἐλεγείοις

ήμιν δε κρητηρ' οινοχόοι θέραπες κιρνάντων προχύταισιν εν άργυρεοις.

Φιλητᾶς δ' ἐν ᾿Ατάκτοις ἀγγείον ξύλινον, ἀφ' οὖ τοὺς ἀγροίκους πίνειν. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐν ᾿Αντιγόνῃ<sup>54</sup>. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν ὀγδόῳ Παιδείας προχοίδας τινὰς λέγει κύλικας γράφων ὧδε (ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ Περσῶν)· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μὴ d προχοίδας εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰ Ι συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἦττον ἂν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεσθαι ἔτι αὖ καταμένει· τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοὶ ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὰν μηκέτι δύνωνται ὀρθούμενοι ἔξιέναι.

# 54 'Αντιγόνη Kaibel: τιγονι Α

С

<sup>333</sup> Not accepted as Euripidean by Kannicht in TrGF.

<sup>334</sup> At 11.784a, where see n.

 $<sup>^{335}\,\</sup>mathrm{An}$  excerpt from a much longer fragment quoted at 11.463b–c, where see n.

the other . . . and turn them upside down, reciting a formula associated with the Mysteries. They are mentioned by the author of the *Pirithous*, who may be either the tyrant Critias (TrGF~43~F~2=88~B~17~D-K) or Euripides (fr. 592 Nauck²), <sup>333</sup> and who says the following:

in order that we may silently pour these plēmochoes into the chasm in the earth.

Pristis. That this is a type of cup was noted earlier, in our discussion of the batiakion.

Prochutēs. A type of drinking vessel, according to Simaristus in Book IV of Synonyms. Ion of Chios in the Elegiacs (fr. 27.2–3 West<sup>2</sup>):<sup>335</sup>

Let the servants who pour the wine mix a bowl for us using silver *prochutai*.

Philetas in the *Miscellany* (fr. 6 Dettori = fr. 34 Spanoudakis) (claims that) this is a wooden vessel from which country people drink. Alexander mentions it in *Antigone* (Alex. Aet. fr. dub. 22, p. 129 Powell = Alexand. Com. fr. dub. 4). Xenophon in Book VIII (8.10) of the *Education* mentions a type of *kulikes* known as *prochoides*, writing as follows—his topic is the Persians: They did not regard it as appropriate for *prochoides* to be brought into their drinking parties, obviously believing that if they did not drink too much, they would suffer less physical and mental damage. Nowadays, on the other hand, the rule about not bringing (these specific vessels) in is still respected, but they drink so much that rather than bringing anything in, they are themselves carried out when they can no longer stand up straight and leave.

Προυσίας. ὅτι τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἔξορθόν ἐστι προείρηται. καὶ ὅτι τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ Προυσίου τοῦ Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντος καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆ καὶ μαλακία διαβοήτου γενομένου ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ὁ Καλχηδόνιος | ἐν τετάρτω Προυσίου Συμπτωμάτων.

'Ρέοντα. ούτως ποτήριά τινα ἐκαλεῖτο, μνημονεύει

δ' αὐτῶν ᾿Αστυδάμας ἐν Ἑρμῆ λέγων οὕτως.

κρατήρε μὲν πρώτιστον ἀργυρὼ δύο, φιάλας δὲ πεντήκοντα, δέκα δὲ κυμβία, ῥέοντα δώδεχ', ὧν τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἀργυρᾶ ἦν, δύο δὲ χρυσᾶ, γρύψ, τὸ δ' ἔτερον Πήγασος.

'Ρυσίς. φιάλη χρυσή, Θεόδωρος. Κρατίνος ἐν Νόμοις·

ρυσίδι<sup>55</sup> σπένδων.

'Ροδιάς. Δίφιλος Αίρησιτείχει (τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τοῦτο f Καλλίμαχος | ἐπιγράφει Εὐνοῦχον) λέγει δὲ οὕτως·

 $^{55}$  At 11.502a Athenaeus offers the correct reading χρυσίδι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Cf. 11.475f (where this is, however, merely implied rather than stated specifically).

<sup>337</sup> Cf. 11.783e.

<sup>338</sup> Quoted again, in a more complete form and with a different spelling of the name of the vessel (see next n.), at 11.502b.

 $<sup>^{339}</sup>$  The text ought, however, to read chrusis (as at 11.502b; cf. Hsch.  $\chi$  791), meaning that Athenaeus' entire entry ought almost certainly to be deleted as a scholarly misunderstanding based on a manuscript error. Theodorus was the author of an *Attic Vocabulary* cited several times elsewhere in the *Learned Banqueters* (14.646c; 15.677b, 678d; cf. 15.691c), and it seems unlikely that

Prousias. That this cup stands upright was noted earlier.<sup>336</sup> That it got its name from Prousias, who was the king of Bithynia and was notorious for his addiction to luxury and his effeminate behavior, is recorded by Nicander of Calchedon in Book IV of the Adventures of Prousias (FGrH 700 F 1).<sup>337</sup>

Rheonta. This was the name of cups of some sort. Astydamas mentions them in Hermes (TrGF 60 F 3), putting it as follows:

two silver mixing-bowls, first of all, and 50 *phialai*, ten *kumbia*, and a dozen *rheonta*, ten of them made of silver, two of gold—one a griffin, the other a Pegasus.

*Rhusis*. A gold *phial* $\bar{e}$ , (according to) Theodorus (*FGrH* 346 F 4). Cratinus in *The Laws* (fr. 132.1):<sup>338</sup>

pouring a libation using a rhusis.339

Rhodias. 340 Diphilus in The Man Who Captured Walls (fr. 5.1-2)341—Callimachus (fr. 440 Pfeiffer) gives the title of this play as The Eunuch—says the following:

he had any authority for the word *rhusis* outside of the text of Cratinus.

340 See also 11.497f (citing Polemon fr. 57 Preller).

341 Quoted again immediately below in a more complete (and slightly different) form and with a more detailed discussion of the relationship of the play to *The Eunuch*. Although K-A treat these as a single fragment from a single play, they ought perhaps to be treated instead as separate fragments from related plays, as Athenaeus suggests.

πιεῖν γέ τι ἀδρότερον, ἢ τῶν ἙΡοδιακῶν ἢ τῶν ῥυτῶν.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Διώξιππος ἐν Φιλαργύρῳ καὶ 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης Λυγκεύς τε ὁ Σάμιος ἐν ταῖς 'Επιστολαῖς.

497 ἔσθ' ὑποχέασθαι πλείονας· πιεῖν γέ τι άδρότερον, ἢ τῶν ἙΡοδιακῶν ἢ τῶν ῥυτῶν.

Έπίνικος δ' έν Υποβαλλομέναις

- (A.) καὶ τῶν ῥυτῶν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὅντων τρία πίνειν δεήσει τήμερον πρὸς κλεψύδραν κρουνιζόμενον. (B.) ἀμφότερα δ' οἰωνίζομαι.
- (A.) † ἐστιν δ' ἐλέφας. (B.) ἐλέφαντας περιάγει; (A.) ῥυτὸν

χωροῦντα δύο χοᾶς, δν οὐδ' ἃν ἐλέφας ἐκπίοι. Ι ἐγὼ τοῦτο πέπωκα πολλάκις. †

- (Β.) οὐδὲν ἐλέφαντος γὰρ διαφέρεις οὐδὲ σύ.
- (Α.) ἔτερον τριήρης τοῦτ' ἴσως χωρεῖ χοᾶ.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου λέγων φησίν

342 The entire fragment is quoted at 11.472b.

h

<sup>343</sup> Cf. 11.469b. 344 A type of ceramic drinking-horn, as the discussion that follows makes clear. The word is cognate with the verb  $rhe\bar{o}$ , "flow". 345 Referred to in passing also at 11.469a (where the drinking vessel known as an *elephas* is being discussed), 500f (on the  $tri\bar{e}r\bar{e}s$ , "trireme"), with a cross-reference in both cases to this passage.

to drink a bit

harder than from Rhodiaka or drinking-horns.

Dioxippus in *The Miser* (fr. 4.2)<sup>342</sup> also mentions them, as do Aristotle in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 673) and Lynceus of Samos in his *Letters* (fr. 16b Dalby),<sup>343</sup>

Rhuton.<sup>344</sup> The word has a short upsilon and an acute accent on the final syllable. Demosthenes says in his Against Meidias (21.158): rhuta, kumbia, and phialai. Diphilus in The Eunuch or The Soldier (fr. 5)—the play is a revised version of The Man Who Captured Walls:

We can have more (cups) poured; to drink a bit harder than from *Rhodiaka* or drinking-horns.

Epinicus in Women Who Try to Pass off Supposititious Children (fr. 2, encompassing both quotations):<sup>345</sup>

(A.) And today he'll have to drink the contents of the three

biggest *rhuta* there are, while the waterclock's running. (B.) I'd call those both bad omens.

(A.) † There's an *elephas*. (B.) He's surrounding us with elephants? (A.) a *rhuton* 

that can hold two *choes*; not even an elephant could drink that much.

I've drained it many times myself. †

(B.) Because you're no different from an elephant.

(A.) The next one's a trieres; it holds maybe a chous.

And when he discusses the third one, he says:

(Α.) ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηγάσου τὴν πύρπνοον Χίμαιραν εἰσηκοντικώς. εἶέν· δέχου καὶ τοῦτο.

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ ρυτὸν πρότερον κέρας. δοκεῖ δὲ σκευοποιηθήναι ὑπὸ πρώτου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως φορήματα γενέσθαι τῶν ᾿Αρσινόης εἰκόνωνc τῆ γὰρ | εὐωνύμω χειρὶ τοιοῦτον φέρει δημιούργημα πάντων τῶν ὡραίων πλῆρες, ἐμφαινόντων τῶν δημιουργῶν ὡς καὶ τοῦ τῆς ᾿Αμαλθείας ἐστὶν ὀλβιώτερον τὸ κέρας τοῦτο. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Θεοκλῆς ἐν Ἰθυφάλλοις οὕτως·

ἐθύσαμεν γὰρ σήμερον Σωτήρια
 πάντες οἱ τεχνῖται·
 μεθ' ὧν πιὼν τὸ δίκερας ὡς τὸν φίλτατον
 βασιλέα πάρειμι.

Διονύσιος δ' δ Σινωπεὺς ἐν Σωζούση καταλέγων τινὰ ποτήρια καὶ τοῦ ρυτοῦ ἐμνήσθη, ὡς προεῖπον. Ι Ἡδύλος δ' ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασι περὶ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ὑπὸ Κτησιβίου τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ ρυτοῦ μνημονεύων φησί:

ζωροπόται καὶ τοῦτο φιλοζεφύρου κατὰ νηὸν τὸ ρυτὸν αἰδοίης δεῦτ' ἴδετ' ᾿Αρσινόης, ὀρχηστὴν Βησᾶν Αἰγύπτιον, δς λιγὰν ἦχον σαλπίζει κρουνοῦ πρὸς ρύσιν οἰγομένου,

346 Cf. the similar remark at 11.476b.

347 Ptolemy
Philadelphus is Ptolemy II of Egypt (reigned 285/3–246 BCE);
Arsinoe I was his queen.

348 For Amaltheia's horn, see
11.783c n.

349 For Ctesibius, cf. 4.174b—e with nn. For the
temple of Arsinoe referred to in this epigram, cf. 7.318b—d.

(A.) It's Bellerophon spearing the fire-breathing Chimaera from Pegasus' back.
Alright—take this one too!

Rhuta were referred to in the past as kerata ("horns").<sup>346</sup> The shape was apparently first produced by King Ptolemy Philadelphus to be carried by Arsinoe in the statues of her;<sup>347</sup> because in her left hand she carries an object of this sort, full of ripe fruit of all types, as if the artists were trying to show that this horn she has contains more wealth than the one that belonged to Amaltheia.<sup>348</sup> Theocles mentions this vessel in the Ithyphallics (p. 173 Powell), as follows:

For today all us craftsmen made the sacrifice that's part of the Soteria festival;

I drank the double-horn along with them, and I'm here to visit our beloved king.

Dionysius of Sinope in *The Girl Who Was Being Rescued* (fr. 5) listed a number of types of cups and mentioned the *rhuton*, as I noted earlier (11.467d). Hedylus in the *Epigrams* (HE 1843–52) refers to the *rhuton* made by the engineer Ctesibius<sup>349</sup> and says:

Come, lovers of strong wine, and behold this *rhuton* in the temple of the venerable Arsinoe, dear to the West Wind;

it represents the Egyptian dancer Besas,<sup>350</sup> who trumpets a shrill

blast when the stream is opened up, allowing the wine to flow.

 $^{350}$  A minor Egyptian fertility god, popular in the Greek world in the Hellenistic period. Cf. 11.784b with  $\bf n.$ 

οὐ πολέμου σύνθημα, διὰ χρυσέου δὲ γέγωνεν κώδωνος κώμου σύμβολα καὶ θαλίης. Νείλος δκοίον ἄναξ μύσταις φίλον ἱεραγωγοίς εδρε μέλος θείων πάτριον έξ δδάτων. αλλά Κτησιβίου σοφον εύρεμα τίετε τοῦτο-

δεῦτε, νέοι-νηῷ τῷδε παρ' ᾿Αρσινόης.

Θεόφραστος δ' έν τῶ Περὶ Μέθης τὸ ρυτόν φησιν ονομαζόμενον ποτήριον τοις ήρωσι μόνοις αποδίδοσθαι. Δωρόθεος δ' ὁ Σιδώνιός φησιν τὰ ρυτὰ κέρασιν ομοια είναι, διατετρημένα δ' είναι, εξ ων κρουνιζόντων λεπτώς κάτωθεν πίνουσιν, ώνομάσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῆς δύσ€ως.

Σαννάκια<sup>56</sup>. Κράτης ἐν πέμπτω ᾿Αττικῆς Διαλέκτου έκπωμά φησιν είναι ούτως καλούμενον έστι δε Περf σικόν. | Φιλήμων δ' έν τη Χήρα βατιακιών<sup>57</sup> μνησθείς καὶ τῆ γελοιότητι τοῦ ὀνόματος προσπαίξας φησί:

> ίπποτραγέλαφοι, βατιάκια,58 σαννάκια

56 Σαννάκια Kaibel: Σαννάκρα ΑCE

57 βατιακιῶν Olson: βατιακῶν Α

58 ACE have σαννάκρα (del. Kaibel) at the beginning of the line.

352 Cf. 11.461b-c (where this idea is assigned, however, to the

On Drunkenness of Chamaeleon).

e

<sup>351</sup> One basic function of the salpinx (referred to obliquely above in the verb salpizei, "trumpets") was to provide battlesignals.

This is no signal for war;<sup>351</sup> through its gold bell resounds the summons to celebrations and festivities,

like the beloved traditional song King Nile produces from his sacred waters for those who celebrate his mysteries.

But honor this clever invention of Ctesibius—come, young men!—in this temple of Arsinoe.

But Theophrastus in his On Drunkenness (fr. 575 Fortenbaugh) claims that the cup known as a rhuton is assigned exclusively to heroes. Dorotheus of Sidon<sup>353</sup> says that rhuta are similar to drinking-horns (kerata), but have holes drilled through them, allowing people to drink out of the bottom as the wine slowly leaks out, and that they get their name from the trickle (rhusis) of liquid.

Sannakia. Crates in Book V of the Attic Dialect (FGrH 362 F 10 = fr. 110 Broggiato)<sup>354</sup> claims that a type of drinking vessel is referred to this way; it comes from Persia. Philemon in his *The Widow* (fr. 90) first mentions batiakia<sup>355</sup> and then makes a joke about how ridiculous the name is, saying:

horse-goat-stag cups,<sup>356</sup> batiakia, sannakia.

353 Probably an error; the intended reference seems more likely to be to the lexicographer and grammarian Dorotheus of Ascalon than to the astronomer-poet Dorotheus of Sidon.

354 Most likely simply drawing on Philemon (quoted below),

since the word appears to be otherwise unattested.

355 Drinking vessels of some sort; cf. 11.784a-b.

356 Cf. 11.500e-f (on "goat-stag cups").

Σελευκίς. ὅτι ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν τὸ ἔκπωμα προείρηται, ἱστοροῦντος τοῦτο καὶ ᾿Απολλοδώρου τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίου. Πολέμων δ᾽ ἐν πρώτω τῶν Πρὸς ᾿Αδαῖον, ποτήρια, φησί, παραπλήσια Σελευκίς, Ἡροδιάς, ᾿Αντιγονίς. ||

Σκαλλίον. κυλίκιον μικρόν, δι σπένδουσιν Αἰολεῖς,

ώς Φιλητας φησιν έν Ατάκτοις.

Σκύφος. τούτου τινές την γενικην σύν τῷ σ̄ προφέρονται διὰ παντός, οὐκ εὖ ὅτε γὰρ ἀρσενικόν ἐστιν ὁ σκύφος, ὡς λύχνος, ἄνευ τοῦ σ̄ προοισόμεθα, ὅτε δὲ οὐδέτερον τὸ σκύφος, σὺν τῷ σ̄ κλινοῦμεν σκύφος σκύφους, ὡς τεῖχος τείχους. οἱ δ᾽ ᾿Αττικοὶ τὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ ἀρσενικῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως λέγουσιν. Ἡσίοδος δ᾽ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Μελαμποδίας σὺν τῷ π̄ σκύπφον λέγει

τῷ δὲ Μάρης θοὸς ἄγγελος ἦλθε δι' οἴκου, Ι πλήσας δ' ἀργύρεον σκύπφον φέρε, δῶκε δ' ἄνακτι.

καὶ πάλιν

498

b

καὶ τότε μάντις μὲν δεσμὸν βοὸς αἴνυτο χερσίν, Ἰφικλος δ' ἐπὶ νῶτ' ἐπεμαίετο· τῷ δ' ἐπ' ὅπισθεν

 $<sup>^{357}</sup>$  Generally referred to elsewhere as the Response to Adaeus and Antigonis (e.g. 5.210a; 11.462a); called the Response to Antigonis on Painters at 11.474c.  $^{358}$  Cf. Hsch.  $\sigma$  817.

 $<sup>^{359}</sup>$  I.e. as skuphous (as if the word were a third-declension neuter like genos).  $^{360}$  Sc. in the genitive singular, skuphou.

<sup>361</sup> skuphos and teixos are the nominative singular forms, while skuphous and teichous are the genitive singular forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> I.e., presumably, they offer both masculine accusative singular *skuphon* and the metrically indistinguishable neuter accusative singular *skuphos*.

Seleukis. That this drinking vessel got its name from King Seleucus was noted earlier (11.783e); the source of the information is Apollodorus of Athens (FGrH 244 F 273). And Polemon says in Book I of his Response to Adaeus<sup>357</sup> (fr. 57 Preller): The Seleukis, Rhodias, and Antigonis are similar types of cups.

Skallion. A tiny little kulix used by Aeolians to pour libations, according to Philetas in the Miscellany (fr. 7

Dettori = fr. 35 Spanoudakis).358

Skuphos. Some authorities pronounce the genitive of this word with a sigma<sup>359</sup> in all circumstances. This is incorrect; because when skuphos is treated as masculine, like luchnos ("lamp"), we should pronounce it without the sigma,<sup>360</sup> whereas when it is treated as neuter, we should decline it with the sigma, skuphos, skuphous, like teixos ("wall"), teichous.<sup>361</sup> But Attic authors give the accusative in both masculine and neuter forms.<sup>362</sup> Hesiod in Book II of the Melampodia (fr. 271) offers skupphos, with a pi.<sup>363</sup>

Marēs went through the house for him as a swift messenger.

and he filled a silver skupphos, and brought it and gave it to the king.

And again (fr. 272):

And then the seer took a thong of ox-hide in his hands,

while Iphiclus grabbed him by the back. And from behind him,

<sup>363</sup> The additional consonant allows the word to be used more easily in dactylic hexameter, as in the passages cited below.

σκύπφον έχων έτέρη, έτέρη δὲ σκῆπτρον ἀείρας ἔστειχεν Φύλακος καὶ ἐνὶ δμώεσσιν ἔειπεν.

δμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν τῆ Ἡρωολογία λέγων Ι c ὧδε· ἀμφιτρύων δὲ τὴν λείην δασάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ τὸν σκύπφον ἔχων ὃν εἴλετο αὑτῷ. καὶ πάλιν· τὸν δὲ σκύπφον Τηλεβόη δίδωσι Ποσειδῶν παιδὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ, Τηλεβόης δὲ Πτερέλεῳ· τοῦτον ἑλὼν ἀπέπλεεν. ὁμοίως εἴρηκε καὶ ἀνακρέων·

> έγω δ' έχων σκύπφον Ἐρξίωνι τῷ λευκολόφω μεστὸν ἐξέπινον,

ἀντὶ τοῦ προέπινον· κυρίως γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο προπίνειν, τὸ ἐτέρῳ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ δοῦναι πιεῖν. καὶ ὁ ᾿Οδυσσεὺς δὲ παρὰ τῷ ἙΟμήρῳ τῇ Ε

d 'Αρήτη δ' ἐν χερσὶ<sup>59</sup> τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον. καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι

πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' ἀχιλῆα.
πληροῦντες γὰρ προέπινον ἀλλήλοις μετὰ προσαγορεύσεως. Πανύασσις τρίτῳ Ἡρακλείας φησίν

59 The traditional text of Homer has χειρί.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> For Amphitryon's expedition against the Teleboans, see [Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.4.7; Paus. 1.37.6. For the vessel itself, cf. Plaut. *Amphitr.* 260–1. The two passages from Anaximander appear to be closely related, with the second tracing the history of the cup referred to in the first.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Returning to the discussion of different forms of the word skuphos/skupphos, after the brief excursus on the meaning of propinō.

holding a *skupphos* in one hand, and wielding a staff in the other,

came Phylacus, and he spoke among his slaves.

Likewise Anaximander in his Story of the Heroes (FGrH 9 F 1, encompassing both quotations), saying the following: 364 after Amphitryon divided the plunder among his allies and was holding the skupphos he had taken for himself. And again: Poseidon gave the skupphos to his son Teleboes, and Teleboes gave it Ptereleus; and after he got it, he began to sail away. Likewise Anacreon (PMG 433) says:

But I was holding a full skupphos and was draining it (exepinon) in honor of white-crested Erxion.

He uses this verb in place of proepinon, because this is, strictly speaking, what drinking a toast (propinein) involves, that is, giving the other person something to drink (piein) before (pro) one drinks oneself. So too the Homeric Odysseus (Od. 13.57)

placed a two-handled goblet in Arete's hands.

And in the Iliad (9.224):

He filled a goblet with wine and toasted Achilleus.

Because they used to fill their cups and toast (*proepinon*) one another as they exchanged words. Panyassis says in Book III of *The Epic of Heracles* (fr. 7 Bernabé):<sup>365</sup>

τοῦ κεράσας κρητήρα μέγαν χρυσοῖο φαεινὸν σκύπφους αἰνύμενος θαμέας ποτὸν ἡδὺν ἔπινεν.

Εὐριπίδης δ' έν Εὐρυσθεῖ ἀρσενικῶς ἔφη.

< ... > σκύφος τε μακρός.

καὶ ἀχαιὸς δ' ἐν Ὁμφάλη: Ι

ό δὲ σκύφος με τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖ.

Σιμωνίδης δὲ

< ... > οὐατόεντα σκύφον

ἔφη. "Ιων δ' ἐν 'Ομφάλη·

οἶνος οὐκ ἔνι

έν τῷ σκύφει,

τὸ σκύφει ἰδίως ἀπὸ τοῦ σκύφος σχηματίσας οὐδετέρως ἔφη. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Κύκλωπι:

< . . . > φέρ' ἐγχέας ἐς τὸ σκύφος.

καὶ "Αλεξις ἐν Λευκαδία.

οίνου γεραιοίς χείλεσιν μέγα σκύφος.

καὶ Ἐπιγένης ἐν Βακχίδι

τὸ σκύφος έχαιρον δεχόμενος.

Φαίδιμός τε έν πρώτω Ἡρακλείας-

δουράτεον σκύφος εὐρὺ μελιζώροιο ποτοίο. Ι

<sup>366</sup> An extract from a longer quotation preserved at 11.466f (which makes it clear that the verb must be treated as something approaching a perfect).

After he mixed a large, glistening gold mixing-bowl of this, he took

numerous skupphoi and drank the sweet drink.

Euripides in *Eurystheus* (fr. 379) used the word as a masculine:

and a large skuphos.

So too Achaeus in Omphale (TrGF 20 F 33.1):366

The god's skuphos (masc.) has been summoning me.

And Simonides (PMG 631) said:

a skuphos (masc.) with handles.

But Ion in Omphale (TrGF 19 F 26) said:

There's no wine

in the skuphos,

producing an eccentric dative form *skuphei* from *skuphos*, and treating the word as neuter. Likewise Epicharmus in *Cyclops* (fr. 72):

Pour (some wine) into the *skuphos* (neut.) and bring it (to me)!

Also Alexis in The Girl from Leucas (fr. 135):

a large skuphos (neut.) of wine with aged lips.

And Epigenes in Bacchis (fr. 3):

I was happy when I got the skuphos (neut.).

Also Phaedimus in Book I of the Epic of Heracles (SH 669):

a broad wooden *skuphos* (neut.) full of wine sweet as honey.

f καὶ παρ' Όμήρος ᾿Αριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος γράφει. 60

πλησάμενος δ' ἄρα οἱ δῶκε σκύφος, ὧ περ ἔπινεν.

'Αρίσταρχος δέ

πλησάμενος δ' ἄρα οἱ δῶκε σκύφον, ὧ περ ἔπινεν.

Άσκληπιάδης δ' ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος φησὶν ὅτι τῷ σκύφει καὶ τῷ κισσυβίῳ τῶν μὲν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μετρίων οὐδεὶς ἐχρῆτο, συβῶται δὲ καὶ νομεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγρῷ, ὡς ὁ Εὔμαιος

πλησάμενος δῶκε σκύφος, ῷ περ ἔπινεν, οἴνου ἐνίπλειον.

καὶ ἀλκμὰν δέ φησι !!

499 πολλάκι δ' ἐν κορυφαῖς ὀρέων, ὅκα
σιοῖσι Γάδη πολύφανος ἑορτά,
χρύσιον ἄγγος ἔχοισα, μέγαν σκύφον,
οῗά τε ποιμένες ἄνδρες ἔχοισιν,
χερσὶ λεόντεον ἐν γάλα θεῖσα
τυρὸν ἐτύρησας μέγαν ἄτρυφον ᾿Αργειφόντα.

Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν Περραιβίσι φησί-

 $^{60}$  The traditional text of Homer has καὶ οἱ πλησάμενος δῶκε σκύφος, ὧπερ ἔπινεν.

<sup>367</sup> Presumably a reference to Od. 14.112. But neither Aristophanes' version of the text nor Aristarchus' is accepted by mod-

So too in the text of Homer<sup>367</sup> Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 201 Slater) writes:

So he filled a *skuphos* (neut.), from which he himself drank, and gave it to him.

But Aristarchus (writes):

So he filled a *skuphos* (masc.), from which he himself drank, and gave it to him.

Asclepiades of Myrlea in his On Nestor's Cup<sup>368</sup> says that no one from the city or who was even moderately well-to-do used a skuphos or a kissubion. Instead it was swine-herds, shepherds, and country-folk, as for example Eumaeus (Od. 14.112–13)

filled a *skuphos* (neut.), from which he himself drank, and gave it to him, full of wine.

Alcman (PMG 56) as well says:

Often on the mountain-tops, when the festival full of torches delights the gods, you held a gold vessel, a large *skuphos*, the type that shepherds own, and you took lion-milk into your hands, and made a large, solid cheese for Argeiophontes.<sup>369</sup>

And Aeschylus says in Women of Perrhaebi (fr. 184):

ern editors, who instead print it in the form in which it is given by Asclepiades of Myrlea, below.

368 Also quoted at 11.477b, where see n.

369 Hermes.

ποῦ μοι τὰ πολλὰ δῶρα κάκροθίνια; ποῦ χρυσότευκτα κάργυρᾶ σκυφώματα;

Στησίχορος δὲ τὸ παρὰ Φόλω τῷ κενταύρω ποτήριον σκύφιον δέπας καλεῖ ἐν ἴσω τῷ σκυφοειδές· λέγει δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· Ι

σκύφιον δὲ λαβὼν δέπας ἔμμετρον ώς τριλάγυνον πι ἐπισχόμενος, τό ρά οἱ παρέθηκε Φόλος

κεράσας.

καὶ "Αρχιππος δὲ ἐν 'Αμφιτρύωνι οὐδετέρως εἴρηκε. λάγυνον δὲ μέτρου λέγουσιν εἶναι ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς Ελλησιν, ὡς χοὸς καὶ κοτύλης· χωρεῖν δ' αὐτὸ κοτύλας 'Αττικὰς δώδεκα. καὶ ἐν Πάτραις δέ φασι τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ μέτρον τὴν λάγυνον. ἀρσενικῶς δὲ εἴρηκε τὸν λάγυνον Νικόστρατος μὲν ἐν Ἑκάτη·

(A.) τῶν κατεσταμνισμένων | ἡμιν λαγύνων πηλίκοι τινές; (Β.) τρίχους.

καὶ πάλιν

h

c

τὸν μεστὸν ἡμῖν φέρε λάγυνον.

καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐπιγραφομένη Κλίνη

<sup>370</sup> The fragment is identified at 11.499e as coming from the *Geryoneis*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Pholus entertained Heracles in the course of his Labors, but the wine he served attracted the other centaurs, and a battle between them and Heracles resulted ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.5.4, associating the visit to Pholus' cave with the capture of the Erymanthian Boar).

Where are my many gifts and dedications? Where are my skuphōmata made of gold and silver?

Stesichorus (PMG 181)<sup>370</sup> refers to the cup in the house of Pholus the centaur<sup>371</sup> as a skuphion depas, meaning that it looks like a skuphos. He says about Heracles:

He took the skuphion depas that held about three lagunoi,

and which Pholus had mixed and set beside him, and put it to his lips and drank.

Archippus in Amphitryon (fr. 7) also uses the word in the neuter. <sup>372</sup> They say that a lagunos is the name of a Greek unit of measure, like a chous and a kotulē, and is equivalent to twelve Attic kotulai. <sup>373</sup> They also say that this unit, the lagunos (fem.), is used in Patras. But Nicostratus in Hecate (fr. 10, encompassing both quotations) has the word as masculine:

(A.) How large (masc.) are the *lagunoi* we transferred from the wine-jars? (B.) They hold three *choes*.

And again:

Bring us the full lagunos (masc.)!

And in his play entitled The Couch (fr. 14):

<sup>372</sup> A quotation has perhaps fallen out of the text. This is clearly a final fragment of the source that deals with the grammatical gender of *skuphos* quoted at 11.498a–f, and sits awkwardly in the discussion here.

373 About three quarts.

καὶ δυσχερης λάγυνος οὖτος πλησίον όξους.

Δίφιλος ἐν ἀνασωζομένοις.

λάγυνον ἔχω κενόν, ὧ γραῦ, θύλακον δὲ μεστόν.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῷ γράφει καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπεδήμησας ‹ἐν >61 Σάμω, Διαγόρα, πολλάκις οἶδά σε παραγινόμενον εἰς τοὺς παρ ἐμοὶ πότους, ἐν οἷς λάγυνος κατ' ἄνδρα κείμενος Ι οἰνοχοεῖτο, πρὸς ἡδονὴν διδοὺς ἑκάστω ποτήριον. ᾿Αριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Θετταλῶν Πολιτεία θηλυκῶς λέγεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν τὴν λάγυνον. καὶ 'Ριανὸς ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν·

ήμισυ μέν πίσσης κωνίτιδος, ήμισυ δ' οἴνου, 'Αρχίν', ἀτρεκέως ήδε λάγυνος έχει, λεπτοτέρης δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ἐρίφου κρέα πλην ὅ γε πέμψας αἰνεῖσθαι πάντων ἄξιος Ἱπποκράτης.

οὐδετέρως δὲ Δίφιλος ἐν ἀδελφοῖς εἴρηκεν Ι

ὧ τοιχωρύχον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τῶν δυναμένων λαγύνιον ἔχον βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ γεύμαθ ὑπὸ μάλης, καὶ τοῦτο πωλεῖν μέχρι ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐράνῳ

61 add. Musurus

e

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> The sense of the fragment is obscure, and the fact that the diminutive *lagunion* is used as neuter shows nothing about what Diphilus took to be the grammatical gender of *lagunos*.

This *lagunos* (masc.) full of vinegar that's next to us is also disgusting.

Diphilus in Men Trying to Get Home Safe (fr. 12):

I've got an empty lagunos (masc./neut.), old woman, and a full grain-sack.

Lynceus of Samos writes in his Letter to Diagoras (fr. 6 Dalby): During the time you visited Samos, Diagoras, I know that you were often at my drinking parties; at them, a lagunos (masc.) lay beside each man, full of wine, offering every person a cup whenever he felt like one. But Aristotle in his Constitution of the Thessalians (fr. 503) claims that the Thessalians use the word as feminine. Likewise the epic poet Rhianus in the Epigrams (fr. 75, p. 21 Powell = HE 3246-9):

This lagunos (fem.), Archinus, contains precisely onehalf

pine-cone resin, and one-half wine, and I've never seen meat from a skinnier kid. But

Hippocrates, who

sent these gifts, deserves our praise on all accounts.

Diphilus in Brothers (fr. 3), on the other hand, uses it as neuter:<sup>374</sup>

# What a crooked

lagunion that is, that belongs to powerful people!

To go to the wine-sampling area with it under her arm.

and sell it until, just like what happens at dinner parties,

εἷς λοιπὸς ἢ κάπηλος ἠδικημένος ὑπ' οἰνοπώλου.

τὸ δ' ἐν Γηρυονηίδι Στησιχόρου

< . . . > ἔμμετρον ὡς τριλάγυνον

τὴν τῶν τριῶν γενῶν ἀμφιβολίαν ἔχει. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι λέγεσθαι τὴν πέτασον καὶ τὴν στάμνον ὑπό τινων. τὸ δὲ σκύφος ἀνομάσθη ἀπὸ τῆς σκαφίδος. καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀγγεῖον ξύλινον στρογγύλον γάλα καὶ ὀρὸν | δεχόμενον, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρω λέγεται·

ναῖον δ' ὀρῷ ἄγγεα πάντα, γαυλοί τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖς ἐνάμελγεν.

εἰ μὴ σκύφος οἷον σκύθος τις διὰ τὸ τοὺς Σκύθας περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος μεθύσκεσθαι· Ἱερώνυμος δ' δ 'Ρόδιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης καὶ τὸ μεθύσαι Σκυθίσαι φησί· συγγενὲς γὰρ εἶναι τὸ Φ ΙΙ τῷ Θ̄. ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ μίμησιν εἰργάσαντο κεραμέους τε καὶ ἀργυροῦς σκύφους. ὧν πρῶτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο καὶ κλέος ἔλαβον οἱ

<sup>375</sup> An extract from a longer fragment quoted at 11.499b (but without the title of the work). <sup>376</sup> Sc. because it is simply an element in the compound adjective *trilagunos*.

377 Both nouns are normally masculine; but the comment ap-

pears otherwise out of place here.

<sup>378</sup> The etymology of *skuphos* is obscure, and whether there is a connection with *skaphos* (cognate with *skaptō*, "dig") is unclear.

<sup>379</sup> For Scythian drinking, see 10.427a—c; cf. 12.524c. This discussion of the supposed—in fact chimerical—relationship between the words *skuphos* and *skuthos* (resumed below, after a

500

there's only one bartender left who's been cheated by a wine-merchant!

But as for the phrase

that held about three lagunoi

in Stesichorus' Geryoneis (PMG 181.1),<sup>375</sup> it is unclear which of the three genders the word belongs to.<sup>376</sup> Eratosthenes (fr. 82, p. 54 Strecker) claims that some people use petasos ("broad-brimmed hat") and stamnos ("winejar") as feminines.<sup>377</sup> The skuphos gets its name from the skaphis,<sup>378</sup> which is also a round wooden vessel used to hold milk and whey, as Homer says (Od. 9.222–3):

and all the vessels ran with whey, the milk-pails and the *skaphides*, which he had made, and into which he did his milking.

Unless a skuphos is, as it were, a skuthos, because of the fact that the Scythians get more drunk than they should. The Hieronymus of Rhodes in his On Drunkenness (fr. 27 Wehrli) glosses methusai ("to be drunk") as Skuthisai ("to act like a Scythian"); for phi and theta are cognate sounds. Later on they produced ceramic and silver skuphoi that imitated them.

brief interruption; see the next note) is clearly drawn from a different source than what precedes it. Cf. 11.500b (citing Parmenon).

380 This explains why skuphos and skuthos are (allegedly) the same word, marking the reference to Hieronymus as a clumsy Athenaean insertion into his source document.

381 I.e. the wooden skaphides mentioned above, in a source-document to which Athenaeus now returns, and to which skuphoi are supposed to be both etymologically and historically related.

Βοιώτιοι λεγόμενοι, χρησαμένου κατὰ τὰς στρατείας πρώτου Ἡρακλέους τῷ γένει διὸ καὶ Ἡρακλέωτικοὶ πρός τινων καλοῦνται. ἔχουσι μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους διαφοράν ἔπεστι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤτων αὐτοῖς ὁ λεγόμενος Ἡράκλειος δεσμός. μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν Βοιωτίων σκύφων Βακχυλίδης ἐν τούτοις ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκόρους, καλῶν | αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια:

οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὕτε χρυσός, οὕτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής, Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.

διήνεγκαν δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Βοιωτίους οἱ Ῥοδιακοὶ λεγόμενοι Δαμοκράτους δημιουργήσαντος· τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. καλεῖται δ' ὁ σκύφος ὑπὸ Ἡπειρωτῶν, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος, λυρτός, ὑπὸ δὲ Μηθυμναίων, ὡς Παρμένων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διαλέκτου, σκύθος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δερκυλλίδας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος | Σκύφος, ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος ἐν τἢ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη λέγων οὕτως· Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ Θίμβρωνος Δερκυλλίδαν ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν, ἀκούοντες ὅτι πάντα πράττειν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν βάρβαροι μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου. διόπερ Δερκυλλίδαν ἔπεμψαν ἤκιστα νομίζοντες ἐξαπατηθήσεσθαι· ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ Λακωνικὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀπλοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ πανοῦργον καὶ

<sup>382</sup> Cf. 4.137e n.; 6.237e; 9.372a.

<sup>383 &</sup>quot;Scythian"; cf. 11.499f-500a.

 $<sup>^{384}</sup>$  X.  $\acute{H}G$  3.1.8 reports that Dercyllidas (Poralla #228) was actually nicknamed Sisyphus, after the arch-trickster of Greek mythology. But Athenaeus' version of the story would seem intended

known of these were the so-called Boeotians; Heracles was the first to use this type, during his military campaigns, and some authorities accordingly refer to them as Heracleotic skuphoi. They are actually different from the others, because they have the so-called Heracles-band on their handles. Bacchylides (fr. 21) mentions Boeotian skuphoi in the following passage, in which he addresses the Dioscuri and invites them to dinner: 382

There are no sides of beef here, no gold, and no purple tapestries.

But there is a kind heart, and a sweet Muse, and delicious wine in Boeotian skuphoi.

After the Boeotians, the next most distinguished variety were the so-called Rhodians, which were manufactured by Damocrates; the Syracusan type came third. According to Seleucus (fr. 47 Müller), the Epirotes refer to a skuphos as a lurtos, whereas the Methymnians, according to Parmenon in his On Dialect, call it a skuthos. The Spartan Dercyllidas was also known as Skuphos, according to Ephorus in Book XVIII (FGrH 70 F 71), where he says the following: The Spartans sent Dercyllidas rather than Thimbron 585 to Asia, since they heard that the barbarians in Asia tended to do everything by means of treachery and deceit. They accordingly sent Dercyllidas, because they felt that he was very unlikely to be tricked, since he did not behave like a Spartan at all and was not straightforward,

to lend further support to the notion that *skuphos* and *skuthos* are in origin the same word, meaning that Dercyllidas was really nicknamed "the Scythian".

385 Poralla #374.

τὸ θηριῶδες. διὸ καὶ Σκύφον αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

προσηγόρευον.

Ы

Ταβαίτη. 'Αμύντας | ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν τῆς 'Ασίας Σταθμῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀερομέλιτος καλουμένου διαλεγόμενος γράφει οὕτως σὺν τοῖς φύλλοις δρέποντες συντιθέασιν εἰς παλάθης Συριακῆς τρόπον πλάττοντες, οἱ δὲ σφαίρας ποιοῦντες. καὶ ἐπειδὰν μέλλωσι προσφέρεσθαι, ἀποκλάσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ξυλίνοις ποτηρίοις, οῦς καλοῦσι ταβαίτας, προβρέχουσι καὶ διηθήσαντες πίνουσι. καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιον ὡς ἄν τις μέλι πίνοι διείς, τούτου δὲ καὶ πολὺ ἥδιον.

Τραγέλαφος. οὕτω τινὰ καλεῖται Ι ποτήρια, ὧν

μνημονεύει 'Αλεξις μεν έν Κονιατή.

κυμβία,

φιάλαι, τραγέλαφοι, κύλικες.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Κατακολλωμένω.

άλλ' εἰσὶ φιάλαι πέντε, τραγέλαφοι δύο.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἁλιεῖ φησι

< . . . > τραγέλαφοι, λαβρώνιοι.

'Αντιφάνης Χρυσίδι<sup>.</sup>

(A.) <τῷ> σατραποπλούτῳ δ', ὡς λέγουσι, νυμφίῳ,

κεκτημένω τάλαντα, παίδας, ἐπιτρόπους, ζεύγη, καμήλους, στρώματ', ἀργυρώματα,

<sup>386</sup> Sc. in wine.

 $<sup>^{387}</sup>$  Literally a "goat-stag (cup)". Cf. the "horse-goat-stag cup" mentioned in Philem. fr. 90 (quoted at 11.497f).

but was instead quite wily and brutal. This is why the Spartans called him Skuphos.

Tabaitē. Amyntas in Book I of his Way-Stations in Asia (FGrH 122 F 1) writes as follows in his discussion of what is referred to as oak-manna: They strip it off, along with the leaves, and compress and mould it in the same way you would to make a Syrian cake of dried fruit, although others make it into balls. When they are ready to serve it, they break off chunks of the cakes and soak them ahead of time in wooden cups, which they refer to as tabaitai, and then strain the liquid and drink it. It is like drinking honey that has been soaked. 386 but is considerably sweeter.

Tragelaphos.<sup>387</sup> This is a term for certain cups mentioned by Alexis in *The Plasterer* (fr. 111):

kumbia.

phialai, tragelaphoi, kulikes.

Eubulus in *The Man Who Was Glued to the Spot* (fr. 47): But there are five *phialai*, two *tragelaphoi*.

And Menander says in *The Fisherman* (fr. 26.4):<sup>388</sup> tragelaphoi, labrōnioi.

Antiphanes in Chrysis (fr. 223):

(A.) for the bridegroom who's as rich as a satrap, people say, who owns talents of silver, slaves, overseers, ox-teams, camels, bed-clothes, silver vessels,

388 An excerpt from a longer fragment quoted at 11.484c-d, where see n.

φιάλας, τριήρεις, τραγελάφους, καρχήσια, Ι γαυλοὺς όλοχρύσους (Β.) πλοία; (Α.) τοὺς κάδους μὲν οὖν

καλοῦσι γαυλοὺς πάντες οἱ προγάστορες.

Τριήρης. ὅτι καὶ τριήρης εἶδος ἐκπώματος Ἐπίνικος ἐν Ὑποβαλλομέναις δεδήλωκε· προείρηται δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον.

'Υστιακόν. ποτήριον ποιὸν 'Ρίνθων ἐν 'Ηρακλεῖ·

έν ύστιακῷ τε καθαρὸν ἐλατῆρα < ... > καθαρῶν τ' ἀλήτων κἀλφίτων ἀπερρόφεις.

Φιάλη. Όμηρος μέν ὅταν λέγη·

< . . . > ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκεν, ||

501 καὶ

f

< ... > χρυσην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν,

οὐ τὸ ποτήριον λέγει, ἀλλὰ χαλκίον τι καὶ ἐκπέταλον λεβητώδες, ἴσως δύο ὧτα ἔχον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν. Παρθένιος δ' ὁ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀμφίθετον ἀκούει τὴν ἀπύθμενον φιάλην. ᾿Απολλόδωρος δ' ὁ ᾿Αθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Κρατῆρος ῥησειδίφ τὴν κατὰ τὸν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> As Speaker B's question makes clear, the word *gaulos* is more often used of a type of large Phoenician merchant-ship; cf. *triēreis* (literally "triremes").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Literally a "trireme"; cf. akatos (literally "skiff"), gaulos (above), and kantharos (also the name of a type of boat).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> A broad, flat cake of some sort; cf. Olson on Ar. Ach. 245–6. The passage in fact suggests that hustiakon was a word for a mixing-bowl or mortar, presumably in Tarentum, where Rhinton was from.

phialai, triëreis, tragelaphoi, karchësia, gauloi<sup>389</sup> made of solid gold. (B.) You mean ships? (A.) All the fat guys

refer to wine-jars (kadoi) as gauloi.

Triērēs.<sup>390</sup> Epinicus in Women Who Try to Pass off Supposititious Children (fr. 2.8) makes it clear that a triērēs is a type of drinking vessel; the passage was cited earlier (11.497b).

Hustiakon. Rhinton in Heracles (fr. 3) (refers to this as) a cup of some sort:

you swallowed down an  $elat\bar{e}r^{391}$  made of bran-free flour

in a *hystiakon* and . . . of white meal and barleygroats.

Phialē. When Homer (Il. 23.270) says:

He set an *amphithetos phialē* that had never been placed over a fire (*apurōtos*),

and (cf. Il. 23.243):

a gold phialē and fat folded double,

he is not referring to a cup, but to a shallow bronze vessel that resembles a cauldron and perhaps has two handles on either side. Dionysius' student Parthenius understands amphithetos to mean a phial $\bar{e}$  that lacks a base. But Apollodorus of Athens in his short essay 393 On the Mixing-

392 I.e. as if amphithetos meant "[with handles] set on either side".

393 Literally "speech".

κὰδ δὲ λέβητ' ἄπυρον, βοὸς ἄξιον, ἀνθεμόεντα,

τον δεχόμενον ἴσως ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν φιάλην εἶναι χαλκίω προσεοικυῖαν ἐκπετάλω, δεχομένην ψυχρον ὕδωρ. τὴν δ' ἀμφίθετον πότερα δύο βάσεις ἔχειν δεῖ νομίζειν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους, ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀμφὶ σημαίνει τὸ περί, τοῦτο δ' αὖ τὸ περιττόν; ὤστε λέγεσθαι τὴν περιττῶς πεποιημένην ἀμφίθετον, ἐπεὶ

<sup>394</sup> The actual meaning of the word is uncertain.

<sup>395</sup> Perhaps another fragment of On Nestor's Cup.

<sup>396</sup> Literally "the poet".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Literally "fire-less", i.e. "never exposed to fire". Cf. the similar remarks at 2.37f.

<sup>398 &</sup>quot;about", but also "beyond".

Bowl (FGrH 244 F 220) (takes it to be) a phiale that cannot be set on its base and made to stand firm that way, but one that must be set on its rim. Whereas some authorities claim that, in the same way that a vessel that can be picked up from both sides and transported (amphoterothen pheresthai) by means of its handles is called an amphiphoreus ("amphora"), so too in the case of an amphithetos phiale. Thus Aristarchus (argues that) this is a phiale that can be set (tithesthai) on either end, that is, on its base, but also on its rim. Dionysius Thrax (fr. 28 Linke), on the other hand, (maintains that) this is a round phiale, which runs around (amphitheousa) in a circular shape. 394 But Asclepiades of Myrlea says: 395 A phiale is, via substitution of a letter, a piale, that is, a cup that provides one with enough to drink (piein halis); because it is larger than an ordinary cup. As for a phiale that is amphithetos and apurotos, the latter means that it has either been coldforged or has never been placed over a fire, in the same way that Homer<sup>396</sup> refers to a cauldron as either (Il. 23.702) empuribētēs ("having gone over a fire") or apuros<sup>397</sup> (Iİ. 23.885):

And he set down an *apuros* cauldron, which was worth an ox and had a floral design worked into it,

perhaps meaning one used to hold cold water, so that the *phialē* in question resembles a shallow bronze vessel and is used to hold cold water. As for a *phialē* that is *amphithetos*, should we imagine that it has two bases, one oither side? Or is *amphi* used here in the sense of *peri*, <sup>398</sup> which is in turn to be understood *peritton* ("extraordinary")? In that case, an exquisitely made *phialē* could be referred to

τὸ ποιῆσαι θείναι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐλέγετο. δύναται |
δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν πυθμένα καὶ τὸ στόμα τιθεμένη· ἡ δὲ
τοιαύτη θέσις τῶν φιαλῶν Ἰωνική ἐστι καὶ ἀρχαία. ἔτι
γοῦν καὶ νῦν οὕτως Μασσαλιῆται τιθέασι τὰς φιάλας
ἐπὶ πρόσωπον. Κρατίνου δ' εἰπόντος ἐν Δραπέτισιν·

δέχεσθε φιάλας τάσδε βαλανειομφάλους,

Έρατοσθένης έν τω ένδεκάτω Περί Κωμωδίας την λέξιν άγνοεῖν φησι Λυκόφρονα τῶν γὰρ φιαλῶν οί όμφαλοὶ καὶ τῶν βαλανείων οἱ θόλοι παρόμοιοι, εἰς δὲ e τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀρύθμως παίζονται. Απίων δὲ | καὶ Διόδωρός φησι φιάλαι ποιαί, ὧν ὁ ὀμφαλὸς παραπλήσιος ήθμω. ὁ δὲ Μυρλεανὸς ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Κρατίνου, βαλανειόμφαλοι, φησίν, λέγονται, ὅτι οί όμφαλοι αὐτῶν και τῶν βαλανείων οι θόλοι ὅμοιοί είσιν. καὶ Δίδυμος δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰπὼν παρατίθεται <τὰ>62 Λυκόφρονος οὕτως ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμφαλῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις πυέλοις, ὅθεν τοῖς σκαφίοις άρύουσιν. Τίμαρχος δ' έν τετάρτω Περὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους Έρμοῦ, πεπαῖχθαί τις ἂν οἰηθείη, φησί, τὴν f λέξιν, διότι τὰ | πλείστα τῶν ᾿Αθήνησι βαλανείων κυκλοειδή ταις κατασκευαις όντα τους έξαγωγους έγει κατὰ μέσον, ἐφ' οδ χαλκοῦς ὀμφαλὸς ἔπεστιν. Ἰων δ' έν 'Ομφάλη.

62 add. Toup

<sup>399</sup> Quoted again below, at 11.501f.

<sup>400</sup> The two are cited together again at 14.642d-e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> Cf. Powell pp. 58–9 (who mistakenly cites this passage as coming from Timarchus' Book X); Susemihl proposed reading "Timachidas" rather than "Timarchus".

as amphithetos, since the ancients used theinai ("to put, set, place") to mean poiēsai ("to make"). But the reference might be instead to a phialē that is set on either its base or its lip, which is an ancient Ionian way of storing phialai. Even today, in fact, the Massaliotes store their phialai upside-down. When Cratinus in Runaway Slave-Girls (fr. 54)399 said:

Take these balaneiomphaloi phialai!,

Eratosthenes in Book XI of On Comedy (fr. 25, p. 31 Strecker) claims that Lycophron misunderstands the word; because the central bosses (omphaloi) on phialai resemble bathhouse (balaneia) drains, and this is thus a fairly sophisticated joke about the form of the vessel. Apion (FGrH 616 F 49), along with Diodorus, 400 says: a type of phialai, the central boss on which resembles a winestrainer. But Asclepiades of Myrlea says in his On Cratinus (Cratin. test. \*40): They are referred to as balaneiomphaloi because their central bosses resemble bathhouse (balaneia) drains. Didymus (pp. 42-4 Schmidt) too says the same thing and then cites Lycophron's comment, which runs as follows: (The image is drawn) from the omphaloi in women's bathtubs, which are drained using bowls. Timarchus says in Book IV of On Eratosthenes' Hermes: 401 This might be taken as a play on words, because the majority of Athenian bathhouses are round and have drain-holes in the middle, with a bronze omphalos set on top. Ion in Omphale (TrGF 19 F 20):

ἴτ' ἐκφορεῖτε, παρθένοι, κύπελλα καὶ μεσομφάλους.

οὕτω δ' εἴρηκε τὰς βαλανειομφάλους, ὧν Κρατίνος μνημονεύει

δέχεσθε φιάλας τάσδε βαλανειομφάλους.

καὶ Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν ᾿Αλθαία ἔφη· ΙΙ

λαβοῦσα πλήρη χρυσέαν μεσόμφαλον φιάλην· Τελέστης δ' ἄκατον ἀνόμαζέ νιν,

ώς τοῦ Τελέστου ἄκατον τὴν φιάλην εἰρηκότος. Φερεκράτης δὲ ἢ ὁ πεποιηκώς τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένους Πέρσας φησί·

στεφάνους τε πασι κωμφαλωτας χρυσίδας.

'Αθηναῖοι δὲ τὰς μὲν ἀργυρᾶς φιάλας ἀργυρίδας λέγουσι, χρυσίδας δὲ τὰς χρυσᾶς. τῆς δὲ ἀργυρίδος<sup>63</sup> Φερεκράτης μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις οὕτως μνημονεύει: Ι

οὖτος σύ, ποῖ τὴν ἀργυρίδα τηνδὶ φέρεις; χρυσίδος δὲ Κρατῖνος ἐν Νόμοις·

χρυσίδι σπένδων † γέγραφε † τοῖς ὄφεσι πιεῖν διδούς.

63 ἀργυρίδος φιάλης Α: φιάλης del. Meineke

502

h

<sup>402</sup> Quoted once already in this discussion, at 11.501d.

 $<sup>^{403}</sup>$  = PMG 811. For akatos (literally "skiff") as a cup-name, cf. 11.782f.

 $<sup>^{404}</sup>$  For doubts about the authorship of *Persians*, see 3.78d n.

Come, girls—bring forth goblets and cups with central bosses (mesomphaloi)!

This is how he refers to the *balaneiomphaloi* vessels mentioned by Cratinus (fr. 54):<sup>402</sup>

Take these balaneiomphaloi phialai!

So too Theopompus said in Althaea (fr. 4):

Taking a full gold *phialē* with a central boss (*mesomphalos*);

Telestes used to refer to it as an akatos,

as if Telestes referred to a *phialē* as an *akatos*.<sup>403</sup> Pherecrates (fr. 134)—or whoever the author of the *Persians* attributed to him is<sup>404</sup>—says:

and garlands and *chrusides* with bosses (*omphalōtai*) for everyone.

The Athenians refer to their silver (argurai) phialai as argurides, and to their gold (chrusai) phialai as chrusides. Pherecrates in Persians (fr. 135) mentions an arguris, as follows:

Hey you—where are you taking this arguris?

And Cratinus mentions a chrusis in Laws (fr. 132):405

pouring a libation with a *chrusis* † he has written † giving snakes a drink.

<sup>405</sup> The first two words of the fragment are quoted also, with the name of the vessel given in a slightly different form, at 11.496e, where see n.

καὶ "Ερμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψι

χρυσίδ' οἴνου πανσέληνον ἐκπιὼν ὑφείλετο.

καὶ ὅ γε ἐ < . . . > $^{64}$ 

### EK TOY IA

ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τις καὶ βαλανωτὴ φιάλη, ἦς τῷ πυθμένι χρυσοῖ ὑπέκειντο ἀστράγαλοι. Σῆμος δ' ἐν Δήλῳ ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι χαλκοῦν φοίνικα, Ναξίων ἀνάθημα, καὶ καρυωτὰς φιάλας χρυσᾶς. ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ φιάλας Ἄρεος καλεῖ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα. Αἰολεῖς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἄρακιν καλοῦσι.

Φθοίς. πλατείαι φιάλαι όμφαλωτοί. Εὔπολις-

σὺν φθοῖσι προσπεπωκώς.

έδει δε όξύνεσθαι ώς Καρσί, παισί, φθειρσί.

Φιλοτησία. κύλιξ τις, ην κατὰ φιλίαν προὔπινον, ὅς φησι Πάμφιλος. Δημοσθένης δέ φησι καὶ φιλοτησίας προὔπινεν. "Αλεξίς:

φιλοτησίαν σοι τήνδ' έγὼ ἰδία τε καὶ κοινῆ κύλικα προπίομαι.

<sup>64</sup> A folio was missing at this point from the manuscript from which the text in A was drawn, and the section of text that follows is drawn from the Epitome.

<sup>406</sup> Cognate with balanos, "acorn".

<sup>407</sup> Cf. Antiph. fr. 110.1 (quoted at 10.433c-d).

<sup>408</sup> Sc. in the dative plural, as in *phthoisi* in the quotation above (although modern editors place a circumflex on the penult rather than an acute on the ultima, as is recommended here).

Also Hermippus in Cercopes (fr. 38):

After he drank wine out of a *chrusis* as round as a full moon, he stole it.

And who was . . .

# FROM BOOK ELEVEN

There was also a type of *phialē* referred to as a *balanōtē*, <sup>406</sup> which had gold feet that resembled knucklebones set beneath its base. Semus (*FGrH* 396 F 18) says that a bronze palm-tree given by the Naxians was among the dedications on Delos, and was accompanied by gold *phialai* decorated with dates. Anaxandrides (fr. dub. 82)<sup>407</sup> calls cups of this sort Ares' *phialai*. The Aeolians refer to a *phialē* as an *arakis* 

Phthois. Flat phialai with a central boss. Eupolis (fr. 382):

having collapsed along with the phthoides.

The word ought to have an acute accent on the final syllable, 408 like *Karsí* ("Carians"), *paisí* ("children"), and *phtheirsí* ("fleas").

Philotēsia. A type of kulix, which they used to drink toasts of friendship (philia), according to Pamphilus (fr. XXXVIII Schmidt). Demosthenes (19.128) says: and he drank toasts out of philotēsia. Alexis (fr. 293):

I'll toast you with this *philotēsia kulix* both individually and as a group.

έκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὸ έταιρικὸν συνευωχούμενον φιλοτήσιον. 'Αριστοφάνης

έπτάπους γοῦν ἡ σκιά 'στιν † ἡ 'πὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ὡς ἥδη καλεῖ μ' ὁ χορὸς ὁ φιλοτήσιος.

διὰ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην πρόποσιν ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία, ὡς ἐν Λυσιστράτη:

δέσποινα Πειθοί καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία.

Χόννοι. παρὰ Γορτυνίοις ποτηρίου εἶδος, ὅμοιον Θηρικλείῳ, χάλκεον ὁ δίδοσθαι τῷ ἀρπασθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ φησιν Ἑρμῶναξ.

Χαλκιδικά. ποτήρια, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος τῆς Θρακικῆς, εὐδοκιμοῦντα.

Χυτρίδες. < "Αλεξις έν 'Υπο>βολιμαίω.65 |

# IA

502b

έγω Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως τέτταρα χυτρίδι' ἀκράτου τῆς τ' ἀδελφῆς προσλαβων τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ταὕτ', ἀπνευστί τ' ἐκπιων ως ἄν τις ἥδιστ' ἴσον ἴσω κεκραμένον, Ι

65 Manuscript A resumes at this point.

<sup>409</sup> For the context, cf. 11.782c.

<sup>410</sup> Probably supported in the original form of the text by a reference to the *Chalkidikon potērion* mentioned at Ar. Eq. 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> Properly "small pots" (diminutive of *chutra*, normally "cooking pot").

A group of friends having a feast together was also described as *philotēsios*. Aristophanes (fr. 695):

That shadow † that calls us to dinner, at any rate, is seven feet long; so now my chorus of friends (philotēsios) is summoning me.

It was referred to as a *philotēsia kulix* because of toasting of this sort, for example in *Lysistrata* (203):

Lady Persuasion and philotēsia kulix.

Chonnoi. The inhabitants of Gortyn (refer thus to) a type of cup that resembles a Thericleian and is made of bronze; it is given by an adult lover to the boy he kidnaps, 409 according to Hermonax.

Chalkidika. Cups with a good reputation, perhaps from

Chalcis in Thrace. 410

Chutrides. 411 Alexis in The Supposititious Child (fr. 246):412

# **BOOK ELEVEN**

Now that I've had four *chutridia* of strong wine in honor of King Ptolemy, 413 and the same number in honor

of the king's sister, emptying them without pausing for a breath,

mixed one-to-one, the most delicious proportion possible,

412 Much of the third and the fourth verses are quoted also at 10.431b. 413 I.e. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE), whose sister Arsinoe (verse 3) was also his wife.

καὶ τῆς 'Ομονοίας δύο, τί νῦν μὴ κωμάσω c άνευ λυχνούχου πρὸς τὸ τηλικοῦτο φῶς;

'Ηρόδοτος δ' έν τῆ πέμπτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν νόμον φησὶ θέσθαι 'Αργείους καὶ Αἰγινήτας 'Αττικὸν μηδὲν προσφέρειν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας μηδὲ κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων επιγωρίων το λοιπον αυτόθι είναι πίνειν, καὶ Μελέαγρος δ' ὁ κυνικὸς ἐν τῶ Συμποσίω ούτωσὶ γράφει καν τοσούτω πρόποσιν αὐτῶ βαρείαν διέδωκε. χυτρίδια βαθέα δώδεκα.

а

Ψυγευς η ψυκτήρ. Πλάτων | Συμποσίω "άλλα φέρε, παί", φάναι, "τὸν ψυκτήρα ἐκείνον," ἰδόντα αὐτὸν πλέον ἢ ὀκτὼ κοτύλας χωροῦντα, τοῦτον οὖν ἐμπλησάμενον πρώτον μεν αὐτον έκπιειν, έπειτα τώ Σωκράτει κελεύειν έγχειν, παραμηκύνειν έγχειροθντος τοθ Αργεβούλου, ευκαιρότατα προχέων ὁ παις τοῦ οίναρίου ανατρέπει τὸν ψυκτήρα. "Αλεξις ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένω φησί † τρικότυλον ψυγέα †. Διώξιππος Φιλαργύρω.

παρ' 'Ολυμπίχου δὲ Θηρικλείους έλαβεν έξ, † ιτάτους † δύο ψυκτήρας.

e Μένανδρος δ' έν τῶ ἐπιγραφομένω | δράματι Χαλκεῖά φησιν.

> τοῦτο δὴ τὸ νῦν ἔθος, "ἄκρατον" ἐβόων, "τὴν μεγάλην." ψυκτῆρά τις προύπινεν αὐτοῖς ἀθλίους ἀπολλύων.

<sup>414</sup> Literally a "cooler", i.e. a vessel that was packed with ice, snow, or chilled water, and in which a wine-jar was floated. 415 About two quarts.

plus two more in honor of Concord—why shouldn't I wander the streets drunk with no lamp, in light as bright as this?

Herodotus in Book V (88.2) of his *History* claims that the Argives and the Aeginetans passed a law that nothing made in Attica, including pottery, was to be brought to their sacrifices, and that in the future people there would be required to drink from local *chutrides*. Meleager the Cynic as well in his *Symposium* (fr. 1 Riese) writes as follows: In so grave a situation, he assigned him a toast to match: a dozen deep *chutridia*.

Psugeus or psuktēr.<sup>414</sup> Plato in the Symposium (213e, condensed): "But come, slave", he said, "—that psuktēr there!", since he saw that it held more than eight kotulai.<sup>415</sup> So after he filled it, he first drained it himself, and then ordered them to pour wine into it for Socrates. When Archebulus was trying to make (the party) last longer, the slave who was doing the pouring knocked over the psuktēr of wine in the nick of time. Alexis says in The Man Who Was Moving In (fr. 65, unmetrical): † a psugeus that holds three kotylai †. Dioxippus in The Miser (fr. 5):

He got six Thericleians from Olympichus, [corrupt] two *psuktēres*.

Menander says in his play entitled *The Chalkeia Festival* (fr. 401):

As people do nowadays, they started shouting: "Unmixed wine!" "The big cup!" Someone kept toasting them with a *psuktēr* and murdered the poor bastards.

Έπιγένης δ' ἐν Ἡρωίνη καταλέγων πολλά ποτήρια καὶ τοῦ ψυγέως οὕτως μνημονεύει

την Θηρίκλειον δεύρο καὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακὰ κόμισον λαβών τοὺς παίδας, εἶτ' οἴσεις μόνος ψυκτήρα, κύαθον, κυμβία.

Στράττις Ψυχασταίς.

δ δέ τις ψυκτήρ', δ δέ τις κύαθον χαλκοῦν κλέψας ἀπορών κεῖται, κοτύλη δ' ἀνὰ χοίνικα μάττει.

f "Αλεξις | δ' έν Ίππίσκω ψυκτηρίδιον καλεί διὰ τούτων

ἀπήντων τῶ ξένω είς την κατάλυσιν † ησονην † αίθων ἀνήρ. τοις παισί τ' είπα (δύο γαρ ήγον οἴκοθεν) τάκπώματ' είς τὸ φανερὸν έκλελιτρωμένα θείναι κύαθος δ' ήν άργυροῦς † τάκπώματα † ήγεν δύο δραχμάς, κυμβίον δὲ τέτταρας. ΙΙ ... > ψυκτηρίδιον τὲ δύ'66 ὀβολούς. Φιλιππίδου λεπτότερον.

Ήρακλέων δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ὃν ἡμεῖς, φησί, ψυγέα καλοθμεν, ψυκτηρίαν τινές ονομάζουσιν, τους δ' Αττι-

66 δέκ 6.230c

417 Obscure (perhaps a proverb).

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<sup>416</sup> A more complete version of the third verse (with a minor variant), followed by a fourth, is quoted at 11.469c.

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Epigenes in *The Heroine* (fr. 5.1–3)<sup>416</sup> lists many types of cups and refers as follows to a *psugeus*:

Get the slaves, and bring the Thericleian and the *Rhodiaka* here! And you all by yourself bring a *psuktēr*, a ladle, *kumbia*!

Strattis in Men Who Keep Cool (fr. 62):

One guy steals a *psuktēr*, while another steals a bronze ladle and lies there confused.

A cup kneads by the *choinix*.<sup>417</sup>

Alexis in *The Brooch* (fr. 2.1–8)<sup>418</sup> refers to the vessel as a *psukteridion* in the following passage:

I was meeting the stranger at the place I was staying [corrupt] an impetuous man.

And I told my slaves—I brought two of them from home—

to clean my drinking vessels and set them out where everyone

could see them. There was a silver ladle, † the drinking vessels †

weighed two drachmas; a *kumbion* weighed four . . . ; and a *psuktēridion* that weighed two obols and was thinner than Philippides.

Heracleon of Ephesus (fr. 7 Berndt) says: What we call a psugeus is referred to by some people as a psuktēria; Attic-

<sup>418</sup> Verses 3–9 of the fragment are quoted at 6.230b–c (with a slight variant in verse 7), where see nn. Philippides is *PA* 14351. For the title of the play, see 11.471e n.

κοὺς καὶ κωμφδεῖν τὸν ψυγέα ὡς ξενικὸν ὄνομα. Εὔφρων ἐν Ἀποδιδούση·

(Πυ.) ἐπὰν δὲ καλέση ψυγέα τὴν ψυκτηρίαν, τὸ τευτλίον δὲ σεῦτλα, φακέαν τὴν φακῆν, τί δεῖ ποεῖν; σὰ γὰρ εἶπον. (Β.) ὤσπερ χρυσίου Ι φωνῆς ἀπότεισον, Πυργόθεμι, καταλλαγήν.

# 'Αντιφάνης 'Ιππεῦσι

b

e

(A.) πως οὖν διαιτωμεσθα; (B.) τὸ μὲν ἐφίππιον στρωμ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὁ δὲ καλὸς πῖλος κάδος, ψυκτήρ· τί βούλει; πάντ', 'Αμαλθείας κέρας.

έν δὲ τῆ Καρίνη σαφῶς δηλοῦται, ὅτι τούτῷ ἐχρῶντο οἰνοχοοῦντες κυάθῷ· εἰπῶν γὰρ

τρίποδα καὶ κάδον παραθέμενος ψυκτῆρά τ' οἶνου < ... > μεθύσκεται,

έν τοῖς έξης ποιεῖ αὐτὸν λέγοντα.

πότος | ἔσται < ... > σφοδρότερος οὐκοῦν, εἰ φράσαι τις, οὐκέτι ἔξεστι κυαθίζειν γὰρ < ... > τὸν δὲ κάδον ἔξω καὶ τὸ ποτήριον λαβὼν ἀπόφερε τἆλλα πάντα.

<sup>419</sup> For Amaltheia's horn (a horn of plenty), cf. 11.783c n.

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speakers in fact make fun of *psugeus* as a foreign word. Euphro in *The Girl Who Was Repaying a Debt* (fr. 3):

(Pyrgothemis) When you call a *psuktēria* a *psugeus*, a *teutlion* ("beet") a *seutla*, and *phakē* ("lentil-soup") *phakea*—

what am I supposed to do? That's how you talk! (B.) Repay me,

Pyrgothemis, with a novel word of your own, as if you were changing money.

Antiphanes in Knights (fr. 108):

(A.) So how are we going to live? (B.) The saddlecloth

is what we'll lie on; the nice helmet's our wine-jar or our *psuktēr*. What do you want? We've got everything—Amaltheia's horn. 419

In *The Female Dirge-Singer* he makes it absolutely clear that they used this vessel by pouring wine into it with a ladle. Because after he says (fr. 112):

He had a table and a wine-jug and a *psuktēr* of wine set beside him, and he's getting drunk,

he represents the man as saying in the lines that follow immediately afterward (fr. 113):

It's going to be a really wild party. So if anyone claims, it's no longer possible to ladle it out because . . . take the wine-jug and the cup outside, and remove everything else!

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ᾿Ονομάτων, τὸν ψυγέα, φησίν, ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι δῖνον. Νίκανδρος δ᾽ ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς καλεῖσθαί φησι ψυκτήρια καὶ τοὺς ἀλσώδεις καὶ συσκίους τόπους τοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνειμένους, ἐν οῗς ἔστιν ἀναψῦξαι. Αἰσχύλος Νεανίσκοις:

< . . . > αὔρας ὑποσκίοισιν<sup>67</sup> ἐν ψυκτηρίοις.

d Εὐριπίδης | Φαέθοντι

ψυκτήρια δένδρη φίλαισιν ώλέναισι δέξεται.

καὶ ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον δὲ ποιήσας εἴθ' Ἡσίοδός ἐστιν ἢ Κέρκωψ ὁ Μιλήσιος·

ἔνθά ποτ' ἔσται ἐμὸν ψυκτήριον, ὅρχαμε λαῶν.

'Ωδός. οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ποτήριον, φησὶ Τρύφων ἐν τοῖς 'Ονοματικοῖς, τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ σκολίῳ διδόμενον, ὡς 'Αντιφάνης παρίστησιν ἐν Διπλασίοις·

(A.) τί οὖν ἐνέσται τοῖς θεοῖσιν; (B.) οὐδὲ ἔν, | ἂν μὴ κεράση τις. (A.) ἴσχε, τὸν ὠδὸν λάμβανε. ἔπειτα μηδὲν τῶν ἀπηρχαιωμένων

 $^{67}$  ὑποσκίοισιν CE: ὑπηκόοισιν A (which may be what Aeschylus wrote, but is unlikely to be what Athenaeus offered here)

Tryphon's student Dionysius says in his On Nouns: The ancients referred to a psugeus as a dinos. Nicander of Thyateira (FGrH 343 F 17) claims that shady, tree-filled spots dedicated to the gods in which you could cool off (anapsuxai) were also referred to as psuktēria. Aeschylus in Young Men (fr. 146):

breezes in cool, shaded places (psuktēria).

Euripides in Phaethon (fr. 782):

Cooling (psuktēria)

trees will receive you in their loving arms.

So too the author of the *Aegimius*, whether this is Hesiod (fr. 301) or Cercops of Miletus:

In this place someday will be my psuktērion, marshaller of the host!

Ōidos. According to Tryphon in his On Terminology (fr. 115 Velsen), this was the term for the cup offered when a skolion is sung, 420 as Antiphanes establishes in Men Who Were Twice as Big (fr. 85):

(A.) What'll be in it, then, for the gods? (B.) Nothing, unless someone mixes some wine. (A.) Hold on. Take hold of the \(\bar{o}idos\); and then don't recite one of these

420 For skolia, see 15.693f-6a.

τούτων περάνης, τὸν Τελαμῶνα, μηδὲ τὸν Παιῶνα, μηδ' Άρμόδιον.

<sup>3</sup> Ωοσκύφια. περὶ τῆς ἰδέας τῶν ποτηρίων ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Νεστορίδος φησὶν ὅτι δύο πυθμένας ἔχει, ἔνα μὲν τὸν κατὰ τὸ κύτος αὐτῷ συγκεχαλκευμένον, ἔτερον δὲ τὸν πρόσθετον ἀπ᾽ ὀξέος ἀρχόμενον, καταλήγοντα δὲ εἰς πλαf τύτερον, ἐφ᾽ | οὖ ἵσταται τὸ ποτήριον.

'Ωόν. Δίνων ἐν τρίτη Περσικών φησιν οὕτως· ἐστὶ δὲ ποτίβαζις ἄρτος κρίθινος καὶ πύρινος ὀπτὸς καὶ κυπαρίσσου στέφανος καὶ οἶνος κεκραμένος ἐν ผৢ৾ῷ

χρυσῷ, οὖ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πίνει.

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πλούταρχος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων κροταλισθεὶς ἤτησε φιάλην, ἀφ' ἦς σπείσας ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τἢ τούτων Μνημοσύνη μητρὶ προὔπιε πᾶσι φιλοτησίαν, ἐπειπὼν <δέ>

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φιάλαν || ώς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς έλὼν ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν < . . . > δωρήσεται,

οὐ μόνον

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Telamon was the father of Salaminian Ajax; a skolion that praises him is preserved at 15.695c. Cf. 11.783c n. For singing paeans (hymns in honour of Paian, a god often associated with Apollo) at dinner parties and symposia, see Alcm. *PMG* 98; Antiph. fr. 3.1 (quoted at 15.692f); Pl. *Smp*. 176a with Dover ad loc. Harmodius of Aphidnae (*PAA* 203425) and his lover Aristogiton assassinated Hipparchus son of Pisistratus in 514 and were remembered (inaccurately) as having freed Athens from the tyrants and established a democracy; see 13.602a; Th. 1.20.2;

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old-fashioned pieces, the Telamon, or the Paean, or the Harmodius. 421

Ōioskuphia. 422 As for the shape of these cups, Asclepiades of Myrlea in his On Nestor's Cup423 says that they have two bases, one beneath the belly and organically integrated with it, while the cup stands on the other, which is attached to it, and which begins with a slender shaft and ends up being much broader.

Ōion.<sup>424</sup> Dinon in Book III of the *History of Persia* (FGrH 690 F 4) says the following: There is potibazis, which is baked barley- and wheat-bread, and a wreath made of cypress, and wine mixed in a gold ōion, which the king himself drinks.

After Plutarch completed these extended remarks and was applauded by everyone, he asked for a *phialē*; after he poured a libation to the Muses and their mother Mnemosyne, <sup>425</sup> and toasted everyone with a *philotēsia* ("friendship cup"), he continued (Pi. O. 7.1–3):

As when someone takes a *phiala* boiling within with . . . of the vine and offers it from his wealthy hand,

not only (Pi. O. 7.4)

6.53.3-59; Olson on Ar. Ach. 978-9. Four skolia praising them are preserved at 15.695a-b; cf. Antiph. fr. 3.1 (quoted at 15.692f).

422 Literally "egg-skuphia".

423 Ouoted in context at 11.488f-9a.

424 Literally "egg".

425 Cf. 11.490e n.; appropriately invoked here to celebrate Plutarch's achievement in presenting his long catalogue of names of cups and related texts.

νεανία γαμβρῷ προπίνων,

άλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς φιλτάτοις, ἔδωκε τῷ παιδὶ περισοβεῖν κελεύσας<sup>68</sup>, τὸ κύκλῳ πίνειν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγων, παρατιθέμενος Μενάνδρου ἐκ Περινθίας·

οὐδεμίαν ή γραῦς ὅλως κύλικα παρῆκεν, ἀλλὰ πίνει τὴν κύκλῳ.

καὶ πάλιν ἐκ Θεοφορουμένης.

καὶ ταχὺ πάλιν τὸ πρῶτον περισόβει ποτήριον αὐτοῖς ἀκράτου.

b καὶ Εὐριπίδης δ' ἐν Κρήσσαις·

τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαῖρε κύλικος έρπούσης κύκλω.

αἰτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ Λεωνίδου μείζον ποτήριον καὶ εἰπόντος, κρατηρίζωμεν, ἄνδρες φίλοι < ... >
οὕτως δὲ τοὺς πότους Λυσανίας φησὶν ὁ Κυρηναῖος 
Ἡρόδωρον εἰρηκέναι ἐν τούτοις ἐπεὶ δὲ θύσαντες πρὸς 
δεῖπνον καὶ κρατῆρα καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ παιῶνας ἐτράποντο. καὶ ὁ τοὺς μίμους δὲ πεποιηκώς, οῦς αἰεὶ διὰ 
χειρὸς ἔχειν Δοῦρίς φησι τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα, λέγει 
που "κἠκρατηρίχημες" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπεπώκειμεν. Ι ἀλλὰ 
μήν, πρὸς θεῶν, ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη, οὐ δεόντως ἐκ

68 περισοβεῖν ἐν κύκλω κελεύσας Α: ἐν κύκλω del. Nauck

 $<sup>^{426}</sup>$  perisobein; cf. 4.130c, where the verb is used in a very similar context.

<sup>427</sup> kratēr, "mixing-bowl".

toasting his young son-in-law,

but also all his family and friends; and he gave it to the slave and ordered him "to shoo it around",<sup>426</sup> which he claimed meant "to drink around the circle", citing a passage from Menander's *The Girl from Perinthus* (*Perinth*. fr. 4 Sandbach):

The old woman didn't ignore a single kulix, but drank from every one that went around the circle.

And again in The Girl Who Was Possessed by a God (Theoph. fr. 3 Sandbach):

And again he

begins by quickly shooing around (perisobei) a cup of unmixed wine to them.

So too Euripides in Cretan Women (fr. 468):

Otherwise, take joy in the cup making its way around the circle!

When the grammarian Leonidas asked for a larger cup and said: We ought to be drinking straight from the mixing-bowl, my friends... Lysanias of Cyrene claims that Herodorus (FGrH 31 F 59) uses this term<sup>427</sup> for a drinking party in the following passage: when, after making sacrifice, they turned their attention to dinner, the kratēr, prayers, and paeans. So too the author of the mimes that, according to Duris (FGrH 76 F 72 = Sophr. test. 5), the wise Plato always had with him, somewhere says (Sophr. fr. 101) "and we drank straight from the mixing-bowl" to mean "we got drunk". No, by the gods, said Pompeianus;

μεγάλων πίνετε ποτηρίων, τὸν ἥδιστον καὶ χαριέστατον Ξενοφῶντα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, δς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ φησίν ὁ δ' αὖ Σωκράτης εἶπεν "ἀλλὰ πίνειν μέν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐμοὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι ό οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας ανθρώπους κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φλόγας έγείρει. δοκεί μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχειν ἄπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν γῆ φυομένων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, Ι ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ ἄναν άθρόως ποτίζη, οὐ δύναται ὀρθοῦσθαι οὐδὲ ταῖς ὥραις διαπλοῦσθαι ὅταν δὲ ὅσῳ ἤδεται τοσοῦτο πίνη, καὶ μάλα ὀρθά τε αὔξεται καὶ θάλλοντα ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν καρπογονίαν. οὕτω δη καὶ ήμεῖς, ην μὲν ἀθρόον τὸ ποτὸν ἐγχεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδ' ἀναπνεῖν μὴ ὅτι λέγειν δυνησόμεθα: ἢν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι μικρά ἐπιψακάζωσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ Γοργιείοις ῥήμασιν είπω, ούτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι μεθύειν Ι ύπὸ τοῦ οίνου, άλλ' άναπειθόμενοι προς το παιγνιωδέστερον άφιξόμεθα." είς ταῦτά τις ἀποβλέπων τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Ξενοφωντος επιγινώσκειν δυνήσεται ήν είχε πρός αὐτὸν ό λαμπρότατος Πλάτων ζηλοτυπίαν, ἢ τάχα φιλονίκως εἶχον ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς έαυτοὺς οἱ ἄνδρες οὖτοι, αἰσθόμενοι της ίδίας έκάτερος άρετης, καὶ ἴσως καὶ περὶ πρωτείων διεφέροντο, οὐ μόνον έξ ὧν περὶ Κύρου εἰρήκασι τεκμαιρομένοις ἡμιν, ἀλλὰ κάκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑποθέσεων. Συμπόσια μὲν γὰρ γεγράφασιν ἀμφόf τεροι. Ικαὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν τὰς αὐλητρίδας ἐκβάλλει, ὁ

 $<sup>^{428}</sup>$  Much of what follows (to 11.509e) appears to be taken (perhaps via a secondary source) from Herodicus the Cratetean (pp. 24–5, 30–40 Düring); cf. 5.218e–19a (from the same essay).

you should not drink from large cups, at least not if you focus your attention on the delightful, witty Xenophon, who says in his Symposium (2.24-6): But Socrates responded: "Well, gentlemen, I too am very much of the opinion that we ought to be drinking. Because by watering our souls, wine does in fact put our cares to sleep, as mandrake does to people generally, while also rousing our fires. It seems to me, in fact, that human bodies are affected in the same way as plants growing in the earth are. Because when the latter get too much rain at any one time, they cannot stand up straight or open their blossoms at the right moment; whereas if they get exactly the right amount to drink, they grow quite straight and are flourishing when they reach the point where they produce their crop. So too with us: if we constantly pour ourselves one drink after another, our bodies and our minds will soon cease to function, and we will become incapable of speaking or even breathing. But if the slaves sprinkle only a little on us (if I may use a Gorgianic expression) using tiny cups, the wine will not force us to get drunk, and we will instead be persuaded to attain a rather playful condition." Anyone who studies this passage from the noble Xenophon will be able to recognize how jealous the distinguished Plato was of him-or perhaps how competitive these men were with each other from the very first, since they both saw where they excelled personally. 428 And it may be that they were also divided by their desire to be the most important, as we can tell not only from what they have to say about Cyrus, but also from their essays on similar topics. Because they both wrote Symposia, but within them one author expels pipe-girls from the party,

δὲ εἰσάγει. καὶ ὁ μέν, ὡς πρόκειται, παραιτεῖται πίνειν μεγάλοις ποτηρίοις, δ δε τον Σωκράτην παράγει τῶ ψυκτήρι πίνοντα μέχρι τής ἔω. κάν τῶ Περὶ Ψυχής δὲ ο Πλάτων καταλεγόμενος έκαστον τῶν παρατυχόντων ούδε κατά μικρον του Ξενοφώντος μέμνηται. καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κύρου οὖν ὁ μὲν λέγει ὡς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας έπεπαίδευτο πάντα τὰ πάτρια, ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ὥσπερ έναντιούμενος έν τρίτω Νόμων φησί: | μαντεύομαι δὲ περί Κύρου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα στρατηγον αὐτον ἀγαθον είναι καὶ φιλόπονον, παιδείας δ' ὀρθῆς οὐδὲ ἦΦθαι τὸ παράπαν, οἰκονομία δ' οὐδ' ἡτινιοῦν προσεσχηκέναι. ξοικε δ' εκ νέου στρατεύεσθαι, παραδούς τε τους παίδας ταίς γυναιξί τοέφειν. πάλιν δ μέν Ξενοφών συναναβὰς Κύρω εἰς Πέρσας μετὰ τῶν μυρίων Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς τὴν προδοσίαν τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ Μένωνος, ότι αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς περὶ Κλέαρχον της ἀπωλείας της ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνου γενομένης, καὶ οδός τις ήν τὸν τρόπον, ώς χαλεπός, ώς ἀσελγής. διηγησαμένου δ καλὸς Πλάτων μονονουχὶ εἰπών

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οδτος,

έγκώμια αὐτοῦ διεξέρχεται, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπαξαπλῶς κακολογήσας, ἐν μὲν τῆ Πολιτείᾳ "Ομηρον ἐκβάλλων

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<sup>429</sup> For the story, see X. An. 2.5.27–34, 2.6.1. Clearchus was lured to dinner by the satrap Tissaphernes and murdered along with most of the men who accompanied him—except Meno, whom Xenophon denounces at length (and claims was ultimately tortured to death by the King) at 2.6.21–9.

<sup>430</sup> The first line of the *Palinode* (rejecting the tradition that Helen went to Troy), quoted also at 5.216b, in a very similar context, and at greater length by Plato himself (*Phdr.* 243a).

while the other includes them. And—as was noted above (11.504d)—one author declines to drink out of large cups, while the other represents Socrates as drinking from a cooling-vessel (psukter) until the sun comes up (Pl. Smp. 213e-14a, 223c). And in his On the Soul (Phd. 59b) Plato lists everyone who was there, but makes no mention whatsoever of Xenophon. On the subject of Cyrus, at any rate, the one author (X. Cyr. 1.3.1) claims that he was educated in all the traditional subjects from his earliest childhood, whereas Plato in Book III (694c-d) of the Laws, as if deliberately contradicting him, says: As for Cyrus, I gather that he is a generally good general and willing to work hard, but has never received any formal education whatsoever, and has never paid the slightest attention to how to manage his household. He seems to have been on campaign constantly ever since he was a young man, and to have turned his children over to his women to raise. Again, Xenophon marched inland to attack the Persians along with Cyrus and accompanied by 10,000 Greeks, and had precise knowledge of how Meno of Thebes betrayed them; and he described how Meno was responsible for the death at Tissaphernes' hands of the men who were with Clearchus, and what a harsh and depraved individual he was. 429 The noble Plato, on the other hand, all but admitting that (Stesich. PMG 192.1):430

This tale is not true,

offers an extended encomium of the man<sup>431</sup>—although he relentlessly slanders other people, expelling Homer and mimetic poetry generally in his *Republic* (e.g. 606e–7a),

<sup>431</sup> Sc. in the dialogue that bears his name.

καὶ τὴν μιμητικὴν ποίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς διαλόγους μιμητικώς γράψας, ὧν τῆς ἰδέας οὐδ' αὐτὸς εὐρετής ἐστιν. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦθ' εὖρε τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων ὁ Τήιος 'Αλεξαμενός, ώς Νικίας ὁ Νικαενς ἱστορεί καὶ c Σωτίων. Ι Αριστοτέλης δ' έν τῶ Περὶ Ποιητῶν οὕτως γράφει οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐμμέτρους ζοντας >69 τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος Μίμους μη φῶμεν εἶναι λόγων καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τοὺς ᾿Αλεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Τηίου τοὺς πρότερου<sup>70</sup> γραφέντας των Σωκρατικών διαλόγους<sup>71</sup>. ἄντικρυς φάσκων ὁ πολυμαθέστατος Αριστοτέλης πρὸ Πλάτωνος διαλόγους γεγραφέναι τὸν Αλεξαμενόν. διαβάλλει δὲ ὁ Πλάτων καὶ Θρασύμαχον τὸν Χαλκηδόνιον σοφιστην όμοιον είναι λέγων τῷ ὀνόματι, ἔτι δ' Ίππίαν καὶ Γοργίαν | καὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ ένὶ διαλόγω τῶ Πρωταγόρα πολλούς, ὁ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῆ Πολιτεία εἰπών ὅταν, οἶμαι, δημοκρατουμένη πόλις ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα κακών οἰνοχόων τύχη καὶ ἀκράτου αὐτῆς μεθυσθή, λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Γοργίας αὐτὸς ἀναγνοὺς τὸν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ἔφη-"ώς καλώς οἶδε Πλάτων ἰαμβίζειν." "Ερμιππος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γοργίου, ὡς ἐπεδήμησε, φησί, ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις Γοργίας μετά τὸ ποιήσασθαι την ἀνάθεσιν της έν Δελφοίς έαυτοῦ χρυσής εἰκόνος, εἰπόντος | τοῦ Πλά-

<sup>69</sup> add. Kaihel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> πρότερον Bergk: πρώτους Α

<sup>71</sup> διαλόγους Bake: διαλόγων Α

 $<sup>^{432}</sup>$  If these dialogues ever existed, no trace of them survives except here; in a papyrus fragment that once again cites Aristotle's testimony (POxy. xlv 3219 fr. 1 = Sophr. test. 4); and at D.L. 3.48 (citing Favorinus, who knew Herodicus).

#### BOOK XI

despite the fact that he himself wrote dialogues that imitate real life! Nor did he invent the genre; because this type of literature was first produced before him, by Alexamenus of Teos, according to Nicias of Nicaea (FHG iv.464) and Sotion (fr. 14 Wehrli). And Aristotle in his On Poets (fr. 15) writes as follows: Should we, then, deny that the so-called Mimes of Sophron (test. 3), which lack a metrical character, are imitations of actual conversations, or that the same is true of the dialogues of Alexamenus of Teos, which were written before those that feature Socrates?—which amounts to the deeply learned Aristotle saying outright that Alexamenus wrote dialogues before Plato did. 432 Plato also mounts an ugly personal attack on the sophist Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, by saying that he deserved his name, 433 as well as on Hippias, Gorgias, Parmenides, and many others in his dialogue Protagoras, and by saying something along the following lines in his Republic (562c-d):434 whenever, I suppose, a democratically governed city thirsty for freedom has bad wine-pourers, and gets drunk on its strong wine. The story goes that when Gorgias himself read the dialogue named after him, he said to his friends: "Plato's quite talented at writing abusepoetry!" Hermippus says in his On Gorgias (fr. 63 Wehrli): When Gorgias visited Athens after dedicating the gold statue of himself in Delphi, 435 and Plato saw him and said:

<sup>433</sup> Literally "Bold Fighter"; cf. Arist. Rh. 1400b19-20.

<sup>434</sup> Quoted more accurately at 10.433f, 443f-4a.

<sup>435</sup> For the statue, cf. Paus. 10.18.7 (= 82 A 7 D-K). Gorgias visited Athens in 427 BCE.

τωνος ὅτε εἶδεν αὐτόν, "ἤκει ἡμῖν ὁ καλός τε καὶ χρυσοῦς Γοργίας," ἔφη ὁ Γοργίας· "ἦ καλόν γε αἱ ᾿Αθῆναι καὶ νέον τοῦτον ᾿Αρχίλοχον ἐνηνόχασιν." ἄλλοι δέ φασιν ὡς ἀναγνοὺς ὁ Γοργίας τὸν Πλάτωνος διάλογον πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτων οὕτ' εἶπεν οὕτ' ἤκουσε<sup>72</sup>, ταὐτά φασι καὶ Φαίδωνα εἰπεῖν ἀναγνόντα τὸν Περὶ Ψυχῆς. διὸ καλῶς ὁ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔφη·

ώς ἀνέπλασσε Πλάτων ὁ πεπλασμένα θαύματα είδως.

Παρμενίδη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐλθεῖν | εἰς λόγους τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος Σωκράτην μόλις ἡ ἡλικία συγχωρεῖ, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιούτους εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι λόγους. τὸ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν οὐδεμιᾶς κατεπειγούσης χρείας ὅτι παιδικὰ γεγόνοι τοῦ Παρμενίδου Ζήνων ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ. ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ Φαῖδρον οὐ μόνον κατὰ Σωκράτην εἶναι, ἢ πού γε καὶ ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐ δύνανται Πάραλος καὶ Ξάνθιππος οἱ Περικλέους υἰοῖ³ || Πρωταγόρα διαλέγεσθαι, ὅτε <τὸ>²⁴ δεύτερον ἐπεδήμησε ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις, οἱ ἔτι πρότερον τελευτήσαντες. πολλὰ δ᾽ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ δεικνύναι ὡς ἔπλαττε τοὺς διαλόγους. ὅτι δὲ καὶ δυσμενὴς ἦν πρὸς ἄπαντας,

<sup>72</sup> οὖτ' ἤκουσε παρὰ Πλάτωνος ΑCE: παρὰ Πλάτωνος del. Rossi <sup>73</sup> νἱοὶ τελευτήσαντες τῷ λοιμῷ ΑCE: τελευτήσαντες τῷ λοιμῷ del. Kaibel <sup>74</sup> add. Kaibel

<sup>436</sup> Famous above all else for his abuse-poetry.

<sup>437</sup> I.e. of the sort made in the dialogue that bears Parmenides' name. Plato (Prm. 127b-c) claims that Zenon was about 65, and

"Our fine, gold Gorgias has arrived!", Gorgias responded: "And this is a fine new Archilochus<sup>436</sup> that Athens has produced!" Other authorities claim that after Gorgias read Plato's dialogue, he told the people present that he had not spoken or heard a word of this, and they say that Phaedo had the same reaction after he read *On the Soul*. Timo's (SH 793) remark about him is thus quite apt:

# What fabrications the marvellous forger Plato produced!

Their relative dates would barely allow Plato's Socrates to have a conversation with Parmenides, and certainly not to make and listen to speeches of this sort. 437 But the nastiest feature of all is that he claims—when there was absolutely no need to do so—that Parmenides' fellow-citizen Zeno had also been his boyfriend. 438 It is likewise impossible that Phaedrus was Socrates' contemporary, to say nothing of being a young man he was in love with. Nor could Pericles' sons Paralus and Xanthippus 439 have had a conversation with Protagoras the second time he visited Athens, since they were already dead before then. Much else could also be said about him, to show that his dialogues are fabrications. 440 As for the fact that he was hostile to everyone,

that Socrates was very young when the two men met, putting the encounter around 450 BCE. Why Herodicus thought this impossible is unclear, and it is tempting to believe that he has simply ignored Plato's attempt at chronological verisimilitude.

- 438 Prm. 127b; this is, however, merely presented as a rumor.
- 439 Paralus is *PAA* 765275, while Xanthippus is *PAA* 730515. Both died of the plague in 430 BCE.
- $^{440}$  Cf. 5.215c–18e (5.218b–e on the dramatic date of the  $\it Protagoras$  ).

δήλον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῶ Ἰωνι ἐπιγραφομένω, ἐν ὧ πρώτον μεν κακολογεί πάντας τους ποιητάς, έπειτα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προαγομένους, Φανοσθένη τὸν "Ανδριον κάπολλόδωρον τον Κυζικηνόν, έτι δὲ τον Κλαζομένιον Ἡρακλείδην, ἐν δὲ τῶ Μένωνι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους | παρ' 'Αθηναίοις γενομένους 'Αριστείδην καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα. Μένωνα δὲ ἐπαινεῖ τὸν τοὺς Ελληνας προδόντα. ἐν δὲ τῶ Εὐθυδήμω «Εὐθύδημον» το καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διονυσόδωρον προπηλακίζων καὶ καλών οψιμαθείς έτι τε έριστας ονομάζων ονειδίζει αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐκ Χίου τῆς πατρίδος φυγήν, ἀφ' ἦς ἐν Θουρίοις κατωκίσθησαν. ἐν δὲ τῶ Περὶ Ανδρείας Μελησίαν τὸν Θουκυδίδου τοῦ ἀντιπολιτευσαμένου Περικλεί καὶ Αυσίμαχον τὸν Αριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου, της των πατέρων άρετης άναξίους είναι φάσκων. Ι α δέ περὶ ᾿Αλκιβιάδου εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Συμποσίω οὐδ᾽ εἰς φῶς λέγεσθαί έστιν ἄξιον, ἔν τε τῷ προτέρω τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διαλόγων ό γαρ δεύτερος ὑπό τινων Ξενοφωντος εἶναι λέγεται, ως καὶ ἡ ἀλκυων Λέοντος τοῦ ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ, ως φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεύς, τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ἀλκι-

# 75 add. Dindorf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup> PA 14083, PAA 143545, and PAA 486295, respectively. All three men were elected to serve as Athenian generals, despite being from other cities, and there is in fact no hint of disparagement in Socrates' remarks.

<sup>442</sup> Aristides "the Just" ( $PAA\ 165170;\ 530s/520s-c.467\ BCE$ ) and Themistocles ( $PAA\ 502610;\ c.525-459\ BCE$ ) were two of Athens' most distinguished early 5th-century political and military leaders.

443 See 11.505a-b n.

<sup>444</sup> Melesias is PAA 639150, while Lysimachus is PAA 616305.

this is also apparent from what goes on in his work entitled Ion, in which he disparages (533c-4e) first all the poets, and then (541c-d) the individuals the people selected for important offices: Phanosthenes of Andros, Apollodorus of Cyzicus, and even Heraclides of Clazomenae.441 In his Meno (he attacks) the greatest Athenians who ever lived, Aristides and Themistocles,442 but praises Meno,443 who betraved the Greeks. In his Euthydemus he tramples Euthydemus and his brother Dionysodorus, calling them pedants, as well as referring to them as quibblers, and criticizes them for having been driven into exile from their native island of Chios (271c), which they left to settle in Thurii. And in his On Courage (La. 179c-d) (he abuses) Melesias, the son of the Thucydides who was Pericles' political opponent, as well as Lysimachus the son of Aristides the Just,444 claiming that they failed to live up to their fathers' reputations. But as for what he says about Alcibiades445 in his Symposium, that ought not even to be mentioned in public, any more than what is said in the first dialogue addressed to him; because some authorities claim that the second dialogue was written by Xenophon, 446 just as the Alcyon is sometimes assigned to Leon of the Academy, according to Nicias of Nicaea (FHG iv.464).447 I pass

445 PAA 121625. Cf. the very similar remarks below and at 5.182a with n.
446 Alcibiades II is universally regarded today as spurious.
447 D.L. 3.62 (citing Favorinus, who knew Herodicus) makes very similar comments. The Alcyon was also attributed in antiquity to Lucian, and is included in the seventh volume of the Loeb edition of that author (pp. 303–17, with an introduction that takes up the problem of the identity of the obscure "Leon of the Academy").

Βιάδου λεγθέντα σιωπώ ὅτι δὲ τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων δῆμον εἰκαῖον εἴρηκε κριτὴν ἔτι τε πρόκωπον. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐπαινῶν ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τοὺς πάντων Ἑλλήνων έγθροὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αλκιβιάδου d Κλεινίαν μαινόμενον | τε αποφαίνει καὶ τους υίους αὐτοῦ ἡλιθίους Μειδίαν τε ὀρτυγοκόπον, καὶ τὸν τῶν 'Αθηναίων δήμον εὐπρόσωπον μέν εἶναι, δεῖν δ' αὐτὸν ἀποδύσαντας θεωρείν οφθήσεται νάρ, φησί, περίβλεπτον άξίωμα περικείμενος κάλλους οὐκ άληθινοῦ. έν δὲ τῶ Κίμωνι οὐδὲ τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους Φείδεται κατηγορίας οὐδὲ τῆς ᾿Αλκιβιάδου καὶ Μυρωνίδου. ἀλλ΄ ούδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κίμωνος, καὶ ὁ Κρίτων δ' αὐτοῦ <Κρίτωνος, ή δὲ Πολιτεία καὶ><sup>76</sup> Σοφοκλέους περιέχει καταδρομήν, ὁ δὲ Γοργίας οὐ μόνον ἀφ' οὖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, άλλὰ καὶ ᾿Αρχελάου τοῦ Μακεδονίας | βασιλέως, ὃν οὐ μόνον ἐπονείδιστον γένος ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν δεσπότην, οὖτος δ' ἐστὶ Πλάτων, ὃν Σπεύσιππός φησι φίλτατον ὄντα Φιλίππω<sup>77</sup> τῆς βασιλείας αἴτιον γενέσθαι. γράφει γοῦν Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς έν τοῖς Ιστορικοῖς Υπομνήμασιν οὕτως

<sup>76</sup> add. Wilamowitz

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Άρχελάφ Φιλίππφ ΑCE: 'Αρχελάφ del. Gomperz

<sup>448</sup> The reference is in fact to Pericles' sons (Alc. I 118e).

<sup>449</sup> PAA 637170; mentioned also inter alia at Ar. Av. 1297-9, where see Dunbar's n.

<sup>450</sup> This final remark is not in the text of Plato.

<sup>451</sup> No work by this title is included in the Platonic corpus.

<sup>452</sup> For Themistocles and Alcibiades, see 11.506b n. and 11.506c n., respectively. Myronides (*PAA* 663265; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 801–3 [ignored in *PAA*] with Henderson *ad loc.*) was an Athenian

over in silence the criticisms he offers of Alcibiades. But (I do note) that he calls the Athenian people rash, even overeager judges, and that in the course of praising the Spartans he also praises the Persians, the universal enemies of the Greeks. He also portrays Alcibiades' brother Cleinias as a lunatic (Alc. I 118e), his sons as fools. 448 and Meidias 449 as a gambler (Alc. I 120a); and (he says) that although the Athenian people have a pretty face, you need to see them with their clothes off (Alc. I 132a). Because it will be apparent, he says, that they are wrapped in an admirable reputation that has nothing to do with genuine beauty. 450 In his Cimon<sup>451</sup> he spares no criticism of Themistocles, or of Alcibiades and Myronides, or even of Cimon himself. 452 So too his Crito contains an attack on Crito himself. while his Republic attacks Sophocles, 453 and his Gorgias attacks not just the man who gave the work its title, but also the Macedonian king Archelaus, 454 who is said not only to be from a quite unsavory family, but to have killed his master (471a-b). And this is the Plato who, Speusippus claims, was Philip's455 good friend and was responsible for him becoming king! Carystius of Pergamum, at any rate, writes as follows in his Historical Commentary (fr. 1, FHG iv.356-7

general in the early 450s BCE. Cimon (PAA 569795) was one of Athens' most important political and military leaders in the early 470s–461 (when he was ostracized), and then again after his return in the late 450s.

<sup>453</sup> Apparently a reference to R. 329b–c, which can scarcely, however, be understood as a personal attack, any more than Plato's characterization of Crito can.

<sup>454</sup> Archelaus I, reigned c.413-399 BCE.

<sup>455</sup> Philip II of Macedon (reigned 360/59-336 BCE).

Σπεύσιππος πυνθανόμενος Φίλιππον βλασφημείν περί Πλάτωνος είς έπιστολην έγραψε τι τοιούτον ώσπερ άγνοοῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν της βασιλείας Φίλιππος διὰ Πλάτωνος ἔσχεν, Εὐf Φραΐον γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὸν Ι΄ Ωρείτην πρὸς Περδίκκαν Πλάτων, δς έπεισεν ἀπομερίσαι τινὰ χώραν Φιλίππω. διατρέφων δ' ένταῦθα δύναμιν, ως ἀπέθανε Περδίκκας, έξ έτοίμου δυνάμεως ύπαρχούσης έπέπεσε τοίς πράγμασι, τοῦτο δ' εἴπερ οὕτως ἀληθείας ἔχει, θεὸς ἂν είδείη, ὁ δὲ καλὸς αὐτοῦ Πρωταγόρας πρὸς τῶ καταδρομήν έχειν πολλών ποιητών καὶ σοφών ανδρών έκθεατριζόμενον έχει καὶ τὸν Καλλίου βίον μᾶλλον τῶν Εὐπόλιδος Κολάκων, ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεξένω οὐ μόνον Ίππίας ὁ Ἡλεῖος χλευάζεται, άλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ῥαμνούσιος Αντιφών καὶ ὁ μουσικὸς Λάμπρος, ἐπιλίποι δ' ἄν με ἡ ήμέρα, εἰ πάντας ἐθελήσαιμι | ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς κακῶς ακούσαντας ύπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' Αντισθένη έπαινω και γαρ και ούτος πολλούς είπων κακως οὐδ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλὰ καλέσας αὐτὸν φορτικώς Σάθωνα τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν διάλογον ἐξέδωκεν. Ἡγήσανδρος δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν τοῖς Υπομνήμασι περί της πρὸς πάντας τοῦ Πλάτωνος κακοηθείας λέγων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν Σωκράτους τελευτην έπὶ πλείον τῶν συνήθων ἀθυμούντων ἔν τινι συνουσία Πλάτων συμπαρών λαβών τὸ Ι

456 Speusippus was Plato's nephew (as well as his successor as head of the Academy), hence his eagerness to stand up for him.

507

<sup>457</sup> Perdiccas III ruled Macedon 367/5–360/59 BCE; he died in a campaign against the Illyrians. For Euphraeus in Perdiccas' court, cf. 11.508d-e.

<sup>458</sup> Cf. 5.218b-c (also drawn from Herodicus).

= Speusipp. test. 48 Tarán): When Speusippus<sup>456</sup> heard that Philip was making hostile comments about Plato, he wrote something along the following lines in a letter: as if people were unaware that Plato was responsible for Philip getting initial control of his kingship! For Plato sent Euphraeus of Oreus to Perdiccas, 457 and Euphraeus convinced him to give Philip control of a bit of territory. Philip maintained troops there, and when Perdiccas died, because Philip had an army ready to go, he seized political power. As for whether this is true or not, only a god would know. But his lovely Protagoras, in addition to disparaging numerous poets and other clever men, holds Callias' life-style up for public consideration more than Eupolis' Flatterers (test. ii) does. 458 And in his Menexenus it is not just Hippias of Elis who is made fun of,459 but also (236a) Antiphon of Rhamnous and the musician Lamprus.460 There would not be enough hours in the day for me, however, if I wanted to list everyone about whom the philosopher makes ugly comments. Nor do I have any praise for Antisthenes (SSR V A 147);461 because the fact is that he too made nasty remarks about many people and did not leave even Plato himself alone, but referred to him in lowclass way as Sathō ("dick") and published a dialogue with this as its title. Hegesander of Delphi in his Commentaries (fr. 1, FHG iv.412-13) discusses Plato's nasty attitude toward everyone, writing as follows: After Socrates' death, his friends were extremely discouraged. Plato was at one of

<sup>459</sup> Hippias is not, in fact, mentioned in the dialogue.

<sup>460</sup> Antiphon is PAA 138625, while Lamprus is PAA 601647.

<sup>461</sup> A heavily condensed version of material preserved also at 5.220c-e, esp. d-e.

b ποτήριον παρεκάλει μη άθυμεῖν αὐτούς, ώς ίκανὸς αὐτὸς είη ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς σχολῆς, καὶ προέπιεν ἀπολλοδώρω. καὶ ος εἶπεν "ήδιον αν παρά Σωκράτους τὴν τοῦ φαρμάκου κύλικα εἰλήφειν ἢ παρὰ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ οίνου πρόποσιν." έδόκει γὰρ Πλάτων φθονερὸς είναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος οὐδαμῶς εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ γὰρ ᾿Αρίστιππον πρὸς Διονύσιον ἀποδημήσαντα ἔσκωπτεν, αὐτὸς τρὶς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐκπλεύσας, ἄπαξ μὲν τῶν δυάκων γάριν, ότε καὶ τῶ πρεσβυτέρω Διονυσίω συγγενόμενος εκινδύνευσεν, δίς δε πρός τον Ι νεώτερον Διονύσιον. Αἰσχίνου τε πένητος ὄντος καὶ μαθητὴν ένα έχοντος Εενοκράτην, τοῦτον περιέσπασεν. καὶ Φαίδωνι δὲ τὴν τῆς δουλείας ἐφιστὰς δίκην ἐφωράθη. καὶ τὸ καθόλου πᾶσι τοῖς Σωκράτους μαθηταῖς ἐπεφύκει μητρυιας έχων διάθεσιν. διόπερ Σωκράτης οὐκ απδώς περί αὐτοῦ στοχαζόμενος ενύπνιον εφησεν έωρακέναι πλειόνων παρόντων. "δοκείν γάρ", έφη "τὸν Πλάτωνα κορώνην γενόμενον έπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν μου άναπηδήσαντα τὸ φαλακρόν μου κατασκαριφάν καὶ κρώζειν περιβλέπουσαν. Ιδοκώ οὖν σε, ὦ Πλάτων, πολλά κατά της έμης ψεύσεσθαι κεφαλής." ην δε δ Πλάτων πρὸς τῆ κακοηθεία καὶ φιλόδοξος, ὅστις έφησεν "έσχατον τὸν τῆς φιλοδοξίας χιτῶνα ἐν τῶ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> Apollodorus (PAA 143280) was a member of Socrates' circle, and *inter alia* serves as the narrator for the Symposium.

<sup>463</sup> For Aristippus of Cyrene (another member of Socrates' circle) in the court of Dionysius I of Syracuse (d. 367 BCE), see 12.544a—e with n. For the hostility between Aristippus and Plato, see also 8.343c—d; cf. 11.508c—d.

<sup>464</sup> Sc. from an eruption on Mt. Aetna.

their parties and took the cup; told them not to worry, since he was capable of leading the school himself; and toasted Apollodorus.462 Apollodorus responded: "I would rather have taken the cup of poison from Socrates than accept this toast of wine from you;" because Plato was regarded as jealous and as having a thoroughly bad reputation as far as his personal behavior was concerned. He made hostile jokes about Aristippus (SSR IV A 26), for example, when the latter went to visit Dionysius, 463 despite the fact that he sailed to Sicily three times himself, once to see the lava, 464 when he and the elder Dionysius almost lost their lives, and twice to visit the younger Dionysius. 465 And despite the fact that Aeschines (SSR III A 4) was poor and had only one student, Xenocrates, 466 Plato took Xenocrates away from him. He was also caught red-handed bringing the suit against Phaedo that charged him with being a slave, and he was in general as cruel as a stepmother to all Socrates' students. This is why Socrates in the presence of many witnesses described a dream he had and offered a rather amusing conjecture about him. "Because I imagined", he said. "that Plato had turned into a raven and had hopped up on top of my head, and was pecking at my bald-spot and looking in all directions and cawing. So I suspect, Plato, that you're going to bury me in lies!" In addition to being unpleasant, Plato was very concerned about his reputation. This is the man who, according to Dioscurides in his Memoirs (FGrH 594 F 7), said: "The final garment we

<sup>465</sup> Dionysius II of Syracuse (reigned 367-357 BCE).

<sup>466</sup> PAA 732995; he became head of the Academy after Speusippus.

θανάτφ αὐτῷ ἀποδυόμεθα, ἐν διαθήκαις, ἐν ἐκκομιδαῖς, ἐν τάφοις," ὥς φησι Διοσκουρίδης ἐν τοῖς ᾿Απομνημονεύμασιν. καὶ τὸ πόλιν δὲ θελῆσαι κτίσαι καὶ τὸ νομοθετῆσαι τίς οὐ φήσει πάθος εἶναι φιλοδοξίας; δῆλον δ᾽ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ὧν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίφ λέγει πέπονθά τι πάθος πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ζωγράφος ἐβούλετο ἱ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα κινούμενα καὶ ἐνεργὰ ἰδεῖν, οὕτω κἀγὼ τοὺς πολίτας οὺς διαγράφω. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις αὐτοῦ κεκλεμμένων τί ἂν καὶ λέγοι τις; ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ ἡ διαπλαττομένη ἀθάνατος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν χωριζομένη τοῦ σώματος παρὰ προτέρφ εἴρηται Ὁμήρφ. οὖτος γὰρ εἶπεν ὡς ἡ τοῦ Πατρόκλου ψυχὴ

Αϊδόσδε κατήλθεν<sup>78</sup>, δν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ήβην.

εὶ δ' οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνος φήσειέν τις εἶναι τὸν λόγον, f οὖχ | ὁρῶ τίν' ἐσχήκαμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφέλειαν· ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ συγχωρήση τις μεθίστασθαι τὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ψυχὰς εἰς ἄλλας φύσεις ἢ πρὸς τὸν μετεωρότερον καὶ καθαρώτερον ἀνέρχεσθαι τόπον, ἄτε κουφότητος μετεχούσας, τί πλέον ἡμῖν; ὧν γὰρ μήτ' ἀνάμνησίς ἐστιν οὖ ποτε ἦμεν μήτ' αἴσθησις, εἰ καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἦμεν, τίς χάρις ταύτης τῆς ἀθανασίας; οἱ δὲ συντεθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Νόμοι καὶ τούτων ἔτι πρότερον ἡ Πολιτεία || τί πεποιήκασιν; καίτοι γε ἔδει καθάπερ τὸν Δυκοῦργον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα

78 The traditional text of Homer has βεβήκει.

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shed, at the moment we die, in our will, our funeral procession, and our burial, is our reputation." And will anyone deny that a desire to found a city and establish its laws is symptomatic of a hunger for glory? This is obvious from what he says in his *Timaeus* (19b, heavily adapted): My feeling about my republic is like that of a painter, who would like to see his creations moving and active; that's how I feel about the citizens I describe. And what could one say about the material in his dialogues that is stolen from other sources? Because the idea he cobbled together of an immortal soul that is separated from the body at death is found earlier than him, in Homer. For Homer (Il. 16.856–7) claimed that Patroclus' soul

descended to Hades, lamenting its fate, and leaving behind manhood and youth.

And even if one were to attribute the doctrine to Plato, I do not see what good he has done us. Because if one agrees that the souls of the dead are transformed into beings of a different sort, or ascend to his higher and purer place, since lightness is one of their characteristics—what difference does this make to us? For if we have no recollection or consciousness of where we were once, or even if we existed at all, what happiness do we derive from this type of immortality? And what have the *Laws* he composed, and the *Republic* even earlier than that, accomplished? If (his laws) were of any value, he should have been able to convince some of the Greeks to use them, as Lycurgus convinced the Spartans, and Solon convinced the Athenians,

τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους καὶ τὸν Ζάλευκον τοὺς Θουρίους, καὶ αὐτόν, είπερ ἦσαν χρήσιμοι, πείσαί τινας τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι. νόμος γάρ ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Αριστοτέλης, λόγος ώρισμένος καθ' δμολογίαν κοινην πόλεως, μηνύων πως δεί πράττειν εκαστα. δ δε Πλάτων πῶς: οὐκ ἄτοπον τριῶν Αθηναίων γενομένων νομοθετών τών γε δη γνωριζομένων, Δράκοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σόλωνος, τῶν μὲν τοῖς Ι νόμοις έμμένειν τοὺς πολίτας, τῶν δὲ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ προσκατανελάν: ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἰ καὶ πασῶν εἴη αὕτη βελτίων, μὴ πείθοι δ' ήμας, τί πλέον; ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Πλάτων οὐ τοῖς οὖσιν άνθρώποις γράψαι τοὺς Νόμους, άλλὰ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπλαττομένοις, ώστε καὶ ζητεισθαι τοὺς χρησομένους, έχρην οὖν ἃ πείσει λέγων ταῦτα καὶ γράφειν καὶ μὴ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν τοῖς εὐχομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν ένδεχομένων άντεχομένοις. χωρίς τοίνυν τούτων εί τις ο διεξίοι τους Τιμαίους Ι αύτου και τους Γοργίας, και τους άλλους δε τους τοιούτους διαλόγους, έν οξς καὶ περί των έν τοίς μαθήμασι διεξέρχεται καὶ περί των κατά φύσιν καὶ περὶ πλειόνων ἄλλων, οὐδ' ὡς διὰ ταῦτα θαυμαστέος ἐστίν. ἔχει γάρ τις καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἢ βέλτιον λεχθέντα ἢ μὴ χεῖρον. καὶ γαρ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ τῆς Πλάτωνος Διατριβής, τοὺς πολλούς, φησί, τῶν διαλόνων αὐτοῦ

<sup>467</sup> Lycurgus (Poralla #499) was the legendary founder of the Spartan constitution, while Solon (PAA 827640; fl. 590s-560s BCE) carried out important revisions of the Athenian constitution. Zaleucus (mid-7th century BCE) is normally associated with Epizephrian Locri (Ephor. FCrH 70 F 139; Arist. Pol. 1274e22-3; cf. 10.429a) rather than with Thurii (founded only in 444/3).

and Zaleucus convinced the inhabitants of Thurii.467 Because a law, according to Aristotle (Rh.Al. 1420a25-7), is a statement ratified by general agreement of the city that tells us how we ought to do this or that. But what does this have to do with Plato? Is it not strange that of the three Athenians generally recognized to have been lawgivers, that is, Draco, 468 Plato himself, and Solon, the citizens adhere to the laws of the other two, but laugh at Plato's? The same argument applies to his republic: even if this is the best possible form, but he fails to convince us of the fact, what is the gain? Plato thus appears to have written his Laws not for actual human beings, but for those he made up, requiring us to institute a search for someone who might find them useful. He should accordingly have written down only the arguments he was likely to be successful with, and not have behaved like people who are merely boasting, but instead like those with a firm grasp of the possible. Quite apart from this, if one were to work through his works like the Timaeus and the Gorgias and other, similar dialogues, in which he goes on at length about his teachings having to do with nature and numerous other subjects, he deserves no particular respect on this count either. Because one could get the same material from other sources, where it is expressed better or at least no worse. In fact, Theopompus of Chios says in his Against Plato's School (FGrH 115 F 259): One would find that the ma-

<sup>468</sup> Draco (PAA 374190) dates to the late 6th century BCE; his law-code was notoriously severe, hence English "Draconian".

άχρείους καὶ ψευδεῖς ἄν τις εὕροι άλλοτρίους δὲ τοὺς d πλείους, όντας έκ των Αριστίππου διατριβών, Ι ένίους δὲ κάκ τῶν ἀντισθένους, πολλοὺς δὲ κάκ τῶν Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον άπερ ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ ἡμεῖς ζητοῦμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων, ούχ<sup>79</sup> εύρίσκομεν, άλλὰ συμπόσια μεν καὶ λόγους ὑπὲρ ἔρωτος εἰρημένους καὶ μάλα ἀπρεπεῖς, οθς καταφρονών των αναγνωσομένων συνέθηκεν. ώσπερ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ τυραννικοί τινες καὶ διάβολοι γενόμενοι. Εὐφραῖος μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Περδίκκα τῷ βασιλεῖ διατρίβων Ι ἐν Μακεδονία οὐχ ήττον αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευε φαῦλος ὢν καὶ διάβολος, ος ούτω ψυχρώς συνέταξε την έταιρίαν του βασιλέως ώστε οὐκ ἐξην τοῦ συσσιτίου μετασχείν, εἰ μή τις έπίσταιτο γεωμετρείν ή φιλοσοφείν. ὅθεν Φιλίππου την άρχην παραλαβόντος Παρμενίων αὐτὸν ἐν Ὠρεώ λαβων απέκτεινεν, ως φησι Καρύστιος έν Ιστορικοις Υπομνήμασι. καὶ Κάλλιππος δ' ὁ Αθηναῖος, μαθητὴς καὶ αὐτὸς Πλάτωνος, έταῖρος Δίωνος καὶ συμμαθητής f γενόμενος καὶ συναποδημήσας αὐτῶ Ι εἰς Συρακού-

# <sup>79</sup> ὅπερ οὐχ Α: ὅπερ del. Dobree

<sup>469</sup> For Aristippus, cf. 11.507b n. Antisthenes (*PAA* 136800) was another member of Socrates' circle, and an intellectual predecessor of the Stoic and Cynic movements. Bryson of Heraclea Pontica (early 4th century BCE) was associated with the Megarian school (although cf. Ephipp. fr. 14.3, quoted at 11.509c); the reference here = fr. 207 Döring.

<sup>470</sup> A hostile characterization of the contents of the Symposium.

471 Cf. 11.506e-f with n.

<sup>472</sup> For a very different version of the story, in which

jority of his dialogues are useless or full of lies. Most of them are actually by other authors, and are excerpts from Aristippus' treatises, while others come from Antisthenes' works, or from the works of Bryson of Heraclea in a number of cases. 469 And as for the discussions of human nature he promises, I have looked for them in his dialogues but have not discovered them. Instead, I find descriptions of drinking parties and extraordinarily inappropriate speeches about love, 470 which he composed as a means of expressing his contempt for his future readers, in the same way that many of his students turned out to be tyrants and slanderers. Because when Euphraeus spent time with King Perdiccas in Macedon, 471 he acted like a king himself, even though he came from an undistinguished family and had nothing good to say about anyone; he organized life within the king's inner circle so pedantically that it was impossible to have a meal with them, unless you understood geometry and philosophy. When Philip seized power, therefore, Parmenion arrested Euphraeus in Oreus and put him to death, according to Carystius in his Historical Commentaries (fr. 2, FHG iv.357).472 So too Callippus of Athens,473 another one of Plato's students, was a friend and fellowstudent of Dion, and visited Syracuse with him. When

Euphraeus is a democratic hero ultimately driven to suicide, when the people of his city turn on him, see D. 9.59–62. Parmenion (who served both Philip and his son Alexander) is Berve i #606; cf. 11.781f–2a.

 $^{473}$  PAA 559250. Callippus in fact got control of Syracuse in 353 BCE, and ruled for 13 months before being expelled by Dion's son; he was murdered in c. 350. Dion was also one of Plato's students (Plu. Dio 17.1–5; D.L. 3.46).

σας, όρων ήδη τὸν Δίωνα έξιδιοποιούμενον τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸς τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας ἀπεσφάγη. Εὐάγων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνός, ως φησιν Ευρύπυλος καὶ Δικαιοκλής ὁ Κνίδιος ἐνενηκοστῷ καὶ πρώτῳ Διατριβῶν, ἔτι δὲ Δημοχάρης δ ρήτωρ ἐν τῷ Ὑπὲρ Σοφοκλέους Πρὸς Φίλωνα, δανείσας τη πατρίδι αργύριον έπι ένεχύρω τη ακροπόλει καὶ ἀφυστερησάσης τυραννείν έβουλεύετο, έως συνδραμόντες έπ' αὐτὸν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποδόντες ἐξέβαλον. | Τίμαιος δ' ὁ Κυζικηνός, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Δημοχάρης φησίν, χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ἐπιδοὺς τοίς πολίταις καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πιστευθεὶς εἶναι χρηστὸς παρὰ τοῖς Κυζικηνοῖς, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐπέθετο τῆ πολιτεία δι' 'Αριδαίου κριθείς δε καὶ άλους καὶ άδοξήσας έν μεν τη πόλει έπέμενε πολιος80 καταγεγηρακώς, ἀτίμως δὲ καὶ ἀδόξως διαζών, τοιοῦτοι δ΄ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν τῶν ᾿Ακαδημαϊκῶν τινες, ἀνοσίως καὶ ἀδόξως βιοῦντες χρημάτων γὰρ έξ ἀσεβείας καὶ παρὰ Φύσιν κυριεύσαντες | διὰ γοητείαν νῦν είσιν περίβλεπτοι. ωσπερ καὶ Χαίρων ὁ Πελληνεύς, ὃς οὐ μόνω Πλάτωνι έσγόλακεν, άλλα και Ξενοκράτει και ούτος ούν της πατρίδος πικρώς τυραννήσας οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀρίστους των πολιτων έξήλασεν, άλλα και τοις τούτων δούλοις τὰ χρήματα τῶν δεσποτῶν χαρισάμενος καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γυναϊκας συνώκισεν προς γάμου κοινωνίαν, ταθτ

80 πολιὸς Olson: παλαιὸς ΑCE

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<sup>474</sup> Included in the list of Plato's students at D.L. 3.46, where his name is, however, given as Euaion.

<sup>475</sup> The Sophocles in question is supposed to have expelled the philosophers from Attica; cf. 5.187d, 215c (in both cases seemingly drawing on Herodicus); 13.610e–f.

he saw that Dion was already trying to get control of the monarchy, he killed him and attempted to become tyrant himsef, and was murdered. Euagon of Lampsacus,474 according to Eurypylus and Dicaeocles of Cnidus in Book XCI of the Treatises, as well as the orator Demochares in his On Behalf of Sophocles against Philo475 (fr. I.1, p. 341 Baiter-Sauppe), loaned his native land money and took the acropolis as surety; when the city failed to repay him on time, he wanted to become tyrant, until the Lampsacenes joined forces against him, returned his money, and threw him out. Timaeus of Cyzicus,476 according to the same Demochares, provided his fellow-citizens with money and grain, and accordingly came to be regarded by the Cyzicenes as a decent person; then after waiting a little while, he used Aridaeus to mount an assault on their form of government. After he was tried and convicted, and had fallen into disgrace, he remained in the city after he had become a gray-haired old man, living in dishonor and disgrace. This is what some representatives of the Academy are like even today, living in an unholy and disgraceful fashion; because they got money through fraud, by acting impiously and unnaturally, and are now prominent people. Chaeron of Pellene, for example, who studied not only with Plato, but also with Xenocrates—he was a cruel tyrant of his fatherland, and not only drove the best citizens into exile, but gave their slaves their masters' property, and

<sup>476</sup> Included in the list of Plato's students at D.L. 3.46, where his name is, however, given as Timolaus. The Aridaeus referred to below must be the Macedonian satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (Berve i #145), whose attack on Cyzicus is mentioned at Marmor Parium FGrH 239 B12 (319/8 BCE); D.S. 18.51.

ώφεληθεὶς ἐκ τῆς καλῆς Πολιτείας καὶ τῶν παρανόμων Νόμων.

Διὸ καὶ "Εφιππος ὁ κωμφδιοποιὸς ἐν Ναυάγῳ Πλάτωνά | τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων τινὰς κεκωμώδηκεν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ συκοφαντοῦντας, ἐμφαίνων ὅτι καὶ πολυτελῶς ἡσκοῦντο καὶ ὅτι τῆς εὐμορφίας τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀσελγῶν πλείονα πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο. λέγει δ' οὕτως.

ἔπειτ' ἀναστὰς εἴστοχος νεανίας τῶν ἐξ 'Ακαδημείας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα καὶ Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων πληγεὶς ἀνάγκη, † λιψιγομισθω † τέχνη | συνών τις, οὐκ ἄσκεπτα δυνάμενος λέγειν, εὖ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα, εὖ δ' ὑποκαθιεὶς ἄτομα πώγωνος βάθη, εὖ δ' ἐν πεδίλω πόδα τιθεὶς † ὑπὸ ξυρόν † κνήμης ἱμάντων ἰσομέτροις ἐλίγμασιν, ὄγκω τε χλανίδος εὖ τεθωρακισμένος, σχῆμ' ἀξιόχρεων ἐπικαθεὶς βακτηρία, ἀλλότριον, οὐκ οἰκεῖον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, | ἔλεξεν "ἄνδρες τῆς 'Αθηναίων χθονός."

μέχρι τούτων ήμιν πεπεραιώσθω και ήδε ή συναγωγή, φίλτατε Τιμόκρατες· έξης δε ερουμεν περι των επι τρυφη διαβοήτων γενομένων.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup> Chaeron (Moretti #432 [he was a wrestler; Berve i #818]), supported by Alexander the Great, apparently seized power sometime in the mid-330s BCE; cf. D. 17.10; Paus. 7.27.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> For Bryson, see 11.508c–d n.; the reference to him here = fr. 206 Döring. Thrasymachus of Chalcedon (late 5th century BCE; D–K 85) was likewise not a member of Plato's school, although he appears as a character in the *Republic*.

#### BOOK XI

forced their wives to live with them, as if they were married. 477 This is how he benefitted from the lovely *Republic* and the lawless *Laws*!

This is why the comic poet Ephippus in *The Shipwreck Victim* (fr. 14) makes fun of Plato himself and of some of his students for abusing the legal system to extort money, bringing out the fact that they dressed expensively and were more concerned with how they looked than the degenerates in our own time are. He puts it as follows:

Then a sharp young man stood up, someone from the Academy who'd studied with Plato and

was driven by the need for Brysono-Thrasymachian-<sup>478</sup>

money-grubbing, an individual familiar with the trick [corrupt] and incapable of saying anything unconsidered.

His hair was carefully trimmed with a razor; his beard hung carefully down, heavy and untrimmed:

his feet were carefully set in sandals [corrupt] with twisted straps of equal length around his shins; his chest was carefully wrapped in a heavy robe; and he leaned his handsome frame on a staff and made a speech composed, in my opinion, by someone

other than himself: "Men of the land of Athens."

Let this compilation of mine come to an end at this point, my good friend Timocrates; in what follows, I will tell you about individuals notorious for their addiction to luxury.



Sections numbered 11.781–784, added from the Epitome, are found following the first portion of section 11.466d.

Achaeus of Eretria (TrGF 20). test, 7: 10.451c; fr. 9: 10.427c; fr. 14: 11.480f: fr. 19: 10.451c-d; fr. 33: 11.466e-f; fr. 33.1: 11.498d-e Achilleus, 10.433b, d; 11.781c, 783b Acrisius, king of Argos, 11.466b Adaeus, author of On the Sense of Words, 11.471f adespota, comic (K-A), fr. 120\*: 10.433e; fr. 121.1-7: 10.458ad: fr. \*732: 10.426d adespota, epic or elegiac (SH), 1011: 11.495a adespota, epigram (FGE), 315-18: 11.465d; 1568-9: 10.454f; 1624-7: 10.436d: 1628-9: 10.442e; 1852–3: 11.782b adespota, lyric (PMG), 952: 11.781c-d adespota, tragic (TrGF), fr. 96: 10.433e-f; fr. 97: 10.457b Adonis, 10.456a–b Aemilianus, grammarian and dinner guest, 10.448b

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