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THEOPHRASTUS  
CHARACTERS

HERODAS  
MIMES

CERCIDAS AND THE  
CHOLIAMBIC POETS

LCL 225



THEOPHRASTUS  
CHARACTERS  
HERODAS  
MIMES  
CERCIDAS AND THE  
CHOLIAMBIC POETS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
JEFFREY RUSTEN,  
I. C. CUNNINGHAM, AND A. D. KNOX



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## PREFACE

Theophrastus' *Characters* is a pleasant little book for the casual reader, but an enormously difficult one for the scholar; I would guess that most of its editors, even the likes of Casaubon, Korais, Immisch and company, and Diels, have begun their work with relish and confidence, but concluded with an apologetic feeling that there was much more to be done. I am certainly no exception. The manuscript tradition of the work is perhaps the most corrupt among classical Greek authors, almost every other sentence requiring some emendation. To produce a text that can be translated and read requires adopting more conjectures than a proper critical edition might normally allow. Such a full edition — and a repertory of conjectures — is very much needed, but not to be sought here: my notes on the Greek text are normally restricted to recording conjectures by modern scholars, and are thus very limited; manuscript readings are reported at all only in these cases, and are usually taken from Immisch's 1923 Teubner edition, which I judged to be most accurate.

Many allusions in the *Characters* to the daily life of Athens require explanation; so when necessary I

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have not hesitated to annotate the translation more (on 16, "Superstition," *much* more) than may be customary for a Loeb volume. My translations of the individual titles were chosen to suit the descriptions ("Griping," "Sponging," "Chiseling") rather than to render a single Greek word; but the Additional Notes give an account of each trait's literal meaning, and its treatment in ancient literature.

For the section numbers within each character I follow the standard numeration (Steinmetz, Navarre, Immisch), rather than Diels' Oxford Classical Text.

For advice and suggestions I owe thanks to many more than I could name. But I cannot pass over Peter Bing, who lent me his notes from what must have been fascinating lectures on the *Characters* by the late Konrad Gaiser; William Fortenbaugh, not only for the splendid new edition of the fragments of Theophrastus but also for comments and hints on the Introduction; Rudolf Kassel, who introduced me to the dissertation on the *Characters* by Markus Stein, who in turn generously allowed me to use it in advance of publication and made countless acute corrections of my own work; and, especially, Zeph Stewart, for many hours of careful reading of my results, and painstaking criticism combined with unflinching encouragement.

This edition of Theophrastus and that of Herodas by I. C. Cunningham replace those in the original Loeb

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volume (1929) by J. M. Edmonds and A. D. Knox respectively. The rest of that volume—Knox's edition and translation of Hipponax, Cercidas, and the other Choliambic poets—is reprinted here without change. For subsequent work on Hipponax see M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci* vol. I (2nd ed. Oxford 1989) and E. Degani, *Hipponax* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1991). For Cercidas see Enrico Livrea, *Studi cercidei* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 37, Bonn 1986); a new edition of Cercidas by Livrea and F. W. Williams is in preparation.

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Jeffrey Rusten



THEOPHRASTUS

*CHARACTERS*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

JEFFREY RUSTEN





## INTRODUCTION

THEOPHRASTUS' range of interests almost matched that of his teacher Aristotle, from great works on botany,<sup>1</sup> studies on winds, weather, and many other topics in natural science, to logic and metaphysics, rhetoric and poetics, politics and ethics.<sup>2</sup> He would doubtless be astonished to learn that he is best remembered today for a little book only marginal to these studies and preserved only in a mutilated, perhaps abbreviated, form. Yet his *Characters* became a paradigm in European literature, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found dozens of translators and imitators in England, France, and Germany.

Before turning to its relatively recent influence, however, we must first look at its author's career, the character of the book itself, and its affinities with ancient ethical, comic, and rhetorical writings,

<sup>1</sup> *Inquiry into Plants*, ed. and tr. A. Hort (2 vols., Loeb Classical Library, 1916); *De Causis Plantarum*, ed. and tr. B. Einarson and G. K. K. Link (3 vols., Loeb Classical Library, 1976–1990).

<sup>2</sup> See the bibliography in Wehrli, "Der Peripatos" 475–6. (For abbreviations and works cited by author or short title only see the Bibliography.)

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as well as several difficult (perhaps insoluble) problems: how the book came into being, why the text is in such lamentable condition, and to what extent the method and substance of this book can be reconciled with what we know of the philosopher Theophrastus himself.

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Theophrastus was born in Eresus, on the island of Lesbos, ca. 370 B.C. He may have studied philosophy earlier, but at least by the age of 25 he began to work with Aristotle, who after the death of Plato had left Athens for the patronage of Hermias at Assos, a town near Theophrastus' home.<sup>3</sup> Hermias was executed by the Persians in 341; the young man followed his master first to Macedonia and the court of Philip, then joined him on his return to Athens after 334, where he was recognized as Aristotle's preeminent student and designated successor.

Theophrastus' residence in Athens coincided with a turbulent period in its political history,<sup>4</sup> some

<sup>3</sup> For speculations on this period see Konrad Gaiser, *Theophrast in Assos* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985.3). See in general the sketch of the lives of Aristotle (by H. Flashar) and Theophrastus in Wehrli, "Der Peripatos" 230–234, 477, and *Theophr. fr.*, *Intro.* pp. 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) chapters 1–3, Claude Mossé, *Athens in Decline* (London 1973) chapter 5.

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of which is mirrored in the *Characters*. Despite the power of Macedonia, the city remained democratic, under the leadership of Lycurgus, until his death in 324.<sup>5</sup> The subsequent death of Alexander himself threw all into confusion, beginning with the Athenian uprising against Alexander's regent Antipater in 322 (when Aristotle himself withdrew again from Athens, leaving his school behind, and died in Euboea). Athens' defeat by Antipater led to a new oligarchic constitution under the Athenian conservative Phocion, with a limitation on the number of citizens.<sup>6</sup> But then Antipater's death (319) produced a further struggle among his heirs, and the remnants of Alexander's family, for control of Greece: his designated successor Polyperchon, in partnership with Alexander's half-brother Philip III Arridaios, proclaimed the autonomy of all Greek states in exchange for their support. Democratic forces in Athens rallied to him, and Phocion was executed. But Polyperchon's power waned, and in 317 Antipater's son Cassander assumed control of Athens, which he placed under the control of Demetrius of Phaleron, a student of Aristotle and staunch supporter of Theophrastus. Demetrius fled to Egypt in 307, and Theophrastus was driven for a year into exile;<sup>7</sup> but after his return he remained

<sup>5</sup> F. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens, 388–322," *Seiple Lectures*, series 2 (Cincinnati 1970).

<sup>6</sup> L. A. Trittle, *Phocion the Good* (London 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Through a decree against non-Athenian heads of schools, moved by a certain Sophocles of Sounion. J. P.

## THEOPHRASTUS

firmly established as the head of the most popular philosophical school in Athens until his death ca. 285 B.C.

### STYLE, STRUCTURE, AND SETTING OF THE CHARACTERS

As preserved in the medieval manuscripts, the *Characters* consist of: a *Table of Contents* and a *Preface* explaining the genesis and purpose of the whole collection; and *thirty chapters*, each with:

1) *Title*: a single-word personality trait, always ending in *-ia*;

2) *Definition* in abstract terms of this quality;

3) *Description*, the longest part of each chapter, introduced with the formula "the X man is the sort who . . .," and continuing in a series of infinitives giving characteristic actions.

4) *Epilogue* (in some cases) in a more rhetorical style, with moralizing generalizations.

It is certain that two of these elements — the preface and the epilogues — are not by Theophrastus himself, being later (perhaps much later) additions to the text. Of the definitions, one (the first) is certainly a later addition, and several others which seem irrelevant to the descriptions they introduce,

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Lynch, *Aristotle's School* (Berkeley 1972) 103–104, Theophr. fr 1.38; cf. Alexis *PCG* fr. 99 with bibliography.

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or seem to be taken from other sources, are probably interpolations as well. (For the reasons behind these assumptions, see pages 30–32 below.)

What remains at the heart of the work are the descriptions, which are priceless for several reasons. First, because of their style. Theophrastus was a master of Greek rhetoric both in theory and practice—he received his name (“the divine speaker”) from it, being originally called Tyrtamus (fr. 5A-6)—but here he disregards its constraints: there is no avoidance of hiatus, no logical or rhetorical figures or structures. An introductory formula “X is the sort who . . .” (τοιούτῳς τις, οἶος . . .) leads to an infinitive containing the characteristic act—usually qualified by a series of participles giving the circumstances—followed by another participle and infinitive, and then another and another (sometimes interrupted with *δεινὸς καὶ . . .* “he is also apt to . . .”) until the description ends. Not all scholars have found this style pleasing, and the attempt to account for its singularity has led to theories that it springs from lecture notes or a personal sketchbook, or even that it is the work of an excerptor, or a forgery utterly unrelated to Theophrastus; the only certain conclusion is that it is unique in Greek literature.<sup>8</sup>

Second, the setting is anything but timeless or

<sup>8</sup> Critics of its monotony include R. Porson and H. Sauppe (see Gomperz 5), but most others have been more generous: see especially Pasquali, “Sui caratteri” 47–56.

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idealizing, being unmistakably the Athens of the last few decades of the fourth century B.C., whose customs, institutions, and prejudices form the backdrop of every character's actions. Only the fragments of contemporary Athenian comedies offer an equal insight into the city's daily life, and no work of ancient Greek literature can be dated so precisely from its historical allusions alone.

Finally, the descriptions are equally distinctive as literary portraiture.<sup>9</sup> They are never generalizations, but catalogues of vivid detail (some indeed so distinctive that they are difficult to interpret). We learn, for example, the exact words of the obsequious man, the boor, or the babbler, which gods the superstitious man placates on which days, how the chiseler avoids school fees, how the rumor-monger or the garrulous man finds an audience and the ungenerous man avoids one, which market vendors the shameless man franchises, how much he makes each day, and where he carries his earnings.

### DATE OF THE *CHARACTERS*

Numerous allusions in the *Characters* themselves indicate with considerable precision when it was

<sup>9</sup> For the background see Ivo Bruns, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1896); comparisons between Theophrastus and the portraiture of Lysippus in T. B. L. Webster, *Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens* (London 1956) 124–133.

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composed.<sup>10</sup> The most important clue is in the gossip spread by the rumor-monger in *Character* 8: he claims that Polyperchon and "the king" have defeated and captured Cassander, and that the current Athenian leadership is worried. This suits best the situation in Athens in late 319, when a decree of the new regent Polyperchon had encouraged Athens to restore its democracy, and Cassander appeared weak;<sup>11</sup> in that case the king will have been Philip Arridaios, and the worried Athenian leader, Phocion.<sup>12</sup>

The historical situation of *Character* 8 was first noted by Cichorius, who assumed that the whole work should be dated to 319; although different characters may well have different dramatic dates, and the various sketches may have been composed over a period of years,<sup>13</sup> it does seem that other

<sup>10</sup> On dating see C. Cichorius, Introduction to the edition of the Leipzig Philological Society, lvii–lxii; A. Boegehold, "The Date of Theophrastus' *Characters*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 90 (1959) 15–19; Stein, *Definition und Schilderung*.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Phocion* 32.1, Diodorus 18.55–56.

<sup>12</sup> There are other, less plausible candidates for "the king" in the years 317–310: Alexander IV, or Heracles, in which case the nervous current ruler of Athens will be Demetrius of Phaleron; a detailed review of the possibilities in Stein, *Definition und Schilderung*.

<sup>13</sup> Particularly since 319 was a year of constant crisis in Athens; the attempted prosecution of Theophrastus by the democrat Hagnonides (Diog. Laert. 5.37) may belong to this year also (Boegehold [above n. 10] 17).

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chronological indications are consistent with 319 as well: thus *Character* 23 assumes that the famine at Athens and the campaigns of Alexander are over, but that Antipater is still alive and in Macedon, which points to 326–3, 322–1, or 319. There is mention of liturgies (23.6, 26.6), which were abolished by Demetrius of Phaleron (317–307) and not reinstated thereafter. The complaints of the authoritarian in *Character* 26 seem to have been composed under a democracy (as do the democratic sentiments of the patron of scoundrels, 29.5), but the fact that commissioners are being elected (26.2) rather than chosen by lot (cf. Arist., *Constitution of Athens* 56.4) suggests a date after 322.<sup>14</sup>

There are other features of the *Characters* which link them to anecdotal evidence on the life and students of Theophrastus. They dressed rather well, and had a reputation for living high;<sup>15</sup> thus there are four varieties of stinginess, but none of extravagance (see the Additional Notes on *Character* 9). His elegant manners and sophistication were well known, and thus we have a large number of types who lack social graces or make themselves foolish in society (see Additional Notes on *Character* 4). Theophrastus discussed sacrifice at length (fr. 584A–585), and he constantly employs it to illus-

<sup>14</sup> See Boegehold (above n. 10) 18, and Stein, *Definition und Schilderung*.

<sup>15</sup> Stein, *Definition und Schilderung* cites Teles fr. 30 Hense, Theophr. fr. 12, 23, Lycon fr. 7, 8, 14 Wehrli.



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trate his types (9.2, 12.11, 15.5, 16 *passim*, 17.2, 21.7, 21.11, 22.4, 27.5); his father was a fuller, a trade with which his characters often have dealings (18.6, 22.8, 30.10; for the prominence of this craft in *De Causis Plantarum* see Einarson and Link, *Introd.*, viii note a).

### THE CHARACTERS AND ANCIENT LITERATURE<sup>16</sup>

#### *Ethics*

The meanings of ancient Greek *χαρακτήρ* are derived from an original sense of an *inscribing* (*χαράσσειν*) onto a surface: the *imprint* on a coin, the *form* of a letter, often the *style* of an author for rhetorical analysis.<sup>17</sup> “Character” in the modern sense is *not* one of its meanings—the Greek word for “character” is usually *ἦθος*<sup>18</sup>—and if it were not firmly established, Theophrastus’ title might better be rendered “traits.” Basic to his whole enterprise is the notion that individual good or bad traits of character may be isolated and studied separately, a notion formulated most memorably by his teacher

<sup>16</sup> For the concept in general see the survey in C. B. R. Pelling (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford 1990).

<sup>17</sup> See A. Koerte, “ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ,” *Hermes* 64 (1928) 69–86.

<sup>18</sup> For examples of the various Greek terms for character see O. Thimme, *Φύσις, τρόπος, ἦθος* (Diss. Göttingen, 1935).

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Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* Book 2:<sup>19</sup> for each range of emotion (fear, anger) or sphere of action (wealth, honor), Aristotle defines moral virtue and vice (*ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία ἠθικὴ*, literally “excellence and badness of character”) by their relation to the middle: too large or small an amount is to be avoided as a vice, and only by remaining between the extremes can one attain virtue.<sup>20</sup>

Although Aristotle would not reduce moral behavior to a formula,<sup>21</sup> he is nonetheless able to apply this doctrine to a wide range of traditionally named virtues and vices of character (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1107a33–1108b7):<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Among earlier philosophic descriptions of vices are Plato’s account of character types which parallel forms of government in *Republic* VIII, and the literature of national characters (Boeotian, Spartan, etc.) based ultimately on the sort of climatological determinism in the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*: see M. Goebel, *Ethnica* (Diss. Breslau 1915).

<sup>20</sup> This in turn is related to Greek popular wisdom that avoidance of extremes is best: Nisbet-Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* II.10.5, Hermann Kalchreuter, *Die ΜΕΣΟΤΗΣ bei und vor Aristoteles* (Diss. Tübingen, 1911), H.-J. Mette, “ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ,” *Kleine Schriften* (ed. A. Mette and B. Seidensticker, Frankfurt 1988) 1–38.

<sup>21</sup> See W. F. R. Hardie, “Virtue Is a Mean,” chapter 7 in *Aristotle’s Ethical Theory* (second ed. Oxford 1980).

<sup>22</sup> The listing here is based on the *Nicomachean Ethics*; there is a slightly different list in exactly this format in *Eudemian Ethics* 1120b38ff. I give the abstract noun when Aristotle uses one, otherwise the adjective; an asterisk means it is found also in the *Characters*.

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ἔλλειψις (deficiency)	μεσότης (mean)	ὑπερβολή (excess)
*δειλός (coward)	ἀνδρεία (courage)	θρασύς (rash)
*ἀναίσθητος (unable to feel)	σωφροσύνη (temperance)	ἀκολασία (intemperance)
*ἀνελευθερία (lack of generosity)	ἐλευθεριότης (generosity)	ἀσωτία (profligacy)
μικροπρεπεία (niggardliness)	μεγαλοπρεπεία (magnificence)	βαναυσία (vulgarity)
μικροψυχία (pusillanimity)	μεγαλοψυχία (magnanimity)	χαυνότης (vanity)
ἀφιλότιμος (unambitious)	φιλότιμος (ambitious- good)	φιλότιμος (ambitious- bad)
ἀοργησία (passivity)	πραότης (gentleness)	ὀργιλότης (irascibility)
*εἰρωνεία (self- deprecation)	ἀλήθεια (truthfulness)	*ἀλαζονεία (boastfulness)
*ἀγροικία (boorishness)	εὐτραπελία (wit)	βωμολοχία (buffoonery)
δύσερις (quarrel- someness)	φιλία (friendliness)	*ἄρεσκος (obsequious)
δύσκολος (bad- tempered)	φιλία (friendliness)	*κόλαξ (flatterer)
*ἀναίσχυντος (shameless)	αἰδήμων (polite)	καταπλήξ (bashful)
ἐπιχαιρεκακία (spitefulness)	νέμεσις (righteous indignation)	φθόνος (enviousness)

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Aristotle goes on in Books 3 and 4 (1115a6–1128b33) to describe almost all of these virtues and vices in detail. Although considerably more abstract, his descriptions of individual vices, both here and in the parallel discussions in the *Eudemian Ethics* (2.1220b21–1221b3, 3.1228a23–1234b11) and the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Magna Moralia* (1.1190b9–1193a37), seem to be precursors of some of the *Characters* (see the Additional Notes on individual characters); it is easy to imagine Theophrastus' work as inspired by his teacher's approach to vices.

Peripatetic authors after Theophrastus wrote works in a similar style. A fragment of Satyrus' "On Characters" condemning profligacy is preserved by Athenaeus (4.168c). Extensive quotations from Ariston of Keos, "On Relieving Arrogance," are given by Philodemus, *On Vices* Book 10 (for text and translation see the Appendix); their style and use of detail show a remarkable resemblance to the *Characters*. Lycon's description of a drunkard is quoted by Rutilius Lupus 2.7 (Lycon fr. 26 Wehrli). Other treatments of vice owe something to character writing as well: Seneca and Plutarch<sup>23</sup> are the most obvious examples, but also evidently Posidonius (fr. 176 Kidd).

<sup>23</sup> He wrote essays *On Garrulity*, *How to Tell a Flatterer From a Friend*, *On Superstition*, *On Meddling*, *On the Love of Money*, and *On Extravagant Self-Praise*.

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### *Comedy and Satire*

For all their ethical basis, Theophrastus' sketches—especially in extended scenes like “Idle Chatter” (3), “Rumor-Mongering” (8), or “Cowardice” (25)—quite obviously have comic affinities as well. Characterization by type was already an important feature in Aristophanes,<sup>24</sup> but it was the comedy of the fourth century which brought stock characters to the fore:<sup>25</sup> the flattering parasite, the greedy or mistrustful old man, the shameless pimp or the braggart soldier. The remains of comedies of this period (or their Roman adaptations) offer instructive parallels to the behavior of Theophrastus' characters,<sup>26</sup> and the titles of fourth-century plays now lost suggest that traits of character were sometimes central (those with an asterisk are in Theophrastus also): \**The Boor* (Ἄγροικος), \**The Mistrustful Man* (Ἄπιστος), *The Glutton* (Ἀπληστος), *The Profligate* (Ἄσωτος), \**The Superstitious Man* (Δεισιδαίμων), *The Grouch* (Δύσκολος), \**The Flatterer* (Κόλαξ), \**The Griper* (Μεμφίμοιρος), *The Loner* (Μονότροπος), *The Meddler* (Πολυπράγμων),

<sup>24</sup> W. Süss, “Zur Komposition der altattischen Komödie,” *Rheinisches Museum* 63 (1908) 12–38, R. G. Ussher, “Old Comedy and ‘Character’: Some Comments,” *Greece and Rome* 24 (1977) 71–79.

<sup>25</sup> H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische mittlere Komödie* (Berlin 1991) 280–330.

<sup>26</sup> R. L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge 1985) 148–151.

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*The Miser* (Φιλάργγυρος), *The Busybody* (Φιλοπράγμων).

Menander, the greatest author of New Comedy, has even been claimed as Theophrastus' student.<sup>27</sup> Not only does he appear to echo several other Theophrastan works in his writing, he manipulates his characters with as much skill as Theophrastus — in fact, even more skill, which prompts caution in assuming any direct influence. His philosophizing passages, impressive in themselves, are often given an ironic turn when put in the mouths of unsuitable characters. His stock characters too (especially soldiers and prostitutes) may often surprise us by transcending their limitations.<sup>28</sup>

Satire and comedy were often linked by ancient theorists,<sup>29</sup> and here too there are occasional resemblances to the *Characters*, especially in the vivid

<sup>27</sup> The imperial writer Pamphile (*FHG* III fr. 10) as quoted by Diogenes Laertius 5.36; for a detailed examination of the tradition of Menander as philosopher see Konrad Gaiser, "Menander und der Peripatos," *Antike und Abendland* 13 (1967) 8–40.

<sup>28</sup> For the "philosophical" passages—note especially the slave Onesimos' garbled psychological theory, *Epileptontes* 1092–1099—see Gaiser (preceding note); for the stock characters, Nesselrath (above n. 25) 333, and Wilamowitz' oft-repeated dictum (R. Kassel, *Kleine Schriften* [Berlin 1991], 508 n. 6): "Theophrastus gives us types; Menander gives us people."

<sup>29</sup> Horace, *Satires* 1.4, *Prolegomena* to Comedy p. 3 Koster.

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portraits by Hipponax, Herodas, Phoenix, and Cercidas. Other such sketches are found in the poem by Semonides of Amorgos (seventh century B.C.) on types of women: their various vices (e.g., filthiness, cunning, extravagance) are explained by their creation from animals (e.g., the pig, fox, horse) or other elements (the sea). Only the industrious woman, created from the bee, is praiseworthy.<sup>30</sup> Among Roman satirists, Horace discusses greed (1.2, 2.2); and offers an extensive portrait of a bore (1.9); Martial (3.63) defines the *bellus homo* with a Theophrastan eye for detail, and Juvenal skewers the miser (14.126–134). The diatribes of Teles adapt some of the same techniques, and Lucian even shows a direct knowledge of the *Characters*.<sup>31</sup>

### *Rhetoric*<sup>32</sup>

Character sketching could also be an important weapon in court: Aristotle's account of moral traits in the *Ethics* is complemented by a rhetorical discussion of the contrasting traits of the old and young in *Rhetoric* 2.12–14.<sup>33</sup> Just as La Bruyère saw that

<sup>30</sup> Semonides fr. 7 West; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species* (London 1975); Walter Marg, *Der Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1938).

<sup>31</sup> M. D. MacLeod, *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974) 75–76.

<sup>32</sup> See in general Wilhelm Süss, *Ethos: Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik* (Leipzig 1910).

<sup>33</sup> A. Dyroff, *Der Peripatos über das Greisenalter* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 21.3, Paderborn 1939).

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fictitious characters could be mixed with the literary portrait of a real individual, so the ancient rhetorical tradition demanded exercises in character drawing as practice for historical portraits from life. Called *χαρακτηρισμοί* or *ἠθολογίαι*, these seem to have been standard exercises in all rhetorical training, and are mentioned by Cicero (*Topica* 83), and Quintilian (1.9.3);<sup>34</sup> a fine sample of a braggart is given by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.50–51.64. They led not only to portraits like Cicero's *In Pisonem*, but also the famous sketches of historical figures in Sallust and Tacitus.<sup>35</sup>

### PURPOSE OF THE CHARACTERS

The authenticity of the *Characters* as a work of Theophrastus, although doubted (without argument) by scholars as distinguished as Porson, Haupt, Vettori, and Valckenaer, is as good as proved, as we have seen, by the frequency and precision of its allusions to Athens ca. 319. Yet it is easy to see why it was suspected: the work's subject

<sup>34</sup> Probably also by Suetonius, *De Grammaticis* 4.

<sup>35</sup> The most detailed introduction (although it slightes rhetorical influence) is Christopher Gill, "The Question of Character-Development: Plutarch and Tacitus," *Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983) 469–487. For later parallels see David Nichol Smith, *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford 1918).



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and its execution seem as alien to the philosopher's other work as its style.

Theophrastus' motive for writing the *Characters* might be sought in his ethical works, where several fragments offer connections, for example, the attested title "On Characters" (Περὶ ἠθῶν fr. 436.1); or fr. 465, where he notes how much care is devoted to the choice of a city, friends, even the route for a journey, while the more important choice of a way of life is left to chance; or fr. 449A, on virtue and vice, which closely resembles Aristotle—we have seen that the division of the *Characters* into traits, and even some of their names, recalls the *Nicomachean Ethics* as well.

But the differences between the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Characters* are even more obvious. The latter deals only with faults, while Aristotle is far more interested in virtues than in vices; Aristotle develops an argument about virtue as a mean, which is then illustrated with specific examples from spheres like reactions to danger, behavior with money, treatment of other individuals, leading to extended consideration of the virtues of justice and friendship; the *Characters*, on the other hand, are utterly lacking in analysis, their order of presentation apparently random—traits relating to money, friendship, or talk are not treated together, or compared in any way.

Most importantly, the *motives* behind the charac-

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ters' actions are not discussed.<sup>36</sup> Much of the behavior detailed here—things like charging compound interest and late fees for loans, hiring flute girls for dinner parties, dedicating skulls of sacrificed cows, shirking payments for public service, seeking purification after incurring pollution—is in fact very close to normal, and well-attested for Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries. If the *Characters* are to offer ethical instruction, we need an analysis such as Terence (probably following Menander) puts in the mouth of Micio (*Adelphi* 821–825):

multa in homine, Demea,  
signa insunt ex quibus coniectura facile fit,  
duo quom idem faciunt, saepe ut possis dicere  
'hoc licet inpune facere huic, illi non licet.'  
non quo dissimilis res sit, sed quo is qui facit.

In a person, Demeas, there are many clues that lead to an obvious conclusion. Thus even though two people behave the same, you can usually say  
"this man can get away with it— that one can't."  
Not because the behavior is different, but because  
the *person* is.

<sup>36</sup> See especially W. Fortenbaugh, "Die Charaktere Theophrasts," *Rheinisches Museum* 118 (1975) 64. The opening definitions of each character are completely inadequate as indications of motive, and their authenticity is in any case suspect (see pp. 31–33 below).

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Thus support is lacking for the idea that the *Characters* is a series of excerpts made from Theophrastus' ethical writings,<sup>37</sup> or was written to illustrate them.

Some have suggested its purpose was not ethical at all. One alternative candidate is comedy.<sup>38</sup> Since there are no examples of virtue in the *Characters*, we are reminded of Aristotle's dictum (*Poetics* 1449a32, cf. 1448a1–5) that the depiction of people we do not take seriously (*φαιλότροποι*) is the province of comedy. Aristotle and his successors wrote frequently on the techniques and ethical implications of comedy. Their exact views are far from clear, but the so-called "Tractatus Coislinianus," which has peripatetic affinities,<sup>39</sup> lists in section XII three "characters of comedy" (*ἡθῆ κωμωδίας*), the *βωμολοχικά*, *ἀλαζονικά*, and *εἰρωνικά* ("buffoons, braggarts, and tricksters"), two of which appear in the *Characters* (1, 23), the other in Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a24). Works "On Comedy" and

<sup>37</sup> Formulated by Sonntag (see p. 30 below), but refuted by Gomperz, "Über die Charaktere Theophrasts," 4–8.

<sup>38</sup> R. G. Ussher, "Old Comedy and 'Character,'" *Greece and Rome* 24 (1977) 71–79; W. Fortenbaugh, "Theophrast über den komischen Charakter," *Rheinisches Museum* 124 (1981) 245–260.

<sup>39</sup> Most recently and fully R. Janko, *Aristotle on Comedy* (London 1984) and Nesselrath (above n. 25) 102–162.

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“On the ridiculous” are ascribed to Theophrastus himself (frs. 709–710), as well as a definition of the genre (fr. 708).

Another suggested purpose is rhetorical instruction.<sup>40</sup> There is no doubt that this is the use to which the work was eventually put; indeed it owes its very survival to its inclusion among the handbooks of the schools; but we have no trace in the rhetorical writings of Theophrastus (fr. 667–707) that he treated characterization, nor in the *Characters* themselves that they have such a purpose; it might indeed seem to be ruled out if the title ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες in Diogenes Laertius 5.47 is correct.

What ultimately defeats any attempt to find an ethical, comic, or rhetorical basis in the *Characters* is the fact that there is no trace in them of structure or analysis at all. Like any other work of fictional literature—and unlike any other work of Theophrastus—the *Characters* are presented as pure entertainment. The question is therefore not the work’s purpose so much as its style, and here three scholars have made complementary suggestions: 1) Gomperz (11–13), that the *Characters* bear

<sup>40</sup> O. Immisch, *Philologus* 11 (1898) 193–212, Süss, *Ethos* (above n. 32) 167, A. Rostagni, *Rivista di filologia* 48 (1920) 417–443, D. Furley, *Symbolae Osloenses* 30 (1953) 56–60, S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period* (Cambridge 1958) 147–154, Fortenbaugh, “Theophrastus, the *Characters* and Rhetoric,” chapter 3 in *Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities* 6 (1993).

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the same relation to Theophrastus' ethical works as the sketchbook of a painter does to finished paintings—he compared the connection of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* to the *Politics*, his *Homeric Problems* to the *Poetics*; in the school of Aristotle, such preliminary collections of materials were published, though they would not be today; 2) Pasquali ("Sui caratteri" 51–3) points to the radically unusual style, which he regards as an experimental publication based on lectures; 3) Gaiser<sup>41</sup> also suggested the lecture hall, as the place where the giving of information, moral instruction, and entertainment intersect.

Indeed Theophrastus' public lectures seem to have been enormously popular and entertaining: Diogenes Laertius 5.37 tells us that he had 2000 students (cf. Theophrastus fr. 15), and Hermippus (fr. 51 Wehrli = Theophrastus fr. 12) that he punctuated his lectures with gestures, citing in particular his mimicry of a glutton. Some other works of Theophrastus, known only from fragments, may have been as lively ("On Marriage," fr. 486), and the peripatetic school after him interested itself in a wide range of popular and practical ethical questions in an anecdotal style.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> To my knowledge this suggestion was never published; I know it from notes on his Tübingen lectures on the *Characters* lent me by Peter Bing.

<sup>42</sup> Wehrli, "Peripatos" 467–469.

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### HISTORY OF THE TEXT

#### *Medieval Manuscripts*

The most valuable individual manuscripts are:<sup>43</sup>

A = *Parisinus graecus* 2977, XI cent.

B = *Parisinus graecus* 1983, X–XI cent.

Both A and B contain *Characters* 1–15, the proem and the table of contents (for 1–15 only); in both manuscripts, the text of *Character* 30.5–16 is wrongly appended to *Character* 11.<sup>44</sup>

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 110, XIII cent., which only begins with *Character* 16, yet it alone continues to the end of *Character* 30 (29–30.5 were first edited from this manuscript by Amaduzzi in 1786).<sup>45</sup>

Since the text of 30.5–16 is (incorrectly) added by AB after *Character* 11, for the final sentences of

<sup>43</sup> The clearest and most thorough account of the medieval manuscripts is by Immisch, pp. viii–lii of the Philological Society of Leipzig edition.

<sup>44</sup> For detailed accounts of both these manuscripts see H. Rabe, *Rheinisches Museum* 67 (1912) 323–332, and W. Abraham in Studemund, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 1885 (31) 759–772, E. Matelli, *Scrittura e civiltà* 13 (1989) 329–386.

<sup>45</sup> The writing is indistinct, and heavily abbreviated; see the photograph of fol. 253 r/v (*Characters* 16–21) in R. Merkelbach und H. van Thiel, *Griechisches Leseheft zur Einführung in Paläographie und Textkritik* (Göttingen 1965) no. 5 pp. 15–16.

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the work we may compare AB and V, which reveals that at least here (although not necessarily elsewhere) AB gives in many cases a *shorter* text, but often a *better* one than V.

The simplest approach to reconstructing this phase of their transmission is the assumption that an original manuscript  $\alpha$  was divided into two parts (1–15, 16–30) and copied separately; the branch of the tradition containing *Characters* 1–15 found a fragment (perhaps the final page detached) containing *Character* 30.5–16 from an abridged text, and re-copied this where it was thought to belong, at the end of *Character* 11.<sup>46</sup> Thus the accompanying stemma (page 26).

All manuscripts *later* than A, B, and V are divided into three groups:<sup>47</sup>

C, consisting of 7 manuscripts (XV–XVI cent.) containing *Characters* 1–28: Immisch pp. ix–xiii.

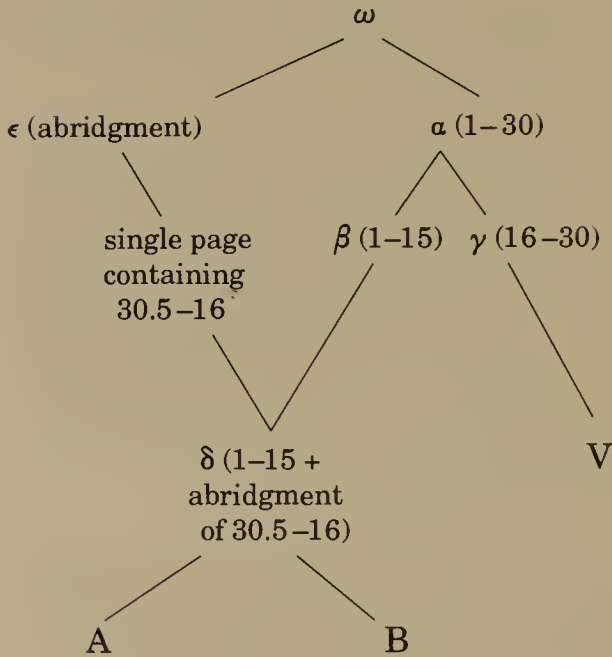
D, consisting of 6 manuscripts (XIV–XVI cent.) containing *Characters* 1–23: Immisch pp. xiii–xviii

E, consisting of 32 manuscripts (XIII–XVI cent.)

<sup>46</sup> On the other hand AB is *not* derived from an abridgment for 1–15, as shown by the papyri (see below).

<sup>47</sup> N. G. Wilson, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 96–8, extends this list of manuscripts from published library catalogues: yet among the manuscripts he designates as new, nos. 3, 20, 24, and 55 were already known to Immisch (the first three only in his Teubner edition of 1923); whereas nos. 19, 34, and 63 (none designated “new”) have to my knowledge never been mentioned before.

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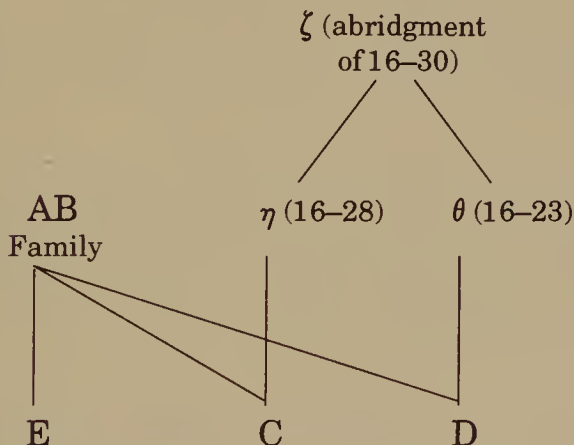
which never contained more than *Characters* 1-15: Immisch pp. xix-xxv.

The transmission of these later families C, D, and E is more complicated: E, containing *Characters* 1-15, appears to derive from A and B, and therefore to have no independent value. The families C and D, however, derive from A and B only for the first 15 characters; after that, they copy 16-23 or 16-28



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from another source, which is however not identical with V, since when V was discovered it proved to have a significantly longer text in many passages.<sup>48</sup> Therefore C and D must have derived *Characters* 16ff from an abridged manuscript also, producing the following stemma:



The ultimate source of the abridgment  $\zeta$  remains in dispute. Diels (followed by Stein, *Definition und*

<sup>48</sup> These so-called “additamenta Vaticana” are printed in bold type in the apparatus of the Philological Society of Leipzig edition and Immisch’s 1923 Teubner edition. Steinmetz 38–41 suggested that the abridgments were carried out in the thirteenth century by Maximus Planudes, whom we know to have reworked the rhetorical corpus in A and B (H. Rabe, *Rheinisches Museum* 67 [1912] 332–337).

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*Schilderung*, and most modern editors) believed it to be entirely derived from V, so that CD would possess no independent value; Immisch (Leipzig edition pp. xxxvi–lii, Teubner edition pp. iii–iv, followed by Pasquali and Steinmetz) maintained that occasionally C and D preserved an independent tradition.

Finally, there exists an epitome of *Characters* 1–21 in “M” (*Monacensis graecus* 505, XV cent.), which agrees mostly with B in 1–15, mostly with V in 16–21.

### *Papyri and Testimonia*

The text offered by the medieval manuscripts of the *Characters* may be the most corrupt of any major work of Greek antiquity; yet the fragments found on papyrus suggest that it is more or less that already fixed by the first century B.C.:

P. Hamb. 143 (I B.C., *Characters* 7–8), M. Gronewald *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 35 (1979) 21–2.

P. Herc. 1457 (I B.C., Philodemus *On flattery* citing *Character* 5). For this and other possible citations of Theophrastus among the Herculaneum papyri see Eiko Kondo, “I ‘caratteri’ di Teofrasto nei papiri ercolanesi,” *Cronache ercolanesi* 1 (1971) 73–86, with the corrections reported by T. Dorandi and J. Hammerstaedt in Stein, *Definition und Schilderung*.

P. Oxy. 699 (A. D. III) offers an epitome of *Characters* 25–6.

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In the twelfth century the *Characters* was mentioned (and perhaps imitated, see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* [London 1983] 200–201) by Eustathius on *Iliad* 12.276 (p. 931.18) and Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 9.941.

### *Earliest Transmission*

We have seen that the date of the *Characters* is known, while the purpose for which it was written and the earliest stages of its textual history are shrouded in mystery. But it is obvious why the work survived: every single medieval manuscript which contains it is derived from collections of treatises on rhetoric (whose central authors were Hermogenes and Aphthonius), so that it must owe its preservation to a decision to make it part of a rhetorical corpus, doubtless as an aid to the description of character (see p. 22 above). This must have occurred by the ninth century, perhaps considerably earlier.<sup>49</sup>

In the process of being included in rhetorical corpora, the *Characters* was prone to being shortened in transmission: as we have seen, many of the medieval manuscripts of 16–30 are presumed to derive from abridgments, and there exist two epitomes, M and P. Oxy. 699.

Yet at other stages of its history, the work was prey to expansion as well, and here the motive

<sup>49</sup> Immisch, Philological Society of Leipzig edition, xxix–xxxv.

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seems to have been to adapt the work not to rhetoric, but to moralizing instruction in ethics.<sup>50</sup> The evidence for these expansions is entirely subjective, since even the earliest papyri offer more or less the same sort of text we have today. Yet there can be little doubt that some parts of the *Characters* as we have them are later additions, of three kinds:

*The Proem.* Even beyond its chronological absurdities and fatuous repetitions, the introductory essay now preserved in all manuscripts gives a completely false picture of the work that is to follow. For details see the note *ad loc.* It was first shown to be a later insertion by Carl Gottlieb Sonntag, *Dissertatio in prooemium characterum Theophrasti* (Leipzig 1787).

*Epilogues* are appended to several *Characters* (1.7, 2.13, 3.5, 6.10, 8.10–14, 10.14, 26.6, 28.7, 29.6). The *Characters* themselves, as we have seen, employ a simple and repetitive style to describe the specific actions of a single individual. In these epilogues, by contrast, a florid style and the tendency to moralize and generalize (and consequent use of the plural) betray immediately that they are alien. They are usually considered Byzantine, although not necessarily by the same hand as the proem.<sup>51</sup>

*Definitions* are prefixed to every character: their

<sup>50</sup> Immisch, Philological Society of Leipzig edition, xxxvi.

<sup>51</sup> Gomperz 4; Immisch, Philological Society of Leipzig edition, xxxv; Pasquali, "Sui caratteri" 67–69.

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style is uncompromisingly abstract, and they are composed of a limited number of recurring elements;<sup>52</sup> there are often problems in reconciling them with the character description which follows — at worst they flatly contradict it, at best they are irrelevant or offer only a partial introduction to the character described. (It is therefore especially unfortunate that they come first, since they lead the reader to try to match what follows to their formula, rather than reading the description itself.) Most suspicious is the fact that several separate collections of definitions (ethical and otherwise) circulated in antiquity, some of them falsely attributed to famous names: Pseudo-Plato, *Definitions*, Pseudo-Aristotle, *On Virtues and Vices*, and the Stoic definitions of emotions collected in *SVF* III p. 92–102. Some of the definitions in the *Characters* correspond closely either with these collections (*Characters* 5, 7, 9, 12, 16) or with a formula in Aristotelian ethical writings (*Character* 1): since they seem less at home in Theophrastus, it is probable that in at least some cases the *Characters* were “improved” by the addition of definitions from these and other collections.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For example, ὡς ὄρω/τύπω (περι)λαβεῖν in 1, 5, 9, 20, cf. 14; δόξει/δόξειεν ἄν εἶναι in 1, 4, 7, 13, 16, 23, 25, 26, 27.

<sup>53</sup> The first to suggest the definitions were not Theophrastan was Hanow; the case was made more strongly by Gomperz, and more recently by Stein, *Definition und Schilderung*. On the pseudo-platonic and other definitions

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On the other hand, there are two strong arguments against athetizing the definitions as a group: 1) the Theophrastan imitations of Ariston of Keos in the third/second century B.C. (see the Appendix) begin with definitions as well (although much more apt ones than in Theophrastus); and 2) three of the definitions (*Char.* 2, 6, 26) are attested in papyri. If *all* the definitions in the *Characters* are post-Theophrastan additions, their interpolation must have taken place extremely early.<sup>54</sup>

### *Conclusions*

After working backward to investigate the history of the text, we may now speculate at a positive account of its origins and transmission until its republication in the Renaissance.

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see Ernst A. Schmidt, *Aristoteles über die Tugend* (Berlin 1965 = *Aristoteles Werke*, ed. E. Grumach XVIII.1) 27, 140, who however proceeds from the assumption that the definitions in *Characters* are genuine. Pasquali's suggestion ("Sui caratteri," 85) that Theophrastus himself borrowed from the collections of definitions seems on chronological and intellectual grounds unlikely.

<sup>54</sup> Pasquali ("Sui caratteri" 76) suggests that some of the definitions and titles have been meddled with, others not. As far as titles go (they all end in *-ια*), there seems reason to be skeptical when they do not match the character, being used elsewhere in a different sense: *εἰρωνεία* (1), *ἀπόνοια* (6), *ἀναισχυντία* (9), *ἀναισθησία* (14), *ἀηδία* (20), *ὀλιγαρχία* (26).

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I. (ca. 319 B.C.) Composition of the *Characters* by Theophrastus, in an experimental style; the publication was perhaps based on lectures. (There is no reason to believe the *Characters* was one of the "lost" works of Theophrastus edited by Andronicus in the first century B.C., on which see Theophrastus fr. 37–41; but it also seems clear that the work never received the kind of scholarly attention in Alexandria that was accorded to Plato or the historians.)

II. (III–II B.C.) At least some definitions added from other sources (Ps-Plato, *Definitions*, Ps-Aristotle, *On Virtues and Vices*. *Characters* known to peripatetics Lykon, Satyros, and Ariston.

III. (I B.C.) *Characters* known to Philodemus.

IV. (Roman empire) Beginnings of use in Roman rhetorical instruction (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero, Quintilian): occasional epitomization (P. Oxy. 699).

V. (Later Roman empire) Proem and epilogues added to stress the work's ethical importance.

VI. (Early middle ages) Inclusion of *Characters* in the corpus of rhetorical treatises dominated by Hermogenes and Aphthonius.

VII. (IX–XI cent.) Separation of *Characters* 1–15 from 16–30; major manuscripts produced.

VIII. (Later middle ages) *Characters* mentioned by Tzetzes, Eustathius, Planudes.

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### THE *CHARACTERS* AND EUROPEAN LITERATURE

The *Characters* had a small but persistent influence on European literature<sup>55</sup> even before the seventeenth century, through the tradition of rhetorical instruction: as we have seen, several ancient rhetorical works include character sketches in the Theophrastan style, and the *Characters* itself owes its very survival into the middle ages solely to its inclusion among the rhetorical treatises of Hermogenes and Aphthonius, doubtless as a model of character depiction. Galleries of such rhetorical portraits can be found already in the prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* or the Seven Deadly Sins in *Piers Plowman*, or Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*.<sup>56</sup>

Although parts of it were edited as early as 1527, it was the great edition and commentary of Isaac Casaubon in 1592<sup>57</sup> that brought the *Characters*

<sup>55</sup> For what follows see especially Smeed, *Theophrastan Character*. There are selections from all these writings in Aldington, *A Book of Characters*.

<sup>56</sup> Smeed, *Theophrastan Character* 6–19.

<sup>57</sup> See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* II (Oxford 1976) 120–123. (The detailed and idiosyncratic biography by Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, second ed. Oxford 1892, largely ignores Casaubon's scholarship.) Casaubon's commentary remained standard for nearly two centuries. His first edition contained only *Characters* 1–23; 24–28 were added in 1599; 29–30 were first included in the edition by J. C. Amaduzzi, 1786.



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wider attention; his multiple corrections of the text, and commentary illustrating the background of the sketches in the life of ancient Athens, made it possible to read it with understanding for the first time. The seed it contained could fall on fertile soil: Rabelais and Cervantes had introduced new literary forms, Erasmus and others had adapted and popularized the writings of Lucian and Juvenal,<sup>58</sup> Montaigne had written in the Senecan manner on the components of character, and Thomas Chapman and Ben Jonson were beginning to exploit the ancient medical theory of humors to produce characters for the comic stage.<sup>59</sup>

The idea of an individual essay devoted to the description of a single psychological type was an instant success. The first to imitate it was Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich and later of Exeter, who not surprisingly stressed its moral aspects; his own

<sup>58</sup> Christopher Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (London 1979); Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 206–218; R. M. Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England Under Classical Influence* (Philadelphia 1899).

<sup>59</sup> Chapman's *A Humorous Days' Mirth* (in 1597) and Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) show no direct knowledge of the *Characters*, but the character sketches spoken by Mercury and Cupid in *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) are obviously modeled on Theophrastus; see E. C. Baldwin, "Ben Jonson's Indebtedness to the Greek Character-Sketch," *Modern Language Notes* 16 (1901) 385–396.

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*Characters* (first published in London in 1608) were more abstract, moralizing, and rhetorical than Theophrastus, and (following the preface, which he did not know to be spurious) included characters of virtue as well as of vice.

Hall's book itself inspired imitations for the rest of the seventeenth century; but most of these were more interested in vice (and entertainment) than in virtue and moral instruction. Apart from individual sketches issued as pamphlets or incorporated into other books, two other English collections of this period stand out. In 1614 there appeared a book of 21 characters (expanded to 83 in subsequent editions) by the late Sir Thomas Overbury and "other learned gentlemen" (among them Webster, Dekker, and Donne), often employing extravagant wordplay and metaphor, which extend the genre to reflect contemporary English life—there are characters not only of vices and virtues but trades ("The Ostler") and national types ("The Dutchman"). Then in 1628 John Earle's *Microcosmography* retained the wide range of subjects treated in Overbury, but returned to a more relaxed, less mannered style.

Hall, Overbury, and Earle provided the models for innumerable others throughout the seventeenth century in England, where character writing became a standard exercise, as prescribed by Ralph Johnson, *The Scholar's Guide* (1665).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Quoted by Smeed, *Theophrastan Character* 36.

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### *A Character*

A Character is a witty and facetious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or sort of people.

#### RULES *for making it*

1. Choose a subject, *viz.* such a sort of men as will admit a variety of observation, such be, drunkards, usurers, liars, tailors, excise-men, travellers, peddlers, merchants, tapsters, lawyers, an upstart gentleman, a young Justice, a Constable, an Alderman, and the like.
2. Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools, desires, aims or ends, by witty Allegories, or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages.
3. Conclude with some witty and neat passage, leaving them to the effect of their follies or studies.

Among the characters from this period are extensive collections by Samuel Butler and Richard Flecknoe.<sup>61</sup>

In France, Hall's *Characters* had been translated

<sup>61</sup> Aldington, *Book of Characters* 269–333, 390–4.

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as early as 1610, but English character-writing had little influence on the great work of Jean de La Bruyère.<sup>62</sup> he began with a translation of Theophrastus, and continued with his own updating, a collection of aphorisms, reflective essays, and character sketches; the latter combine elements of Theophrastus with the then-fashionable literary "portrait": a description (usually flattering) of an unnamed figure from contemporary society, the game being to guess the name, although "keys" were often published separately. Thus La Bruyère's characters have classical names (Menalcas, Theophilus) rather than traits, and while they mostly illustrate moral failings, some of them are clearly based on real individuals as well—his work also attracted the writers of keys. The most original of all modern character writers, La Bruyère offered an ingenious combination: a classical model; a new twist to the genre of the "portrait"; a critical but vivid and entertaining picture of his own contemporaries; and a simplicity and precision of style which matches La Rochefoucauld even more than Theophrastus.

In eighteenth-century England the work of La Bruyère became more influential than the mannered formulas of the Overbury collection, and the character found still another home in the coffee-

<sup>62</sup> *Les Caractères de Thèophraste traduits du grec avec les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle*, first edition 1688, subsequently expanded until the ninth edition of 1696. See Smeed, *Theophrastan Character* chapter 2.

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house periodical: *The Tatler* and *Spectator* regularly featured sketches by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, ranging from moralizing abstraction (e.g., Steele's "Women's Men") to accumulations of telling detail for a single individual ("Sir Roger de Coverley," "Will Honeycomb"); in the *Rambler* and *Idler* Samuel Johnson followed suit.<sup>63</sup> The character was further adapted to use in published sermons, and to verse epistles by Alexander Pope.<sup>64</sup>

The writing of characters was never again to be practiced so widely, or with as much originality, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the nineteenth saw its migration—through such preparatory works as Dickens' *Sketches by Boz* (1836) or Thackeray's *The Book of Snobs* (1846)—to the realm of the novel, and collections of sketches were published by George Eliot (*The Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 1879) and Trollope.<sup>65</sup>

Surveying such a variety of forms, purposes, and styles, we may be inclined to conclude that little remains of Theophrastus' original work apart from its brief scope and a certain concern with typology; that is why the most recent collection of characters, Elias Canetti's *Der Ohrenzeuge: Fünfzig Charaktere*

<sup>63</sup> Aldington, *Book of Characters* 422–476. For the influence of these periodicals on German-language characters see Smeed, *Theophrastan Character* 82–113.

<sup>64</sup> Benjamin Boyce, *The Character-Sketches in Pope's Poems* (Durham, North Carolina 1962).

<sup>65</sup> Smeed, *Theophrastan Character* 225–262.

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(*The Earwitness: Fifty Characters*, 1974), is so striking. It contains brief essays, in no particular order, giving details of the behavior of unnamed individuals, each dominated by a single trait. The foibles of Canetti's characters are exaggerated to almost grotesque proportions, e.g. *Der Verlierer* (*The Man Who Loses Things*):

He manages to lose everything. He starts with small things. He has a lot to lose. There are so many good places to lose things.

Pockets—he has them specially made for losing. Children, running after him on the street—“Hey, Mister!” all around him. He smiles contentedly, never bends down. He must be careful not to find anything again. No matter how many of them run after him, he won't bend down. If it's lost, it's lost. Isn't that why he brought it along? And yet, why does he still have so many things? Shouldn't he be running out of them? Are they inexhaustible? They are, but no one sees that. He seems to have a huge house full of little objects, and it seems impossible to get rid of them all. . . .

The surreal effect is new; but in their simplicity and use of striking detail and his utter silence about these peoples' motives, and his purpose in writing them—there is no preface—Canetti's *Characters*

## INTRODUCTION

revert almost completely to the Theophrastan form.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Smeed *Theophrastan Character* 130–131, who also gives (367–368) numerous examples of character sketches from popular literature in England of the 1960's and 70's, to which could be added even a popular song: "A Dedicated Follower of Fashion" (The Kinks, 1967).

Modern scholarly literature with an implicit similarity in approach to Theophrastus might be sought in, e.g. the typologies of Jungian psychologists, the trait-theory of Gordon Allport (*Personality*, New York 1937, chapter 3), or sociologists who delineate types (see the essays collected in Lewis A. Coser, ed., *The Pleasures of Sociology*, New York 1980, 232ff).





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- A = *Parisinus graecus* 2977, XI cent., containing *Characters* 1–15.
- B = *Parisinus graecus* 1983, X–XI cent., containing *Characters* 1–15.
- V = *Vaticanus graecus* 110, XIII cent., containing *Characters* 16–30.
- M = *Monacensis graecus* 505, XV cent., an epitome of *Characters* 1–21.
- C = a family of 7 manuscripts (XV–XVI cent.) containing *Characters* 1–28.
- D = a family of 6 manuscripts (XIV–XVI cent.) containing *Characters* 1–23.
- E = a family of 32 manuscripts (XIII–XVI cent.) which never contained more than *Characters* 1–15.
- c, d, e = at least one manuscript of the families C, D, or E.
- P. Hamb. 143 (I.B.C.), containing *Characters* 7–8
- P. Herc. 1457 (I.B.C.), Philodemus *On flattery* citing *Character* 5
- P. Oxy. 699 (A.D. III), an epitome of *Characters* 25–6.

### *Abbreviations*

*FGrHist*

*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. Felix Jacoby, Berlin-Leiden 1922–.

## THEOPHRASTUS

- FHG* *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. Carl and Theodor Müller, 5 vols. Paris 1841–1870.
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## ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ

## ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ

CHARACTERS<sup>1</sup>

1. ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ	Dissembling <sup>2</sup>
2. ΚΟΛΑΚΕΙΑ	Flattery
3. ΑΔΟΛΕΣΧΙΑ	Idle Chatter
4. ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΑ	Boorishness
5. ΑΡΕΣΚΕΙΑ	Obsequiousness
6. ΑΠΟΝΟΙΑ	Shamelessness
7. ΛΑΛΙΑ	Garrulity
8. ΛΟΓΟΠΟΙΑ	Rumor-Mongering
9. ΑΝΑΙΣΧΥΝΤΙΑ	Sponging
10. ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ	Pennypinching
11. ΒΔΕΛΥΡΙΑ	Obnoxiousness
12. ΑΚΑΙΡΙΑ	Bad Timing
13. ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑ	Overzealousness
14. ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΑ	Absent-mindedness
15. ΑΥΘΑΔΕΙΑ	Grouchiness
16. ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ	Superstition
17. ΜΕΜΨΙΜΟΙΡΙΑ	Griping
18. ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑ	Mistrust

<sup>1</sup> This traditional translation of the title is not accurate: the Greek equivalent for our "character" is *ἦθος*; a better translation for *χαρακτήρες* would be "Traits" (Diogenes Laertius 5.47 gives the title as *ἠθικοὶ χαρακτήρες*, "Character traits"). See *Introd.* p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The English translations of trait names are meant to match the descriptions rather than the trait names in Greek, which are sometimes suspect (see *Introd.* n. 54); for the literal meanings of the Greek trait names, see the *Additional Notes*.

19.	ΔΥΣΧΕΡΕΙΑ	Squalor
20.	ΑΗΔΙΑ	Bad Taste
21.	ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑ	Petty Ambition
22.	ΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ	Lack of Generosity
23.	ΑΛΑΖΟΝΕΙΑ	Fraudulence
24.	ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΙΑ	Arrogance
25.	ΔΕΙΛΙΑ	Cowardice
26.	ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΑ	Authoritarianism
27.	ΟΥΪΜΑΘΙΑ	Rejuvenation
28.	ΚΑΚΟΛΟΓΙΑ	Slander
29.	ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ	Patronage of Scoundrels
30.	ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΕΙΑ	Chiseling

## [ΠΡΟΘΕΩΡΙΑ<sup>1</sup>

(1) ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν ἐθαύμασα, ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ παύσομαι θαυμάζων, τί γὰρ δήποτε, τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀέρα κειμένης καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως παιδευομένων, συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν τῶν τρόπων ἔχειν. (2) ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦ Πολύκλεις, συνθεωρήσας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν καὶ βεβιωκῶς ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα, ἔτι δὲ ὠμιληκῶς πολλαῖς τε καὶ παντοδαπαῖς φύσεσι καὶ παρατεθεαμένος ἐξ ἀκριβείας πολλῆς τοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς φαύλους ὑπέλαβον δεῖν συγγράψαι, ἃ ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

(3) ἐκθήσω δέ σοι κατὰ γένος ὅσα τε τυγχάνει γένη τρόπων τούτοις προσκείμενα<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὃν τρόπον τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ χρῶνται· ὑπολαμβάνω γὰρ, ὦ Πολύκλεις, τοὺς υἱεῖς ἡμῶν βελτίους ἔσεσθαι καταλειφθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπομνημάτων τοιούτων, οἷς

<sup>1</sup> Prooemium totum del. Sonntag.

<sup>2</sup> e: προκείμενα codd.



## [PREFACE<sup>a</sup>

(1) Before now I've often wondered, when I thought about it, and perhaps will never cease to wonder why, even though Greece lies in the same climate and all Greeks are educated the same way, it happens that we do not have the same composition of character. (2) After a life of ninety-nine years,<sup>b</sup> long observation of human nature, and furthermore an acquaintance with many natures of all types and a detailed study of men both superior and inferior, I have come to believe, Polycles,<sup>c</sup> that I ought to write about how both groups normally behave in their lives.

(3) I shall set forth for you one by one which classes of character are attached to these people and how they manage; for I believe, Polycles, that our sons will be better if such writings are bequeathed to them, which they can use as a guide in choosing

<sup>a</sup> This fatuous and repetitive preface has long been recognized as a later addition to the *Characters* (see *Introd.*). Steinmetz (volume 2, p. 32) speculates it was composed outside Greece in the fifth century A.D.

<sup>b</sup> In fact, Theophrastus died at 85 (Diogenes Laertius 5.40), and the *Characters* was most likely composed ca. 319 B.C. when he was in his early 50's.

<sup>c</sup> His identity is not known; there was a Macedonian general by this name (Diodorus Siculus 18.38.2).

παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι αἰρήσονται τοῖς εὐσχημο-  
νεστάτοις συνείναι τε καὶ ὀμιλεῖν, ὅπως μὴ κατα-  
δεέστεροι ὦσιν αὐτῶν.

(4) τρέφομαι δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. σὸν δὲ  
παρακολουθήσαι τε ὀρθῶς τε καὶ εἰδῆσαι, εἰ ὀρθῶς  
λέγω. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ  
τῶν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐζηλωκότων, ἀφείς τὸ προοι-  
μιάζεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν.  
(5) καὶ ἄρξομαι πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας καὶ  
ὀριοῦμαι αὐτήν, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸν εἰρωνα διέξιμι,  
ποῖός τις ἔστι καὶ εἰς τίνα τρόπον κατενήνεκται·  
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὴ τῶν παθημάτων, ὥσπερ ὑπεθέ-  
μην, πειράσομαι κατὰ γένος φανερὰ καθιστάναι.]

## ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑΣ Α'

(1) [ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρωνεία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι, ὡς τύπῳ  
λαβεῖν, προσποιήσεις ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ  
λόγων,]<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ εἰρων (2) τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος προσελ-  
θὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐθέλειν λαλεῖν [οὐ μισεῖν].<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας οἷς ἐπέθετο λάθρα, καὶ <οἷς  
δικάζεται,><sup>3</sup> τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττωμένοις·  
καὶ συγγνώμην δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγουσι

<sup>1</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein.

<sup>2</sup> del. Ussing.

<sup>3</sup> suppl. Kassel.

## CHARACTERS 1

to associate with and become close to the finest men, so as not to fall short of their standard.

(4) I shall now turn to my story; it is your task to follow it correctly, and see whether it is told correctly as well. I shall speak first of those who affect dissembling, dispensing with preliminaries and details about the topic. (5) I shall begin with dissembling and define it, then describe the dissembler as to his qualities and how he is inclined; and I will attempt to render clear the rest of the emotions type by type, as I promised.]

### 1. DISSEMBLING

(1) [Dissembling, to put it in outline, would seem to be a false denigration of one's actions and words.]<sup>a</sup> The dissembler is the sort (2) who goes up to his enemies and is willing to chat with them. He praises to their faces those whom he has attacked in secret, and commiserates with people he is suing if they lose their case. He is forgiving to those who

<sup>a</sup> This introductory definition is derived from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a21ff, 1108a11, *Eudemian Ethics* 1233b39–1234a1. Like some other definitions in the *Characters* (see *Introd.*), it is probably a later addition to the text: it describes well the irony of Socrates (see *Additional Notes*), but not the character that follows here.

καὶ <γελᾶν><sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις. καὶ (3) πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας πρῶως διαλέγεσθαι· καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν βουλομένοις προστάξει ἐπανελθεῖν. (4) καὶ μηδὲν ὦν πράττει ὁμολογήσαι, ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλεύεσθαι καὶ προσποιήσασθαι ἄρτι παραγεγονέναι [καὶ ὀψὲ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν]<sup>2</sup> καὶ μαλακισθῆναι. (5) καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας <φῆσαι ὡς χρημάτων ἀπορεῖ, καὶ πωλῶν τι φῆσαι><sup>3</sup> ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ καὶ μὴ πωλῶν φῆσαι πωλεῖν· καὶ ἀκούσας τι μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν φῆσαι μὴ ἑορακέναι, καὶ ὁμολογήσας μὴ μεμνήσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέψεσθαι φάσκειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ θαυμάζειν, τὰ δ' ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως διαλογίσασθαι. (6) καὶ τὸ ὄλον δεινὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι· “οὐ πιστεύω·” “οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω·” “ἐκπλήττομαι·” καὶ “λέγεις αὐτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι·” “καὶ μὴν οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει·” “παράδοξόν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα·” “ἀλλὰ τινὶ λέγε·” “ὅπως δὲ σοὶ

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Darvaris.

<sup>2</sup> del. Kassel.

<sup>3</sup> lacunam statuit Salmasius: φῆσαι ὡς χρημάτων ἀπορεῖ Kassel, καὶ πωλῶν (τι add. Kassel) φῆσαι Ast.

## CHARACTERS 1

slander him, and laughs at anything said against him. (3) With people who have been wronged and are outraged his conversation is mild,<sup>a</sup> and those who urgently seek a meeting with him he bids to come back later. (4) He admits to nothing that he is actually doing, but says he is thinking it over, and pretends that he just arrived, and behaves like a coward.<sup>b</sup> (5) To those seeking a loan or a contribution<sup>c</sup> he says he's short of cash, and if he is selling something says that he is not, and if he's not, says that he is. If he has heard something, he pretends he hasn't, and says he hasn't seen something when he has, and if he has made an agreement he doesn't remember it. He says about some things that he will look into them, about others that he doesn't know, about others that he is surprised, about others that once in the past he had thought that way himself too.<sup>d</sup> (6) And in general he is apt to employ phrases like this: "I don't believe it." "I don't think so." "I'm astonished." And "you're telling me he's become a different person." "That's by no means what he told me." "The business is a mystery to me." "Save your words for someone else."

<sup>a</sup> That is, he does not share their outrage; cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I.5.4.

<sup>b</sup> The text may not be sound; but if it is, the verb is used not of illness (so most translators), but of irresolution in battle (cf. LSJ *μαλακίζω*). <sup>c</sup> For *ἔρανος* see on 15.7.

<sup>d</sup> But does so no longer. Usually translated "he had already come to the same conclusion," which would be an anomaly in this list of responses.

ἀπιστήσω ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνῶ, ἀποροῦμαι·” “ἀλλ’ ὄρα, μὴ σὺ θάττον πιστεύεις.”

(7) [τοιαύτας φωνὰς καὶ πλοκάς καὶ παλιλλογίας εὐρεῖν ἔστι τῶν εἰρώνων. τὰ δὴ τῶν ἡθῶν μὴ ἀπλᾶ ἀλλ’ ἐπίβουλα φυλάττεσθαι μᾶλλον δεῖ ἢ τοὺς ἔχεις.]<sup>1</sup>

## ΚΟΛΑΚΕΙΑΣ Β’

(1) [τὴν δὲ κολακείαν ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις ὁμιλίαν αἰσχροὺς εἶναι, συμφέρουσαν δὲ τῷ κολακεύοντι,]<sup>2</sup> τὸν δὲ κόλακα τοιοῦτόν τινα, (2) ὥστε ἅμα πορευόμενον εἰπεῖν· “ἐνθυμῆ, ὡς ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι; τοῦτο δὲ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεται πλὴν σοί·” “ἠὺδοκίμεις χθῆς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ·” πλειόνων γὰρ ἢ τριάκοντα ἀνθρώπων καθημένων καὶ ἐμπεσόντος λόγου, τίς εἴη βέλτιστος, ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι.

(3) καὶ ἅμα τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου ἀφελεῖν κροκύδα, καὶ ἐάν τι πρὸς τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ πνεύματος προσενεχθῆ ἄχυρον,

<sup>1</sup> epilogum del. editores. <sup>2</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein (videtur citare sine nomine auctoris Philodemus in libro *περὶ κολακείας*, P. Herc. 222 et 1082, v. T. Gargiulo, *Cronache ercolanese* 11 (1981) 103–127).

## CHARACTERS 2

“I do not see how I can doubt you—nor condemn him, either.” “Be careful you don’t make up your mind too quickly.”

(7) [Such are the phrases, dodges and contradictions it is characteristic of dissemblers to invent. When natures are not open, but contriving, one must be more cautious of them than of vipers.]

### 2. FLATTERY

(1) [You might call flattery talk that is shameful, but also profitable to the flatterer.]<sup>a</sup> The flatterer is the sort (2) to say, as he walks along, “Do you notice how people are looking at you? This does not happen to anyone in the city except you.” “They praised you yesterday in the stoa”; and he explains that when more than thirty people were sitting there and a discussion arose about who was the best, at his own suggestion they settled on his man’s name.

(3) While he says more like this, he picks a flock of wool from his man’s cloak and, if some chaff in the wind lands on the hair on his head, harvests it, and

<sup>a</sup> The introductory definition, although twice mentioned (without Theophrastus’ name) in fragments of Philodemus, *On Flattery*, is probably a later insertion which has partly replaced the original first sentence. The notion that the flatterer’s motive is profit is derived from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a26, 1127a7, but is irrelevant here.

καρφολογήσαι. καὶ ἐπιγελάσας δὲ εἰπεῖν· “ὄρᾱς; ὅτι δυοῖν σοι ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα, πολιῶν ἔσχηκας τὸν πώγωνα μεστόν, καίπερ εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος πρὸς τὰ ἔτη ἔχεις μέλαιναν τὴν τρίχα.”

(4) καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾶν κελεῦσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούοντος, καὶ ἐπισημῆνασθαι δέ, εἰ παύεται,<sup>1</sup> “ὀρθῶς,” καὶ σκώψαντι ψυχρῶς ἐπιγελάσαι τό τε ἱμάτιον ὡσα εἰς τὸ στόμα ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλωτα. (5) καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐπιστῆναι κελεῦσαι, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς παρέλθῃ.

(6) καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις μῆλα καὶ ἀπίους πριάμενος εἰσενέγκας δοῦναι ὄρωντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ φιλήσας δὲ εἰπεῖν· “χρηστοῦ πατρὸς νεότητια.” (7) καὶ συνωνούμενος ἐπικρηπίδας τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος. (8) καὶ πορευομένου πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων προδραμῶν εἰπεῖν ὅτι “πρὸς σὲ ἔρχεται,” καὶ ἀναστρέψας ὅτι “προσῆγγελκά σε.” (9) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς διακονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί.

<sup>1</sup> Ast: παύσεται codd.

<sup>a</sup> The flatterer usually plucks the grey hairs from his patron's beard (cf. PCG Aristophanes fr. 416, 689, *Knights* 908).



## CHARACTERS 2

says with a laugh, "You see! Since I haven't seen you for two days, you've got a beard full of grey hairs — although your hair is black for your years, if anyone's is."<sup>a</sup>

(4) He tells everyone else to keep quiet while his man is saying something, and praises him when he is listening, and if he should pause, adds an approving "You're right!" If he makes a tasteless<sup>b</sup> joke, he laughs at it and pushes his cloak into his mouth to show he can't contain his laughter. (5) He commands everyone who approaches to stand still until his man has passed by.

(6) To his children he brings apples and pears he has bought and, while his man is watching, presents them and kisses the children and says "Chips off the excellent old block!"<sup>c</sup> (7) When he joins him in shopping for overshoes, he says that his foot is more symmetrical than the sandal. (8) When he is going to see one of his friends, he runs ahead and says "He is coming to your house!" Then he runs back and says "I have announced you." (9) You can be sure he is also capable of doing his errands from the women's market<sup>d</sup> without stopping for breath.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "frigid," but cf. *PCG* Eupolis fr. 261 and Timocles fr. 19, Demosthenes 18.256, Theophr. fr. 686.

<sup>c</sup> The proverbial phrase is literally "chicks of their father" (Aristophanes, *Birds* 767), to which the flatterer adds a further complimentary adjective.

<sup>d</sup> Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10.18 says this name is used by Menander (fr. 390) for a place where one could buy household furnishings.

(10) καὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων πρῶτος ἐπαινέσαι τὸν οἶνον καὶ παραμένων εἰπεῖν· “ὡς μαλακῶς ἐσθίεις,” καὶ ἄρας τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης φῆσαι “τουτὶ ἄρα ὡς χρηστόν ἐστι·” καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι μὴ ῥιγοῖ, καὶ εἰ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι βούλεται, καὶ εἴ τι<sup>1</sup> περιστείλῃ αὐτόν, καὶ μὴν ταῦτα λέγων πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσκύπτων<sup>2</sup> διαψιθυρίζειν· καὶ εἰς ἐκείνον ἀποβλέπων τοῖς ἄλλοις λαλεῖν.

(11) καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσει. (12) καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν φῆσαι εὖ ἡρχιτεκτονῆσθαι καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν εὖ πεφυτεῦσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὁμοίαν εἶναι.

(13) [καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τὸν κόλακα ἔστι θεάσασθαι πάντα<sup>3</sup> καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα ᾧ χαριεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει.]<sup>4</sup>

### ΑΔΟΛΕΣΧΙΑΣ Γ΄

(1) ἡ δὲ ἀδολεσχία ἐστὶ μὲν διήγησις λόγων μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτων, ὁ δὲ ἀδολέσχης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, (2) οἶος, ὃν μὴ γινώσκει, τούτῳ

<sup>1</sup> Petersen: ἔτι A, ἔτι B.

<sup>2</sup> Valckenaer: προσπίπτων A<sup>corr.</sup> B.

<sup>3</sup> pân Cobet, πάντη Diels, sed cf. Xen. Cyr. 8.2.25 (πάντα ὄτου δεῖ), Kühner-Gerth II.1.56.

<sup>4</sup> epilogum del. editores.

### CHARACTERS 3

(10) He is the first of the dinner guests to praise the wine, and keeps it up by saying "How luxuriously you dine!" He takes up something from the table and says "This is really good!"<sup>a</sup> He asks whether his man is chilly, and whether he wants him to put a blanket on him, and whether he should wrap something around his man's shoulders; and yet he says all this in a whisper, leaning forward toward his ear. He keeps an eye on his man while speaking to others. (11) At the theater he takes the cushions away from the slave, and tucks them under his man personally. (12) He says that his house has been well laid-out, and his farm well cultivated, and his portrait a perfect resemblance.<sup>b</sup>

(13) [And the sum is that the flatterer is on the lookout for everything in word or deed by which he thinks he will curry favor.]

### 3. IDLE CHATTER

(1) Idle chatter is engaging in prolonged and aimless talk. The idle chatterer is the sort (2) who sits right

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *PCG* Alexis fr. 15.8, Antiphanes fr. 238.

<sup>b</sup> Since classical Greek portraits tended toward ideal beauty, this is a handsome compliment.

παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον πρῶτον μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 γυναικὸς εἰπεῖν ἐγκώμιον· εἶτα ὁ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδεν  
 ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτο διηγῆσασθαι· εἶθ' ὧν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 δείπνῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διεξελθεῖν. (3) εἶτα δὴ  
 προχωροῦντος τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, ὡς πολὺ  
 πονηρότεροί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀρχαίων,  
 καὶ ὡς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ  
 ὡς πολλοὶ ἐπιδημοῦσι ξένοι, καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ  
 Διονυσίων πλόιμον εἶναι, καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς  
 ὕδωρ πλεῖον, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίῳ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι  
 ἀγρὸν εἰς νέωτα γεωργήσει, καὶ ὡς χαλεπὸν ἐστι  
 τὸ ζῆν, καὶ ὡς Δάμιππος μυστηρίοις μεγίστην  
 δᾶδα ἔστησεν, καὶ “πόσοι εἰσὶ κίονες τοῦ Ὠιδείου,”  
 καὶ “χθὲς ἡμεσα,” καὶ “τίς ἐστιν ἡμέρα τήμερον;”  
 καὶ ὡς Βοηδρομιῶνος μὲν ἐστι τὰ μυστήρια, Πυα-  
 νοσιῶνος δὲ τὰ πατούρια, Ποσιδεῶνος δὲ <τὰ><sup>1</sup>  
 κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια. (4) κἄν ὑπομένη τις αὐτόν,  
 μὴ ἀφίστασθαι.<sup>2</sup>

(5) [παρασείσαντα δὴ δεῖ τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαράμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ὅστις  
 ἀπύρευτος βούλεται εἶναι· ἔργον γὰρ συναρκεῖσθαι  
 τοῖς μήτε σχολὴν μήτε σπουδὴν διαγινώσκουσιν.]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Casaubon.      <sup>2</sup> κἄν . . . ἀφίστασθαι ante καὶ ὡς  
 Βοηδρομιῶνος codd.: transposuit Schneider.      <sup>3</sup> epi-  
 logum del. editores.

### CHARACTERS 3

down beside someone he doesn't know, and starts out by speaking in praise of his own wife; then he recounts the dream he had the night before; then he relates the details of what he had for dinner.

(3) Then, as matters progress, he says that people nowadays are much more wicked than they used to be; that wheat is a bargain in the marketplace; that there are lots of foreigners in town, and that the sea lanes have been open since the festival of Dionysus. And that if it rains more, the soil will be better; that he intends to start a farm next year, and that it's hard to make a living; and that Damippos dedicated the biggest torch at the mysteries.<sup>a</sup> "How many pillars are there in the Odeion?"<sup>b</sup> "Yesterday I threw up!" "What day is it today?" And that the mysteries are in the month Boedromion, and the Apatouria in Pyanepsion, and the country Dionysia in Poseideon.

(4) And if you put up with him, he doesn't stop!

(5) [Men like this you must flee at top speed<sup>c</sup> if you want to stay unscathed; it is hard to stand people who don't care whether you are busy or free.]

<sup>a</sup> Initiates carried torches in the procession from Athens to Eleusis, and evidently private individuals could dedicate representations of them in the Eleusinian sanctuary: G. Mylonas, *Eleusis* (Princeton 1961) 204.

<sup>b</sup> An indoor music hall constructed under Pericles, with many interior columns; see Plutarch, *Pericles* 13.9 (with the commentary of Philip Stadter).

<sup>c</sup> Literally "swinging (your arms) and stretching (your legs) wide."

## ΑΓΡΟΙΚΙΑΣ Δ΄

(1) ἡ δὲ ἀγροικία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ἀμαθία ἀσχέμων, ὁ δὲ ἄγροικος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἶος κυκεῶνα πιῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πορεύεσθαι (3) καὶ τὸ μύρον φάσκειν οὐδὲν τοῦ θύμου ἡδίων ὄζειν· (4) καὶ μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν· (5) καὶ μεγάλη τῆ φωνῇ λαλεῖν· (6) καὶ τοῖς μὲν φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις ἀπιστεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας ἀνακονοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶ ἐργαζομένοις μισθωτοῖς ἐν ἀγρῶ πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγείσθαι. (7) καὶ ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος καθιζάνειν ὥστε τὰ γυμνὰ αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> (8) καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλω μὲν μηδενὶ <μήτε εὐφραίνεσθαι><sup>2</sup> μήτε ἐκπλήττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ βοῦν ἢ ὄνον ἢ τράγον, ἐστηκῶς θεωρεῖν. (9) καὶ προαιρῶν<sup>3</sup> δέ τι ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου δεινὸς φαγεῖν, καὶ ζωρότερον πιεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε τὰ γυμνὰ αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι del. Darvaris, fortasse recte, cf. 20.9 [ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρόν].

<sup>2</sup> μήτε suppl. editores, εὐφραίνεσθαι Kassel: θαυμάζειν De.

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon: προαίρων codd.

<sup>a</sup> The κυκεῶν was a mixture of grains, liquids (wine, milk, water, honey, oil) and spices, drunk by the poorer classes: N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

## CHARACTERS 4

### 4. BOORISHNESS

(1) Boorishness would seem to be an embarrassing lack of sophistication. The boor is the sort (2) who has some gruel<sup>a</sup> before going to the assembly, (3) and claims that perfume smells no sweeter than thyme. (4) He wears sandals that are too big for his feet. (5) He talks in too loud a voice.<sup>b</sup> (6) He is wary of friends and family, but asks advice from his servants on the most important matters. He describes to hired laborers in the field all the proceedings of the city assembly. (7) He sits down with his cloak hitched up above his knee, thereby revealing his nakedness.<sup>c</sup> (8) He doesn't enjoy or gawk at anything else on the street—yet stands in rapt attention at the sight of a cow, an ass, or a goat. (9) He is apt to eat the food as he is taking it out of the store-room. He drinks his wine too strong.<sup>d</sup>

(Oxford 1974) 344. The boor does not care how strongly his breath smells of thyme (which in antiquity was a much stronger herb than today; see *PCG* Pherecrates fr. 177).

<sup>b</sup> For a "barnyard voice" cf. *PCG* Cratinus fr. 371.

<sup>c</sup> He isn't wearing anything underneath; cf. *PCG* Philetairus fr. 18, and the illustrations in the Leipzig Edition of the *Characters*, p. 26, and A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* (Leipzig 1897) 119.

<sup>d</sup> Athenaeus 423d-f cites many parallels to show that ζωπόρερον (first in Homer, *Iliad* 9.203) means "with more wine and less water." He also notes that Theophrastus in a treatise *On Drunkenness* (= fr. 574) dissents with an interpretation ("mixed") that cannot be applied here.

(10) καὶ τὴν σιτοποιὸν πειρῶν λαθεῖν, καὶ τ' ἀλέσας μετ' αὐτῆς <μετρέϊν><sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἔνδον πᾶσι καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. (11) καὶ ἀριστῶν δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐμβαλεῖν. (12) καὶ τὴν θύραν ὑπακοῦσαι<sup>2</sup> αὐτός, καὶ τὸν κύνα προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τοῦ ῥύγχους εἰπεῖν· “οὗτος φυλάττει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν.”

(13) καὶ [τὸ]<sup>3</sup> ἀργύριον δὲ παρά του λαβὼν ἀποδοκιμάζειν, λίαν <γὰρ><sup>4</sup> μολυβρὸν<sup>5</sup> εἶναι, καὶ ἕτερον ἀνταλλάττεσθαι.<sup>6</sup> (14) καὶ εἰ <τω><sup>7</sup> ἄροτρον ἔχρησεν ἢ κόφινον ἢ δρέπανον ἢ θύλακον, ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς κατὰ ἀγρυπνίαν ἀναμιμνησκόμενος <ἀπαιτεῖν>.<sup>8</sup> (15) καὶ εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνων ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν ἀπαντῶντα, πόσου ἦσαν αἱ διφθέραι καὶ τὸ τάριχος καὶ εἰ τῆμερον [ὁ ἀγων]<sup>9</sup> νουμηνίαν ἄγει, καὶ εἰπεῖν εὐθὺς ὅτι βούλεται καταβὰς ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ ᾄσαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ ἥλους ἐγκροῦσαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ παριῶν κομίσασθαι παρ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ταρίχους.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon: ἐπακοῦσαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> suspectum habuit Stein (cf. 14.8). <sup>4</sup> suppl. Eberhard.

<sup>5</sup> Diels: μὲν λυπρὸν ABce, μὲν λυπηρὸν cDe.

<sup>6</sup> Cobet:

ἅμα ἀλλάττεσθαι codd.

<sup>7</sup> Diels: καὶ εἰ τὸ A, καὶ ὁ CDe,

καὶ τὸ B, καὶ εἰς τὸ e.

<sup>8</sup> suppl. Casaubon.

<sup>9</sup> del.

Edmonds.

<sup>10</sup> Sylburg: τοὺς ταρίχους codd. verba



## CHARACTERS 4

(10) He seduces his cook without anyone's knowing, but then joins her in grinding up the daily ration of meal and handing it out to himself and the whole household.<sup>a</sup> (11) While he is eating his breakfast, he feeds his plough-animals. (12) He answers the door himself, then calls his dog, grabs his snout and says "This fellow looks out for our property and household."

(13) He rejects a silver coin that he gets from someone because it looks too much like lead, and trades for another.<sup>b</sup> (14) And if he has lent someone a plough, basket, sickle or sack, he asks for it back in the middle of the night, because he just remembered it while he couldn't sleep. (15) And when he is going into town, he asks anyone he meets about the price of hides and salt fish, and whether today is the first of the month,<sup>c</sup> and he says right away that when he reaches town he wants to get a haircut, do some singing at the baths, hammer some nails into his shoes,<sup>d</sup> and while he's going in that direction pick up some salt fish at Archias'.

<sup>a</sup> He is so smitten that he joins her in work the master shouldn't be doing (cf. 30.11).

<sup>b</sup> The text is corrupt; as emended here, the rustic cares more about the appearance than the value of his money, despite the higher value of the older (and less shiny) silver coins. Cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 718ff, Plautus, *Casina* 9.

<sup>c</sup> A market-day, Aristophanes, *Knights* 43, *Wasps* 171.

<sup>d</sup> Evidently to stick the soles back on (cf. 22.11).

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καὶ ἐν βαλανείῳ — ἐγκροῦσαι fortasse aut post τοῦ παρίχους  
ponenda aut secludenda sunt.

## ΑΡΕΣΚΕΙΑΣ Ε΄

(1) [ἡ δὲ ἀρέσκειά ἐστι μὲν, ὡς ὄρω περιλαβεῖν, ἔντευξις οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ ἡδονῆς παρασκευαστική,]<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ ἄρεσκος ἀμέλει τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος πόρρωθεν προσαγορεύσαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἄνδρα κράτιστον εἶπας<sup>3</sup> καὶ θαυμάσας ἱκανῶς, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀψάμενος<sup>4</sup> μὴ ἀφιέναι καὶ μικρὸν προπέμψας<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἐρωτήσας, πότε αὐτὸν ὄψεται, ἐπαινῶν<sup>6</sup> ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

(3) καὶ παρακληθεῖς δὲ πρὸς δίαιταν μὴ μόνον ᾧ πάρεστι<sup>7</sup> βούλεσθαι ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ, ἵνα κοινὸς εἶς<sup>8</sup> εἶναι δοκῆ. (4) καὶ <πρὸς><sup>9</sup> τοὺς ξένους δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαιοτέρα λέγουσι τῶν πολιτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein. <sup>2</sup> προσαγορεύσας codd. (προαγορεύσας A): ]ρευσαι ut videtur P. Herc. 1457.

<sup>3</sup> εἶπα[ς P. Herc. 1457: εἰπῶν codd.

<sup>4</sup> τα[ῖς χε[ρσ]ῶν [ . . . ] μὲν [ . . . ] μὴ P. Herc. 1457, ut videtur, supplevit Stein: ταῖς χερσὶ μὴ ἀφιέναι codd.

<sup>5</sup> μικρ[ὸ]ν [ . . . ] προπέμψας P. Herc. 1457.

<sup>6</sup> ὄψε]ται ἐπαινῶν P. Herc. 1457 (quod coniecerat Needham): ὄψεται ἔτι αἰνῶν ABCe, ὄψεται ἔτι ἐπαινῶν De.

<sup>7</sup> δίαιτα[ν μὴ μόνον τούτῳ ᾧ] πάρεστ[ιν P. Herc. 1457, ut videtur, sed de pronomine cf. 13.5, 18.6 (Stein).

<sup>8</sup> εἶς AB (εἶς om. CDE): τις (quod iam coniecerat Pauw) P. Herc. 1457.

<sup>9</sup> suppl. Casaubon.

## CHARACTERS 5

### 5. OBSEQUIOUSNESS

(1) [Obsequiousness, to put it in a definition, is a manner of behavior that aims at pleasing, but not with the best intentions.]<sup>a</sup> You can be sure that the obsequious man is the sort (2) who greets you from a distance,<sup>b</sup> then, after calling you “your excellency” and expressing great respect, detains you by grabbing you with both hands, walks along a little farther, asks when he will see you again, and calls out compliments as he leaves.

(3) When he is asked to join an arbitration board, he wants to gratify not only the man whose side he is on, but his opponent too, so that he'll be thought the impartial person.<sup>c</sup> (4) He tells foreigners that they have a better case than his fellow-citizens.

<sup>a</sup> Probably adapted from the definition of flattery in Pseudo-Plato, *Definitions* 415e9 (cf. *Gorgias* 465a).

<sup>b</sup> As prescribed in Menander, *Dyskolos* 105. With the whole scene cf. Horace, *Satires* 1.9.4, Plautus, *Aulularia* 114–6.

<sup>c</sup> For a private arbitration one member of the board had to be acceptable to both sides as an impartial tie-breaker, but each disputant could choose any (equal) number of judges. See Douglas M. MacDowell, *Law in Classical Athens* (London 1978) 203–206.

(5) καὶ κεκλημένος δὲ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κελεῦσαι καλέσαι τὰ παιδιά τὸν ἐστιῶντα, καὶ εἰσιόντα φῆσαι σύκου ὁμοιώτερα εἶναι τῷ πατρί, καὶ προσ-  
αγόμενος φιλήσαι καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν καθίσασθαι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
τοῖς μὲν συμπαίξειν αὐτὸς λέγων· “ἀσκός, πέλε-  
κυσ,” τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἔαν καθεύδειν ἅμα  
θλιβόμενος. <...><sup>2</sup>

(6) <...> καὶ πλειστάκις δὲ ἀποκείρασθαι καὶ  
τοὺς ὀδόντας λευκοὺς ἔχειν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια δὲ  
χρηστὰ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ χρίσματι ἀλείφεσθαι.

(7) καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὰς τραπέζας προσ-  
φοιτᾶν, τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν τούτοις διατρίβειν,  
οὗ ἂν οἱ<sup>3</sup> ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται, τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου  
καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ᾗ θέα, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν.

(8) καὶ ἀγοράζειν αὐτῷ μὲν μηδέν, ξένοις δ' εἰς  
Βυζάντιον ἐπιστάλματα<sup>4</sup> καὶ Λακωνικὰς κύνας  
εἰς Κύζικον καὶ μέλι Ὑμήττιον εἰς Ῥόδον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: καθίστασθαι AB, καθίσαι CDe.

<sup>2</sup> lacunam indicavit Casaubon (continuat P. Herc. 1457).

<sup>3</sup> P. Herc. 1457: om. codd.

<sup>4</sup> οἶνον pro ἐπιστάλματα Naber conferens [Dem.] 35.35, alii alia.

## CHARACTERS 5

(5) When he is invited to dinner, he asks his host to call in the children and, when they come, says "Spittin' image of their dad!"<sup>a</sup> He hugs and kisses them and sits them down beside him; some he joins in a game, himself shouting out "wineskin" and "ax";<sup>b</sup> others he lets fall asleep on his stomach even though they are crushing him ...

<From a different character (see *Additional Notes*)>

(6) ... He gets frequent haircuts and keeps his teeth white,<sup>c</sup> and discards cloaks that are still good, and anoints himself with perfumed oil. (7) In the marketplace he goes frequently to the money-changers; among gymnasia he spends his time at those where the ephebes work out; in the theater, whenever there is a show, he sits next to the generals.<sup>d</sup> (8) He buys nothing for himself, but for foreigners he buys letters of commission<sup>e</sup> for Byzantium, and Laconian dogs for Kyzikos, and Hymettos

<sup>a</sup> Literally "more like their father than a fig (is like another)." For the proverb see *Paroem. Graec.* I.293 and Herodas 6.60.

<sup>b</sup> Evidently part of a children's game, no longer known.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Catullus 39, *Paroem. Graec.* I.159, *PCG* Alexis fr. 103.20.

<sup>d</sup> He is choosing the spots where the greatest crowd will be watching.

<sup>e</sup> The word may be corrupt, but perhaps he sends the equivalent of a "gift-certificate" to a local merchant.

ταῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει διηγείσθαι.

(9) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ πίθηκον θρέψαι δεινὸς καὶ τίτυρον κτήσασθαι καὶ Σικελικὰς περιστερὰς καὶ δορκαδεῖους ἀστραγάλους καὶ Θουριακὰς τῶν στρογγύλων ληκύθους καὶ βακτηρίας τῶν σκολιῶν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ ἀυλαίαν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένην<sup>1</sup> καὶ παλαιστρίδιον κόνιν ἔχον καὶ σφαιριστήριον. (10) καὶ τοῦτο περιῶν χρηννύναι<sup>2</sup> τοῖς σοφισταῖς,<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ὄπλομάχοις, τοῖς ἁρμονικοῖς ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι.<sup>4</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν ὕστερον ἐπεισιέναι ἐπὶ ἀν συγκαθῶνται ἴν' ἄλλος ἄλλω εἶπη τῶν θεωμένων<sup>5</sup> ὅτι "τούτου ἐστὶν ἡ παλαιστρα."

<sup>1</sup> ἀυλαίαν ἔχουσαν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένους codd., ἀυλαίας Πέρσας ἐν[υφασ]μέγ[ο]υς P. Herc. 1457: corr. Herwerden et Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> χρηννύναι (quod habet, ut videtur, P. Herc. 1457) Foss: χρήνυν ἀεί ABe.

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς φιλοσόφοις (quod non habet P. Herc. 1457) ante τοῖς σοφισταῖς codd.

<sup>4</sup> Cobet (quod habet, ut videtur, P. Herc. 1457): ἐπιδείκνυσθαι codd.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν θεωμένων πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὅτι AB, εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ . . . πρὸς ἕτερον ὅτι CDe: vestigia P. Herc. 1457 sic interpretatus est Stein: ἐπει[σιέναι ἐπὶ] συγκαθῶν[ται ἴν] [ἄλλος ἄλλω εἶ]πη τῶν θεω[μ]έν[ω]ν ὅτι.

## CHARACTERS 5

honey for Rhodes, and as he does so tells everybody in town about it.<sup>a</sup>

(9) You can be sure he is apt to keep a pet monkey, and buys a pheasant,<sup>b</sup> and some Sicilian doves,<sup>c</sup> and dice made from gazelle horns,<sup>d</sup> and oil flasks from Thurii of the rounded sort, and walking sticks from Sparta of the twisted sort,<sup>e</sup> and a tapestry embroidered with pictures of Persian soldiers,<sup>f</sup> and his own little arena (complete with sand) and handball court. (10) The last of these he goes around lending to sophists, military instructors, and musicians to perform in; and during their shows he himself is the last to enter after they are seated, so that the audience will say to each other<sup>g</sup> "That's the man the arena belongs to!"

<sup>a</sup> For the fame of Laconian hunting-dogs cf. Aristotle, *History of Animals* 608a25; for honey from Mt. Hymettos, Gow and Page on *Hellenistic Epigrams: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968) 2265.

<sup>b</sup> So D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Cambridge 1936) 282, although other identifications of the *tityros* are possible.

<sup>c</sup> See PCG Alexis fr. 58, Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 285.

<sup>d</sup> See Herodas 3.19; they are mentioned frequently in papyrus-documents as items of great value.

<sup>e</sup> See Aristophanes, *Birds* 1281–3, Plutarch, *Nicias* 19.6.

<sup>f</sup> See PCG Hipparchus fr. 1.4.

<sup>g</sup> The text of the medieval manuscripts here is nonsense; the translation is based on a speculative reconstruction of the Herculaneum papyrus.

## ΑΠΟΝΟΙΑΣ ζ'

(1) ἡ δὲ ἀπόνοιά ἐστιν ὑπομονὴ αἰσchrῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων, ὁ δὲ ἀπονεννημένος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ὁμόσαι ταχύ, κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι, λαιδορηθῆναι δυναμένοις,<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἦθει ἀγοραῖός τις καὶ ἀνασευρμένος καὶ παντοποῖός. (3) ἀμέλει δυνατός καὶ<sup>2</sup> ὀρχεῖσθαι νήφων τὸν κόρδακα καὶ προσωπεῖον ἔχων ἐν κωμικῷ χορῷ.<sup>3</sup>

(4) καὶ ἐν θαύμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἐκλέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον παριῶν καὶ μάχεσθαι τούτοις τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι, καὶ προῖκα θεωρεῖν ἀξιούσι. (5) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πανδοκεῦσαι καὶ πορνοβοσκῆσαι καὶ τελωνῆσαι καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσchrὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι, ἀλλὰ κηρύττειν, μαγειρεύειν, κυβεύειν, (6) τὴν μητέρα<sup>4</sup> μὴ τρέφειν, ἀπάγεσθαι κλοπῆς, τὸ δεσμωτήριον πλείω χρόνον οἰκεῖν ἢ τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν.

<sup>1</sup> Foss: δυνάμενος codd.      <sup>2</sup> ὁμόσαι ταχὺ . . . δυνατός καὶ del. Diels.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ προσωπεῖον . . . χορῷ del. Navarre.

<sup>4</sup> κυβεύειν. <δεινὸς δὲ καὶ> τὴν μητέρα Meier.

<sup>a</sup> The definition is alluded to by Philodemus, *On Flattery* (M. Gigante and G. Indelli, *Cronache ercolanesi* 8 [1978] 130), but may still be a post-Theophrastan addition (see *Introd.*).



## 6. SHAMELESSNESS

(1) Shamelessness is a tolerance for doing and saying unseemly things.<sup>a</sup> The shameless man is the sort (2) who takes an oath too readily, ruins his reputation, vilifies the powerful, in his character is like a market-vendor, coarse and ready for anything.<sup>b</sup> (3) You can be sure he is capable of even dancing the *kordax*<sup>c</sup> while sober, and while wearing a mask in a comic chorus.

(4) At street fairs<sup>d</sup> he goes around and collects coppers from each individual, and fights with those who already have a ticket or claim they can watch without paying. (5) He is apt to keep an inn or run a brothel or be a tax collector, and he rejects no disgraceful occupation, but works as an auctioneer, a cook, a professional gambler. (6) He lets his mother starve, is arrested for theft, and spends more time in jail than at home.

<sup>b</sup> This section and the beginning of the next use an adjectival style alien to the rest of the *Characters*, and may be a later addition.

<sup>c</sup> A lewd dance sometimes included in comedies (see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 540); for the assumption that one danced only when drunk see 12.14. The end of the sentence ("and while wearing . . .") offers no sense in this context—it may be a marginal explanation of the dance which has found its way into the text.

<sup>d</sup> Literally "marvels," a mixture of puppet shows, magic tricks, skits, and animal fights; see W. Kroll, *RE* Suppl. VI.1281.

(7) [καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εἶναι δόξειε τῶν περισταμέ-  
νων τοὺς ὄχλους καὶ προσκαλούντων, μεγάλη τῆ  
φωνῇ καὶ παρερρωγυία λοιδουμένων καὶ δια-  
λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ μεταξὺ οἱ μὲν  
προσίασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπίασι πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ  
τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῖς δὲ συλλαβήν, τοῖς δὲ  
μέρος τοῦ πράγματος λέγει, οὐκ ἄλλως θεωρεῖσθαι  
ἀξιῶν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἢ ὅταν ᾗ πανήγυρις.]<sup>1</sup>

(8) ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ δίκας τὰς μὲν φεύγειν, τὰς δὲ  
διώκειν, τὰς δὲ ἐξόμνησθαι, ταῖς δὲ παρεῖναι ἔχων  
ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ καὶ ὄρμαθούς γραμματι-  
δίῳ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. (9) οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζειν<sup>2</sup> δὲ οὐδ'  
ἅμα πολλῶν ἀγοραίων στρατηγεῖν καὶ εὐθύς τού-  
τοις δανείζειν καὶ τῆς δραχμῆς τόκον τρία ἡμιω-  
βόλια τῆς ἡμέρας πράττεσθαι καὶ ἐφοδεύειν τὰ  
μαγειρεῖα, τὰ ἰχθυοπώλια, τὰ ταριχοπώλια, καὶ  
τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμπολήματος εἰς τὴν γνάθον  
ἐκλέγειν.

(10) [ἐργώδεις δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὸ στόμα εὐλυτον

<sup>1</sup> del. editores.

<sup>2</sup> Meier: ἀποδοκιμάζων codd.

<sup>a</sup> I.e., shamelessness; but this whole paragraph is so different in style (use of the plural, finite verbs instead of

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(7) [And this<sup>a</sup> would seem to be the character of those who gather crowds around them and give a harangue, railing in a loud and cracked voice and arguing with them. Meanwhile some of them are coming in, some are leaving before they hear him; yet he manages to say the beginning to some, a word or two to others, a part of his message to others, in the conviction that the only place for his shamelessness to be displayed is among a crowd.]

(8) In court he is capable of being now a defendant, now a plaintiff, now taking an oath for a postponement,<sup>b</sup> now showing up for trial with a potful of evidence<sup>c</sup> in the fold of his cloak and sheaves of memoranda in his hands. (9) He doesn't even have any qualms about being the leader of a group of street vendors, while at the same time giving them quick loans and charging one and a half obols per drachma per day interest,<sup>d</sup> and making the rounds of the stalls where they sell hot food and fresh or smoked fish, and tucking into his cheek<sup>e</sup> the interest he's made from his business.

(10) [They are tiresome, these people who have a infinitives, rhetorical tone) as to be almost certainly a later addition.

<sup>b</sup> MacDowell, *Law in Classical Athens* 208.

<sup>c</sup> All the documentation in a case was deposited in a pot in the court (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 53.2); this man has brought his own.

<sup>d</sup> Twenty-five percent interest each day.

<sup>e</sup> The poor man's way of carrying money when shopping, see *PCG* Aristophanes fr. 3.

ἔχοντες πρὸς λαιδορίαν καὶ φθειγγόμενοι μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, ὡς συνηχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια.]<sup>1</sup>

## ΛΑΛΙΑΣ Ζ'

(1) [ἢ δὲ λαλιά, εἴ τις αὐτὴν ὀρίζεσθαι βούλοιτο, εἶναι ἂν δόξειεν ἀκρασία τοῦ λόγου·]<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ λάλος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος τῷ ἐντυγχάνοντι εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὀτιοῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν φθέγγηται, ὅτι οὐθὲν λέγει καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς πάντα οἶδεν καὶ, ἂν ἀκούῃ αὐτοῦ, μαθήσεται· καὶ μεταξὺ δὲ ἀποκρινομένῳ ἐπιβάλλειν εἴπας “σὺ μὴ ἐπιλάθη, ὃ μέλλεις λέγειν,” καὶ “εὖ γε, ὅτι με ὑπέμνησας,” καὶ “τὸ λαλεῖν ὡς χρησιμὸν που,” καὶ “ὃ παρέλιπον,” καὶ “ταχύ γε συνηκας τὸ πρᾶγμα,” καὶ “πάσαι σε παρετήρουν, εἰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔμοι κατενεχθήσῃ·” καὶ ἑτέρας ἀρχὰς τοιαύτας πορίσασθαι, ὥστε μηδὲ ἀναπνεῦσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα.

(3) καὶ ὅταν γε τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ἀπογυμνώσῃ, δεινὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀθρούους [καὶ]<sup>3</sup> συνεστηκότητας πορευθῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ποιῆσαι μεταξὺ χρηματίζοντας. (4) καὶ εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς

<sup>1</sup> epilogum del. editores.  
Stein.

<sup>3</sup> del. Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz,

## CHARACTERS 7

ready tongue for abuse, and who speak in such a loud voice that the marketplace and workshops resound with them.]

### 7. GARRULITY

(1) [Garrulity, should you like to define it, would seem to be an inability to control one's speech.]<sup>a</sup> The garrulous man is the sort (2) who says to anyone he meets that he is talking nonsense — no matter what that man may tell him — and that he knows it all himself, and if he listens, he'll find out about it. And as the other tries to answer, he keeps interrupting and says, "Now don't forget what you intend to say!" and "Good of you to remind me of that!" and "How nice to be able to talk!" "That's something I left out!" and "You're quick to grasp the point!" and "I've been waiting all this time to see whether you would come around to my view!"<sup>b</sup> He tries to give himself more openings like these, so that the man who meets him can't even catch his breath.

(3) Once he has finished off individuals, he is apt to move against whole formations and put them to flight in the midst of their business. (4) He goes into the schools and wrestling grounds and prevents the

<sup>a</sup> The definition seems derived from Pseudo-Plato, *Definitions* 416a23.

<sup>b</sup> Even when he agrees with the other, the talkative man uses these phrases to cut back into the conversation.

παλαιστρας εἰσιῶν κωλύειν τοὺς παῖδας προμανθάνειν· [τοσαῦτα καὶ προσλαλεῖ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς παιδοτριβαῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις.]<sup>2</sup>

(5) καὶ τοὺς ἀπιέναι φάσκοντας δεινὸς προπέμψαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας.<sup>3</sup> (6) καὶ πυθομένοις<sup>4</sup> <τὰ ἀπὸ><sup>5</sup> τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγγέλλειν, προσδιηγῆσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος τότε γενομένην [τοῦ ῥήτορος]<sup>6</sup> μάχην καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου, καὶ οὓς ποτε λόγους αὐτὸς εἶπας εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν πληθῶν γε ἅμα διηγούμενος κατηγορίαν παρεμβαλεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἦτοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι<sup>7</sup> ἢ νυστάξαι ἢ μεταξὺ καταλιπόντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

(7) καὶ συνδικάζων δὲ κωλύσαι κρῖναι καὶ συνθεωρῶν θεάσασθαι καὶ συνδειπνῶν φαγεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι “χαλεπὸν μοι<sup>8</sup> ἐστὶν σιωπᾶν,” καὶ ὡς ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐστὶν ἢ γλῶττα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν σιωπήσειεν, οὐδ' εἰ τῶν χελιδόνων δόξειεν εἶναι λαλίστερος. (8) καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπομείναι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδίων, ὅταν αὐτὰ<sup>9</sup> ἤδη καθεύδειν βουλό-

<sup>1</sup> Diels: προσλαλεῖν codd.  
οὔτως καὶ καταπονοῦσι.

<sup>2</sup> del. Diels coll. 8.14

<sup>3</sup> Ribbeck: ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας AB.

<sup>4</sup> Foss: πυθόμενος codd.

<sup>5</sup> suppl. Kayser (cf. 4.6).

<sup>6</sup> ut

glossema del. Fischer: τῶν ῥητόρων Casaubon.

<sup>7</sup> Foss:

boys from making progress with their studies. [That is how much he talks to their trainers and teachers.]

(5) When people say they must go, he is apt to keep them company, or see them back home. (6) He reports what has happened in the assembly to people who ask him, but adds to his account as well the battle in the year of Aristophon<sup>a</sup> and that of the Spartans under Lysander,<sup>b</sup> and the speeches by which he himself gained a public reputation, and as he tells his story he interjects a condemnation of the masses, so that his hearers interrupt him, or doze off, or go away and leave before he finishes.

(7) When he is among them, he prevents jurors from reaching a verdict, an audience from watching the show, and dinner guests from getting anything to eat, and he remarks "it's hard for me to keep still," and how mobile the tongue is, and that he simply couldn't be quiet, not even if he might appear to chatter more than the swallows.<sup>c</sup> (8) He puts up with being mocked even by his own children when

<sup>a</sup> Aristophon was archon of Athens in 330/29, but no suitable battle is known. Casaubon suggested that this was a political rather than military battle, between Demosthenes and Aeschines in the speeches *On the Crown* and *Against Ctesiphon* in 330; but see Hermann Wankel, *Demosthenes' Kranzrede* (Heidelberg 1976) 29–30.

<sup>b</sup> Again the battle cannot be identified; Lysander was a Spartan general 408–395.

<sup>c</sup> *Paroem. Graec.* II.183.

ἐπιλαθέσθαι codd.

<sup>8</sup> Kassel e P. Hamb. 143: τῶ λάλω

codd.

<sup>9</sup> dubitanter conieci: αὐτὸν codd.

μενον<sup>1</sup> κωλύη<sup>2</sup> λέγοντα ταῦτα, “λαλεῖν τι ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπνος λάβη.”

ΛΟΓΟΠΟΙΙΑΣ Η΄

(1) ἡ δὲ λογοποιία ἐστὶ σύνθεσις ψευδῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων, ὧν < . . . ><sup>3</sup> βούλεται ὁ λογοποιῶν, ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ἀπαντήσας τῷ φίλῳ εὐθύς καταβαλὼν τὸ ἦθος καὶ μειδιάσας ἐρωτῆσαι “πόθεν σύ;” καὶ “λέγεις τι;” καὶ “πῶς ἔχεις;” πρὸ τοῦ δ’ εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον “καλῶς”<sup>4</sup> ἐπιβαλὼν “ἐρωτᾶς<sup>5</sup> μὴ λέγεταιί τι καινότερον; καὶ μὴν ἀγαθὰ γέ ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα.” (3) καὶ οὐκ ἐάσας ἀποκρίνασθαι εἰπεῖν· “τί λέγεις; οὐθὲν ἀκήκοας; δοκῶ μοί σε εὐωχῆσειν καινῶν λόγων.” (4) καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἢ στρατιώτης ἢ παῖς Ἀστείου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ ἢ Λύκων ὁ ἐργολάβος παραγεγονῶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς μάχης, οὗ φησιν ἀκηκοέναι· αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναφοραὶ τῶν λόγων τοιαῦταί εἰσιν αὐτῷ, ὧν οὐθεὶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐπιλαβέσθαι.<sup>6</sup> (5) διηγεῖται δὲ τούτους φάσκων λέγειν, ὡς Πολυπέρχων καὶ ὁ βασι-

<sup>1</sup> c: βουλόμενα AB.

<sup>2</sup> Hartung: κελεύη codd.

<sup>3</sup> <πιστεῦεσθαι> suppl. Diels, <διασπεύρων σεμνύνεσθαι> Navarre.

<sup>4</sup> sic vestigia P. Hamb. 143 interpretatur Gronewald: περὶ τοῦδε εἰπεῖν καινὸν καὶ ὡς codd.



he wants them to go to bed right now, and they stop him by saying this: "Talk to us a little, so we can get to sleep."<sup>a</sup>

## 8. RUMOR-MONGERING

(1) Rumor-mongering is the invention of untrue reports and events about which the monger wants < . . . >. The rumor-monger is the sort (2) who, when he meets his friend, immediately relaxes his expression<sup>b</sup> and asks with a laugh, "Where have you been? Do you have anything to tell me? How's it going?" But before the man can say "I'm fine," he interrupts him: "You ask if there's any news? Actually, you know, the reports are rather good." (3) And without allowing an answer, he says "What? You haven't heard *anything*? It looks like I'll be giving you a feast of the latest news." (4) He has got a man he says he's heard just back from the battle itself, a soldier, or a slave of Asteios the flute-player, or Lykon the contractor — he has ways of vouching for his stories that no one can refute. (5) He relates, as he claims these people told him, that Polyperchon and the king were victorious in a battle, and Cas-

<sup>a</sup> The text is uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> For *καταβάλλειν* in this sense see Van Leeuwen on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 655.

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<sup>5</sup> Kassel: *ἔρωτᾶν* codd.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon: *ἐπιλαθέσθαι* codd.

λεὺς μάχῃ νενίκηκε, καὶ Κάσανδρος ἐζώγρηται. (6) καὶ ἂν εἶπη τις αὐτῷ, “σὺ δὲ ταῦτα πιστεύεις;” φήσει· τὸ πρᾶγμα βοᾶσθαι γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπεντείνειν, καὶ πάντας<sup>1</sup> συμφωνεῖν, ταῦτὰ γὰρ λέγειν περὶ τῆς μάχης, καὶ πολὺν τὸν ζῶμὸν γεγονέναι. (7) εἶναι δ’ ἑαυτῷ καὶ σημεῖον τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὄραν γὰρ αὐτῶν πάντων μεταβεβληκότα. λέγει δ’, ὡς καὶ παρακήκοε παρὰ τούτοις κρυπτόμενόν τινα ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἥδη πέμπτην ἡμέραν ἦκοντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ὃς πάντα ταῦτα οἶδε.

(8) καὶ πάντα διεξιὼν πως<sup>2</sup> οἶεσθαι πιθανῶς σχετλιάζειν<sup>3</sup> λέγων· “δυστυχῆς Κάσανδρος· ὦ ταλαίπωρος· ἐνθυμῆ τὸ τῆς τύχης; ἀλλ’ οὖν ἰσχυρὸς γενόμενος.” (9) καὶ “δεῖ δ’ αὐτόν σε μόνον εἰδέναι.” πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει προσδεδράμηκε λέγων.

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: πάντα codd.

<sup>2</sup> Diels: πῶς codd.

<sup>3</sup> οἶεσθε cDE, σχετλιάζει D.

<sup>a</sup> The situation is historical (see Introd. p. 9): the war between Cassander and Polyperchon lasted 319–309, and “the king” is most likely Philip Arridaios, half-brother of

## CHARACTERS 8

sander has been taken prisoner.<sup>a</sup> (6) And if you say to him "Do *you* believe it?" he will say he does, because it's the talk of the city, and the discussion is intensifying; all the people are in unison since they tell the same story about the battle; it was a huge bloodbath, (7) and he has proof in the faces of the political leaders, since he notices they are all changed.<sup>b</sup> And he says he also overheard that someone who knows the whole story has been kept hidden by them in a private house since he came to town four days ago from Macedonia.

(8) And as he tells his story, he somehow believes<sup>c</sup> he is persuasively indignant when he says, "Miserable Cassander! Poor fellow! You see what Fortune can do? Well, he had his power once." (9) and "You must keep it to yourself." But he has run up to everyone in town with the news.

Alexander the Great. The date is late in 319, just before the fall of the oligarchic government in Athens supported by Cassander, and the introduction of a democratic one encouraged by Polyperchon. But the rumor itself is of course untrue: Cassander captured Athens two years later. Note that this is "good news" for democrats, but not oligarchs (cf. *Character* 26).

<sup>b</sup> Phocion, the leader of the oligarchic government, was in fact overthrown and executed shortly thereafter.

<sup>c</sup> The rumor-monger abandons his glee at the supposed fall of Cassander and ends with an evocation of pity. The text may be corrupt beyond repair; the reading adopted here assumes that the construction reverts to the typical string of infinitives begun in § 2 and interrupted with § 6.

(10) [τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων τεθαύμακα, τί ποτε βούλονται λογοποιοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ψεύδονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς ἀπαλλάττουσι. (11) πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις περιστάσεις ποιούμενοι τὰ ἱμάτια ἀποβεβλήκασιν, οἱ δ' ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ στοᾷ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία νικῶντες ἐρήμους δίκας ὠφλήκασιν. (12) εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ πόλεις τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦντες παρεδειπνήθησαν. (13) πάνυ δὴ ταλαίπωρον αὐτῶν ἐστι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. ποία γὰρ οὐ στοᾷ, ποίῳ δὲ ἐργαστηρίῳ, ποίῳ δὲ μέρει τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐκ ἐνημεροῦσιν ἀπαυδᾶν ποιοῦντες τοὺς ἀκούοντας; (14) οὕτως καὶ καταπονοῦσι ταῖς ψευδολογίαις.]<sup>2</sup>

## ΑΝΑΙΣΧΥΝΤΙΑΣ Θ'

(1) [ἡ δὲ ἀναισχυντία ἐστὶ μὲν, ὡς ὄρω λαβεῖν, καταφρόνησις δόξης αἰσχρᾶς<sup>3</sup> ἕνεκα κέρδους,]<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ ἀναίσχυντος τοιοῦτος, (2) οἷος πρῶτον μὲν ὄν ἀποστερεῖ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπελθὼν δανείζεσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐν CDe: δὲ AB.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν τοιούτων . . . ταῖς ψευδολογίαις del. editores.

<sup>3</sup> Kassel: αἰσχροῦ codd.

<sup>4</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein.

## CHARACTERS 9

(10) [I wonder what such people hope to gain from their rumor-mongering; not only do they tell lies, they also end up no better off for it. (11) Those who draw a circle of hearers in the baths often have their cloaks stolen, and those who are victorious by land and sea in the stoa lose court-cases forfeited for failure to appear. (12) Some of them capture cities in an all-out talk-fight, but go without their dinner. (13) Their behavior is sad indeed, for in what stoa, or what workshop, or what part of the market do they not pass the day exhausting those who listen to them? (14) That is how they persevere in telling lies.]<sup>a</sup>

### 9. SPONGING

(1) [Sponging, to put it in a definition, is a disregard for a bad reputation for the sake of gain.]<sup>b</sup> The sponger is the sort (2) who, in the first place, goes back to a man he is holding out on and asks for a loan; second, after performing a sacrifice to the

<sup>a</sup> This whole paragraph, beginning in the first person, with tenses and constructions unlikely for fourth-century Greek, and rhetorical questions alien to the *Characters*, is certainly one of the later epilogues.

<sup>b</sup> The definition is too vague to suit the following description, and seems derived from Pseudo-Plato, *Definitiones* 416a14.

εἶτα θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν παρ' ἑτέρῳ, τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἄλσι πάσας, (3) καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ἀκόλουθον δοῦναι ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἄρας κρέας καὶ ἄρτον καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀκούοντων πάντων “εὖωχοῦ, Τίβειε.”

(4) καὶ ὀψωνῶν δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκει τὸν κρεωπώλην, εἴ τι χρήσιμος αὐτῷ γέγονε, καὶ ἑστηκῶς πρὸς τῷ σταθμῷ μάλιστα μὲν κρέας, εἰ δὲ μή, ὄστουν εἰς τὸν ζωμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ ἔαν μὲν λάβῃ, εὖ ἔχει, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀρπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης χολίκιον ἅμα γελῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

(5) καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσας μὴ δοῦς τὸ μέρος συνθεωρεῖν,<sup>1</sup> ἄγειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν. (6) καὶ ὅσα ἐωνημένος ἄξιά τις φέρει, μεταδοῦναι κελεῦσαι καὶ αὐτῷ. (7) καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν δανείζεσθαι κριθάς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄχυρα, καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς χρήσαντας ἀναγκάσαι ἀποφέρειν πρὸς αὐτὸν.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: θεωρεῖν codd.

<sup>a</sup> The meat of the sacrificial animal was normally given to guests and the household in a feast on a holy day (W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berkeley 1983, 6–7)—this man goes to another's feast instead.

## CHARACTERS 9

gods he salts and stores away the meat, and goes to dinner at another's;<sup>a</sup> (3) he invites his slave along too, and gives him meat and bread he takes from the table and says in everyone's hearing "Enjoy yourself, Tibeios."<sup>b</sup>

(4) When he goes shopping, he reminds the butcher of any favor he has done him, then stands by the scale and throws in<sup>c</sup> preferably some meat, otherwise a bone for the soup, and if he gets it, good, otherwise he grabs some tripe from the table with a laugh as he goes away.

(5) When he buys theater tickets for his guests<sup>d</sup> he goes to the show too without paying his share; the next day, he brings along his children and the slave who takes care of them. (6) If anyone makes a purchase at a bargain price, he asks to be given a share too. (7) He goes to other people's houses and borrows barley, sometimes chaff,<sup>e</sup> and makes the lenders deliver it to him besides.

<sup>b</sup> A name of Paphlagonian slaves (Strabo 7.304), often in Menander (*Heros* 21, *Perinthia* 3, fr. 194, 281). For giving slaves a taste, cf. Athenaeus 4.128d-e; but often in such cases the slave's task was to hide the food and take it home for later (Martial 2.37, 3.23, 7.20, 16, *Anth. Pal.* 11.205).

<sup>c</sup> After the weighing: he wants it for nothing.

<sup>d</sup> With money they have given him. Since they make no objection the first time, he is even more brazen for the following day's show.

<sup>e</sup> Used as filling material, or mixed with grain: W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 182-183.

(8) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ χαλκεῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ προσελθὼν καὶ βάψας ἀρύταιναν βοῶντος τοῦ βαλανέως αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καταχέασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι λέλονται, ἀπιῶν †κακέϊ† “οὐδεμία σοι χάρις.”

## ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ Ι΄

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ μικρολογία φειδωλία τοῦ διαφόρου ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρόν, ὁ δὲ μικρολόγος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ἐν τῷ μηνὶ ἡμιωβόλιον ἀπαιτεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. (3) καὶ συσσιτῶν ἀριθμεῖν τὰς κύλικας, πόσας ἕκαστος πέπωκε, καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι ἐλάχιστον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῶν συνδειπνούντων. (4) καὶ ὅσα μικροῦ τις πριάμενος λογίζεται, πάντα φάσκειν εἶναι <...><sup>1</sup> (5) καὶ οἰκέτου χύτραν<sup>2</sup> ἢ λοπάδα κατάξαντος εἰσπρᾶξαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτη-

<sup>1</sup> lacunam statuit Holland, e.g. <τιμιώτερα καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζειν> Stein.

<sup>2</sup> post χύτραν add. εἶναι AB.

<sup>a</sup> For the apparatus and procedure see René Ginouvès, Βαλανευτική: *Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*



## CHARACTERS 10

(8) He is apt to go up to the hot-water tanks at the baths, draw a ladle-full and rinse himself, as the bath attendant screams at him, and say, as he goes away, "I've already had my bath—no thanks to you!"<sup>a</sup>

### 10. PENNYPINCHING

(1) Pennypinching is an immoderate sparing of expense. The pennypincher is the sort (2) who stipulates the repayment of a half-cent "within the month, to his house."<sup>b</sup> (3) When he is sharing a dinner he reckons up how many glasses each has drunk;<sup>c</sup> his initial offering to Artemis<sup>d</sup> is smaller than any other at the table. (4) When someone has bought goods for him at a bargain price and presents his bill, he says they are too expensive, and rejects them.<sup>e</sup> (5) When a servant breaks a clay pot or serving dish, he deducts it from his daily rations.

(Paris 1962) 205, 214. Only the proverbially outspoken (Ginouvès 212) bath attendant (who has lost his fee) has the nerve to object to the sponger's tricks.

<sup>b</sup> The text is very condensed and may be corrupt.

<sup>c</sup> He demands a complete reckoning of each glass before he pays his share of the bill after dinner; cf. *PCG* Alexis fr. 15.

<sup>d</sup> The initial offering was a libation of wine; evidently the dining-group has Artemis as its patron.

<sup>e</sup> Some of the text must be missing; the last part of the sentence translated here is a speculative reconstruction (cf. *PCG* Ehippus fr. 15).

δείων. (6) καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκβαλοῦσης τρίχαλκον οἶος μεταφέρειν τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ τὰς κιβωτοὺς καὶ διφᾶν τὰ καλύμματα. (7) καὶ ἔάν τι πωλῆ, τοσοῦτου ἀποδόσθαι, ὥστε μὴ λυσιτελεῖν τῷ πριαμένῳ.

(8) καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐᾶσαι οὔτε συκοτραγῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κήπου οὔτε διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγροῦ πορευθῆναι οὔτε ἐλαίαν ἢ φοίνικα τῶν χαμαὶ πεπτωκότων ἀνελέσθαι.

(9) καὶ τοὺς ὄρους δ' ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι ὅσημέραι εἰ διαμένουσιν οἱ αὐτοί. (10) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ὑπερημερίαν πράξαι καὶ τόκον τόκου. (11) καὶ ἐστιῶν δημότας μικρὰ τὰ κρέα κόψας παραθεῖναι. (12) καὶ ὀψωνῶν μηθὲν πριάμενος εἰσελθεῖν. (13) καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι τῇ γυναικὶ μήτε ἄλας χρηννύειν<sup>1</sup> μήτε ἐλλύχνιον μήτε κύμινον μήτε ὀρίγανον μήτε ὀλὰς μήτε στέμματα μήτε θυηλήματα, ἀλλὰ λέγειν ὅτι τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα πολλὰ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

(14) [καὶ τὸ ὄλον δὲ τῶν μικρολόγων καὶ τὰς ἀργυροθήκας ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν εὐρωτιώσας καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἰωμένας καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ φοροῦντας ἐλάττω τῶν μηρῶν<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ ἐκ ληκυθίων μικρῶν πάνυ ἀλειφομένους καὶ ἐν χρῶ κειρομένους καὶ τὸ μέσον

<sup>1</sup> Foss: χρωννύειν codd.

(6) And if his wife drops a three-penny piece, he is capable of moving the dishes, couches, and chests, and searching in the floorboards. (7) If he sells something, he charges so much that the buyer can't recover his price of purchase.

(8) He doesn't allow eating of figs from his own garden, or passage through his field, or picking up of an olive or date that has fallen on the ground.

(9) He inspects his property markers daily to see if they remain the same. (10) He is apt to charge a late fee and compound interest. (11) When he gives a dinner for his precinct,<sup>a</sup> he serves the meat cut into tiny portions. (12) When he goes shopping, he returns home without buying anything. (13) He forbids his wife to lend out salt, or a lampwick, or cumin, or oregano, or barley groats, or garlands, or sacrificial cakes, maintaining that these small items add up to a lot over the course of a year.

(14) [In general, pennypinchers like to see their money boxes moldy and the keys to them rusty, and they themselves wear cloaks that don't cover their thighs, rub themselves down from tiny oil flasks,<sup>b</sup> have their heads shaved,<sup>c</sup> put on their shoes at mid-

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "his deme," the members of his local voting-district: David Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton 1986) 152.

<sup>b</sup> At the baths (30.8 note).

<sup>c</sup> To save money on haircuts.

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<sup>2</sup> A (ante correctionem) et e: μικρῶν A (corr.) et BDe, μετρῶν C.

τῆς ἡμέρας ὑποδομένους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γναφεῖς διατεινομένους ὅπως τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῖς ἔξει πολλὴν γῆν, ἵνα μὴ ῥυπαίνηται ταχύ.]<sup>1</sup>

## ΒΔΕΛΥΡΙΑΣ ΙΑ΄

(1) οὐ χαλεπὸν δέ ἐστι τὴν βδελυρίαν διορίσασθαι· ἔστι γὰρ παιδιὰ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἐπονειδιστος, ὁ δὲ βδελυρὸς τοιοῦτος, (2) οἶος ἀπαντήσας γυναιξὶν ἐλευθέραις ἀνασυράμενος δεῖξαι τὸ αἰδοῖον. (3) καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ κροτεῖν, ὅταν οἱ ἄλλοι παύωνται, καὶ συρίττειν, οὓς ἠδέως θεωροῦσιν οἱ λοιποί· καὶ ὅταν σιωπήσῃ τὸ θέατρον, ἀνακύψας ἐρυγεῖν ἵνα τοὺς καθημένους ποιήσῃ μεταστραφῆναι. (4) καὶ πληθούσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ κάρυα ἢ τὰ μύρτα ἢ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα ἐστηκῶς τραγηματίζεσθαι ἅμα τῷ πωλοῦντι προσλαλῶν· καὶ καλέσαι δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὀνομασί τινα, ᾧ μὴ συνήθης ἐστί· (5) καὶ σπεύδοντας δὲ ποι<sup>2</sup> ὄρων περιμεῖναι κελεύσαι· (6) καὶ ἥττωμένῳ δὲ μεγάλην δίκην ἀπιόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν<sup>3</sup> συνησθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> epilogum del. editores.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon: που codd.

<sup>3</sup> Cobet: προσελθεῖν καὶ codd.

day, and insist to the cleaners that their cloaks get a lot of earth<sup>a</sup> so that they won't get dirty again quickly.]<sup>b</sup>

## 11. OBNOXIOUSNESS

(1) It is not difficult to define obnoxiousness: it is joking that is obvious and offensive. The obnoxious man is the sort (2) who, when he meets respectable women, raises his cloak and exposes his genitals. (3) In the theater he claps after others have stopped, and hisses the actors whom the others enjoy watching. When the audience is silent he rears back and belches, to make the spectators turn around. (4) When the agora is crowded he goes to the stands for walnuts, myrtleberries, and fruits, and stands there nibbling on them while talking with the vendor. He calls out by name to someone in the crowd with whom he's not acquainted. (5) When he sees people hurrying somewhere he tells them to wait. (6) He goes up to a man who has lost an important case and is leaving the court, and congratulates him.

<sup>a</sup> Fuller's clay: Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1912) 1.176.

<sup>b</sup> The change in style and the switch to the plural among other things suggest that this closing paragraph is a later addition.

(7) καὶ ὄψωνεῖν ἑαυτῶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐλητρίδας μισθοῦσθαι καὶ δεικνύειν δὲ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τὰ ὄψωνημένα καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτα· (8) καὶ διηγέισθαι προστάς πρὸς κουρεῖον ἢ μυροπῶλιον ὅτι μεθύσκεσθαι μέλλει.

ΑΚΑΙΡΙΑΣ ΙΒ΄

(1) [ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀκαιρία ἐστὶν ἐπίτευξις <χρόνου><sup>2</sup> λυπούσα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας,]<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ ἄκαιρος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ἀσχολουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀνακοινοῦσθαι. (3) καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένην κωμάζειν πυρέττουσαν. (4) καὶ δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης προσελθὼν κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι. (5) καὶ μαρτυρήσων παρεῖναι τοῦ πράγματος ἤδη κεκριμένου. (6) καὶ κεκλημένος εἰς γάμους τοῦ γυναικείου γένους κατηγορεῖν. (7) καὶ ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ ἦκοντα ἄρτι παρακαλεῖν εἰς περίπατον.

(8) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ προσάγειν ὠνητὴν πλείω διδόντα ἤδη πεπρακότι. (9) καὶ ἀκηκοότας καὶ μεμαθηκότας ἀνίστασθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διδάξων.<sup>4</sup> (10) καὶ πρόθυμος δὲ ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἅ μὴ βούλε-

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: ἑαυτὸν codd.

<sup>2</sup> suppl. Ruge.

<sup>3</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein.

<sup>4</sup> Korais: διδάσκων codd.

## CHARACTERS 12

(7) He goes shopping for himself and hires flute girls,<sup>a</sup> and he shows his purchases to anyone he meets and invites them to share. (8) He stands by the barber shop or perfume seller and relates that he intends to get drunk.

### 12. BAD TIMING

(1) [Bad timing is a usage of time which causes pain to those you happen to meet.]<sup>b</sup> The man with bad timing is the sort (2) who goes up to someone who is busy and asks his advice. (3) He sings love songs to his girlfriend when she has a fever. (4) He goes up to a man who has just had to forfeit a security deposit in court and asks him to stand bail for him. (5) He shows up to give testimony after the case has already been decided. (6) If he's a guest at a wedding, he launches into a tirade against women.<sup>c</sup> (7) When a man has just returned from a long journey, he invites him to go for a walk.

(8) He is apt to bring in to a man who has already completed a sale a buyer who will pay more. (9) After people have listened and understand, he stands up to explain all over again. (10) He is

<sup>a</sup> Women who were expected to provide music (and sometimes sex) for a dinner party; cf. 20.9 and C. G. Starr, *Parola del passato* 34 (1978) 401–410.

<sup>b</sup> This extremely abstract definition appears to be adapted from the definition of its opposite ("good timing") in Pseudo-Plato, *Definitiones* 413c12.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the tirade in Theophrastus, *On Marriage* (fr. 486).

ταί τις γενέσθαι, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἀπείπασθαι.  
 (11) καὶ θύοντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ἤκειν τόκον  
 ἀπαιτήσων. (12) καὶ μαστιγουμένου οἰκέτου παρε-  
 στῶς διηγείσθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ποτε παῖς οὕτως  
 πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπήγξατο. (13) καὶ παρῶν διαίτη  
 συγκρούειν, ἀμφοτέρων βουλομένων διαλύεσθαι.  
 (14) καὶ ὀρχησόμενος ἄψασθαι ἐτέρου μηδέπω  
 μεθύοντος.

## ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΙΑΣ ΙΓ΄

(1) ἀμέλει <ἦ><sup>1</sup> περιεργία δόξει εἶναι προσποιήσις  
 τις λόγων καὶ πράξεων μετὰ εὐνοίας, ὃ δὲ περιέρ-  
 γος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἶος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀναστὰς  
 ἂ μὴ δυνήσεται. (3) καὶ ὁμολογουμένου τοῦ  
 πράγματος δικαίου εἶναι ἐντείνας<sup>2</sup> ἐλεγχθῆναι.  
 (4) καὶ πλείω δὲ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν παῖδα κεράσαι  
 ἢ ὅσα δύνανται οἱ παρόντες ἐκπιεῖν.

(5) καὶ διείργειν τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ οὖς οὐ  
 γινώσκει. (6) καὶ ἀτραποῦ ἠγήσασθαι, εἶτα μὴ  
 δύνασθαι εὐρεῖν οἷ<sup>3</sup> πορεύεται. (7) καὶ τὸν στρατη-

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Buecheler.

<sup>2</sup> Immisch: ἐν τινι στάς codd.

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon: οὔ codd.



## CHARACTERS 13

zealous in seeing to things that you don't desire, but are embarrassed to refuse. (11) When people are consuming a sacrifice, he comes to ask for interest on his loan. (12) When a slave is being beaten he stands watching and tells the story of how a slave of his once hanged himself after being beaten in just this way. (13) When he is on an arbitration board<sup>a</sup> he exacerbates the dispute, when what both sides desire is a reconciliation. (14) When he wants to dance, he grabs a partner who is still sober.<sup>b</sup>

### 13. OVERZEALOUSNESS

(1) You can be sure overzealousness will seem to be a well-intentioned appropriation of words and actions. The overzealous man is the sort (2) who gets up and promises to do things he won't be able to carry out. (3) When people are in agreement that his cause is just, he becomes too intense and loses the case. (4) He forces the servant to mix more wine than the company can drink.

(5) He tries to stop fights even between strangers to him.<sup>c</sup> (6) He leads the way down a path, but then can't find the way to where he is going.<sup>d</sup> (7) He goes

<sup>a</sup> See on 5.3.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 6.3.

<sup>c</sup> As does the cook in Menander, *Samia* 383ff.

<sup>d</sup> The proverb was "don't take a path when you have a road" (*Paroem. Graec.* I.437).

γὸν προσελθὼν ἐρωτῆσαι πότε μέλλει παρατάττεσθαι, καὶ τί μετὰ τὴν αὐριον παραγγελεῖ. (8) καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πατρὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ ἤδη καθεύδει ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ. (9) καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ ἱατροῦ ὅπως μὴ δώσει οἶνον τῷ μαλακισομένῳ, φήσας βούλεσθαι διάπειραν λαμβάνειν εὐποτίσαι<sup>1</sup> τὸν κακῶς ἔχοντα. (10) καὶ γυναικὸς δὲ τελευτησάσης ἐπιγράψαι ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦνομα καὶ ποδαπή ἐστι, καὶ προσεπιγράψαι ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες χρηστοὶ ἦσαν.

(11) καὶ ὀμνύειν μέλλων εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς περιεστηκότας, ὅτι “καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις ὀμώμοκα.”

### ΑΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΑΣ ΙΔ΄

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀναισθησία, ὡς ὄρω εἰπεῖν, βραδυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐν λόγοις καὶ πράξεσιν, ὁ δὲ ἀναίσθητος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος λογισάμενος ταῖς ψήφοις καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσας ἐρωτᾶν τὸν παρακαθήμενον· “τί γίνεται;” (3) καὶ δίκην φεύγων καὶ ταύτην εἰσιέναι μέλλων ἐπιλαθόμενος εἰς ἀγρὸν πορεύεσθαι. (4) καὶ θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μόνος καταλείπεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> Foss: εὐτρεπίσαι codd.

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up to the general and asks him when he will take the field, and what his orders are going to be the day after tomorrow. (8) He goes up to his father and tells him that his mother is already asleep in their bedroom. (9) Even though the doctor forbids giving any wine to a sick man, he says he wants to do an experiment, and soaks the poor fellow with it. (10) If a woman dies, he inscribes on her tomb the names of her husband, her father and mother, and herself and place of birth, and adds that they were *all* "fine persons."<sup>a</sup>

(11) When he is going to swear an oath he says to the bystanders, "I've sworn oaths many times before."<sup>b</sup>

### 14. ABSENT-MINDEDNESS

(1) Absent-mindedness, to say it in a definition, is slowness of soul in words and deeds. The absent-minded man is the sort (2) who, when he has made a calculation with an abacus and determined the total, asks the person sitting by him, "What's the answer?" (3) If he is a defendant, and intends to appear in court, he forgets and goes to the country. (4) If he's in the audience at the theater, he falls

<sup>a</sup> Literally "good" (*χρηστός*), a term often used of the dead in grave-inscriptions.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Menander fr. 87. Swearing to the truth of something undocumented (Harrison, *Law of Athens* II, Oxford 1971, 150–152) was a last resort, not to be taken lightly.

καθεύδων. (5) καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάκου ἀνιστάμενος<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῆς τοῦ γείτονος δηχθῆναι. (6) καὶ λαβὼν <τι><sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀποθεὶς αὐτός, τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν. (7) καὶ ἀπαγγέλλοντος αὐτῷ ὅτι τετελεύτηκέ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων, ἵνα παραγένηται, σκυθρωπάσας καὶ δακρύσας εἰπεῖν· “ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.”

(8) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀπολαμβάνων ἀργύριον ὀφειλόμενον μάρτυρας παραλαβεῖν. (9) καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος μάχεσθαι τῷ παιδί ὅτι σικύους οὐκ ἠγόρασεν. (10) καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἑαυτοῦ παλαίειν ἀναγκάζων καὶ τροχάζειν εἰς κόπον ἐμβάλλειν. (11) καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτὸς φακῆν ἔψων δις ἅλας εἰς τὴν χύτραν ἐμβαλὼν ἄβρωτον ποιῆσαι. (12) καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς εἰπεῖν· †ἡδύ γε τῶν ἄστρον νομίζεις, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι λέγουσι πίσσης† (13) καὶ λέγοντός τινος· “πόσους οἶει κατὰ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενήνεχθαι νεκρούς;” πρὸς τοῦτον εἰπεῖν· “ὅσοι ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ γένοιντο.”

<sup>1</sup> post ἀνιστάμενος lacunam statuerunt editores, fortasse recte (τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ codd., transp. Salmasius).

<sup>2</sup> add. M.

## CHARACTERS 14

asleep and is left behind alone. (5) If he eats too much and gets up at night to go to the toilet, he is bitten by his neighbor's dog.<sup>a</sup> (6) When he's received something and put it away himself, he looks for it and can't find it. (7) If it's reported to him that one of his friends has died, so he should attend the funeral, he makes a sad face and says weepingly, "Let's hope it's for the best!"

(8) When he receives money that is owed to him, he is apt to ask for a receipt.<sup>b</sup> (9) Despite its being winter he quarrels with his servant because he didn't buy cucumbers. (10) He forces his children to practice wrestling and running until he drives them to exhaustion. (11) When he is cooking himself bean-soup in the field, he adds salt to the pot twice, and makes it inedible. (12) When it rains, he says "He thinks it sweet from the stars," which others in fact say "from pitch."<sup>c</sup> (13) If someone says to him "How many bodies do you suppose have been carried out for burial at the sacred gate?"<sup>d</sup> He says to him, "May you and I have as many!"

<sup>a</sup> The text seems abbreviated: instead of the outhouse he wanders into the watchdog's pen.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "secure witnesses."

<sup>c</sup> The Greek text of this sentence is corrupt beyond repair.

<sup>d</sup> Perhaps in a time of plague, or after a military disaster (for the sacred gate see Plutarch, *Sulla* 14.3). He answers as if he had been asked something like "how much money do you suppose x has?"

## ΑΥΘΑΔΕΙΑΣ ΙΕ΄

(1) ἡ δὲ αὐθάδειά ἐστιν ἀπήνεια ὁμιλίας ἐν λόγοις, ὁ δὲ αὐθάδης τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ἐρωτηθεῖς· “ὁ δεῖνα ποῦ ἐστιν;” εἰπεῖν· “πράγματά μοι μὴ παρέχε.” (3) καὶ προσαγορευθεῖς μὴ ἀντιπροσειπεῖν. (4) καὶ πωλῶν τι μὴ λέγειν τοῖς ὠνουμένοις πόσου ἂν ἀποδοῖτο, ἀλλ’ ἐρωτᾶν “τί εὕρισκει;” (5) καὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι καὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο διδόμενα. (6) καὶ οὐκ ἔχειν συγγνώμην οὔτε τῷ ῥυπώσαντι<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἀκουσίως οὔτε τῷ ὄσαντι οὔτε τῷ ἐμβάντι. (7) καὶ φίλῳ δὲ ἔρανον κελεύσαντι εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰπών, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δοίῃ, ὕστερον ἤκειν φέρων καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι ἀπόλλυσι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. (8) καὶ προσπταίσας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δεινὸς καταράσασθαι τῷ λίθῳ. (9) καὶ [ἀναμεῖναι]<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι<sup>3</sup> πολὺν χρόνον οὐθένα. (10) καὶ οὔτε ἄσαι οὔτε ῥῆσιμ εἰπεῖν οὔτε ὀρχήσασθαι ἂν ἐθελήσειεν·<sup>4</sup> (11) δεινὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ ἐπεύχεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Foss (cf. Seneca *de beneficiis* 6.9.1): ἀπώσαντι codd.

<sup>2</sup> del. Reiske. <sup>3</sup> ὑπομεῖναι (optativum) Casaubon, Ussing: ὑπομεῖναι (infinitivum) codd.

<sup>4</sup> Petersen: ἠθέλησε(ν) AB, θελήσαι CDe.

## 15. GROUCHINESS

(1) Grouchiness is verbal hostility in social contacts. The grouch is the sort (2) who, when asked “Where is so-and-so?” responds “don’t bother me.” (3) If someone speaks to him he doesn’t answer. (4) If he is selling something, he doesn’t tell customers how much he would sell it for, but asks “What will it fetch?”<sup>a</sup> (5) If people honor him by sending him some of the food on a festival day,<sup>b</sup> he tells them not to expect anything in return. (6) If anyone splashes him accidentally or jostles him or steps on his foot, he won’t forgive him. (7) After first refusing to give to a friend who has asked him to provide a loan,<sup>c</sup> he comes to him later and brings it, but adds that he is throwing his money away again. (8) If he stumbles on the street, he is apt to curse the stone. (9) He isn’t likely to wait very long for anyone. (10) He won’t sing or recite a speech or dance.<sup>d</sup> (11) He is apt to ask for nothing — even from the gods.

<sup>a</sup> For this meaning see LSJ *εὐρίσκω* V.

<sup>b</sup> For the custom cf. 17.2 below, and Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1049, Menander, *Samia* 403, PCG Ehippus fr. 15.11.

<sup>c</sup> *ἔρανος* was an interest-free loan from one friend (or several) to another: cf. 1.5, 17.9, 22.9, 23.6 and Paul Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (Cambridge 1991) 153–159.

<sup>d</sup> At a banquet.

## ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ Ις'

(1) [ἀμέλει ἢ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον,]<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἶος †ἐπιχρωνῆν<sup>2</sup> ἀπονιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ περιρρανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν. (3) καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐὰν ὑπερδράμη γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλλῃ. (4) καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐὰν παρείαν, Σαβάζιον<sup>3</sup> καλεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἱερόν, ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων<sup>4</sup> εὐθὺς ἰδρύσασθαι.

<sup>1</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Χόων Foss, ἐπιδὼν κορώνην Usener, ἐπιτυχῶν ἐκφορᾶ Bolkestein.

<sup>3</sup> Schneider: Σαβάδιον codd.

<sup>4</sup> Duebner: ἱερῶον (ι in rasura) V, om. CD.

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<sup>a</sup> The definition resembles one found in Stoic writings (SVF III p. 98.42, p. 99.13) and is probably interpolated from another source.



## 16. SUPERSTITION

(1) [You can be sure superstition would seem to be cowardice about divinity.]<sup>a</sup> The superstitious man is the sort (2) who < . . . ><sup>b</sup> washes his hands, sprinkles himself with water from a shrine, puts a sprig of laurel in his mouth and walks around that way all day. (3) If a weasel crosses his path<sup>c</sup> he goes no further until someone passes between them, or he throws three stones over the road. (4) If he sees a snake in his house, he invokes Sabazios<sup>d</sup> if it is a cheek snake, but if it is a holy one<sup>e</sup> he immediately founds a hero shrine on the spot.

<sup>b</sup> The word in the text is nonsense, and various changes have been proposed, e.g. "when it is 'Pitchers'" (a festival of the dead, see Burkert, *Homo Necans* 218–222), "when he sees a crow," or "when he meets a funeral procession."

<sup>c</sup> For weasels as bad luck cf. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazousai* 792, *Paroem. Graec.* I.230.

<sup>d</sup> A Phrygian god often identified with Dionysus, imported to Athens in the fifth century B.C.; Demosthenes gives a detailed account of how he was worshipped in *On The Crown* 18.259–260, and describes handling snakes of the variety mentioned here, which were harmless (Aelian, *Nature of Animals* 8.12).

<sup>e</sup> This variety of snake was poisonous (Aristotle, *History of Animals* 607a30). "Heroes" were potentially harmful spirits of the dead: Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. John Raffan (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 206–207. Compare the snake in the fraudulent hero-cult of Heraclides of Pontus, Diog. Laert. 5.89 = fr. 16 Wehrli. Plato, *Laws* X.909e3–910a6 condemns the establishment of private shrines to avert bad luck.

## THEOPHRASTUS

(5) καὶ τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

(6) καὶ ἂν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγη, πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἔλθων ἐρωτᾶν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἂν ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι, μὴ προσέχειν τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἀποτραπεῖς ἐκθύσασθαι.<sup>1</sup>

(7) καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καθᾶραι δεινὸς Ἐκάτης φάσκων ἐπαγωγὴν γεγρονέαι. (8) κᾶν γλαῦκες βαδίζοντος αὐτοῦ <ἀνακράγωσι>,<sup>2</sup> ταραττεσθαι καὶ εἶπας "Ἀθηνᾶ κρείττων," παρελθεῖν οὔτω. (9) καὶ οὔτε ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι οὔτ' ἐπὶ νεκρὸν οὔτ' ἐπὶ λεχῶ ἐλθεῖν ἐθειῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ μιαινέσθαι συμφέρον αὐτῷ φῆσαι εἶναι.

(10) καὶ ταῖς τετράσι δὲ καὶ ἐβδόμαις προστάξας οἶνον ἔψειν τοῖς ἔνδον, ἐξελθὼν ἀγοράσαι μυρ-

<sup>1</sup> Bernard: ἐκλύσασθαι codd.

<sup>2</sup> suppl. Foss: ταραττεται V, corr. Korais.

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<sup>a</sup> For the anointing of stones see Homer, *Odyssey* 3.406–11; Tibullus I.1.11–12; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 162 n. 20; Frazer on Pausanias 10.24.6. Worshipping them is

(5) When he passes the oiled stones<sup>a</sup> at the crossroads, he drenches them with olive oil from his flask,<sup>b</sup> kneels and prostrates himself before he departs. (6) If a mouse eats a hole in a sack of barley, he visits the theologian and asks what he should do; if the answer is to give it to the tailor to be patched he pays no attention, but hurries off and performs an expiation.

(7) He is apt to purify his house frequently, claiming Hekate has bewitched it.<sup>c</sup> (8) If owls hoot<sup>d</sup> as he passes by he becomes agitated, and says "mighty Athena!" before he goes on. (9) He refuses to step on a gravestone, view a corpse or visit a woman in childbirth, and says it's the best policy for him not to incur pollution.<sup>e</sup>

(10) On the fourth and the seventh of every month he orders his household to boil some wine,<sup>f</sup> then goes out and buys myrtle, frankincense, and

ridiculed by Lucian, *Alexander* 30; Arnobius, *Adv. nationes* I.39; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7.4.26.

<sup>b</sup> The one he carries for the baths, see on 30.8.

<sup>c</sup> For an account of a Hekate-exorcism in a mime of Sophron see Robert Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 223–224.

<sup>d</sup> Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* 78.

<sup>e</sup> He extends legitimate rules of purity (see West on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 750; Burkert, *Greek Religion* 378 nn. 30–31) to avoid attending funerals, or even seeing his wife after childbirth.

<sup>f</sup> Boiling wine made it sweeter, see MacDowell on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 878, *PCG* Plato Comicus fr. 164.

σίνας, λιβανωτόν, πόπανα<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἴσω στεφανοῦν<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Ἑρμαφροδίτους ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.

(11) καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ, πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὄνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς μάντις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκοποῦς, ἐρωτήσων, τίνι θεῶν ἢ θεᾶ εὐχεσθαι δεῖ. καὶ τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός, εἰ δὲ μὴ σχολάζῃ ἢ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης καὶ τῶν παιδίων. (12) καὶ τῶν περιρραιομένων ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἐπιμελῶς δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι. (13) κἄν ποτε ἐπίδῃ σκοροδῶ ἐστεμμένον<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τριόδοις, ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι καὶ ἱερείας καλέσας σκίλλῃ ἢ σκύλακι κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Foss: λιβανωτῶν πίνακα V.

<sup>2</sup> Siebenkees: στεφανῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> Foss: ἐστεμμένων V.

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<sup>a</sup> The first is to make wreaths (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 861), the others to burn as a sacrifice (Menander, *Dyskolos* 449–50).

<sup>b</sup> If the text is sound, he seems to spend too much time and money on a regular household offering. The word “Hermaphroditos” first occurs here (it is also the title of a comedy by the third-century writer Posidippus, and found

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cakes,<sup>a</sup> comes back home and spends all day putting wreaths on the Hermaphrodites.<sup>b</sup>

(11) Whenever he has a dream, he visits the dream analysts or the prophets or the omen-readers to ask to which god or goddess<sup>c</sup> he should pray. He goes to the Initiators of Orpheus<sup>d</sup> every month to be inducted with his wife — if she has no time, he takes his children and their wet-nurse. (12) When people are sprinkling themselves carefully at the seaside,<sup>e</sup> he would seem to be among them. (13) If he ever notices someone at the crossroads wreathed in garlic<sup>f</sup> he goes away, takes a shower, summons priestesses and orders a deluxe purification by sea-

in a votive inscription perhaps of the fourth century B.C.): rather than the androgynous god of later mythology, the plural may designate a variety of the neighborhood portrait-busts known as “herms” with female and male faces on opposite sides. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* V (Zurich 1991) 269.

<sup>c</sup> A prayer formula: J. Alvar, “Materiaux pour l’étude de la formule *sive deus sive dea*,” *Numen* 32 (1985) 236–273.

<sup>d</sup> Itinerant priests, cf. Plato *Republic* 364b–e, W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 33. Evidently the presence of a woman was required.

<sup>e</sup> For the purifying powers of salt water see Robert Parker, *Miasma* 226–227.

<sup>f</sup> Crossroads were repositories of religious pollution, including the bodies of murderers: S. I. Johnston, “Crossroads,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991) 222–224. As it is today, garlic was a protection against evil spirits (cf. Persius 5.188), so that he immediately suspects danger.

περικαθάραι. (14) μαινόμενον δέ<sup>1</sup> ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον φρίξας εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι.

## MEMΨΙΜΟΙΡΙΑΣ ΙΖ'

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ μεμψιμοιρία ἐπιτίμησις παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τῶν δεδομένων, ὁ δὲ μεμψίμοιρος τοιόσδε τις, (2) οἷος ἀποστείλαντος μερίδα τοῦ φίλου εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν φέροντα· “ἐφθόνησέν<sup>2</sup> μοι τοῦ ζωμοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴναριου οὐκ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσας.” (3) καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑταίρας καταφιλούμενος εἰπεῖν· “θαυμάζω εἰ σὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς οὕτω με φιλεῖς.” (4) καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, οὐ διότι ὕει, ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον. (5) καὶ εὐρῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ βαλλάντιον εἰπεῖν· “ἀλλ’ οὐ θησαυρὸν εὔρηκα οὐδέποτε.” (6) καὶ πριάμενος ἀνδράποδον ἄξιον καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς τοῦ πωλοῦντος· “θαυμάζω,” εἰπεῖν, “ὅ τι ὑγιὲς οὕτω ἄξιον ἐώνημαι.” (7) καὶ πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενον ὅτι “υἱός σοι γέγονεν” εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ἂν προσθῆς ‘καὶ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ ἡμισυ ἄπεστιν,’

<sup>1</sup> Blaydes: τε codd.

<sup>2</sup> Pauw: ἐφθόνησας V.

<sup>a</sup> Also called “squill”; credited with apotropaic powers, PCG Cratinus fr. 250.2; Theophrastus, *Inquiry into Plants* 7.13.4; John Scarborough, “The Pharmacology of Sacred

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onion<sup>a</sup> or dog.<sup>b</sup> (14) If he sees a madman or epileptic he shudders, and spits down at his chest.<sup>c</sup>

### 17. GRIPING

(1) Griping is unsuitable criticism of what one has been given. The griper is a type such as this, (2) who, when his friend has sent him part of the meat from a sacrifice,<sup>d</sup> says to the delivery boy, "by not inviting me to the dinner, he did me out of the soup and wine." (3) When he is being kissed by his mistress, he says "I wonder whether you really love me that much in your heart." (4) He is annoyed with Zeus not because it is raining, but because it rained too late. (5) If he finds a wallet in the road, he says, "well, I still haven't ever found a treasure." (6) If he buys a slave at a good price, after much haggling with the seller, he says "I wonder how sound the merchandise can be if I got it so cheap." (7) To the bearer of the good news "you have a son!" he replies, "if you add 'half of your property is gone,' you'll be

Plants, Herbs and Roots," in *Magika Hiera*, ed. C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (New York 1991) 146–148.

<sup>b</sup> Killed and rubbed around the bodies of those to be purified: Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 280B–C, 290D; N. J. Zaganiaris, "Sacrifices de chiens dans l'antiquité classique," *Πλάτων* 27 (1975) 322–329; *PCG* Aristophanes fr. 209.

<sup>c</sup> The ancient Greek equivalent of knocking on wood (see Gow on Theocritus 6.39).

<sup>d</sup> Cf. 15.5.

ἀληθῆ ἐρεῖς.” (8) καὶ δίκην<sup>1</sup> νικήσας καὶ λαβῶν  
 πάσας τὰς ψήφους ἐγκαλεῖν<sup>2</sup> τῷ γράψαντι τὸν  
 λόγον ὡς πολλὰ παραλελοιπότι τῶν δικαίων.  
 (9) καὶ ἐράνου εἰσενεχθέντος παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ  
 φήσαντός τινος· “ἴλαρὸς ἴσθι,” “καὶ πῶς;” εἰπεῖν,  
 “ὅτι δεῖ τὰργύριον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ καὶ χωρὶς  
 τούτων χάριν ὀφείλειν ὡς εὐεργετημένον;”

## ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΙΗ΄

(1) ἔστιν ἀμέλει ἢ ἀπιστία ὑπόληψίς τις ἀδικίας  
 κατὰ πάντων, ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος  
 ἀποστείλας τὸν παῖδα ὀψωνήσοντα ἕτερον παῖδα  
 πέμπειν τὸν πεισομένον πόσου ἐπρίατο. (3) καὶ  
 φέρων αὐτὸς τὸ ἀργύριον [καὶ]<sup>3</sup> κατὰ στάδιον  
 καθίζων ἀριθμεῖν πόσον ἐστίν. (4) καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωτᾶν κατακείμενος εἰ κέκλεικε τὴν  
 κιβωτόν, καὶ εἰ σεσήμανται τὸ κυλιούχιον, καὶ εἰ ὁ  
 μοχλὸς εἰς τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλείαν ἐμβέβληται·  
 καὶ ἂν ἐκείνη φῆ, μηδὲν ἦττον αὐτὸς ἀναστὰς  
 γυμνὸς ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων καὶ ἀνυπόδητος τὸν  
 λύχνον ἄψας ταῦτα πάντα περιδραμῶν ἐπισκέψα-  
 σθαι καὶ οὕτω μόλις ὕπνου τυγχάνειν. (5) καὶ τοὺς  
 ὀφείλοντας αὐτῷ ἀργύριον μετὰ μαρτύρων ἀπαι-

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: νίκην V.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanus: ἐγκαλεῖ V.



telling the truth." (8) If he wins a court case, even by a unanimous vote, he criticizes his lawyer for leaving out many valid arguments. (9) If his friends get together a loan for him,<sup>a</sup> and someone says "Congratulations!" he says "Why? Because I've got to pay the money back to each of you, and be grateful besides, as if you'd done me a favor?"

## 18. MISTRUST

(1) You can be sure that mistrust is an assumption that one is being wronged by everyone. The mistrustful man is the sort (2) who, when he has dispatched his slave to do the shopping, sends another one to find out how much he paid. (3) Even though he carries his money himself,<sup>b</sup> he sits down every hundred yards and counts how much he has. (4) When he is lying in bed he asks his wife whether she has locked up the money chest, whether the cupboard has been sealed, and whether the bolt is in place on the front door; and even if she says yes he gets out of bed anyway, naked and barefoot, lights the lamp and runs around checking all these, and only then can he get some sleep. (5) When people owe him money he takes the witnesses with him

<sup>a</sup> See on 15.7.

<sup>b</sup> Normally a slave would carry it (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 170, *Menaechmi* 265), cf. 23.8.

<sup>3</sup> del. Needham.

THEOPHRASTUS

τέιν τοὺς τόκους, ὅπως μὴ δύνωνται<sup>1</sup> ἕξαρνοι γενέσθαι. (6) καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον δὲ ἐκδοῦναι δεινὸς οὐχ ὅς <ἄν><sup>2</sup> βέλτιστα ἐργάσηται, ἀλλ' οὐ ἄν ἢ ἄξιος ἐγγυητῆς [τοῦ κναφέως].<sup>3</sup> (7) καὶ ὅταν ἤκη τις αἰτησόμενος ἐκπώματα, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ δοῦναι, ἄν δ' ἄρα τις οἰκείος ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος, μόνον οὐ πυρώσας καὶ στήσας καὶ σχεδὸν ἐγγυητὴν λαβῶν χρῆσαι.<sup>4</sup> (8) καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα κελεύειν αὐτοῦ ὀπισθεν μὴ βαδίζειν ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν, ἵνα φυλάττη αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> μὴ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποδρᾶ.<sup>6</sup> (9) καὶ τοῖς εἰληφόσι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουσι "πόσου, κατάθου· οὐ γὰρ σχολάζω πω," εἰπεῖν<sup>7</sup> "μηδὲν πραγματεύου· ἐγὼ γὰρ, <ἕως><sup>8</sup> ἄν σὺ σχολάσῃς, συνακολουθήσω."

ΔΥΣΧΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΙΘ'

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια ἀθεραπευσία σώματος λύπης παρασκευαστική, ὃ δὲ δυσχερῆς τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος λέπραν ἔχων καὶ ἀλφὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μεγάλους περιπατεῖν καὶ φῆσαι ταῦτα εἶναι αὐτῷ συγγενικὰ ἀρρωστήματα· ἔχειν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Jebb: δύναιτο codd.

<sup>2</sup> suppl. Diels. (ὅς Salmasius: ὡς codd.)

<sup>3</sup> Ast: ὅταν ἢ codd.

<sup>4</sup> Schneider: χρήσει codd.

when he collects the interest, so they won't be able to deny the debt. (6) He is apt to give his cloak not to the man who does the best work, but the one whose bondsman is worth the most.<sup>a</sup> (7) Whenever someone comes to him to borrow drinking cups he prefers not to give them at all, but if it is a relative or close friend he makes the loan only after practically testing their composition and weight, and nearly asking for someone to guarantee replacement costs. (8) When his slave is attending him he tells him not to walk behind but in front, so he can watch to make sure he doesn't run away.<sup>b</sup> (9) To those who are buying something from him and say "Add it up and put it down to my account; I don't have time yet," he says "Don't go to any trouble; I'll stay with you until you have time."<sup>c</sup>

## 19. SQUALOR

(1) Squalor is a neglect of one's body which produces distress. The squalid man is the sort (2) who goes around in a leprous and encrusted state, with long fingernails, and says these are all inherited ill-

<sup>a</sup> He assumes his clothing is going to be lost or ruined.

<sup>b</sup> As in Plautus, *Curculio* 487.

<sup>c</sup> The text is uncertain.

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<sup>5</sup> Needham:  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}$  vel  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}$  codd.

<sup>6</sup>  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$  Hirschig:  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta$  codd.

<sup>7</sup> Madvig:  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  codd.

<sup>8</sup> suppl. Madvig.

αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ῥάδιον αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ γένος ὑποβάλλεσθαι. (3) ἀμέλει δὲ δεινὸς καὶ ἔλκη ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀντικνημίοις καὶ προσπταίσματα ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις καὶ μὴ θεραπεῦσαι ἀλλ' ἑᾶσαι θηριωθῆναι· καὶ τὰς μασχάλας δὲ θηριώδεις καὶ δασείας ἔχειν ἄχρι ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας μέλανας καὶ ἐσθιομένους [ὥστε δυσέντευκτος εἶναι καὶ ἀηδής.]<sup>2</sup>

(4) καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθίων ἀπομύττεσθαι· θύων ἄμ' ἀδαξᾶσθαι.<sup>3</sup> προσλαλῶν ἀπορρίπτειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος· ἄμα πιῶν ἐρυγγάνειν.<sup>4</sup> (5) ἀναπόνιπτος<sup>5</sup> ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ κοιμᾶσθαι. (6) ἐλαίῳ σαπρῶ ἐν βαλανείῳ χρώμενος ὄξεισθαι.<sup>6</sup> (7) καὶ χιτωνίσκον παχὺν καὶ ἰμάτιον σφόδρα λεπτὸν καὶ κηλίδων μεστὸν ἀναβαλλόμενος εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐξελθεῖν.

<...><sup>7</sup>

(8) καὶ εἰς ὀρνιθοσκόπου τῆς μητρὸς ἐξελθούσης βλασφημῆσαι. (9) καὶ εὐχομένων καὶ σπενδόντων

<sup>1</sup> Meister: αὐτὸν V.

<sup>2</sup> ut glossema del. Immisch.

<sup>3</sup> Diels: θύων ἄμα δ' ἄρξασθαι V, θύων ἀρξάμενος CD.

<sup>4</sup> Stein: προσερυγγάνειν codd.

<sup>5</sup> Badham: ἀναπίπτοντος V.

## CHARACTERS 19

nesses; he has them like his father and grandfather before him, so it won't be easy to smuggle an illegitimate child into *their* family! (3) You can be sure he is apt to have sores on his shins, whitlows on his fingers, which he doesn't treat but lets fester. His armpits might belong to an animal, with hair extending most of the way down his sides. His teeth are black and decayed.

(4) And things like this: he wipes his nose while eating, scratches himself while sacrificing, shoots spittle from his mouth while talking, belches while drinking. (5) He sleeps in bed with his wife without washing.<sup>a</sup> (6) Because he uses rancid oil in the baths, he smells.<sup>b</sup> (7) He goes out to the market wearing thick underwear, and a very thin cloak full of stains.

<From a different character (see Additional Notes)>

(8) . . . When his mother goes out to the omen reader, he curses.<sup>c</sup> (9) When people are praying and pouring

<sup>a</sup> For washing after dinner and before bed cf. Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazousai* 419, *Wasps* 1217, Plato, *Symposium* 223d.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 30.8.

<sup>c</sup> She is worried about offending the gods (cf. 16.11), but her son deliberately offends them.

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<sup>6</sup> Petersen: σφύζεσθαι V, χρίεσθαι c, χρᾶσθαι c, χρῆσθαι d.

<sup>7</sup> lacunam stat. edd., qui § 8–11 aliena esse viderunt.

ἐκβαλεῖν<sup>1</sup> τὸ ποτήριον καὶ γελάσαι ὡς τεράστιόν τι πεποικηκώς· (10) καὶ αὐλούμενος δὲ κροτῆσαι ταῖς χερσὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων καὶ συντερετίζειν καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῇ αὐλητρίδι, τί οὕτω ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο·<sup>2</sup> (11) καὶ ἀποπτύσαι δὲ βουλόμενος, ὑπὲρ τῆς τραπέζης προσπτύσαι τῷ οἰνοχόῳ.

## ΑΗΔΙΑΣ Κ΄

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀηδία, ὡς ὄρω περιλαβεῖν, ἔντευξις λύπης ποιητικὴ ἄνευ βλάβης, ὁ δὲ ἀηδῆς τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος ἐγείρειν ἄρτι καθεύδοντα εἰσελθὼν, ἵνα αὐτῷ λαλή. (3) καὶ ἀνάγεσθαι δὴ μέλλοντας κωλύειν, (4) καὶ<sup>3</sup> προσελθὼν δεῖσθαι ἐπισχεῖν, ἕως ἂν περιπατήσῃ.

(5) καὶ τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίτθης ἀφελόμενος, μασώμενος σιτίζειν αὐτὸς καὶ ὑποκορίζεσθαι πομπύζων καὶ πανουργότερον<sup>4</sup> τοῦ πάππου καλῶν. (6) καὶ ἐσθίων δὲ ἅμα διηγείσθαι ὡς ἐλλέβορον πιῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω καθαρθείη καὶ ζωμοῦ τοῦ παρακειμένου ἐν τοῖς ὑποχωρήμασι αὐτῷ μελαν-

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: ἐμβαλεῖν codd.

<sup>2</sup> Ribbeck: τί οὐ ταχὺ παύσαιτο V, μὴ ταχὺ πανουσαμένη CD.

<sup>3</sup> inter καὶ et προσελθὼν lacunam statuit Stein.

<sup>4</sup> Schneider: πανουργιῶν V.

libations, he drops his drinking cup and laughs, thinking he's performed a marvel. (10) When he is listening to a flute performance he is the only one of the group to clap his hands, and he hums along and asks the flute girl accusingly why she stopped so quickly. (11) When he wants to spit, he spits over the table and hits the wine pourer.

## 20. BAD TASTE

(1) Bad taste, to put it in a definition, is a manner of behavior which produces distress without injury. The man with bad taste is the sort (2) who goes in and wakes up a man who is just asleep, to have a chat. (3) He delays people when they are about to set sail, (4) and < . . . ><sup>a</sup> goes up to a man and asks him to wait until he takes his walk.

(5) He takes his baby from its wet-nurse, chews its food<sup>b</sup> and feeds it himself, gurgles<sup>c</sup> in baby-talk, and says "You're a bigger rascal than your daddy!" (6) While eating he relates that he's drunk some hellebore that cleaned him inside out, and that the bile in his stool was blacker than the soup that is on the

<sup>a</sup> Some words may have fallen out of the text in this sentence.

<sup>b</sup> Nurses chewed the baby's food first to soften it (Aristophanes, *Knights* 717, *RE* XVII.1493).

<sup>c</sup> Literally, "says 'pop'" to attract its attention (see Gow on Theocritus 5.89).

τέρα <είη><sup>1</sup> ἢ χολή. (7) καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι δὲ δεινὸς ἐναντίον τῶν οἰκείων· “εἶπ’, ὦ<sup>2</sup> μάμμη, ὅτ’ ὠδινες καὶ ἔτικτές με, τίς ἡμέρα;” (8) †καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δὲ λέγειν ὡς ἡδύ ἐστι, καὶ ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα οὐ ράδιον ἄνθρωπον λαβεῖν, † (9) καὶ ὅτι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐστὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ λακκαῖον, καὶ ὡς κῆπος λάχανα πολλὰ ἔχων καὶ ἀπαλὰ [ὥστε εἶναι ψυχρὸν]<sup>3</sup> καὶ μάγειρος εὔ τὸ ὄψιον σκευάζων, καὶ ὅτι ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ πανδοκεῖόν ἐστι· μεστή γὰρ αἰεί· καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸν τετρημένον πίθον· εὔ ποιῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι ἐμπλήσαι.

(10) καὶ ξενίζων δὲ δεῖξαι τὸν παράσιτον αὐτοῦ ποῖός τις ἐστὶ τῷ συνδειπνοῦντι· καὶ παρακαλῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου εἰπεῖν, ὅτι “τὸ τέρψον τοὺς παρόντας παρεσκεύασται,” καὶ ὅτι “αὐτήν,” εἰ κελεύσωσιν, “ὁ παῖς μέτεισι παρὰ τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ ἡδῆ, ὅπως<sup>4</sup> πάντες ὑπ’ αὐτῆς αὐλώμεθα καὶ εὐφραινώμεθα.”

### ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ ΚΑ΄

(1) ἡ δὲ μικροφιλοτιμία δόξει εἶναι ὄρεξις τιμῆς ἀνελεύθερος, ὁ δὲ μικροφιλότιμος τοιοῦτός τις,

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Hanow.

<sup>2</sup> Diels: εἶπου V.



table. (7) He is apt to ask in front of the household, "Tell me, mommy, when you were in labor and giving birth to me, what day was it?" (8) He says about her that it is sweet, and that it isn't easy to find a man who doesn't have them both,<sup>a</sup> (9) and that he has a cistern of cold water at his house, and a garden with lots of fresh vegetables, and a cook who prepares dishes well, and that his house is like a hotel, since it's always overflowing, and that his friends are like a pitcher full of holes, since he can never seem to fill them up with his favors.

(10) When he is giving a party he points out to his dinner-companion how impressive his lackey is. While they are drinking he says by way of challenge, "The delight of the guests has been arranged"; if they bid it, "The servant will go and fetch her right now from the pimp, so that she can play for — and gratify — us all."<sup>b</sup>

## 21. PETTY AMBITION

(1) Petty ambition will seem to be an ignoble desire for prestige. The man of petty ambition is the sort

<sup>a</sup> The text of this sentence is corrupt beyond repair.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. 11.7.

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<sup>3</sup> ut glossema del. Bloch.

<sup>4</sup> Siebenkees: πῶς codd.

(2) οἷος σπουδάσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθεῖς παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνήσαι. (3) καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκεῖραι ἀγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς, (4) καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι δέ, ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται.

(5) καὶ ἀποδιδοὺς μνᾶν ἀργυρίου καινὸν [ποιῆσαι]<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοῦναι. (6) καὶ κολοιῶ δὲ ἔνδον τρεφομένῳ δεινὸς κλιμάκιον πρίασθαι καὶ ἀσπίδιον χαλκοῦν ποιῆσαι, ὃ ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ κλιμακίου ὁ κολοιὸς πηθήσεται.

(7) καὶ βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε. (8) καὶ πομπεύσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα δοῦναι τῷ παιδὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀναβαλλόμενος δὲ θοιμάτιον ἐν τοῖς μύωψι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> del. Pauw.

(2) who, when invited for dinner, takes care to eat reclining next to the host himself. (3) For the ceremony of cutting his son's hair, he takes him to Delphi.<sup>a</sup> (4) He takes care to have an Ethiopian attendant.

(5) When he pays back a debt of one mina, he does it in brand-new coin. (6) He is apt to keep a jackdaw as a housepet, and buy it a little ladder and make it a tiny bronze shield to hold as the bird hops up the ladder.<sup>b</sup>

(7) When he has sacrificed an ox he nails up its skull facing his front door and wreathes it with large garlands,<sup>c</sup> so that people coming in will see that he's sacrificed an ox. (8) When he has ridden in the cavalry parade<sup>d</sup> he gives his slave everything else to carry home, but walks around the market in his spurs, wearing his riding cloak.

<sup>a</sup> It was customary for youths coming of age to dedicate their hair to a local deity (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 70, 373–374 n. 29); this man has his son imitate Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus* 5.1).

<sup>b</sup> For vase paintings of pet birds wearing helmets and shields see J. D. Beazley, *Classical Review* 43 (1949) 42–43.

<sup>c</sup> An ox was an expensive sacrifice for an individual (Menander, *Dyskolos* 474; Herodas 4.16; *PCG* Posidippus fr. 28.19; Strato fr. 1.20). For the custom of hanging the wreathed skull of the sacrificial ox (usually in a sanctuary) see Burkert, *Greek Religion* 92, 372 n. 93.

<sup>d</sup> See *RE* XXI.1904ff.

(9) καὶ κυναρίου δὲ Μελιταίου τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ, μνήμα [ποιῆσαι]<sup>1</sup> καὶ στηλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι “Κλάδος Μελιταῖος.” (10) καὶ ἀναθεῖς δακτυλίδιον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω τοῦτο ἐκτρίβειν, στεφανοῦν, ἀλείφειν ὀσημέραι. (11) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ διοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν συμπρυτάνων,<sup>2</sup> ὅπως ἀπαγγείλῃ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος παρελθὼν εἰπεῖν· “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις [τὰ ἱερά]<sup>3</sup> τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια,<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ ἱερά καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθὰ.” καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας ἀπιὼν διηγῆσασθαι οἴκαδε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί ὡς καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν εὐημερεῖν.<sup>5</sup>

### ΑΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΚΒ΄

(1) ἡ δὲ ἀνελευθερία ἐστὶν ἀπουσία τις φιλοτιμίας δαπάνην ἔχουσης,<sup>6</sup> ὁ δὲ ἀνελεύθερος τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος νικήσας τραγωδοῖς ταινίαν ξυλίνην

<sup>1</sup> del. Pauw.      <sup>2</sup> Madvig: συνδιοικήσασθαι (-οικίσασθαι V) . . . πρυτανέων codd.      <sup>3</sup> del. Schneider.      <sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz: τὰ γὰρ ἄξια V, τὰ ἄξια CD.      <sup>5</sup> εὐημέρει Needham, sed cf. Kühner-Gerth II.357.3b (Fischer, Stein).      <sup>6</sup> Schweighäuser: περιουσία τις ἀπὸ φιλοτιμίας δαπάνην ἔχουσα codd. (definitionem del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein).

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(9) When his Maltese dog<sup>a</sup> dies, he builds it a monument and inscribes on a plaque "Klados of Malta." (10) If he dedicates a bronze ring in the sanctuary of Asclepius, he polishes it, garlands it, and anoints it every day. (11) You can be sure that as council president he obtains from his colleagues the job of reporting the sacrifice, and going to the podium in a white robe and garland and saying "Men of Athens, we presidents of the council have sacrificed the *Galaxia*<sup>b</sup> to the Mother of the gods; the omens are propitious, and we bid you accept their favorable outcome."<sup>c</sup> After making this announcement he goes home and gives a report to his wife of his stupendous success.

### 22. LACK OF GENEROSITY

(1) Lack of generosity is an absence of pride when expense is involved.<sup>d</sup> The ungenerous man is the sort (2) who, if he wins the tragedy competition,

<sup>a</sup> One of the most expensive dogs one could own: Virginia T. Leitch, *The Maltese Dog: A History of the Breed* (2nd ed. D. Carno, New York 1970) 10–22.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "milk-festival," after the mash of barley and milk dedicated then: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 216.

<sup>c</sup> A formula attested [Dem.] *Proem* 54, cf. *PCG* Alexis fr. 267.3.

<sup>d</sup> The definition requires extensive emendation, and may in any case be a later addition (see *Introd.* p. 31–32); it resembles [Aristotle,] *Virtues and Vices* 1251b13.

ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπιγράψας μόνον<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.

(3) καὶ ἐπιδόσεων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, σιωπᾶν ἢ ἀναστάς<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀπελθεῖν. (4) καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα τοῦ μὲν ἱερείου πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τὰ κρέα ἀποδόσθαι, τοὺς δὲ διακονοῦντας ἐν τοῖς γάμοις οἰκοσίτους μισθώσασθαι.

(5) καὶ τριηραρχῶν τὰ τοῦ κυβερνήτου στρώματα αὐτῷ<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ὑποστορένυσθαι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποτιθέναι. (6) καὶ τὰ παιδιά δὲ δεινὸς μὴ πέμψαι εἰς διδασκάλου ὅταν ἢ Μουσεῖα,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ φῆσαι κακῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα μὴ συμβάλωνται. (7) καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δὲ ὀψωνήσας τὰ κρέα αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> anonymus apud Hanow: μὲν V.

<sup>2</sup> Schwarz: ἀναστάς σιωπᾶν ἢ V (σιωπᾶ cD, σιωπῶν c).

<sup>3</sup> Meier: στρώμα ταῦτόν V.

<sup>4</sup> post ὅταν ἢ iterat V τοῦ ἀποτιθέναι καὶ τὰ παιδιά: del. Meier.

dedicates to Dionysus a strip of wood with only his own name written on it.<sup>a</sup>

(3) When emergency contributions<sup>b</sup> are announced in an assembly, he either remains silent or gets up and leaves their midst. (4) When he marries off his daughter, he sells the meat from the sacrifice except for the priests' share, and hires staff for the wedding feast who must bring their own dinners.

(5) When he is captaining a ship<sup>c</sup> he spreads his helmsman's bedding on deck for himself, and puts away his own. (6) He is apt not to send his children to the teacher's for the annual pageant,<sup>d</sup> but say they are sick, so they will not have to bring presents. (7) When he goes shopping he carries the

<sup>a</sup> The wealthiest citizens were required to act as *choregus* (producer) and pay for dramatic productions; if the play won the competition, they often dedicated an elaborate monument in a public place (Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, revised by John Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1988, 77–78). The ungenerous man's meager plaque (like some choregic dedications actually preserved) does not even add the customary names of the poet, the play, actors, or the tribe he represented.

<sup>b</sup> In times of crisis the wealthiest citizens were asked to pledge voluntary payments (*ἐπιδόσεις*) to the government: W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War II* (Berkeley 1974) 110 n. 286.

<sup>c</sup> The wealthy citizen who provided money for a warship became its captain: J. S. Morrison and J. F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge 1986) 109, 121–127, 130.

<sup>d</sup> Literally "the festival of the Muses" (cf. Aeschines 1.10).

φέρειν <ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν καὶ><sup>1</sup> τὰ λάχανα ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ. (8) καὶ ἔνδον μένειν, ὅταν ἐκδῶ θοῖμάτιον πλῦναι.<sup>2</sup> (9) καὶ φίλου ἔρανον συλλέγοντος καὶ διειλεγμένου αὐτῷ, προσιόντα προῖδόμενος ἀποκάμψας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν κύκλῳ οἴκαδε πορευθῆναι.

(10) καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προῖκα εἰσενεγκαμένη μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπαιναν, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικειᾶς παιδίου τὸ συνακολουθῆσον.<sup>3</sup> (11) καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα φορεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι “κέρατος οὐδὲν διαφέρει.” (12) καὶ ἀναστὰς τὴν οἰκίαν καλλῦναι καὶ τὰς κλῖνας ἐκκορίσαι.<sup>4</sup> (13) καὶ καθεζόμενος παραστρέψαι τὸν τρίβωνα, ὃν αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> φορεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> Navarre (*Revue des études anciennes* 20 [1918] 218).

<sup>2</sup> Hirschig: ἐκπλῦναι V.

<sup>3</sup> Korais, Schneider: συνακολουθῆσαν (-ῆσον perperam Siebenkees) V.

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: ἐκκορῆσαι V, ἐκκορίσαι CD.

<sup>5</sup> Münsterberg: αὐτός V.



## CHARACTERS 22

meat home from the market in his hands, with the vegetables in the fold of his cloak.<sup>a</sup> (8) When he is having his cloak cleaned, he doesn't leave the house.<sup>b</sup> (9) If a friend is soliciting a loan<sup>c</sup> and has discussed it with him, he veers out of his path whenever he sees him approaching, and takes a roundabout way home.

(10) Even though his wife brought him a dowry, he doesn't buy her a slave-girl, but rents from the women's market<sup>d</sup> a slave to go along when she leaves the house. (11) He wears shoes with soles that have been stuck back on, and says "They wear like iron."<sup>e</sup> (12) As soon as he wakes up he cleans the house, and picks the fleas off the couches.<sup>f</sup> (13) When he sits down he pulls aside his cheap cloak, even though it's the only thing he's wearing.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Delivery boys (LSJ *προΰνεικοι*) could be hired cheaply.

<sup>b</sup> He owns only one cloak.

<sup>c</sup> See on 15.7.

<sup>d</sup> See on 2.9.

<sup>e</sup> Literally "they are no different from horn," proverbial for its hardness (Lucian, *True History* I.14, *Alexander* 21).

<sup>f</sup> Instead of having a servant to do it.

<sup>g</sup> That is, he tries to protect his cheapest clothing (*τριβων*, see *RE* VIA.2416–17), even when this means sitting on his bare buttocks (cf. 4.7).

## ΑΛΑΖΟΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΓ'

(1) ἀμέλει δὲ ἡ ἀλαζονεία δόξει εἶναι προσποίησις<sup>1</sup> τις ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ὄντων, ὁ δὲ ἀλαζῶν τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἶος ἐν τῷ διαζεύγματι ἐστηκῶς διηγεῖσθαι ξένους ὡς πολλὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς δανειστικῆς διεξιέναι ἡλική, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα εἴληφε καὶ ἀπολώλεκε· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα πλεθρίζων πέμπειν τὸ παιδάριον εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, δραχμῆς αὐτῷ κειμένης.

(3) καὶ συνοδοιπόρου δὲ ἀπολαῦσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ δεινὸς λέγων, ὡς μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου<sup>3</sup> ἐστρατεύσατο, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ εἶχε, καὶ ὅσα λιθοκόλλητα ποτήρια ἐκόμισε· καὶ περὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὅτι βελτίους εἰσὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀμφισβητῆσαι· καὶ ταῦτα φῆσαι,<sup>4</sup> οὐδεμοῦ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδεδημηκῶς. (4) καὶ γράμματα δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς πάρεστι παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου τριττὰ δὴ λέγοντα παραγενέσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ διδομένης αὐτῷ ἐξαγωγῆς ξύλων ἀτελοῦς ὅτι ἀπειρήται, ὅπως μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς συκοφαντηθῆ,

<sup>1</sup> Auber: προσδοκία codd.

<sup>2</sup> Lycius: αὐτοῖς codd.

<sup>3</sup> Auber: μετὰ Εὐάνδρου codd.

## 23. FRAUDULENCE

(1) You can be sure fraudulence will seem to be a pretence of nonexistent goods. The fraud is the sort (2) who stands on the breakwater<sup>a</sup> and tells strangers how much of his money is invested in shipping; he goes into detail about the extent of his moneylending business, and the size of his profits and losses; and while he exaggerates these, he sends his slave to the bank because a drachma is on deposit for him there.<sup>b</sup>

(3) On a journey he is apt to put one over on a travel companion by relating how he campaigned with Alexander, and how Alexander felt about him, and how many jewel-studded goblets he got, and arguing that the craftsmen in Asia are better than those in Europe (he says all this even though he's never been out of town). (4) He says that he's got no less than three letters from Antipater summoning him to visit Macedonia, and that he has declined a grant to him for the duty-free export of timber, because he refuses to be prey to even one

<sup>a</sup> For the meaning of *διάζευγμα* see *RE* V.355.

<sup>b</sup> That is, he is actually so poor he must withdraw even the smallest sum immediately.

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<sup>4</sup> Korais: *ψηφῆσαι* V.

“περαιτέρω φιλοσοφεῖν προσῆκε τοῖς Μακεδόσι·”

(5) καὶ ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὡς πλείω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα αὐτῷ γένοιτο τὰ ἀναλώματα διδόντι τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνανεύειν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθαι.

(6) καὶ ἀγνώτων δὲ παρακαθημένων κελεῦσαι θεῖναι τὰς ψήφους ἕνα αὐτῶν καὶ ποσῶν<sup>2</sup> κατὰ χιλιάδας<sup>3</sup> καὶ κατὰ μίαν καὶ προστιθεῖς πιθανῶς ἑκάστοις τούτων ὀνόματα ποιῆσαι καὶ δέκα τάλαντα· καὶ τοῦτο φῆσαι<sup>4</sup> εἰσενηνέχθαι εἰς ἔρα-  
νους αὐτῷ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὰς τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ τίθη-  
σιν οὐδὲ τὰς λειτουργίας ὅσας λελειτούργηκε.

(7) καὶ προσελθῶν δ' εἰς τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς ἀγα-  
θοὺς τοῖς πωλοῦσι προσποιήσασθαι ὠνητιᾶν. (8)  
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κλίνας ἔλθων ἱματισμὸν ζητῆσαι εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: σποδιᾶ V, σποδιά CD.      <sup>2</sup> Goez: πόσων V,  
ποσοῦν αὐτὰς CD.      <sup>3</sup> ἑξακοσίας V, ἑξακοσίους CD: χιλίας  
Wilamowitz (errorem ratus e compendio X ortum), sed  
χιλιάδας correctius esse docet P. Keyser, *Classical Journal*  
81 (1986) 231–2.      <sup>4</sup> Lycius: φῆσας codd.      <sup>5</sup> Foss:  
αὐτῶν codd.

informer — “The Macedonians should have been smarter than that!”<sup>a</sup> (5) And that during the food shortage<sup>b</sup> his expenses in giving to destitute citizens amounted to more than five talents — he just can’t bring himself to say no.

(6) When people he doesn’t know are sitting beside him, he asks one of them to move the stones for him, and doing the addition from the thousands column to the ones<sup>c</sup> and convincingly supplying names for each of these sums, he actually reaches ten talents; and says that these are just his loans to friends;<sup>d</sup> he’s not counting the warships, nor the public events he’s paid for.<sup>e</sup>

(7) He goes up to the high-priced horse market and pretends to the sellers that he wants to buy.

(8) Going to the clothing-vendors, he picks out a

<sup>a</sup> I.e., smarter than to think he could be bribed with such a poor gift. He claims to have turned down a lucrative contract, much sought-after by Athenian politicians (Andoc. 2.11, R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford 1982, 126) because he feared prosecution for trading with an enemy state (MacDowell, *Law in Classical Athens* 62–63, 158–159).

<sup>b</sup> In Athens, 330–326: see Wankel on Demosthenes *On the Crown* 491, Mikhail Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 95.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek abacus had columns for counting-stones numbered 1000, 500, 100, 50, 10, 5 and 1: for its use see Mabel Lang, “Herodotus and the Abacus,” *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 271–287.

<sup>d</sup> See on 15.7.

<sup>e</sup> See on 26.6.

δύο τάλαντα καὶ τῷ παιδὶ μάχεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔχων αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖ. (9) καὶ ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκίᾳ οἰκῶν φῆσαι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πατρώαν πρὸς τὸν μὴ εἰδότα, καὶ διότι μέλλει πωλεῖν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ ἐλάττω εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ξενοδοχίας.

## ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΙΑΣ ΚΔ'

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ ὑπερηφανία καταφρόνησις τις πλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων, ὁ δὲ ὑπερήφανος τοιόσδε τις, (2) οἷος τῷ σπεύδοντι ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐντεύξεσθαι φάσκειν ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν. (3) καὶ εὖ ποιήσας μεμνησθαι φάσκειν. (4) καὶ βιάζεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὰς διαίτας κρίνειν ἐντυχῶν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐπιτρέψασι. (5) καὶ χειροτονούμενος ἐξόμνυσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐ φάσκων σχολάζειν. (6) καὶ προσελθεῖν πρότερος οὐδενὶ θελήσει. (7) καὶ τοὺς πωλοῦντάς τι ἢ μεμισθωμένους δεινὸς κελεῦσαι ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμ' ἡμέρα. (8) καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευόμενος μὴ λαλεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, κάτω κεκυφώς, ὅταν δὲ αὐτῷ δόξη, ἄνω πάλιν. (9) καὶ ἐστιῶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτὸς μὴ συνδειπνεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτόν τινι συντάξαι αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Foss: βιάζειν codd.

<sup>2</sup> Foss: ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτρέψασι codd.

wardrobe totalling two talents, then quarrels with his servant because he came along without bringing any gold coins.<sup>a</sup> (9) When he is living in a rented house, he tells someone who doesn't know that it belongs to his family, and that he intends to sell it because it's too small for him for entertaining.

## 24. ARROGANCE

(1) Arrogance is a sort of contempt for anyone other than oneself. The arrogant man is a type such as this, (2) who says to a man in a hurry that he'll meet him after dinner while he takes his walk. (3) If he does a favor, he says to remember it. (4) If he meets disputants on the street, he forces them to decide their arbitration.<sup>b</sup> (5) If elected to office he takes an oath to avoid serving, claiming lack of time.<sup>c</sup> (6) He won't make the first approach to anyone. (7) He is apt to tell salesmen or employees to come to his house first thing next morning. (8) As he walks down the street he avoids speaking to passers-by by casting his eyes down, then back up again when it suits him. (9) When he entertains his friends he doesn't join them at dinner himself, but orders one of his subordinates to see to them.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. 18.3.

<sup>b</sup> For private arbitrations see on 5.3.

<sup>c</sup> One could avoid office with a sworn statement of ill-health (Demosthenes 19.124).

(10) καὶ προαποστέλλειν δὲ, ἐπὶ πορεύηται, τὸν ἐροῦντα, ὅτι προσέρχεται.<sup>1</sup> (11) καὶ οὔτε ἐπ' ἀλειφόμενον αὐτὸν οὔτε λουόμενον οὔτε ἐσθίοντα ἐᾶσαι<sup>2</sup> ἂν εἰσελθεῖν.

(12) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ λογιζόμενος πρὸς τινα τῷ παιδὶ συντάξαι τὰς ψήφους διωθεῖν<sup>3</sup> καὶ κεφάλαιον ποιήσαντι γράψαι αὐτῷ εἰς λόγον. (13) καὶ ἐπιστέλλων μὴ γράφειν ὅτι “χαρίζοιο ἂν μοι,” ἀλλ' ὅτι “βούλομαι γενέσθαι,” καὶ “ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς σὲ ληψόμενος,” καὶ “ὅπως ἄλλως μὴ ἔσται,” καὶ “τὴν ταχίστην.”

## ΔΕΙΛΙΑΣ ΚΕ'

(1) ἀμέλει δὲ ἡ δειλία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ὑπειξίς τις ψυχῆς ἐμφοβος, ὁ δὲ δειλὸς τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος πλέων τὰς ἄκρας φάσκειν ἡμιολίας εἶναι· καὶ κλύδωνος γενομένου ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις μὴ μεμύηται τῶν πλεόντων· καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἀνακύπτων μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ μεσοπορεῖ καὶ τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακαθήμενον λέγειν ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> Schneider: προέρχεται V, ἔρχεται C.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon: ἐάσας codd.

<sup>3</sup> διαθεῖναι Sheppard.



(10) When he goes somewhere he sends someone ahead to say that he's on his way. (11) He won't let anyone in when he's oiling himself, bathing, or eating.

(12) You can be sure that when he's reckoning accounts with someone he tells his slave to clear the counters<sup>a</sup> and find the total, and write it in his account. (13) When he sends a commission he doesn't write "would you be so kind as to . . ." but rather "I want this done" and "I've sent to you to pick up . . ." and "no deviations" and "immediately."

## 25. COWARDICE

(1) You can be sure that cowardice would seem to be a sort of fearful yielding of the soul. The coward is the sort (2) who, when at sea, says that the cliffs are pirate ships. When a wave hits, he asks whether anyone on board has not been initiated.<sup>b</sup> Of the helmsman he first pops up and asks whether he is halfway, and how he thinks the heavens look, and says to the man sitting beside him that his fear is

<sup>a</sup> On the abacus see on 23.6. He is so busy that he has his slave perform the whole transaction.

<sup>b</sup> The mysteries at Samothrace promised special protection for seafarers: Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* 15–16.

φοβεῖται ἀπὸ ἐνυπνίου τινός· καὶ ἐκδὺς διδόναι τῷ παιδί τὸν χιτωνίσκον· καὶ δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσάγειν αὐτόν.

(3) καὶ στρατευόμενος δὲ <του><sup>1</sup> πεζοῦ ἐκβοηθούντος προσκαλεῖν πάντας<sup>2</sup> κελεύων πρὸς αὐτὸν στάντας πρῶτον περιδεῖν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἔργον διαγνώναί ἐστι πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. (4) καὶ ἀκούων κραυγῆς καὶ ὄρων πίπτοντας εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρεστηκότας ὅτι τὴν σπάθην λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ἐπελάθετο, τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, τὸν παῖδα ἐκπέμψας κελεύειν προσκοπεῖσθαι ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀποκρῦψαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, εἶτα διατρίβειν πολὺν χρόνον ὡς ζητῶν.<sup>3</sup> (5) καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ὄρων τραυματίαν τινὰ προσφερόμενον τῶν φίλων προσδραμῶν καὶ θαρρεῖν κελεύσας ὑπολαβὼν φέρειν. καὶ τοῦτον θεραπεύειν καὶ περισογγίζειν καὶ παρακαθήμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλκους τὰς μυίας σοβεῖν καὶ πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ τοῦ σαλπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημήναντος καθήμενος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ <εἰπεῖν>·<sup>4</sup> “ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας· οὐκ ἔάσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὕπνου λαβεῖν πυκνὰ σημαίνων.” (6) καὶ

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Wilamowitz.

the result of some dream. He strips off his shirt and hands it to his slave;<sup>a</sup> he begs to be put ashore.

(3) When he is on military service and the infantry is attacking he calls to everyone and orders them to stand near him first and reconnoitre, and says that their task is to discern which ones are the enemy. (4) When he hears a tumult and sees men falling, he says to those beside him that in his haste he forgot to take his sword, and runs to his tent, sends his attendant out and orders him to spy out the enemy's location, hides the sword under the pillow, then wastes a long time pretending to look for it. (5) When from his tent he sees one of his friends brought in wounded, he runs up to him, bids him be brave, picks him up and carries him; then he takes care of him, sponges him off, sits at his side shoeing the flies off his wound—anything rather than fight the enemy. When the trumpeter sounds the charge, he sits in his tent and says "Go to hell! He won't let a man get any sleep with his endless signalling!"

<sup>a</sup> To ready himself to swim.

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<sup>2</sup> sic refixi: στρατευόμενος δὲ προσκαλεῖν πάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ σάντας C, στρατευόμενος δὲ πεζοῦ ἐκβοηθοῦντός τε προσκαλεῖν κελεύων πρὸς αὐτὸν σάντας V.

<sup>3</sup> Schneider: ζητεῖν V.

<sup>4</sup> suppl. Schneider.

αίματος δὲ ἀνάπλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου τραύματος ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανιοῦσι καὶ διηγείσθαι ὡς κινδυνεύσας· “ἓνα σέσωκα τῶν φίλων.” καὶ εἰσάγειν πρὸς τὸν κατακείμενον σκεψομένους [τοὺς δημότας]<sup>1</sup> τοὺς φυλέτας καὶ τούτων ἅμ’ ἐκάστῳ διηγείσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκόμισεν.

## ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΚΣ΄

(1) δόξειεν δ’ ἂν εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγαρχία φιλαρχία τις ἰσχύος καὶ<sup>2</sup> κέρδους γλιχομένη, ὁ δὲ ὀλιγαρχικὸς τοιοῦτος, (2) οἶος τοῦ δήμου βουλευομένου,<sup>3</sup> τίνας τῷ ἄρχοντι προσαιρήσονται<sup>4</sup> τῆς πομπῆς τοὺς συνεπιμελησομένους, παρελθὼν ἀποφήνασθαι<sup>5</sup> ὡς δεῖ αὐτοκράτορας τούτους εἶναι, κἂν ἄλλοι προβάλλωνται δέκα, λέγειν “ἱκανὸς εἷς ἐστι, τοῦτον δὲ” ὅτι “δεῖ ἄνδρα εἶναι.” καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν τοῦτο ἔν μόνον κατέχειν, ὅτι “οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,” τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι·

<sup>1</sup> del. Diels.

<sup>2</sup> P. Oxy. 699: ἰσχυρῶς V, ἰσχυροῦ C.

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon: βουλομένου codd.

<sup>4</sup> Schneider: προαιρήσονται V.

<sup>5</sup> Schneider: ἀποφήνας ἔχει codd.

(6) Drenched in blood from another man's wound, he meets the men returning from battle and tells the story as if he'd been in danger: "I saved one of our friends." Then he leads the members of his tribe inside to view him lying there, while he tells each one that he personally brought him into the tent with his own hands.

## 26. AUTHORITARIANISM

(1) Authoritarianism would seem to be a desire for office that covets power and profit. The authoritarian is the sort (2) who, when the people are debating which people to choose to assist the chief magistrate with the procession, takes the podium and says they need to have absolute power; if other speakers propose ten of them, he says "One is plenty—but he has to be a real man!" He remembers only one line of Homer—he doesn't know a single thing about the rest: "More than one leader is bad; let one alone be our ruler."<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Iliad* 2.204, Aristotle, *Politics* 1292a13.

(3) ἀμέλει δὲ δεινὸς τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν λόγων<sup>1</sup> χρήσασθαι, ὅτι “δεῖ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς συνελθόντας περὶ τούτων βουλευσασθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ παύσασθαι ἀρχαῖς πλησιάζοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτως ὑβριζομένους ἢ τιμωμένους,” <καὶ><sup>2</sup> ὅτι “ἢ τούτους δεῖ ἢ ἡμᾶς οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν.”

(4) καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξιὼν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀναβεβλημένος καὶ μέσην κουρὰν κεκαρμένος καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένος σοβεῖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους τραγωδῶν.<sup>3</sup> (5) “διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐκ οἰκητόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει,” καὶ ὡς “ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις δεινὰ πάσχομεν ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαζομένων,”<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὡς “θαυμάζω<sup>5</sup> τῶν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσιόντων τί βούλονται,” καὶ ὡς “ἀχάριστόν ἐστι <τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αἰεὶ><sup>6</sup> τοῦ νέμοντος καὶ διδόντος,” καὶ ὡς αἰσχύνεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅταν παρακάθηται τις αὐτῷ λεπτὸς καὶ αὐχμῶν. (6) καὶ εἰπεῖν· “πότε παυσόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν λειτουργῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχῶν ἀπολλύμενοι;” καὶ ὡς

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: ὀλίγων V.

<sup>2</sup> suppl. Ussing.

<sup>3</sup> Herwerden: τὴν τοῦ ὠδίου V (τὴν τοῦ Ὠιδείου Preller).

<sup>4</sup> Meier: δικαζομένων codd.

<sup>5</sup> Schneider: θαυμάζων V.

<sup>6</sup> suppl. Ast.

(3) You can be sure he is apt to say things like these: "We ought to get together by ourselves and make decisions about this, and be rid of the rabble and the marketplace, and stop depending on them as we do for reward or rejection when we compete for public offices"; and "Either they must run the city or we must!"

(4) At midday he goes out with his cloak arranged about him, hair cut to a moderate length, fingernails expertly trimmed, and struts along intoning speeches like this: (5) "With the informers, life in the city has become unbearable!" "What the bribe-takers in the courts are doing to us is a crime!" "I wonder what the men getting involved in politics are after." "The common people show no gratitude; they always follow anyone with a handout or a gift." He says that he is ashamed in the assembly when some scrawny, unwashed type sits beside him. (6) And "When will we be delivered from the death-grip of being forced to pay for public events and warships?"<sup>a</sup> "How loathsome the breed of dema-

<sup>a</sup> Literally "liturgies and trierarchies" required of the wealthiest citizens: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) xvii-xxxii.

μισητόν τὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν γένος, τὸν Θησέα  
 πρῶτον φήσας τῶν κακῶν τῇ πόλει γεγονέναι  
 αἴτιον· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων εἰς μίαν  
 καταγαγόντα λῦσαι τᾶς<sup>1</sup> βασιλείας· καὶ δίκαια  
 αὐτὸν παθεῖν· πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν·

[καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα πρὸς τοὺς ξένους καὶ τῶν  
 πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμοτρόπους καὶ ταῦτὰ προαιρουμέ-  
 νους.]<sup>2</sup>

## ΟΥΪΜΑΘΙΑΣ ΚΖ'

(1) [ἢ δὲ ὀψιμαθία φιλοπονία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ὑπὲρ  
 τὴν ἡλικίαν,]<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ ὀψιμαθῆς τοιοῦτός τις, (2) οἷος  
 ῥήσεις μανθάνειν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονῶς καὶ  
 ταύτας λέγων παρὰ πότον ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι.  
 (3) καὶ παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ μανθάνειν τὸ “ἐπὶ δόρυ”<sup>4</sup> καὶ  
 “ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα” καὶ “ἐπ’ οὐράν.” (4) καὶ εἰς ἡρῶα<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kayser: λυθείσας βασιλ' V.

<sup>2</sup> del. Diels.

<sup>3</sup> del. Hanow, Gomperz, Stein.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ ἐπὶ Schneider: ἐπὶ τὸ codd.

<sup>5</sup> Schneider: ἡρῶα V.



## CHARACTERS 27

gogues is!" adding that the originator of the city's troubles was Theseus, since he reduced it to a unit instead of twelve cities<sup>a</sup> and broke up the monarchy; but he got what he deserved, since he was the first one they killed.<sup>b</sup>

[He says more of this sort to foreigners, and to those citizens who share his character and political preferences.]<sup>c</sup>

### 27. REJUVENATION

(1) [Rejuvenation would seem to be an enthusiasm for work<sup>d</sup> inappropriate to one's age.] The rejuvenated man is the sort (2) who, after turning sixty, memorizes passages, but when he is reciting at a drinking party can not remember them.<sup>e</sup> (3) From his son he learns "right face" and "left face" and "about face."<sup>f</sup> (4) For the hero-festivals, he con-

<sup>a</sup> The so-called *συνοικισμός* of Attika (Thucydides 2.15, *FGrHist* 328 Philochorus F 94, with Jacoby's commentary).

<sup>b</sup> There was a tradition that Theseus was ostracized from Athens, Theophrastus fr. 638.

<sup>c</sup> The epilogue is a later addition; see *Introd.* p. 30.

<sup>d</sup> *φιλοπονία* is a quality for which ephebes are often praised (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II<sup>2</sup> 900.17, 1039.48–9), but it does not apply to all the behavior described below, and this definition is probably a later addition.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Philocleon's mangling of the drinking songs in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1225ff.

<sup>f</sup> Literally "to the spear," "to the shield," and "to the tail" (Pollux 1.129, and frequently in Xenophon), commands from the military training of ephebes.

συμβάλλεσθαι τοῖς μειρακίοις <καὶ><sup>1</sup> λαμπάδα τρέχειν. (5) ἀμέλει δὲ κᾶν που κληθῆ̄ εἰς Ἡράκλειον, ρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸν βοῦν αἵρεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ἵνα τραχηλίση.

(6) καὶ προσανατρίβεσθαι εἰσιῶν<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὰς παλαιίστρας. (7) καὶ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τρία ἢ τέτταρα πληρώματα ὑπομένειν τὰ ἄσματα ἐκμανθάνων. (8) καὶ τελούμενος τῷ Σαβαζίῳ σπεῦσαι ὅπως καλλιστεύση παρὰ τῷ ἱερεῖ.

(9) καὶ ἐρῶν ἑταίρας<sup>4</sup> καὶ κριοὺς προσβάλλων ταῖς θύραις πληγὰς εἰληφῶς ὑπ' ἀντεραστοῦ δικάζεσθαι. (10) καὶ εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐφ' ἵππου ἀλλοτρίου κατοχοῦμενος ἅμα μελετᾶν ἱππάζεσθαι καὶ πεσῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεαγένας.

(11) καὶ ἐν δεκαδισταῖς<sup>5</sup> συνάγειν τοὺς μεθ'

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Ast.

<sup>2</sup> Meier: αἰρεῖσθαι V.

<sup>3</sup> Ast: εἰπῶν V.

<sup>4</sup> Schneider: ἱερᾶς V.

<sup>5</sup> Wilhelm: ἑνδεκα λιταῖς V.

<sup>a</sup> Torch races are attested for festivals of Ajax and Theseus (*Inscriptiones Graecae* I.466.9, II<sup>2</sup>.1011.54).

<sup>b</sup> As the epebes do at some sacrifices (*Inscriptiones Graecae* I<sup>2</sup> 84.31, II<sup>2</sup> 1028.10, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 15 (1958) 104).

tributes to the boys, and runs in the relay races.<sup>a</sup>

(5) If he is invited to a shrine of Heracles somewhere, you can be sure he will throw off his cloak and try to lift the bull<sup>b</sup> to twist its neck.

(6) He goes into the wrestling schools and challenges them to a match. (7) At street fairs<sup>c</sup> he sits through three or four shows, trying to learn the songs. (8) When he is being inducted into the cult of Sabazios he wants the priest to judge him the most handsome.<sup>d</sup>

(9) He becomes infatuated with a prostitute, uses a battering ram on her door and gets a beating from her other lover—then takes him to court.<sup>e</sup>

(10) While he is riding on a borrowed horse in the country he tries to practice fancy horsemanship at the same time, but falls and hurts his head.

(11) Among the members of a monthly club<sup>f</sup> he

<sup>c</sup> See on 6.4.

<sup>d</sup> The precise context is unknown. For Sabazios see on 16.4.

<sup>e</sup> Fighting over prostitutes is pardoned in the young (Dem. 54.14, Micio in Terence, *Adelphoe*), but not the old (Philokleon in *Wasps*): Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* (Oxford 1974) 103. For the impropriety of older men consorting with prostitutes see *PCG* Pherekrates fr. 77. A similar court case—except that the prostitute is a young male—is found in Lysias' 3rd Oration.

<sup>f</sup> Lit. "Tenth-day men," for the day of the month on which they celebrated. The rest of the sentence remains unexplained.

αὐτοῦ συναύξοντας. (12) καὶ μακρὸν ἀνδριάντα παίζειν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκόλουθον. (13) καὶ διατοξεύεσθαι καὶ διακοντίζεσθαι τῷ τῶν παιδίων παιδαγωγῷ καὶ ἅμα μανθάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ <παραινεῖν>,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐκείνου μὴ ἐπισταμένου. (14) καὶ παλαίων δ' ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ πυκνὰ τὴν ἔδραν στρέφειν, ὅπως πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκῇ.

(15) καὶ ὅταν ὦσιν ἐγγὺς γυναῖκες,<sup>2</sup> μελετᾶν ὀρχεῖσθαι αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τερετίζων.

## ΚΑΚΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΗ'

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ κακολογία ἀγωγή ψυχῆς<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐν λόγοις, ὁ δὲ κακολόγος τοιόσδε τις, (2) οἷος ἐρωτηθεῖς· “ὁ δεῖνα τίς ἐστιν;” ὀγκοῦσθαι<sup>4</sup> καθάπερ οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες· “πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἄρξομαι. τούτου ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σωσίας ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις Σωσίστρατος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφη, <Σωσίδημος>.<sup>5</sup> ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ εὐγενῆς Θραττά ἐστι· καλεῖται γοῦν ἡ ψυχὴ Κρινοκό-

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Hanow.

supplevit Meister.

Casaubon, τῆς del. Edmonds.

C.

<sup>2</sup> ὦσι ... γυναῖκ ... μελετᾶν V:

<sup>3</sup> ἀγών τῆς ψυχῆς codd.: ἀγωγή

<sup>4</sup> Diels: οὐκοῦνδε V, om.

<sup>5</sup> suppl. Meier.

## CHARACTERS 28

plans the attendance of his fellow financial sponsors. (12) He plays "long statue"<sup>a</sup> against his own attendant. (13) He competes in archery and the javelin against his childrens' teacher, and suggests that the teacher, as if he were not an expert, take lessons from him. (14) When he wrestles at the baths, he often twists his hips so that he will look well-trained.<sup>b</sup>

(15) And when women are nearby he practices a chorus-dance, humming to himself.

### 28. SLANDER

(1) Slander is a tendency of the soul toward derogatory talk. The slanderer is the sort (2) who, when asked "Who is such-and-such?" becomes pompous like the genealogers:<sup>c</sup> "Let me begin at the beginning, with his lineage. This man's father was originally named Sosias, but became Sosistratos in the army, and after he had been enrolled as a citizen, Sosidemos. However, his mother was noble—a noble Thracian, that is."<sup>d</sup> The darling<sup>e</sup> is called 'Kri-

<sup>a</sup> The game is otherwise unknown. <sup>b</sup> Hip movements were a specialty of Argive wrestlers: Theocritus 24.111.

<sup>c</sup> Usually a genealogy lists the names of various ancestors: this list gives the aliases of a single man; "Sosias," common in comedies, suggests that he started as a slave.

<sup>d</sup> Considered by the Greeks a wild and uncultured people (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 141–171 and Euripides, *Hecuba*).

<sup>e</sup> Literally "soul," a term of endearment suggesting she had many lovers.

ρακα· τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας φασὶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εὐγενεῖς εἶναι. αὐτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὡς ἐκ τοιούτων γεγρονῶς κακὸς καὶ μαστιγίας.”

(3) καὶ κακῶς<sup>1</sup> δὲ πρὸς τινα εἰπεῖν· “ἐγὼ δὴπου τὰ τοιαῦτα οἶδα, ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ πλανᾷ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἐμέ·” καὶ πῖ<sup>3</sup> τούτοις διεξιῶν· “αὐται αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς παριόντας συναρπάζουσι,” καὶ “οἰκία τις αὕτη τὰ σκέλη ἤρκυα· οὐ γὰρ οἶον λῆρός ἐστι, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ αἱ κύνες<sup>4</sup> ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς συνέχονται,” καὶ “τὸ ὄλον ἀνδρολάλοι τινές,” καὶ “αὐταὶ τὴν θύραν τὴν αὐλειον ὑπακούουσι.”

(4) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ κακῶς λεγόντων ἐτέρων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι εἶπας·<sup>5</sup> “ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον πλέον πάντων μεμίσηκα· καὶ γὰρ εἰδεχθῆς τις ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ πονηρία — οὐδὲν ὅμοιον· σημεῖον δέ· τῇ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ τάλαντα εἰσενεγκαμένη προῖκα, ἐξ οὗ<sup>6</sup> παιδίον αὐτῷ γεννᾷ, τρεῖς χαλκοῦς εἰς ὄψον δίδωσι καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ λούεσθαι ἀναγκάζει τῇ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἡμέρα.”

<sup>1</sup> Siebenkees: κακῶν V.

<sup>2</sup> Schneider: πλανᾶς V.

<sup>3</sup> Immisch (praeunte Casaubon): καὶ codd.

<sup>4</sup> anonymus apud Ast: γυναῖκες V.

<sup>5</sup> Cobet: εἶπου V.

<sup>6</sup> Immisch: ἐξ ἧς V.

nokoraka — women like that pass for noble where he comes from. As you'd expect coming from such stock, he's a villain and a scoundrel."

(3) He says to someone as an insult, "Of course I know the sort of things for which you are wandering to me."<sup>a</sup> And then beyond this, as he goes into detail: "These women snatch men passing by from the street." And "This house practically has its legs in the air. That's not just a joke, you know, the old saying, they really copulate in the streets like dogs." And "They'll always talk to men." And "These women answer their own front door!"<sup>b</sup>

(4) You can be sure that when others are engaging in slander he will join in, saying "I loathe this man more than anyone; he has a quite hateful-looking face; his wickedness is unequalled, and I'll prove it: his wife brought him thousands in dowry, but ever since she bore him a son, she gets from him three coppers for her shopping, and he makes her bathe in cold water on Poseidon's day."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The text here makes little sense, even with emendations. In what follows, the topic has shifted to the women of a particular family.

<sup>b</sup> Anyone respectable would have had someone to answer the door (cf. 4.12, Aristophanes, *Peace* 979, *Thesm.* 792, Menander fr. 592).

<sup>c</sup> Presumably this was in the cold month Poseideon (December-January).

## THEOPHRASTUS

(5) καὶ συγκαθήμενος δεινὸς περὶ τοῦ ἀναστάν-  
τος εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀρχὴν γε εἰληφῶς<sup>1</sup> μὴ ἀποσχέσθαι  
μηδὲ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτοῦ λοιδορῆσαι. (6) καὶ  
πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν <αὐτοῦ><sup>2</sup> φίλων καὶ οἰκείων  
[κακὰ εἰπεῖν,]<sup>3</sup> καὶ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων  
κακῶς λέγειν, ἀποκαλῶν παρρησίαν καὶ δημοκρα-  
τίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἥδιστα  
τοῦτο ποιῶν.

(7) [οὕτως ὁ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐρεθισμὸς μανι-  
κοὺς καὶ ἐξεστηκότας ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἡθεσι  
ποιεῖ.]<sup>4</sup>

## ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΘ'

(1) ἔστι δὲ ἡ φιλοπονηρία ἐπιθυμία κακίας, ὁ δὲ  
φιλοπόνηρός ἐστι τοιόσδε τις, (2) οἷος ἐντυγχάνειν  
τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ δημοσίοις ἀγῶνας ὠφληκόσι  
καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἐὰν τούτοις χρῆται, ἐμπειρότε-  
ρος γενήσεσθαι καὶ φοβερώτερος.

(3) καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς εἰπεῖν, “ὡς φαίνεται,”<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ φῆσαι ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐστι χρηστός, καὶ ὁμοίους  
πάντας εἶναι, καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι<sup>6</sup> δέ, ὡς χρηστός  
ἐστι.

<sup>1</sup> Schneider: εἰληφότος V.

<sup>2</sup> suppl. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> del. Hanow.

<sup>4</sup> epilogum byzantinum capitis prioris



## CHARACTERS 29

(5) When he is sitting in a group he is apt to start talking about whoever has just left and, once started, not refrain from reviling even his family.

(6) He maligns most his own friends and household, and the dead, passing off his slander as free speech, democracy or openness, and taking more pleasure in it than anything in his life.

(7) [That is how the stimulus for learning makes men mad and distraught in their personality.]<sup>a</sup>

### 29. PATRONAGE OF SCOUNDRELS

(1) Patronage of scoundrels is a predilection for evil. The patron of scoundrels is a type such as this, (2) who seeks out losers in court and those convicted in public trials, and imagines that with their friendship he will become more experienced and formidable.

(3) About those called "good"<sup>b</sup> he says "apparently," and says "No one is good," and that all people are the same, and ridicules "How good he is."

<sup>a</sup> For the interpolated epilogue (probably displaced from the preceding character) see *Introd.* p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> E.g., The oligarchic politician Phocion, who received the title *χρηστός* by public decree (*Suda* s.v. *Φρύνων και Φιλοκράτης*, *Diod.* 17.15.2); but the text of this sentence is probably corrupt.

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(δψιμαθία) huc inepte insertum agnovit Hanow.

γίνεται V.

<sup>6</sup> Nast: ἐπισκῆψαι V.

<sup>5</sup> Diels:

(4) καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐλεύθερον, ἂν βούληται τις εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολογεῖν ἀληθῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἕνια δὲ ἀγνοεῖν· φῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐφυῆ καὶ φιλέταιρον καὶ ἐπιδέξιον· καὶ διατείνεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἐντετύχηκεν ἀνθρώπῳ ἱκανωτέρῳ·

(4a) καὶ εὔνους δὲ εἶναι αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λέγοντι ἢ ἐπὶ δικαστηρίῳ κρινομένῳ· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους<sup>3</sup> δὲ εἰπεῖν δεινός, ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνεσθαι· καὶ φῆσαι αὐτὸν κύνα εἶναι τοῦ δήμου, φυλάττειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· καὶ εἰπεῖν ὡς “οὐχ ἔξομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συναχθεσθησομένους, ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους προώμεθα.” (5) δεινός δὲ καὶ προστατῆσαι φαύλων καὶ συνηγορῆσαι<sup>4</sup> ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἐπὶ πονηροῖς πράγμασιν καὶ κρίσιν κρίνων ἐκδέχεσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

(6) [καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἢ φιλοπονηρία ἀδελφή ἐστι τῆς πονηρίας. καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, τὸ ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ ὅμοιον πορεύεσθαι.]<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> supplevit Naber: π V. codd.

<sup>3</sup> Meier: προσκαθήμενος V.

<sup>2</sup> Meier: τῷ

<sup>4</sup> Immisch:

συνεδρεῦσαι codd.

<sup>5</sup> epilogum del. editores.

(4) About a wicked man, if someone wants to examine him, he says that he is a gentleman, and admits the truth of the rest of what is said about him by people, but some points he does not believe, since he says the man is good at heart, loyal, and fair; he exerts himself on his behalf, stating he's never met a more capable man.

(4a) He supports him when he is speaking in the assembly or a defendant in court, and to the judges he is apt to say: "You must judge the case, and not the man." He claims he is a watchdog for the public,<sup>a</sup> since he is vigilant against wrongdoers. "If we abandon men like this, we won't have anyone left to join in the struggle for the public interest." (5) He is apt to come to the defense of riff-raff, testify for the defence in cases involving the wicked and, when judging a dispute, react negatively to what is said by both parties.

(6) [In general, patronage of scoundrels is evil's close relative. What the proverb says is true: like travels with like.<sup>b</sup>]

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 23.4, R. A. Neil on Aristophanes, *Knights* 1017.

<sup>b</sup> Never preserved in quite this form, but cf. Homer, *Od.* 17.218, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1371b15, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1155a34.

## ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΕΙΑΣ Λ'

(1) ἡ δὲ αἰσχροκέρδειά ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία<sup>1</sup> κέρδους αἰσχροῦ, ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ αἰσχροκερδής, (2) οἷος ἐστιῶν<sup>2</sup> ἄρτους ἱκανοὺς μὴ παραθεῖναι· (3) καὶ δανείσασθαι παρὰ ξένου παρ' αὐτῷ καταλύοντος. (4) καὶ διανέμων μερίδας φῆσαι δίκαιον εἶναι διμοιρίαν<sup>3</sup> τῷ διανέμοντι δίδοσθαι καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ νεῖμαι. (5) καὶ οἰνοπωλῶν κεκραμένον τὸν οἶνον τῷ φίλῳ ἀποδόσθαι. (6) καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν τηρκαῦτα πορεύεσθαι ἄγων τοὺς υἱεῖς, ἥνικα προῖκ' ἀφιαῖσιν οἱ θεατρῶναι.

(7) καὶ ἀποδημῶν δημοσία τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐφόδιον οἴκοι καταλιπεῖν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν δανείζεσθαι· καὶ τῷ ἀκολουθῶ μείζον φορτίον ἐπιθεῖναι ἢ δύναται φέρειν καὶ ἐλάχιστα ἐπιτήδεια τῶν ἄλλων παρέχειν· καὶ ξενίων τὸ μέρος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπαιτήσας ἀποδόσθαι.

(8) καὶ ἀλειφόμενος ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ καὶ εἰπῶν

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: περιουσία V.

<sup>2</sup> Korais: ἐσθίων V.

<sup>3</sup> Petersen: δέμοιρον ("two-thirds") Amaduzzi; δέμοιρω V.

## 30. CHISELING

(1) Chiseling is a desire for tawdry gain. The chiseler is the sort (2) who doesn't serve enough bread when he gives a feast. (3) He asks for a loan from an out-of-town guest who is staying at his house. (4) When distributing shares<sup>a</sup> he asserts that it is fair for a double share to be given to the distributor, and awards it immediately to himself. (5) If he sells wine, he sells a watered-down wine to his friend.<sup>b</sup> (6) He goes to the theater — and brings his sons — only when the theater managers<sup>c</sup> have remitted the entrance fee.

(7) When traveling abroad at public expense, he leaves his public travel-funds behind at home, and asks for loans from his fellow ambassadors. He burdens his attendant with a greater load than he can carry, and yet gives him fewer provisions than any others. He asks for his own share of the gifts they receive<sup>d</sup> and sells it.

(8) When rubbing himself down in the bath, he

<sup>a</sup> The word is vague enough to cover portions of meat at a sacrifice (cf. 17.2), contributions of food to a joint dinner, or even financial returns from a commercial enterprise.

<sup>b</sup> The Greeks mixed water with wine when they drank it, but did not purchase it already watered.

<sup>c</sup> Evidently those who leased rights to produce plays; see Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 266.

<sup>d</sup> "Guest-gifts" here are presumably those given to the embassy by its foreign hosts.

“σαπρόν γε τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπρίω, ὧ παιδάριον”<sup>1</sup> τῷ  
 ἀλλοτρίῳ ἀλείφεσθαι. (9) καὶ τῶν εὕρισκομένων  
 χαλκῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεινὸς  
 ἀπαιτῆσαι τὸ μέρος, κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν  
 Ἑρμῆν. (10) καὶ θοιμάτιον<sup>2</sup> ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι καὶ  
 χρησάμενος παρὰ γνωρίμου ἐφελκύσαι πλείους  
 ἡμέρας, ἕως ἂν ἀπαιτηθῆ. (11) καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα·  
 Φειδωνεῖω μέτρῳ τὸν πύνδακα εἰσκεκρουμένῳ<sup>3</sup>  
 μετρεῖν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔνδον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφόδρα  
 ἀποψῶν.

(12) ὑποπρίασθαι φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς τρόπου  
 τι ὠνεῖσθαι, εἶτα λαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι.<sup>4</sup> (13) ἀμέλει δὲ  
 καὶ χρέος δὲ ἀποδιδούς τριάκοντα μνῶν ἔλαττον

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: τῷ παιδαρίῳ AB, παιδ' ῥ V.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke: ἰμάτιον V.

<sup>3</sup> εἰσ- vel εγκεκρουσμένῳ (sic) Casaubon (ad char. 11):  
 πύνδακα ἐκκεκρουμένῳ AB, π δακ κεκρου μενω V.

<sup>4</sup> locus desperatus: ὑποπρίασθαι φίλου δοκοῦντος πρὸς  
 τρόπου πωλεῖσθαι V, ὑποπρίασθαι φίλου ἐπιλαβῶν ἀποδόσθαι AB  
 (τι ὠνεῖσθαι, εἶτα λαβῶν Naber).

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<sup>a</sup> Every visitor to the baths would carry a personal flask  
 of oil with which to wash himself by rubbing it on and  
 scraping off again; see Ginouvès, Βαλανευτική 214.

exclaims "Stupid boy, you've bought oil that is rancid!" and uses someone else's.<sup>a</sup> (9) He is apt to ask for his own share of any coins that are found in the street by his slaves, citing the proverb "Hermes is impartial."<sup>b</sup> (10) He sends out his cloak to be cleaned and, borrowing one from an acquaintance, hangs onto it<sup>c</sup> for several extra days, until he is asked for it back. (11) And things like this: he measures out provisions personally to his household staff in a Pheidonian measure with its bottom hammered in, levelling it off strictly.<sup>d</sup>

(12) He makes a secret purchase from a friend who thinks he is buying something on a whim,<sup>e</sup> and then, once he's got it, resells it. (13) You can be sure that when he repays a debt of thirty minas, he pays

<sup>b</sup> Lucky finds were called "gifts of Hermes"; for the use of this phrase to justify sharing them see Menander, *Epi-trepontes* 284, 317; Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1401a22; Lucian, *Navigium* 12; *Paroem. Graec.* II.483.15.

<sup>c</sup> Literally "drags it behind him," perhaps of rough wear, but more probably delay (LSJ ἐφέλκω I.4).

<sup>d</sup> He personally oversees the doling out of grain, using a smaller than average cup (for Pheidonian measures see Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 10.2), made still smaller by pushing in its base (cf. *PCG* Aristophanes fr. 281, Pherekrates fr. 110), and scraping off any excess grain on top (Pollux 4.168).

<sup>e</sup> He dupes his friend into agreeing to a low price by pretending the item is something he aches to own. But the text is corrupt here, and the version translated is largely modern conjecture.

τέτταρσι δραγμαῖς ἀποδοῦναι.

(14) καὶ τῶν υἱῶν δὲ μὴ πορευομένων εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον [τὸν μῆνα ὄλον]<sup>1</sup> διὰ τιν'<sup>2</sup> ἀρρωστίαν ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ μισθοῦ κατὰ λόγον· καὶ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα μῆνα <ὄλον><sup>3</sup> μὴ πέμπειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μαθήματα διὰ τὸ θέας εἶναι πολλάς, ἵνα μὴ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκτίνη.

(15) καὶ παρὰ παιδὸς κομιζόμενος ἀποφορὰν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν προσαπαιτεῖν, καὶ λογισμὸν δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ χειρίζοντος.

(16) καὶ φράτορας ἐστιῶν αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὄψον, τὰ δὲ καταλειπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἡμίση τῶν ῥαφανίδων ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἵν' οἱ διακονοῦντες παῖδες μὴ λάβωσι.

(17) συναποδημῶν δὲ μετὰ γνωρίμων χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐκείνων παισί, τὸν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἔξω μισθῶσαι καὶ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὸν μισθόν.

(18) ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ συναγόντων παρ' αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> ὑποθεῖναι τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ διδομένων ξύλων καὶ φακῶν καὶ ὄξους καὶ ἁλῶν καὶ ἐλαίου τοῦ εἰς τὸν λύχνον.

<sup>1</sup> del. Nast.

<sup>2</sup> Unger: τὴν V.

<sup>3</sup> suppl. Bloch.

<sup>4</sup> Korais: ἑαυτῷ V.



four drachmas too little.<sup>a</sup>

(14) If his sons don't go to school because of illness, he makes a deduction proportionally from their fees, and doesn't send them to their lessons for the whole month of Anthesterion because of its numerous shows, to avoid paying the fee.<sup>b</sup>

(15) When he collects tenant-rent from his slave,<sup>c</sup> he demands also the fee to exchange the copper,<sup>d</sup> as also when he settles accounts with his steward.

(16) When entertaining his clan,<sup>e</sup> he demands a dinner for his own slaves at joint expense, yet insists that even the radish-halves left over from the meal be inventoried, to prevent the waiters from taking them. (17) When he is travelling with acquaintances he uses their servants, and hires out his own without sharing the proceeds. (18) You can be sure that when people get together at his house he makes a bill for the wood, beans, vinegar, salt

<sup>a</sup> He pretends he is one coin short (the *tetradrachmon* was the largest common silver coin in use in Athens), assuming his creditor will not insist on it.

<sup>b</sup> In the month of Anthesterion (February-March) were celebrated the Anthesteria, the Diasia and the Lesser Mysteries at Eleusis; other months seem to have had more holidays, but our knowledge may be defective.

<sup>c</sup> Masters of slaves often allowed them to work for others, in return for a portion of the wages.

<sup>d</sup> The slave pays in copper coinage, which must be converted to silver at a bank for a fee (see *RE* Suppl. II, "agio").

<sup>e</sup> To celebrate the *Apatouria* (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 255).

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(19) καὶ γαμοῦντός τινος τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐκδιδομέ-  
νου θυγατέρα πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἀποδημῆσαι, ἵνα  
<μῆ><sup>1</sup> προπέμψῃ προσφορὰν. (20) καὶ παρὰ τῶν  
γνωρίμων τοιαῦτα κίχρασθαι, ἃ μῆτ' ἂν ἀπαιτή-  
σαι μῆτ' ἂν ἀποδιδόντων ταχέως ἂν τις κομί-  
σαιτο.

<sup>1</sup> suppl. Amaduzzi.

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and lamp-oil he's contributed. (19) When one of his friends is getting married, or marrying off a daughter, he leaves town some time before to avoid giving a present. (20) He borrows from acquaintances the sorts of things one wouldn't ask for back, or wouldn't pick up if people offered them back.



## ADDITIONAL NOTES

### 1. DISSEMBLING

The title is literally “irony,” a notion with a long and complex history. It consists of saying what one obviously does not mean, and originally *εἰρωνεία* meant simply “lying” (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 443–451, cf. *Wasps* 174, *Birds* 1227); but it came to be applied specifically to the self-deprecating false modesty of Socrates (e.g., Plato, *Republic* 337A, cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1124b; Gregory Vlastos, *Socrates, Ironist and Moral Philosopher* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1991] 21–44). The brothers Schlegel conceived it to be a playful excess of self-confidence (Ernst Behler, *Klassische Ironie, romantische Ironie, tragische Ironie*, Darmstadt 1972); then, by way of reaction, it was viewed as a destructive force (Søren Kierkegaard, *The Concept of Irony*, tr. Lee M. Capel, New York 1965). Modern criticism considers (unconscious) irony to be an important element of tragic drama (beginning with Connop Thirlwall, “On the Irony of Sophocles,” *The Philological Museum* 2 (1833) 483–536).

The *εἴρων* is described also by Ariston of Keos (see the Appendix); he is one of the characters of comedy according to *Tractatus Coislinianus* XII; in Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1127a20ff., the *εἴρων* is opposite to the *ἀλαζών* (see *Character* 23 below). See in general Otto Ribbeck, “Über

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den Begriff des εἴρων," *Rheinisches Museum* 31 (1876) 381–400.

Irony as described by Theophrastus is rather different: it is *dissimulation*—avoiding all forthright statements— with the goal of avoiding all involvement in their consequences.

### 2. FLATTERY

Eupolis wrote a comedy *The Flatterers* (PCG fr. 156–191) and there is a play *The Flatterer* by Menander (p. 93 Koerte). Theophrastus himself wrote a book *On Flattery* (fr. 547–8), the peripatetic Klearchos of Soloi did as well (fr. 19 Wehrli), and Plutarch wrote "How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend" (*Moralia* 48e–75d).

For ancient caricatures of the flatterer see in general Otto Ribbeck, *Kolax: eine ethologische Studie* (Leipzig 1883) and H.-G. Nesselrath, *Lukians Parasitendialog* (Berlin 1985). Another character-trait relating to praising others is "Obsequiousness" (chapter 5); the difference is that the flatterer is totally fixed on the attention of a single patron, for whom he lowers himself to perform tasks usually done by slaves.

### 3. IDLE CHATTER

ἀδολεσχία is mentioned in Aristotle as a vice (*Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1117b35, *Rhetoric* 1390a9) and discussed in Plutarch's "On Garrulity" (*Moralia* 502b–515a). It is listed as one of the "stylistic" techniques for producing laughter in *Tractatus Coislinianus* V (p. 64 line 16 Koster); Lane

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Cooper, *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy* (New York 1922) 231–233 gives many examples of long-winded comic characters from Aristophanes to Molière. See also “Garrulity” (*Character* 7).

### 4. BOORISHNESS

Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1128a) uses ἀγροικία of an inability to appreciate wit, but here it is closer to its original meaning (that of English “boorish” as well), “like a farmer” (cf. Dikaiopolis or Trygaios in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* and *Peace*, and the plays entitled *Agroikos* by Anaxandrides, Antiphanes, Menander, Philemon and others). See Otto Ribbeck, “Agroikos, eine ethologische Studie,” *Abhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 23 (1888) 1–68.

It is the first of six characters portraying a general lack of tact—the others are “Shamelessness” (6), “Bad Timing” (12), “Absent-mindedness” (14), “Squalor” (19) and “Bad Taste” (20). This is a more subtle portrait than most of the others, and not entirely unsympathetic.

### 5. OBSEQUIOUSNESS

See the note on “Flattery” (2). Sometimes the distinction is drawn that flattery is for one’s advantage, obsequiousness is not (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a26, 1127a8), and that is roughly true here, but there are differences as well: “the flatterer [in Theophrastus] . . . is the constant, fixed companion of one and the same patron, while the obsequious man is an excessively friendly but basically

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insecure person, who is driven by the overpowering desire to please everyone" (Nesselrath, *Lukians Parasitendialog* 113).

All the manuscripts (even P. Herc. 1457, of the first century B.C.) make §6–10 follow immediately upon §5. Yet these sections clearly do not describe an obsequious man but an entirely different type, a show-off spendthrift rather like the Aristotelian description of vanity, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1125a27–35, or vulgarity, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1123a19–31, or "Petty Ambition" (21). The only reasonable assumption is that §6–10 belong to a different character, either because they have been displaced from the end of *Character* 21 or—more probably—because a column of text was lost at an early date containing the end of "Obsequiousness" and the beginning of another character. The same thing seems to have happened in *Character* 19.

### 6. SHAMELESSNESS

The title is literally "mindlessness," or "lack of good sense." The term is much rarer than any other trait-name in the *Characters*, and often a virtual synonym for shamelessness: it is applied to a parasite in *PCG* Nicolaos Comicus fr. 1.43, and to a political opponent by Demosthenes *On the Crown* 249 (where see the commentary of Hermann Wankel). R. G. Ussher, *Greece and Rome* 24 (1977) 77, compares the sausage-seller in Aristophanes, *Knights*.

Considering the low reputation of moneylending in antiquity (Paul Millett, *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens*, Cambridge 1991, 179) it is not surprising that his



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ultimate disgrace is to charge exorbitant interest.

6.4 ("have a ticket or claim . . ."): As often in this work (e.g., the next sentence), *καί* links *alternatives*: see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles* (2nd ed. Oxford 1954) 292.

### 7. GARRULITY

See on *ἀδολεσχία* (3); there we have a sustained portrait of a single man in one situation, here a series of different characteristic actions.

### 8. RUMOR-MONGERING

A type of political gossip known to Demosthenes, *In Timocratem* 15 and Aeschines, *De falsa legatione* 153. The historical allusions are precise enough to show that this particular character was composed in 319 B.C. (see *Introd.* p. 9).

### 9. SPONGING

Literally "shamelessness," not a term normally applied to the desire for money, although this was a common topic of ancient moralists and satirists: notable are the Pseudo-Platonic *Eryxias*, Plutarch, "On the love of money" (*Moralia* 523c–528b), the comedies entitled *Φιλάργυρος* (see on *PCG* Dioxippus fr. 4), Plautus' *Aulularia*, and innumerable satirists; see Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (New York 1954) 282.

In his discussion of virtues and vices relating to money, Aristotle remarks (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1121b12–1122a3):

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“Lack of generosity (*ἀνελευθερία*) is incurable, since old age and any disability seem to make people ungenerous. It is also more innate in people than is extravagance [the opposite excess]; most people are more inclined to love money than to give it away. It is also widely prevalent, and diverse, since of the lack of generosity there are many varieties. Because it consists of two parts—a deficiency in giving and an excess in taking—it does not occur in its entirety in all [ungenerous people], but is sometimes separated, some being excessive in taking and some deficient in giving. The first group, called things like ‘sparing,’ ‘sticky’ or ‘skinflint,’ are all deficient in giving, but neither desire nor are willing to take others’ possessions . . . The second are excessive in taking, because they take anything from any source . . . what is common to them all is the desire for base profit (*αἰσχροκέρδεια*), since they all take upon themselves disgrace for the sake of gain.”

In this and the other three characters relating to money—*μικρολογία* (10), *ἀνελευθερία* (22), *αἰσχροκέρδεια* (30)—the terminology is differently applied, and the standard names for greed (like *φιλαργυρία* and *φιλοχρηματία*) are avoided; but the distinction between taking and keeping is maintained. This particular man is distinguished by his cheerful openness in taking extras for himself: he makes no attempt at concealment, passing off each small depredation as common courtesy or friendship.

### 10. PENNYPINCHING

*μικρολογία* is “obsession with details,” but often applied to one who counts every penny (Menander fr. 97, *PCG* Ephippus fr. 15.10). On the types of greed in general see

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the Additional Notes on *Character* 9: this man is not concerned with taking from others, but making sure no others take from him.

### 11. OBNOXIOUSNESS

*βδελυρία* is literally “hatefulness,” a strong term used to describe the most loathsome enemies (e.g., Aeschines 1.31, 189, Demosthenes 25.27). Here it has something in common with Aristotle’s “buffoonery” (*βωμολοχία*, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1128a4), which aims to get a laugh at any price.

### 12. BAD TIMING

*καιρός* means “the proper time” (see West on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 694). This man’s blunders are not always his fault—he simply does not foresee how inopportune are his actions. He might be a comic character in a farce, who manages to do something reasonable in itself at the worst possible time.

### 13. OVERZEALOUSNESS

*περιεργία* as used here is a synonym of the more common *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, the meddlesomeness for which Athenians were especially famous: Victor Ehrenberg, “*Polypragmosyne: A Study in Greek Politics*,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947) 46–67. Plutarch wrote a treatise on it (*Moralia* 515b), and *πολυπράγμων* was the title of comedies by Diphilus, Heniochus, and Timocles. See also

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H.-J. Mette, "Die περιεργία bei Menander," *Gymnasium* 69 (1962) 398-406.

### 14. ABSENT-MINDEDNESS

ἀναισθησία is literally "insensitivity," but comes to be used for "stupidity" (Thucydides 6.86, Demosthenes 21.153, Pseudo-Aristotle, *Physiognomica* 3.807b12), and applied especially to Boeotians (see Wankel on Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 43). When Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1107b7, applies it to a character-trait, it is the inability to feel pleasure, a meaning not present here.

### 15. GROUCHINESS

The character described here and in *Character* 17 ("Griping") is better-known by the epithet "bad-tempered" (δύσκολος) as described in Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1126b11ff, and in Menander's play of that name. In the *Eudemian Ethics* 1221a8, Aristotle actually makes αἰθάδεια the mean between σεμνότης (haughtiness) and ἀρέσκεια (obsequiousness); cf. however *Magna Moralia* 1192b31, Ariston of Keos col. 16-17 (Appendix).

### 16. SUPERSTITION

δεισιδαιμονία is literally "fear of the gods," one of three character-traits relating to fear—"Mistrust" (18) is the fear of being deceived, "Cowardice" (25) is the fear of death.

"Superstition" is in some ways a poor translation, since it ascribes supernatural significance to everyday events or

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things; but the events listed here *could* have religious meaning in ancient Greece, so that this man merely takes a correct attitude too far. (Xenophon, *Agesilaos* 11.8 and Aristotle, *Politics* 1315a1 actually use the word *δεισιδαιμόνων* in a positive sense.) He attempts to influence the gods on his own behalf, and substitutes personal rituals for public ones. In terms of the Aristotelian mean, his is an excess of piety (*εὐσέβεια*, on which Theophrastus wrote a treatise, fr. 584A–588), just as atheism is the deficiency of it.

Ancient critiques of superstition in a more modern sense are found in the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, chapters 1–4, Plato, *Laws* X.909a8–910e4, and Plutarch, “On Superstition” (*Moralia* 164e–171f). Menander wrote a play entitled *Δεισιδαιμόνων* (said by an ancient critic to have been modeled on a comedy called “The Reader of Omens” by Antiphanes). For Theophrastus see especially H. Bolkestein, *Theophrastos’ Charakter der Deisidaimonia als religionsgeschichtliche Urkunde* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten vol. 21.2, Giessen 1929).

### 17. GRIPING

The title means literally “finding fault with one’s lot”; see the Additional Notes on 15 (*αὐθάδεια*). *Μεμψίμοιρος* was the title of a comedy by Antidotos.

### 18. MISTRUST

Menander wrote a play entitled “The mistrustful man.”

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### 19. SQUALOR

δυσχέρεια usually indicates "revulsion," i.e. the reaction of the viewer rather than the behavior of the character.

§8–11 do not seem to belong to the same character as §1–7; perhaps they should be placed at the end of another character (e.g. 11, "Obnoxiousness"), or else we must assume a column of text was lost containing the end of "Squalor" and the beginning of this new character, something like "Lack of Cooperation." The same thing appears to have happened in *Character* 5.

### 20. BAD TASTE

ἀηδία is literally "unpleasantness"; the noun and adjective are used of disagreeable or odious people by the orators (Demosthenes 21.153, 47.28, 3.72, 164) and elsewhere (*PCG* Alexis fr. 278). Aristotle uses it simply of a man who gives others no pleasure (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a30, 1171b26, *Magna Moralia* 1200a15). This character is more precise than the term used: he offends others like many other characters, but mostly he is a city version of the boor, who is best viewed at home (§4–10) and resembles Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon*.

### 21. PETTY AMBITION

μικροφιλοτιμία, a term found only here, is literally "desire for small honor." The corresponding discussion in Aristotle is not on ambition (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1107b27ff, 1125b1–25, where he concludes that the proper mean

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between ambition and the lack of it has no name) but on the magnanimous man, who “will reject honor that comes from just anyone, or for petty achievements” (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1124a10). With Theophrastus’ man it is not the strength of the desire for honor that is in question, but error about the proper kind of it; Aristotle would have called him “vain” (χαῦνος, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1125a27).

### 22. LACK OF GENEROSITY

A wealthy Athenian was expected to be generous to his family, friends and country (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, Oxford 1974, 230–231). This man behaves with a shabby parsimony on the very occasions (a dramatic victory, his daughter’s wedding, command of a warship, contributions to charity) designed to display generosity, and does not maintain the style of life that suits his prosperity.

A satirist of the third century B.C. mocks the school of Theophrastus for requiring some of the very things the ungenerous man does without: “There [in Theophrastus’ school] one needed to have footwear—and it couldn’t be re-soled—and further a fancy cloak, a slave to attend you, a large house for dinner parties . . . this way of life was considered ‘liberal’ (ἐλευθέριος, Teles p. 40.8ff Hense).” Compare also Diogenes Laertius 6.90, Hermippus fr. 51 Wehrli.

### 23. FRAUDULENCE

ἀλαζονεία is literally “boasting”; the word may be taken from the name of a Thracian tribe (Herod. 4.17, 52;

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cf. the modern use of "bohemian" or "vandal"). It is defined by Aristotle as the opposite vice to εἰρωνεία (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1108a9–30; in between them is "being truthful"). The ἀλαζών is listed as one of the three "characters of comedy" in the *Tractatus Coislinianus*. It comes to be applied especially to soldiers, like Capitano Spavento in the commedia dell' arte, Bobadill in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, Falstaff and Pistol in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and *V*, and many characters in ancient comedy. See Walter Hofmann, *Der Bramarbas in der antiken Komödie* (Berlin 1973); J. Arthur Hanson, "The Glorious Military," in T. A. Dorey and D. R. Dudley (eds.), *Roman Drama* (New York, 1965) 51–85.

But its basic sense is "being an impostor," e.g. of a doctor (*De morbo sacro* 2), an ambassador (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 109, 135), a prophet (Aristophanes, *Peace* 1045, Aristoxenus fr. 1 West), or a philosopher (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 102, *PCG* Eupolis fr. 157). Theophrastus' impostor pretends to have a financial empire, and most closely resembles the *gloriosus* vividly described in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.50–51.64.

Plutarch wrote an essay "On extravagant self-praise" (*Moralia* 539a). On the whole theme see especially Otto Ribbeck, *Alazon: ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie* (Leipzig 1886).

## 24. ARROGANCE

For ὑπερήφανος see MacDowell on Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 83. This man is not really hostile (as is the grouch in 15) but imperious and superior, maintaining a cool dis-



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tance from everyone he deals with. Cf. Ariston of Keos, col. 20 (Appendix).

### 25. COWARDICE

Aristotle described the coward as one who feared even what he need not (*Eudemian Ethics* 1221a18, cf. *Nicomachean Ethics* 1115b15f, 34f, and Theophrastus fr. 449a). This coward is more developed; he not only fears danger, but attempts to disguise his cowardice with various excuses, and is pictured in two extended scenes.

### 26. AUTHORITARIANISM

ὀλιγαρχία is better known as a form of government than a trait of character; but Plato's sketches of human types who correspond to forms of government in *Republic* VIII include the "oligarchic" man (553a1-554b1), who equates excellence with wealth, and a character is called "oligarchic" when he denigrates large juries in Menander, *Sicyonius* 156.

Theophrastus' "oligarchic" man is a retailer of authoritarian slogans: he could as well be called "anti-democratic," as the word implies in political speeches (Andocides 4.16, Lysias 25.8). He much resembles the anonymous author (sometimes dubbed "the old oligarch") of the treatise *On the Constitution of the Athenians* ascribed (falsely) to Xenophon, but the topic was also fresh: there are reasons for dating the *Characters* to the years around 319 (see Introd.), and from 322 to 318 an oligarchic government of nine thousand led by Phocion replaced the

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democracy at Athens. See Lawrence A. Trittle, *Phocion the Good* (London 1988) 129–140.

### 27. REJUVENATION

ὄψιμαθία is literally “late learning” (cf. Aulus Gellius 11.7, Cicero, *ad familiares* 9.20.2, Horace, *Satires* 1.10.22), and it is true that a part of this man’s oddity consists in going to school at an advanced age; his appearance in military drills and athletic contests is as absurd as Strepsiades’ enrolling himself in Socrates’ school in *Clouds* (cf. the adjective παιδομαθής “having learned it in childhood,” as a term of praise).

But the essential characteristic here is a general enthusiasm and recklessness of behavior that was tolerated in youths (Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* 103) but not their elders: Philokleon’s re-education and rejuvenated violence at a symposium in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1122–end, are closely parallel.

### 28. SLANDER

There were legal sanctions against slander in Athens (for which the more common term was κακηγορία), but this man manages to avoid them, and his techniques are in any case the stock-in-trade of the ancient orator’s invective, as itemized by Wilhelm Süss, *Ethos: Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik* (Leipzig 1910) 247ff; see also Severin Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie vol. 99, Meisenheim am Glan, 1980) 14, and Lucian’s essay *On Not Being Quick to Believe Slander*.

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### 29. PATRONAGE OF SCOUNDRELS

φιλοπονηρία is literally "love of wickedness" (πονηρία is often applied to democratic politicians by their enemies), and one of the oddest characters. Although the word is attested (e.g., Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 1165b16, Dinarchus fr. 42, Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 24.5), the type as described here is not: his interests are purely political, and he is a master of slogans, able to cast doubt on claims of virtue (χρηστός, §3) and misapply aristocratic terms (ἐλεύθερος, εὐφυής, φιλέταιρος, §4) to a demagogue. On the types of vocabulary used see especially R. A. Neil, "Political Use of Moral Terms," Appendix II (pp. 202–209) in his edition of Aristophanes, *Knights* (Cambridge 1909).

### 30. CHISELING

αἰσχροκέρδεια is literally "base profiteering." The αἰσχροκέρδης is an avaricious man in Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1122a3; but in Theophrastus' version he is mainly concerned with retaining as much as possible in cash. He buys no oil, accepts (and gives) as little hospitality as possible, always pays the minimum and collects the maximum in every transaction; he surpasses in his greed even the other three misers (9, 10, 22) at every point where he can be compared.

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### FRAGMENTS OF THE CHARACTER SKETCHES OF ARISTON OF KEOS (III-II B.C.)

From a work "On Relieving Arrogance" quoted by Philodemus, *On vices* Book 10, edited by Christian Jensen, *Philodemi περὶ κακιῶν liber decimus*, Leipzig 1911.<sup>1</sup> I generally follow the text of F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* vol. 6: *Lykon und Ariston von Keos* (2nd ed. Basel 1968) fr. 14–16.<sup>2</sup> On Ariston himself<sup>3</sup> see Wehrli in H. Flashar (ed.), *Die Philosophie der Antike* vol. 3: *ältere Akademie, Aristoteles, Peripatos* (Basel 1983) 579–582.

The characters treated are the inconsiderate man (αὐθάδης, col. 16–17), the self-willed man (αὐθέκαστος, col. 17–18), the know-it-all (παντειδήμων, col. 18), and the dissembler or ironic man (εἴρων, col. 21–23). Interspersed with the character descriptions are Philodemus' tedious and contorted analyses of the disadvantages of each trait.

<sup>1</sup> Further bibliography in Kondo, "I caratteri."

<sup>2</sup> Note that uncertain letters, or lacunae in the papyrus text which are filled by conjecture, are *not* indicated here: for an exact account of these see the editions of Jensen or Wehrli.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with Ariston of Chios, Stoic and pupil of Zeno (*SVF* vol. 1 p. 75).

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The sections I think most likely to be from Ariston are italicized in the translation; on their close similarity in form and style to Theophrastus see Pasquali, "Sui caratteri," 59-62.

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(XVI.29sqq.) ὁ δ' αὐθάδης λεγόμενος ἔοικε μὲν εἶναι μεικτὸς ἐξ οἰήσεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ ὑπεροψίας, μετέχων δὲ καὶ πολλῆς εἰκασιότητος. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἔστιν, φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίστων, οἷος ἐν τῇ μάκρᾳ θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν αἰτεῖν μὴ προανακρίνας τὸν συμβεβηκότ', εἰ κἀκεῖνῳ συναρέσκει, καὶ . . .

(XVII) . . . παῖδα πριάμενος μηδὲ τοῦνομα προσερωτήσαι μῆτ' αὐτὸς θέσθαι, καλεῖν δὲ "παῖδα" καὶ μῆθὲν ἄλλο· καὶ τὸν συναλείψαντα μὴ ἀντισυναλείφειν· καὶ ξενισθεῖς μὴ ἀντιξενίσαι· καὶ θύραν ἀλλοτρίαν κόπτων, ἐπερωτήσαντος τίς ἔστιν, μηδὲν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, μέχρι ἂν ἐξέλθῃ. καὶ ἀρρωστοῦντ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκεπτομένου φίλου μὴ λέγειν πῶς ἔχει, μηδ' αὐτὸς ἐπισκεπτόμενός τινα τοιοῦτό τι προσεπερωτήσαι. καὶ γράφων ἐπιστολὴν τὸ χαίρειν μὴ προσγράψαι μηδ' ἐρῶσθαι τελευταῖον.

ὁ δ' αὐθέκαστος οὐ πάνυ μὲν εἰκασιὸς ἔστιν οὐδ' ἄλογος ὥσπερ ὁ αὐθάδης, δι' οἴησιν δὲ τοῦ μόνος φρονεῖν ἰδιογνωμονῶν, καὶ πειθόμενος ἐν ἅπασιν κατορθώσῃ, ἀμαρτήσεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐτέρου κρίσει προσχρήσῃται, μετέχων δὲ καὶ ὑπερηφανίας· οἷος μηδενὶ προσαναθέμενος ἀποδημεῖν, ἀγοράζειν, πωλεῖν, ἀρχὴν μετιέναι, τὰλλα συντελεῖν· κἂν προσερωτήσῃ τις τί μέλλει ποιεῖν, "οἶδ' ἐγώ," λέγειν, κἂν μέμφηταί τις, ὑπομειδιῶν, "ἐμὲ σύ;" καὶ παρακληθεῖς ἐπὶ συνεδρείαν βουλευομένῳ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μέλλει πράττειν· καὶ πάντ' ἐν ὅσοις ἀποτέτευχε . . .

(XVIII) . . . τελεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι γενέσθαι φάσκειν· καὶ μὴ δυσωπεῖσθαι τοῦνομα καλούμενος ὡς αὐθέ-

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(Column 16, line 29 ff. :) *The man called inconsiderate seems to be a blend of conceit, pride and scorn, with a large dose of thoughtlessness. He is the sort, Ariston says, who demands hot or cold water in the bath without first asking his fellow-bather whether it is all right, . . .*

(Column 17) . . . *when he buys a slave he doesn't even ask for his name, or give him one himself, but merely calls him "slave." When someone rubs him with oil, he doesn't do the same in return; if he has been invited out, he doesn't return the invitation. When he knocks at another's door and is asked "who is it?" he doesn't answer until the man comes outside. If a friend pays him a visit while he's ill, he won't say how he is feeling, and when he himself visits someone, he won't even ask such a question. When he writes a letter, he doesn't add "greetings," or "best wishes" at the end.*

*The self-willed man is not exactly thoughtless or irrational like the inconsiderate one, but self-opinionated because of his conceit that he alone has any sense, and confident that he will always do the right thing, whereas if he relies on another's judgment he will make a mistake; he also has a dose of arrogance. He is the sort who seeks no one's advice before going on a trip, making a purchase or a sale, running for office, or carrying out other things. If someone asks him what he intends to do, he says "That's for me to know." If someone criticizes, he smirks "Look who's talking!" If he is called to a meeting for a man who seeks advice, he refuses to say what he thinks unless the man is definitely going to follow it. Anything in which he has failed . . .*

(Column 18) . . . *and has no desire to admit it happened. He is not disturbed when you call him self-willed, but says*

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καστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι παιδάρια λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς ὡς παιδαγωγοῖς ἄλλοις προσανατιθεμένους, καὶ μόνος ἔχειν πώγωνα καὶ πολιὰς καὶ ζῆν δυνήσεσθαι γενόμενος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ.

τούτου δ' ἔτι χείρων ἐστὶν ὁ παντειδήμων, ἀναπεπεικῶς ἑαυτὸν ὅτι πάντα γινώσκει, τὰ μὲν μαθὼν παρὰ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐπισταμένων, τὰ δ' ἰδὼν ποιῶντας μόνον, τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἐπινοήσας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. κᾶστι τοιοῦτος οὐ μόνον οἶον Ἰππίαν τὸν Ἡλείου ἱστορεῖ Πλάτων, ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμ' εἶχεν αὐτῷ πεποιηκῆναι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζειν οἰκίαν καὶ πλοῖον δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς ἀρχιτέκτονος· καὶ γράφειν συνθήκας ἑαυτῷ δεομένας ἐμπειρίας νομικῆς· καὶ δούλους ἰδίους ἰατρούειν, μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν, ἐπιχειρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους· καὶ φυτεύειν καὶ φορτίζεσθαι τὰ μάλισθ' ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνικωτάτων κατορθούμενα· καὶ ναυαγῶν ἐν ἅπασι μηδ' οὔτω παύεσθαι τῆς ἀποπληξίας. οἷος δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντιποιοῦμενος πάντων ἀσχημονεῖν· καὶ τοὺς καταγελωπτας ἀπείρους λέγειν . . .

(XIX) . . . οὐκ ἂν δι . . . δων ἐπιτρέπειν.

τῷ μὲν οὖν αὐθάδει τά τ' ἐκ τῆς οἰήσεως καὶ τῆς ὑπερφανίας καὶ ὑπεροψίας εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας δυσχερῆ παρακολουθεῖ, καὶ ἰδίως τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰκαιότητος καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς ὀργῆς τούτων οἷς οὔτω προσφέρεται, καὶ τὸ τυγχάνειν ὁμοίων ἢ μηδὲ βουλομένων εἰς ὀτιδήποτε κοινώνημα συγκαταβαίνειν, δυσχερῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ μαινομένου πάντας φέρεσθαι καὶ καθαιρεῖν, διότι τὴν κακίαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὑπονοοῦσιν.

τῷ δ' αὐθεκάστω τά τε παρὰ τὰς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ὧν μέμικται καὶ τὸ μόνον ἀφραίνειν, ὅτι μόνος οἶεται περὶ πάντων φρονεῖν· διὸ κἂν τοῖς πλείστοις ἀποτυγχάνειν καὶ ἐπιχαίρεσθαι μετὰ καταγέλωτος ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ μηδὲ βοθηεῖσθαι·



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*those who seek the guidance of others like nursemaids are little children, and that he is the only one with a beard and grey hair, who could survive if left on his own.*

*Still worse than this one is the know-it-all, since he has persuaded himself that his knowledge is complete—some he's learned from experts, some is from merely observing them in action, some he has come up with on his own. He is not only like Plato [Hippias Minor 368B] says Hippias of Elis was, and says that he has made everything he wears, but he also builds a house and boat by himself, without an architect. He draws up contracts for himself that require legal expertise; he acts as physician to his slaves as well as himself, and tries it for others too; he works at the sort of agriculture and merchant shipping which most require experts to be successfully pursued, and if he washes out completely he does not even then stop his madness. He is the sort who makes a fool of himself by laying claim to all subjects; those who laugh at him he calls laymen . . .*

(Column 19) . . . The inconsiderate man is beset by the difficulties arising from conceit, arrogance, and scorn, if not from fraudulence as well, and in particular those from thoughtlessness, and the anger of those to whom he behaves this way, and the fact that he encounters people like him, or who don't want to have anything to do with him at all, that he does not know what to do, and that everyone rushes away and dismisses him for a madman, because they think that vice has him possessed.

The self-willed man is beset by the difficulties attendant on the strange traits of which he is comprised, and the fact that he alone is out of his mind, because of his belief that he alone is sensible about all subjects. That is

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καὶ μὴδὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἀναμαρτήτων εἶναι λεγόντων μὴδ' ἀπροσδέκτων συμβουλίας, τοῦτον ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς νομίζοντα φρονεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοδαίμονεῖν· ληρεῖν δὲ καὶ διότι τὴν κοινῶς σύνεσιν οἶεται περιπεποιῆσθαι τὰ τῶν ἰδίας ἐμπειρίας ἐχόντων, καὶ μεταμελεῆσθαι πολλῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐγκυρεῖν, καὶ λοιδορίας καρποῦσθαι καὶ προσκρούσεις ἐτέρων  
 . . .

(XX) . . . φάσθαι . . . ἄνθρωπον ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔχειν χρεῖαν.

ὁ δὲ παντειδῆμων ἅμα τοῖς εἰρημένοις πᾶσι καὶ μαργιτομανῆς ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τὸν ὄντως πολυμαθέστατον προσαγορευόμενον οἶεται πάντα δύνασθαι γινώσκειν καὶ ποιεῖν, οὐχ οἶον ἑαυτόν, ὅς ἐνίοτε οὐδέν τι φωρᾶται κατέχων καὶ οὐ συνορῶν· ὅτι πολλὰ δεῖται τριβῆς, ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γίνηται μεθόδου καθάπερ τὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς μέρη, καὶ διότι περὶ τοὺς πολυμαθεῖς ὄσμαι μόνον εἰσὶ πολλῶν, οὐ κατοχαί, καὶ τὰ ποτεύγματα περίεστιν τῶν παιδευμάτων, οὐ τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοῖς τοιούτοις συμβαίνειν ἀνελογιζόμεθα· καὶ διότι πολλὰ γινώσκειν, ὡς Ἴππίας ἐκαυχᾶτο, καὶ τὸ παραπλήσιον πᾶν γένος ὄνειδη μᾶλλον ἐστίν ἢ περ ἐγκώμια· καί — τί γὰρ δεῖ τᾶλλα περὶ ληρούντων λέγειν; ὡς ὅταν ἀτυχήσωσι, φωρῶνται καταφεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς

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why he fails in most things, and is a source of delight and ridicule for all, and receives no assistance. Whereas not even the wise claim to be without fault or in no need of advice, he, thinking he is more sensible than they, cannot avoid ill-fortune. He talks nonsense, because he imagines his basic intelligence has bestowed on him the talents of those who possess specialized knowledge, and it happens that he must regret many things, and reap the abuse and attacks of others . . .

(Column 20) He says . . . that a man has no need of other men.

The know-it-all, along with everything already said, is also as crazy as Margites,<sup>1</sup> if he thinks that even one truly called the greatest polymath can know and do everything—much less<sup>2</sup> himself, who is sometimes caught with no mastery at all, and no comprehension; the reason is that many things require practice—if they follow the same method as the elements of the art of poetry; and because around the polymaths there is only an aroma of many subjects, not a mastery of them, and what remains is what they have failed to learn, not where they have succeeded, and all the rest of what we have listed as happening to such people; and because multiple knowledge in the way Hippias boasted of it, and every category like it, is more to reproach than to praise. But why say any more about windbags? Since when they fail they are caught run-

<sup>1</sup> The hero of the (now lost) comic epic of whom it was said "he had knowledge of many deeds—and he knew them all badly" (fr. 3 West).

<sup>2</sup> οὐχ οἶον = οὐχ ὄτι (see F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, tr. R. Funk, Chicago 1961, § 304).

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τυχόντας καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἐλάττους αὐτοὺς εἶναι προσ-  
 μολογοῦσιν.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπερήφανος καὶ ὑπερόπτης ἐστίν, ὁ δ'  
 ὑπερόπτης οὐ πάντως καὶ ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἅπαντα διὰ τὸ  
 . . . χηρ . . . ἔστιν ὅτε τα . . . εἶναι· πέφυκε δ' οὐ . . .

(XXI) τὸν μὲν σεμνὸν ἐπαινοῦντες ὡς ἀξίαν ἔχοντα μετὰ  
 τινος αὐστηρίας, τὸν δὲ σεμνοκόπον καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν  
 πάντως ψέγοντες ὡς ἐπιφάσκοντα τὸν εἰρημένον καὶ προσ-  
 ποιούμενον εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων  
 — ὃν σεμνομυθεῖν ἔλεγον — καὶ τῷ σχήματι τοῦ προσώπου  
 καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ περιβολῇ καὶ κινήσει καὶ ταῖς κατὰ  
 τὸν βίον ἐνεργείαις. καὶ βρενθύεσθαι δὲ καὶ βρενθυόμενον  
 ὠνόμαζον καὶ ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζουσιν — εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παραδεδο-  
 μένου θυμιάματος ἢ μύρου τῶν θεῶν βρένθους, ὡς καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 καὶ μίνθωνος ἀπὸ τῆς μίνθης, εἴτ' ἀφ' ὅτουδῆποτε — τὸν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης διαθέσεως κατεμβλέποντα πᾶσιν καὶ  
 παρεμβλέποντα καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κατασείοντα καὶ κατασμι-  
 κρίζοντα τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἢ τοὺς ὦν ἂν τις μνημονεύση,  
 κἂν ὧσι τῶν μεγάλων εἶναι δοκούντων, μετὰ διασυρμῶ καὶ  
 μόλις που βραχείας ἀποκρίσεως ὑπεροχὴν ἰδίαν ἐμφαίνου-  
 σης, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐμποιούσης· οἷον ὁ Ἀριστο-  
 φάνης “ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς καὶ τῷ φθαλμῷ παρα-  
 βάλλεις” ἐκωμῶδει.

ὁ δ' εἴρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀλαζόνος εἶδος . . .

(XXII) διανοεῖ . . . ος . . . ον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰναντία μᾶλλον,  
 ὥστ' ἐπαινεῖν ὃν ψέγει, ταπεινοῦν δὲ καὶ ψέγειν ἑαυτὸν τε

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ning to anyone they can find for help, and so they admit they are at the lowest level of all.

The arrogant man is also contemptuous; but the contemptuous man is not necessarily arrogant, and . . .

(Column 21) . . . since they praised the dignified man as possessing importance combined with some austerity, but the man who makes a show of dignity both then and now alike they mock, as an impersonator of the aforementioned, who for the mob pretends to be like this in his speech (they used to say he “preached”), the cast of his face and eyes, his dress, movements and way of life. And “high-falutin”<sup>1</sup> behavior (*brenthuesthai*) or personality—whether from the well-known incense or perfume of the gods called *brenthos* (just as modern *minthon* from mint), or from whatever else—is what they used to call, and still do call, a man who looks down on everyone, avoids their sight, tosses his head, belittles whoever meets him or whom anyone mentions to him, even from the elite, with ridicule and scarcely even a brief retort to express his own superiority and dismiss everyone else. Just as Aristophanes joked: “Since you act high-falutin on the street, and avert your eyes.”<sup>2</sup>

. . . *The dissembler*<sup>3</sup> is for the most part a type of fraud

. . .

(Col. 22) . . . *he intends . . . but rather the opposite, so that he praises a man he finds fault with, but belittles and faults*

<sup>1</sup> An Aristophanic expression for pride, of obscure origin.

<sup>2</sup> *Clouds* 362, of Socrates.

<sup>3</sup> The literal meaning, “ironic man,” is better suited to the description here than in *Character* 1 of Theophrastus.

## THEOPHRASTUS

καὶ τοὺς < . . . > οἶός ἐστιν εἰωθῆναι πρὸς ὀνδήποτε χρόνον μετὰ παρεμφάσεως ὧν βούλεται· συνεπινοεῖται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δεινότης ἐν τῷ πλάσματι καὶ πιθανότης· ἔστιν δὲ τοιοῦτος οἶος τὰ πολλὰ μωκᾶσθαι καὶ μορφάζειν καὶ μειδιᾶν καὶ ὑπανίστασθαι τισιν ἐπιστᾶσιν ἄφνω μετ' ἀναπηδήσεως καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως· μαὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συνῶν ἐνίοις σιωπᾶν· κᾶν ἐπαινῆ τις αὐτὸν ἢ κελεύῃ τι λέγειν ἢ μνημονευθήσεσθαι φῶσιν αὐτόν, ἐπιφωνεῖν· “ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τί πλήν γε τούτου, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδα;” καὶ “τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν λόγος;” καὶ “εἰ δὴ τις ἡμῶν ἔσται μνεῖα·” καὶ πολὺς εἶναι τῷ “μακάριοι τῆς φύσεως εἰ δὴ τινες” ἢ “τῆς δυνάμεως” ἢ “τῆς τύχης.” καὶ μὴ ψιλῶς ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ “Φαῖδρος ὁ καλός,” καὶ “Λυσίας ὁ σοφός,” καὶ ῥήματ' ἀμφίβολα τιθέναι, “χρηστόν,” “ἡδύν,” “ἀφελῆ,” “γενναῖον,” “ἀνδρεῖον·” καὶ παρεπιδείκνυσθαι μὲν ὡς σοφά, προσάπτειν δ' ἑτέροις ὡς Ἀσπασία καὶ Ἰσχομάχῳ Σωκράτης· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀπολυομένους· “ἔδοκίμ . . .

(XXIII) . . . θεων . . . μοι· πάντα γὰρ δεινὸς σὺ κατεργάσασθαι.” κᾶν συνέλθῃ, τὸν καταπληττόμενον ἐμφαίνειν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς συγκαθημένους θαυμάζοντα, καὶ προσκαλούμενος εἰς κοινολογίαν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὰλάχιστα φάσκειν ἄπορα καταφαίνεσθ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ διαγελάσαντος· “ὀρθῶς μου καταφρονεῖς τηλικούτος ὧν, καὶ

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himself and those < . . . ><sup>1</sup> is the sort who is accustomed to do on all occasions, merely hinting at what he desires. In his fabrications one can discern a cleverness and persuasiveness as well. He is the sort who often mocks, grimaces, smiles, and for people in authority he rises to yield his place suddenly, with a leap and uncovering his head. With some people he remains silent, even though he has spent a long time with them. If one praises him or bids him speak or people say that he will be remembered, he responds: "What am I supposed to know, except that I know nothing?" or "Of what importance am I?" or "In the event that anyone remembers me." And he constantly calls people "Blessed, if any are, in their nature," or their "capability," or "fortune." He doesn't call people merely by their names, but "fair Phaedrus," or "wise Lysias," or uses ironic words: "good," "sweet," "simple," "noble," "brave." He shows off thoughts he thinks wise, but attributes them to others as Socrates does with Aspasia and Ischomachus.<sup>2</sup> To those who have been eliminated from the elections . . .

(Column 23) . . . "You're adept at carrying out everything."<sup>3</sup> And if he meets him, to those sitting nearby he reveals himself awestruck with admiration of his appearance, his dignity and speech. When he is asked to share his ideas he is terrified, and says that even the smallest difficulties seem to him impossible, and when the man mocks him he says "A man like you is right to feel contempt for me—I feel it for

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt; probably several words are missing.

<sup>2</sup> In the dialogues *Menexenus* (by Plato) and *Oeconomicus* (by Xenophon).

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph seems to describe the dissembler's ironic treatment of one particular individual.

γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔμαυτοῦ.” καὶ “νέος ὠφελον εἶναι καὶ μὴ γέρων, ἴν’ ἔμαυτὸν ὑπέταξά σοι.” κἄν τῶν συμπαρόντων του ὁτιδῆποτε εἰπόντος ἐκδήλως, ἐκεῖνος εἶπη τοιοῦτον· “διὰ τί λέγεις;” ἐπιφωνεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας· “ὡς ταχὺ συνῆκας, ἀλλ’ ἀφυῆς ἐγὼ καὶ βραδὺς καὶ δυσαίσθητος.” καὶ προσέχειν μὲν διαλεγομένῳ καὶ ἐνχάσκειν, εἴθ’ ὑποκιναιδεῖν καὶ διανεύειν ἄλλοις, ποτὲ δ’ ἀνακαγχάζειν·

οἷος δὲ καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἔτυχεν ὁμιλῶν “διασαφεῖτε μοι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀγραμματίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀστοχίας ὑμεῖς, ὦ φίλοι, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶτ’ ἀσχημονοῦντα.” καὶ “οὐ διηγῆσεσθέ μοι τὰς τοῦ δεινὸς εὐημερίας, ἵνα χαίρω, κἄν ἄρα δυνατὸς ὦ μιμῶμαι;” καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ Σωκρατικὰ μνημονεύματα . . .

(XXIV) . . . ὅμοιοι δ’ εὐτελειστῆς ἢ ἐξευτελειστῆς καὶ οὐδενωτῆς ἢ ἐξουδενωτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ φέρονται, διαφέροντες ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει διαβολῆς τοῦ πλησίον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐξευτελειστῆς ἀπόντων τινὰ φαυλότερον δὴ δοκεῖν παρίστησιν, ὁ δ’ ἐξουδενωτῆς ἴσον τῷ μηδενί. λοιπὸν ἔστιν μὲν ὅτε τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσιν ὑπεροχὴν ἐμφαίνοντες ἰδίαν ἢ τῶν <καὶ τῶν><sup>1</sup> οὓς ἀποσεμνύουσιν, ἔστιν δ’ ὅτε κατατρέχοντες μόνον ἐνίων· ὥστε τοὺς προτέρους καὶ ὑπερηφάνους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι φησὶν ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ δι’ ἐκείνην ἄτοπα καὶ περιττότερόν τι τῇ διαβλητικῇ καὶ βασκαντικῇ καὶ φθονητικῇ. καὶ τὸν ὑπομνηματισμὸν δὲ τοῦτον αὐτοῦ καταπαύσομεν, ἐπισυνάψομεν δ’ αὐτῷ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν ὧν δοκιμάζομεν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον.

<sup>1</sup> Supplevi (ἢ τῶν οὓς papyrus).



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*myself.*" And "I wish I were young and not old, so I could sit at your feet." When someone in the group makes any sort of obvious comment, if that man says something like "What makes you say that?" he exclaims with upraised hands "How quickly you have grasped it! I've been dull, slow, stupid!" When the man converses he is intent and open-mouthed, then he talks mincingly and nods to others, and sometimes bursts out laughing.

He is the sort who says to whoever he happens to be talking to, "Friends, you must explain to me my ignorance and other blunders, and not let me make a fool of myself"; or "Please tell me about so-and-so's happy state, so that I may have the pleasure of being like him, if I can." Why go on? All the memoirs about Socrates . . .

(Column 24) *The disparager and the utter disparager, and the vilifier and the utter vilifier are the same and amount to the same thing, differing only in whether their slander of their neighbor is relaxed or intense: the utter disparager suggests that a person then absent doesn't seem very significant; the utter vilifier, that he is worthless.* Well, they are sometimes this way because they are hinting at their own superiority, or of this or that group they are praising; sometimes it is only because they run certain people down. The former are therefore arrogant as well; thus it is obvious that he<sup>1</sup> says they are beset by the strange things arrogance produces, and somewhat more abundantly [than the arrogant man] because of slander, malignity and envy.

And here we shall end this excerpt from him [Ariston], and append to it one about the other vices which we are attempting to treat.

<sup>1</sup> Ariston.



# HERODAS

## *MIMES*

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

I. C. CUNNINGHAM



## INTRODUCTION

IN the first half of the fourth century the city-states of Greece continued, as for generations past, their self-destructive warring. Athens, Sparta, Thebes — each in turn achieved and lost brief supremacies. When a new power began to emerge in the north, it was regarded as something to be used, as they had previously used the Persian and other eastern powers, to help defeat whoever was the current chief rival. But Macedonia under Philip II proved to be very different. With a mixture of cunning diplomacy and military might Philip advanced southwards into Thessaly; by the middle of the century he was a power to be reckoned with, a position recognised by his presidency of the Pythian Games in 346. His progress was temporarily impeded by an alliance led by Athens under the orator Demosthenes. But his victory at the battle of Chaeroneia in 339 left him overlord of all Greece. He began to organise it into a confederacy led by Macedonia, with the aim of renewing the age-old struggle with Persia. However in 336 he was assassinated in obscure circumstances, and the kingship and leadership of Greece passed to his son, known to history as Alexander the Great.

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After a short period spent in consolidating his position in Greece, in Thrace, and in Illyria, Alexander in 334 turned to Asia. In rapid succession he conquered Asia Minor, defeated the Persian king Darius at Issus, overran Syria and Egypt, advanced into Babylonia, defeated Darius again at Gaugamela, and conquered Persia itself. At the beginning of 330 he rested briefly in the Persian palace, then pursued Darius to Ecbatana; Darius was overthrown in a coup and murdered. Alexander now continued east into modern Afghanistan and the southern Soviet Union, spending some time in Samarkand; then south into Pakistan. He would have gone on but his weary army had had enough. At the end of 324 he returned to Babylon. Six months later he fell ill and died.

Alexander took Greek culture and language with him, but inevitably they evolved in their new surroundings. Greek colonists settled all over the lands of his conquests. Cities called Alexandria were left behind as he marched. He created the first European empire. But it scarcely survived him. In the absence of a recognised successor his generals battled for supremacy and the empire fell apart. India was soon given up. Macedonia, Syria and Egypt emerged as the most powerful kingdoms, which for a century and a half re-enacted the feuding of the old city-states. The rising power of Rome was more and more drawn into their disputes and ended by absorbing all into its empire.

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In the fourth century, poetry in Greece was totally overshadowed by the refined and polished prose of orators, philosophers and historians. Only comedy continued a live verse tradition. But in the following century there was a brief revival, mostly centred on the capital of Egypt, Alexandria. Founded by Alexander in 331, it became the capital of the Egyptian kingdom and dynasty of the Ptolemies. In the 280s Ptolemy II, known as Philadelphus, set up both the celebrated Library, into which were collected texts of all Greek literature, and the Museum, a university or research institute rather than a museum in the modern sense. To these were attracted a host of scholars and literary figures, and in this highly intellectual atmosphere flourished the poetry now known as Alexandrian or Hellenistic.

Some authors used traditional genres in a new way, such as Apollonius with his long epic the *Argonautica*. But more typical is the short poem, whether equally traditional in genre like the epyllia of Callimachus and Theocritus; or using old forms for new purposes, like the hymns and iambs of Callimachus; or introducing subjects new to poetry, like the mimiambes of Herodas and the mime-related poems of Theocritus. Common to all is the fact that this is learned poetry, composed by and intended for those who were familiar with earlier literature, recondite myths, obscure words, unusual metres. Poetry was the companion of studies in the Library and the Museum.

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### HERODAS AND HIS WORK

No biographical information about the poet has come down from antiquity. Those who quote a few lines of his work (see under Text) variously give his name as Herodas (Ἡρώδας, a later form of Ἡρώιδας), Herodes (Ἡρώδης) or Herondas (Ἡρώνδας). The first and third are Doric, the second presumably a normalisation to the Attic form. The forms with and without the *n* are both possible, but the evidence for the latter is slightly greater.

Pliny the Younger (see end of this section) mentions him in conjunction with Callimachus, in such a way that it is possible that they were contemporaries. This is confirmed by a few internal references. The fourth mimiamb can be dated to between about 280 (as Apelles, mentioned in the past in lines 72–78, must have died before then) and 265 (as the sons of Praxiteles, mentioned in the present in lines 25–26, must have died by then). The first must be after, probably soon after, 272/1 (by which date Ptolemy II and Arsinoe, who have a shrine in line 30, were deified). The second is probably earlier than 266 (by which date the city of Ake, mentioned in line 16, had been renamed Ptolemaïs). Herodas' poetical activity can therefore be assigned to the late 270s and early 260s, exactly the period of Callimachus and of Theocritus, the high point of Hellenistic poetry.

The second mimiamb is undoubtedly set in the



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island of Cos in the Dodecanese, and the temple of Asklepios in the fourth may be that in Cos (though there is no coincidence between the works of art mentioned in that poem and those known to have been in that temple). The connected sixth and seventh appear to be located in Asia Minor (the month Taureon in 7.86 suggests that, as does Kerdon's origin in either Chios or Erythrae, 6.58). Egypt is highly praised in 1.26–35; and the phrase 'Attic minae' in 2.22 may indicate that this was written within the Ptolemaic empire (the Attic silver standard being universal, and the adjective therefore needless, everywhere else).

The evidence may be summarised: Doric in origin, living in the first half of the third century, connected to a greater or lesser extent with Egypt, Cos and Asia Minor.

His poems are typical of their place and time in that they combine the content of one older genre with the form of another. This is indicated by their name (recorded by several of the ancient quotations), *mimiambos*: they are both mimes and iambs.

The Greek mime was a popular entertainment in which one actor or a small group portrayed a situation from everyday life in the lower levels of society, concentrating on depiction of character rather than on plot. Situations were occasionally borrowed from comedy. Indecency was frequent. Ancient writers mention a great variety of sub-types, the details of which are obscure. Some had a musical accompani-

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ment; of one such group we are told possible subjects: 'sometimes women who are adulteresses and procuresses, sometimes a man drunk and going on a revel to his lover'.<sup>1</sup> Some performers shared booths in the market-place with conjurers, dancers and the like; others played at private parties. Individual mimes could act several parts in a piece when necessary. The normal vehicle was prose and the spoken language.

A few fragments of or relating to such performances have been found in texts from Egypt dating from the second century B.C. to the fifth A.D.<sup>2</sup> Only one writer is known by name, Sophron of Syracuse, of the late fifth century B.C., whose mimes were introduced to Athens by Plato. But full texts have not survived, and most of the fragments quoted by later writers were selected for grammatical interest, so that we know little of the nature of his work. However it can be said that he wrote in his native Doric dialect and in prose, and his subjects are apparently all realistic.

The iamb was a genre of seventh- and sixth-century Ionia. Named from its characteristic metre,

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus 14. 621c (Loeb edition: vol. VI, page 347).

<sup>2</sup> The texts of most of these are in the appendix of the present editor's Teubner edition of Herodas, Leipzig 1987; add P.Oxy. 3700. Several are translated in the Loeb *Select Papyri*, vol. 3, Literary Papyri, Poetry, ed. D. L. Page, 1941 (but note that the obscene beginning of no. 77, P.Oxy. 413 verso, is omitted).

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the iambic trimeter, it is personal and realistic, full of immediate loves and hates. Archilochus and Hipponax are the major names, but no complete poems have survived. Archilochus came from the island of Paros, Hipponax from Ephesus; both used their vernacular languages. Hipponax increased the coarse, sneering effect of his verse by using the so-called 'limping iambic' (choliambos), where the second-last element of the line is long instead of short.

Herodas took his subject-matter from the mime. Only in the case of the fifth mimiamb is there an exact parallel in the mime tradition; but the first and second have characters which are known to have figured in the tradition; and the situation of the fourth and subject of the sixth appeared in Sophron. And the treatment is invariably that of the mime: characters from the urban proletariat in realistic settings and situations, and character-depiction more important than plot.

But there is a crucial difference in the form. His language and verse are, as far as we can tell, a slightly imperfect rendering of those of Hipponax. The qualification is necessary because we have so little of the latter's work and because of the possibility of corruption in our texts of both Hipponax and Herodas and in Herodas' text of Hipponax. The imperfections in his rendering consist of a few false Ionic forms and a few non-Ionic (Attic and Doric) words; the not infrequent occurrence of common Greek (Attic) forms is almost certainly due to cor-

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ruption. The most striking features of the dialect, which differentiate it from most literary Ionic, are the use of  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in interrogative and indefinite pronouns and adjectives ( $\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$  etc.) and the absence of aspiration at the beginning of words (psilosis), both of which are sporadically but unmistakably indicated by the papyrus. In his versification Herodas, probably following Hipponax, is far freer than most Greek writers in allowing a long vowel at the end of a word to be followed by one at the beginning of the next, the whole counting as only one long syllable; this may either be indicated in writing (crasis; e.g.  $\mu\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu = \mu\eta\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ ) or not (synaloephe; e.g.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$ ). He resolves long syllables into two shorts (creating anapaests, dactyls or tribrachs in place of iambs) not infrequently, and rarely admits anaclasis ( $-\cup\cup-$  for  $\cup-\cup-$ ).

Mimes were recited either by one actor, taking several parts if necessary, or by a small troupe. There has been much discussion as to which method Herodas used. Certainty is unattainable, but it seems unlikely that a troupe with costumes and sets would be assembled for such brief pieces, whose performance is unlikely to have been frequently repeated.<sup>3</sup>

Herodas' work is typically Hellenistic. The

<sup>3</sup> See my review in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 101 (1981), 161, of G. Mastromarco, *Il Pubblico di Eronda*, 1979 (English translation, *The Public of Herondas*, 1984), who takes the opposite view.

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poems are short. The subjects are new to poetry, remote from the experience of the intellectual audience. The language and metre are revivals of obsolete forms. It is clear from the eighth mimiamb that he met with criticism in his own day, but the text is so badly preserved that it cannot be ascertained (if it was clearly stated in the first place) who the critics were or what they objected to.

In the same poem Herodas anticipated fame for himself, but that was not to be. Texts were still to be had in Egypt in the second century A.D., though whether these represent the end of a continuous interest or a revival is unknown. A few sententious lines were taken into the anthological tradition which we know under the name of John of Stoboi (Stobaeus) (see 1.15–16, 67–68; 6.37–39; 10; 12; 13), while one of his many proverbs is in the collection of Zenobius (see 3.10). Grammarians picked up a few unusual words or forms (see 5.32; 8.59–60; 11). But the later Greek literary and biographical sources know nothing of him. The only person known to have read him as literature is Roman: Pliny the Younger about 100 A.D. compliments his friend Arrius Antoninus on his Greek epigrams and mimiamb—‘What an amount of elegance and beauty is in them, how sweet they are, and pleasing and bright and correct. I thought I was reading Callimachus or Herodes, or better if such exists.’<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Epp.* 4.3.3: *quantum ibi humanitatis, uenustatis, quam dulcia illa, quam amantia, quam arguta, quam*

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In the century since he again became known he has excited considerable interest, often for the wrong reasons: despite appearances, he is no 'ancient realist', but a highly literary writer with a similarly elite audience.

### THE MIMIAMBES

1. *A Matchmaker or Procuress.* Metriche, companion of Mandris who has been for some considerable time absent in Egypt, is alone with her slave Threissa. She is visited by her old nurse, Gyllis, the matchmaker of the title. The reason for the visit is approached obliquely: Mandris, tempted by the attractions of Egypt, has gone for good; Metriche will be old before she realises it and should enjoy herself while she can. Then she comes to the point: the athlete Gryllos is desperately in love with Metriche and will not leave Gyllis alone; Metriche should yield to him. Metriche firmly rejects the proposition: she is faithful to Mandris. This little drama is framed by the domestic scene, the arrival and the hospitality before departure.

The characterisation of the matchmaker is the purpose of the piece. This was one of the subjects of the popular mime.

2. *A Brothel-keeper.* Battaros the brothel-keeper

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*recta. Callimachum me uel Heroden uel si quid melius tenere credebam.*

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lives in Cos, a resident alien. He claims that a sea captain Thales has attacked his house in an attempt to abduct Myrtale, one of his girls. In Greek courts complainants and defendants had to represent themselves, and the mimiamb consists of Battaros' speech to the jury. He depicts himself as poor and humble, providing a necessary service to the community, and grossly abused by Thales. But this is a charade, and the greed, shamelessness and indecency normally considered typical of his profession constantly break through. He attempts to follow the usual pattern of a legal speech (known to us from the fourth-century Attic orators), but is regularly diverted from his theme and repeats himself endlessly.

An incoherent orator appeared in Sophron. The brothel-keeper is a regular character in Middle and New Comedy.

3. *A Schoolmaster*. Metrotime brings her delinquent son Kottalos to the schoolmaster Lampriskos for punishment. She narrates his wrongdoings: gambling in bad company, neglect of his studies, damage to the roof of the building in which they live, generally leading a lazy and worthless life. Lampriskos agrees that a beating is required and with the assistance of other pupils proceeds to inflict it. The boy pleads for mercy and promises to reform, but when released is apparently still impudent. Metriche angrily goes off to get fetters for him.

Despite the title Metriche is the dominant char-

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acter in the piece, as she obviously is in her household.

4. *Women dedicating and sacrificing to Asklepios.* The two women, with their slaves, come to the temple early in the morning to thank the god for curing an illness. After praying and giving the sacrificial cock to the temple-attendant, they inspect the sculptures and paintings which can be seen. One of them is a stranger and exclaims excitedly at what she sees. The other acts as guide and makes a vigorous defence of the art of the painter Apelles. Finally the success of the sacrifice is announced and arrangements are made for the distribution of the sacrifice—as in 1 the central scene is placed in a frame.

The description of works of art is common in Greek literature, from the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* on. One of Sophron's mimes was entitled 'Women watching the Isthmian Festival'. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15, roughly contemporary with this poem of Herodas and also related to the mime, includes a description of a tapestry concerning Adonis. Here the observers are poor, unsophisticated women, whose sole criterion of excellence is naturalness.

5. *A Jealous Person.* Bitinna has a sexual relationship with her slave Gastron, whom she accuses in crude terms of infidelity. Rejecting both pleas of innocence and appeals for mercy, she orders that he should be flogged, and on second thoughts tattooed



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also. But her anger, though vehemently expressed, is not implacable, and when another slave Kydilla, whom she regards more as a daughter, intercedes on Gastron's behalf, she is prepared to remit his punishment, at least for the present.

The situation is not dissimilar to that of the mime-fragment P.Oxy. 413 verso (see above, note 2), though Bitinna is mild by comparison with the protagonist of that violent piece.

6. *Women in a Friendly or Private Situation.* Metro visits her friend Koritto to enquire who made her the red dildo. Koritto is astonished that she knows of this and asks where she saw it. On learning that Euboule had lent it to Nossis, she complains bitterly of her false friend. Metro consoles her and again asks who made it. Koritto tells her that it was Kerdon and describes him and his skill; she explains why she was unable to get a second dildo from him. Metro further learns that more can be discovered of the cobbler from Artemeis, and departs to see her.

Dildos are at least mentioned in Sophron.

7. *A Cobbler.* Metro brings some other ladies to Kerdon's shop. He shows them his stock, with elaborate praise of his wares. There is some bargaining about prices. Kerdon fits some of the ladies with shoes and tells Metro to come back later. Kerdon has been described as the great craftsman in the previous poem; here he is the consummate salesman.

That Kerdon the cobbler of 6 and 7 is the same

## HERODAS

person can hardly be doubted; it is equally certain that the Metro of both is the same, having by the dramatic date of 7 come to know and patronise Kerdon. It is therefore an obvious question if there is not also a continuity of subject; and in fact there are clear indications that Kerdon is still selling dildos as well as shoes, in the very high prices mentioned and in various remarks throughout (especially lines 62-63, 108-112, 127-129).

8. *A Dream*. The speaker, the poet himself, wakens his household and narrates and interprets his dream. It appears that he has participated in some kind of Dionysiac festival, with the sacrifice of a goat, the appearance of the god himself, and a contest in which the participants attempt to stand on an inflated wineskin. He wins this and is threatened by an old man; he replies and calls on a young man. He interprets the dream in relation to his poetry, which is represented by the goat: it is eaten, i.e. attacked by critics; probably he predicts future fame for himself.

The mutilated condition of the text is very unfortunate; if the dream and its interpretation had been better preserved, we should know more of Herodas' view of his own work and perhaps the identity and arguments of his critics. But the damage is so great that no certainty is possible.

9. *Women at Breakfast*. Clearly a domestic scene, perhaps recalling one in Sophron, but the few surviving words give no more detail.

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10. *Molpinos*. The surviving fragment advocates avoiding the miseries of old age by death, a not infrequent wish in Greek literature. Here it may well be an aside rather than the subject. *Molpinos* will have been the main character, *Gryllos* another.

11. *Women working together*. The only surviving line appears to be erotic.

12 and 13, brief quotations from unknown poems, respectively describe a children's game and repeat a popular commonplace. Nothing is known of their contexts.

## TEXT AND EDITIONS

In 1891 F. G. Kenyon published a papyrus roll which had been discovered in Egypt and purchased by the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> It contains the first seven mimiambes of Herodas more or less complete (though the text is damaged from time to time by abrasions or holes); the eighth and the beginning of the ninth were later put together from fragments of papyrus. Presumably the other two whose names are known from quotations, and quite possibly more, have been totally lost from the end of the roll. The scribe writes a small, clear bookhand which can be ascribed to the early second century A.D. He has the orthographical peculiarity of frequently writing  $\iota$  for  $\epsilon\iota$ . Words are not usually separated. In some

<sup>5</sup> Now British Library, Pap. 135. It is referred to as P.

## HERODAS

difficult passages accents, breathings or punctuation marks are added. Changes of speaker are not marked by names but by the paragraphus, a short line placed under the first few letters of the verse in the middle of or after which the change occurs; this indication is not infrequently omitted. The scribe made or faithfully copied many mistakes; some he corrected himself in the course of writing, many more afterwards, doubtless having looked again at his model. A corrector, probably using a different copy, wrote in about three dozen corrections or variants, mostly in the first three poems. There is a handful of later annotations.

A small fragment of a second roll from later in the second century, discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, was published by E. Lobel in 1954<sup>6</sup> and recognised a year later by A. Barigazzi as the ends of 8.67–75. Its text is marginally worse than that of P.

Kenyon's first edition was little more than a transcript of P. Shortly afterwards W. G. Rutherford published his, which assigned the lines to their speakers and made some correct emendations (among a host of wild conjectures). Many other scholars made suggestions in periodicals for the reading, supplementing and interpretation of the

<sup>6</sup>*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 22, no. 2326; it is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and is referred to as O.

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new text, including F. Blass, O. Crusius, "F. D." (an unidentified English scholar), O. A. Danielsson, H. Diels, W. Headlam, H. van Herwerden, A. Palmer, H. Richards, and H. Stadtmüller. Editions and commentaries were produced by F. Bücheler (1892), O. Crusius (1892–1914), and R. Meister (1893; fundamental for the dialect). The work of this early period is summarised in the commentary of J. A. Nairn (1904).

Walter Headlam had spent years collecting material for a definitive commentary, but was prevented by his premature death from finally organising and publishing it. This task was undertaken by A. D. Knox, who contributed significantly to the restoration of 8. This edition (1922) is the only one of Herodas which will certainly have a lasting value beyond its immediate sphere, but for that sphere it has major defects, in particular the absence of typographical indications of supplements in the text. P. Groeneboom's French commentary on 1–6 (1922) is also important. Knox and R. Herzog continued to struggle with the problems of 8, and each finished by producing a text with translation: Herzog a revision of Crusius's German one (1926), Knox in the first Loeb edition a very idiosyncratic and unhelpful antique English one (1929). At the same time a French translation in the Budé series was done by H. Laloy, with text by Nairn (1928).

Later editors have followed the modern tendency of keeping the text much freer of uncertain supple-

## HERODAS

ments: Q. Cataudella (1948; Italian translation), G. Puccioni (1950; Italian commentary), L. Massa Positano (mimiambes 1–4, 1970–3; Italian translation and commentary), I. C. Cunningham (1971; English commentary), and B. G. Mandilaras (1978 and 1986; Modern Greek translation and commentary). The present editor's Teubner edition (1987) has a full apparatus, bibliography and index. Important modern books on the dialect are those of D. Bo (*La Lingua di Eroda*, 1962) and V. Schmidt (*Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, 1968); on the production that of G. Mastromarco (see above, note 3).

This edition largely repeats the text of the Teubner one, but is somewhat less austere in printing supplements in damaged passages; these are to be understood as giving the likely sense, but not necessarily the exact words lost. The apparatus records only substantive variations from the papyrus; corrections by the scribe and orthographical and dialectal modifications are not included.

# MIMES

## 1. ΠΡΟΚΥΚΛΙ[Σ] Η ΜΑΣΤΡΟΠΟΣ

- (MH.) Θ[ρείσ]σ', ἀράσσει τὴν θύρην τις· οὐκ ὄψημι  
 μ[ή] τ[ις] παρ' ἡμέων ἐξ ἀγροικίης ἤκει;
- (ΘP.) τίς τ[ήν] θύρην;
- <ΓΥ.> ἐγῶδε.
- <ΘP.> τίς σύ; δειμαίνεις  
 ἄσσον προσελθεῖν;
- <ΓΥ.> ἦν ἰδοῦ, πάρειμι' ἄσσον.
- <ΘP.> τίς δ' εἰ<ς> σύ;
- <ΓΥ.> Γυλλίς, ἡ Φιλαινίδος μήτηρ. 5  
 ἄγγελον ἔνδον Μητρίχηι παρεῦσάν με.
- <ΘP.> καλεῖ —
- <MH.> τίς ἔστιν;

1 Θ[ρείσ]σ' Rutherford, Bücheler

2 μ[ή] τ[ις] Blass

3 τ[ήν] several ΓΥ. ἐγῶδε (= ἐγὼ ἦδε) Blass

5 φιλαινίου in text, 'νιδος' in margin P

7 So divided by Danielsson: MH. κάλει ('Invite her in').  
 τίς ἔστιν; ΘP. Γυλλίς, ἀμμίη Γυλλίς Blass (but command and  
 question should be in the reverse order)



## 1. A MATCHMAKER OR PROCURESS

METRICHE

Th[reis]sa, someone is banging at the door. Go and see [if one] of our people from the country has come.

THREISSA

Who's at [the] door?

<GYLLIS>

It's I.

<THREISSA>

Who are you? Are you afraid to come nearer?

<GYLLIS>

See, I have come nearer.

<THREISSA>

But who are you?

<GYLLIS>

Gyllis, Philaenis' mother. Go in and tell Metriche that I am here.

<THREISSA>

There is a visitor —

<METRICHE>

Who is it?

## HERODAS

&lt;ΘΡ.&gt;

Γυλλίς.

&lt;ΜΗ.&gt;

ἄμμιη Γυλλίς.

στρέψον τι, δούλη. τίς σε μοῖρ' ἔπεισ' ἔλθειν,  
 Γυλλίς, πρὸς ἡμέας; τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους;  
 ἤδη γάρ εἰσι πέντε κου, δοκέω, μῆνες 10  
 ἐξ εὖ σε, Γυλλίς, οὐδ' ὄναρ, μὰ τὰς Μοίρας,  
 πρὸς τὴν θύρην ἔλθοῦσαν εἶδέ τις ταύτην.

(ΓΥ.)

μακρὴν ἀποικέω, τέκνον, ἐν δὲ τῆς λαύρηις  
 ὁ πηλὸς ἄχρις ἰγνύων προσέστηκεν,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ δραίνω μυῖ' ὅσον· τὸ γὰρ γῆρας 15  
 ἡμέας καθέλκει κῆ σκιὴ παρέστηκεν.

[ΜΗ.]

σίγη] δὲ καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου καταψεύδεο·  
 οἴη τ' ἔτ'] εἰ<ς> γάρ, Γυλλί, κῆτέρους ἄγχειν.

(ΓΥ.)

σίλλ[α]ιγε· ταῦτα τῆς νεωτέρης ὑμῖν  
 πρόσσεστιν.

&lt;ΜΗ.&gt;

ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο μὴ σε θερμήνηι. 20

&lt;ΓΥ.&gt;

ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον, κόσσον τιν' ἤδη χηραίνεις  
 χρόνον μόνη τρύχουσα τὴν μίαν κοίτην;  
 ἐξ εὖ γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐστάλη Μάνδρις

15–16 are cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.50b.52, from Herodas' *Mimiambi*, with minor corruptions

17 σίγη] Bücheler δὲ Cunningham

18 οἴη τ' ἔτ'] (ε)ἶ Tucker

20 Others give the whole line to Gyllis, 'but this will not keep you warm'.

MIME 1

<THREISSA>

Gyllis.

<METRICHE>

Mama Gyllis! Leave us, slave. What fate has persuaded you, Gyllis, to come to us? Why are you here, a god to men? For it's now, I think, about five months since anyone saw you, Gyllis, coming to this door even in a dream, I swear it by the Fates.

GYLLIS

I live far off, child, and in the lanes the mud comes up to one's knees. And I have the strength of a fly; for old age weighs me down and the shadow is at hand.

[METRICHE]

[Be quiet] and do not bring false charges against your age. For [you are still able] to hug others, Gyllis.

GYLLIS

Joke away; that's typical of you younger ones.

<METRICHE>

Now don't let this heat you.

<GYLLIS>

Well, my child, how long now is it that you've been separated, wearing out your single bed alone? It's ten months since Mandris set off for Egypt, and

δέκ' εἰσὶ μῆνες, κούδὲ γράμμα σοι πέμπει,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκλέλησται καὶ πέπωκεν ἐκ καινῆς. 25  
 κεῖ δ' ἔστιν οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ πάντα,  
 ὅσ' ἔστι κου καὶ γίνετ', ἔστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ·  
 πλοῦτος, παλαίστρη, δύναμις, εὐδία, δόξα,  
 θέαι, φιλόσοφοι, χρυσίον, νεηνίσκοι,  
 θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστός, 30  
 Μουσηῖον, οἶνος, ἀγαθὰ πάντ' ὅσ' ἂν χρήζῃ,  
 γυναῖκες, ὀκόσους οὐ μὰ τὴν Ἄϊδεω Κούρην  
 ἀστέρας ἐνεγκεῖν οὐραν[ὸ]ς κεκαύχεται,  
 τῆν δ' ὄψιν οἶαι πρὸς Πάριον κοτ' ὤρμησαν  
 θ]ε[αῖ κρ]ιθῆναι καλλονήν— λάθοιμ' αὐτάς 35  
 γρύξασ]α. κο[ί]ην οὖν τάλαιω[α] σὺ ψυχὴν  
 ἔ]χο[υσ]α θάλπεις τὸν δίφρον; κατ' οὖν λήσεις  
 γηρᾶσα] καί σευ τὸ ὤριον τέφρη κάψει.  
 πάπτ]ηνον ἄλλῃ κῆμέρας μετάλλαξον  
 τὸ]ν νοῦν δὴ ἢ τρεῖς, κίλαρῆ κατάστηθι 40  
 (.).....]ς ἄλλον· νηῦς μιῆς ἐπ' ἀγκύρης  
 οὐκ] ἀσφαλῆς ὀρμεῦσα· κείνος ἦν ἔλθῃ  
 .....].ν[.] μηδὲ εἰς ἀναστήσει  
 ἦ]μέας ....τοδινα δ' ἄγριος χειμῶν  
 ..[.....]. κούδὲ εἰς οἶδεν 45

31 χρήζη&lt;ις&gt; Bücheler

32 τὴν Δεωκούρην ('daughter of Deo', i.e. of Demeter)  
Meister

MIME 1

not a word does he send you; he has forgotten and drunk from a new cup. The home of the goddess is there. For everything in the world that exists and is produced is in Egypt: wealth, wrestling schools, power, tranquillity, fame, spectacles, philosophers, gold, youths, the sanctuary of the sibling gods, the King excellent, the Museum, wine, every good thing he could desire, women, as many by Hades' Maid as the stars that heaven boasts of bearing and as lovely as [the goddesses] who once hastened to Paris to be [judged] for beauty—may they not notice [what I say]! What then, poor girl, [is in] your mind that you are keeping your seat warm?<sup>a</sup> You will [become old] before you know and ashes will gulp your beauty. [Glance] elsewhere and for two or three days change [your] purpose, and become cheerful [ ] another: a ship [is not] safe riding at one anchor. If he comes [ ] no one shall raise us, dear, and a wild storm [ ], and none of us knows

<sup>a</sup> I.e. 'doing nothing'.

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34 τῆν δ οἶνον P, with το δ (ε)ιδος written above by the corrector

35 θεὰ κρ]ιθῆναι Bücheler

36 γρύξασ]α Headlam

37 εἴ]χο[υσ]α several

38 γηρᾶσα] Rutherford, Blass

39 πάπτ]ηνον Weil

43 ὁ πορφύρεος] Crusius [οὐ] μῆδὲ Richards

44 -το· δεῶν seems preferable to · τὸ δεῶνα; but with the latter φῆλη (Bell) may precede

τὸ μέλλο]ν ἡμέων· ἄστατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις  
 .....]..η[.]ς. ἀλλὰ μήτις ἔστηκε  
 σύνεγγυς ἡμῖν;

&lt;ΜΗ.&gt;

οὐδὲ ε[ι]ς.

&lt;ΓΥ.&gt;

ἄκουσον δὴ

ἄ σοι χρε[ι]ζουσ' ὦδ' ἔβην ἀπαγγεῖλαι·  
 ὁ Ματαλίνης τῆς Παταικίου Γρύλλος, 50  
 ὁ πέντε νικέων ἄθλα, παῖς μὲν ἐν Πυθοῖ,  
 δις δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοὺς Ἴουλον ἀνθεῦντας,  
 ἄνδρας δὲ Πίσῃ δις καθεῖλε πυκτεύσας,  
 πλουτέων τὸ καλόν, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 κινέων, ἄθικτος ἐς Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς, 55  
 ἰδὼν σε καθόδῳ τῆς Μίσσης ἐκύμηνε  
 τὰ σπλάγχν' ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρηθείς,  
 καί μευ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐπ' ἡμέρην λείπει  
 τὸ δῶμα, [τέ]κνον, ἀλλὰ μευ κατακλαίει  
 καὶ ταταλ[ι]ζει καὶ ποθέων ἀποθνήσκει. 60  
 ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη, μίαν ταύτην  
 ἀμαρτίην δὸς τῇ θεῶι· κατάρτησον  
 σαυτήν, τὸ [γ]ήρας μὴ λάθῃ σε προσβλέψαν.  
 καὶ δοιὰ πρήξεις· ἡδέω[ν] τε[ύ]ξ[ει] κ[αί] σοι  
 δοθήσεταιί τι μέζον ἢ δοκεῖς· σκέψαι, 65

46 τὸ μέλλο]ν several

50 ματακίης P, with λ written above κ by the corrector

MIME 1

[the future]; for [                    is] unstable for men. But is there anyone near us?

<METRICHE>

No one.

<GYLLIS>

Then listen to what I came here wishing to tell you: Gryllos, son of Pataekion's Mataline, winner of five prizes—as a boy at Pytho, twice at Korinthos over the downy-cheeked youths, while he brought down men twice at Pisa<sup>a</sup>—quite well off, but not moving even a straw from the earth,<sup>b</sup> an untouched seal as far as Kytheria<sup>c</sup> is concerned, on seeing you at the Descent of Mise<sup>d</sup> seethed inside, stung to the heart with love, and neither at night nor throughout the day does he leave my house, child, but wails at me and calls me mama and is dying of desire. Now, Metriche my child, allow the goddess this one fault; dedicate yourself, in case old age sees you unexpectedly. You will gain two benefits: [you will get] pleasure [and] something greater than you expect will be given [to you]. Consider, do as I say;

<sup>a</sup> In the Pythian, Isthmian and Olympic games respectively.

<sup>b</sup> Proverbial expression for a quiet person; also used in 4.67.

<sup>c</sup> Aphrodite.

<sup>d</sup> Festival representing a descent (into Hades) of this minor goddess.

HERODAS

πείσθητί μευ· φιλέω σε, να[ι] μὰ τὰς Μοίρας.

- (ΜΗ.) Γυλλί, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαμβλύνει  
 τὸν νοῦν· μὰ τὴν γὰρ Μάνδριος κατὰπλωσιν  
 καὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, ταῦτ' ἐγὼ [ἐ]ξ ἄλλης  
 γυναικὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠδέεωσ ἐπήκουσα, 70  
 χωλὴν δ' αἰεῖδειν χῶλ' ἂν ἐξεπαίδευσα  
 καὶ τῆς θύρης τὸν οὐδὸν ἐχθρὸν ἠγεῖσθαι.  
 σὺ δ' αὐτίς ἐς με μηδὲ ἔν<α>, φίλη, τοῖον  
 φέρουσα χώρει μῦθον· ὄν δὲ γρήησι  
 πρέπει γυναιξὶ τῆς νέης ἀπάγγελλε· 75  
 τὴν Πυθέω δὲ Μητρίχην ἕα θάλπειν  
 τὸν δίφρον· οὐ γὰρ ἐγγελαῖ τις εἰς Μάνδριν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τούτων, φασί, τῶν λόγων Γυλλίς  
 δεῖται· Θρέισσα, τὴν μελαινίδ' ἔκτριψον  
 κῆκτημόρους τρεῖς ἐγχέασ[α τ]οῦ ἀκρήτου 80  
 καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπιστάξασα δὸς πιεῖν.

(ΓΥ.) καλῶς.

(ΜΗ.) τῆ, Γυλλί, πῖθι.

<ΓΥ.> δεῖξον οὐ[.].....πα.[  
 πείσουσά σ' ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἔκητι τῶν ἰρῶν.

67–68 are cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.50b.59, from Herodas' *Mimiambi*, with γύναι for Γυλλί

73 ἔν<α> Blass

79 In the margin is what appears to be a gloss on μελαι-  
 νίδα: κυλ(ικων) γέ(νος) εὐ(τελής)



MIME 1

I love you, I swear it by the Fates.

METRICHE

Gyllis, the whiteness of your hair is blunting your mind; for by Mandris' return and dear Demeter I should not have heard this cheerfully from another woman, but should have taught her to sing her lame song with a limp and to find the threshold of my door a hostile place. See that you do not come again to me, my friend, with any such tale, but repeat to your young girls one which suits old crones. And let Metriche, daughter of Pytheas, keep her seat warm; for no one laughs at Mandris. But it is not these words, they say, that Gyllis needs; Threissa, wipe the cup clean and give her a drink, pouring in half of wine and a splash of water.

GYLLIS

No, thanks.

METRICHE

Here, Gyllis, drink.

<GYLLIS>

Show.<sup>a</sup> I did not come to persuade you  
[   ], but because of the rites.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning is not clear: perhaps explained by the lost end of the verse. 'Give it me' (Knox) is an unsupported rendering.

- <ΜΗ.> ὦν οὐνεκέν μοι, Γυλλί, ὦνα[  
 <ΓΥ.> οσσοῦ γένοιτο, μᾶ, τέκνον π[.]..... 85  
 ἠδύς γε· ναὶ Δήμητρα, Μητρ[ί]χῃ, τούτου  
 ἠδίων' οἶνον Γυλλίς οὐ πέ[π]ωκέην [κω.  
 σὺ δ' εὐτύχει μοι, τέκνον, ἀσ[φα]λίξιεν [δέ  
 σαυτήν· ἐμοὶ δὲ Μυρτάλη τε κ[αὶ] Σίμη  
 νέαι μένοιεν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐμπνέη[ι] Γυλλίς. 90

84–85 Division among speakers and readings are doubtful

MIME 1

<METRICHE>

On account of which to me, Gyllis, [  
].

<GYLLIS>

† † may be, ah, child, [ ]  
sweet; by Demeter, Metriche, Gyllis has never  
before drunk sweeter wine than this. Farewell,  
child, [and] look after yourself; but may my Myrtale  
and Sime<sup>a</sup> remain young, as long as Gyllis breathes.

<sup>a</sup> Typical names of courtesans.

## 2. ΠΟΡΝΟΒΟΣΚΟΣ

(BA.) ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς γενῆς μ[ἐ]ν οὐκ ἐστὲ  
 ἡμέων κριταὶ δῆκουθεν οὐδὲ [τ]ῆς δόξης,  
 οὐδ' εἰ Θαλῆς μὲν οὗτος ἀξίην τῆ[ν] νῆυν  
 ἔχει ταλάντων πέντ', ἐγὼ δὲ μ[η]δ' ἄρτους,  
 ....] ὑπερέξει Βάτταρόν [τι π]ημήνας· 5  
 πολλο]ῦ γε καὶ δ(ε)ῖ· [τ]ώλυκόν γὰρ [ἄν] κλαύσαι  
 ....] ιησομαστοσηιασ[... ]γχωρη  
 ....] σμε ... ἐστὶ τῆς [πό]λιος κῆγώ,  
 καὶ ζ]ῶμεν οὐκ ὡς βουλό[με<σ>]θ' ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμέας  
 ὁ και]ρὸς ἔλκει. προστάτην [ἔχ]ει Μεννῆν, 10  
 ἐγ]ῶ δ' Ἀριστοφῶντα· πὺξ [νε]νίκηκεν  
 Μεν]νῆς, [Ἀρισ]τοφῶν δὲ κ[ῆ]τι νῦν ἄγχει·  
 κεί μ]ή ἐστ' ἀ[λη]θέα ταῦτα, το[ῦ ἡ]λίου δύντος  
 ἐξε]λθετω[... ]ων ἄνδρες [..]χε χλαῖναν

5 δίκη] Crusius

6 πολλο]ῦ γε καὶ δ(ε)ῖ Milne [τ]ώλυκόν γὰρ [ἄν] κλαύσαι  
 Knox

7 supplements and word-division are quite uncertain

8 κοῦτ]ος μέτροκος F.D.

## 2. A BROTHEL-KEEPER

### BATTAROS

Gentlemen of the jury, certainly you are not judges of our family or reputation; nor, if the defendant Thales has a ship worth five talents and I not even bread, shall he prevail [ ] and harm Battaros. [Far from it:] for he would weep bitterly [ ]<sup>a</sup> of the city, as I am, [and] we live not as we wish but as [the moment] compels us. He [has] Mennes as patron, [I] have Aristophon: Mennes has won with his fists, but Aristophon can [even] now wrestle; [if] this is not true, after sunset ( ) come out,<sup>b</sup> gentlemen, [ ] cloak [ ] he will

<sup>a</sup> The meaning of line 7 is quite uncertain. Line 8 may begin 'He too is an alien'.

<sup>b</sup> This may be said to the jury, 'come out', or of Thales, 'let him come out'.

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9	καὶ ζῶμεν	Headlam	βουλό[με<σ>]θ'	Crusius	
10	ὁ καὶ	Stadtmüller	[ἔχ]ει	Milne	
12	Μεν]νῆς	Crusius	[Ἀρισ]τοφῶν	Headlam	
	κ[ῆτι]				
Bücheler	13	κεῖ μ]ῆ	Blass	ἀ[λη]θέα	Blass
	14	ἐξέ]λθετ'	Blass,	ἐξε]λθέτω	Knox
			ἦ[ν (ε)]χ	Blass,	

but the first letter is rather α[

...] γνώσετ' οἷωι προστάτ[ηι τ]εθώρηγμαι. 15  
 ἐρεῖ] τάχ' ὑ[μ]ῖν ἔξ Ἄκης ἐλήλ[ο]υθα  
 πυρ]οὺς ἄγων κῆστησα τὴν κακὴν λιμόν',  
 ἐγὼ δ]ὲ πό[ρ]νας ἐκ Τύρου· τί τῶι δήμωι  
 ..... ; δ]ωρεὴν γὰρ οὔτ' οὔτος πυρούς  
 .....]θιν οὔτ' ἐγὼ πάλιν κείνην. 20  
 εἰ δ' οὔνεκεν πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ χλαῖναν  
 ἔχει τριῶν μνέων Ἀττικῶν, ἐγὼ δ' οἰκέω  
 ἐν γῆι τρίβωνα καὶ ἀσκέρας σαπρὰς ἔλκων,  
 βίηι τιν' ἄξει τῶν ἐμῶν ἔμ' οὐ πείσας,  
 καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός, οἶχετ' ἤμιν ἡ ἀλεωρὴ 25  
 τῆς πόλιος, ἄνδρες, κὰπ' ὅτ<ε>ωι σεμνύνεσθε,  
 τὴν αὐτονομίην ὑμέων Θαλῆς λύσει.  
 ὃν χρῆν ἐαυτὸν ὅστις ἐστὶ κακ ποίου  
 πηλοῦ πεφύρητ' εἰδότης ὡς ἐγὼ ζῶειν  
 τῶν δημοτέων φρίσσοντα καὶ τὸν ἥκιστον. 30  
 νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔοντες τῆς πόλιος καλυπτῆρες  
 καὶ τῆι γενῆι φυσῶντες οὐκ ἴσον τούτῳ  
 πρὸς τοὺς νόμους βλέπουσι κῆμὲ τὸν ξεῖνον  
 οὐδεὶς πολίτης ἠλόγησεν οὐδ' ἤλθεν  
 πρὸς τὰς θύρας μευ νυκτός οὐδ' ἔχων δαΐδας 35  
 τὴν οἰκίην ὑφῆψεν οὐδὲ τῶν πορνέων

15 γνώσετ' οἷωι Knox

16 ἐρ(ε)ῖ] τάχ' ὑ[μ]ῖν Crusius

17 πυρ]οὺς F.D., Crusius

MIME 2

know by what kind of patron I am protected. Perhaps [he will say] to you, 'I came from Ake<sup>a</sup> with [wheat] and checked the bad famine.' [But I] came from Tyre with girls. What [ ] to the people? For neither does he [give] the wheat [ ]<sup>b</sup> for nothing, nor again do I give her.<sup>c</sup> But if because he sails the sea or has a cloak worth three Attic minas, while I live on land wearing a rough coat and shuffling along in rotten shoes, he will by force take one of my girls without my consent, and that at night, the security of your city is lost, gentlemen, and what you pride yourselves on, your freedom, will be undone by Thales. Knowing who he is and from what kind of clay he is mixed, he ought to live as I do, trembling before even the humblest of the common people. But in fact those who are the upper-crust of the city, and are puffed with pride in their family far more than he, respect the laws; no citizen has thrashed me, the alien, or come to my doors at night or with torches set my house on

<sup>a</sup> The later Acre.

<sup>b</sup> '[to grind]' or something similar.

<sup>c</sup> Or (with *κινεῖν*) 'give them to screw'.

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18 ἐγὼ δ]ἐ Headlam

19 τοῦτ' ἔστι; Headlam

20 δίδωσ' ἀλή]θ(ε)ιν F.D., δίδωσιν ἔσ]θ(ε)ιν Crusius

κινῆν P, whence κείνην Hicks, κινεῖν Crusius

28 εχρην αυτον P, corrected by several

βίηι λαβὼν οἴχωκεν· ἀλλ' ὁ Φρὺξ οὗτος,  
 ὁ νῦν Θαλῆς ἐών, πρόσθε δ', ἄνδρες, Ἀρτίμμησ,  
 ἄπαντα ταῦτ' ἔπρηξε κοῦκ ἐπηιδέσθη  
 οὔτε νόμον οὔτε προστάτην οὔτ' ἄρχοντα. 40

καίτοι λαβὼν μοι, γραμματεῦ, τῆς αἰκείης  
 τὸν νόμον ἄνειπε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ὀπὴν βῦσον  
 τῆς κλεψύδρης, βέλτιστε, μέχρισ εὖ <ν>είπηι,  
 μὴ †προστε† κῦσος φῆι τι κῶ τάπησ ἡμιν,  
 τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, ληίης κύρσηι. 45

(ΓΡ.) ἐπὴν δ' ἐλεύθερός τις αἰκίσηι δούλην  
 ἢ ἔ<λ>κων ἐπίσπηι, τῆσ δίκης τὸ τίμημα  
 διπλοῦν τελείτω.

(ΒΑ.) ταῦτ' ἔγραψε Χαιρώνδης,  
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ οὐχὶ Βάτταρος χρήζων  
 Θαλῆν μετελθεῖν. ἦν θύρην δέ τις κόψηι, 50  
 μνην τινέτω, φησ'· ἦν δὲ πὺξ ἀλοιήσηι,  
 ἄλλην πάλι μνην· ἦν δὲ τὰ οἰκί' ἐμπρήσηι  
 ἢ ὄρους ὑπερβῆι, χιλίας τὸ τίμημα  
 ἐνεμιε, κῆν βλάψηι τι, διπλόον τίνειν.  
 ὠικεὶ πόλιν γάρ, ὦ Θάλης, σὺ δ' οὐκ οἴσθασ 55

43 <ν>είπηι Richards

44 πρόσθ' ὁ Piccolomini φησι P, corrected by Rutherford

47 ἔ<λ>κων Rutherford



## MIME 2

fire or forcibly abducted one of my girls. But this Phrygian, who is now called Thales but previously, gentlemen, was Artimmes,<sup>a</sup> has done all this and showed no respect for law or magistrate or ruler. Now, clerk, take and read me the law of assault, and you, my good fellow, stuff the hole of the water-clock until he has spoken, lest bum say † †<sup>b</sup> and our sheet, as the saying goes, gets the spoil.

### CLERK

When a freeman assaults a slave-girl or pulls her about and belabours her, he is to pay double the fine for the crime.

### BATTAROS

This was written by Chaerondes,<sup>c</sup> gentlemen of the jury, and not by Battaros wanting to punish Thales. But if someone knocks at a door, he is to be fined a mina, he says; and if he beats someone up, again another mina, and if he burns the house or crosses the boundary, he assessed the penalty at a thousand, and if he causes any injury, to pay double. For he was settling a city, Thales, but you do not

<sup>a</sup> Battaros alleges that Thales has changed his name to conceal his foreign (and possibly servile) origin.

<sup>b</sup> Probably 'lest the bum say something before'. Battaros compares the waterclock, which had a hole and plug in its base, to an anus about to 'speak' (similar vulgarities are found in Aristophanes) and soil the bed (the saying about 'sheet' and 'spoil' is not otherwise known).

<sup>c</sup> A lawgiver.

## HERODAS

οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε πῶς πόλις διοικεῖται,  
 οἰκεῖς δὲ σήμερον μὲν ἐν Βρικινδήροις  
 ἐχθρὸς δ' ἐν Ἀβδῆροισιν, αὔριον δ' ἦν σοι  
 ναῦλον διδοῖ τις, ἐς Φασηλίδα πλώσῃ.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὅκως ἂν μὴ μακρηγορέων ὑμέας, 60  
 ὦνδρες δικασταί, τῆι παροιμίῃι τρύχῳ,  
 πέπονθα πρὸς Θάλητος ὅσα κῆν πίσσηι  
 μῦς· πύξ ἐπλήγην, ἣ θύρη κατήρακται  
 τῆς οἰκίης μευ, τῆς τελέω τρίτην μισθόν,  
 τὰ ὑπέρθυρ' ὀπτά. δεῦρο, Μυρτάλη, καὶ σύ· 65  
 δεῖξον σεωυτὴν πᾶσι· μηδέν' αἰσχύνευ·  
 νόμιζε τούτους οὓς ὀρῆις δικάζοντας  
 πατέρας ἀδελφοὺς ἐμβλέπειν. ὀρῆτ' ἄνδρες,  
 τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθεν κᾶνωθεν  
 ὡς λεία ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ὠναγῆς οὔτος, 70  
 ὅτ' εἶλκεν αὐτὴν κἀβιάζετ' — ὦ γῆρας,  
 σοὶ θυέτω ἐπ[εῖ] τὸ αἶμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν  
 ὡσπερ Φίλιστος ἐν Σάμῳ κοτ' ὁ Βρέγκος.  
 γελᾶις; κίνα[ι]δὸς εἶμι καὶ οὐκ ἀπαρνεῦμαι,  
 καὶ Βάτταρός μοι τοῦνομ' ἐστὶ κὼ πάππος 75  
 ἦν μοι Σισυμβρᾶς κὼ πατὴρ Σισυμβρίσκος,  
 κῆπορνοβόσ[κ]ευν πάντες, ἀλλ' ἔκητ' ἀλκῆς

66 μηδέν' and μηδὲν are both possible

72 ἐπ[εῖ] Blass

## MIME 2

know a city and how a city is governed: but today you live in Brikindera, yesterday in Abdera, and tomorrow if someone gives you the fare you'll sail to Phaselis.<sup>a</sup> But I, gentlemen of the jury—in order not with long speeches to wear you out by digression—I have suffered from Thales what the mouse did in pitch:<sup>b</sup> I was struck with his fist, the door of my house, for which I pay a third<sup>c</sup> in rent, was broken down, the lintel roasted. Myrtale, come here; show yourself to all—don't be ashamed before anyone. Consider that in these gentlemen you see on the jury you are looking on fathers, brothers. See, gentlemen, her plucked skin, both below and above, how smooth this "innocent" has plucked it, when he was dragging and forcing her—Old Age, let him make you a thank-offering, else he would have breathed out his blood as Philistos son of Brenx once did in Samos.<sup>d</sup> You laugh? I am gay and don't deny it; Battaros is my name and my grandfather was Sisymbras and my father Sisymbriskos,<sup>e</sup> and all were brothel-keepers, but for strength I'd boldly

<sup>a</sup> All cities of poor reputation.

<sup>b</sup> Battaros recalls, but very vaguely, the proverbial mouse which was trapped in pitch and died.

<sup>c</sup> Presumably 1/3 of the value of the house, a large amount to reflect the dangers to which Battaros' profession exposed it.

<sup>d</sup> The victim of a boxer falsely accused of softness.

<sup>e</sup> Names suggesting effeminacy.

θαρσέων λέο[ν]τ' ἄ[γχ]οιμ' ἄν εἰ Θαλῆς εἶη.  
 ἐρᾶῖς σὺ μὲν ἴσω[ς] Μυρτάλης; οὐδὲν δεινόν·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πυρέων· ταῦτα δούς ἐκεῖν' ἔξεις. 80  
 ἢ νῆ Δί', εἴ σευ θ[ά]λπεταιί τι τῶν ἔνδον,  
 ἔμβυσον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα Βατταρίωι τιμῆν,  
 καὐτὸς τὰ σαυτοῦ θλῆ λαβῶν ὅκως χρήζεις.  
 ἔν δ' ἔστιν, ἄνδρες — ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται  
 πρὸς τοῦτον — ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἁμαρτύρων εὔντων 85  
 γνώμη δικαίηι τὴν κρίσιν διαιτᾶτε.  
 ἦν δ' οἶον ἐς τὰ δοῦλα σώματα σπεύδῃ  
 κῆς βάσανον αἰτῆι, προσδίδωμι κάμαυτόν·  
 λαβῶν, Θαλῆ, στρέβλου με· μούνον ἢ τιμῆ  
 ἐν τῶι μέσωι ἔστω· ταῦτα τρυτάνηι Μίνως 90  
 οὐκ ἄν δικάζων βέλτιον διήιτησε.  
 τὸ λοιπόν, ἄνδρες, μὴ δοκεῖτε τὴν ψῆφον  
 τῶι πορνοβοσκῶι Βαττάρωι φέρειν, ἀλλά  
 ἅπασι τοῖς οἰκεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ξείνοις.  
 νῦν δείξετ' ἢ Κῶς κῶ Μέρωψ κόσον δραίνει 95  
 κῶ Θεσσαλὸς τίν' εἶχε κῆρακλῆς δόξαν,  
 κῶσκληπιὸς κῶς ἦλθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκ Τρίκκης,  
 κῆτικτε Λητοῦν ὦδε τεῦ χάριν Φοίβη.

78 λέο[ν]τ' ἄ[γχ]οιμ' ἄν Blass

82 Βαττάρωι Rutherford

## MIME 2

[choke] a lion, if it were Thales. You love Myrtale perhaps: nothing strange in that; but I love bread: give the one and you will have the other. Or by Zeus, if your passion is roused, stuff the price into little Battaros' hand, and take your own property and bash her as you want. But there is one thing, gentlemen—for this was addressed to him—you must, as there are no witnesses, decide the case with just judgement. But if he is only eager for slaves' bodies and asks them for torture, I offer myself: take me, Thales, and stretch me; only let the value be on hand.<sup>a</sup> Minos judging this with his scales would not have decided it better. For the rest, gentlemen, do not think that you are casting your vote for the brothel-keeper Battaros, but for all the foreigners living in the city. Now you will show to what extent Kos and Merops<sup>b</sup> are strong, and what fame Thessalos had and Herakles,<sup>c</sup> and how Asklepios came here from Triikka,<sup>d</sup> and the reason for Phoebe's giving birth to Leto here.<sup>e</sup> Considering

<sup>a</sup> When a slave was tortured to obtain evidence and the accusation was not upheld, the accuser had to compensate the owner with the value of the slave.

<sup>b</sup> Merops was a legendary king of the island, Kos his daughter.

<sup>c</sup> Herakles, returning from Troy, landed in Kos, and was the father of Thessalos by the king's daughter.

<sup>d</sup> Town in Thessaly, original site of the cult of Asklepios.

<sup>e</sup> Leto, daughter of *Koeos*, is claimed to have been born in *Kos*.

HERODAS

ταῦτα σκοπεῦντες πάντα τὴν δίκην ὀρθῆι  
 γνώμηι κυβερνᾶτ', ὡς ὁ Φρῦξ τὰ νῦν ὑμῖν  
 πληγεῖς ἀμείνων ἔσσειτ', εἴ τι μὴ ψεῦδος  
 ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἢ παροιμίη βάζει.

100

102 βραζει the corrector

## MIME 2

all this, steer the case with straight judgement, and you'll see that the Phrygian will now be better for a beating, unless the saying from men of old speaks false.

### 3. ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ

(ΜΗ.) οὕτω τί σοι δοίησαν αἱ φίλαι Μοῦσαι,  
 Λαμπρίσκε, τερπνὸν τῆς ζοῆς τ' ἐπαυρέσθαι,  
 τοῦτον κατ' ὤμου δεῖρον, ἄχρισ ἢ ψυχὴ  
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χειλέων μῦνον ἢ κακὴ λειψθῆι.  
 ἔκ μευ ταλαίνης τὴν στέγην πεπόρθηκεν 5  
 χαλκίνδα παίζων· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπαρκεῦσιν  
 αἱ ἀστραγάλοι, Λαμπρίσκε, συμφορῆς δ' ἤδη  
 ὀρμῆι ἐπὶ μέζον. κοῦ μὲν ἢ θύρη κεῖται  
 τοῦ γραμματιστέω — καὶ τριηκὰς ἢ πικρὴ  
 τὸν μισθὸν αἰτεῖ κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω — 10  
 οὐκ ἂν ταχέως λήξειε· τὴν γε μὴν παίστην,  
 ὄκουπερ οἰκίζουσιν οἳ τε προυνεῖκοι  
 κοῖ δρηπέται, σάφ' οἶδε κητέρωι δεῖξαι.  
 κῆ μὲν τάλαινα δέλτος, ἣν ἐγὼ κάμνω  
 κηροῦσ' ἐκάστου μηνός, ὀρφανὴ κεῖται 15  
 πρὸ τῆς χαμεύνης τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖχον ἐρμῖνος,

8 κοῦ (i.e. καὶ οὐ) Hicks, Weil

10 The paroemiographer Zenobius, 6.10, says that Herodes the iambic poet used the proverb



### 3. A SCHOOLMASTER

#### METROTIME

Lampriskos, as the dear Muses may give you something pleasant, and enjoyment of life, flay this boy on his shoulder, until his wretched soul is just left on his lips. He has pillaged my house, poor me, by spinning coins; for in fact the dice are no longer enough, Lampriskos, and things are now rushing to a greater disaster. Where the teacher's door is—and the woeful thirtieth seeks the fee,<sup>a</sup> even if I weep the tears of Nannakos<sup>b</sup>—he could not quickly say: but the gaming house, where the toughs and runaways live, he knows well enough to show to someone else. The wretched tablet,<sup>c</sup> which I tire myself out waxing each month, lies orphaned before

<sup>a</sup> Accounts, including school fees, are paid on the last day of the month.

<sup>b</sup> A king in Phrygia, said to have attempted to avert the great flood by tears to the gods.

<sup>c</sup> Wax-tablets are the equivalent of an exercise-book.

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11 λέξειε many, unnecessarily

12 ὀκλάζουσιν Herwerden

ἦν μήκοτ' αὐτὴν οἶον Ἀΐδην βλέψας  
 γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὄλην ξύσηι·  
 αἱ δορκαλίδες δὲ λιπαρώτεραι πολλόν  
 ἐν τῆισι φύσησι τοῖς τε δικτύοις κεῖνται 20  
 τῆς ληκύθου ἡμέων τῆι ἐπὶ παντὶ χρώμεσθα.  
 ἐπίσταται δ' οὐδ' ἄλφα συλλαβὴν γνῶναι,  
 ἦν μὴ τις αὐτῶι ταῦτ' ἀ πεντάκις βώσηι.  
 τριτῆμέρηι Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος  
 τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶι, τὸν Μάρων' ἐποίησεν 25  
 οὗτος Σίμων' ὁ χρηστός· ὥστ' ἔγωγ' εἶπα  
 ἄνουν ἑμαυτῆν, ἥτις οὐκ ὄνους βόσκειν  
 αὐτὸν διδάσκω, γραμμάτων δὲ παιδείην,  
 δοκεῦσ' ἄρωγόν τῆς ἀωρίης ἔξειν.  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ δῆ καὶ ρῆσιν οἶα παιδίσκον 30  
 ἢ ἄ γώ μιν εἰπεῖν ἢ ὁ πατὴρ ἀνώγωμεν,  
 γέρων ἀνῆρ ὡσὶν τε κῶμμασιν κάμνων,  
 ἐνταῦθ' ὅκως νιν ἐκ τετρημένης ἠθεῖ  
 "Ἀπολλων . . . Ἀγρεῦ . . .", 'τοῦτο' φημὶ 'κῆ μάμμη  
 τάλης, ἐρεῖ σοι — κῆστὶ γραμμάτων χήρη — 35  
 κῶ προστυχῶν Φρύξ.' ἦν δὲ δῆ τι καὶ μέζον  
 γρυῖσαι θέλωμεν, ἢ τριταῖος οὐκ οἶδεν  
 τῆς οἰκίης τὸν οὐδόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μάμμην,  
 γρηῖν γυναιῖκα κῶρφανὴν βίου, κείρει,  
 ἢ τοῦ τέγευς ὑπερθε τὰ σκέλεα τείνας 40

the bed-post next the wall, except when he looks at it as if it were Hades and writes nothing good but scrapes it all smooth. But the dice, much more shiny<sup>a</sup> than our oil-flask which we use constantly, are placed in their skins and nets.<sup>b</sup> He does not even know how to recognise the letter A, if one does not shout the same thing at him five times. Two days ago when his father was teaching him to spell 'Maron', this fine fellow made 'Maron' into 'Simon';<sup>c</sup> so that I said I was a fool, teaching him book-learning instead of to feed asses, thinking I would have a support for bad times. And again when either his father, an old man with sick ears and eyes, or I ask him to recite a speech as one does a youngster, then when he lets it trickle out as if from a holed jug 'Apollo . . . Hunter . . .', 'This' I say 'even your grandmother will recite to you, wretch, and she is devoid of learning, or any passing Phrygian.' And again if we try to speak more forcibly, either for three days he does not know the threshold of the house, but fleeces his grandmother, an old lady destitute of the means of life, or stretching his legs he

<sup>a</sup> With use.

<sup>b</sup> Bags of skin and net.

<sup>c</sup> The name of a throw at dice is substituted for a Homeric name normally used as an example in school.

κάθητ' ὅκως τις καλλίης κάτω κύπτων.  
 τί μευ δοκεῖς τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς κάκης πάσχειν  
 ἐπεὰν ἴδωμι; κοῦ τόσος λόγος τοῦδε·  
 ἀλλ' ὁ κέραμος πᾶς ὥσπερ ἴτ<ρ>ια θλήται,  
 κῆπῆν ὁ χειμῶν ἐγγὺς ἦι, τρί' ἤμαιθα 45  
 κλαίουσ' ἐκάστου τοῦ πλατύσματος τίνω·  
 ἔν γὰρ στόμ' ἐστὶ τῆς συνοικίης πάσης,  
 'τοῦ Μητροτίμησ' ἔργα Κοττάλου ταῦτα',  
 κάληθίν' ὥστε μηδ' ὀδόντα κινήσαι.  
 ὄρη δ' ὀκοίως τὴν ράκιν λελέπηκε 50  
 πᾶσαν, κατ' ὕλην, οἷα Δήλιος κυρτεῦς  
 ἐν τῆι θαλάσσηι, τῶμβλὺ τῆς ζοῆς τρίβων.  
 τὰς ἐβδόμας δ' ἄμεινον εἰκάδας τ' οἶδε  
 τῶν ἀστροδιφέων, κοῦδ' ὕπνος νιν αἰρεῖται  
 νοεῦντ' ὅτ' ἦμος παιγνίην ἀγινῆτε. 55  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, καὶ βίου πρῆξιν  
 ἐσθλὴν τελοῖεν αἶδε καγαθῶν κύρσαις,  
 μῆλασσον αὐτῶι —

(ΛΑ.) Μητροτίμη, <μῆ> ἐπεύχεο·  
 ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μείον. Εὐθύης κοῦ μοι,  
 κοῦ Κόκκαλος, κοῦ Φίλλος; οὐ ταχέως τοῦτον 60  
 ἀρεῖτ' ἐπ' ὤμου τῆι Ἀκέσῃ σεληναίη

42 κάκης Meister, κακῆς most edd.

MIME 3

sits above the roof like a monkey, bending down. What do you think my heart suffers because of his wickedness when I see him? My concern is not so much for him: but all the tiling is broken like wafers, and when winter is near, I pay in tears three half-pennies for each tile; for there is one voice in the whole tenement, that this is the work of Kottalos, Metrotime's son, and it is true, so as not to move a tooth.<sup>a</sup> See how he has roughened all his back by dragging out his pointless life in the wood, like a Delian pot-fisherman<sup>b</sup> at sea. And he knows the seventh and twentieth of the month<sup>c</sup> better than the star-watchers; not even sleep overcomes him as he thinks of when you are on holiday. But if these ladies<sup>d</sup> are to fulfil for you good success in life and you are to obtain blessings, no less to him —

LAMPRIKOS

Metrotime, stop praying; for he shall get no less. Euthies, where are you, and Kokkalos, and Phillos? Quickly lift him on your shoulders to show him to

<sup>a</sup> Sense uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Reference uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> Feast days when the school would be closed.

<sup>d</sup> The Muses.

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44 ἴτ<ρ>ια Rutherford

53 δ' Terzaghi, τ' P

58 <μη> several

δείξοντες; αἰνέω τάργα, Κότταλ', ἃ πρήσσεις·  
 οὐ σοὶ ἔτ' ἀπαρκεῖ τῆσι δορκάσιν παίξιν  
 ἀστράβδ' ὄκωσπερ οἶδε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν παίστην  
 ἐν τοῖσι προ<υ>νείκοισι χαλκίζεις φοιτέων; 65

ἐγὼ σε θήσω κοσμιώτερον κούρης,  
 κινεῦντα μηδὲ κάρφος, εἰ τό γ' ἥδιστον.  
 κοῦ μοι τὸ δριμὺ σκῦτος, ἢ βοὸς κέρκος,  
 ᾧ τοὺς πεδήτας κάποτάκτους λωβεῦμαι;  
 δότω τις εἰς τὴν χεῖρα πρὶν χολῆ<ι> βῆξαι. 70

(ΚΟ.) μὴ μ' ἱκετεύω Λαμπρίσκε, πρὸς σε τῶν Μουσέων  
 καὶ τοῦ γενείου τῆς τε Κόττιδος ψυχῆς,  
 μὴ τῶι με δριμεῖ, τῶι ἔρωι δὲ λώβησαι.

<ΛΑ.> ἀλλ' εἰς πονηρός, Κότταλ', ὦ<σ>τε καὶ περνάς  
 οὐδεὶς σ' ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδ' ὄκου χώρης 75  
 οἷ μῦς ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν.

(ΚΟ.) κόσας, κόσας, Λαμπρίσκε, λίσσομαι, μέλλεις  
 ἔς μ' ἐμφορῆσαι;

<ΛΑ.> μὴ ἔμέ, τήνδε δ' εἰρώτα.

68 σκυλος P, corrected by several

70 χολῆ<ι> Hicks

78 μευ φορησαι P, corrected by Rutherford

<sup>a</sup> Akeses, pilot of the ancient hero Neleus, always waited for the full moon so as not to sail in darkness. His moon therefore is the time that is ripe for action.

### MIME 3

Akeses' moon.<sup>a</sup> I approve of your deeds, Kottalos; isn't it enough for you any longer to play flashingly with dice, like these boys, but you go to the gaming house and spin coins among the toughs? I shall make you better behaved than a girl, not moving even a straw,<sup>b</sup> if that is what you want. Where is my biting strap, the bull's tail, with which I mutilate those whom I've fettered and set apart? Put it in my hand before I cough with bile.<sup>c</sup>

KOTTALOS

No, I beseech you, Lampriskos, by the Muses and your beard and poor Kottalos' life, do not mutilate me with the piercing one, but with the other.

<LAMPRISKOS>

But you are wicked, Kottalos, so that no one, even if selling you, would praise you, not even where mice eat iron equally.<sup>d</sup>

KOTTALOS

How many, how many, Lampriskos, I beg you, are you going to inflict on me?

<LAMPRISKOS>

Ask her, not me.

<sup>b</sup> Compare 1.54.

<sup>c</sup> He fears his shouting may cause bile to accumulate in his lungs and make him ill.

<sup>d</sup> I.e. a very barren place whose inhabitants would not find much fault with potential slaves. The reference of 'equally' is unclear.

HERODAS

- <ΚΟ.> τατα<ι>, κόσας μοι δώσετ' ;  
 <ΜΗ.> εἴ τί σοι ζώιην,  
 φέρειν ὅσας ἂν ἡ κακὴ σθένει βύρσα. 80
- <ΚΟ.> παῦσαι· ἱκαναί, Λαμπρίσκε.  
 (ΛΑ.) καὶ σὺ δὴ παῦσαι  
 κάκ' ἔργα πρήσσων.
- <ΚΟ.> οὐκέτ' οὐκέτι πρήξω,  
 ὄμνυμί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, τὰς φίλας Μούσας.  
 (ΛΑ.) ὅσσην δὲ καὶ τὴν γλάσσαν, οὗτος, ἔσχηκας·  
 πρὸς σοι βαλέω τὸν μῦν τάχ' ἦν πλέω γρύξις. 85
- (ΚΟ.) ἰδού, σιωπῶ· μή με, λίσσομαι, κτείνης.  
 (ΛΑ.) μέθεσθε, Κόκκαλ', αὐτόν.  
 (ΜΗ.) οὐ δ<εἰ σ'> ἐκλήξαι,  
 Λαμπρίσκε· δεῖρον ἄχρισ ἥλιος δύσηι.
- <ΛΑ.> ἀλλ' ..... >88a  
 (ΜΗ.) ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὕδρης ποικιλώτερος πολλῶι  
 καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν νιν — καπὶ βυβλίωι δήκου, 90

79 τατα<ι> Herwerden

82 οὐκέτι Rutherford, ουχι P

87 δ<εἰ σ'> Danielsson, Pearson

88a added by a friend of Headlam

<sup>a</sup> A line with the general sense 'But he has had enough' appears to have been lost.

<sup>b</sup> If he pretends to study.



MIME 3

<KOTTALOS>

Ow! How many will you give me?

<METROTIME>

As I wish to live, as many as your wicked hide can bear.

<KOTTALOS>

Stop! Enough, Lampriskos.

LAMPRISKOS

You too stop doing wicked deeds.

<KOTTALOS>

I shall not do any again, I swear to you, Lampriskos, by the dear Muses.

LAMPRISKOS

What a tongue you've acquired; I'll put a gag on you quickly, if you say any more.

KOTTALOS

See, I'm silent. Don't kill me, I beg you.

LAMPRISKOS

Let him go, Kokkalos.

METROTIME

You ought not to have stopped, Lampriskos; flay him until the sun sets.

<LAMPRISKOS>

<

.><sup>a</sup>

METROTIME

But he is much more subtle than a water-snake, and he ought, even over his book,<sup>b</sup> the wretch, to get

HERODAS

τὸ μηδέν — ἄλλας εἴκοσίν γε, καὶ ἦν μέλλῃ  
αὐτῆς ἄμεινον τῆς Κλεοῦς ἀναγνῶναι.

<ΚΟ.> ἰσσαῖ.

<ΛΑ.> λάθοις τὴν γλάσσαν ἐς μέλι πλύνας.

<ΜΗ.> ἐρέω ἐπιμηθέως τῶι γέροντι, Λαμπρίσκε,  
ἐλθοῦσ' ἐς οἶκον ταῦτα, καὶ πέδας ἤξω  
φέρουσ' ὅκως νιν σύμποδ' ὦδε πηδεῦντα  
αἰ πότνιαι βλέπωσιν ἄς ἐμίσησεν.

95

93 ἰσσαῖ is given to Kottalos by Crusius, the rest to  
Lampr. by Nairn

MIME 3

another twenty at least, even if he will read better than Kleo<sup>a</sup> herself.

<KOTTALOS>

Ha-ha!<sup>b</sup>

<LAMPRISKOS>

May you find your tongue washed in honey.<sup>c</sup>

METROTIME

On second thoughts, Lampriskos, I shall go home and tell the old man this; and I shall come back with fetters, so that the Ladies<sup>d</sup> he has hated may see him jumping here with feet tied together.

<sup>a</sup> One of the Muses.

<sup>b</sup> Rejoicing at his release and his mother's discomfiture.

<sup>c</sup> I.e. be honoured by the Muses (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 83–84), something which is unlikely to happen by his own act.

<sup>d</sup> The Muses.

#### 4. ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΙ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΕΙΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΣΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

(ΚΥ.) χαίροις, ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μέδεις Τρίκκης  
καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κῆπίδαυρον ὠικηκας,  
σὺν καὶ Κορωνὶς ἢ σ' ἔτικτε κῶπόλλων  
χαίροιεν, ἧς τε χειρὶ δεξιῇ ψαύεις  
Ἵγία, κῶνπερ οἶδε τίμιοι βωμοί 5  
Πανάκη τε κῆπιῶ τε κῆσῶ χαίροι,  
κοὶ Λεωμέδοντος οἰκίην τε καὶ τείχεα  
πέρσαντες, ἰητῆρες ἀγρίων νούσων,  
Ποδαλείριός τε καὶ Μαχάων χαιρόντων,  
κῶσοι θεοὶ σὴν ἐστίην κατοικεῦσιν 10  
καὶ θεαί, πάτερ Παίηον· ἴλεωι δεῦτε  
τῶλέκτορος τοῦδ' ὄντιν' οἰκίης †τοιχων†  
κῆρυκα θύω, τὰπίδορπα δέξαισθε.

The names of the participants and the division of the lines between them are not certain. One of the women is Kynno, but the other may be Phile or Kottale (then φίλη = 'dear'); Kokkale and Kydilla are their slaves in either case

5 τε κωνπερ P, corrected by several 6 Herwerden  
transposed χαίροι before κῆπιῶ to improve the syntax

## 4. WOMEN DEDICATING AND SACRIFICING TO ASKLEPIOS

### KYNNO

Greetings, Lord Paeon,<sup>a</sup> who rulest Triikka and hast settled sweet Kos and Epidaurus, and also may Koronis who gave thee birth and Apollo be greeted, and she whom thou touchest with thy right hand Hygieia, and those to whom belong these honoured altars, Panake and Epio and Ieso be greeted, and the sackers of Laomedon's house and walls, curers of cruel diseases, Podaleirios and Machaon be greeted, and whatsoever gods and goddesses live at thy hearth, father Paeon: may ye graciously come hither and receive this cock which I am sacrificing, herald of the walls of the house,<sup>b</sup> as your dessert.

<sup>a</sup> Epithet of Asklepios, whose parents are Apollo and Koronis, wife Hygieia ('Health'), daughters Panake ('Remedy'), Epio ('Gentleness') and Ieso ('Healing'), and sons Podaleirios and Machaon, both healers, who took part in the siege of Troy (whose walls were built by Laomedon).

<sup>b</sup> It is not clear how the cock is herald of the *walls*. 'Harsh-voiced herald' or 'herald of the labours of the house' would be easier.

οὐ γάρ τι πολλὴν οὐδ' ἔτοιμον ἀντλεῦμεν,  
 ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἂν βοῦν ἢ νενημένην χοῖρον 15  
 πολλῆς φορίνης, κοῦκ ἀλέκτορ', ἴητρα  
 νούσων ἐποιούμεσθα τὰς ἀπέψησας  
 ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ᾧ ἄναξ, τείνας.  
 ἐκ δεξιῆς τὸν πίνακα, Κοκκάλη, στήσον  
 τῆς Ὑγιείης.

<ΦΙ.> ἄ, καλῶν, φίλη Κυννοῖ, 20  
 ἀγαλμάτων· τίς ἦρα τὴν λίθον ταύτην  
 τέκτων ἐπο<ί>ει καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ στήσας;

<ΚΥ.> οἱ Πρηξιτέλεω παῖδες· οὐκ ὀρήεις κείνα  
 ἐν τῇ βάσει τὰ γράμματ' ; Εὐθίης δ' αὐτὴν  
 ἔστησεν ὁ Πρήξωνος.

<ΦΙ.> ἴλεως εἶη 25  
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ὁ Παιῶν καὶ Εὐθίηι καλῶν ἔργων.

<ΚΥ.> ὄρη, Φίλη, τὴν παῖδα τὴν ἄνω κείνην  
 βλέπουσαν ἐς τὸ μῆλον· οὐκ ἐρεῖς αὐτὴν  
 ἦν μὴ λάβηι τὸ μῆλον ἐκ τάχα ψύξει<ν>;

<ΦΙ.> κείνον δέ, Κυννοῖ, τὸν γέροντ' —

24 αὐτα P, corrected by Richards

26 ευθιης P, corrected by several

29 ψύξει<ν> Rutherford

30 <ΦΙ.> and <ΚΥ.> Hertling γερωντά P, divided by  
 Knox

MIME 4

For our well is far from abundant or ready-flowing, else we should have made an ox or a sow heaped with much crackling, and not a cock, our thank-offering for the diseases which thou hast wiped away, Lord, stretching out thy gentle hands. Kokkale, set the tablet<sup>a</sup> on the right of Hygieia.

<PHILE>

Oh, what lovely statues, dear Kynno; what artist made this sculpture and who is the person who dedicated it?

<KYNNO>

The sons of Praxiteles;<sup>b</sup> don't you see these words on the base? And Euthies son of Prexon dedicated it.

<PHILE>

May Paeon be gracious to them and to Euthies for their lovely works.

<KYNNO>

See, Phile, that girl looking up at the apple: wouldn't you say that if she doesn't get the apple she will quickly expire?

<PHILE>

And that old man, Kynno —

<sup>a</sup> With a description of the cure.

<sup>b</sup> Kephisodotos and Timarchos, artists like their better-known father.

&lt;ΚΥ.&gt;

ἄ πρὸς Μοιρέων 30

τὴν χηναλώπεκ' ὡς τὸ παιδίον πνίγει.  
 πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γοῦν εἴ τι μὴ λίθος, τοῦργον,  
 ἔρείς, λαλήσει. μᾶ, χρόνῳ κοτ' ὠνθρωποι  
 κῆς τοὺς λίθους ἔξουσι τὴν ζοὴν θεῖναι.

(ΦΙ.) τὸν Βατάλης γὰρ τοῦτον οὐκ ὀρῆις, Κυνοῖ, 35  
 ὅκως βέβηκεν ἀνδρ[ι]άντα τῆς Μυττέω;  
 εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὴν εἶδε Βατάλην, βλέψας  
 ἐς τοῦτο τὸ εἰκόνισμα μὴ ἐτύμης δεῖσθω.

(ΚΥ.) ἔπευ, Φίλη, μοι καὶ καλόν τί σοι δείξω 40  
 πρῆγμ' οἶον οὐκ ὠρηκας ἐξ ὄτευ ζῶεις.

Κύδιλλ', ἰούσα τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον.  
 οὐ σοὶ λέγω, αὐτῆ, τῆι ὠδε κῶδε χασκεύση;  
 μᾶ, μὴ τιν' ὠρην ὦν λέγω πεποιήται,  
 ἔστηκε δ' εἰς μ' ὀρεῦσα καρκίνου μέζον.  
 ἰούσα, φημί, τὸν νεωκόρον βῶσον. 45

λαίμαστρον, οὐτ' ὀργή σε κρηγύην οὔτε  
 βέβηλος αἰνεῖ, πανταχῆι δ' ἴση κείσαι.  
 μαρτύρομαι, Κύδιλλα, τὸν θεῶν τοῦτον,  
 ὡς ἔκ με κα<ί>εις οὐ θέλουσαν οἰδῆσαι·  
 μαρτύρομαι, φῆμ'· ἔσσετ' ἡμέρη κείνη 50  
 ἐν ἧι τὸ βρέγμα τοῦτο † τωσυρες † κνήσηι.

49 κα&lt;ί&gt;εις Meister

51 τῶσυρες Blass, Danielsson



## MIME 4

<KYNNO>

Oh, by the Fates, how the child chokes the goose. Certainly if it were not stone before our feet, the work, you'd say, will speak. Ah, in time men will be able to put life even into stones.

PHILE

Now this statue of Batale, daughter of Myttes, don't you see, Kynno, how it stands? Anyone who has not seen Batale herself, looking at this likeness would not need the real thing.

KYNNO

Come with me, Phile, and I'll show you a lovely thing such as you have never seen in all your life. Kydilla, go and call the temple-warden. Am I not speaking to *you*, who gape this way and that? Ah, she has paid no heed to what I say, but stands staring at me more than a crab. Go, I say, and call the temple-warden. Glutton, no woman pious or impure praises you as good, but everywhere you are valued equally.<sup>a</sup> I make this god my witness, Kydilla, that you inflame me though I do not wish to swell up. I make him witness, I say: that day will come when you will scratch your filthy head.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I.e. are equally worthless.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly she is to be branded.

- (ΦΙ.) μὴ πάντ' ἐτοίμως καρδιηβολεῦ, Κυννοῖ·  
 δούλη 'στι, δούλης δ' ὦτα νωθρίη θλίβει.  
 (ΚΥ.) ἀλλ' ἡμέρη τε κῆπι μέζον ὠθεῖται·  
 αὐτῆ σύ, μεῖνον· ἢ θύρη γὰρ ὠϊκται  
 κἀνεῖτ' ὁ παστός. 55

- <ΦΙ.> οὐκ ὀρηῖς, φίλη Κυννοῖ;  
 οἱ' ἔργα κεῖ 'νῆν· ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην  
 γλύψαι τὰ καλά — χαιρέτω δὲ δέσποινα.  
 τὸν παῖδα δὴ <τὸν> γυμνὸν ἦν κνίσω τοῦτον  
 οὐκ ἔλκος ἔξει, Κύννα; πρὸς γὰρ οἱ κεῖνται 60  
 αἰ σάρκες οἶα †θερμα† πηδῶσαι  
 ἐν τῇ σανίσκηι. τῶργύρευν δὲ πύραυστρον  
 οὐκ ἦν ἴδιη Μύελλος ἢ Παταικίσκος  
 ὁ Λαμπρίωνος, ἐκβαλεῦσι τὰς κούρας  
 δοκεῦντες ὄντως ἀργύρευν πεποιῆσθαι; 65  
 ὁ βοῦς δὲ κῶ ἄγων αὐτὸν ἢ τ' ὀμαρτεῦσα  
 κῶ γρυπὸς οὔτος κῶ ἀνάσιλλος ἄνθρωπος  
 οὐχὶ ζοῆν βλέπουσι κῆμέρην πάντες;  
 εἰ μὴ ἐδόκευν τι μέζον ἢ γυνὴ πρήσσειν,

52 It is not clear if the corrector intended καρδιηβολεῦ or καρδίηι βαλεῦ: καρδιηβαλλει P

57 κοινήν with ι deleted P, explained by Diels, Richards; κείν' ἦν Headlam, καὶ μὴν Verdenius

61 A second θερμὰ is added by a late hand; θερμ<ὸν αἶμα> Stadtmüller

MIME 4

PHILE

Don't take everything so readily to heart, Kynno; she is a slave, and a slave's ears are blocked with sluggishness.

KYNNO

But it is day and the crush is getting worse. You there, wait, for the door has been opened and the curtain unfastened.

<PHILE>

Don't you see, dear Kynno, what works are here! You would say that Athene carved these lovely things—greetings, Lady. This naked boy, if I scratch him, won't he have a wound, Kynno? For the flesh is laid on him in the painting, pulsing like warm springs.<sup>a</sup> And the silver fire-tongs, if Myellos or Pataekiskos son of Lamprion sees them, won't they lose their eyes thinking they are really made of silver? And the ox, and the man leading it, and the woman following, and this hook-nosed man and the one with his hair sticking up, don't they all have the look of life and day? If I did not think I was acting too boldly for a woman, I should have cried out, in

<sup>a</sup> Or, with Stadtmüller's conjecture, 'like warm blood'.

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62 πῦρᾶστρον P, explained by Vollgraff

68 βλέπουσιν ἡμερην P, corrected by Hicks

- ἀνηλάλαξ' ἄν, μή μ' ὁ βούς τι πημήνηι · 70  
 οὔτω ἐπιλοξοί, Κυννί, τῆι ἐτέρηι κούρηι.
- (ΚΥ.) ἀληθιναί, Φίλη, γὰρ αἱ Ἐφεσίου χεῖρες  
 ἐς πάντ' Ἀπελλέω γράμματ' · οὐδ' ἔρεῖς ' κείνος  
 ὠνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ' ἀπηρνήθη',  
 ἀλλ' ὦι ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο καὶ θέων ψαύειν 75  
 ἠπιέγεται'. ὅς δ' ἐκείνον ἦ ἔργα τὰ ἐκείνου  
 μὴ παμφαλήσας ἐκ δίκης ὀρώρηκεν,  
 ποδὸς κρέμαται' ἐκείνος ἐν γναφέως οἴκωι.
- (ΝΕ.) κάλ' ὑμιν, ὦ γυναῖκες, ἐντελέως τὰ ἱρά  
 καὶ ἐς λῶιον ἐμβλέποντα · μεζόνως οὔτις 80  
 ἠρέσατο τὸν Παίηον' ἠπερ οὔν ὑμεῖς.  
 ἰῆ ἰῆ Παίηον, εὐμενῆς εἴης  
 καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς τῆισδε κεῖ τινες τῶνδε  
 ἔασ' ὀπυιηταί τε καὶ γενῆς ἄσσον.  
 ἰῆ ἰῆ Παίηον, ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη. 85
- <ΚΥ.> εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε, κὺγίηι πολλῆι  
 ἔλθοιμεν αὐτίς μέζον' ἱρ' ἀγινεῦσαι  
 σὺν ἀνδράσι καὶ παισί. Κοκκάλη, καλῶς  
 τεμεῦσα μέμνεο τὸ σκελύδριον δοῦναι  
 τῶι νεωκόρωι τοῦρνηθος · ἔς τε τὴν τρώγλην 90

75 ὦι = ὅ οἱ explained by Paton      θέων Ellis, θεῶν most edd.

88 κοτταλη P, corrected by Rutherford

MIME 4

case the ox might do me some harm: he glances sideways so, Kynno, with the one eye.

KYNNO

Yes, Phile, the hands of the Ephesian Apelles are truthful in every line, nor would you say 'That man looked at one thing but rejected another,' but whatever came into his mind he was quick and eager to attempt; and anyone who has looked on him or his works without just excitement ought to hang by the foot in the fuller's house.<sup>a</sup>

TEMPLE-WARDEN

Perfectly fair, ladies, are your offerings, and looking forward to better: no one has found more favour with Paeon than you have. Hail hail Paeon, mayest thou be well disposed for their fair offerings to these ladies and to any who are their spouses and near kin. Hail hail Paeon; so may it be.

<KYNNO>

May it be, o most mighty, and in good health may we come again with our husbands and children, bringing greater offerings. — Kokkale, remember to cut carefully the bird's little leg and give it to the temple-warden, and place the batter reverently in

<sup>a</sup> Being hung up by a foot is mentioned as a punishment in New Comedy. The location in the fuller's adds the suggestion of being beaten like dirty clothing.

HERODAS

τὸν πελανὸν ἔνθες τοῦ δράκοντος εὐφήμως,  
καὶ ψαιστὰ δεῦσον· τᾶλλα δ' οἰκίης ἔδρηι  
δαισόμεθα, καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃι φέρειν, αὕτη,  
τῆς ὑγίης †λῳι† πρόσδος· ἦ γὰρ ἰροῖσιν  
†με.ων αμαρτησηυγιησι† τῆς μοίρης. 95

94 δῳι P, λῳι the corrector; neither is intelligible and no conjecture is plausible

95 μεθ ῶν is the likeliest reading at the beginning. The middle is unmetrical (ὑγιῆ). I have conjectured μετ' ὦν ἀμαρτεῖ (Meister) ἦσ<ίς ἐ>στι (deleting ἠ ὑγίη as a gloss), 'for certainly at sacrifices after which it (health) follows there is enjoyment.'

#### MIME 4

the snake's hole<sup>a</sup> and dip the cakes; the rest we shall  
feast on at the house's seat—and don't forget, you,  
to carry some of the health-offering and † †;  
surely at sacrifices † † of the  
portion.

<sup>a</sup> The gift to the god's holy animal had by this period  
been formalised into money placed in a box shaped like a  
snake, but the old terminology was retained.

## 5. ΖΗΛΟΥΤΥΠΟΣ

- (ΒΙ.) λέγε μοι σύ, Γάστρων, ἥδ' ὑπερκορῆς οὔτω  
 ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἀρκεῖ τὰμά σοι σκέλεα κινεῖν  
 ἀλλ' Ἀμφυταίηι τῆι Μένωνος ἔγκεισαι;
- (ΓΑ.) ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίηι; τὴν λέγεις ὀρώρηκα  
 γυναῖκα;
- <ΒΙ.> προφάσις πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἔλκεις. 5
- <ΓΑ.> Βίτιννα, δοῦλός εἰμι· χρῶ ὅτι βούληι <μοι>  
 καὶ μὴ τό μευ αἶμα νύκτα κῆμέρην πῖνε.
- (ΒΙ.) ὄσῃν δὲ καὶ τὴν γλάσσαν, οὔτος, ἔσχηκας.  
 Κύδιλλα, κοῦ ἔστι Πυρρίης, κάλει μ' αὐτόν.
- (ΠΥ.) τί ἔστι;
- <ΒΙ.> τοῦτον δῆσον — ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἔστηκας; — 10  
 τὴν ἱμανήθρην τοῦ κάδου ταχέως λύσας.  
 ἦν μὴ κατακίσασα τῆι σ' ὄληι χώρῃ

1 εἰ δ' Bücheler (if accepted, read εἰς)

4 ἀμφυταιην P, corrected by Jackson

6 <μοι> Blass, Bücheler



## 5. A JEALOUS PERSON

BITINNA

Tell me, Gastron, is this<sup>a</sup> so over-full that it is no longer enough for you to move my legs, but you are devoted to Menon's Amphytaea?

GASTRON

Amphytaea? Have I seen the woman you speak of?

<BITINNA>

You draw out excuses all day.

<GASTRON>

Bitinna, I am a slave: use me as you wish and do not suck my blood night and day.

BITINNA

What a tongue you've acquired. Kydilla, where is Pyrries? Call him to me.

PYRRIES

What is it?

<BITINNA>

Tie him—are you still standing there?—quickly taking the rope from the bucket. If by my ill-treatment of you I don't make you an example to the

<sup>a</sup> His penis, indicated by a gesture.

HERODAS

παράδειγμα θῶ, μᾶ, μή με θῆις γυναῖκ' εἶναι.  
 ἦρ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον Φρύξ; ἐγὼ αἰτίη τούτων,  
 ἐγῶμι, Γάστρων, ἢ σε θεῖσ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις. 15  
 ἀλλ' εἰ τότε' ἐξήμαρτον, οὐ τὰ νῦν εἶσαν  
 μώρην Βίτινναν, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἔτ' εὐρήσεις.  
 φέρ', εἰς σύ, δῆσον, τὴν ἀπληγίδ' ἐκδύσας.

(ΓΑ.) μὴ μή, Βίτιννα, τῶν σε γουνάτων δεύμαι.

(ΒΙ.) ἔκδυθι, φημί. δεῖ σ' ὀτεύνεκ' εἰ<ς> δοῦλος 20  
 καὶ τρεῖς ὑπέρ σευ μνᾶς ἔθηκα γινώσκειν.  
 ὡς μὴ καλῶς γένοιτο τῆμέρηι κείνηι  
 ἦτις σ' ἐσήγαγ' ὦδε. Πυρρή, κλαύση·  
 ὀρῶ σε δήκου πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δεῦντα·  
 σύσσιφιγγε τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἔκπρισον δήσας. 25

(ΓΑ.) Βίτινν', ἄφες μοι τὴν ἀμαρτίην ταύτην.  
 ἀνθρωπός εἰμ', ἡμαρτον· ἀλλ' ἐπὴν αὐτίς  
 ἔλῃς τι δρῶντα τῶν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς, στίξον.

(ΒΙ.) πρὸς Ἀμφυταίην ταῦτα, μὴ 'μὲ πληκτίζευ,  
 μετ' ἧς ἀλινδῆι καὶ ἐμ...η ποδόψηστρον. 30

<ΠΥ.> δέδεται καλῶς σοι.

<ΒΙ.> μὴ λάθῃ λυθεῖς σκέψαι.

30 ἐμέ is likely, but the following verb uncertain: χρῆ can be read (Milne), then a line must have been omitted

MIME 5

whole country, well, don't count me a woman. Is this not rather a case of the Phrygian?<sup>a</sup> I am the cause of this, Gastron, I am, by having set you among men. But if I was wrong then, you will no longer find Bitinna a fool now, as you expect. Come, you by yourself, take off his cloak and tie him.

GASTRON

No, no, Bitinna, by your knees, I beg you.

BITINNA

Take it off, I say. You must realise that you are a slave and I paid three minas for you. A curse on that day which brought you here! Pyrries, you will regret this: I see you undoubtedly at everything rather than tying him. Bind his elbows tightly; saw them off with the ties.

GASTRON

Bitinna, excuse me this mistake. I am human, I went wrong; but whenever again you catch me doing anything you don't wish, tattoo me.

BITINNA

Don't make up to me like this, but to Amphytaea, with whom you roll about, and [ ] me a doormat.

<PYRRIES>

He's well tied for you.

<BITINNA>

See that he doesn't slip free. Take him to the

<sup>a</sup> Who is the better of a beating (2.100).

ἄγ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ζήτρειον πρὸς Ἑρμωνα  
καὶ χιλίας μὲν ἐς τὸ νῶτον ἐγκόψαι  
αὐτῶι κέλευσον, χιλίας δὲ τῆι γαστρί.

(ΓΑ.) ἀποκτενεῖς, Βίτιννα, μ' οὐδ' ἐλέγξασα 35  
εἴτ' ἔστ' ἀληθέα πρῶτον εἶτε καὶ ψευδέα;

(ΒΙ.) ἄ δ' αὐτὸς εἶπας ἄρτι τῆι ἰδίηι γλάσσηι,  
'Βίτιν', ἄφες μοι τὴν ἀμαρτίην ταύτην';

(ΓΑ.) τὴν σευ χολὴν γὰρ ἤθελον κατασβῶσαι.

(ΒΙ.) ἔστηκας ἐμβλέπων σύ, κοῦκ ἄγεις αὐτόν 40  
ὅκου λέγω σοι; θλῆ, Κύδιλλα, τὸ ρύγχος  
τοῦ παντοέρκτεω τοῦδε. καὶ σύ μοι, Δρήχων,  
ἤδη 'φασμάρτει <τῆι> σοι ἂν οὔτος ἡγήται.

δώσεις τι, δούλη, τῶι κατηρήτῳ τούτῳ  
ράκος καλύψαι τὴν ἀνώνυμον κέρκον, 45

ὡς μὴ δι' ἀγορῆς γυμνὸς ὦν θεωρηῆται.

τὸ δευτερόν σοι, Πυρρίη, πάλιν φωνέω,

ὅκως ἐρεῖς Ἑρμῶνι χιλίας ᾧδε

καὶ χιλίας ᾧδ' ἐμβαλεῖν· ἀκήκουκας;

ὡς ἦν τι τούτων ὦν λέγω παραστείξῃς, 50

αὐτὸς σὺ καὶ τὰρχαῖα καὶ τόκους τείσεις.

32 Quoted by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 411.33, for the scansion ζήτρειον from 'Herodotus' (i.e. Herodas)

33 τον P, corrected by Rutherford, Blass

41 θλῆ Headlam, Hicks, Ellis: οδη P (ΘΔΗ and ΟΔΗ are only two strokes apart)

MIME 5

executioner's, to Hermon, and order him to hammer a thousand blows into his back and a thousand to his belly.

GASTRON

Will you kill me, Bitinna, without proving first whether this is true or false?

BITINNA

But what about what you just said with your own tongue: 'Bitinna, excuse me this mistake'?

GASTRON

I wanted to calm you down.<sup>a</sup>

BITINNA

Are you standing there staring, instead of taking him where I tell you? Bash this knave's snout, Kydilla. And you, Drechon, follow now where he leads you. Girl, will you give some rag to this cursed fellow to hide his unmentionable tail, to avoid his being seen naked through the market-place. For the second time, Pyrries, again I tell you, that you are to instruct Hermon to inflict a thousand here and a thousand here: have you heard? If you go astray in any of my orders, you will yourself pay both principal and interest. Go on, and don't take

<sup>a</sup> Lit. 'extinguish your bile'.

βάδιζε καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλῃς αὐτόν  
 ἄγ', ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰθειῖαν. εὖ δ' ἐπεμνήσθη —  
 κάλει, κάλει δραμεῦσα, πρὶν μακρὴν, δούλη,  
 αὐτο<ὺ>ς γενέσθαι.

- (ΚΥ.) Πυρρίης, τάλας, κωφέ, 55  
 καλεῖ σε. μᾶ, δόξει τις οὐχὶ σύνδουλον  
 αὐτὸν σπαράσσειν ἀλλὰ σημάτων φῶρα.  
 ὀρῆις ὅκως νῦν τοῦτον ἐκ βίης ἔλκεις  
 ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, Πυρρίη; <σ>έ, μᾶ, τούτοις  
 τοῖς δύο Κύδιλλ' ἐπόψετ' ἡμερέων πέντε 60  
 παρ' Ἀντιδώρῳ τὰς Ἀχαϊκάς κείνας,  
 ἃς πρῶν ἔθηκας, τοῖς σφυροῖσι τρίβοντα.
- (ΒΙ.) οὔτος σύ, τοῦτον αὐτίς ὦδ' ἔχων ἦκε 65  
 δεδεμένον οὔτως ὥσπερ ἐξάγεις αὐτόν,  
 Κόσιν τέ μοι κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν τὸν στίκτην  
 ἔχοντα ραφίδας καὶ μέλαν. μιῆι δεῖ σε  
 ὀδῶι γενέσθαι ποικίλον. κατηρηθήσθω  
 οὔτω κατάμνος ὥσπερ ἡ Δάου τιμή.
- (ΚΥ.) μῆ, τατί, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν αὐτόν — οὔτω σοι 70  
 ζῶιη Βατυλλίς κῆπίδοις μιν ἐλθοῦσαν  
 ἐς ἀνδρὸς οἶκον καὶ τέκν' ἀγκάλῃς ἄραις —

55 αὐτο<ὺ>ς several

59 <σ>έ Blass, Weil

60 τοὺς P, corrected by Blass, Weil

MIME 5

him by Mikkale's but the direct road. But I've just remembered! — run and call, girl, call them before they get far.

KYDILLA

Pyrries, you deaf wretch, she is calling you. Ah, you'd think he was dragging a grave-robber rather than a fellow-slave. Do you see how you're now forcibly pulling him to the torture, Pyrries? Ah, it's you that Kydilla will see with these two eyes within five days at Antidoros' rubbing your ankles with those Achaean objects<sup>a</sup> you recently put off.

BITINNA

You there, come back here again with him tied just as you are taking him away, and order Kosis the tattooer to come to me with his needles and ink. At the one go you must become speckled. Let him be hung up gagged as much as His Honour Daos.<sup>b</sup>

KYDILLA

No, mama, but for the moment let him—as Batyllis may live and you may see her going to a husband's house and lift her children in your

<sup>a</sup> Clearly chains, though the reason for the epithet is unclear.

<sup>b</sup> Daos is a common slave-name in New Comedy, and we must suppose that one suffered the fate described.

ἄφες, παραιτεῦμαί σε· τὴν μίαν ταύτην  
ἀμαρτίην . . .

- (BI.) Κύδιλλα, μή με λύπει τι  
ἢ φεύξομ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης. ἀφέω τοῦτον  
τὸν ἐπτάδουλον; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἀπαντῶσα 75  
ἔς μευ δικαίως τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμπτύοι;  
οὐ τὴν Τύραννον, ἀλλ' ἐπίπερ οὐκ οἶδεν,  
ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἐωυτόν, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει  
ἐν τῷ μετῴπῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμ' ἔχων τοῦτο.
- (KY.) ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰκὰς καὶ Γερήνι' ἐς πέμπτην. 80
- (BI.) νῦν μὲν σ' ἀφήσω, καὶ ἔχε τὴν χάριν ταύτην,  
ἣν οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ Βατυλλίδα στέργω,  
ἐν τῆσι χερσὶ τῆς ἐμῆσι θρέψασα.  
ἐπεὰν δὲ τοῖς καμοῦσιν ἐγχυτλώσωμεν  
ἄξεις τότ' ἀμελι<τί>τιν ἑορτὴν ἐξ ἑορτῆς. 85

73 με λυπεῖ τι Palmer, λυπιτε με P

74-75 ἀφέω . . . ἐπτάδουλον is quoted by Eustathius in  
his commentary on the *Odyssey* 5.306

85 ἀμελι<τί>τιν Headlam



MIME 5

arms—let him be excused, I beseech you: this one error —

BITINNA

Kydilla, do not vex me at all, or I shall rush out of the house! Am I to excuse this sevenfold son of slaves? Would not anyone who met me justly spit on my face? No, by the Queen.<sup>a</sup> But since, though human, he does not know himself, he will soon know when he has this inscription<sup>b</sup> on his forehead.

KYDILLA

But it is the twentieth, and the Gerenia<sup>c</sup> are in four days —

BITINNA

For the moment I shall excuse you, and be grateful to her, whom I love no less than Batyllis, as I reared her in my own arms. But when we have poured libations to the dead, you will then keep unhoneeyed<sup>d</sup> festival on festival.

<sup>a</sup> Which goddess is meant is not clear.

<sup>b</sup> Probably γνῶθι σαυτόν, 'know yourself'.

<sup>c</sup> An otherwise unknown festival, obviously in honour of the dead (84).

<sup>d</sup> I.e. bitter. Honey was not offered to the dead.

## 6. ΦΙΛΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ Η ΙΔΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ

- (ΚΟ.) κάθησο, Μητροῖ. τῆι γυναικὶ θῆς δίφρον  
 ἀνασταθεῖσα· πάντα δεῖ με προστάσσειν  
 αὐτήν· σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἄν, τάλαινα, ποιήσαις  
 αὐτὴ ἀπὸ σαυτῆς· μᾶ, λίθος τις, οὐ δούλη  
 ἐν τῆι οἰκίῃ <κ>εῖσ'· ἀλλὰ τ'άλφιτ' ἦν μετρέω 5  
 τὰ κρίμν' ἀμιθρεῖς, κῆ<ν> τοσοῦτ' ἀποστάξει  
 τὴν ἡμέ[ρ]ῃν ὄλην σε τουθορούζουσαν  
 καὶ πρημογῶσαν οὐ φέρουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι.  
 νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκμάσσεις τε καὶ ποεῖς λαμπρόν  
 ὄτ' ἐστὶ χρ[εῖ]η, ληιστρί; θυέ μοι ταύτη 10  
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἔγευσ' ἄν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ χειρέων.
- (ΜΗ.) φίλη Κοριττοῖ, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ ζυγὸν τρίβεις·  
 κῆγὼ ἐπιβρύχουσ' ἡμέρην τε καὶ νύκτα  
 κύων ὑλακτέω τῆι[ς] ἀνωσύμοις ταύτησι.  
 ἀλλ' οὐνεκεν πρὸς σ' ἦλ[θ]ον — ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν 15  
 φθείρεσθε, νώβυστρ', ὦτ[α] μῶνον καὶ γλάσσαι,

5 <κ>εῖσ' Richards μετρέω, corrected to μετρῆι, P  
 (the correction, 'when you measure out', loses the nice

## 6. WOMEN IN A FRIENDLY OR PRIVATE SITUATION

KORITTO

Be seated, Metro. Stand up and put out a chair for the lady. I have to give you every instruction myself: you would do nothing by yourself, you wretch; ah, you are a stone lying in the house, not a slave. But if I measure out the meal to you, you count the crumbs, and if so much should drop the walls won't contain you as you mutter the whole day. Are you rubbing it and making it shiny now, when it's needed, you pirate? Give a thank-offering, I tell you, to this lady, since I would have made you taste my hands.

METRO

Dear Koritto, you have the same yoke wearing you down as I. I too am a barking dog, snapping day and night at those unmentionable girls. But why I've come to you—get to hell out of our way, with your closed minds, only ears and tongues, but

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point of the characterisation of Koritto as careful, if not mean, cf. 99 ff.)      6 κη . . . αποσταξει P, corrected by several      10 χρ[(ε)ι]η several      16 ὦτ[α] Hicks

τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἑορτῆ — λίσσομαί [σ]ε, μὴ ψεύσῃ,  
 φίλη Κοριττοῖ, τίς κοτ' ἦν ὃ σοι ράψας  
 τὸν κόκκινον βαυβῶνα;

(ΚΟ.) κοῦ δ' ὀρώρηκας,  
 Μητροῖ, σὺ κείνου;

(ΜΗ.) Νοσσίς ε[ῖ]χεν ἠρίννης 20  
 τριτημέρηι νιν· μᾶ, καλόν τι δώρημα.

(ΚΟ.) Νοσσίς; κόθεν λαβοῦσα;

(ΜΗ.) διαβαλεῖς ἦν σοι  
 εἶπω;

(ΚΟ.) μὰ τούτους τοὺς γλυκέας, φίλη Μητροῖ,  
 ἐκ τοῦ Κοριττοῦς στόματος οὐδεὶς μὴ ἀκούσῃ  
 ὅσ' ἂν σὺ λέξῃς.

(ΜΗ.) ἡ Βιτᾶδος Εὐβούλη 25  
 ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ καὶ εἶπε μηδέν' αἰσθέσθαι.

(ΚΟ.) γυναιῖκες. αὕτη μ' ἡ γυνή κοτ' ἐκτρίψει.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὴν λιπαρεῦσαν ἠιδέσθην  
 κῆδωκα, Μητροῖ, πρόσθεν ἢ αὐτὴ χρήσασθαι·  
 ἢ δ' ὠ<σ>περ εὐρημ' ἀρπάσα<σα> δωρεῖται 30  
 καὶ τῆσι μὴ δεῖ. χαιρέτω φίλη πολλά  
 ἐοῦσα τοίῃ, κῆτέρην τιν' ἀντ' ἡμέων

17 εορτη P, corrected by Blass, Danielsson

MIME 6

otherwise idleness—I beg you, do not lie, dear Koritto: who was it who stitched the scarlet dildo for you?

KORITTO

And where, Metro, did you see that?

METRO

Nossis, daughter of Erinna,<sup>a</sup> had it two days ago; ah, what a fine gift!

KORITTO

Nossis? From whom did she get it?

METRO

Will you disparage me if I tell you?

KORITTO

By these sweet eyes, dear Metro, no one shall hear what you say from Koritto's mouth.

METRO

Bitas' Eubule gave it to her and said that no one should know.

KORITTO

Women! This woman will uproot me yet. I paid respect to her plea, and gave it her, Metro, before I used it myself. But snatching it like a windfall, she passes it on even to those who ought not to have it. Many farewells to a friend who is of such a nature; let her look on some other as her friend in future.

<sup>a</sup> The names of two famous poets, used maliciously.

φίλην ἀθρείτω. τὰμὰ Νοοσίδι χρῆσαι  
 τῆι μὴ δοκέω — μέζον μὲν ἢ δίκη γρύζω,  
 λάθοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεια — χιλίων εὐντων 35  
 ἔν' οὐκ ἂν ὅστις σαπρός ἐστι προσδώσω.

(ΜΗ.) μὴ δὴ, Κοριττοῖ, τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ρινός  
 ἔχ' εὐθύς, ἦν τι ρῆμα μὴ καλὸν πεύθηι.  
 γυναικός ἐστι κρηγύης φέρειν πάντα.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων αἰτίη λαλεῦσ' εἶμι 40  
 πόλλ', ἀ<λλὰ> τὴν μευ γλάσσαν ἐκτεμεῖν δεῖται.  
 ἐκεῖνο δ' εὖ σοι καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπεμνήσθην,  
 τίς ἔστ' ὁ ράψας αὐτόν; εἰ φιλεῖς μ', εἶπον.  
 τί μ' ἐμβλέπεις γελῶσα; νῦν ὀρώρηκας  
 Μητροῦν τὸ πρῶτον; ἢ τί τὰβρά σοι ταῦτα; 45  
 ἐνεύχομαι, Κοριττί, μή μ' ἐπιψεύσηι,  
 ἀλλ' εἰπέ τὸν ράψαντα.

(ΚΟ.) μᾶ, τί μοι ἐνεύχηι;  
 Κέρδων ἔραψε.

<ΜΗ.> κοῖος, εἰπέ μοι, Κέρδων;  
 δύ' εἰσὶ γὰρ Κέρδωνες· εἷς μὲν ὁ γλαυκός  
 ὁ Μυρταλίνης τῆς Κυλαιθίδος γείτων, 50  
 ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐδ' ἂν πληκτρον ἐς λύρην ράψαι·

33 ταλλα P, corrected by Groeneboom χρῆσθαι P,  
 interpreted by others as χρῆσθαι

34 Μηδόκεω Weil wrongly ἠ γυνὴ γρυζω P, ἠ δικὴ γρυ-  
 ζω the corrector

MIME 6

That she should have lent my property to Nossis! To whom I do not think—I speak more strongly than is right, may Adresteia<sup>a</sup> not hear—if I had a thousand, I should not hand over one that was rotten.

METRO

Koritto, don't get bile in your nose as soon as you hear a word not to your liking. It is a good woman's place to bear everything. I am the cause of this by saying too much; <but> my tongue should be cut out. But to return to what I particularly asked you, who is the one who stitched it? If you love me, tell me. Why do you look at me with a smile? Have you just seen Metro for the first time? What is this delicacy of yours? I implore you, Koritto, don't deceive me, but tell me the one who stitched it.

KORITTO

Ah, why do you implore me? Kerdon stitched it.

<METRO>

Tell me, which Kerdon? For there are two Kerdons, one the grey-eyed neighbour of Kylaethis' Myrtaline; but *he* couldn't stitch even a plectrum for

<sup>a</sup> Goddess who punished any kind of excess.

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36 *λεπρος* P, *σαπρος* the corrector      *προσδωσω* corrected  
to *προσδοιην* P

37–39 are cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.23.14, from Herodas' Mimiambi, with *κόρη τὴν* for *Κοριττοῦ* and *ῥίνας*

38 *σοφον* P and Stobaeus, *καλον* the corrector

41 *πόλλ'*, ἀ<λλὰ> Kaibel

ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐγγὺς τῆς συνοικίης οἰκέων  
 τῆς Ἑρμοδώρου τὴν πλατεῖαν ἐκβάντι  
 ἦν μὲν κοτ' ἦν τις, ἀλλὰ νῦν γεγήρακε·  
 τούτωι Κυλαιθῖς ἢ μακαρίτις ἐχρήτο — 55  
 μνησθεῖεν αὐτῆς οἵτινες προσήκουσι.

(ΚΟ.) οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ὡς λέγεις, Μητροῖ·  
 ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ <'κ> Χίου τις ἢ ῥυθρέων  
 ἦκει, φαλακρός, μικρός· αὐτὸ ἐρεῖς εἶναι  
 Πρηξῖνον, οὐδ' ἂν σῦκον εἰκάσαι σύκωι 60  
 ἔχοις ἂν οὔτω· πλὴν ἐπὴν λαλήη, γνώσῃ  
 Κέρδων ὀτεύνεκ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχὶ Πρηξῖνος.  
 κατ' οἰκίην δ' ἐργάζετ' ἐμπολέων λάθρη,  
 τοὺς γὰρ τελώνας πᾶσα νῦν θύρη φρίσσει.  
 ἀλλ' ἔργα, κοῖ' ἐστ' ἔργα· τῆς Ἀθηναίης 65  
 αὐτῆς ὄρην τὰς χεῖρας, οὐχὶ Κέρδωνος,  
 δόξεις. ἐ[γὼ] μὲν — δύο γὰρ ἦλθ' ἔχων, Μητροῖ —  
 ἰδοῦσ' ἅμ' ἰδμῆι τῶμματ' ἐξεκύμηνα·  
 τὰ βαλλί' οὕτως ἄνδρες οὐχὶ ποιεῦσι  
 — αὐταὶ γὰρ εἴμεν — ὀρθά· κοῦ μόνον τοῦτο, 70  
 ἀλλ' ἢ μαλακότης ὕπνος, οἱ δ' ἱμαντίσκοι  
 ἔρι', οὐκ ἱμάβ[τες]. εὐνοέστερον σκυτέα  
 γυναικ[ι] διφῶσ' ἄλλον οὐκ ἀνευρ[ή]σ[εις].

55 τουτωι κυλαιθις οἱ τουτω πυλαιθις P

57 ἂν several, unnecessarily

58 <'κ> Kaibel



## MIME 6

a lyre; and the other, living near Hermodoros' tenement as you go from the main street, he *was* someone once, but now he has grown old; the late Kylaethis was intimate with him—may her relations remember her.

### KORITTO

It's neither of these, as you say, Metro, but this one comes from Chios or Erythrae, I don't know which; bald, small—you'd say he was just Prexinos, you couldn't liken fig to fig so much; however when he speaks, you'll know that it is Kerdon and not Prexinos. He works at home and sells secretly, for every door now shudders at the tax-collectors—but his work! What work it is! You would think you were seeing the handiwork of Athene, not Kerdon; when I saw them—for he came with two, Metro—my eyes swelled out at first sight; men do not make stands—we are alone—so straight; and not only that, but their smoothness is sleep,<sup>a</sup> and the little straps are wool, not straps; if you look for another cobbler better disposed to a woman, you will not find one.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. they are as smooth as sleep.

- 
- 60 (ε)ικασαις P, corrected by Kenyon  
 63 κατοικειω P, corrected by Rutherford  
 65 εργοκοι P, corrected by Herwerden  
 67 ἐ[γὼ] Bücheler  
 72 ἰμάγ[τες] several  
 73 ἀνευρ[ή]σ[εις] Headlam, Stadtmüller

HERODAS

- (MH.) κῶς οὖν ἀφῆκας τὸν ἕτερον;  
 <KO.> τ[ί] δ' οὐ, Μητροῖ,  
 ἔπρηξα; κοίην δ' οὐ προσήγαγ[ο]ν πειθοῦν 75  
 αὐτῶι; φιλεῦσα, τὸ φαλακρὸν κ[α]ταψῶσα,  
 γλυκὺν πιεῖν ἐγχεῦσα, ταταλίζ[ο]υσα,  
 τὸ σῶμα μῦνον οὐχὶ δοῦσα χ[ρ]ήσασθαι.  
 (MH.) ἀλλ' εἴ σε καὶ τοῦτ' ἠξίωσ', ἔδει δοῦ[ν]αι.  
 (KO.) ἔδει γάρ· ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον οὐ πρόποντ' εἶναι· 80  
 ἦλθεν ἡ Βιτᾶδος ἐν μέσῳ <Εὔ>βούλη·  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡμέων ἡμέρην τε κα[ί] νύκτα  
 τρίβουσα τὸν ὄνον σκωρίην πεποίηκεν,  
 ὄκως τὸν ὑπὲρ μὴ τετραβόλου κόψηι.  
 (MH.) κῶς δ' οὔτος εὔρε πρόσ σε τὴν ὀδ[ὸ]ν ταύτην, 85  
 φίλη Κοριττοῖ; μηδὲ τοῦτό με ψεύσει.  
 (KO.) ἔπεμφεν αὐτὸν Ἄρτεμεις ἡ Κανδᾶδος  
 τοῦ βυρσοδέψεω τὴν στέγην σημήνασα.  
 (MH.) αἰεὶ μὲν Ἄρτεμεις τι καινὸν εὐρίσκει,  
 πρόσω πιεῦσα τὴν προκυκλίην θα...ν. 90

80 ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον divided by Ellis

81 ἦλθεν γὰρ P, γὰρ deleted by Wilamowitz <Εὔ->  
 βούλη Jevons, Kaibel, δουλη P

90 πρό σοι Kaibel θάμνην Blass, Θαλλοῦν Meister  
 (then Rutherford's ποεῦσα must also be read, 'leaving  
 Thallo behind in pandering'); superscript letters largely  
 illegible

MIME 6

METRO

How then did you let the second go?

<KORITTO>

Metro, what did I not do? What persuasion did I not bring to bear on him? Kissing him, stroking his bald head, pouring him a sweet drink, calling him papa, almost giving him my body to use.

METRO

But if he asked for that too, you should have given it.

KORITTO

Yes, I should have; but it is not decent to act unseasonably: Bitas' Eubule was grinding near us. For by turning our millstone day and night she has ruined it, to avoid setting her own for four obols.

METRO

But how did this man find his way to you, dear Koritto? On this too don't deceive me.

KORITTO

The tanner Kandas' Artemis sent him, pointing out the house.

METRO

Artemis will always find something new, drinking further pander's [        ].<sup>a</sup> But at least, when

<sup>a</sup> Probably '[wine]'.

HERODAS

ἀλλ' οὖν γ' ὅτ' οὐχὶ τοὺς δὺ' εἶχες ἐκλύσαι  
ἔδει πυθέσθαι τὸν ἕτερον τίς ἢ ἐκδοῦσα.

(KO.) ἐλιπάρεον, ὁ δ' ὤμνυ' οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν μοι·

† ταύτη γὰρ καὶ ἠγάπησεν Μητροῖ. †

<MH.> λέγεις ὁδόν μοι· νῦν πρὸς Ἀρτεμεῖν εἶμι, 95

ὅκως ὁ Κέρδων ὅστις ἐστὶν εἰδ[ή]σω.

ὑγίαινέ μοι[ι, Κοριτ]τί. λαιμάτ[τε]ῖ κῶρη  
ἡμί[ν] ἀφ[έρπειν] ἐστί.

(KO.) τὴν θύρην κλείουσιν,

αὕτη [σ]ύ, ν[εο]σσοπῶλι, κάξαμίθρησαι

αἰ ἀλεκτο[ρῖ]δες εἰ [σ]όαι εἰσί, τῶν τ' αἰρέων 100

αὐτῆισ[ι ρ]ῖψ[ο]ν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πορθεῦ[σ]ῖ

ὠρν[ι]θο[κ]λέ[π]ται, κῆν τρέφῃ τις ἐν κόλπῳ.

94 is added by a later, cursive hand in the upper margin, with signs indicating its position <ἦλω> κῆγάπησέ  
ν<ω> Knox

95 εἶμι Rutherford, (ε)ναι P

97 μοι[ι, Κοριτ]τί Bücheler λαιμάτ[τε]ῖ Crusius

98 ἀφ[έρπειν] Crusius

99 ν[εο]σσοπῶλι Diels

100 ἀλεκτο[ρῖ]δες Blass, Crusius [σ]όαι Crusius, Palmer

101 αὐτῆισ[ι ρ]ῖψ[ο]ν Blass

102 ὠρν[ι]θο[κ]λέ[π]ται Headlam

## MIME 6

you could not save the two, you should have found out who it was who ordered the second.

### KORITTO

I pleaded, but he swore he would not tell me; for <he was taken> by her and she loved <him>, Metro.<sup>a</sup>

### <METRO>

Your words mean I must leave: now I shall go to Artemis, to learn who Kerdon is. Keep well, [Koritto]; it is very hungry<sup>b</sup> and it is time for us [to slip] away.

### KORITTO

Shut the door, you there, [chicken]-seller, and count if the hens are safe, and [throw] some darnel to them; for undeniably the bird-thieves raid them, even if one rears them in one's bosom.

<sup>a</sup> Translating Knox's conjecture for the imperfect line.

<sup>b</sup> I.e., apparently, I need to use the dildo.

7. [Σ]ΚΥΤ[Ε]ΥΣ

(MH.) Κέρδων, ἄγω σοι τάσδε τὰς γ[υνάς, εἶ] τι  
τῶν σῶν ἔχεις αὐτήσιν ἄξιον δεῖξαι  
χειρέων νοήρες ἔργον.

(KE.) οὐ μάτην, Μητροῖ,  
ἐγὼ φ[ι]λ<έ>ω σε. τῆις γυναιξίν οὐ θήσεις  
τὴν μέζον' ἔξω σανίδα; Δριμύλῳ φωνέω · 5  
πάλιν καθεύδεις; κόπτε, Πίστε, τὸ ρύγχος  
αὐτοῦ, μέχρῃς τὸν ὕπνον ἐκχέηι πάντα ·  
μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄκανθα[ν] ὡς ἔχ[ει ἐ]ν καλῆι  
ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου δῆσο[ν. εἶ]α δῆ, [.....]ψ,  
κίνει ταχέως τὰ γούνα · [μ]έζον [.....].. 10  
τρίβειν ψοφεῦντα νουθ[ετημάτων] τῶνδε.  
νῦν ἔκ μιν αὐτὴν λε[..... λαμπ]ρύνεις  
καὶ ψ[ῆι]ς; [ἐγὼ] σευ τη.[.....]ψήσω.  
ἔξεσ[θ]ε, Μητροῖ. Πίστ[ε, ..... ο]ίξας  
πυργίδα, μὴ τὴν ᾧδ[ε, .....]ν 15

1 γ[υνάς] Diels, γ[έας] Crusius εἶ] Blass, Ellis

8 ἔχει ἐν καλῆι (sc. δέσει) Cunningham, following Crusius  
and Edmonds, ἔχ[ω]ν κλάηι Knox ('so that he may weep  
with it')

## 7. A COBBLER

METRO

Kerdon, I am bringing you these [ladies to see if] you can show them any skilled work worthy of your craft.

KERDON

I have good reason, Metro, for loving you. Put the larger bench outside for the ladies. I'm speaking to Drimylos: are you asleep again? Pistos, hit his snout, until he sheds all his sleepiness; or rather tie the thorn to his neck, as he is, well bound. Come then, [ ], move your knees quickly: [ ] to rub on objects that make more noise than these warn[ings? ], are you polishing] and [wiping] it now? I'll wipe your [ ]. Sit down, Metro. Pistos, open the [ ] chest, not this one here, [ ]

---

9 [Κέρκω]ψ Headlam

10 [ἴχην]ας Knox

11 νουθ[ετημάτων] Headlam

12 λε[ιόπυγε, λαμπ]ρύνεις Knox and Headlam, λε[υκόπυγε, φαιδ]ρύνεις Crusius and Headlam

13 καὶ ψ[ῆι]ς; [ἐγώ] Knox τὴν [κοχώνην ἐκ]ψήσω Knox

14 τὴν διπλὴν οἴξας Herzog

15 τὴν δ' ἄνω κ(ε)ἰνη]ν Headlam, following Crusius

HERODAS

τὰ χρήσιμ' ἔργα τοῦ τ. [.....] ος  
 ταχέως ἔνεγκ' ἄνωθ[εν ..... Μη]τροῖ,  
 οἷ' ἔργ' ἐπόψεσθ'. ἡσυχῆ [.....] ον  
 τὴν <σ>αμβαλούχην οἷγ[ε .....] πρῶτον  
 Μητροῖ, τελέων ἄρη[ρε .....] ἔων ἴχνος. 20  
 θηεῖσθε κύμε[ι]ς, ὦ γυ[ναῖκες· ἡ πτ]έρνη  
 ὀρητ' ὅπως πέπηγε, .[....] φην. [..] οἰς  
 ἐξηρτίωται πᾶσα, κο[ὺ τ]ὰ μὲν κ[αλ]ῶς  
 τὰ δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πά[ν]τ' ἴσαι χ[εῖρε]ς.  
 τὸ χρῶμα δ' οὕτως ὑμ[ι]ν ἡ πα[... ] διοίη 25  
 .[ ..... ] .ερ ἰχανᾶσθ' ἐπαυρέσθαι  
 .[ ..... ] ἄλ]λο τῶιδ' ἴσον χρῶμα  
 κ[ ..... ] ωκουδε κηρὸς ἀνθήσει  
 χ[ ..... ] . τρεῖς ἔδωκε Κανδᾶτ[.].  
 κ[ ..... ] τοῦτο κῆτερον χρῶμα 30  
 β.[ ..... ] ὄμνυ]μι πάντ' ὅσ' ἐστ' ἰρά  
 κω[ ..... ] τὴν ἀληθ[ε]ί[η]ν βάζειν  
 ] οὐδ' ὅσον ροπήν ψεῦδος

16 τρ[ίβωνος Κέρδων]ος Sitzler

17 ἄνωθ[εν Blass, then ὦ μάκαρ Headlam, οὐκ ἐρῶ Stadtmüller

18 [δὲ πρόσμει]ον Blass, [σύ, λαίμαστρ]ον Knox

19 <σ>αμβαλούχην several οἷγ[ε· τοῦτ' ὄρη Blass,  
· τοῦτό σοι Knox

20 ἐκ μερ]έων Knox

21 γυ[ναῖκες· ἡ πτ]έρνη Rutherford



MIME 7

the serviceable works, bring quickly down from above [ ] Metro, what works you shall see. Quietly [ ] open the shoe-box. [ ] first, Metro, the sole is put together from perfect [ ]; look, ladies, you also; see how the heel is fixed, and it is all fitted [ ], and it is not the case that some parts are well-made and others are not, but all the [handiwork] is equal. And the colour, as may [ ] give you [ ] you wish to enjoy, [ other] colour equal to this. [ ] beeswax will flower [ ] gave three [ ] to Kandas [ ] this and another colour. [ I swear by] all that is sacred [ ] that I speak the truth [ ] nor so much of a lie

22 χ[ῶτι σ]φηγι[σκ]οις Kenyon, but the first letter is more like α[

23 κο[ῦ τ]ᾶ μὲν κ[αλ]ῶς Blass, Headlam

24 χ[εῖρε]ς Blass

25 Πά[φου] Knox, with μ[εδέου]σ' in 26 ('the ruler of Paphos', i.e. Aphrodite)

26 ὄσων]περ Headlam

27 ἄλ]λο Crusius

28 κοῦδὲ or κοῦ δὲ may be read

29 χ[ρυσοῦ στατήρα]ς Knox, χ[θὲς οἶν στατήρα]ς Edmonds  
Κανδᾶτ[ο]ς Diels (to be corrected to -ᾶδ-)

31 ὄμνυ]μι Blass

32 κῶ[σια, γυναικες,] Crusius, κῶ[σος] ἔστω ὄσια] Headlam  
βαδιζ]ειν P, corrected by Crusius

## HERODAS

ἦ] Κέρδωνι μὴ βίου ὄνησις  
 μ[ηδ' ]ων γίνοιτο κα[ι] χάριν πρὸς με 35  
 οὐ γ]ὰρ ἀλλὰ μεζόνων ἤδη  
 ] κερδέων ὀριγνῶνται  
 ]. τὰ ἔργα τῆς τέχνης ἡμ<έ>ων  
 π[ι]συγγος δὲ δειλαίην οἰζύν  
 ] . ναν[ .. ]εων νύκτα κῆμέρην θάλπω 40  
 ]. ἡμέων ἄχρι<ς> ἐσπέρης κάπτει  
 ]αι πρὸ[ς] ὄρθρον οὐ δοκέω τόσ<σ>ον  
 τὰ Μικίωνος κηρί' εὐπ[ ]  
 κοῦπω λέγω, τρισκαίδε[κ..... β]όσκω,  
 ὀτεύνεκ', ᾧ γυναῖκες, ἀργ[.....]ς 45  
 οἶ, κῆν ἕη Ζεὺς, τοῦτο μοῦ[νον αἰδουσι],  
 φέρ' εἰ φέρεις τι, τᾶλλα δ' ἀ[.]. [... ἦ]γται  
 ὅκως νεοσσο[ι] τὰς κοχώνας θά[λ]π[ο]ντες.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων γάρ, φασίν, ἡ ἀγορὴ δεῖται  
 χαλκῶν δέ, τοῦτ' ἦν μὴ ὑμῖν ἀγδάνηι, Μητρ[οῖ], 50  
 τὸ ζεῦγος, ἕτερον κᾶτε[ρ]ον μάλ' ἐξοίσει,  
 ἔστ' ἂν γόωι πεισθῆτε [μὴ λ]έγει[ν] ψευδέα

34 ἦ] Bücheler

35 μ[ηδ' Sitzler

36 οὐ γ]ὰρ Bücheler

37 οἶ βυρσοδέψαι] Crusius

39 π[ι]συγγος Blass

41 τ[ι]ς Knox, τίς ἔστ' ὅ]ς Edmonds ἄχρι&lt;ς&gt; Ruther-

ford

MIME 7

[ ] the balance [ or]  
 may Kerdon have no profit in life [nor ]—  
 and [ ] thanks to me; for undeniably  
 [ ] now grasp at greater gains.  
 [ ] the works of our craft [ ].  
 But I the cobbler, [ ]  
 wretched woe, heat [ ] night and day.  
 [ ] of us gulps till evening  
 [ ] at dawn? I don't think  
 Mikion's honey is so [ ]. And I  
 haven't yet said, I feed thirteen [ ], since,  
 ladies, [ ] lazy, who, even if Zeus sends  
 rain, [sing] this alone, 'Bring, if you've anything to  
 bring'; but otherwise they [sit ], like chicks  
 warming their posteriors. But as it's not words,  
 they say, the market needs but brass,<sup>a</sup> if you don't  
 like this pair, Metro, he'll bring out another and yet  
 another, till you are convinced that Kerdon does

<sup>a</sup> Kerdon adapts to his own situation the proverb 'the market needs not words, but deeds'.

42 ἡ πίεται Knox τόσ<σ>ον Bücheler

43 μικρωνος P, corrected by Crusius

44 οὖς ἐγὼ Edmonds

45 ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς Headlam

46 μοῦ[νον αἰδουο]ι Crusius

47 ἀ[σ]φ[αλεῖς Herzog ῆ]γται Headlam

48 κηχωνας P, corrected by Danielsson, Jackson

52 [μὴ λ]έγει[ν] F.D.

HERODAS

Κέρδωνα. τὰς μοι σα[μβα]λουχίδας πάσας  
 ἔνεγκε, Πίστε ... αλισγ. ννηθειςας  
 ὑμέας ἀπελθεῖν, ὦ γυναῖκες, εἰς οἶκον. 55

θήσεσθε δ' ὑμ[εῖς·] γένεα ταῦτα πα[ν]τοῖα·  
 Σικυώνι', Ἀμβρακίδια, Νοσοίδες, λείαι,  
 ψιττάκια, κανναβίσκα, Βαυκίδες, βλαῦται,  
 Ἰωνίκ' ἀμφίσφαιρα, νυκτιπήδηκες,  
 ἀκροσφύρια, καρκίνια, σάμβαλ' Ἀργεῖα, 60  
 κοκκίδες, ἔφηβοι, διάβαθρ'· ὦν ἐραῖ θυμός  
 ὑμέων ἐκάστης εἴπατ', ὡς ἂν αἰσθοισθε  
 σκύττα γυναῖκες καὶ κύνες τί βρώζουσιν.

(MH.) κόσου χρεῖζεις κείν' ὃ πρόσθεν ἤειρας  
 ἀπεμπολῆ<σαι> ζευγος; ἀλλὰ μὴ βροντέων 65  
 οὔτος σὺ τρέψῃς μέζον εἰς φυγὴν ἡμέας.

(KE.) αὐτὴ σὺ καὶ τίμησον, εἰ θέλεις, αὐτό  
 καὶ στῆσον ἧς κότ' ἐστιν ἄξιον τιμῆς.  
 ὃ τοῦτ' ἐῶν γὰρ οὐ σε ρηιδίως ρινᾶι.  
 ζευγέων, γύναι, τῶληθὲς ἦν θέλησις ἔργον, 70  
 ἐρεῖς τι — ναὶ μὰ τήνδε τὴν τεφρὴν κόρσην,

53 σα[μβα]λουχίδας Bücheler

54 An unsolved mystery

56 ὑμ[εῖς·] γένεα Rutherford

57 For λείαι Headlam conjectured Χῖαι

58 βλαυῖτια P, corrected by Herwerden

65 ἀπεμπολῆ<σαι> several

## MIME 7

[not] tell lies. Bring me all the shoe-boxes, Pistos; you must, ladies, go back home [ ]  
You will see for yourselves: here are all kinds: Sikyonians, little Ambrakians, Nossises, plains, greens, hemps, Baukises,<sup>a</sup> slippers, Ionics with buttons, night-walkers, boots, crabs, Argive sandals, scarlets, youths, flats: say what is the heart's desire of each one of you; so that thus you may realise why women and dogs eat leather.<sup>b</sup>

### METRO

For how much do you want to sell that pair which you lifted up before? But see you, don't put us to flight with your loud thundering.

### KERDON

Value it yourself if you wish and set what price it is worth. One who allows this does not readily cheat you. Lady, if you wish the true craftsmanship of pairs, you will say something—yes by this ashen

<sup>a</sup> Nossises and Baukises continue the malicious reference of 6.20: for Baukis was the friend of Nossis and subject of her poem 'Distaff'.

<sup>b</sup> Dogs proverbially never forget how to chew their leather lead; women similarly never give up using a leather dildo.

---

69 The beginning was read by Meister, the end by Blass; neither is fully certain

ἐπ' ἧς ἀλώπηξ νοσοιῆν πεποιήτα[ι —  
τάχ' ἀλφειτηρὸν ἐρ[γ]α[λ]εῖα κινεῦσι.

Ἐρμῆ τε Κερδέων καὶ σὺ Κερδείη Πειθοῖ,  
ὦς, ἦν τι μὴ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐς βόλον κύρση,  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅκως ἄμεινον ἢ χύτρη πρήξει.

75

(MH.) τί τονθορούζεις κοῦκ ἐλευθέρηι γλάσσηι  
τὸν τῆμον ὅστις ἐστὶν ἐξεδίφηςας;

(KE.) γύναι, μιῆς μνηῆς ἐστὶν ἄξιον τοῦτο  
τὸ ζεῦγος· ἢ ἄνω 'σ<τ>' ἢ κάτω βλέπειν· χαλκοῦ  
ρίνημ' ὃ δῆκοτ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίης  
ὠνευμένης αὐτῆς ἂν οὐκ ἀποστάξαι.

81

(MH.) μάλ' εἰκότως σευ τὸ στεγύλλιον, Κέρδων,  
πέπληθε δαψιλέων τε καὶ καλῶν ἔργων.  
φύλασσε κά[ρτ]α σ' αὐτά· τῆι γὰρ εἰκοστῆι  
τοῦ Ταυρεῶνος ἡκατῆ γάμον ποιεῖ  
τῆς Ἀρτακηνῆς, κύποδημάτων χρεῖη·  
τάχ' οὔν, τάλης, ἄ<ι>ξουσι σὺν τύχηι πρὸς σε,  
μᾶλλον δὲ πάντως. ἀλλὰ θύλακον ράψαι  
τὰς μνέας ὅκως σοι μὴ αἰ γαλαῖ διοίσουσι.

90

73 ἐρ[γ]α[λ]εῖα Diels

77 τονθορουξεῖς P, corrected by Rutherford

78 ἐξεφώνηςας (Richards) would be easier

80 'σ<τ>' Headlam

85 κά[ρτ]α Blass σ(οι) αὐτά understood by Bücheler

88 ἄ<ι>ξουσι Crusius

## MIME 7

head, on which the fox has made its den<sup>a</sup>—supplying food quickly to tool-wielders. O Hermes of profit and profiting Persuasion, if something does not now chance into the cast of our net, I do not know how the pot will fare better.

METRO

Why are you muttering instead of having searched out the price with free tongue?

KERDON

Lady, this pair is worth one mina, you may look up or down.<sup>b</sup> Not the least shaving of a copper would come off, if Athene herself were the customer.

METRO

It's not surprising, Kerdon, that your little house is full of abundant lovely objects. Guard them [carefully] for yourself; for on the twentieth of Taureon<sup>c</sup> Hekate holds the marriage of Artakene, and there is need of shoes; so, wretch, perhaps with good luck, or rather certainly, they will rush to you. Have a sack stitched so that the cats won't plunder your minas.

<sup>a</sup> I.e. which suffers from the disease alopecia, by a pun with 'alopex', fox.

<sup>b</sup> Probably 'whether you look happy or sad'.

<sup>c</sup> A month in many cities of Asia Minor.

HERODAS

(KE.) ἦν τ' ἠκατ<ῆ> ἔλθηι, μνῆς ἔλασσον οὐκ οἴσει,  
ἦν τ' ἠ' Ἀρτακηνή. πρὸς τὰδ', εἰ θέλεις, σκέπτει.

(MH.) οὐ σοι δίδωσιν ἢ ἀγαθὴ τύχη, Κέρδων,  
ψαῦσαι ποδίσκων ὦν Πόθοι τε κῆρωτες  
ψαύουσιν; ἀλλ' εἷς κνῦσα καὶ κακὴ λώβη 95  
ὥστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων †λιολεοσεω† πρήξεις.  
ταύτηι δὲ δώσεις κε[ῖ]νο τὸ ἕτερον ζεῦγος  
κόσου; πάλιν πρήμηνον ἀξίην φωνήν  
σεωυτοῦ.

<KE.> στατῆρας πέντε, ναὶ μὰ θεούς, φο[ι]τᾶι  
ἠ ψάλτρι' <Εὐ>ετηρὶς ἡμέρην πᾶσαν 100  
λαβεῖν ἀνώγουσ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μιν ἐχθ[α]ίρω,  
κῆν τέσσαράς μοι Δαρικοὺς ὑπόσχηται,  
ὀτεύνεκέν μευ τὴν γυναῖκα τῷθ' ἄξει  
κακοῖσι δέννοις· εἰ δ[έ σοί γ' ἔσ]τι χρεῖη  
φερευλαβου< > τῶν τριῶν [ .... ] δοῦναι 105

91 ἠκατ<ῆ> Rutherford

92 τη P, corrected by Herwerden

96 Possibly Αἰολέως should be read (taking εω as a correction of εο, added instead of substituted; Αἰολέος Beare), followed by <χείρον> or <μείον>

100 <Εὐ>ετηρὶς Blass, Rutherford

104 δ[έ σοί γ' ἔσ]τι Blass



MIME 7

KERDON

Whether Hekate comes, or Artakene, she will not get them for less than a mina; consider this, if you please.

METRO

Kerdon, does not good fortune grant you to touch the little feet which Desires and Loves touch? But you are an irritation and wicked disgrace; so that from us you will get < >.<sup>a</sup> But for how much will you give that other pair to this lady? Again blast out a word worthy of yourself.

<KERDON>

Five staters, by the gods, is what the harpist <Eu>eteris comes each day asking me to take, but I hate her, even if she promises me four Darics, since she jeers at my wife with wicked reproaches. But if [you have] need, † † to give

<sup>a</sup> The sense must be 'you will get nothing'; with the conjecture suggested, 'you will fare worse than Aeoleus', but the identity of Aeoleus is unknown.

---

105 If the first word is φέρ', one can read with Headlam ἐὺλαβοῦ <σὶ> τῶν τριῶν [μῖαι] δοῦναι, 'come, beware of giving them to one of the three' (i.e. Hekate, Artakene, Eueteris); if it is φέρει, then λαβοῦ<σα> τῶν τριῶν [θέλω] δοῦναι (Blass, Bücheler), 'take them away; I wish to give you them for three Darics'. Knox's placing of a fragment .ον here is uncertain in itself and leads to no good result

HERODAS

καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ταῦτ' ἦι ὑμῖν ἐπτὰ Δαρεικῶν  
 ἔκητι Μητροῦς τῆσδε· μηδὲν ἀντείπηις.  
 δύ]ναιτό μ' ἐλάσαι σ<ῆ> ἄν [ιῆ] τὸν πίσ[υγγον  
 ἔοντα λίθινον ἐς θεοὺς ἀναπτῆναι·  
 ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλάσσαν, ἡδονῆς δ' ἠθμόν. 110  
 ἄ, θεῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐ μακρὴν ἀπεσ[τ' ὦν]ήρ  
 ὅτεωι σὺ χεῖλεα νύκτα κῆμέρην οἴγ[εις].  
 φέρ' ὦδε τὸν ποδίσκον· εἰς ἴ<χ>νος θῶμεν·  
 πάξ· μήτε προσθῆις μήτ' ἀπ' οὖν ἔληις μηδέν·  
 τὰ καλὰ πάντα τῆις καλῆισιν ἀρμόζει· 115  
 αὐτὴν ἐρεῖς τὸ πέλμα τὴν Ἀθηναίην  
 τεμεῖν. δὸς αὐτῆ καὶ σὺ τὸν πόδ'· ἄ, ψωρῆι  
 ἄρηρεν ὀπλήι βουῦς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμ<έ>ας.  
 εἴ τις πρ[ὸ]ς ἴχνος ἠκόνησε τὴν σμίλην,  
 οὐκ ἄν, μὰ τὴν Κέρδωνος ἐστίην, οὕτω 120  
 τοῦργον σαφέως ἔκειτ' ἄν ὡς σαφ<έ>ως κείται.  
 αὐτῆ σύ, δώσεις ἐπτὰ Δαρικουὺς τοῦδε,  
 ἢ μέζον ἵππου πρὸς θύρην κιχλίζουσα;  
 γυναῖκες, ἦν ἔχητε κῆτέρων χρεῖην  
 ἢ σαμβαλίσκων ἢ ἄ κατ' οἰκίην ἔλκειν 125  
 εἴθισθε, τὴν μοι δουλ[ιδ]' ὦδε <δεῖ> πέμπειν.

108 δύ]ναιτο Bücheler σ<ῆ> ἄν [ιῆ] Knox πίσ[υγ-  
 γον Knox

109 ληθινον P, corrected by Headlam

MIME 7

[            ] of the three—and this and this may be yours for seven Darics for the sake of Metro here. Don't contradict: your [voice] could drive me, the cobbler, a man of stone, to fly to heaven; for you have not a tongue but a sieve of pleasure; ah, not far away from the gods [is the man] to whom you open your lips night and day. Give me your little foot here; let's place it on the sole. Right! Neither add nor remove anything: all lovely things fit lovely ladies; you would say that Athene herself had cut the sole. Give me your foot also: ah, the ox that kicked you was equipped with a scabby hoof. If one had sharpened one's knife on the sole, by Kerdon's hearth the work would not have lain so accurately as it does lie accurately. You there, will you give seven Darics for this, you who are cackling at the door more loudly than a horse? Ladies, if you have need of anything else, small sandals or what you are in the habit of trailing at home,<sup>a</sup> you <must> send your slave here to me. But you, Metro, be sure to

<sup>a</sup> Loose-fitting house-shoes.

- 
- 110 ηδηνης P, corrected by Herwerden      ηθμηη or ηθμιν  
P, corrected by Bücheler
- 111 ἀπεσ[τ' ὠν]ήρ Blass      112 οἴγ[εις] Blass
- 113 ἴ<χ>νος Blass      θῶμεν Hicks, better than θῶ μιν  
Blass
- 117 πόδ' ᾧ divided by Headlam
- 117–118 ψωρη . . . οπλη P, corrected by Rutherford
- 126 δουλ[ιδ'] several      <δει> several

HERODAS

σὺ δ' ἦκε, Μητροῖ, πρὸς με τῆι ἐνάτῃ πάντως  
ὄκως λάβηις καρκίνια · τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην  
θάλπουσαν εὖ δεῖ ἕνδον φρονεῦντα καὶ ράπτειν.

## MIME 7

come to me on the ninth to get your crabs; for in truth a sensible man must stitch inside the skin coat that gives warmth.

## 8. ENYPINION

ἄστηθι, δούλη Ψύλλα · μέχρι τέο κείσθι  
 ρέγχουσα; τὴν δὲ χοῖρον αὐονὴ δρύπτει ·  
 ἢ προσμένεις σὺ μέχρῃς εὖ ἥλιος θάλψθι  
 τὸ]γ κῦσον ἐσδύς; κῶς δ', ἄτρυτε, κοῦ κάμνεις  
 τὰ πλ]ευρὰ κνώσσουσ'; αἰ δὲ νύκτες ἐννέωροι. 5  
 ἄστη]θι, φημί, καὶ ἄψον, εἰ θέλεις, λύχνον,  
 καὶ τ]ὴν ἀναυλον χοῖρον ἐς νομὴν πέμψ[ο]γ.  
 τ]όγθρυζε καὶ κνῶ, μέχρῃς εὖ παραστά[ς σοι  
 τὸ] βρέγμα τῶι σκίπωνι μαλθακὸν θῶμα[ι.  
 δει]λὴ Μεγαλλί, κα[ὶ] σὺ Λάτμιον κνώσσεις; 10  
 οὐ] τὰ ἔριά σε τρύχ[ο]υσιν · ἀλλὰ μὴν στέμμ[α  
 ἐπ' ἱρὰ διζόμεσ[θ]α · βαιὸς οὐκ ἦμιν  
 ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ ἔτι μα[λ]λὸς εἰρίων. δειλὴ,  
 ἄστηθι. σὺ τε μοι τ[οῦ]γαρ, εἰ θέλεις, Ἄννᾶ,  
 ἄκουσον · οὐ γὰρ νη[πία]ς φρένας βόσκεῖς. 15

3 θαλψθι, corrected to θαλψ(ε)ι, P

4 τὸ]γ κῦσον Headlam

5 τὰ πλ]ευρὰ Headlam, Palmer

6 ἄστη]θι Diels

## 8. A DREAM

Get up, slave Psylla: how long are you going to lie snoring? Drought is rending the sow. Or are you waiting till the sun crawls into [your] bum and warms it? Unwearied one, how have you avoided tiring [your] ribs with sleeping? The nights are nine years long. [Get up], I say, and light the lamp, please, [and] send the unmelodious sow to the pasture. Mutter and scratch yourself until I stand beside [you] and make [your] head soft with my stick. [Wretched] Megallis, are you too in a Latmian sleep?<sup>a</sup> It is [not] your wool that wears you out: should we seek a wreath for the rites, there is not any longer a tiny woollen fleece in the house for us. Wretch, get up. And you, Annas, please listen to my dream, for you do not nourish a silly mind. I seemed

<sup>a</sup> Like the mythological sleeper Endymion, who frequented or was buried on Mt Latmos.

- 
- 8 παραστά[ς Vogliano      σοι Sitzler  
9 τὸ] Headlam  
10 δεῖ]λῆ Palmer  
11 οὐ] Palmer  
13 μα[λ]λὸς Bücheler  
14 τ[οῦ]γαρ Blass

τράγον τιν' ἔλκειν [διὰ] φάραγγος ὠιήθη[ν  
 μακρῆς, ὃ δ' εὐπώ[γω]ν τε κεῦκερως ἦ[εν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ [.]..[.....]. τῆς βήσσης  
 ἡο[ῦ]ς φα[ούσης .....] γὰρ ἔσσωμαι  
 συ[.....] ες αἰπόλοι πλε[ 20  
 τη[.....] ριωντεποιεῦ[  
 κῆγῶ οὐκ ἐσύλευν [.....]. (.)[  
 καὶ ἄλλης δρυὸς [...]. ε[  
 οἱ δ' ἀμφικαρτα. [...] τεσ[  
 τὸν αἶγ' ἐποίευν [.....] π[ 25  
 καὶ [π]λησίον με. [.....] ι. [  
 κ[.....] νμα. [.....] ω[  
 σχ[.....] κροκωτ[.....] φ. [  
 ω[.....] λεπτήης ἄ[ν] τυγος .... [  
 σ. [.....] δὲ νεβροῦ χλαν[ι]δίω[ι] κατέζω[στ]ο 30  
 κ[.....] ν κύπα[σσι]ν ἀμ[φ]ὶ τοῖς ὤμοις  
 κο[.....] ἀμφὶ κρ[ητὶ κ]ίσσι[ν] ἔστεπτο  
 ..... κ[οθόρνου] [.....] η κα[τ]αζώστρη  
 .....] ωμεντο [.....] σα. [.....] φρίκη[.  
 .....] ωρηνιχ[.....] θι. [ 35  
 .....] ο λῶπο[ς ...] κον [πε]ποιῆσθαι  
 ..... Ὀδ]υσσέως ο[.....] Αἰόλ[ου] δῶρον  
 .....] φ. [.....] το. [...] α λακτίζειν  
 .....] εγ[.....] εν[.] λῶιστον



MIME 8

to be dragging a goat [through] a long defile, and  
it [was] well bearded and well horned; and when  
[ ] from the glen, at the [appearance of]  
dawn [ ] for I am defeated, [ ]  
goatherds [ ]. And I did not  
despoil [ ] and of another tree  
[ ]. And those around [ ] very  
[ ] made the goat [ ] and near by  
[ ] yellow [ ] of slight curve  
[ ]. He was girded with a stole of  
[ ] fawnskin, [ ] tunic  
about his shoulders, and he was crowned with ivy  
[ ] round his head [ ] with the  
[ ] lace of a boot.<sup>a</sup> [ ] frost  
[ ] cloak [ ] to have been  
made [ ] of Odysseus [ ] gift of  
Aeolos [ ] to kick [ ] best,

<sup>a</sup> Lines 29–35 are clearly a description of Dionysos.

- 
- 16 [διὰ] Crusius  
17 ἐπὶ[γῶ]ν Crusius ἦ[εν Knox, ἦ[ν τις Crusius  
18 [ν]ῆ Knox 19 ἦ[οῦ]ς φα[ούσης Knox  
28 σχ[ιστὸν] κροκωτ[ὸν] Vogliano  
30 στ[ικτῆ]ς Knox κατέζω[στ]ο Herzog  
31 κύπα[σαι]ν Crusius  
32 κό[ρυμβα δ'] Knox κρ[ητὶ κ]ίσει[ν'] Knox  
33 -ου οἱ -ους κα[τ]αζώστρηι Knox  
36 λῶπο[ς] Bücheler [πε]ποιῆσθαι Milne  
37 Ὀδ]υσσέως Bücheler Αἰόλ[ου] Knox

## HERODAS

ὥσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διωνύσου. 40  
 κοῖ μὲν μετώποις ἐ[ς] κόνιν κολυμβῶ[ντες  
 ἔκοπτον ἀρνευτῆρ[ε]ς ἐκ βίης οὔδας,  
 οἱ δ' ὑπτι' ἐρριπτεῦντο· πάντα δ' ἦν, Ἄνν[ā],  
 εἰς ἔν γέλωσ τε κἀνίη [ἄναμιχθ]έντα.  
 κἀγὼ δόκεον δις μοῦ[νο]ς ἐκ τόσης λείης 45  
 ἐπ' οὖν ἀλέσθαι, κῆλάλαξαν ὠνθρωπ[οι  
 ὡς μ' εἶδ[ον ..]ως τὴν δο[ρῆ]ν πιεζεύσαν  
 καὶ φ[ ]τ[  
 οἶδε [ ]  
 γρυπ[ ] 50  
 ρυπ[ ]  
 τ. [ ]  
 τ[ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ] 55  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 τὰ δεινὰ πνεῦσαι λάξ πατε[ ]  
 ἔρρ' ἐκ προσώπου μὴ σε καίπ[ε]ρ ὦν πρέσβυς  
 οὔληι κατ' ἰθὺ τῆι βατηρίηι κό[ψω]. 60  
 κῆγὼ μεταῦτις· ὦ παρεόν[τες  
 θανεῦμ' ὑπὲρ γῆς, εἰ δὲ γέρων μ[ ]  
 μαρτύρ[ο]μαι δὲ τὸν νεη[ί]ην

as we observe in the choruses of Dionysos.<sup>a</sup> Some plunging with their foreheads to the dust forcibly struck the ground like divers, and others were thrown on their backs; everything, Annas, was laughter and pain [mingled] in one. And I [alone] of such a flock seemed to leap on twice, and the men cried out, as they saw the skin pressing me [ ] and [ ]. And they [ ] hooked [ ] dirt [

[ ] to blow terribly trampling with the foot [ ] get out of my sight, lest although 'I am old, I strike you straight down with my whole stick.' I then [said], 'Spectators, I shall die for the land if the old man [ ] and I call to witness the young man [ ].' He

<sup>a</sup> A game played at Dionysiac festivals, in which the participants tried to balance on an inflated wineskin.

---

40 διονυσου P, corrected by Kenyon

44 [ 'ναμιχθ]έντα Knox

45 μοῦ[νο]ς Herzog

46 ἄνθρωπ[οι] Crusius

47 (ε)ἰδ[ον] Knox δο[ρῆ]ν Crusius πιεζέοντα Knox

50 πατέ[οντα] Crusius, πατέ[ων] Herzog

59–60 are cited by the scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca*, 377, from Herodes the hemiamb (i.e. mimiambic poet) in his 'Sleep' (Ἵπνωι for Ἐνυπνίωι), as evidence for βακτηρία = βακτηρία

59 εpp P, φ(ε)ύγωμεν schol.

60 κόψω Weil, καλύψω or -ηι schol.

ὁ δ' εἶπεν [ᾗ]μφω τὸν δορέα . [ 65  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἰ[δ]ῶν ἔληξα. τὸ ἔνδν[τον  
 Ἄν]νᾶ δ[ὸς] ᾦδε. τῶναρ ᾦδ' ἰ[  
 .....]ν αἶγα τῆς φ[άραγγος] ἐξέιλκον  
 ..... κ]αλοῦ δῶρον ἐκ Δ[ιων]ύσου  
 ..... αἰ]πόλοι μιν ἐκ βίης [ἐδ]αιτρεῦντο  
 τ]ᾶ ἔνθεα τελευντες καὶ κρεῶ[ν] ἐδαίνυντο, 70  
 τὰ μέλεα πολλοὶ κάρτα, τοὺς ἐμοὺς μόχθους,  
 τιλεῦσιν ἐν Μούσησιν. ωδεγαφ[ ]το.  
 τὸ μὴν ἄεθλον ὡς δόκευν ἔχ[ει]ν μούνος  
 πολλῶν τὸν ἄπνου κώρυκον πατησάντων,  
 κῆ τῶι γέροντι ξύν' ἔπρηξ' ὀρινθέντι 75  
 ..] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἧ μ' ἔπεα κ[  
 .εγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἧ με δευτέρη γν[  
 .μ..ς μετ' Ἰππώνακτα τὸν παλαί[  
 τ]ᾶ κύλλ' αἰεῖδειν Ξουθίδης †επιουσι[

64 [ᾗ]μφω Crusius ξ[ύλωι δῆσαι Herzog, ξ[υνῆι κτῆσθαι  
Pisani

65 ἔνδν[τον Crusius

66 Ἄν]νᾶ Sitzler δ[ὸς] Knox τοῦναρ Knox (ε)ἰ[κά-  
ζειν δεῖ Crusius

67-75 The ends are preserved in O

67 ὡς μὲν τὸ]ν Edmonds φ[άραγγος] Crusius

68 ἔξω τι κ]αλοῦ Knox Δ[ιων]ύσου Knox

69 ὡς δ' οἱ Knox, αἰ]πόλοι Bücheler [ἐδ]αιτρεῦντο Milne

70 τ]ᾶ Crusius κρεῶ[ν ἐδαί]νυντο Weil, ]αμεδαινυντο O  
(perhaps corrupt)

said that the flayer [            ] both [            ].  
 And having seen this I stopped. [Annas, give] my  
 cloak here. [            ] the dream thus  
 [            ] I dragged the goat from the  
 [defile                            ] gift from lovely  
 Dionysos; [            the goat]herds forcibly  
 butchered it, carrying out their rites of communion,  
 and feasted on the meat, many among the Muses  
 will severely pluck the songs, my labours; so  
 [            ]. However as I seemed alone to have  
 the prize, though many trod the wind-less bag, and I  
 shared with the old man in his anger, by the Muse  
 [            ] my verses [            ] me  
 [            ] fame from iambics, [            ] a second  
 [            ] †                            † me after  
 [            ] Hipponax of old to sing limping songs  
 to [    ] sons of Xuthos.

72  $\omega\delta\epsilon\gamma\omega$  [ P, ]  $\tau\omicron$  O (ruling out older supplements with  $\omega\delta'$   $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  [    ]; I have suggested  $\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'$   $\omega[\iota\sigma]\tau\omicron$  or  $\omega[\lambda\lambda]\upsilon\tau\omicron$ , 'so at least it presaged' or 'so at least they were destroyed'

73  $\xi\chi[(\epsilon)\iota]\nu$  Knox

74  $\xi\mu\pi\nu\omicron\nu$  'full of air' would give better sense

76–79 The grammar and sense of the conclusion are unfortunately not determinable. The principal verb may be at the beginning of 76 ( $\xi\xi\omega$ ] Vogliano) or at its end ( $\kappa[\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$  Knox);  $\eta \dots \eta$  may be the feminine relative pronoun or the disjunctive adverb;  $\epsilon\xi$  may be preposition or numeral;  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\eta$   $\gamma\nu[\omega\mu\eta$  (?) may be nominative or dative; the construction of  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon$  is unknown    77  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'$  Knox

78  $\xi\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  Herzog (but the sense of 'my Ionians' is not obvious)

## 9. ΑΠΟΝΗΣΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ

ἔ]ζεσθε πᾶσαι. κοῦ τὸ παιδίον; δεξ[  
 .]αιπ[.]ος Εὐέτειραν καὶ Γλύκην .[  
 .]ιτ[.....]αιδρη τήν ἔτοιμον ου[  
 .....]ισμησε[.]ισματων[  
 .....]ινατ[.....]νηνυτω[ 5  
 .....]η[.....]αχηπεπο[  
 .....]..[.....]φηρεσκο .[  
 .ρ[.]οδ[.....]α δειλαίοις βλε[  
 φερω...[.....]ακαιτανυ[  
 αυτησυ.[.....]εται νο[ 10  
 ουπροσθα[.....]νισηξ[  
 τίθεσθ' α.[.....]ἄ]εθλον ἔξοι[  
 γλήχ[.....]κεῦσί σ' ἤειρα

1 ἔ]ζεσθε Kenyon

2 κ]αὶ π[ρ]ὸς Crusius

4 μή σε [κν]ισμάτων Crusius

5 ἄ]νηνύτω[ς Knox

10 Apparently P had φρ[εν- corrected to νο[- (Knox)

12 ἔξοι[σ- Crusius

13 το]κεῦσι Knox

## 9. WOMEN AT BREAKFAST

Sit down, all of you. Where is the child? Show  
[ ] Euateira and Glyke; [ ],  
impudent girl; won't you [ ] the one that  
is ready? Are you [ ]? Lest [ ] you of  
scratches [ ] endlessly  
[ ]  
bring [ ] with wretched [ ].  
Bring [ ] and [ ]. You there,  
[ ] mind [ ] not formerly  
[ ] you make [ ]  
will carry off the prize [ ]  
pennyroyal [to your] parents I reared you [ ]

## 10. ΜΟΛΠΙΝΟΣ

ἐπὴν τὸν ἐξήκοστον ἥλιον κάμψῃς,  
ὦ Γρύλλε, Γρύλλε, θνήσκε καὶ τέφρη γίνεο·  
ὡς τυφλὸς οὐπέκεινα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ·  
ἤδη γὰρ αὐγὴ τῆς ζοῆς ἀπήμβλυνται.

Verses 1–3 are cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.50b.56 from Herodas' 'Molpinos', verse 4 *ibid.* 55 from Herodas' Mimiambi; linked by Salmasius

1 ἥλιον = 'year' is scarcely possible; perhaps a line has been omitted, e.g. ἐπὴν τὸν ἐξήκοστον ἢ λ<ίην πολλὸν / ἡκῆς ἔτος χρηστόν τε σὸν β>ίον κάμψῃς, 'when you reach your sixtieth or greater year and come to the end of the good part of your life'

3 ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνα Stob., corrected by Porson

4 αὕτη . . . ἀπήμβλυντο Stob., corrected by Salmasius

## 11. ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑΙ

προσφῶς ὅκως τις χοιράδων ἀνηρίτης

Cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.* 86b from Herondas' 'Women Working Together', as an example of ἀναρίτης. The feminine προσφῶς' (Bücheler) is equally possible



## 10. MOLPINOS

Gryllos, Gryllos, when you have turned the post of sixty suns, die and become ashes; for the further lap of existence is blind; then the ray of life has been dimmed.

## 11. WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER

Clinging like a sea-snail to the rocks.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Apparently erotic.

## 12. From an unknown mimiamb

ἢ χαλκῆν μοι μυῖαν ἢ κύθρην παίζει  
ἢ τῆσι μηλάνθησιν ἄμματ' ἐξάπτων  
τοῦ κεσκίου μοι τὸν γέροντα λωβᾶται.

Cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.24d.51 from Herodas' Mimiambi

## 13. From an unknown mimiamb

ὡς οἰκίην οὐκ ἔστιν εὐμαρέως εὐρεῖν  
ἄνευ κακῶν ζώουσαν· ὃς δ' ἔχει μείον,  
τοῦτόν τι μέζον τοῦ ἐτέρου δόκει πρήσσειν.

Cited by Stobaeus, *Anth.* 4.34.27 from Herodas' Mimiambi  
3 τούτου Stob., corrected by Schneidewin

## 12.

Either he plays brass fly or pot,<sup>a</sup> or fastens ties of my tow to cockchafers and despoils my 'old man'.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Children's games, similar to blind man's buff (the second without blindfold).

<sup>b</sup> Name for a distaff, from the old man's face put on it as ornament.

## 13.

For it isn't possible to find easily a house that lives without troubles; consider him who has less trouble to fare a little better than the other.



CERCIDAS AND THE  
CHOLIAMBIC POETS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

A. D. KNOX

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bgk. = Bergk	G. = Gerhard
Schnw. = Schneidewin	Bi. = Bilabel
Cr. = Crusius	K.-Bi.: see page 435
Wilam. = Wilamowitz	Byz. = Byzantine version
Kal. = Kalinka	Arm. = Armenian version
P. = The Papyrus	Müll. = Müller (Carolus)
Mn. = Milne	
K. = Kenyon	
Hdl. = Headlam	

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<sup>1</sup> His remains were collected by Welcker in a volume easily accessible. Others were added from a British Museum ms. of Tzetzes by Musgrave, by Herwerden and from an Etymologicum by Reitzenstein. The best collection is in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*: and the best abbreviated edition in Hoffmann's *Griechische Dialecte*, iii. p. 135 (including Reitzenstein's addenda). A long but not very able discussion of the fragments is given by ten Brink in early numbers of *Philologus*.

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BY common consent one of the greatest of Greek poets was Hipponax,<sup>1</sup> who was the founder of choliambi.<sup>2</sup> Hipponax wrote in a simple adaptation of the Ionic plain iambus of his date, merely substituting a final spondee for the final iambus of Archilochus. The metre has always been misunderstood and confounded with the iambus of Attic tragedy with which it has nothing in common.

The metre was invented to suit the exceptional bitterness of the man. Of his life we are fairly well informed. He was (Suid. *s.v.*) *πατρὸς Πιθέω* (whence Metriché's parentage in Hrd. Mime I.). His mother was Protis. A native of Ephesus<sup>3</sup> he was expelled by its tyrants and went to Clazomenae.<sup>4</sup> His enmity with the

<sup>2</sup> Greek verse is measured by length of syllables, not by stress (like English). The mark  $\cup$  is for a short,  $-$  for a long syllable. Breaks (*i.e.*, end of sense groups) are marked |. The iambic metre of Hipponax' date was  $\sphericalangle-\cup-\sphericalangle$  |  $-\cup$  |  $-\cup-\cup-$ , or  $\sphericalangle-\cup-\sphericalangle$  |  $-\cup$  |  $-\sphericalangle-$  |  $\cup-$ . One or both of the first breaks are sufficient. Hipponax' metre is  $\sphericalangle-\cup-\sphericalangle$  |  $-\cup$  |  $-\cup---$ , the two breaks being again alternative. There is some evidence for  $\sphericalangle-\cup-\sphericalangle$  |  $-\cup-\sphericalangle$  |  $---$ . The first two syllables are  $\sphericalangle-$ , but there is slight evidence that he may also have permitted himself  $\cup\cup\cup$  or  $-\cup$ . Such substitutions are alleged in other places, but the evidence proves worthless. See *Journal of Cambridge Philological Society*, 1927, for a full discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Callim. *Iamb. passim*, Strabo, p. 642, Clem. Al. i. 308.

<sup>4</sup> So Sulpicia, v. 6.

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sculptors Bupalus and Athenis is derived from the insulting statues of him which they made. He must have lived about 550 B.C. (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 5). He is said by the author of the *Ibis* and a commentator on Horace (*Epod.* 6. 14) to have committed suicide: but their accounts do not tally. In person he was small, thin and ugly (Ael. *V.H.* x. 6), but strong (Ath. 552 c).

Such details are in themselves unimportant. Even the scanty fragments show that the quarrel with Bupalus was due not to the studied distortions of the latter's art, but to the natural attractions of his mistress, for whom Hipponax conceived an infatuation. But they are evidence if not of the popularity, at least of the great fame alike of his works and of his very unpleasant character. This fame is further attested by four epitaphs. That of Philippus (*A.P.* vii. 405) scarcely deserves quotation: Alcaeus (of Mitylene), *ib.* vii. 536, gives us little: Theocritus' (in choliambics) is given below. Leonidas (*ib.* vii. 408) adds one detail:—

'Ατρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ  
πικρὸν ἐγείρητε σφῆκ' ἀναπαύμενον.  
ἄρτι γὰρ Ἴππώνακτος ὁ καὶ τοκέωνε<sup>1</sup> βαῦξας  
ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.  
ἀλλὰ προμηθήσασθε· τὰ γὰρ πεπυρωμένα κείνου  
ῥήματα πημαίνειν οἶδε καὶ εἰν' Αἴδη.

“ Quietly pass by the tomb lest ye rouse the bitter wasp that rests there. For but lately has rest been found and quiet for the soul of Hipponax that barked even at his parents. But beware: even in Hades

<sup>1</sup> So W. Headlam for *τοκέωνεια*.



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can his fiery words injure.”<sup>1</sup>

The subject of so much curiosity and admiration, who inspired two of the world's greatest poets, Callimachus and Catullus, has left us a mere hundred verses or so. We owe them to the collection of a son of one who copied his style (Lysanias, son of Aeschrion). This book we have not: we only have some few verses quoted by Athenaeus, sometimes misquoted, often misattributed, and usually corrupt. Even some grammarians, like those on whose work Hesychius' dictionary rests, had very poor texts; though the Etymology has preserved us one or two fine and vigorous lines. Later Tzetzes, out of mere passion for the obscure, has preserved in his commentaries several quotations, haphazard, inaccurate and corrupt: we can still thank him for his habit of quoting complete lines and sense which has preserved for us of the poet far more than we otherwise might have had.

Beyond the shadowy name of Ananias we know nothing—perhaps there is nothing to be known of Hipponax' immediate successors. It may be held for certain that for the period when Athens ruled supreme over Greek literary taste the metre and manner was disused. The development of Greek literature was entirely in a different direction. There is indeed one remark in Aristophanes which shows that even at Athens these two writers had some readers: but

Disuse  
of the  
metre

<sup>1</sup> The allusion (?) in [Archil.] 80 (D.) is too doubtful and fragmentary.

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it is perhaps even more remarkable that the poet makes an error in attribution.

Simultaneously with the fall of Athens as a power, the old styles, subjects, metres and dialects were revived; but with the curious and wholly typical Greek rule that these four ingredients must never be used in the exact and original manner.

The  
Revival

It is true that until the third century A.D. a certain weak reminiscence of the Ephesian sixth-century dialect still flavours the writings of those who employ this metre; and the gradual relapse from this dialect is perhaps the surest test of date. The metre of Hipponax was wholly misunderstood and some writers substituted the rhythms of Attic tragedy, preserving only the final spondaic foot. Even Callimachus, who is the nearest to Hipponax, does not fully represent him: and Catullus, the Latin poet who copies Archilochus faithfully, wholly deserts the Ephesian model. As far as subjects go, it is impossible to draw any lines. The metre was used for short poems on all subjects by Phoenix, for dramatic idylls by Herodes, for mythology or the like by Apollonius Rhodius and Pseudo-Callisthenes, for fables by Babrius,<sup>1</sup> for literary controversy by Callimachus,<sup>1</sup> for the introduction to a moralist anthology by [pseudo-] Cerkidas, and in isolated epigrams by Theocritus and Aeschrion. Of some of these a few words may be said.

Aeschrion is said on doubtful authority to have been a younger contemporary of Alexander. His

<sup>1</sup> Not included here. I hope to help to revise Callimachus' Iambi from the papyrus, a task which has not been attempted since Hunt.

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The writers son Lysanias may be the same as the author of a book on the writers of choliambics, and this Lysanias a pupil of Eratosthenes: the son then can hardly have been born before 260 B.C. In this case it is a little difficult to accept the statement which Suidas gives on the authority of "Nicander" but is generally supposed to rest only on that of Ptolemaeus Chennus. But there appears to be no good grounds for refusing to place his floruit in the first years of the third century B.C. Some of his writings called *Ephemerides* concerned Alexander and may have been written in hexameters (Tz. *Chil.* viii. 404): others, whether on this or other subjects, were in choliambics and marked by extreme frigidity.

Perhaps a somewhat younger contemporary was Phoenix of Colophon. We are told by Pausanias i. 9. 7, that when Lysimachus destroyed Colophon its dirge was sung by Phocnix. It may be hoped that his dirge did not resemble the plea for Thebes which Pseudo-Callisthenes puts in the mouth of Ismenias the flute-player. He may have written as early as 280 B.C. He made no effort to copy the metre of Hipponax; his metre depends normally on the Athenian stage writers. But his short poems possess a certain tinkling elegance and follow closely the Alexandrine method of clothing in new garb hackneyed themes. The short moralistic excerpt quoted in the Anthology of [Cercidas] is considered by Gerhard<sup>1</sup> to display cynicizing tendencies:

<sup>1</sup> In his magnificent collection *Phoinix von Kolophon* (Teubner, 1909), which must be consulted for references to the literature on these writers.

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but it contains nothing which might not have been prompted by a normal indignation against war profiteers. We cannot conjecture what may have prompted Aeschion (of Samos or Mitylene) to use this metre : but if Phoenix followed his compatriots to the enlarged city of Ephesus his model was near at hand ; and this accident may well have been the reason which brought the metre into wide prominence. More probable is his intimate connexion with Attica, which is now suggested by a coincidence in his fourth poem. It is, like his other poems, a brief piece of about thirty verses, apparently an elegy on Lynceus. With Professor Crönert we could identify Lynceus with Lynceus of Samos, a contemporary of Menander, mentor of the young Poseidippus (Meincke, *Com. Gr.* i. p. 458) and writer of Attic comedy, and further, identify Poseidippus of frag. 3 with the comic writer and make Phoenix somewhat junior to Menander. We may, I think, go further and identify with certainty the Strassburg papyrus from which this poem is taken as containing some later sheets of the "Cercidean" anthology.

Callimachus (who lived at Alexandria, 260-240), Theocritus (more or less his contemporary) and Apollonius Rhodius, who long outlived his instructor Callimachus, need no introduction. Theocritus and Apollonius perhaps wrote hardly anything in this metre. The same may be true of Asclepiades of Samos who ranks in time with the two first-named. Of Diphilus,<sup>1</sup> Parmeno and Hermeias of Curion we *know* nothing

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard, *op. cit.* pp. 211 *sqq.*

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whatever. Others, like Alcaeus of Messene,<sup>1</sup> have left nothing in this metre. We may pass on to two writers for us far more important and more disputable.

The age of Cercidas<sup>2</sup> of Megalopolis, once a matter of dispute, is now fairly well known. The attack on a disciple of Sphaerus, and the apparent CERCIDAS censure of Stoicism as having degenerated since Zeno, would encourage us to place Cercidas in the second half of the third century B.C., when we know a famous Sphaerus to have been one of the diadochi of Zeno. In antiquity Cercidas, who had great weight in the councils of his country, was famed even above other learned poets for his literary enthusiasms. He hoped after his death to meet Pythagoras, Hecataeus, Olympus and Homer: the first two books of Homer were to be buried with him. Above all he appears passionately devoted to the Catalogue (Book II.): and the children of his city were compelled to learn it by heart. He boasts of his early devotion to the Muses: and it is no very wild guess that the anthology of which we have an introduction in choliambics comes from his selection. This theme I have developed in a separate book.<sup>3</sup> Whether he is actually the author of the sorry verses which formed the introduction thereto is another question. There is little doubt that

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1923. It may now be dated, on palaeographical grounds, as little later than 250 B.C. See below on the Strassburg fragment of Phoenix: also for the metres of Phoenix and [Cercidas].

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Gregory of Nazianzus attributes them to him : but equally there is little doubt that the clumsy and almost random inanities are wholly unworthy of the skilled and competent metrist of the meliamb. If they are by him they are merely some juvenile epistolary doggerel preserved by Parnos to whom they are addressed : if not, they are an anonymous introduction to his collection. Wholly different from these are the meliambi. For the most part these are metrically a clever and vigorous combination of the iambic and hexameter metres, each managed in the strictest and most graceful fashion. Whatever view be taken of their contents, in the narrower sense of the word style they are masterpieces. To our taste they suffer merely from their Alexandrinism : that is from the adaptation to one purpose of a form<sup>1</sup> designed for another use : the bombastic verbiage proper in a comedian or the writer of a mock cookery-book appears ill to become the gravity of a quite serious philosophy of life : and the excellent technique seems to detract from the seriousness of the writer.

Among the writers of the third century who used this  
Home metre, hardly any are pure Alexandrines.  
There is a far closer connexion with Attica. Phoenix is the friend of writers of Attic comedy. Aeschriion defends a lady of Athenian ill-fame against an Athenian attack. Moschine, an Athenian lady (*Philologus*, lxxxi. p. 247), used this metre. Even the use of the metre for the *short* poem may be due less to Alex-

<sup>1</sup> So too the use of Doric dialect (of a conventional kind) for Ionic metres.

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andrine canons than to the practice of Hipponax. Only the use of an old form for new ideas remains typically Alexandrine. Cercidas is a Megapolitan and follower (presumably) of Ananius. So we are left only with Callimachus, whose protests seem to be directed against the Atticism of Hipponax' followers.

The popularity of this metre in the first three centuries A.D.<sup>1</sup>—extending even to the discovery of Herodes whom his contemporaries failed to notice—is perhaps partly due to its use by Roman poets. We have (besides Babrius) a few epigrams in quite vulgar style. Again, the choliambic metre, still more the second half of the verse, was commonly used in proverbs: and collectors tended to twist well-known quotations into this form. On the other hand these were again likely to degenerate into pure iambics; and it is quite unsafe to take any of these as belonging even probably to early writers.

Hipponax perished save as a quarry for the lexicographer and the pedant-poet. Herodes and Phoenix were barely known and little read. The paltry verses of pseudo-Cercidas were known only from their position at the head of a school-thumbed Anthology. Callimachus' Iambi are the least quoted, and now probably the least read of his works. Babrius' fables alone attained a wide public. But those who think of Greek writers as exclusively 'classics,' and 'classics' as necessarily 'high-brow,' and vaguely picture a

<sup>1</sup> From 230 B.C. to about A.D. 100 there is a total eclipse of the metre. The revival is due to the popularity of the metre in Latin.

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cultured antiquity which read the private speeches of Demosthenes without fear of impositions, or the *Electra* of Sophocles except at the risk of the birch, should study carefully the doggerel which is the basis of at least one-third of the pseudo-Callisthenic life of Alexander. For these are surely the worst verses, in every respect except that of metre, that were ever written : bereft of humour, pathos, sense, truth, style and elegance. Despite considerable efforts I have been unable in my translation to avoid flattering them. Yet the work which was based on them, the life of Alexander, was edited and re-edited again and again by the Greeks : there was even a rendering into Byzantine politic verse. There was a popular Latin version. The Armenians read a literal translation of the doggerel. Persian and Syrian, Arabian and Ethiopian knew the book in their own tongue.<sup>1</sup> Early manuscripts of the more popular recensions, unread and uncollated, litter the libraries of Europe. Possessing no other quality except that they were easy to read, they had a circulation comparable with that of a modern novel. It is not inconceivable that these rhetorical ineptitudes and childish fables between the third and twelfth centuries A.D. reached a public as large as that which was attained by any other book except those of the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> For references see Kroll, *Introd.* p. x.



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ONE difficulty in the study of Hipponax is the question of authenticity. Early editions usually contained a number of 'Hipponactean' verses of various length and rhythms having little but this in common that the final foot was a spondee (--) or a trochee. But the various metrists who quote these do not profess that they come from the works of Hipponax, and Bergk (*P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup>) though giving the majority of them with asterisks rejected one as 'obviously a mere invention<sup>1</sup>' (p. 491) *χαίρ' ὦ σὺν Λεσβικὰ Σαπφώ*, and E. Diehl in his *Anthologia Lyrica* rightly follows Bücheler in omitting many more. For the sake of completeness I give the fragments in the order and with the numeration of Bgk.<sup>4</sup>, but without reference:

(1 inc.) \*89 Ἑρμῆ μάκαρ, κάτυπνον οἶδας ἐγρήσσειν  
(so ten Brink): "Blest Hermes to awake sleepers knowing."

90 εἴ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρινα.  
This verse is actually called τοῦ Ἰππώνακτος (Hephaest. 30 *al.*): but there can be little doubt that this is a slip for Ἰππωνάκτειον.

\*91 ὁ Κιθαιρῶν Λυδίοισιν ἐν χοροῖσι Βακχῶν (so Gaisford-Bgk.).

<sup>1</sup> But ten Brink may be right in attributing it to Diphilus' play in which Hipponax was a character.

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\*92 καὶ κνίσῃ τινὰ θυμῆσας.

\*93 ο θεοὶ τα λοιπὰ τανταλοιο δοντες (Plotius 280) :  
it is not worth attempting to find an acceptable reading for this or for

\*94 πισηπασαντες (Plotius 293). Neither give as they stand the metre which Plotius professes to illustrate. Bk. rightly rejects them.

To these may be added without hesitation the example of the ordinary choliambus given by Plotius and Juba (ap. Rufin *de Metr. Com.* p. 386) :

\*13 ἀκούσατ' Ἴππώνακτος οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἦκω. For we know that this is the first verse of Callimachus' iambi. Callimachus perhaps imitates Phoenix *fr.* 1. 15 : but οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά though an Atticism is common in the later choliambists. Clearly it could not have been used by Hipponax. See Callim. *fr.* 92 Schneider. It is never attributed to Hipponax.

With this Bergk gives (2 *Inc.*) ᾧ Κλαζομένιοι, Βούπαλος κατεῖνε or καθῆινε, e.g. τε κάθηνις (Pz.k.) : 'Ye Clazomenians, Bupalus (and Athenis)'. It is quite possible that this verse is by Hipponax : but the reading is wholly uncertain and it may well be that Putsch the editor of Plotius was right in supposing it to be a mere variant of Hippon. *fr.* 11. (Bgk.<sup>4</sup>) ὡς οἱ μὲν ἀγεί Βουπάλω κατηρῶντο. It is quite possible that the two verses quoted by Rufinus both come (as Bergk thought) from the same poet, but that this poet is Callimachus.

Callimachus in his iambi professedly follows Hipponax, saying that all those who wish to write 'lame' iambi must beg light from Ephesus. And this would justify us if there were no evidence to the contrary in supposing that in simple details the model is the same as the copy. Now Callimachus rigorously

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avoids the spondee (—) in the fifth foot, and besides this we have the direct testimony of Tzetzes and others. If, therefore, it is true that Hipponax too did so, Hephaestion the metrist when he was seeking for an example of the spondee in the fifth foot would have gone elsewhere; and we need not allow our judgement to be influenced by the anonymous citation (B<sub>gk.</sub> 48\* : Hephaest. 31. *Inc.* 3) εἰς ἄκρον ἔλκων ὥσπερ ἀλλᾶντα ψύχων (l. ψήχων: 'as one that strokes a sausage, drew tipward')—the more so as ὥσπερ is doubtful in early Ionic. The writer may be Herodes since it is easy to take the words *in malam partem*. No such disability attaches to the other example quoted of the long fifth foot in Plotius (273) (B<sub>gk.</sub> 44 : *Inc.* 4) ἀναβίος (l. ἀνὰ δρίος : Simmias *fr.* 20, 15 (so Powell), *Lyr. Adesp.* 7, p. 185 in Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*) πλάνητι προσπταίων κώλω, 'stumbling about the dell with leg errant'; and the example might be a mere mistake since the syllable πταιῖ- might be short. Quite possibly it is from another writer: indeed it would be very attractive to place it after *v.* 67 of Herodes' *Mime VIII*. In fact it will be found on examination that no satisfactory instance of a certain spondee in the fifth foot occurs except in proper names: for a fuller discussion see elsewhere. There is yet another violation of Porson's law, this time as applied to the beginning of a trochaic tetrameter in *fr.* 78\* (Hephaest. 34 : *Inc.* 5), Μητροτίμω<sup>1</sup> δηῦτέ με χρὴ τῶ σκότῳ δικάζεσθαι, 'with Metrotimus runagate must

<sup>1</sup> The flaw could be removed by reading Μητρότιμε; and it would be strange were the runaway to possess such an honourable name.

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I to law once more,' and it may be noticed that this is again from the metrist Hephaestion (p. 34) : though ὁ σκότος (*tenebrio* Meineke) is, it is true, found in an authentic fragment of Hipponax (51 Bgk.<sup>4</sup>). It is probably actually from Hipponax, but may need alteration. With some misgivings I have included certain anonymous citations (*e.g.* 61 Bgk.), since this is attributed to 'one of the old iambists' by grammarians : and it is certain that many grammarians had easy access to copies of Hipponax' works and cared little for other writers in this metre. But for them we should have little or no accurate knowledge of what the poet did write.

It might be supposed that three citations in the anthologist Stobaeus might help us. For what he has preserved for us is, as far as text goes, fairly good. But by some singular and unfortunate accident all the passages which he attributes to Hipponax are from other authors. As to two of these no serious doubt exists. One is in a plain iambic metre of a type at this time certainly non-existent. It runs (Stobaeus lxxii. 5 : 72 Bgk., who agrees with Meineke in attributing it to Hippothoon) :

Γάμος κράτιστός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ σώφρονι  
 τρόπον γυναικὸς χρηστὸν ἔνδον λαμβάνειν·  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἢ προἴξ οἰκίαν σώζει μόνη.  
 ὅστις δὲ †τρυφῶς† τὴν γυναῖκ' ἄγει λαβῶν  
 συνεργῶν οὗτος ἀντὶ δεσποίνης ἔχει,  
 εὐνοῦν, βεβαλὰν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον.

In *v.* 2 Haupt suggested ἔδνον. In *v.* 4 if τρυφῶσαν<sup>1</sup> be read we must, of course, assume with Meineke a

<sup>1</sup> Better ἀτρυφῆρον perhaps. The first four verses all contain rhythms impossible in any early Ionic writer.

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hiatus, perhaps even allot the last two verses to another author, and the sense is :

Best marriage is it for a prudent man  
 To take as dower a noble character :  
 This bridal gift alone can save the house.  
 But whoso takes to wife a spendthrift girl

· · · · ·  
 · · · · ·

He finds a helpmeet, not a mistress stern :  
 A kind and true companion to the end."

Nor has another of Stobaeus' attributions found any defenders : *Flor.* xxix. 42 (B<sub>gk.</sub> 28 : *Inc.* 6) runs :  
 χρόνος δὲ φευγέτω σε μηδὲ εἶς<sup>1</sup> ἀργός. Apostolius the collector of proverbs gives it as Δημόνακτος. Style and subject are most akin to [Cercidas] : see below. The sense is ' Let not one moment pass thee by idle.' A third again seems equally unsound, and has, like the foregoing, been generally rejected :

Δύ' ἡμέραι γυναικός εἰσιν ἡδισταί<sup>2</sup>  
 ὅταν γαμῆ τις κάκφέρη τεθνηκυῖαν (B<sub>gk.</sub> 29 : *Inc.* 7),

' Two days in life of woman are sweetest, when she is wed, and when she is buried.' These verses in a Berlin anthology (P. 9773) recently discovered (*Berliner Klassiker Texte* v. 2. 130) are attributed (the lemma is very fragmentary) to . . . λν . . . σ. Unhappily this does not quite remove all doubt. Professor Schubart has very kindly sent me a sketch of the traces, pointing out that α is as likely as λ. σ as against ν does not seem wholly certain. In the jumbling of citations common to all Anthologies it is possible that these verses were out of order and

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲ εἶς is Sicilian Doric, borrowed in Attic Comedy. Hipponax would have divided μὴ δεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Com. Fr. Adesp.* p. 1224.

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attributed to τῆς αὐτῆς or τοῦ αὐτοῦ ‘by the same.’ At all events we are justified in leaving it out of account in any generalization we may hope to make. But there is one fragment which, though possessing far higher claims than much which Bergk included, may be relegated (*Inc.* 9, Meineke, *Anon.* 3) perhaps to a very late date. It is the history of Hipponax’ discovery of the choliamb which I give from schol. Heph. p. 214 (C. : for other references see Leutsch and Schneidewin on Apostolius, viii. 59): . . . ἡ ἀπὸ γραός τινος Ἰάμβης καλουμένης ἣ πλυνούσῃ συντυχὼν ὁ Ἰππῶναξ καὶ ἀψάμενος τῆς σκάφης ἐφ’ ἧς ἔπλυνεν ἢ γραῦς τὰ ἔρια ἤκουσε λεγούσης

"Ανθρωπ' ἀπελθε· τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις

(read -τρέψεις, Tricha p. 9 Herm.). ‘Another derivation of the word iambus is from an old woman named Iambé who was washing clothes when Hipponax came along. He touched the wash-tub in which she was washing her woollen clothes, and was met with :

Hence sir ! you’ll overbalance my wash-tub.’

To conclude the list of false fragments Suidas attributes to Hipponax the verse rightly assigned by Meineke to Aristocles (Choerobosc. in *E.M.* 376. 21 says Aristotle).

(*Inc.* 10) εὐνοῦχος ὦν καὶ δοῦλος ἦρχεν Ἐρμίας. The iota is short (Choerob.) and the fragment need not delay us.

But perhaps even greater difficulties attach to those citations, whose genuineness are undoubted, but which are given by the Byzantine grammarian Tzetzes. We cannot do better than to examine his citations from other authors and select, at hap-

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hazard, a few citations on Lycophron's *Cassandra*. In his citation (v. 87) of *Il. Z* 356 εἶνεκ' ἐμείο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου the last word really belongs to v. 344 (κυν. κακ.), two quotations having been boiled down into one.

On v. 39 he quotes ἀνήκεστον λάβεν ἄλγος as ἀν. ἄλγος ἔλαχεν which sheds a curious light on some of the metrical irregularities in his citations of Hipp.

Often his citations are mere rephrasings. On v. 175, Pindar's verse (*Pyth.* iv. 436), ὃς πάχει μάκει τε πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κρατεῖ appears as ὄσον π. ναῦς μάκει τε πάχει τε. Just above the same poem v. 175 is quoted with two words transposed.

On v. 209 Euripides' verse (*Bacch.* 920) is given as καὶ πρόσθε μὲν ἠγείσθαι δοκεῖ: Eur. wrote καὶ ταῦρος ἡμῖν πρόσθεν ἠγείσθαι δοκεῖς.

On 219-222 Aratus' verses, vv. 257-8 and 261-4, are run together and 261 is filled out from . . . ἐπὶ δὲ κεῖναι το ἐπὶ δὴ τοι ταίγε (from 257).

In the very next citation from the first verses of the *Lithica*, οἴζυος ἀτρεκὲς ἄλκαρ is cited as ὁ. ἄλκαρ αἰνῆς.

These verses are selected out of the few citations on Lycophron, 1-225. They are probably due to errors of memory or bad writing clumsily corrected. Another source of error was a habit of glossing, on the part of Tzetzes, as probably as of his copyists. Thus in citing (*l.c.*) Pind. *P.* iv. 149 over ἀταρβάκτοιο he wrote ἀφόβου, which duly appears in two codd. as ἀτὰρ ἀφόβου βάκτοιο. On v. 176 he cites a fragment of Hesiod, in which the reading we know from other sources to be τέκεν Αἰακὸν. Unfortunately he wrote (how inanelly) υἰὸν over Αἰακὸν. So one ms has τέτοκεν υἰὸν, another τέκεν Αἰακὸν Αἰακὸν, and two



## INTRODUCTION

leave out *Αἰακὸν* altogether. But the most striking verse in the narrow limits to which I have confined myself is Ap. Rhod. i. 755 τὸν δὲ μεταδρομάδην ἐπὶ Μυρτίλος ἤλασεν ἵππους, which appears (on v. 157) as τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Μυρτίλος (-ψ) ἐκ στήθους γράφων ἤλασεν ἵππους. As we have a true text we can see that three words are parenthetical. But it is pertinent to ask, when we have no other text, how much of our Hipponax, as editors present it, is really a compound of glosses and parentheses. At any rate when a reading is on two or three accounts unsatisfactory, it is in the highest degree absurd to be satisfied with tinkering at two or three points. We can never be remotely certain of the cause of error. It is clear that in few, if any, of the cases above cited could the original have been restored with the smallest degree of certainty.

There is one hope, although I fear a slight one. It might be that in all these cases Tz., who had presumably no text of Hipp., always copied direct from the source: that is, from older scholia on Lycophron. Up to a point that is true. But these scholia were no doubt cramped and corrupt. Tzetzes had read them, but by no means always did he copy them where they belonged.<sup>1</sup> He was far too cunning and spread his citations over a wide area. Only too often it may be feared he quoted ἐκ στήθους, from memory. Only too often the junctures are invented and words are repeated to fill the gaps in his mnemonic exercises. As he had little metrical ear of his own he often transfers the order of words and gives merely

<sup>1</sup> All quotations including the word *πάλμυς* are presumably from one source: yet examine and see how they are scattered.

## HIPPONAX AND ANANIUS

a rough notion of what the author conveyed. With these facts in view we clearly cannot, if we are honest, profess where there is a small difficulty to recover the true text. Such corrections as seem to me absolutely necessary for the sense I give in the text, but for the most part we must never suppose that we possess more than an outside chance of recovering the truth.

For our other resources are slight. Aristophanes, we are told, and certainly Callimachus and Herodes, imitated him. But with writers of such genius we cannot hope to disentangle whole phrases. There is a profusion of words in Hesychius' dictionary: but unfortunately the ms of Hipp. from which some previous Alexandrine scholars took the words was hopelessly corrupt: and the errors have grown in transit. Test this where we have a sound text: what can be made of *διοπληητα*: *ισχυροπλήκτην*?

Our finest sources, the *Etymologica*, taking from far older scholars, are liable to the corruption of centuries. Erotian does not quote by verse or preserve the order of the original but subordinates everything to medical interest. Despite the poor character, in parts at least, of our mss of Athenaeus, we might hope much from him. Yet here we are faced by a strange but significant fact. Two citations are admittedly second-hand, one from a critic of Timaeus and one from a work on the (chol)iambographers: a third which gives two (really three) passages is clearly from the same source since it compares a use (of *πέλλα*) in Hipp. and Phoenix: another is quoted with a parallel from Ananius (*fr.* 18: see however p. 85): a fifth is more probably from Attic comedy: and we may take leave to

## INTRODUCTION

doubt the directness of a sixth<sup>1</sup> which is usually connected with the second. That so voluminous a reader should derive at second hand seems to show that mss of Hipponax at his time were non-existent or unprocurable. Plutarch appears to have had no general knowledge of his works. Of other sources Stobaeus the anthologist gives, as stated, extracts none of which can conceivably be by Hipp. : and we are left perhaps with a dozen verses.

To decide questions of dialect and metre on such evidence is clearly difficult, but fortunately we have better authority. Callimachus openly professes that in his iambic he copies the *metre* of Hipponax : Hephaestion, far our best metrical authority, allows him great regularity : and even Tzetzes, who disputes Hephaestion's rulings, can find no evidence against them worth the name. The solitary dissentient voice is that of a certain Heliodorus whose total incapacity may be judged by such of his criticisms on other authors as Priscian quotes.

It is impossible here to enter into an elaborate inquiry. Elsewhere I shall show (*a*) that the early iambus is the most strict of all metres, (*b*) that of choliambic writers Hipponax alone observes all its laws in a majority of his verses, (*c*) that of the minority of verses a large minority are wholly unmetrical on any standard, and, therefore (*d*) that having cast out these verses we should not hesitate to remove also the small minority of cases in which Hipponax appears to use licences or metrical contrivances not found in

<sup>1</sup> There are three single citations, not included in this collection. One comes to Athenaeus *via* Pamphilus (Bgk. 135), another *via* Hermippus (Bgk. 136), and the third (97) from Theophrast (p. 87).

## HIPPONAX AND ANANIUS

other Ionic poets. It is far easier to hold the hypothesis that Hipponax was wholly indifferent to metre than to hold that he foresaw and forestalled contrivances and metres used by Attic poets: especially as during a third of the long time between Hipponax and Tzetzes these licences and contrivances were precisely those which were most likely to creep in. Only after about A.D. 300 is there a probability of corruptions which offend any metrical canon of the iambus.

As we find on close examination<sup>1</sup> that Hipponax obeys subtle rhythmic tests; that, except on the direct statement of metrists whose conclusions in eight cases out of ten are mistaken, his rhythm is regularity itself; that he is wholly consistent in his usage of dialectal forms; and above all that Callimachus in his carefully restricted iambi openly claims to copy the example of Ephesus, we may at least be pardoned if we prefer the testimony of the poet-scholar of the third century B.C. to the ignorant *σχολαστικοί* of the twelfth or twentieth century A.D. For, as we have said, in reading a text of Hipponax over the second class of citations we are in a curious position: there is no evidence that Tzetzes was successful in disentangling the text of Hipponax from the comments of the scholiast. In *fr.* 68. 6 one might even suppose a predecessor took the comment for text: in *fr.* 61 Tzetzes is probably the culprit: while to complete the chain we may quote the text of Hipponax as elicited from Tzetzes by John Potter (*fr.* 59).

δὸς χλαῖναν σφύκτουριν Ἰππώνακτι  
καὶ κυπασσίσκον καὶ σαμβάλικα κάσκέρικα  
καὶ χρυσοῦ μοι στατήρας ἐξήκοντα  
τοῦ νερέρου τοίχου.

<sup>1</sup> See my notes *Journal Camb. Ph. S.* 1927 p. xii.

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This was precisely the way in which some ancient scholars like the unreliable 'Heliodorus metricus' picked out the text for their metrical criticisms of Hipponax' versification. The sane critic will place as little trust in the discrimination of the pedants of Constantinople as in that of the future Archbishop who was probably a finer Greek scholar. For Tzetzes' metrical criticism, when we may suspect him of writing at first hand, is exceedingly poor. On Lycophron 167 he says that ἴσῃν is right whether short or long: in the later case it has merely πάθος τὸ λεγόμενον χωλίαμβον! Yet it is, in the main, on the evidence of Tzetzes and on his ability to form an edition of fragments out of obscure and cramped scholia that Hipponax' work is commonly judged.

In closing a long and dull preface some apology for its length and dullness is necessary. But it is manifest that it is wholly impossible to judge of the aims or methods of the later writers who revived this metre unless we have a vague notion of its original character.

[P.S.—Much of what has been written above has been rendered superfluous by the discovery of a papyrus fragment printed on pp. 62-63. The thesis of the previous pages that Hipponax was neither an anticipator of metrical licenses used first in the Attic Tragic or Comic Drama, nor an incompetent versifier, is now established beyond the necessity of argument. As all readers of early Greek poetry, for instance of Sappho and Alcaeus, know, "the only correct procedure is to approach the quotations by way of the book texts." Unfortunately this course has not been open to me. Above all we see that there is no similarity between the metres of Hipponax and Herodes.]

# HIPPONAX

## EARLY CITATIONS

### BOOK I

#### GENUINE FRAGMENTS FROM EARLY CITATIONS

1<sub>1 2</sub><sup>3 3</sup> τίς ὀμφαλητόμος σε τὸν διοπλήγα  
ἔψησε κἀπέλουσεν ἀσκαρίζοντα.

(*Et. Vat. ed. Reitz., Ind. Lect. Rost.* 1890-91, p. 7. *E.M.* 154. 27 ἀσκαρίζειν· σημαίνει τὸ κινεῖσθαι Ἴππῶναξ (v. 2). Hesych. ὀμφαλητόμος· μαῖα. διοπλήγα· ἰσχυροπλήκτην cft. Reitz.)

2<sub>1 4</sub> δοκέων τεκτῖνον τῇ βα[κ]τηρίῃ κόψαι . . .

3<sub>1 4</sub> ἡμίεκτον αἰτεῖ τοῦ φάλεω κολαψτταιετ

(Choerobosc. *Exeg. in Herphaest.* xlviii. 6 (τὰ ἄφωνα) εὐρέθη ποιῶντα σπανίως κοινῆν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ π̄τ καὶ τὸ κ̄τ, οἶον . . . παρὰ Ἴππῶνακτι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἰάμβων (2) καὶ πάλιν παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ (3).)

1 The upper number 33 is that of the last edition of Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*; the lower, of Diehl's *Anth. Lyrica*. v. 1. -λιτομος cod.

2 *l. τ' (δ') ἔκε.* I doubt whether either illustration is really sound. If Hippon. wrote βακτηρίῃ (-α ms), so must Herodes have done (viii. 60): and our choice lies between the two traditions as to Hipponax' text. 3 ἡμίεκτον may scan ἡμυῆκτον. If φάλης (-εω) = φαλῆς (-ῆτος) as Θαλῆς (-ῆτος, -εω), we might correct to κολάψασα, 'exsucta mentula,' or place a note of interrogation after αἰτεῖ and read κολάψαι με. One cod. of Choerob. has ἐν τῷ τρώπῳ ἰάμβων: corr. Hoffmann.

# HIPPONAX

## EARLY CITATIONS

### BOOK I

#### GENUINE FRAGMENTS FROM EARLY CITATIONS

- 1 What navel snipstress<sup>1</sup> wiped you, dolt blasted,  
And, as you hoofed around yourself, washed you.

(‘Hoofing around’ means ‘struggling.’ *Hipp. Etymol.* Navel-snipstress’: midwife, *Hesych.* ‘Blasted,’ strength-smiter.)

- 2 Thinking ’twas him I smote with my cudgel.

- 3 She asks eight obols for her tongue’s service.<sup>2</sup>

(Mute consonants seldom allow the preceding syllable to be of doubtful quantity in the case of pt and kt; *e.g.* . .

*Hipponax* has *bākteriai* in his first book of Iambi (2). So too the same writer has *Hemiek̄tōn* (3). *Choeroboscus.*)

<sup>1</sup> Midwife. Such allusions were the height of bad manners. So presumably Theophrast’s *ἀηδής* asks (xx. 7) *εἶπ’ ὦ μάμμη ὄτ’ ὠδίνες καὶ ἔτικτές με τίς ἢ μαῖα* (for *ἡμέρα*); *Hesych*’s second explanation is corrupt. The real meaning is *ἐμβρόντητος*, ‘dunderhead.’

<sup>2</sup> *Videor mihi fata Aretes videre quae ‘nunc in quadriviis et angiportis glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes.’*

# HIPPONAX

4<sup>3 8</sup><sub>1 6</sub> ἐκ πελλίδος πίνοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῆ  
 κύλιξ· ὁ παῖς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν κατήραξεν.  
 5<sup>3 9</sup><sub>1 7</sub> ἐκ δὲ τῆς πέλλης  
 ἔπινον ἄλλοτ' αὐτός, ἄλλοτ' Ἀρήτη  
 προὔπινεν.

(Ath. xi. 495 c πέλλα· ἀγγεῖον σκυφοειδές, πυθμένα ἔχον πλατύτερον εἰς ὃ ἤμελγον τὸ γάλα. . . τοῦτο δὲ Ἴππ. λέγει πελλίδα (4), δῆλον, οἶμαι, ποιῶν ὅτι ποτήριον μὲν οὐκ ἦν, δι' ἀπορίαν δὲ κύλικος ἐχρῶντο τῇ πελλίδι. καὶ πάλιν (5). Φοῖνιξ δὲ . . Κλείταρχος πελλητήρα μὲν καλεῖν Θεσσάλους καὶ Αἰολεῖς τὸν ἀμολγέα πέλλαν δὲ τὸ ποτήριον. Φιλητᾶς δὲ ἐν Ἀτακτοῖς τὴν κύλικα Βοιωτούς.)

6<sup>4 0</sup><sub>1 8</sub> σπονδῆ τε καὶ σπλάγχνοισιν ἀγρίης χοίρου  
 (Ath. ix. 375 c χοῖρον δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες καλοῦσι τὴν θήλειαν ὡς Ἴππ. ἐν <α'> (6).)

7<sup>4 1</sup><sub>1 9</sub> βακκάρει δὲ τὰς ρίνας  
 ἤλειφον.

(Ath. xv. 690 a παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν κωμφοδοποιῶν ὀνομάζεται τι μύρον **βάκκαρις**· οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἴππῶναξ διὰ τούτων (7). ἐσθ' οἷη περ κρόκος.)

8<sup>1 2</sup><sub>2 0</sub> τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλῳ συνοίκησας;

(Herodian ii. 301 (Choerobosc. i. 280. 31) ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ τάλας τάλαντος ἦν ἡ γενική, δηλοῖ ὁ Ἴππ. εἰπὼν (8).)

4. 1 v.l. αὐτοῖς. So Eust. 1561. 37.

5. 2 Perhaps Ἀρήτη προὔπινον should be read, or ἔπινεν . . . Ἀρήτη (Schw.). I have adopted the former for purposes of translation.

6 ἀγρίας codd. (em. by Bgk.: <α'> ins. id.).

7 ἐσθ' οἷη περ κρόκος] cod. E ἐστὶ δ'. Both are corrupt. The words probably belong to Ath., not Hipp.

8 συνώκησας plerique codd.



## FRAGMENTS 4-8

4 Drank from a paillet : she had no tumbler :  
Her slave had fallen on it and smashed it.

5 Now myself

I drank out of the pail, now Aréte  
Had from me what I left.

( ' Pail ' means a vessel shaped like a drinking-cup with a rather broad bottom into which they used to milk. . . *Hipponax* calls this paillet (4); and what he says shows clearly that they had no cup, but in the absence of a tumbler used the pail. And again (5). But *Phoenix* . . . *Cleitarchus* says that the Thessalians and Aeolians spoke of the milking utensil as a ' paillier ' but of the cup as ' pail.' *Philetas* in his *Stray Notes* says that the Boeotians gave the name ' pail ' to the tumbler. *Athenaeus*.)

6 With drink offerings and a she-boar's entrails

( ' Boar ' was used of the female by the Ionians. *Hipponax* Book I. (6). *Athenaeus*.)

7 With bakkaris nostrils  
Anointing

(Many of the comedians use the word ' bakkaris ' of a kind of ointment : *Hipponax* too mentions it in these words (7). It is rather like saffron. *Athenaeus*.)

8 Why with rogue Bupalus didst cohabit ?

( ' τάλαια ' too (like μέλας) has the genitive τάλαιατος as is clear from *Hipponax* (8). *Herodian*.)

# HIPPONAX

9<sub>2</sub><sup>6 3</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ δεξιῶ παρ' Ἀρήτην  
κνεφαῖος ἐλθὼν ῥωδιῶ κατηυλίσθη.

(Herodian ii. 924. 14 λέγεται δὲ (ἐρωδιός) ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τρισυλλαβῶς ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἰππώνακτι (9): *id.* i. 116. 25, ii, 171. 7, 511. 28, *E.M.* 380. 40)

10<sub>2</sub><sup>1 0</sup> κύψασα γάρ μοι πρὸς τὸ λύχνον Ἀρήτη

(*Et. Vat.* Reitzenstein, *Ind. Lect. Rostoch.* 1891-2, p. 14 λύχνος: λέγεται ἀρσενικῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως ὁ λύχνος καὶ τὸ λύχνον Ἰππ. (10).)

10B<sub>1 0 3</sub> λίθινον ἀνδρίαντα

(*Antiatt. Bekk. An.* i. 82. 13 ἀνδρίαντα τὸν λίθινον ἔφη π. Βούπαλον τὸν ἀγαλματοποιόν.)

11<sub>3 0</sub><sup>2 2 A</sup> μάκαρς ὅστις . . . θηρεύει τπρήσαστ.

12<sub>3 1</sub><sup>2 2 B</sup> καίτ<ο>ιγ' εὔωνον αὐτὸν εἰ θέλεις δώσω.

13<sub>3 2</sub> τέκέλευετ βάλλειν καὶ λεύειν Ἰππώνακτα.

(Choerobosc. *Exeg. in Hephaest.* ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν  $\bar{\epsilon}\nu$  εὐρίσκομεν ποιούσαν κοινήν, οἶον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Ἰάμβῳ (-ων Καλ.) Ἰππώνακτος, ἔνθα φησί (11), τὴν  $\bar{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon$  ἐν τετάρτῳ (?) ποδὶ συνέστειλε· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ ποδὶ τὴν  $\bar{\epsilon}\nu$  (12)· εἶτα πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς (13) τὴν  $\bar{\lambda}\epsilon\upsilon$  ἐν τετάρτῳ ποδὶ· λεύειν δὲ φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ λιθοβολεῖν.)

9. 1 παρὰ ῥητήρ cod.: em. Schneidewin.

10 Probably the beginning of a tetrameter.

11 The Attic μακάριος ὅστις of two mss is clearly false. Choeroboscus or his source may be deceived: or *e.g.* θύρετρα, of amatory quarries. *μάκηρ' ὅστις* one cod.

12 'him': since Hipponax appears to use *μιν* of things.

13 Scan  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon$ , *ἔνωνον, λεύειν, θηρεύει.*

## FRAGMENTS 9-13

9 So I with heron favouring<sup>1</sup> at nightfall  
 Came to Aréte's dwelling and lodged there.

( 'έρφιδιός' is sometimes trisyllabic (ρφιδιός) as *Hipponax*' saying shows (9). *Herodian.*)

10 Facing the lamp stooped to me Aréte

(λύχνος and λύχνον are both used (masculine and neuter): *Hipponax* (10). *Etymologicum Vaticanum.*)

10 B Statue of stone

(Statue of stone was the title given by *Hipponax* to Bupalus the sculptor. An *antiatticist* in *Bekker's Anecdota.*)

11 Happy is he who hunteth (such quarries).

12 Yet, if you will, I'll give you him dirt-cheap.

13 He bade them pelt and stonecast *Hipponax*.

(In the same way we find  $\tilde{e}\tilde{v}$ , as in the first book of the *Iambi* of *Hipponax*, where he says (11), he shortens  $\tilde{\rho}\tilde{e}\tilde{v}$  in the fourth foot; again he has  $\tilde{e}\tilde{v}$  in the second foot (12); again (13)  $\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{e}\tilde{v}$  in the fourth foot. 'Stonecast' is for 'stone.' *Choeroboscus.*)

<sup>1</sup> 'On my right': a favourable omen.

## HIPPONAX

14<sup>2 3</sup> μ<υ>δῶντα δὴ καὶ σαπρόν

(Erotian p. 115 σαπρόν: σεσηπότα ὡς Ἴππ. ἐν ᾧ Ἰάμβων φησί (14).)

## BOOK II

15<sup>2 6</sup><sub>3 3</sub> ἀκήρατον δὲ τὴν ἀπαρτίην <ἴσ>χει

(Pollux x. 18 τοῦνομα δὲ ἡ ἀπαρτία ἐστὶ μὲν Ἴωνικὸν ὀνομασμένων οὕτω παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν κούφων σκευῶν ἃ ἐστὶ παρ-  
αρτήσασθαι . . . εἰ μέντοι καὶ ἐν βιβλίῳ τινὶ τὴν ἀπ. εὐρεῖν  
ἐθέλοις . . . εὐρήσεις ἐν τε τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἰππῶνακτος ἰάμβων  
(15) καὶ παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ . . .)

## UNCERTAIN BOOKS

16<sup>3 4</sup><sub>3 8</sub> συκ<έ>ην μέλαιναν ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην

(Ath. iii. 78 b Φερένικος δὲ . . ἀπὸ Συκῆς τῆς Ὁξύλου  
θηγατρὸς προσαγορευθῆναι. Ὁξύλον γὰρ . . . γεννηῆσαι . . .  
Ἄμπελον, Συκὴν . . . ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἴππ. φάναι (16).)

17<sup>3 6</sup><sub>3 9</sub> οὐκ ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ λαγούς καταβρύκων,  
οὐ τηγανίτας σησάμοισι φαρμάσσω, οὐδ' ἀττανίτας κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτω

(Ath. xiv. 645 c Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸν ἀττανίτην καλούμενον  
ἐπίχυτον φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἀττανίτου Ἰππῶναξ ἐν τούτοις  
μνημονεύει (17). ix. 388 b μνημονεύει αὐτῶν (ἀτταγῶν) Ἴππ.  
οὕτως (17. 1). Hesych. ὄμπν[ε]ρή δαιτί· ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλῆ.)

14 μαδῶντα corr. by Stephanus.

15 ἀπαρτίαν codd.: -λήν Bgk. ἔχει codd.

16 συκῆν codd.: corr. Schw. Perhaps Aeschrontic.

17. 1 Ath. 645 c ουκατταστε: ? ἀτταγᾶς. In both places  
λαγῶς is given: corr. by Meineke. καταβρύκων 645 c,  
διατρώγων 388 b. 2 τηγανίας mss: corr. by Casaubon.  
3 οὐκ Meineke, prob. rightly.

## FRAGMENTS 14-17

### 14 Clammy and rotten

(‘Rotten’: rotted. *Hipp.* Book I (14). *Erotian.*)

## BOOK II

### 15 Untarnished his appendages keeping

(The word ‘appendages’ is Ionic, the name applying to light articles which may be hung on the belt; . . . if you wish for documentary evidence you may go to the second book of *Hipponax*’ Iambi (15) and to *Theophrast* . . . *Pollux.*)

## UNCERTAIN BOOKS

### 16 (?) The fig-tree black, which is the vine’s sister

(*Pherenicus* . . . says that the word *συκῆ* came from Suke, the daughter of Oxylus; he . . . . begat . . . . Ampelos and Suke . . .; hence *Hipponax*, he says, said (16). *Athenaeus.*)

### 17 Not partridges and hares galore scrunching,

Nor flavouring with sesamé pancakes,

Nor yet with honey drenching fried fritters<sup>1</sup>

(*Pamphilus* speaks of the ‘fritter’ as a sort of cake. It is mentioned by *Hipponax* in the following verses (17). Of partridges *Hipp.* speaks as follows (17. 1). *Athenaeus.* Here may belong ‘rich feasting’: for ‘much.’ *Hesych.*)

<sup>1</sup> See on fr. 75.

## HIPPONAX

18<sup>3 7</sup><sub>4 0</sub> ὁ δ' ἔξολισθὼν ἰκέτευε τὴν κράμβην  
τὴν ἐπτάφυλλον ἧ θύεσκε Πανδῶρην  
Ταργηλίοισιν ἔγχυτον πρὸ φαρμάκου.

(Ath. ix. 370 a μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νικάνδρος μάντιν κέκληκε τὴν κράμβην ἱερὰν οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Ἰππώνακτι ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις ἐστὶ τι λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον (18). καὶ Ἀνάσιος δὲ φησιν . . .)

19<sup>4 6</sup><sub>4 3</sub> καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους, ἣν λάβωσι, περνᾶσι  
Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύοντας,

(Herodian, *de Barbarismo et Soloecismo*, Valck. Ammon. p. 193 Σολοίκους δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ γὰρ Ἀνακρέων φησὶ . . . καὶ Ἰππῶναξ (19). v.l. in Eust. 368. 1.)

20<sup>4 7</sup><sub>4 4</sub> οἴκει δ' ὄπισθεν τῆς πόλ(κ)η(ς) ἐν Σμύρνῃ  
μεταξὺ Τρηχέ[ι]ης τε καὶ Λέπρης ἀκτῆς.

(Strabo p. 633 καὶ τόπος δὲ τις τῆς Ἐφέσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἰππ. (20). ἐκαλεῖτο γὰρ Λέπρη μὲν ἀκτὴ ὁ πρῶτος ὁ ὑπερκείμενος τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ἔχων μέρος τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς· τὰ γοῦν ὄπισθεν τοῦ πρῶτος κτήματα ἔτι νυνὶ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ὀπισθολεπρία· Τραχεῖα δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ περὶ τὸν Κορησσοῦν παρῶρειος.)

21<sup>5 0</sup><sub>4 8</sub> ἔπειτα μάλθη τὴν τρόπιν παραχρίσας

(Harpocrat. p. 123 μάλθη· ὁ μεμαλαγμένος κηρός· Ἰππ. (21).)

18. 1 ? ἔξοπισθεν Callim. *Iamb.* 413 s.v.l. ? ἰκέτευσε since Hrd. seems to shorten ἰκετεύω. But cf. *καπηλεῦει fr.* 70. The forms θύεσκε and perhaps ἰκέτῃε are not from the vernacular, the dialect being made appropriate to the myth. 3 vv.ll. Θαργ-, Γαργ-: Ταργ- Schnw.

19. 1 ἦν' ἐθέλουσι Eust. 2 vv.ll. ἀλφιτεύοντας, -σαντας.

20. 1 ὄκει codd.: corr. Schnw. and ten Brink. πόλιος cod.: corr. Bgk. πρῶτος also Anton. Lib. xi.

21 v.l. τρόπην.

FRAGMENTS 18-21

18 So slipping off,<sup>1</sup> adjuréd the cabbage,  
 The cabbage seven-leaved, which Pandora  
 At the Thargelia gave as cake-off'ring  
 Ere she was victim.

(We may suggest that *Nicander* (*fr.* 85) speaks of the 'cabbage' as 'prophetic' because it is holy since we find in the Iambi of *Hipponax* something of this sort (18). And *Ananius* too says . . . *Athenaeus*.)

19 And the soloeci sell, if they take them,  
 The Phrygians to Miletus for mill-work,

(The ancients gave the name soloeci to barbarians. *Anacreon* says . . . And *Hipponax* (19). *Herodian* (explaining the origin of the term solecism. The work is not considered authentic).)

20 Behind the city lived he in Smyrna  
 Halfway between Cape Rough and the Crumbles.

(A part of Ephesus used to be called 'Smyrna' as is clear from *Hipponax* (20); for the Crumbles was the name given to the cape situate above the present city containing a part of its wall; the property behind the cape is still spoken of as 'in the Back Crumbles': 'Rough' was the name given to the mountain side round Koressos. *Strabo* (who further tells how Smyrna was founded thence).)

21 Anon the keel along with grease smearing

('Grease': melted wax, *Hipponax* (21). *Harpocraton*.)

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 1 Presumably off a height. Bergk connects with the accident to the slave (*fr.* 4 above). On the story see Schweighäuser. Conceivably the verses are Callimachean.

## HIPPONAX

22<sup>5 2</sup><sub>4 8</sub> καί μιν καλύπτει<ς>; μῶν χαραδριὸν πέρινης;

(Schol. Plat. 352 Bekker on *Gorg.* 494 B (χαραδριῶν βίον λέγεις of the incontinent man) χαραδριὸς ὄρνις τις δε ἄμα τῷ ἐσθίειν ἐκκρίνει. εἰς δὲ ἀποβλέψαντες, ὡς λόγος, οἱ ἰκτεριῶντες ῥῆον ἀπαλλάττονται· ὅθεν καὶ ἐγκρύπτουσι αὐτὸν οἱ πιπράσκοντες ἵνα μὴ προῖκα ὠφεληθῶσιν οἱ κάμνοντες, (22) ὡς φησὶν Ἴππ.)

23<sup>5 3</sup><sub>4 9</sub> ἀλλ' αὐτίκ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἐμβιβάξαντες

(*E.M.* 334. 1 ἐμβιβάξαντες: παρ' Ἴππ. (23) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμβοήσαντες.)

24<sup>5 4</sup><sub>5 0</sub> κριγῆ δὲ νεκρῶν ἄγγελός τε καὶ κῆρυξ

(*E.M.* 539. 1 (ὡν κρίκε) καὶ ῥηματικὸν ὄνομα κριγῆ· ὡς παρὰ Ἴππῶνακτι (24).)

25<sup>5 5^</sup><sub>5 1</sub> ὤμιξεν αἷμα καὶ χολῆν ἐτίλησεν.

(*E.M.* 624. 4 ὀμιχεῖν· . . . ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ . . . ὀμίχω· ὁ μέλλων ὀμίξω ὡς παρ' Ἴππ., ὅλον (25).)

26<sup>5 6</sup><sub>5 2</sub> σίφωνι λεπτῷ τοῦπίθ<κ>μα τετρήνας

(Pollux vi. 19 καὶ σίφωνα μὲν, δὲ ἐγέυοντο, Ἴππ. εἴρηκεν (26).)

27<sup>5 7</sup><sub>5 3</sub> στάζουσιν ὥσπερ ἐς τροπήϊοντ' σάκ<κ>ος.

(Pollux x. 75 καὶ ὁ τρύγοιπος καὶ ὁ σάκκος ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυγοίπου εἰρημένος, καὶ ὁ ὕλιστήρ. Ἴππ. δὲ φησὶν (27).)

22 Corr. Bgk. μῆν for μιν is read in Suid. s.v. and Ar. *Av.* 266 schol. πέρας schol. Ar. (Ven.), -vās cett., ὡς schol. Ar.

23 Also Zonaras, p. 706 Tittmann.

24 Also Zonaras, p. 1258 T., *An. Ox.* i. 268. 12, *Et. Gud.* 347. 27, Choerobosc. ii. 590, 657.

25 Also Zonaras, p. 1451 T., *An. Ox.* iv. 191. 6 (ὤμιξεν), 416. 7 (these have ἐτίλησεν), schol. Hom. E 531.

26 ἐπίθημα for ἐπίθεμα Welcker.

27 ὥσπερ ἐκ τροπήϊου Bgk., since (Meineke) the wine goes from the vat into the sieve. Better ὥσπερ ῥεῖ τραπήϊου since ὥσπερ requires a main verb. σάκος corrected to σάκκος by Salmasius. τραπη- should probably be read (Hemsterhuys).



22 And veilest<sup>1</sup> it? Sellest thou a bustard?

(The 'bustard' is a bird which evacuates while it eats. People suffering from jaundice are eased by the sight of it; so those who sell it wrap it up to prevent patients from being relieved free of cost (22), as *Hipp.* says. *Commentator on Plato, Gorgias*, 494 B, 'life of a bustard.')

23 Anon they shrieked aloud to each other,

('Shriek to': in *Hipponax* (23)='yell to.' *Etymologicum Magnum*.)

24 And screech, the ghost-announcer, ghost-herald

(There is also a noun 'screech,' e.g. in *Hipponax* (24). *id.*)

25 Bile in his urin, blood in 's stool brought up.

(Urine . . . ; also . . . urin; *Hipponax* (25). (ὄμιχεῖν or -ίχειν: fut. ὀμίξω.) *id.*)

26 With a thin tube he bored through the stopper.

('Tube' used for tasting mentioned in *Hipp.* (26). *Pollux.*)

27 They dribble like a winepress-sieve flowing.

(And 'strainer': and 'sieve' in the same sense: and 'filter.' *Hipponax* says (27). *id.*)

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *καλύπτει* could be kept as a middle (*καλύπτῃ*;) if *uiv* is a part of the body.

## HIPPONAX

28<sup>5 8</sup><sub>5 4</sub> κάλειφα Ῥόδι[ν]ον ἤδὺ καὶ λέκος πυροῦ

(Pollux, x. 87 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Δημοπράτοις λέκος εὐρίσκομεν, εἰπόντος Ἴππ. (28).)

29<sup>5 9</sup><sub>5 5</sub> πρὸς τὴν μαρίλην τὰς φ<ο>ῖδας θερμαίνωντι οὐ παύεται.

(Erotian p. 134 φῶδες· ἐστὶ μὲν ἡ λέξις Δωρική, καλοῦσι δὲ φῶδας τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς γινόμενα μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἐκ ψύχους ἐν τῷ πυρὶ καθίσωσι στρογγύλα ἐπιφλογίσματα . . . ὅτ' ἐδὲ καὶ ἐξανθήματα φοινικᾶ ὁλον φῶδες περὶ τὸν θώρακά που γινόμενα. καὶ Ἴππ. δέ φησι (29). Tzetzes on Ar. *Plut.* 535 τὰ ἐκ ψύχους ἐκκαύματα ὡς καὶ Ἴππ. φησί (v. 1).

30<sup>6 6</sup><sub>5 8</sub> κύμινδις ἐν λαύρῃ  
ἔκρωζεν.

(*Et. Flor.* p. 231 Miller *Mélanges* Οὐδὸν ἐς λαύρην (Hom. χ 128). τὴν δημοσίαν ὄδον . . . τινὲς μὲν ὄδον ἀπέδοσαν, τινὲς δὲ τὸν κοπρῶνα, ὡς Ἴππ. (30). στολή (στόμα Mill.) δὲ λαύρης τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν (χ 137). Cf. Hesych. ἐρκανήντα πυλῶνα (Dindorf for ἐρχ-)· τὸν πεπυκνωμένον καὶ συνεχόμενον.)

31<sup>6 7</sup><sub>5 9</sub> ἐν ταμ[ε]ίῳ τε καὶ χαμευνίῳ γυμνόν

(*Mélanges* p. 402 Mill. χαμεύνιον· κραββάτιον καθάπερ καὶ παρ' Ἴππῶνακτι (31). p. 307 Ἴππ. ἐν μῶ τε κτλ. Hesych. τὰμ[ε]ιον· θάλαμος.)

28 Ῥόδιον I conjecture as Ar. *Av.* 944, where Blaydes' crit. n. is most misleading. See Pape-Benseler s.v. Ῥόδος. The converse error in Poll. vi. 104. ἤδὺ with ῥόδιον appears otiose. Scan as Ροδγον.

29 See note on opposite page.

31 The initial trochee may be supported from Herodes and is more likely than an initial dactyl, for which there is no good pre-Attic evidence. Corr. Hoffm. *Et. Vat.* has lost several sheets at the end, so that the entry χαμεύνιον is missing.

## FRAGMENTS 28-31

28 And Rhodian unguent sweet and a wheat-crock

(In the *Demioprata* (*Goods Sold by Public Auction*) we find 'crock,' used by *Hipp.* (28). *id.*)

29 Cease warming at the embers your chilblains.<sup>1</sup>

('Chilblains': the word is Doric and applied to the round inflammations that result from the fire, especially when people sit right in the fire after being out in the cold. . . . Sometimes it is applied to crimson eruptions in the region of the chest. *Hipponax* says (29). *Erotian*. Inflammations from cold as *Hipp.* says. *Tzetzes'* note on *Aristophanes' Plutus.*)

30 A raven was croaking  
In rear.

('Passage to the "rear" *Homer*': the public way . . . . Some explain the word as back-street, others as the privy: *cf. Hipp.* (30).<sup>2</sup> Mouth of the 'rear' means the exit to it. *Etymologicum Florentinum*. *Cf.* 'fenced gateway': narrow-set or straitened. *Hesychius.*)

31 Lay in a room on pallet-bed naked.

('Pallet-bed': a small bed as in *Hipp.* (31). *Didymus Areius* on *Difficult Words in Plato*. So *Et. Flor.*)

<sup>1</sup> A most puzzling quotation. *Erotian* has τούς παιῖδας for τὰς φωίδας (*Tzetzes*); but *Hoffmann*, who rightly changes to φοίδας, is also right in regarding this as a mere error.

The verse . . . ἄς | θερμαίνων appears unmetrical. Perhaps it is an injunction, 'up and be doing': θερμαίνων | π. τ. μ. τ. φ. οὐ παύσει; So I translate. μαρίλην is also cited as -λλαν or -λλην, here and in 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Et. Flor.* has ἔκρωξεν κ. ἐς λ. *Et. Vat. Reitz. Lect. Rost.*, 1891-2, p. 14, gives the true reading, ἐν λαύρη.

## HIPPONAX

32<sup>6 5</sup><sub>8 0</sub> καὶ νῦν ἀρειᾶ σύκινόν με ποιῆσαι.

(*Et. Flor.* p. 41 Mill. ἀρειῶ· τὸ ἀπειλῶ ὡς παρ' Ἴππ. (32)· τουτεστιν ἀπειλεῖ. *E.M.* 139. 36 one cod. ἀρειάς . . . ἀπειλεῖς, sed ἀρειᾶ *Et. Vat.*)

33<sup>4 5</sup><sub>8 1</sub> καὶ Μύσων δν ὠπόλλων  
ἀνεῖπεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων.

(*Diog. L.* i. 107.)

34<sup>6 8A</sup><sub>2</sub> Σινδικὸν διάσφαγμα

(*Schol. Ap. Rhod.* iv. 321 καὶ Ἴππῶναξ δὲ μνημονεύει (τῶν Σινδῶν) πρὸς τὸ (34). *Hesych.* Σινδικὸν διάσφαγμα· τὸ τῆς γυναικός.)

35<sup>6 8B</sup> σηπίης ὑπόσφαγμα

(*Ath.* vii. 324 a Ἴππ. δ' ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις εἰπόντος (35) οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τὸ τῆς σηπίας μέλαν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ὑπόσφαγμα ὡς Ἐρασίστρατος φησιν ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ ὑπότρυμμα. *Eust. II.* 1286. 6.)

36<sup>6 9</sup> πασπαληφάγον γρόμφιν

(*Phot. Lex.* ii. 67. 12 Naber πασπάλη· τὸ τυχόν, οἱ δὲ κέγχρον· οἱ δὲ τὰ κέγχρινα ἄλευρα. Ἴππ. (36). *Cf. Eust.* 1752. 121.)

37<sup>7 0A</sup> βολβίτου κασιγνήτην

(*E.M.* 204. 28 βόλιτον· βόλβιτον δὲ Ἴωνες οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἴππ. οἶον (37). *Bekk. An.* 186. 10 βόλβιτον· Ἴππ.)

33 Probably Callimachean (ten Brink).

34 In the schol. Meineke reads πρῶτω for πρὸς τὸ rightly: for a weak caesura would be incredible. All the same Cr. is very likely right in connecting with *fr.* 43, since Tz. appears to have quoted or meant to quote both verses.

36 πασπάλιν φαγῶν codd.: corr. Porson.

FRAGMENTS 32-37

32 And menaces to render me senseless.

(To 'menace': threaten, as in *Hipp.* (32): *i.e.* threatens. *id.*)

33 Whom Apollo  
Declared the wisest man of all, Myson.

(*Diogenes Laertius.* (Probably from *Callimachus.*))

34 Sindian fissure<sup>1</sup>

(*Hipponax* mentions the Sindi in his first book (?) (34).  
*Commentator* on *Apollonius Rhodius.*)

35 Squid-pudding

(*Hipp.* in his iambs says (35). The interpreters explain it  
of the ink of the fish. It is really a pudding made of its  
blood as *Erasistratus* says in his *Cookery.* *Athenaeus.*)

36 Middlings-fed porker

('Middlings': scraps. Others say millet, others millet-  
flour. *Hipp.* (36). *Photius.* *Hipp.* uses porker either of  
any sow or of an old one. *Eustathius* on *Homer's Odyssey.*)

37 Cow-dung's sister

(*Bolitos* was called *bolbitos* in general by the Ionians:  
and so *Hipp.* (37). *Etymologicum Magnum.*)

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* γυναικείον αιδόιον *Hesych.*

## HIPPONAX

38<sup>7 0B</sup> ὄσ<τε . . .> Ἐφεσίη δέλφαξ  
(Ath. ix. 375 a καὶ Ἴππ. δὲ ἔφη (38).)

39<sup>7 1</sup> πολλήν μαρίλην ἀνθράκων  
(Erotian p. 96 μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ θερμοσποδιά μαρίλη λέγεται ὡς . . . καὶ Ἴππ. φησι (39).)

40<sup>8 B</sup> <τὸν δὲ> ληὸν ἀθρήσας  
(Anon. An. Ox. i. 265. 6 τὸ λαὸς τῇ μεταγενεστέρᾳ Ἰάδι τραπέν· (40) Ἴππ.)

41<sup>7 1</sup> κρε<ῖ>ας ἐκ μολοβρίτ<εω>  
συός

(Eust. Od. 1817. 20 Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ὁ γραμματικὸς . . . ἐπάγει ὡς καὶ Ἴππ. τὸν ἴδιον νῖδν μολοβρίτην που λέγει ἐν τῷ (41). Ael. N.H. vii. 47 ἀκούσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ Ἴππ. καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕν μολοβρίτην που λέγοντος.)

42<sup>1 2 7</sup> μεσσηγυδορποχέστα

(Eust. Od. 1837. 42 κατὰ δὲ Ἴππ. καὶ ὁ μεσσηγυδορποχέστης ἠγοῦν δς μεσοῦντος δειπνου πολλάκις ἀποπατεῖ ὡς πάλιν ἐμπιμπλασθαι. Sueton. περὶ βλασφ. is no doubt the source: Miller's text, p. 425 *Mél.*, gives the same explanation but does not name *Hipp.*)

42A<sup>1 0 0</sup> ἄδηκε βουλή.

(Eust. Od. 1721. 61 χρήσεως Ἴππώνακτος ἦν Ἡρακλείδης προφέρει, εἰπόντος (42A) ἠγοῦν ἤρεσκε τὸ βουλευμα. Compare and perhaps add Hesych. Πανθρ<δ>φ δῆμω· παρρησίαν ἄγοντι κτλ., Ἀελλῆσι | θυμοῖς· ἀνυποστόλοις μετὰ παρρησίας. Τίεσκε μύθους· ἐτίμα λόγους.)

38 e.g. <δῆ τις>. Unless the word was pronounced Ἐφεγσίη. Ἐφεσηίη ten Brink. Others suggest ἐπιστίη.

40 <δὲ> Bgk. invito metro.

41 μολοβριτέω for -ου Schneidewin.

FRAGMENTS 38-42A

38 Like Ęphĕsĭān piglet

(*Hipponax* says (38). *Athenaeus*.)

39 Embers of charcoal many

(Better to say that 'embers' mean hot ashes as *Hipp.* . . . says. *Erotian*.)

40 Seeing the foulk

(Folk: the vowel is changed in later Ionic. (40) *Hipp. Grammarian* in *Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia*.)

41 Flesh from a beggar

Pig

(*Hipponax* calls his own son <sup>1</sup>'beggar pig,' in the following (41). *Aristophanes the grammarian* in *Eustathius* on *Homer Odyssey* (ρ 219). You will find *Hipp.* calling even the pig 'beggar.' *Aelian*.)

42 In-mid-feast-voiding

(According to *Hipp.* we have also (42), that is one who in the midst of dinner retires often in order to make room for more. *Eustathius* on *Homer* using *Suetonius'* work on *Opprobrious Names*.)

42A (This) counsel pleased.

(A use of *Hipponax* adduced by *Heracleides*. *Hipp.* says (42A), *i.e.* The proposal met with favour. *Eustathius* on *Homer's Odyssey*. Cf. 'Licentious-tongued people': speaking with license, etc. *Hesych*. 'Flighty of spirit': fearless in license of speech, *id.* 'His rede did honour': honoured his words, *id.*)

<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been some confusion in the text of a previous grammarian between ũc pig and υῖoc son. *Aelian's* version is clearly right. It was fashionable to explain *μολοβρός*, a Homeric word of doubtful meaning, as food-seeker. The Greeks turned their pigs loose early to find food. *Hrd. Mime viii. init.*

## HIPPONAX

42B<sup>109</sup> βεβρενθ<ονευ>μένον <δέ>

(Hesych. (42B)· παρ' Ἰππώνακτι ὀργιζόμενον.)

### LATER CITATIONS, AND CITATIONS FROM CORRUPT TEXTS

#### BOOK I

43<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> Κοραξικὸν μὲν ἡμφιεσμένη λῶπος

(Tzetz. *Chil.* x. 377 περὶ τῶν Μιλησίων μὲν ἔφαν πολλοὶ ἐρίων, περὶ ἐρίων Κοραξίων ἐν πρώτῳ δὲ ἰάμβῳ Ἰππώναξ οὕτως εἶρηκε μέτρῳ χολῶν ἰάμβων (43). τοὺς Κοραξοὺς δὲ καὶ Σινδοὺς ἔθνη τυγχάνειν νβει. Hesych. Κοραξοί· Σκυθῶν γένος καὶ τὸ γυναικίον αἰδοῖον.)

44<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> ἔβρωσε Μαίης παῖδα Κυλλήνης πάλμυν.

(Schol. *Lyc.* 219 Μαίας καὶ Διὸς Ἑρμῆς, ὡς . . . ὁ Ἰππ. ἐν τῷ κατὰ Βουπάλου πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ (44). Tzetz. *ad loc.*)

With this is generally connected:—

45<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα Μηνοιστὶ Κανδαῦλα

φωρῶν ἑταῖρε δευρό [τί] μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι.

(Tzetz. *An. Ox.* iii. 351. 7 τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλλοπνίκτην λέγει, ὡσπερ Ἰππώναξ δείκνυσι γράφων ἰάμβῳ πρώτῳ (45). So Tzetz. *on Iliad* p. 843 v.)

42B βεβρενθόμενον Hesych. This is the only form which I can find which admits of easy scansion and appears to be sufficiently attested by such corrupt glosses as γρονθονεύεται and πραθενεύεσθαι. We might perhaps attribute to Hipponax forms in Hesychius like ἀναγαγγανεύουσι, (κατ)ιμονεύει, λαγγονεύει.

44 *vv. ll.* Κυκλήσιον, Κυκλῆς, κυκλῆς : βασιλέα πάλμυν almost all codd. ἐβόησε codd. : corr. Schneidewin.

45. 2 [τι] bracketed by Bgk. σκαπαρδεῦσαι is explained by συμμαχῆσαι superscribed. σκαπερδεῦσαι· λοιδορῆσαι Hesych., who also explains κυνάγχα by κλέπτα. These and other glosses σκαρπαδεῦσαι· κρῖναι and καπαρδεῦσαι· μαντεύεσθαι are cited by Bgk.



## FRAGMENTS 42B-45

42B With choler puffed

((42B): angry in Hipponax. *Hesychius*.)

### LATER CITATIONS, AND CITATIONS FROM CORRUPT TEXTS

#### BOOK I

43 Attired in a Koraxian mantle

(Many writers have mentioned Milesian wool, but *Hipp.* mentions Koraxian wool in his first book of iambi as follows in choliambic metre (43). You must know that the Koraxi and Sindi<sup>1</sup> are tribes. *Tzetzes*. Koraxians: A race of Scythians, etc. *Hesychius*.)

44 On Maia's son, Cyllene's tsar, called he.

(Hermes was son of Maia and Zeus, as . . . *Hipp.* says in the book of Iambi written against Bupalus (44). *Tzetzes* and *Commentator* on *Lycophron*.)

45 Dog-throttling Hermes, thief-mate, whom Maeons  
Kandaules call, come give me a shove up.<sup>2</sup>

(Kandaules in the Lydian tongue means puppy-throttler, as Hipponax shows in his first book of iambi (45). *Tzetzes* in *Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia* and on *Homer's Iliad*.) *Hesychius* translates dog-throttling as 'thief,' and gives several erroneous translations of 'to my aid come.'

<sup>1</sup> Hence Cr. is probably right in connecting this with fr. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. λακκοσκάπερδος *Hesych*.

## HIPPONAX

46<sup>2</sup>/<sub>5</sub> Κίκων δ' ὁ πανδαληκτος, ἄμμορος καύης,  
τοιόνδε <μο>ι κατ<εῖπε, κρήτ'> ἔχων  
<δαῦλον>

δάφν<η>σ<ιν>, οὐδέν δ' αἴσιον προθεσπίζων

(Tzetz. on *Iliad* p. 76. 811 (δάφνη) ἦν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ἡλίου ἦτοι μάντεις καὶ μάγοι, οἷος ἦν καὶ ὁ Χρύσης, στεφανούμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· καθὼς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἴππ. ἐν τῷ κατὰ Βούπαλον ἰάμβῳ (46. 1) τοιόνδε τι δάφνας κατέχων. id. on Lycophron *Alex.* 424. 5 καύηξ δὲ ὁ λάρος κατὰ Αἰνιάνας, ὡς φησι καὶ Ἴππ. (46. 1). Hesych. (added by ten Brink) Κίκων· ὁ Κίκων Ἀμυθάνος ἦν οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων.

47<sup>4</sup>/<sub>8</sub> πόλιν καθαίρειν καὶ κράδησι τβάλλεσθαιτ

48<sup>5</sup>/<sub>7</sub> βάλλοντες ἐν λειμῶνι καὶ ραπίζοντες  
κράδησι καὶ σκίλλησιν ὥσ<τε> φάρμακον.

49<sup>6</sup>/<sub>8</sub> δεῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς φάρμακον τέκποιήσασθαιτ,  
50<sup>7</sup>/<sub>9</sub> ἰκάφῃ παρέξεντ ἰσχάδας τε καὶ μᾶζαν  
καὶ τυρὸν οἷον ἐσθίουσι φάρμακοι·

51<sup>8</sup>/<sub>10</sub> παλαὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς προσδέχονταιτ χάσκοντες  
κράδας ἔχο<ντες> . . . . .  
. . . . . ἔχο<ντας> ὡς ἔχουσι φάρμακοι[s]

46 The Hesychian gloss, whose language shows that it is not a gloss but a quotation, was rightly incorporated by ten Brink. 1 πανδάλητος, πανδαύληκτος, al. Κίκων is glossed ὄνομα μάντεως and καύης λάρος. 2 Supplevi e.g.: τοιόνδε τι δάφνης κατέχων Tzetzes. Hereabouts come the words παῖς ὠμυθένος.

47 κρ. is glossed by συκαῖς. ? φαρμάσσειν for βάλλεσθαι, as Tz. 48. 2 ὥσπερ codd.

49-51A are probably misquoted in details. It cannot be certain that they were not consecutive, In 49 ἐκπ. must mean 'select': if corrupt it has replaced a passive. In 50. 1 I suspect the truth is πιέζειν (or -εῖν Hrd. viii. 47). On this verse there is a note (ἀφή καὶ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οἱ Ἴωνες ψιλοῦσιν) whence κάφῃ must be read. προσδοκεῖσι is probable for προσδεχ.—a slip of memory. The ms. used by Herodes had

FRAGMENTS 46-51

46 Kikon the hideous, cormorant<sup>1</sup> luckless,  
Amythaon's son, his head with bay-leaves crowned,  
With naught auspicious in his forecast

((Laurel) which the priests of the sun (*i.e.* prophets and wise-men, like Chryses) wore as a crown when they walked abroad, as is shown by Hipponax in his book of iambs against Bupalus (46. 1, 2). *Tzetzes* on *Homer's Iliad*. 'Kikon' was the son of Amythaon (46. 3). *Hesychius*.)

47 Must cleanse the city, and with twigs †pelted†

48 Pelting him in the meadow and beating  
With twigs and squills like unto a scapegoat.

49 He must be chosen<sup>2</sup> from you as scapegoat

50 And in his grip take barley-cakes, dried figs  
And cheese, such cheese as scapegoats may feed  
on.

51 For long have they awaited them gaping  
With twigs in hand; . . . . .  
. . . . . as trembling as scapegoats.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Priests are always represented as greedy. I translate *πανδήλητος*: *cf.* *πανλώβητος*.

<sup>2</sup> If this fragment be not read consecutively it is possible to explain *φάρμακον* as in *fr.* 18 and *Tzetzes'* comment as equalling *καθαρμόν* (not *-μα*): and (with scansion *ἐκπόηήσ.*) to translate 'put him forth for a purification.' Again, if 51 be not consecutive on 50, we could read:

*πάλαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ προσδέχονται χάσκοντες  
κράδας, ἔχοντες ὡς ἔχουσι φάρμακοι.*

'They await there the twigs agape in such (pitiable) state as scapegoats are in.'

---

*χασκεύντες*: *cf.* *Hrd.* iv. 42. In 51. 2 the people who hold the twigs are those who wait: hence *-τες* for *-τας* (*Meineke*). But as *ὡς ἔχουσι* could only mean 'at once' in reference to the subject of the sentence we need another *ἐχοντας* (*e.g.* *δέους*) to refer to the state of mind of the victims.

## HIPPONAX

52<sub>1</sub><sup>9</sup> λιμῶ γένηται ξηρός, ἐν δὲ τῷ θυμῶ  
[ὄ] φάρμακος ἀχθεῖς ἐπτάκις ραπισθείη.

(Tzetz. *Chil.* v. 726 ὁ φαρμακὸς τὸ κάθαρμα τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ πάλαι. ἂν συμφορὰ κατέλαβε πόλιν θεομηνία, εἴτ' οὖν λιμός, εἴτε λοιμός, εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο, τῶν (? τὸν) πάντων ἀμορφότερον ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν, εἰς καθαρμὸν καὶ φαρμακὸν πολέως τῆς νοσοῦσης· εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸν πρόσφορον στήσαντες τὴν θυσίαν τυρόν τε δόντες τῇ χειρὶ καὶ μᾶζαν καὶ ἰσχάδας, ἐπτάκις γὰρ ραπίσαντες ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ πέος σκίλλαις συκαῖς ἀγρίαις τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἀγρίων τέλος πυρὶ κατέκαιον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀγρίοις. . . ὁ δὲ Ἴππῶναξ ἄριστα σύμπαν τὸ ἔθος λέγει (47), καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ πού φησιν πρώτῳ ἰάμβῳ γράφων (48), καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις τόποις δὲ ταυτὰ φησὶ κατ' ἔπος (49-51), καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ πού φησιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἰάμβῳ (52).)

53<sub>1</sub><sup>4</sup> τούτοισι θηπκέων τοὺς Ἐρυθραίων παῖδας  
τοὺς φησὶτ μητροκοίτας Βούπαλος σὺν  
Ἀρήτῃ  
[κνίζων καὶ] τφέλιζωντ τὸν δυσώνυμον  
<χό>ρτον

(Tzetz. on *Posthomeric*, 687 θήπων· ἐθαύμαζον· τὸ θέμα θήπω καὶ Ἴππ. (53). ἐλλίζων· τίλλων. Cf. *id.* ψελιστήν· λί<χ>νον (for λιγ- Mus.) and χναύων· περικνίζων, περιτίλλων; χναίει· λαμβάνει, κνίζει.)

52. 1 θυμός· τὸ ἀρρὲν αἰδοῖον Sch. A rightly. Hesych. confuses with θῦμος, thyme. 2 [ὄ] del. Blomfield.

53. 1 θήπων codd.: corr. Bgk. (Hesych. θηπητήης· ἀπατεῶν). 2 *l.* τοὺς (ten Brink). 3 ἄρτον codd. κνίζων (in best cod.) might be an explanation of a participle meaning eat, gnaw: possibly δρυψελίζων (Bgk.). A simpler correction would be καὶ κνιψελίζων or ἐκνιψέλιζε, in which case Hesych. would be using a corrupt text. We should then further read κνιψελιστήν in gloss above. But there are many other possibilities, e.g. κείται (ten Brink) with ψελίζων an otherwise unknown verb.

FRAGMENTS 52-53

52 That he be parched with famine and, led out  
A scapegoat, seven times on 's piece beaten.

(The scapegoat (expiatory offering) in old times was as follows. Did misfortune, by the wrath of heaven, overtake a city, whether famine or plague or other mischief, they led out as to sacrifice the ugliest of all the citizens to be an expiation and scapegoat of the diseased city. And having set the sacrifice at such a spot as seemed fit they placed in his hand cheese and barley-cake and dried figs. For after beating him seven times on the penis with squills and (rods of) wild fig and other wild trees they finally burnt him on a fire of timber of such trees. . .<sup>1</sup> Hipponax describes the custom best (47). Elsewhere he writes in the first book of iambi (48), and again elsewhere in these words (49-51) and elsewhere in the same book (52). *Tzetzes*.)

53 Th' incestuous Erythrean folk fooling  
With these things Bupalus with Aréte  
From day to day scuffled<sup>2</sup> his damned fodder.

θήπων 'they marvelled<sup>3</sup>': pres. θήπω: so Hipp. (53). *Tzetzes*. 'scuffle': tear. *Hesych*. Cf. *id.* 'scraping': 'scratching round, tearing round'; 'scrapes, gets, scratches.'

<sup>1</sup> *Tzetzes* first cites Lycophron 'as well as he can recall him' and then these passages, which is merely a hypothetical cloak for the fact that he has borrowed them from commentators on Lycophron.

<sup>2</sup> Like a hen, I take it.

<sup>3</sup> θηπ<ἐ>ω must, however, be taken transitively.

## HIPPONAX

54<sup>1</sup><sub>3</sub>                    ἴτε ἀρεδεύειετ τήν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης  
 ἴθιτι διὰ Λυδῶν παρ[ᾶ] τὸν ἴ' Ἀττάλειωτ  
                           τύμβον  
 καὶ σῆμα Γύγωω καὶ τμεγαστρυτ στήλην  
 καὶ μνήμα ἴτωτος μυττάλυτα παλμυδοστ,  
 πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα <σ>τρέψας. 5

(Tzetz. in *An. Ox.* iii. 310. 17 στίχοι Ἴππ. τρισυλλάβους ἔχοντες τοὺς παραλήγοντας πόδας . . . καὶ ἴπᾶσαν† (54). Schol. Nicander *Ther.* 633 Γύγου δὲ σῆμα τοῦ ἐκεῖ βασιλεύσαντος, ὡς φησιν Ἴππ. ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν [Λυδίας] ἰάμβων. **μυττάλυτα**· μεγάλου Hesych.)

55<sup>6</sup><sub>2</sub><sup>0</sup><sub>3</sub> [καὶ] τήν ῥίνα καὶ τήν μύξαν ἔξαράξασα

(Tzetz. in *An. Ox.* iii. 308. 20 τὸ μέτρον τὸ Δωρικὸν παρέλειψα λήθη· δέχεται δὲ πλείον τῶν ἄλλων ἰάμβ. μ. κατὰ τὴν β' χώραν ἢ καὶ δ' ἢ 5' σπονδεῖον, σπανιάκις δὲ καὶ δάκτυλον ὡς ἰσόχρονον τῷ σπονδεῖω· Δωρικὸν Ἴππ. (55).)

54 In the text of Tzetzes read *πάλιν* (Meineke) for *πᾶσαν*. In schol. Nicand. *Λυδίας* (idem) is a gloss on *ἐκεῖ*. 2 scans *ἰθὶ* διὰ Λ. : but read *ἰθὺ*. 4 *μυταλιδι* Tz. : Hesych.'s gloss was connected by Bgk. and M. Schmidt. For suggestions on text see notes. No weight of textual evidence will induce me to believe that the list contained foreign dynasts, paramours and bastards. I fancy there is an allusion to the conquest of Lydia. Perhaps begin *ὀδὸν τεωρεύσκε . . . ἰθὺ. τεωρεύς' . . . κακοῦργος, ληστής* (Hesych.).

55 ? *μύσπαν* : and give *μυσπίη* (Hesych.) to Hippon.

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately we are helpless here. There seems no reason to suppose the corruptions are slight. Attales (Nicol. *Dam. fr.* 63) is mentioned as a bastard, *Σεσώστριος* Bgk.'s suggestion in v. 3 intrudes a foreigner, and any unknown name or person is improbable. Perhaps *μεγαστρυ* is partly

54 Along the road to Smyrna he ravag'd  
 Through Lydia straight by Alyattes' burrow,  
 By Gyges' grave, and Ardys' tomb mighty  
 And Sadyattes' monument, great tzar,  
 His belly turning, as he went, westward.<sup>1</sup>

(Verses of Hipp. with trisyllabic penultimate feet . . .  
 Again (54). *Tzetzes* [He mis-scans 'Αττάλεω as 'Αττάλεω!].  
 The tomb of Gyges who was king there, as Hipp. says in  
 the first book of his [Lydian] iambi. *Commentator* on  
*Nicander's Theriaca*. **μυττάλυτα**: 'great.' *Hesychius*.)

55 [And] her nose, and the discharge therefrom  
 knocking

(By a slip of memory I passed over the Dorian metre,  
 which more than other iambs contains spondees in the second,  
 fourth or sixth place, or rarely a dactyl as its metrical  
 equivalent. A Dorian verse of Hipponax (55). *Tzetzes*.)  
 [Tz.'s next citation suggests that he scanned *μυξᾶν*: but  
 I fancy he read *τὴν μυξᾶν κατὰ τῆς ῥινὸς* when we need only  
 read *ἐκ* for *κατὰ* to get good sense and metre.]<sup>2</sup>

composed of an old gloss *μεγίστου* on †*μυτταλυτα*† (*infra*)  
 like *Hesych.*'s *μεγάλου*. The remainder may be *καὶ <παρ>*  
*'Αρδύου στήλην*. In *v. 2* 'Αλυάττειω *Schw.* is the nearest.

*τσοσάδναττ*  
 In *v. 4* *τωτοσμυττάλυτα* might stand for *τωλυαττειω*. *πάλμυδος*  
 is known (*Choerob. i. 232*) to be an error, and anyhow it  
 must have *υ*. I suggest *e.g.* *καὶ τὸ Σαδνάττειω μνήμα Λυδίων*  
*πάλμυτος* or *πάλμυ*. *Ἄτυος* (*Cr.*) is nearer, but *A.* was never  
 a ruler (*Hdt. i. 34*): so *παλμ.* would have to go into another  
 verse. On the main point, that we have a list of Lydian  
 kings, I fancy the version is not misleading.

<sup>2</sup> Before this may have come *ἀποσκαμυθίζειν*: *ἀπομυκτηρί-*  
*ζειν* *Hesych.*: *cf.* *σκινθαρίζειν* 'to strike the nose with the  
 middle finger,' *id.*

## HIPPONAX

56<sup>1 7</sup><sub>2 4 B</sub> δὸς χλαῖναν Ἴππώνακτι· κάρτα γὰρ ριγῶ  
καὶ βαμβα<λ>ύζω.

(Plutarch *Mor.* 1058 Ε ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Στοᾶς βοῶν μέγα και κεκραγῶς 'ἐγὼ μόνος εἰμὶ βασιλεύς, ἐγὼ μόνος εἰμὶ πλούσιος,' ὁρᾶται πολλάκις ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίαις θύραις λέγων (56). The first verse is quoted with variations of the moral 1068 Β and 523 Ε. See below. It is possible that the order is *fr.* 57 and *fr.* 56. 1 + ἐπέυχομαι—ριγῶ + καὶ β. So I translate. Then follows 59 perhaps with only two words missing.

57<sup>1 6</sup><sub>2 4 A</sub> ἐρ<έ>ω, φίλ' Ἐρμηῆ, Μαιαδεῦ Κυλλήν<ε>ιε  
[ἐπέυχομαί τοι· κάρτα γὰρ κακῶς ριγῶ].

(Tzetz. Lycophron 855 ἡ χρεία σοὶ καὶ ἐτέρας μαρτυρίας; ἄκουσον (57); καὶ μετὰ τινά φησιν (59). Priscian *de metr. Com.* p. 251 L. 'Hipponactem etiam ostendit Heliodorus iambos et choliambos confuse protulisse (57) ἐπέυχομαί τοι· κάρτα γὰρ κακῶς ριγῶ. p. 247 L. (21 Β Bgk.) Heliodorus metricus ait: Ἴππ. πολλὰ παρέβη τῶν νενομισμένων ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις. . . Hipp. in primo ἐρέω [γὰρ οὕτω Κυλλήνιε Μαιάδος Ἐρμηῆ]. Iste enim versus cum sit choliambus, in quarto loco et quinto habuit dactylos, cum in utroque debuerit a brevi incipiens pes poni. In eodem (58). Iste iambus habet in secundo loco spondeum et in quarto (an error for tertio) dactylum.)

58<sup>2 1 B</sup><sub>2 8</sub> ἡ δ' ὄσφυῆγα καὶ ὄδυννοσπάδ' αἰρεῖται  
γέροντα <νωδὸν . . . . . κατέρόφθαλμον>

(Plut. *Mor.* 1057 F καὶ κατ' Αἰσχύλον (an error of memory) ἐξ 'ὄσφυαλοῦς κῶδυνοσπάδος λυγροῦ γέροντος,' . . . *Lex. de Spir.* p. 234 Valck. ὄσφυήξ. . . ὡς τὸ ὄσφυῆγος γέροντος. Priscian (*l.c.*) gives [τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦτους] ὀδύνη παλλιρεῖτ(ορ π)αε.)

56. 2 βαμβακίζω: corr. Schnw.

57. 1 ὦ φίλ' Tz. ερμη or εραῖς Prisc.<sup>1</sup> ἐρέω Prisc.<sup>2</sup> Μαιάδος Tz. ex gloss. quod integrum in Prisc.<sup>2</sup> habemus. In Prisc.<sup>2</sup> ἐπέυχομαι is perhaps an explanation of ἐρέω. The words from γὰρ to Ἐρμηῆ are clearly a parallel citation, e.g. Ἀντίμαχος γὰρ οὕτω φησί κτλ. 'Iste enim versus,' etc.—not unnaturally in a citation from Epic. κυλλήνιε Welcker.

58. 2 e.g. ὦδε. νωδὸν etc. Plut. *Mor.* 1058 Α. The Lexicon is no doubt quoting from a better ms. of Plutarch than we possess.



- 56 I'll say dear son of Maia, Cyllene's  
and Lord, give Hipponax a great coat : chilly  
57 I am—I beg you I am right chilly  
And my teeth chatter.

(But the Stoic philosopher, shouting aloud and crying 'I alone am king, I alone am rich,' is often seen at other men's doors saying (56). *Plutarch* on the *Ultrapoetical Absurdities of the Stoics* : also *On Common Conceptions* and *On the Love of Riches*. Inaccurately quoted by *Heliodorus* the metrist as 'Verily I beseech thee : for full chilly Am I,' and perhaps by *Tzetzes*, 'Give to Hipponax a great coat, shirtlet,' etc. : see below, 59.)

- 57 See above and *fr.* 56.<sup>1</sup>

(If you need further evidence listen to this (57). Later he says (59). *Tzetzes*. *Heliodorus* shows that Hipponax wrote a mixture of choliambics and iambics (57). *Priscian*. *Heliodorus* the metrist says 'Hipponax broke many of the iambic traditions. He says in the first book "For I will say thus : son of Maia, Cyllenian Hermes."' This verse, although a choliambus, has dactyls in the fourth and fifth place, although there should be in either place a foot beginning with a short. In the same book (58). This iambus has in the second place a spondee, and in the fourth (*he means* "third") a dactyl.' *Priscian*.)

- 58 <She> a hip-shot old man, pain-racked, chooses,<sup>2</sup>  
<Toothless, one-eyed>

(And to be changed from what Aeschylus (? Hipponax) calls a 'hip-pained sorry old man' to a beautiful god-like fair shaped youth. *Plutarch* on *The Stoics* say, etc. 'Hip-shot' : e.g. hip-shot old man. *Breathing Dictionary*.)

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Heliodorus drew the verses from a copy of Hipponax' works interlarded with glosses and marginal comments. Perhaps these were the first verses.

<sup>2</sup> Priscian gives

Indeed all these men in a pain racked chooses.

*Plutarch* in the next sentence to that quoted, speaking of *Odysseus* in *Homer*, introduces some details, I suggest from *Hipponax*. The reference would be to *Arete* and *Bupalus*.

## HIPPONAX

59<sup>1 8</sup>/<sub>2 4</sub> δὸς χλαῖναν Ἴππώνακτι καὶ κυπασσίσκον  
καὶ σαμβαλίσκα κάσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσοῦ  
στατῆρας ἐξήκοντα τούτερου τοίχου.

(Tzetz. Lycophron 855 οὗτος ἀσκέρας τὰ ὑποδήματα οὐ καλῶς λέγει (59). ἀσκέραι<sup>1</sup> δὲ κυρίως τὰ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ πιλία ἤτοι ὀρτάρια<sup>1</sup> λέγονται καὶ χλαῖναν<sup>1</sup> τὸ σφικτουρίον<sup>1</sup> καὶ κυπασσίσκον<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἐπιλωρικόν.<sup>1</sup> οὗτος δὲ ὁ Λυκόφρων, καίπερ ἀπ' Αἰσχύλου κλέπτων λέξεις τινάς, ἐξ Ἴππ. δὲ πλεον, ἢ ἐπιλήσμων ὢν, ἢ μὴ νοῶν ταύτας, ἄλλην ἄλλως ἐκτίθει . . . ἀλλ' ἄκουε πῶς φησὶν Ἴππ. (60). ἔγνωσ ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν δασείας τὰς ἀσκέρας τὰ ὀρτάρια φησὶν; ἢ . . . (57). καὶ μετὰ τινά φησιν (59).)

60<sup>1 9</sup>/<sub>2 6</sub> ἐμοὶ γὰρ τοῦκ ἔδωκας οὔτε χλαῖναν†  
δασεῖαν, ἐν χειμῶνι φάρμακον ῥίγεις,  
οὔτ' ἀσκέρησι τοὺς πόδας δασεῖησιν  
ἔκρυψας ὡς <μοι μῆ> χίμετλα γί[γ]νηται.

(Tzetz. *vide sup.*)

61<sup>2 9</sup>/<sub>2 0</sub> ἐμοὶ δὲ Πλοῦτος, ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός,  
ἐς τῶκί' ἐλθὼν οὐδάμ' εἶπεν· Ἴππῶναξ,  
δίδωμί <σοι μν<έ>ας ἀργύρ[ι]ου τριήκοντα.

(Tzetz. on Ar. *Plut.* 90 τυφλὸν δὲ τὸν Πλοῦτόν φησὶν ἐξ Ἴππώνακτος τοῦτο σφετερισάμενος· φησὶ γὰρ οὕτως Ἴππ. (61) καὶ πόλλ' ἔτ' ἄλλα· δειλαιος γὰρ τὰς φρένας.

59 In almost all codd. the text is covered with glosses. Besides the three explanations above, over τούτερου is ἰωνικῶς (sc. for Attic θάτ.) and μέρους over τοίχου. One codd. has τοῦ νερτέρου τοίχου (? an error for ἐνδοτέρου). μοι after χρυσοῦ codd. plur.

60. 1 One cod. has τὰν χλαῖναν. e.g. οὔτε κω Scaliger. 3 δασεῖησι: one cod. φησί. 4 ῥίγνυται one cod.: γίγν. corr. Hoffmann. μῆ μοι codd.

61. 3 τοι codd.: σοι Bgk. ἀργυρίου codd.: corr. id. καὶ πόλλ' κτλ. has falsely been given to Hipponax: cf. καὶ πολλαχοῦ δυστηγὰ τοιαυτὶ λέγει Aeschion (*fr.* I q.v.). Those who insist on giving them to Hipponax should read δειλάγος γὰρ and find a substitute for τὰς φρένας.

FRAGMENTS 59-61

59 Give to Hipponax a great-coat, shirtlet,  
Sandals and carpet-slippers ; and sixty  
Staters of gold by th' inner wall hidden.<sup>1</sup>

(Lycophron wrongly uses the word 'slippers' for boots (59). 'Slippers' properly mean the felt-shoes, that is *ortaria*, worn on the feet, great-coat the *sphictorium*, and shirtlet the *epiloricum*. This Lycophron, though stealing some words from Aeschylus, while preferring Hippon., either from forgetfulness or ignorance of their sense uses them anyhow. . . . Listen to what *Hipp.* says (60). You realize that by calling them 'shaggy' he means *ortaria*. But cf. (57). Later he says (59). *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*.)

60 To me thou gavest never (yet) great-coat  
Shaggy, a cure for ague in winter,  
Nor hid'st in carpet-slippers right shaggy  
My feet, to hinder my chillblains growing.

(See above 59 *Tzetzes*.)

61 But never came there Plutus, the blind one,  
Unto my house, nor spake thus: 'Hipponax  
Minas of silver give I thee thirty.'  
[Etcetera : for his intelligence is paltry].<sup>2</sup>

(He calls Plutus blind, borrowing the epithet from *Hipponax*, who says as follows (61). *Tzetzes* on *Aristophanes*' Plutus.)

<sup>1</sup> τούτερον τοίχου is of course the inner wall by which the host sits (Hom. I 219), and the gold is to be there since the task of the thief who digs under the walls (τοιχωρύχος) would thereby be rendered more difficult. Refer perhaps to this passage the word τοιχοδιφήτωρ=τοιχωρύχος cited by Hesych. ὀρτάρια and σφικτ. are both late mediaeval words. I note πόδορτα and σφικτ. in Achmes the oneiromancer.

<sup>2</sup> *Tzetzes*, who presumably borrowed this citation from an earlier commentator, perhaps on Lycophron (1102?), included the last words (which are really the grammarian's criticism of L.) in his note. Or they may be Tz.'s own criticism on *Aristophanes*' peculations from *Hipponax*.

# HIPPONAX

## LATE CITATIONS

### FROM UNCERTAIN BOOKS

62<sup>3 0^A</sup>/<sub>3 4</sub> ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ <Ζεῦ> θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων πάλμυ  
 (Tzetz. on Lyc. 690 ἡ δὲ λέξις ὁ πάλμυς ἐστὶν Ἰώνων καὶ  
 χρῆται ταύτῃ Ἰππ. λέγων (62, 63).)

63<sup>3 0^B</sup>/<sub>3 5</sub> τί μ' οὐκ ἔδωκας χρυσόν, ἀργύρου [πάλμυ];  
 (Vid. supra.)

64<sup>3 1</sup>/<sub>3 6</sub> ἰάπό σ' ὀλέσειεν Ἄρτεμις, σὲ δ[ἐ κ]' ὠπόλ-  
 λων†,  
 <σὲ δ'>. . . .

(Tzetz. *An. Ox.* iii. 310. 17 στίχοι Ἰππ. τρισυλλάβους ἔχοντες  
 τοὺς παραλήγοντας πόδας (64). Contrast (Bgg.) Hephaestion  
 p. 30 (33 Gaisf.) τὸ δὲ χωλὸν οὐ δέχεται τοὺς παραλ. τρισ. πόδ.  
 id. *Exeg. in Il.* 797 B.)

65<sup>3 2</sup>/<sub>3 7</sub> παρ' ᾧ σὺ λευκόπεπλον ἡμέρην μείνας  
 πρὸς μὲν κυνήσει<ς> τὸν Φλυσιῶν'  
 Ἑρμῆν.

(Tzetz. *Il.* p. 83. 25 H. ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν ὑπερβατόν· ἐστὶ δὲ  
 καὶ τοῦτο Ἰωνικὸν ὡς φησι καὶ Ἰππ. (64). καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ (65).  
 Hesych. Φλυήσιος· Ἑρμῆς καὶ μῆν τις.

62 <Ζεῦ> rectissime Meineke ex Archil. 88 (Bgg.). *v.l.*  
 Ὀλ. θεῶν.

63 πάλμυ] *v.l.* πάλμυν : see opposite.

64 δὲ κῶπ. : corrected by Meineke.

65. 2 κυνήσειν cod. : corr. Welcker. Φλυσιῶν' Bgg. olim  
 rectissime. Hesych. φλυσιήσιος is (?) corrupt, for months may  
 end in -ων or -εών (so perhaps -εῶν' here). Nor do they  
 say ὁ Δηλίων Ἀπόλλων but ὁ Δήλιος.

## FRAGMENTS 62-65

### LATE CITATIONS

#### FROM UNCERTAIN BOOKS

62 Zeus, tsar of Gods Olympian, father

(The word 'tsar' is Ionic and used by *Hipponax* when he says (62, 63). *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*.)

63 Why, tsar of silver, me no gold gav'st thou? <sup>1</sup>

(See above.)

\*64 May Artemis destroy thee, [and] Apollo,

(Verses of *Hipp.* (64) with the penultimate foot trisyllabic. *Tzetzes* in *Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Contrast *Hephaestion*: the choliambic does not allow trisyllables in the penultimate foot.)

65 Whereat awaiting day of white raiment  
Phlyesiary Hermes thou 'lt worship.

('Gave a harsh order': transposition (for made good his word); this is Ionic as *Hipponax* too says (64). And elsewhere (65). *Tzetzes*. 'Phlyesian': Hermes: also a month. *Hesych.*<sup>2</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> 62 and 63 I have given separately. But more probably they came together and *πάλλμν* is mere dittography, 'Why gavest not gold nor mountains of silver,' e.g. *χρ. <η>* (so *Lobeck*) *ἄργυρον πολλόν*;

<sup>2</sup> *Hesychius*' note 'Phlyesian': Hermes, also a month—shows that *Phlyesiary* is the right reading.

## HIPPONAX

66<sup>4</sup><sub>4 1</sub> ἐπ' ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρ<ε>ϊκίων πάλων  
λευκῶν ὀ<ρ>ούσ<α>ς ἐγγύς Ἰλίου πύργων  
ἀθηναρίσθη Ῥῆσος Αἰν[ε]ίων πάλμυς.

(Tzetz. on *Posthomer.* 186 ὁ δὲ Ῥῆσος Αἰνειῶν Θράκης ἦν βασιλεὺς, υἱὸς Στρώμονος ἢ Ἡιονέος καὶ Τερψιχόρης . . . καὶ Ἴππ. (66). On *Il.* 78. 1 H. καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν δασέων ψιλὰ ἐξεφώνουν ὡς ἔχει ἡ ἀρχαία Ἰωνική, ἐπιβρύκων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιβρύχων, καὶ τὸ (66. 1), καὶ μεταρμόσας. Hesych. Νεαίρησιν Ἴπποις· τοὺς ἀπὸ Νεαίρης.

67<sup>4</sup><sub>4 2</sub> κακοῖσι δώσω τὴν πολύστονον ψυχὴν,  
ἦν μὴ ἀποπέμψης ὡς τάχιστα μοι κριθέων  
μέδιμνον ὡς ἂν ἄλφιτον ποιήσωμαι,  
κυκεῶνα πίνων, φάρμακον πονηρ[ί]οῖσ<ι>.

(Tzetz. *An. Ox.* iii. 308 δέχονται καὶ τρισυλλάβους πόδας εἰς (?) 5', πλὴν τοὺς ἀπὸ βραχείας ἀρχομένους, τὸν χορεῖον φημί καὶ τὸν ἀνάπαιστον ὡς ὁ Ἴππ. (69) καὶ πάλιν (so Meineke) (68). Hesych.)

68<sup>4</sup><sub>4 5</sub> Μιμνῆ, ἱκατωμηχανεῖ· μηκέτι γράψης  
ᾧφιν τριήρευσ ἐν πολυζύγῳ τοίχῳ  
ἀπ' ἐμβόλου φεύγοντα πρὸς κυβερνήτην·  
αὕτη γὰρ ἔστ<α>ι συμφορὴ τε καὶ κληδῶν  
τικύρτα καὶ σαβωνεῖ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ 5  
ἦν αὐτὸν <ὀ> ᾧφιν ἱτῶντικνήμιον δάκτη.

(Tzetz. on Lycophron 425 "Ἀποθεν· τὸ πῶ μικρὸν γράφε.

66. 1 Θρηϊκίων : correxit Fick. 2 δέιους κάτεγγυς codd. 3 παλάμας one cod. : βασιλεὺς cett. Text Schneidewin. Perhaps there was an incorrect variant ἰθὺς, and καὶ ἐγγύς was written in the margin. If so ὀ is all that is left of the participle except that one cod. has an explanation ἰῶν in the margin.

67. 3 Scan πὸ γήσωμαι or *l.* πονήσ. 4 πονηρῶις cod. : corr. Fick. ? πᾶσι for πίνων with ἀλφίτων in 3.

68. 1 κακῶν μοχλητά ten Brink. If a vocative, κατωμόδαρτε is near the traces, but perhaps it is a verb ; e.g. κακοῦ μὴ ἔχαινε or κατ' ὦν μὴ χαῖνε (Hes. καταχρηνη) which might have degenerated into ἔχανε. γράψης one cod. v.l. 4 ἔστι : v.l. αὕτη. 5 *v.l.* σινωνι, σαβωνι, σαμανι. 6 *v.l.* τ' ἀνακείμενον, των τικνήμων, τῶν τι κνημένον. See Addenda.

FRAGMENTS 66-68

66 On cariot and Thraciān horses

All white he sallied and near<sup>1</sup> Troy's castles

There was he slain tsar Aeneian Rhesus.

(Rhesus was king of the Aeneians in Thrace, son of Strymon or Eioneus and Terpsichore (66). *Tzetzes on Post-homerica*.<sup>2</sup> They used smooth consonants instead of aspirated like old Ionic souting instead of shouting, and (66. 1), and resaping. *id.* 'Neaerean Horses': from Neaera. *Hesych*

67 To woe my weeping soul I 'll surrender

Unless at once you send me a bushel

Of barley, wherewithal I may find me,

By drinking groats, of all my ills respite.

(Trisyllables are allowed in the sixth foot except those beginning with a short vowel, *i.e.* ∪∪∪ and ∪∪-: *e.g.* *Hipp.* (67), and again (68). *Tzetz. in Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia*.)<sup>3</sup>

68 Yearn not for mischief, Mimnes.<sup>4</sup> Cease painting

A snake upon the trireme's benched bulwarks

Which runs from prow abaft to the helmsman.

For this brings evil fame and fate evil,

Thou slave of slaves and yid, to the helmsman,

If right upon his shin [the] snake bite him.

(ἀποθεν: write *sic* with omicron. Scribes ignorant of

<sup>1</sup> Read either 'straight for' or 'sallied: hard by.'

<sup>2</sup> Tzetzes purloined this note from a long note by an earlier editor of Lycophron on the use of πάλμυς 'tsar.'

<sup>3</sup> The criticism (that κριθεῶν is trisyllabic) is erroneous, as erroneous as the criticism of the next citation ἀποθεν. Nor can anyone have written ὄφεις in 68. 6, as the snake has already been mentioned. In view of this, -τώντικνήμιον and δᾶκη, the verse may be an early gloss. If the steerer exposes to the snake the *back* of his leg or calf the sense of ἀντικν. in Hipp.'s time—'shin' or the forepart—is somewhat unsuitable. δᾶκη has been altered to δᾶκνη. Σάμορνα, "God help us," is said to have been another name for Ephesus from its Semitic inhabitants: Schmidt on Hesych. *s.v.* Σαμονία.

<sup>4</sup> ? Mimnes thou well-bespankéd.

## HIPPONAX

οὔτοι (the ms.?) δὲ ἀγνοήσαντες τὸ μέτρον μέγα τοῦτο γράφουσι. σὺ δὲ τοῦτο γίγνωσκε ὅτι τὸ δασὺ ἐκτείνειν δύναται ὅτε βούλεται ὁ στιχιστὴς ἴσως τοῖς διπλοῖς ὡς . . . Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν (Hom. M 208). εἰ δὲ μείουρον τοῦτον νομίζεις ἄκουσον καὶ τῶν κατὰ Μιμνῆ τοῦ ζωγράφου χωλῶν ἰάμβων Ἰππωνακτείων στίχων (68). Ἰδοὺ τοῦ ὄφιν τὸ ὄ μακρὸν ἐστὶν ἐκταθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φ̄ δασέος ὄντος. νικύρτας· δουλέκδουλος. Ath. vi. 267 c (cit. ten Brink) σίνδρωνα δὲ τὸν δουλέκδουλον.)

69<sup>7 4</sup>/<sub>6 7</sub> οὐ μοι δικαίως μοιχὸς τάλῳναι δοκεῖτ  
†Κριτίης ὁ Χίος ἐν τῷ κατωτικῷ δούλω†

(Tzetz. *vid. supra* 68. Hesych. δούλος· ἡ οἰκία ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσιν τῶν γυναικῶν.)

70<sup>5 1</sup>/<sub>4 7</sub> ὁ δ' αὐτίκ' ἐλθὼν σὺν τριοῖσι μάρτυ<ρ>σιν  
ὄκου τὸν ἔρπιν ὁ σκότος καπηλεύει  
ἄνθρωπον εὔρε τὴν στέγην ὀφέλλοντα—  
οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ὄφελμα—πυθμένι στοιβῆς.

(Tzetz. on Lycophron 579 ἔρπιν· χάλις καὶ ἔρπις ὁ οἶνος. χάλις μὲν παρὰ τὸ χαλᾶν τὴν ἴνα ἤγουν τὴν δύναμιν ἔρπις δὲ κτλ. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οἶνον ἔρπιν καλοῦσι. Ἰππωνάκτειοι δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ λέξεις. φησὶ γάρ (72). ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν (70. 1-3). On 1165 ὀφελτρεύσωσι: σαρώσωσι· σάρον γὰρ καὶ ὄφελτρον καὶ ὄφελμα καὶ ὄφελμος ἢ σκουῖπα λέγεται. καὶ τοῦτο Ἰππ. φησὶν (70). On Ar. *Plut.* 435 (v. 2). The second verse is quoted in an older scholium on *Lyc. II. cc.* Hesych. *Πέρδικος καπηλεῖον· χωλὸς καπηλὸς ὁ Π. ἦν. ἐνθεν ἐνιοὶ τὴν παροιμίαν φασὶ διαδοθῆναι.*)

69. 2 mss give either κατωξ or κτωξ (*i.e.* κτωικῷ). See Bast's *Commentatio Palaeographica*, Tab. vii. 7, 8. Bgk.'s remark, 'Sunt enim iambi (sc. recti)' is inane, since Tz. quotes for trisyllables (exc. ◡◡◡ and ◡◡-) in the final place of choliambi. On 2 see nn.

70. 1? αὐτίς. μάρτυρσιν Buttman. 2 ὄπου only schol. Ar. *Plut.* v.l. σκοπὸς. 3 εὔρων and ὀρων *v.l.*

<sup>1</sup> See crit. n. Bgk.'s suggestion κασωρ- is excellent. Hesychius' inane note rightly referred here by Ahrens should have provided food for thought for scholars who believe in



## FRAGMENTS 68-70

metrical rules write omega. But you, gentle reader, must realize that an aspirate may at the will of the author count two letters and lengthen the previous vowel, *e.g.* ὄφισ in *Homer, Il.* (M 208). If you think this verse 'docked' *cf.* further *Hipp.*'s choliambi attacking Mimnes the painter (68). Here you have ὄφισ before φ aspirate. *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron.* νικύρτας : slave of slave birth. *Hesychius.*)

69 †Unjust the Chian court that condemned you  
 Tamquam adulter in lupanari<sup>1</sup>†

(*Tzetzes* : see on 68. *Slave* : House or a collection of women in the same place. *Hesychius.*)

70 With three to witness he returned straightway  
 To where the runaway his swipes peddles  
 And found a man who, having no besom,  
 Was besoming the house with a broom-stick.

('Swipes' : booze and swipes are names for wine. The former is derived from brawn and loose, *i.e.* loosening the strength: the latter (etc.). Hence the Egyptians call wine swipes. The words are used by *Hipp.*, who says (70). Again elsewhere (70. 1-3). *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, 579). On 1165 commenting on the unfamiliar verb "besom" *Tz.* gives various forms for 'sweep,' 'sweeping,' and quotes all four verses. He quotes *v.* 2 again on *Aristophanes' Plutus.* They were also given by a previous critic of *Lycophron.* 'The hostel of *Perdix*': *Perdix* was a lame innkeeper after whom some say this proverb became traditional.<sup>2</sup> *Hesych.*)

the word μαλις and the like. As δοκεῖ is not a trisyllable with a long vowel it follows that we must end the second verse ἐν κασωρίτῳ : one may therefore write (*e.g.*) with *Ahrens* οὐ μοι δικαίως ὥστε μοιχὸς ἀλῶναι δοκεῖ Κριτίης ὁ Χίος ἐν κ., but it is perhaps permissible to suspect that the whole is a satirical attack on *Bupalus* : οὐ μοι δικαίως ἐν κρίτησι Χίοισι δοκέεις ἀλῶναι μοιχὸς ἐν κασωρίτῳ. This I translate. There is a further doubt that really we may have κατωτάτῳ, a favourite word of *Tz.* in explanation, *e.g.* on *Lyc.* 121 ἐν τῷ τοῦ κρυπτοῦ καὶ κατωτάτου τόπου σήραγγι.

<sup>2</sup> I suggest that there was an older *Perdix* who gave rise to this tag if it is choliambic. The famous innkeeper (*Av.* 1292) of this name was, however, an Athenian See *Addenda.*

## HIPPONAX

71<sup>6 4</sup><sub>5 6</sub>

<Ἄθηνα<ίη>>

<ί>λ<ά>σκο<μαί σ>ε καί με δεσπότε<ω>  
βεβροῦ

λαχόντα λίσσομαί σε μὴ ραπίζεσθαι.

(Tzetz. *An. Ox.* iii. 310. 17 *στίχοι Ἰππώνακτος τρισυλλάβους ἔχοντες τοὺς παραλήγοντας πῶδας. . . πᾶσα* (l. πάλιν Meineke) (71). Hesych. *βεβρός· ψυχρός, τετυφωμένος. βέβροξ· ἀγαθός, χρηστός, καλός* and see below.)

## DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS

72<sup>7 3</sup><sub>6 6</sub> τὸλιγὰ φρον<έ>ουσιν οἱ χάλιν πεπωκότες.†

(Tzetz. on Hes. *Op.* 336 ὁ γὰρ οἶνος τὰς φρένας ἐξίστᾶ· ἐνίοτε καὶ θυμὸν ἐπάγει ὡς καὶ Ἰππ. (72). Sch. Ar. *Plut.* 437, on Lycophron 579 (see *fr.* 70), Miller, *Mél.* 307). Verses possibly to be ascribed to Ananius.)

73\*<sup>5 5B</sup><sub>2 6</sub> Ἐρμῆς δὲ Σιμώνακτος ἀκολουθήσας

(Miller, *Mél.* 19 ἀκολουθήσας (73). ἐκτάσει τοῦ ᾠ· οὔτως Ἡρωδιανός.)

71. 1 Ἄθηνα<sup>ιη</sup> ita Bgk.? The word Ἄθηνα is a gloss on the corrupt μάλις: but it is quite probable that Ἄθ. preceded.

<sup>χαιρε</sup>Μαλισκονισκε ms. A: κομισκελαιρε cett. χαῖρε Bgk. rightly explained as a gloss. μάλις· Ἄθηνα Hesych. For my reading cf. Ἰληθι· χαῖρε Hesych. 2 δεσποτεα βεβροῦ: corr. Schneidewin. The last word is glossed μα[. . .]οῦ: ? μαλακοῦ Hoffmann.

72 Very doubtful. Perhaps οἱ . . . πεπώκασιν. v.l. πεπτ-

## FRAGMENTS 71-73

71 O Athéne,  
 I cry thee hail and beg that I gentle  
 Master may win, and feel not his cudgel.

(Verses of *Hipponax* with trisyllables in the penultimate feet . . . Again (71). *Tzetzes* in *Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia*.)

## DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS

72 †Full little wit have men who sup on booze.†

(For wine removes wits: occasionally too it induces passion as *Hipp.* says (72). *Tzetzes* on *Aristophanes' Plutus, Lycophron*. Also the *Etymologicum*, but without naming the author.)

73 †Hermes who followed, son of Simonax<sup>1</sup>†

(ἀκολουθήσας. So *Herodian* explains the scansion.)

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think the citation spurious and post-Attic. See on Herodas ii. 47. I read á or ώκ.

73 If *Herodian* is to be trusted, and his authority is great, it is perhaps more likely that  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}$  is some peculiarity of Ephesian dialect, than that it is an innovation of a later writer. *Lehrs* reads 'Ερμῆς δ' ἐς Ἰππώνακτος. But even *Herodian* may have been deceived by a false text, and ἀκολ. is far more fitted to a gloss than to any early Ionic writer. Even *Hrd.* eschews it. The real word may have taken the genitive.

## HIPPONAX

74\*<sup>6</sup><sub>4</sub>                      ἀνήρ ὄδ' ἐσπέρης καθεύδοντα  
 ἀπ' <ὦ>ν ἔδ<υ>σε χλοῦνην.<sup>1</sup>

(Schol. Hom. I 539 χλοῦνην: οἱ μὲν ἀφριστήν· χλουδεῖν γὰρ τὸ ἀφρίζειν τινες Δωριέων ἔλεγον· ἄλλοι δὲ κακοῦργον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱαμβοποιῶν τινα φάναι (74). Ξενοφῶντα δὲ γένος τι Ἰνδῶν φάναι τὸν χλοῦνην εἶναι.)

(See also Introduction and after *fr.* 86.)

75<sup>3</sup><sub>0</sub><sup>5</sup><sub>α</sub> See Phoenix *fr.* 8.

76\*      ἐκ πελλίδος <δὲ> τάργανον κα[ι]τηγυίης  
 χωλοῖσι δακτύλοισι τήτέρῃ σπένδει  
 τρέμων οἶόν περ ἐν βορηῆϊ νωδός.

(Ath. 495 c Πέλλα· . . . εἰς δ' ἡμελγον τὸ γάλα. . . Ἴππ. λέγει πελλίδα (4, 5), Φοῖνιξ δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἐπὶ φιάλης τίθησι λέγων οὕτως (Phoenix *fr.* 4). καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ μέρει φησὶν (76). Hesych. τάργανον· ὄξος, Λυδοί.)

74 Dindorf may be right in placing χλοῦνην at the end of *v.* 2, or Meineke in placing it at the beginning. More probably Bgk. is right in placing χλοῦνης at the beginning of *v.* 1. 2 οὖν codd.: corr. Schnw. ἔδησε codd.: corr. Hermann.

76. 1 <δὲ> Schnw. καὶ τηγ. Ath.: corr. Porson.

<sup>1</sup> I translate Bergk's conjecture: see *crit. n.*

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph(anes) and (S)indi: so Hermann and Bergk.

<sup>3</sup> 76 appears to me certainly Hipponactean. (a) There

FRAGMENTS 74-76

74 †This rogue<sup>1</sup> here as I was at eve sleeping  
Stripped me.†

(‘Rogue’ (of a boar): some explain as ‘foaming’ for certain Dorians spoke of foaming as ‘roguing.’ Others as ‘villain’: for, they say, one of the old (chol)iambic writers said (74). Xenophanes says that rogue was the name of a clan of Sindi.)<sup>2</sup>

75 (See Phoenix *fr.* 8.)

76 And tarragon out of a smashed paillet  
With limping fingers of one hand dribbles,  
A-tremble like the toothless in north wind.<sup>3</sup>

(‘Pail’: . . . into which they used to milk. . . *Hipp.* speaks of it as ‘paillet’ (4, 5). Phoenix of Colophon in his *Iambi* uses it of a cup, as follows (Phoenix, *fr.* 4). And in another portion of his works he says (76). *Athenaeus.* ‘Tarragon’: vinegar, a Lydian use. *Hesych.*)

are no difficulties of metre in the ascription. Every other verse in our *fr.* of Phoenix is metrically impossible for Hipp. So in *fr.* 1 v. 1, 3?, 6, 8 (*bis*), 9, 12, 14 (τοῖσι), 15, 17 (see *J. Camb. Phil.* 1927). (*b*) The tone is that of a virulent lampoonist, not of a plaintive cynic. (*c*) The misery of the sketch is accentuated if we transfer this paragraph to the ‘pail’ illustrations. (*d*) Hipp. certainly *used* not only *πελλίς* but also the word *τάργανον* as the gloss shows. Phoen. is not very fond of direct imitations, despite *λέκος πυρῶν fr.* 1, 2. If I am right in supposing Plut. had Hipp. in mind when writing on the ultra-poetical absurdities of the Stoics *νωδός* may also be Hipponactean. As against these arguments we may set *χωλοῖσι* (deb. *κυλλ.*) and *δλονπερ* (deb. *δσονπ.*). (*f*) They are far too good and concentrated for Phoenix. Contrast his *fr.* 3. (*g*) What ‘other portion’?

# HIPPONAX

## TRIMETER OR TETRAMETER

77<sup>7 6</sup><sub>8 9</sub> τλαιμῶσσει δέ σκευτὸ χεῖλος ὤσ<τ>'  
ἔρωδιού.

(Schol. Nicand. *Theor.* 470 μαίμωσσων: ἀντὶ τοῦ ζητῶν καὶ ὄρμῶν. γράφεται δὲ καὶ λαιμῶσσων ἀντὶ τοῦ πεινῶν ὡς Ἴππ. (77). Hesych. λαιμῶ: εἰς βρῶσιν ὥρμηται.)

## TETRAMETERS

78<sup>8 3</sup><sub>7 0</sub> λάβετέ μ<ε>υ ταίματι<α>, κόψω Βουπάλου  
τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

ἀμφιδέξιός γάρ εἰμι, κοῦκ ἀμαρτάνω κόπτων.

(Suid. Βούπαλος· ὄνομα. Ἀριστοφάνης· εἰ νῆ Δί[α] <ἤδη> [τις] τὰς γνάθους τούτων <τις ἤ> δις ἢ τρίς ἔκοψεν ὥσπερ Βουπάλου, φωνὴν ἂν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον. παρὰ τῷ Ἴππ. (78. 1). *id.* κόπτω· εἰ νῆ Δία . . . αὐτῶν . . . καὶ αὐθις (78. 1). Erotian p. 43 ἀμφιδέξιός . . . ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκράτης . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐχρήστου κατὰ ἀμφοτέρα τὰ μέρη . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἴππῶνάξ φησὶν· (v. 2). Galen, *Gloss. Hippocr.* 430, *Aphorism.* xviii. 1. 148 also quote v. 2 but without κόπτων.)

79<sup>1 9</sup><sub>1 3</sub> καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέ<ο>ς  
κρέσσων

(Strabo xiv. 636, Diog. L. i. 84, Suid. s.vv. Βίαντος Πριηνέως (one cod. -έος) δίκη and δικάζεσθαι.)

77 The words can easily be arranged, with slight alterations, for a tetrameter. But see n. v.l. λαιμῶ. σου codd. Some om. δέ σου.

78. 1 ? τῆτε for λάβετε. μου corr. by Schnw. θαίματα Bgk. for θοιμάτιον: ταί. (trisyll.) Hi.-Cr. v.l. Βουπάλω. 2 The fragments were connected by Bgk. καὶ οὐχ, κοῦχ mss.: corr. ten Brink. Suidas was copying a lost schol. on Arist. *Lys.* 360.

79 ἄ καὶ κτλ. Diog. L.: Meineke cj. πρώτῳ. ἄ καὶ om. Suid. δικάσασθαι Strabo. Πριηνέως codd. omn. κρέσσων Strabo: κρείσσων Suid.: κρείσσων Diog. L.

## FRAGMENTS 77-79

### TRIMETER OR TETRAMETER

77 But thy lip raveneth as a heron's.<sup>1</sup>

(‘Raving’: seeking and hastening. Some write ‘ravening,’ meaning hungry: *cf. Hipp. (77). Commentator on Nicander's Theriaca.*)

### TETRAMETERS

78 Here take my clothes, so in the eye I 'll Bupalus pummel;  
For I am ambidexterous and pummelling miss not.<sup>2</sup>

(‘Bupalus’: a name. Aristophanes ‘In faith if some one twice or thrice the jaws of these had pummelled, as it was done to Bupalus, no voice would they have left them.’ In *Hipp. (78. 1)*. *Suidas*. ‘Pummel.’ ‘In faith,’ etc. And again (78. 1). *id.* ‘Ambidexterous’: . . . Hippocrates . . . uses of those whose limbs are equally efficient on both sides of the body . . . So in *Hipp. (78. 2)*. *Erotian*. Also twice cited by *Galen*.)

79 Than Bias of Priene far a better judge (finding)

(*Strabo, Diogenes Laertius, Suidas* on ‘Bias of Priene’ and ‘judge.’)

<sup>1</sup> With the Greeks almost all diving birds and sea birds are types of gluttony. With us only the cormorant enjoys that position. Probably read τὸ σεῦ δὲ χεῖλος ὥστε ῥωδιοῦ λαιμῶ.

<sup>2</sup> It is by no means certain that these verses are consecutive.

## HIPPONAX

80<sup>8 0</sup>/<sub>7 4</sub> μηδὲ μοιμύλ[α]λειν Λεβεδίην ἰσχάδ' ἐκ  
Καμανδωλοῦ

(Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* i. 275 Λεβεδίων γοῶν διαφερομένων πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγέιτονας περὶ Καμανδωλοῦ ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ Ἴππωνάκτειον παραθέμενος ἐνίκα (80). Hesych. μοιμύλλειν· θηλάζειν, ἐσθίειν.)

81<sup>8 2</sup>/<sub>7 5</sub> Κυπρίων <λ>έκος φαγοῦσι κάμαθουσίων  
†πυρῶν†

(Strabo viii. 340 συγκαταλέγειν τὸ μέρος τῷ ἔλω φασι τὸν Ὅμηρον. . . χρώνται δὲ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι Ἴππ. μὲν (81). Κύπριοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι. Eust. *Il.* 305. 23.)

82<sup>6 2</sup>/<sub>7 1</sub> οἱ δέ μευ ὀδόντες  
<οἷ κοτ' > ἐν τοῖσι γναθοῖσι πάντες <ἐκ>-  
κεκινέεται.

(Cram. *An. Ox.* i. 287. 28 μεμετρεύεται. . . . Ἴωνικόν. . . . καὶ παρ' Ἴππωνάκτι (82). *Et. Mag.* 499. 41. Miller, *Mél.* 181. 8 (omitting γναθοῖσι.)

83<sup>8 4</sup>/<sub>7 6</sub> †ἐξ† . . . | τίλλοι τις αὐτοῦ τὴν τράμιν τ'  
ὑποργά<ζο>ι.

(Erotian p. 124 τράμιν· τὸν ἄρρον ἄνπερ καὶ ὑποταύριον καλοῦμεν ὡς καὶ Ἴππ. φησὶν (83). μέμνηται καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος. Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν σφιγκτήρα.)

80. 1 μοι μὲ λαλεῖν codd.: corr. Meineke. Καμανδωδοῦ most codd. Λεβεδίην trisyll.?

81 βέκος codd. φαγοῦσι om. Eust. πυρῶν Eust.: πυρόν Strabo: ? πυρέων Hrd.; cf. ii. 80.

82 Metre restored by Ahrens. 2 <ἐκ> ten Brink. οἷ κοτ' I have inserted *metri gratia*.

83 τράμιν ὑποργάσαι cod.: <τ'> Meineke. Clearly the difference of tense is indefensible. For the alteration comp. crit. nn. on 79. I have placed the fragment here following Bgk. who suggested ἐκ <τρίχας>, but translate ἐξ — — | κτλ. Certainly the more probable cause of corruption is the loss of a word after ἐξ. Meineke's ἐξάκις is wholly pointless. Erotian does not quote by verses, so that a trimeter is more probable.



FRAGMENTS 80-83

80 Nor mumble figs Lebedian, from far Kaman-  
dulus

(When the Lebedians disputed with their neighbours over Kamandolus, the scholar won the case by citing *Hipponax*' verse (80). *Sextus Empiricus*. 'To mumble': chew, eat. *Hesychius*.)

81 Of Amathusian loaves a crock and Cyprian eating<sup>1</sup>

(They say that Homer mentions together both the whole and the part. . . So do later writers: *Hipp.* (81). For the Amathusians are Cyprians. *Eustathius* on *Homer's Iliad*.)

82 But my grinders  
[That once] were in my jaws have now been all of  
them knock'd out.<sup>2</sup>

('Number'd': . . . Ionic. . . In *Hipponax* (82). *Etymologicum Magnum*.)

83 His anus  
Let some one pluck withal and knead gently.

('Anus': the rump or hypotaarium: *e.g.* *Hipp.* (83). Archilochus too mentions it. *Lysimachus* says it is the sphincter muscle. *Erotian*.)

<sup>1</sup> I do not believe in the form *βέκος* in *Hdt.* ii. 2, in view of the ms. discrepancies and *Aristophanes*' *βεκκεσέληνος*. Why *βέκος* *Κυπρίων*, not *Κύπριον*, and *Ἀμαθουσίων* not *-ιον*? And why should a Greek in Lydian territory use a Phrygian word of a Cyprian produce? *λέκος* removes these difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> Or simply 'have fallen out.' Teeth are thus said *κινεῖσθαι* in the medical writers: *Areteaus*, p. 17 *Kuehn*.

## HIPPONAX

84<sup>2 4 inc.</sup> [ἀ] π <έλ>λα γὰρ τρυγὸς γλυκεΐης ἦν ἔτικτεν  
ἀνθηδών.

(*Et. Gud.* 57. 33 ἀνθηδών· ἡ μέλισσα παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἀνθη  
ἔ[ν]δειν (so *Et. Gen.*) ἐν αὐτῇ (Ἴππ. ἐν πρώτῃ Wilam.) (84).)

[85<sup>8 1</sup><sub>5 7</sub> στέφανον εἶχον κοκκυμήλων . . . καὶ  
μίνθης]

(*Ath.* ii. 49 e ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείστον ἐν τῇ τῶν Δαμασκηῶν ἐστὶ χώρα  
τὸ κοκκύμηλον καλούμενον . . . ἰδίως καλεῖται τὸ ἀκρόδρον  
Δαμασκηόν. . . κοκκύμηλα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα· ὧν ἄλλος  
τε μέμνηται καὶ Ἴππ. (85).)

86<sup>1 2 0</sup> καὶ Διὸς κούρ<α>ς Κυβή<β>η<ν> καὶ  
Θρ<ε>ϊκίην Βενδῖν

(*Hesych.* Κυβήβη· ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν . . . παρ' ὃ καὶ Ἴππ.  
φησι (86)· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄρτεμιν.)

(*Inc.* 8) διὰ ἰδέρηντ ἔκοψε μέσσην καδ δὲ λῶπος  
ἐσχίσθη.

86 *Cod.* κούρος, -ηκη, -ικη : corr. Schmidt.

*Inc.* 8 I include here for convenience. It is attributed to Anacreon by writers on Homer, P 542. It is difficult to believe that Anacreon wrote scasons, but it is far more probable that we should read ἔσχισεν than attribute to Hipponax or Aeschriion. δέρην is impossible for Hipp. or Anacreon, hence read δὲ ῥίν(a).

FRAGMENTS 84-86

84 A pail there was of honey sweet born of the  
flower-eater.<sup>1</sup>

(‘Flower-eater’: the bee because it sucks from the  
flowers. (Hipp.) Book I. (84). *Etymologicum Gudianum.*)

85 A garland wore of damson flower, and mint [full  
sweet smelling]<sup>2</sup>

(Since the ‘damson’ . . . grows in profusion in the  
Damascene district . . . the fruit is specially named  
‘damascene.’ Hipp. among others mentions it (85).  
*Athenaeus.*)

86 Daughters of Zeus Cybebe hight and Thracian  
Bendis

(‘Cybebe’: the mother of the Gods. . . Whence Hipp.  
has (86). Others identify her with Artemis. *Hesychius.*)

(Inc. 8) Clave through the middle of his (nose) and  
rent was his mantle.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fragment has been allotted to Aeschion on the  
ground of the pedantic word. But I find the diction no  
more tasteless than that (*e.g.*) of *fr.* 15. *πέλλα*: so Bgk.

<sup>2</sup> In English damson is of course derived from damascene.  
The Greek words differ. I have given the verse in the only  
form in which it approaches metre: it is still irregular and  
probably the attribution is mistaken. In Ionic tetrameters  
separate words cannot form the first two feet, and *εἰχῶν*  
is improbable. See however *Journal Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1927,  
p. 46. Perhaps read *στέφεια μὲν . . . . -λα καὶ μίνθην.*

<sup>3</sup> *Inc.* 8 is really a plain tetrameter ‘and rent his mantle  
wide.’

## HIPPONAX

- 87\* (Anan. 4) καί σε πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐγὼ φιλέω μάλιστα ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην.  
 (Ath. 370 b μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νικάνδρος . . . (see on 18): καὶ  
 Ἀνάγιος δὲ φησι (87\*.)
- (Inc. 9) καὶ σαῦλα βαίνειεις ἵππος ὡς κορωνίτης  
 (E.M. 270. 45 διασα λούμενος· παρὰ τὸν σαῦλον, τὸν  
 τρυφερὸν καὶ ἀβρόν. Σιμωνίδης ἐν Ἰάμβοις (Inc. 9).)
- (Inc. 10) ὥσπερ ἔγγελος κατὰ γλοιοῦ  
 (Ath. vii. 299 c Σιμωνίδης δ' ἐν Ἰάμβοις (Inc. 10).)

## HEXAMETERS

- 89<sup>8 5</sup><sub>2 7</sub> Μοῦσά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδε <ω> τὴν π<α>ντο-  
 χάρυβδι  
 τὴν ἐγγαστριμάχαιραν, ὅσ' ἐσθίει οὐ κατὰ  
 κόσμον,  
 ἔννεφ' ὅπως ψηφίδι κακ<ή> κακὸν οἶτον ὄληται  
 βουλῇ δημοσίῃ παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτιοι.  
 (Ath. xv. 698 b Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον  
 περὶ τῶν τὰς παρωδίας γεγραφότων ἱστορῶν τάδε γράφει . . .  
 εὐρετὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους Ἰππώνακτα φατέον τὸν ἰαμποποιόν.  
 λέγει γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἑξαμέτροις (89). Hesych. ἐγγαστριμάχαι-  
 ραν· τὴν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ κατατέμνουσαν.)

87\* Metre forbids us to accept the attribution to Ananius. I suspect a dislocation in Ath.'s text or a misunderstanding of Lysanias. As the rhythm of the first verse is unparalleled in early Ionic writers, it may belong to Herodes.

Inc. 10 ὥσπερ γὰρ Α.

89. 1 εὐρυμεδοντιαδεα: corr. Wilam. παντοχ.: corr. Bgk. ?  
 2 ὅς: corr. Kal. 3 κακη (om. tres codd.): corr. quis? ἔννεπ'  
 inepte recentiores.

<sup>1</sup> If by Hipp. this must be satirical—'I swear on nothing.' But the metre is late and the author more probably Phoenix or Herodes. Ananius avoided all choliambi but those which ended with four long syllables.

## FRAGMENTS 87-89

87\*

Beyond all men

I love thee most I swear by this cabbage.<sup>1</sup>

(Perhaps Nicander (. . . see on 18): and Ananias says (87). *Athenaeus*.)

(*Inc.* 9) And treadest proudly like a horse arch-necked

(“Proudifying”: from proud=luxuriant, dainty. Simonides in his Iambi (*Inc.* 9). *Etymologicum Magnum*.)

(*Inc.* 10) Like eel on oil-scrapings<sup>2</sup>

(Simonides in his Iambi (*Inc.* 10). *Athenaeus*.)

## HEXAMETERS

89 Eurymedontiades his wife with knife in her belly,<sup>3</sup>

Gulf of all food, sing Muse, and of all her disorderly eating:

Sing that by public vote at the side of th’ unharvested ocean

Pebbled with stones she may die, an evil death to the evil.

(Polemon in his twelfth book of Criticisms of Timaeus dealing with parodists writes as follows: Boeotus and Euboeus . . . surpassed their predecessors. But the actual inventor of this class of poetry we must admit to have been Hipp. the writer of (chol)iambics. In his hexameters he says (89). *Athenaeus*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Inc.* 8, 9 and 10 are included here for convenience. Their true authorship is uncertain and their resemblance to Choliambi perhaps fortuitous. ὤσπερ (10) is probably unsound for the old Ionic. Aeschryon and Simonides are confused (6).

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 1 That is she bolts her food without slicing it: Hesychius’ explanation appears to be very much abbreviated and is as hard as the original.

## HIPPONAX

90<sup>8 6</sup><sub>7 8</sub>

τί με σκιδράφοισ' ἀτιτάλλεις;

(Eust. *Od.* 1397. 26 . . . 'Αθηναῖοις οἱ καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀθροισόμενοι ἐκύβενον καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τῆς Σκιδράδος 'Αθηναῖς τῷ ἐπὶ Σκίρφ. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κυβεντήρια σκιδράφεια ὠνομάζετο. ἐξ ὧν καὶ πάντα τὰ πανουργήματα διὰ τὴν ἐν σκιδραφείοις ῥαδιουργίαν σκιδράφοι ἐκαλοῦντο· Ἴππ. (90).)

91<sup>8 7</sup><sub>7 7</sub> πῶς παρὰ Κυψοῦν ἦλθε

(*Gramm. Hort. Adonid.* p. 268<sup>a</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες . . . Σαπφοῦ καὶ Λητοῦν . . . ὁμοίως καὶ παρὰ Ἴππώνακτι (91).)

91 *Kyphoun* is unlikely in an Homeric imitation: read with Bergk (?) κῶς παρ Καλυψοῦν ἦλθε.

## PAPYRUS FRAGMENT

92      ηὔδα δὲ λυδίζουσα β(ασγ)[ικορλαζε·  
 πυγιστὶ τὸν πυγεῶνα παρ[,  
 καί μοι τὸν ὄρχιν, τῇ σφαλ[ε  
 κ]ράδη συνηλοίησεν ὥσ<τε> [φαρμάκω,  
 ἐ](ν τ)οῖς διοζίοισιν ἐμπε(δ)[ωθέντι.      5  
 καὶ δὴ δυοῖσιν ἐν πόνοισ[ιν  
 ἦ τε κράδη με τοῦτέρωθ[εν  
 ἄνωθεν ἐμπίπτουσα· κ[ῶ  
 π(αρα)ψιδάζων βολβίτω [      ·  
 ὦζεν δὲ λαύρη· κάνθαρο[ι δὲ      10  
 ἦλθον κατ' ὄσμην πλεῦν[εσ  
 τῶν οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτοντε[ς  
 κατέβαλον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὀδό[ντας ὠξυνον·  
 οἱ δ' ἐμπέσοντες τὰθυ(ρ)ά[τγτματ' ἔγρανον  
 τοῦ Πυγέλησι [      15

(For all notes see p. 65.)

## FRAGMENTS 90-92

### 90 Why cozenest me with thy dicings? <sup>1</sup>

(. . . the Athenians who even used to assemble in temples to play dice and most of all in that of Athene Sciras in the quarter Sciron. Hence all other dicing-places were called *σκιραφεία*. Hence too rogueries in general were called *σκιραφοί* ‘dicings’ on account of the cheating that went on in the dicing-places. Hipp. (90). *Eustathius* on *Homer’s Odyssey*.)

### 91 How unto Kypso came he

(The Ionians . . . formed the accusative of Sappho and Leto in -oun. . . . So in Hipponax <you get Kypsoun> (91). A Grammarian in the *Horn of Amalthea and Gardens of Adonis*, *Aldine* ed. p. 268 verso.)

<sup>1</sup> ‘In the quarter Sciron.’ So clearly Eust. took it: the derivation of Sciras is disputed.

## PAPYRUS FRAGMENT

92 Then spoke she foreign wise : [Venez plus vite ;  
Hereafter I will pluck your foul anus ;  
Then with a bough [where tripped I lay kicking],  
Battered my . . . s as though I were scapegoat,  
Emprisoned fast in place where twain planks split.  
Yes, truly was I [caught] in two evils ;            6  
On one side fell the rod above on me,  
[To my sore pain : below upon th’ other]  
Befouled my . . . dripped with fresh cow-dung.  
Then stank the midden ; [numberless] beetles 10  
Came at the stench [like flies in midsummer].  
Whereof some shoved away as they fell on  
[Perforce their neighbour] ; some their teeth  
whetted ;  
Some, that had fallen, first devoured th’ ordure.  
More than Pygelean woes did I suffer.            15

COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF FRAGMENTS  
OF HIPPONAX IN BERGK, *P.L.G.* AND THIS  
EDITION

Bgk.	Knox	Bgk.	Knox	Bgk.	Knox
1	44 and 45	32	65	64	71
2	46	33	1	65	32
3	43	34	16	66	30
4	47	35	75	67	31
5	48	36	17	68 <sub>A</sub>	34
6	49	37	18	68 <sub>B</sub>	35
7	50	38	4	69	36
8	51	39	5	70 <sub>A</sub>	37
9	52	40	6	70 <sub>B</sub>	38
10	10	41	7	71	39
11	2 Inc. (Introd.)	42	66	72	See p. 5
12	8	43	67	73	72
13	2 Inc.	44	Inc. 4	74	69
14	53	45	33	75	Herodas v. 74
15	54	46	19	76	77
16	57	47	20	78	Inc. 5 Introd.
17	56	48	Inc. 3	79	79
18	59	49	68	80	80
19	60	50	21	81	85
20	61	51	70	82	81
21	See 57	52	22	83	78
22 <sub>A</sub>	11	53	23	84	83
22 <sub>B</sub>	12	54	24	85	89
23	14	55 <sub>A</sub>	25	86	90
24 (inc.)	84	55 <sub>B</sub>	73	87	91
25	om.	56	26	88	40
26	15	57	27	89 and 91-99	om
27	om.	58	28	90	See p. 2
28	Inc. 6	59	29	100	42 <sub>A</sub>
29	Inc. 7	60	55	109	42 <sub>B</sub>
30 <sub>A</sub>	62	61	74	120	86
30 <sub>B</sub>	63	62	82	127	42
31	64	63	9		

NOTE.—So profuse is Hesychius in glosses from Hipponax that I venture to suggest that some of the following anonymous citations may belong to him. Some I have included as illustrations in what *might* be their approximate contexts. In addition most of the Hesychian glosses referred in German texts to Herodes are more probably due to his original.

Words in *ιβυ-*, various Lydian glosses, *ἀρναν* and other



## FRAGMENTS AND NEW DISCOVERIES

Clazomenian glosses, Schmidt *s.v.* αὐριβάτας (Lyd. adv.), λουταρίζημα, μασίγδουπον | βασιλέα, Νεαίρησιν | ἵπποις, ὀδώδυσται, ὀμπνίη δαιτί, †ὀπωφάται†, Πέρδικος καπηλεῖον, τοιχοδιφήτωρ, τίεσκε μύθος, Τοξίου βουνός and *e.g.* τομεύουσι, χατεύουσα, φραδεύουσι.

To complete list of addenda to Bergk's edition, I give the following fragment (Diehl addenda): Inscr. Ostrak. Berolin. 12605 ὤρος' ἐνιαυτός . . . . Ἰππώνακτος'

πονηρὸς [ ]οι πάντας

'Ασωποδώρον παῖδα κ[ ]

apparently with the sense 'wicked for all his years beyond the son of Asopodorus.'

Of certain fragments given by Bergk we may guess at metre in *fr.* 133 κύων λιμῶ | σαρκῶν, a dog gnawing In hunger, and *fr.* 110, 111 ἡ βορβορώπις κάνασυστόλις πόρνη, which I do not translate.

Fragment 92 was found at Oxyrrhyncus. Ed. pr. *Rivista di Fil. Class.* 1928, pp. 500 *sqq.* by G. Coppola].

I ζι corr. from ξι P. 6 καιδῆ ex καινη. 8 πίπτ ex πειπτ P. Iotas subscr. om P exc. βολβίτω (9). Accents, etc., at 2 πυγεῶνα, 3 καί, 4 ηλοίη, 7 ἡ and τοῦτέρ, 8 ἐμπίπτουσα'κ, 9 ἀζων, 10 λαύρη, 11 κατ' and πλευν, 13 ον'οιδε, 14 οιδ', 15 πυγέλησι, and perhaps 10 ὤζεν. Supplements v. 1 Vogliano and Lobel, v. 4 Coppola (corr. E. Lobel from ὠσπ[ερ], v. 5 (init.) Co., v. 10 Lobel, 11, 12, and 13 (ὀδόντας) Co., v. 4 . . ]ποις Co., vv. 3, 5, 8, 13, 14 (ἔγρ. vel ἔχναυον) supplevi.

I translate v. 2 -is ἐλάκτιζον, v. 6 ἡγρέυμην, v. 7 ἡλγυεν, v. 9 κατησχίνθη, v. 10 τῶριθμῶ, v. 11 ἡ θέρεος μύϊαι (following Co.), v. 12 ἐκ βίης ἄλλους. Only a few letters of the three next verses remain. In vv. 2 and 9 the sense is highly controversial. I translate παρτιλῶ σ' αὐθις and φαλῆς καινῶ (vereor ne σπέρμα legendum sit). τὰ διόξια sunt sedes (planks) τῆς λαύρης in quibus Hipponactem aut fraude (*Decameron*, ii. 5) aut casu captum et pronum jacentem Arete spe frustrata tamquam cinaedum (Petron. ch. 138) et impotentem (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, x. 250) contumelia punit. Nescio an cantharorum dapes et titillationes pro-viderit mulier. βολβ. de stercore bovino tantum dici potest. In λαύρη ('midden') excrementa omniis generis coacervantur. Pro ἀθυράγματα vid. Hesych. θυραγμ- (extra ordinem): ἀφοδεύματα.

## ANANIUS

1<sup>1</sup> Ἄπολλον ὄς <κ>ου Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις,  
 ἢ Νάξον ἢ Μίλητον ἢ θεί<η>ν Κλάρων,  
 ἱκ<ε>υ κα<τ>' ἱ[ε]ρά· τῆ† Σκύθας ἀ<π>ιξέαι.

(*Ar. Ran.* 659 Dionys. (1. 1). Xanth. ἤλγησεν· οὐκ ἤκουσας ;  
 Di. οὐκ ἔγωγ' ἐπεὶ Ἰαμβον Ἰππῶνακτος ἀνεμμνήσκομεν. Schol.  
 Ἰαμβον Ἰππ. ὡς ἀλγήσας καὶ συγκεχυμένος οὐκ οἶδε τί λέγει·  
 ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἰππ. ἀλλ' Ἄνανιου. ἐπιφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἄνανίας αὐτῷ  
 (1. 2, 3).)

2<sup>2</sup> χρυσοῦν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τᾶλλα.

(*Heraclid. Pont.* (Ath. xiv. 625 c) οὗτός ἐστι Πύθερμος οὗ  
 μνημονεύει Ἄνανιος ἢ Ἰππῶναξ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις †ἐν ἄλλω†  
 οὕτως (2).)

1 πον, θείαν, ἱκον, καθ', ἱερά, ἀφιξ- : corr. Meineke. 3 for  
 ἢ read καὶ, the usual error, 'and then you may return  
 home,' or better τί . . . ;

2 ? χρυσοῦ. On the score of metre Ananius must be the  
 author. Note that Athenaeus quotes at second hand.

<sup>1</sup> The subject seems to be clear. It is an appeal to Apollo who had a tendency to wander to the north. Himerius (*Or.* xiv. 10) tells us (from Alcaeus) how on his birth A. was sent on his swan-car to Delphi by Zeus to give law to the Greeks. He immediately turned his team to the Hyper-  
 396

## ANANIUS

1 Apollo, now at Delos, Pytho town,  
Naxos, Miletus, or Claros divine,  
First to our rites: why Scythiaward must hie? <sup>1</sup>

(*Dionysus* (1. 1). *Xanthias*. It hurt. Didn't you hear?  
*Dionysus*. Not it indeed: a verse of Hipponax I hunted  
for. *Aristophanes, Frogs*, 659. 'Hipponax': this is said  
in his pain and confusion inaccurately, since the verse is  
not by Hipp. but by Ananius. The next verses are (2, 3).  
*Commentator* on this passage.)

2 Aught else but gold is naught, saith Pythermus.

(This is the Pythermus whom Ananius or Hipponax  
mentions in his iambs †. . . †<sup>2</sup> as follows (2). *Heraclides*  
*Ponticus* quoted by *Athenaeus*.)

boreans. He spent a year there before bidding his swans  
return (ἐξ Ἑπταβόρων ἐπίπτασθαι). See Wernsdorf *ad loc.*,  
J. U. Powell on Simias *fr.* 1 (*Collectanea Alexandrina*,  
p. 111). Clearly the address is not that made on this  
occasion but merely alludes to Apollo's migratory habits.

<sup>2</sup> († . . . †) perhaps ἐν ἀδῆλῳ βιβλίῳ, 'I cannot say in which  
book.

## ANANIUS

3<sup>3</sup> εἴ τις καθείρξει χρυσὸν ἐν δόμοις ἱπολύντ  
καὶ σῦκα βαιὰ καὶ δὺ' ἢ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους  
γνοίη <κ>όσον τὰ σῦκα τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρέσσω.

(Ath. iii. 78 d ὅτι δὲ πάντων τῶν καλουμένων ξυλίνων καρπῶν  
ὠφελιμώτερά ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ σῦκα . . . (f) καὶ Ἀνάγιος  
δ' ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς ἔφη (3). Stob. iv. 33 Ἰππώνακτος (3).)

4<sup>4</sup> = Hipp. 87.

5<sup>5</sup> ἔαρι μὲν χρομίος ἄριστος, ἀνθί<κ>ης δ' ἐ<κ>  
χειμῶνι,  
τῶν καλῶν δ' ὄψων ἄριστον καρὶς ἐκ συκῆς  
φύλλου,  
ἠδὺ δ' ἐσθίειν χιμαίρης φθινοπωρισμῶ  
κρε<ῖ>ας,  
δέλφακος δ' ὅταν τραπ<έ>ωσι καὶ πατέωσιν  
ἐσθίειν.  
καὶ κυνῶν αὕτη τό<τ>' ὦρη καὶ λαγῶν  
κάλωπέκων. 5  
οἷος αὐτ' ὄ[ε]ταν θέρος τ' ἢ κηχέται βαβρά-  
ζωσιν.  
εἶτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης θύννος οὐ τκακόντ  
βρῶμα,  
ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἰχθυέουσιν ἐμπρεπῆς ἐν μυ<σσ>ωτῶ.

3. 1 -ξει codd. πολλὸν edd. But it is doubtful if  
Ananius ever used the verse-ending — — — and the right  
reading might be e.g. ἄλις. δόμοις is not Ionic: δόμοισ' is.  
3 γνόη σχάσσοντας Stob.: γνοίη χ' ὄσφ Ath. Both writers  
(see on Hipp. 75) draw ultimately, I fancy, from Lysanias  
on the Choliambists. This book probably contained a parallel  
quotation from Hipp.

5. 1 -ίας: corr. Schn. 2 (Cas.) ἐν . . . φύλλοις. ὄψων  
absent in some codd. 3 χιμέρης: corr. Heringa. 5 αὐ τῆμος

FRAGMENTS 3-5

3 Should any in a room enclose much gold  
 And a few figs and two or three mortals,  
 He'd learn that figs than gold are far better.

(That figs are more useful than all so-called orchard fruits . . . Ananius the iambist says (3). *Athenaeus*. Also quoted by *Stobaeus* the anthologist in his *Comparison of Wealth and Poverty*.)

4 See Hippon. 87.

5 For best in spring the salmon<sup>1</sup> is, in winter the  
 mack'rel<sup>1</sup>;

And best of dainties is the prawn that peeps from  
 green fig-leaves,

And sweet in autumn 'tis to eat the flesh of a  
 young kid,

And sweet to eat the flesh of pigs the autumn  
 grapes treading.

This is the time to eat of whelps, of hares and  
 of foxes.<sup>2</sup> 5

But mutton eat when summer comes and grass-  
 hoppers chatter.

And then the tunny from the sea no paltry food  
 renders,

But set in cheese-cake shineth out among other  
 fishes.

<sup>1</sup> 'Salmon,' really umber: see Isaac Walton, *Compleat Angler* ch. vi. I avoid the familiar English "grayling," since the date does not fit. *Our* mackerel is most pleasantly caught in August (in a light wind, sails reefed) off the Devon coast and eaten within an hour or two, but it keeps ill in summer. <sup>2</sup> See Casaubon.

---

Meineke is prob. right: τῶθ' codd. 6 οἶος: expl. Casaubon. αὐτοεταν: corr. Heringa. 7 ? for κακὸν—e.g. δειλὸν. 8 ἐμπρεπεῖς v.l. μῦττ.: corr. Bgk. ?

## ANANIUS

βοῦς δὲ πιανθείς, δοκέω μὲν, καὶ μεσέων  
νυκτῶν ἡδὺς  
κήμερης. 10

(Ath. vii. p. 282 b ἀνθίας· κάλλιχθους. τούτου μέμνηται Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμψ (fr. 58 Kb.) καὶ σκιφίας χρομῖς θ' ὅς ἐν τῷ ἦρι καττὸν Ἀνάσιον ἰχθύων πάντων ἄριστος ἀνθίας δὲ χείματι. λέγει δὲ Ἄν. οὕτως (5).)

## FRAGMENT 5

A fattened ox, I ween, is sweet o' day and at  
midnight.<sup>1</sup>

(‘Anthias’: beauty-fish. Mentioned by *Epicharmus* in his *Marriage of Hebe*: ‘The sword-fish and the chromis which in spring Ananius says Is best of fish, as winter brings the beauty-fish the best.’ Ananius’ words are (5). *Athenaeus*.)

<sup>1</sup> One would have expected the sense ‘when day and night are equal.’





CERCIDAS  
MELIAMBS, FRAGMENTS, AND  
CERCIDEA



## INTRODUCTION

THE papyrus of Cercidas is in the British Museum. For a description see the *editio princeps* (A. S. Hunt, *P. Oxy.* viii. 1082). Latest edition in *Coll. Alex.* (J. U. Powell), p. 203. See also Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica*, iii. 305. For recent work on the papyrus see articles by the present writer in *C.R.* xxxviii-xxxix. There are still a large number of small isolated fragments: but there is no reason to believe that they were all once contiguous (Hunt). The general character of the metre was pointed out by P. Maas and von Arnim. For references to periodicals see *Milne Catalogue* 59, p. 45 (where read 1138 for 1158).

I

col. i	]ε γὰρ ο[.]ξεν.ς εἰδέμεν	1
	]νετοι[. . .] ἀδ' ἐπ' εἰλαπι-	
	]αιρω(ν)[. . . β]λεννο(το)ι(σ)υ-	
	πηρί](δ)ας ἀλ[. . . .]νσω καὶ δο-	
	]νν[. . . .] . . . . .	5
	]ρ τον λαμβα[ν ]	
	]μι τοῦτο· (ν)[ ]	
	<sup>εκτε</sup>	
	]συντελῆς τ[ ]	
	]φέρει καὶ γ(α)[ ]	
	]ως μὴ λεγο[ ]	10
	]ελθε· (δω).[ ]	
	](ν)εσυμ[. . .]ηνα· καιτ[ ]	12
	](ο)μιζ[. . .]υτευση[ ]	
	]μ[. . . .]αρ μοι το[ ]	
	]ατα .[. . .]. αλαιος [ ]	15
	]ινο[. . .]τεων· ὦ[ ]	
	] <sup>(νμ)</sup> των α(ὐτῶ)ν ἄ λαβοῦ[σα ]	
	]Ζεὺς κοιραν[ ]	
	(σ). ορειν παρεστιν ε[ ]	

Col. i. 1. The placing of ξεν is doubtful: nor can we be certain how many letters are missing at the beginning of the lines. εἰδέμεν P. 3. λέννο(τ)οί(σ)υ P (marked as (part of) one word). τ(ο)ι not τει (Lobel, Bell): (σ) me

I

Col. i

. . . but little in feasting 2  
 This man delighteth  
 Child of oily-ragged clothes . . .

. . . how  
 If Zeus be master 18  
 Never fair result we see?

---

judice, (possible) Bell : βλενονοτ = βλενονο-νοτ-οισυπ- [ . . . .  
 7. τὸυτο P.      8. as above P.      11. ελθε· P.      12. ηνα·  
 P.      16. so P.

## CERCIDAS

col. ii	κα[. . . . . γ]ὰρ ὁ	
	σχ(ε)[. . . . . ἀλ]λά	
	τι(λλ)	
	τα(η)[. . . . . ]εν	
	τ' ὄυ[. . . . . ](γ)ας	
	καιτ[. . . . . ]	5
	μυε[. . . . . ]ν	
	πιδ[. . . . . ]	7
	. . . . . ]α	
<i>fr.</i> 9	]η πολιο[	? 7
	]ινακολα[	? 8
	]λεων πυκιν[	? 9
	]χουσι γήρα δ[	? 10
	ο]υκέτι πάνθ' ὦ[	? 11
	]σάπ.[	? 12
	marg. σπ]ανιοψιάδα	12
	]τος	13
	]καὶ σπυροὶ οἱ πυροὶ	14

Col. ii. 1. *kā* P (*e.g.* καλόν).      3, 4. *ita* P.      3. *superscr.*?  
*τι(ν)*.      10. (?) ]χου σιγηροὶ H.      12. *schol. suppl.*  
 Wilamowitz. Perhaps we have (*fr.* 26) the ends of some

# MELIAMB I

Col. ii (?)

Fragment 7 (? = 25 *fr.* H. : see crit. n.).

So it appears to me that our 'pot friend' Ulpian, as my Cercidas of Megalopolis says, watches his fellow guests to see if they have overlooked a fish-bone or lumpy piece of gristle in their food before them (Athenaeus).

' Child of but frugal repasts '

---

verses (about 12-14) (δυσ)παλεστωι.[/(ι)λον ξνθα/(κι)s καθιζε[ : also below this and just above κ.λ. *fr.* 25 αλ](λ)ους ακα[/]ω παλι . [/]εσσοσι . . . ]/. . . (κελευ). This fragment suggests a loose citation in Ath. viii. 347 e οὔτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ λεβητοχάρων Οὐλπιανός, κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Κερκίδα, (. . . .) τηρεῖν (. . .) τοὺς ἐσθίοντας εἰ παρέϊδον ἢ ἌΚΑνθαν ἢ τῶν τραγανῶν <τι> [ῆ] χονδρῶδες τῶν παρατεθέντων, which agrees well enough with the margination just above it. In this case *fr.* 26 probably belongs elsewhere, since it is hard to bring this in line with the notes. (λ)ους ακα [. . .] would be 14 fin., (κελευ) [. . .] 17 fin., μέχρι 18 fin., γερπε[ 20 fin., καὶ τῶν 22 fin., and λάρον 23 fin. It is not possible to read σπ(ῦ)ριδια in *fr.* 32 nor to place it by the lowest note.

# CERCIDAS

## II

.....]κ.λ.[  
 .....] μέχρι  
 .....](β)ριδιατριβα<sup>ω</sup>[  
 .....] γερπε[  
 .....  
 col. ii. .... εις [..]κ' αὐτῶν  
 fin. .... ὀ]λβοθύλακον  
 col. iii. λαρόν | τε καὶ ἀκρασίωνα  
 θῆκε πενητ(υλίδ)αν  
 Ξένωνα, ποτάγαγε δ' ἀμίν | 5  
 ἄργυρον <τὸν >  
 <εἰς ἀνόνατα> ῥέοντα; |  
 κα[ί] τί τὸ κώλυον ἦς  
 αἶ τι<ς> σφ' ἔρο[ι]το,  
 (ῥεῖα γάρ ἐστι θεῶ  
 πᾶν ἐκτελέσ<σ>αι  
 χρῆμ' | τόκκ' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔητ),  
 ἢ τ[ὸ]ν ῥυποκιβδοτόκωνα | 10  
 καὶ τεθνακοχαλκίδαν |,  
 ἢ τὸν παλινεκχυμενίταν  
 τῶν κτεάνων <ὄ>λεθρον |,  
 τοῦτον κενῶσαι  
 τᾶς συοπλουτοσύνας, |

ante 1. ? ἀ]βρίδια, γ' ἔρπε., (ερίδια H.). 1. εἰσόκ':  
*cf.* μέχρι *supra*. 2. ταγόν (*e.g.*). Up to this point  
 I have not attempted to place the words in metrical  
 setting. Between γερπε and εισοκ' might be two—three



## II

. . . . .  
 Chose out that greedy  
     Cormorant, of wealthy purse,  
 And child of licentiousness, Xeno,  
     Turn him to poverty's child,  
 And gave unto us <who deserve it><sup>1</sup> 5  
     Rivers of silver that now  
 Are wasted on profitless uses?  
     What should there be to prevent  
 —Ask God the question,  
     Since it is easy for him,  
 Whate'er he fancy,  
     Sure execution to find—, 10  
 10 If one be the ruin of money,  
     Pouring out whate'er he has,  
 Or usurer dross-stain-begrimed,  
     Ready to perish for gold,  
 That God should drain him,  
     Void of his swine-befouled wealth,

<sup>1</sup> The lacuna may have been ἀργυρον τὸν αὐτόθεν νῦν.

---

verses (or half-verses). (The numeration at the side is that of J. U. Powell, *Coll. Alex.*; the vertical lines mark the lines of the ed. pr.) On Ξένωνα is a note ἀκρατῆς [ὁ Ξένων καὶ ἀπο]γνώστός τις καὶ (πι)(κ)ρός (supplevi post Hunt), and on ii fin. ἀ(πό)λαυο(ν) (?). 3. ἀκρασίωνα P. 5. ξένωνα ποταγαγε δ' P. 7. ερωιτο P. σ om. P: correxit H. αι ex ει P. sqq. ἴδαν, τταν P. 8. τελεσαι P: corr. A(rnim). 9. μ' ἔκ. P. e.g. ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔκ' ἔη A. 13. for τῶν perhaps read τὸν with M(aas). πλεθρον but ολεθρον in margin. 14. -σύνασδομενδ' P.

CERCIDAS

δόμεν δ' ἐπιταδεοτρῶκτα 15  
 κοινοκρατηροσκούφῳ |  
 τὰν ὀλλυμέναν δαπάνυλλαν; |  
 μήπο<κ>' οὖν ὁ τὰς Δίκας  
 ὀφθαλμὸς ἀπεσπαλάκωται, |  
 χῶ Φαέθων μονάδι 20  
 γλήνα παραυγεῖ, |  
 (κ)αὶ Θέμις ἅ λιπαρὰ  
 καταχλύωται; |  
 πῶς ἔτι δαίμονες οὖν  
 τοὶ μήτ' ἀκουὰν  
 μήτ' ὄπα<ς> πεπαμένοι; |  
 καὶ μὰν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς |  
 ἀστεροπαγερέτας 25  
 col. iv. μέσσον τ' <ἀ>ν' Ὀλυμπον [. . . . .t]  
 (ο)ρθον[t. . . . . |  
 [κ](α)ὶ νένευκεν οὐδ(α)μῆ· |  
 καὶ τοῦθ' Ὀμηρος  
 εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι· |  
 ῥέπην, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἄμαρ, 30  
 ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοις τηγῆ |  
 πῶς οὖν ἐμὴν οὐ ποτέρεψεν  
 ὀρθὸς ὦν ζυγοστάτας, |  
 τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρύγια Μυσῶν— |  
 ἄζομαι δέ θην λέγ<η>ν— 35

15. -τρῶκται· (and so often) P. 16. φωί· 17. δα-  
 πανύλλαν P. 18. μηποτ P. 19. schol. ζῶον δ  
 τύπους μ(έν) ὀφθαλμ(ῶν) ἔχει, ὀφθαλμο(ὺ)ς δ' ο(ὐ), (οὐ)δ(έ) βλ[έ]πει  
 (ita Mn.). 20. χῶ, φαεθων, μονάδι, P. schol.  
 ἐνὶ ὀφθαλμῷ π(αρα)βλέπει. 21. αἰ· πως P. schol.  
 ἐπεσκότισ[τ]αι. 22. ὄντοιμη P, but ονομοιμη in margin.  
 23. σπαν P. 25. Delirant Powell, Wilamowitz, alii

15	And give to one frugally feeding,	15
	Dipping cup at common bowl,	
	The cash that is wasted on trifles ?	
	Is the eye of Justice then	
	Beshrunk that a mole might outsee her ?	
	Phaethon, too, doth he squint	20
	With single pupil ?	
	Themis the bright—doth a mist	
	Bedim her vision ?	
	How can man hold them for gods	
	That neither hearken,	
	Nor have any eyes to see ?	
	Yet say they the gath'rer of lightning	
	Mighty monarch holds the scales	25
	Aloft in the midst of Olympus,	
	Nodding not a moment's space.	
	E'en so doth Homer <sup>1</sup>	
	Set in his <i>Iliad</i> down :—	
	' By fate to the mighty of valour	
	Sinks the balance of the day.'	
	Why then doth the balancer even	
	Never unto me incline ?	30
	But Brygians, <sup>2</sup> farthest of mortals,—	
	Clearer words I dare not say—	35

<sup>1</sup> θ 72.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the Macedonians.

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Homerici στεροπηγερέτα immemores. 26. τον P: correxi. Between Ὀλυμπον and ἔρθον 5-11 letters missing: I suggest *metri gratia* ἀνορθοῖ glossed ἀνὰ τὸ ἔρθον ἔχει. 27. suppl. H. 30-31. ρεπειδ P: -ειν A. †ην† del. A.: fuit verborum ρεπειδ correctio (cf. H. praef. 24-5): ῥέπειν G. Murray: terminationes huiusmodi tacite (<η>ν) mutavi. 32. εμεν is corrected into εμιν in P. 34. φρυγία P, while εσχάτᾱ has an accent on ε cancelled: the truth is given in the margin. 35. ἄζομαι P.

CERCIDAS

ὅσον [κατά]γει τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς |  
 τῷ Διὸς πλα[στ]ίγγιον. |  
 ποίους ἐπ' ἀνάκτορας οὖν τις |  
 ἢ τίνας οὐρανίδας  
 κιὼν ἀνεύροι |  
 πῶς λάβη τὰν ἀξίαν, 40  
 ὅθ' ὁ Κρονίδας, ὁ φυτεύσας |  
 πάντας ἀμὲ καὶ τεκῶν, |  
 τῶν μὲν πατρῶός,  
 τῶν δὲ πέφανε πατήρ; |  
 λῶον μεθέμεν περὶ τούτων  
 τοῖς μετεωροκόποις· | 45  
 τούτους γὰρ ἔ(ρ)γον  
 οὐ<δὲ> ἐν ἔλπομ' ἔχην· |  
 ἀμὴν δὲ Παιάν  
 καὶ τὰγαθὰ Μετά[δως μελέτωτ, |  
 —θεὸς γὰρ αὐτα—  
 καὶ Νέμεσις κατὰ (γ)ᾶν;  
 μέσφ' οὖν ὁ δαίμων |  
 οὔρια φυσιάει  
 τιμ<ῆ>τε ταύταν 50  
 col. v. φῶ(τ)[εσ]. ἐ(λα)[  
 κα]ταιξ  
 ἀντε(π)[

36. *supplevi.* 37. *suppl. H.* stop after πλα[. .]ίγγιον.

39. *ευρη. P.* 40. *πῶσλ P.* 41. *ὅθ P.* 42. *ἀμε P.*  
 43. *πατρῶος P:* cited from Cercidas by Poll. iii. 27 as less

How far they pull down in their favour  
 Zeus' scales of equity !  
 What lords them that lord it above us,  
 Whom then of Uranos' sons  
 May any seeking  
 Merit's retribution find, 40  
 When the offspring of Kronos, our parent  
 Who begat us one and all,  
 Some men as father,  
 Others as stepfather know ?  
 Fit talk for astrologers truly ;  
 Let us refer it to them : 45  
 For them to settle  
 It will be slightest of tasks ;  
 To us is Paean  
 Good, and fair-dealing is good—  
 A very goddess—  
 Nemesis too, upon earth :  
 What time the godhead  
 Blows in our favour astern,  
 Hold *her* in honour, 50  
 Mortals : though bravely they fare,  
 A sudden tempest  
 Swooping down from other airt  
 Sinks to perdition

---

correct than ἐπιπάτωρ. 44. ἴλιον P. 45. μετεωροκοποις·  
 is glossed in margin by αστρολογοις. 46. ουθεν P?

corr. Wilam. <sup>η</sup> εχειν· ἀμιν P. 47. ἀγαθὰ secl. Wilam.  
 μεταιδως P: corr. Wilam.; schol. has ἐπει δὲ ἀγαθή, whence  
 it appears that καὶ Μετάδως ἀγαθὰ must have been the read-  
 ing. 48. (γ)αν· P. 50. suppl. H. 51. ]ταίξ supplēvi  
 et correxī: pessime H., cett. με]τάξαντες. 52. αντ(· π)  
 vel (· γ): non fuit (εσ). Cf. e.g. Theod. Presb. *de incarn.*  
*Dom.* p. 245 ἐνθα καὶ ἐτέρας καταγίδος ἀντιπνευσάσης.

]σητον ὄλ[βον  
   ]τύχα(s)·  
 ταῦτ' ε[. . .]μιν  
 νείοθεν ἐξέμέσαι;

55

53. suppl. H. . . 50-55. I translate *ἐλαυνομένως ἄλλος κατὰ* *ἀντέπνευσε ποντιῶν φυσήτον (-ατὸν) ὄλβον χυπεραφανεῖς τύχας*  
*ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ὅς ὑμῖν . . .*; The exact size of the various gaps

## III

Δοιά τις ἄμιν ἔφα  
 γνάθοισι φυσῆν |  
 τὸν κυανοπτέρυγον  
 παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας, |  
 Δαμόνομ' οὔτι (γ)[ἀ]ρ εἶ  
 λίαν ἀπειθῆς· |  
 καὶ βροτῶν [ὄτω] γὰρ ἂν  
 πραεῖα καὶ <πως>  
 εὐμενε|δεξιτέρα  
 πνεύση σιαγών, |  
 οὗτο(s) (ἐν) ἀτρεμία  
 τὰν ναῦν ἔρωτος |

1

5

The new poem is marked by a coronis. It bears no title.

1. schol. *δοι[α ]: διοίτισᾶμιν* P. 3. *Δαμονομ' and*  
*ἀπειθης* P. 4. *βροτων [?]μενανπραιεακαειμενέ[?]δεξιτεραν*  
 416

Puffed-up wealth or fortunes proud :  
 And who can youward 55  
 Vomit them back from the deep ?

---

is uncertain. The meaning of the end is hard to fit: the nautical metaphor is clear from the schol., and the use of ἐξέμεω in Hom. μ 237, 437. On 56 there is a marginal note ἐκ βαθ(έω)[ν. 54. τύχας P. 55. ταυτ' P.

III

Thou, O Damonomus, art  
 Not ill instructed :  
 ' Twain are the blasts ' we are told  
 ' That Aphrodité's  
 Offspring doth breathe from his cheeks,  
 The azure-wingéd.  
 Unto whomsoe'er of men  
 With gentle mildness  
 Kindlily-out-of-the-right  
 His jaw hath breathéd,  
 Tranquil the sea of love,  
 Whereon that mortal

---

with ν cancelled: supplevi et correxi. There is no need (apart from metre) to assume gaps at either point: possibly <δτψ>. [δτψ] Hunt.

CERCIDAS

σώφροσι πηδαλίω  
 πειθοῦς κυβερνή· |  
 τοῖς δὲ τὰν ἀριστερὰν  
 λύσας ἐπόρση |  
 λαίλαπας ἢ λαμυρὰς 10  
 πόθων ἀέλλας, |  
 κυματίας διόλου  
 τούτοις ὁ πορθμός· |  
 εὖ λέγων Εὐριπίδας·  
 τοῦ κάρρον οὖν ἐστὶν  
 δὺ ὄντων |† ἐκλέγ<η>ν  
 τὸν οὐριον ἄμιν ἀήταν |  
 καὶ μετὰ σωφροσύνας 15  
 οἴακι πειθοῦς |  
 χρώμενον εὐθυπλο<η>ν  
 ὄκ' ἢ κατὰ Κύπριν ὁ πορθμός·  
 μῆ[

col. vi.

fr. 13

fr. 53

]α[  
 .....]στω βι[  
 .....]κυβερν[  
 .....]σω δόξα[  
 .....]ν μὲν ἀλλ[  
 .....]καν Ἰκάρω[  
 .....]φ . . . πι[

|νομ[  
 |δαπ[

]καὶ τ[. . . (. . . )  
 ..(. . .) . . . (τ) . (ρ)ηξεί .[  
 ἀ]στρα(π)[. . .] (σ)[. . .](π)λόος·  
 πᾶν γ[ὰρ] τὸ βι[(αι)οπόν]ηρον  
 (κ)αὶ προκοθ[η]λυμαν[ἔς]

10

15

18

18 a

19

20

21



Ruddered by discipline calm  
 His ship directeth.  
 But 'gainst whomsoe'er the boy,  
 His left jaw loosing,  
 Rouseth the storms or the fierce  
 Typhoons of passion,  
 These have their voyages fraught  
 With waves unceasing.'  
 Nobly said, Euripides!  
 Since twain the choice is,  
 Better far it is for us  
 To choose out the wind in our favour,  
 So that with calmness of soul,  
 Where leads the goddess,  
 Voyage we straight on our course  
 And steer us by discipline's tiller.

Icarus . . . .

Lightning besetting his course :            23  
 For all that is violent, wicked,  
 Mad in pursuit of its mate,

---

7. ατρεμία P, and 8. πηδαλιω and κυβερνη' P.            9. ορση  
 quae exempla sufficient.            10. αελλᾶς P.            12. ευρι-  
 πιδας' P.            οὐκοῦν δὲ' ὄντων κάρρον ἐστὶν ἐκλ. recte Maas.  
 14. ἀμυναγταν' και P.            16. ευθυπλοειν ὄκῆ P.            17. πορθμος.  
 P. schol. ἀφροδίσιος.            col. vi. fr. 13 huc certe referen-  
 dum : dubites de columnae lineis. conieceram νομ .. σω/δαπ ..  
 ν/καὶ τόκ' ἀνίκα : sed refragantur vestigia πι/πλ.            Ἴκάρω  
 bene Powell.            21. e.g. τόκα πρὸς ταῦτα ῥηξείν.            ἠξεί P.  
 22. στράπ. P.            ? -ὀβλητος.            23. supplevi.            24. προ-  
 κοθηλ. A.

CERCIDAS

φέρει ταναβλαψιτέλειαν 25  
 (κ)αὶ μεταμελλοδύναν·  
 ἃ δ' ἐξ ἀγορᾶς Ἀφροδίτα,  
 καὶ τὸ μη[δε]νὸς μέλ<η>ν  
 ὀπ[α]νίκα λῆς, ὄκ(α) χρήζης,  
 οὐ φόβος οὐ παραχά· 30  
 τ(α)[ύ]ταν ὀβόλω κατακλίνας  
 Τ[υν]δαρέοιο δόκει  
 γαμβ(ρ).[

τημεν· κο
γα
γα
ρ(ε)

(Stob. *Fl.* lviii. 10 περιήσυχίας: Κερκίδα μελιάμβων: (ἡμιάμβων codd.: corr. Meineke) <τ>δ τᾶς ρικνᾶς χελῶνας τατμαμονεῦ (em. Meineke)· οἶκος γὰρ ἄριστος κτλ. : *vid. inf.*)

25. λειαν· and δυναν· ἃ P. 28. suppl. H. 29. νί-  
 καλῆσδ P. 30. παραχα· P. 31. κατακλίνας· P.  
 (There are faint traces of scholia against vv. 22, 23, 30, 31.)  
 32. γαμβρέστατ' ἦμεν potius quam γαμβρὸς το<κ'>? 33. τει  
 μεν· <sup>κο</sup>νυ P. si huc pertineret fr. 7 (H.) legi non posset quod

MELIAMB III. 25-36

Engendereth woe of repentance <sup>1</sup>	25
And ruin <sup>1</sup> far-spread in the end :	
But Venus that paces the market—	
In repletion of desire	
Demanding no thought or attention :—	
Here is no fear and no care :	30
One obol will win you a mistress,	
Son-in-law fancy yourself	
To Tyndarus (favoured 'mong suitors) :	
(Yet remains one more advice) :—	
<Remember always	
What the wrinkled tortoise said :	
' Both dearest and best, my good masters,	
Truly, of all things, is home.' >	

<sup>1</sup> These Greek words *ταναβλ.* and *μεταμελλ.* appear easiest as two words despite the strange nature of the compounds. The latter would have to be connected with *μεταμέλειν*, which may be compared with, but not excused by, *e.g.* Nicand. *Alex.* 81 ξηρά δ' ἐπιλλύζων ὀλοῇ χελλύσσειται ἄτη. μέλος Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v.

---

proposui *γαμβρες* (nam *ρ* vix aut ne vix quidem possibile): metri et spatiorum gratia potest *e.g.* *γαμβρ(δ)[ς χαρι]έσ[τατά] τ' ἤμεν* . . . [*τὸ τᾶς ῥ[ικνᾶς] γὰρ δὴ χελώνας μναμόν]ευ(ε)*· οἶκος γὰρ [*ἄριστος ἀλαθέως*] καὶ φίλος, [*ρῆ[ς]*—]. Certe hic poema finem habet: sub *καίφιλος* spatium: *e.g.* ὦνδρες ἔφα.

# CERCIDAS

## IV

col. vii.

ἀ]κίς

δμαθεις βροτὸς οὔτι ἐκὼν |  
ἐκλαξε κανθῶς.

τὴν δ' ἀμάλακτον ἔσω |  
στέρνων καὶ ἀνί-  
κατον κέαρ ἔσκεν |

πιμελοσαρκοφάγων  
πάσας μελεδώνας.

5

ττοιτ τὴν διέφευγετιτ καλῶν  
οὔδέν ποκα· πάντα τδ' ὑπὸ  
σπ[λ]άγχνοις τεοῖσττ ἐσκ'

(ἀ)βρ(ἀ) Μουσ(ἀ)ν κνώδαλα· |

Πιερίδων θ' ἀλ[ι]ευ-  
τὰς ἔπλεο, θυμέ, καὶ ἰχν-  
(ευτ)ὰς ἄρισ(τ)[ο]ς. |

10

νῦν δ' τῶκκα μὲντ ἐκφανέες  
λευκαὶ κορυφ[ᾶ] (περι)αι- |  
ωρεῦντ' ἐ(θ). . . (ν).

(ἀκαλέω) < > λάχνα,  
κνα[κ]ὸν δὲ (γένη)-  
ον, καὶ τι ματεύει |

1, 2. metre uncertain. Above at top of column a schol. ]μενον. The writer appears to address himself. In this poem the metrical divisions do not appear to correspond, as they do elsewhere, to sense divisions. 1. e.g. — ∪ ∪ μυριάκις.

2. ἐκλαῖξε κανθῶς P. 3. τὴν P. ἀμάραντον P: superscr. (α)·πε·(ραντον): margin ἀμαλακτον· 4. εσκ'εν (ἦν εἰς) Powell: dubito. πῖμελόσαρκοφαγῶν πασᾶς . . . νᾶς· P.

IV

Many a time  
Man loses the fight e'er his orbs  
Full loath he closes.

*Thou* hadst a heart in thy breast  
Unsoftened and un-  
Tamed ever in fighting

'Gainst all the desires of fat flesh  
Which gluttons may cherish.

Nothing on earth that was fair  
Escaped you : but ever you kept  
Within your bosom

All the Muses' cublets young.

Thou wert a fisher my soul  
Of all the Pierian maids  
And keenest tracker.

But now that there gleam on my head  
White hairs but a few at the edge  
Around encircling

Still with incipient down,  
Still yellow my beard,  
And still doth my summer

6. *e.g.* τὴν διέφηνε(ν) (ex τοιδιεφ). : τιν Wilam. τιν delen-

dum. P καλον. 7. ουδένποκα' παντα τειοισιν (ν cancelled)

διποσπ P. 8. Μουσῶν P. 9. 'πε(cancelled)ιεριδων P.

11. † . . . † *e.g.* δκα τ'. 'νδν P. 12. -ωρευνται P. *e.g.*

δμιν. ἀκαλέφ(α) is false (?) Doricism for ἡκαλέφ(η). A

short syllable is missing: *e.g.* 'πι. λαχναί P. κνα[κ]ον

suppl. H. γέν(ε)ιον H.

## CERCIDAS

κράγνον [ά]λικίαστ  
 <χολόν> κολακεύει<ν>

15

<τῶ> χρόνω τ' ἐπάξιον

δερκομένα βιοτᾶς  
 εὐρὺν (ποτὶ) (τέ)ρματος οὐδ-  
 ὄν· | τᾶμος ἐσλᾶς

14. *κᾶι* P (non *κᾶι*). superscr. (above (κρ)αγνον) .(τ)[.]. *ᾶ*λικία Murray, which I translate. 15 is devoid of metre and sense. It runs χρ. τ. ἐ. κολακεύει. It seems necessary to make the half iambus correspond to ἀβρὰ M. κ. 16. βιοτᾶς P.

### IV (?)

(a) col. viii.

(b) fr. 59 + 11 + 39

(c) col. ix

μὲν δ[όμον [ γ[ νο.[ σὶκ      5 ᾄχαρι(ν)   ναν, (ο)[ μεθα .[	]ον· μὴ νόμιζ[ε ]τω ῥευσσε[ι π]όκα· μία πέλ[λα ]. μην[. .].μι· τουτῶ[ ]οις· .[. .].με(ι)[   πολ]λο(ι) [(δ)ἐ] κ(αὶ)[ σοφ]ίας·   πολλᾶ[ν] δ[ἐ   σό](φ)οις· ᾶ δὲ (π)υ[	]οτ[ ]. ευτω   ]οιμ 
---	--	-------------------------------

17. τᾶμος εσλᾶς P with gloss τᾶμος ἔ[πειτα: suppl. H.

(a) 1. *ε. g.* μὲν δόμον — — — ἐκ κρηπίδος . . . In margin opposite v. 9 (κνώδαλα): ἀγρεύματα κ(αὶ) ἐνεργήματα ('objects of chase,' i.e. activities), opp. 14: ἡ[(λικίαν) φ. ματεύ[ει]ν ἄν(τι τοῦ) (τ)[ούτοις] ἡδ[ε](σ)θ[αι ἡ] μέλ(ειν)[ 'Age,' he says, 'seeks': that is, delights in these things or has a care for them. Opp. 16: (πρ)ο(ορ)ῶν(τι) [δη](λαδῆ) [εἰς] π(ο)[λὺν τ](ὸ)ν and a much rubbed line: *ε. g.* τοῦ γήρως χρόνον: 'looking forward to a long span of old age.' I give the be-

MELIAMB IV. 14—IV (?). 8

Seek for the thing that is fair  
And able to flatter

Worthy of my riper years

Looking ahead to my life's  
Broad threshold of eld at its close,  
Then from foundation  
Fair <

IV (?)

Think not

One cup

Mind doth see  
And mind doth hearken

<Poets have said> : can they then  
Though standing <. . .> at their doors  
Behold true wisdom

---

ginnings of col. viii. and ix. (*e.g.*) which it appears hopeless to combine as viii. init. and fin. Between I give *e.g.* the *fr.* 59 + 11 + 39 and the literary *fr.* 4 connecting παλω with Prometheus: for a correction of a previous error of mine my thanks are due to Hunt. There is of course no certainty that ix. follows on viii., nor that (b) and (c) should be connected. (b) 7. πολλᾶ P et cett.; vid. Hunt. 8. metri gratia σοφοῖς ἃ δὲ πυνθάνομεσθα, κούκ ἀπάτυλλα φάτις. 9. suppl. H. (c) *ll.* 4, 5, 6 (οὔτως μὲν), 14, 18. are scholl. The juncture of *fr.* 41 (and 9\*) is certain; of 40 probable.

## CERCIDAS

τὶς ἀλα[ περ.[ 10 νοω[ ταν[ ηκόρου[φ (τ)ας δα[ κτο[ 15 πάιλ.[ εκτα[ στακ.[ βεβ[ με.[ 20 ἀκτ(ι)[	<sup>τ</sup> ἀ]πα . υλλα.[ ]καλον[ ]. .δρυ[ ].[.]υ.[ φῦναι . . . . πα]λῶ . πέφ(υ)κε . αλλ' ὄλ. ] [ ]ρ Προμαθεὺς ](ισαρ)ο ](τ)άχα ῥη- (λ)[.]
---	--

(Stob. Fl. iv. 42, 43 M. (περὶ ἀφροσύνης | : νοῦς ὀρῆ | καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει . <- - - > πῶς κεν ἴδοιεν τὰν σοφίαν πέλας ἐστ|ακυνίαν <- - | - - - - - | - > ἀνέρες ὧν τὸ κέαρ παλ<ῶ> σέσακται καὶ δυσεκνίπτω τρυγός (παλος and -τφ cod.): corr. Bentley.)

17. τάχαρῆ P.

## V

col. x.	οὐ. [. . . .]νης πυ[θι    ουτ[. . . .] ἀκάρδιον[ [. . . .](φ)ρίκαν τ' [Ᾱ]πό(λ)[λων    συγ-] κροτησιγόμφιον	1 2 3 4
---------	---	------------------

The conjunction of the col. which I call (*e.g.*) ix. and x. is certain. I conjecture that no verse is missing and that *fr.* 37 (with coronis) may begin. The spot above, if ink, might be part of a gloss. Metre as poems 2, 3 but without equal correspondence of sense and cola. 1-2. *e.g.* οὐ μάταν ἦς Πύθιος



MELIAMB IV (?). 9—V. 4

< . . . >  
Those < . . . > mortals whose heart  
    With mud is filléd,  
Stained with lees that wash not out.

(Cercidas quoted in Stobaeus' *Anthology: On Madness.*)

V

Not in vain the Pythian<sup>1</sup>  
Is so entitled:  
    Unto each man cowardly blight  
Apollo sendeth  
    Or cold fear teeth-chattering,

<sup>1</sup> The Cynic regarded Apollo and the Muses (music) with as great suspicion as any other patrons of pleasure.

---

βοατὸς οὕτως· ἀλλ' . . . βλάβαν. 3-4. γόμφ P.      suppl.vi.  
e.g. νέμει: gaps [ ] from two to eight letters.      τωι P.

## CERCIDAS

κα]τὰ καιρὸν ἐκάστῳ,	5
(π)[άντα] θεῖ κῆ(λ)αῖνεται	
γὰρ (ἀ)[ ]τα	
φευξιπόνων ἀν[ὰ γᾶν	
φύλα σκιόθρεπτ'	
τάδον[ο]π[λ]άκτων βροτῶν	10
ἀκ[ήρ]ιος ἐγχεσίμωροστ'	9
καὶ μ[ά]λ' ἐπισταμένως	11
[ύ]ψ[ι]τράγ[ωδο]s	13
(θεὰ) χ(λ)[ι]δᾶγας ὤπασ(ας)	12
πί[ειρ]ατῖ μὲν ὠλεσίκαρπο<s>	14
[δὲ Φρ]ύγα φυσαλέτατν	15
(Λ)υδάν [τ' . . . . .]ῆ·	
νεῦρα δὲ καὶ κρα[δα . .	
δι'] ὄτ' ἐλέλιγμα[. . . . .]s	
εὐπα(λ)[αμ	

About four lines lost in col. x. and ten in col. xa. The next ten lines begin ταυτα|γαρου|αθεσ|ναται.|ποσαεικ|ω φιλος τασι|ησ και(ν)οικ.|πεινα ποτιφ|τιμοτάτω δεπ|π[.] (α)μυρο|. There the poem ends and the remainder of the column is lost.

5. suppl. H. 6. θεῖκῆλαύ P. e.g. ἀτόντα. 7. supplevi.  
10. suppl. Wilam. 9. supplevi e.g. et transtuli. φύλαι

## VI

	. . . . .	
col. xi.	αιο]λόπωνλον[	
	βουσόω   μύω[π	2
	ιππον χρέ[ων;	3

1. suppl. H. 2. σόω P: suppl. Wilam. fin.  
et 3 supplevi. 3. fin. supplevi.

MELIAMB V. 5—VI. 3

Alike unto each in their season.  
 See how smoothly all things glide,  
 For those that hearken,  
     Races that live in the shade  
 Avoiding turmoil,  
     Men by stroke of pleasure numbered—  
 The spear-spurning spiritless godhead :  
     Aye, and with cunning intent  
 The lofty-tragic,  
     Fertile dam of sterile stock,  
 Muse gendereth luxury-shattered  
     Phrygian of puffing cheeks  
 And Lydian wanton :  
     Strings and reverberant twang  
 Of dexterous fingers resounding

---

P (ι cancelled). 13, 12. ωπασ(ασθεα) χλ. [ν]ψ P.  
 suppl. et transtuli. 14. ν seclusi. -καρπον  
 P: correxi. Accents on σκίβθ., -ίμωρος, -άκτων, χλιδᾶγας, πῖ.  
 15. φῦσάλέαν P: read φυσαλέον. 16. χυδαν might just be read:  
 not αὐδάν. 17. ἦνεῦρα P. e.g. κραδαλᾶ... ἐλέλιγμα ~ - - ~  
 εὐπάλαμός τε λύρα. schol. ] .. σκρα [ ] (αια)s. 18. ωτ'  
 ἐλέλ P. 19. suppl. Maas.

VI

What driver of team of four horses  
     Brightly sparkling in the sun  
 Should use to spur them  
     Goad that galleth oxen's flanks ?

CERCIDAS

τοῦ]το γάρ ἐστ' ἀγάθω	4
τουτ' εὐθυδίκω [δελ]εαστᾶ,	5
Στωικὲ Καλλιμέδων·	
.....π[.] (σ)[.]στι πονηρὰ	
καὶ [.....]μένα·	
Σφαίρω γάρ [αἴ τι	
.....](π)ροβάλης	10
ἢ καί τι [.....	
οὐ]χὶ τὸν εἰς ἀρετὰν	
[καὶ .....]δες ἰχνεύεις	
ἀλ[λὰ τὸν εἰς .....]	
φέροντ' ὀπώραν	15
[.....]	
κο(ῦ) (το)ῦτ[ο]ν (α)ῦ[τὸν	
[ < , ἀλλ > ]	

5. τᾶ and δων· P. 1-4. e.g. ποτ' αἰολόπων ὤμο-  
πληξιβουσὸφ μύωπι χρῆσθαι ἀνδρὶ τέθριππον χρέων; πολλοῦ δεήσει.

VI (?)

col. xii.	]ηθρα	1
(e.g. 20) σκωπτίλλ(ιο)[. .]	αῦ,	
(λ)η[. . . . .]	ιδ[ίκ]ως,	
βλαβὰν (ἀκλ)η[		
(e.g. 25) . . . ]ετρ[. . .]	μοφλυακῆντ	5

col. xii. (e.g.) probably from same poem and possibly the next column. See appendix.

Schmidt: φόβος, ἀποστομῶ H.

ληρολογ. K. F. W.  
1. ηθρασκὼπτίλλ.ο P.

<Far be it from him.>  
 This is the action of one,  
 O Stoic Callimedon, seeking  
 To entice the good and just :  
 Nay, this is the pathway of villains  
 Trodden by the base and ill :  
 Whoso to Sphaerus  
 Giveth up aught that is dear,  
 Or aught confideth,  
 It is no guide unto calm  
 Or virtuous life he pursueth :  
 Nay, it is one who will lead  
 To madness' harvest

. . . . .

7. π superscr. *e.g.* τᾶδ' ἀτρακτός ἐστι. 8. *e.g.* κακοῖς  
 τετριμμένα : μενᾶ P. 9. supplevi. 10. *e.g.* τῶν ιδίων.  
 11. *e.g.* πεισθῆς. 12. supplevi. 13. supplevi *e.g.*  
 τὰταραχῶδες (ita fere Mayer). 14. supplevi : *e.g.* μανίας.  
 16. *e.g.* κάσεβῆ διδάσκαλον. 17. supplevi.

VI (?)

Of idle jestings  
 Pettifogging lawyers they,  
 Disaster <bringing  
 With their sharp and prickly thorns>  
 To babbling of pitiful nonsense  
 <Whetting well their pointed tongue> :

2. ἀν P : but corrected to circumflex. λη is more probably a  
 gloss. There is a stop after ως. 5-6. ἀκέῖν τοπος (ο is certain)  
 P : ? κοπος. αυτο P. There is not room for Φοῖβος.  
 see Appendix.

## CERCIDAS

- | τόπος ἢ φ[ό]βος αὐτὸ  
 συ(μ)[πα]ρῶν [ἀ]ποστ(ο)μ[οῖ];  
 τᾶς δὴ το[ι]αύτας  
 σκεπτοσύνας κεν[ὰ] | μὴ
- (e.g. 30) σπουδὰν ποιείσθ[αι  
 τῶ] | στρέφ(η)ν ἄνω κάτω, 10  
 †(ἀ)[λλ', αἷ] | (τ)[ι]ν' εὐρησ διὰ (π)ασᾶν  
 (μ)[ου]σικῶς ἄρμοσμένον, |  
 †. ]οτανισοντον πόθον ἔλκ[ε],
- (e.g. 35) (κ)αὶ | [(μ)άθ' εὖ τὸν ἴμερον,  
 τ[ί]ς [τ'] ἐστὶ ποτ' ἄρσενας ἄρσ(η)[ν] | 15  
 τίς] τ' ἔ[ρ]ως Ζα(ν)ωνικός.

Κερκίδα  
 κυνός  
 με]λίμβοι

MELIAMB VI (?). 6-16

Nor habit of discipline blunteth  
 Nor fatigue its bitter edge.  
 Aspire not therefore  
 Into the follies to probe  
 Of suchlike tenets,  
 Turning on from page to page,  
 But an thou discover a fellow  
 Formed in perfect harmony,  
 To companionship equal of passion  
 Take him, finding what desire  
 Can be for a man of another,  
 And what Zeno's love doth mean.

9-10. *κενὰ* is object of *στρέφειν*. 11. suppl. Wilam.  
 for *εὐρησ* e.g. *ἀθρησ*, *ἰδησ*. *διὰ* (π)ασαν lucide P: . (θεα)ν H.  
 hic quidem dormibundus. 12. suppl. H. 14-16. sup-  
 plevi post H. 13. locus desperatus. After *ἔλκε* *εἰς* *πόθον*  
 would be usual. I suggest *ποτὰν ἴσον εἰς πόθον ἔλκε κτλ.* (C.R.).

## FRAGMENTS

(All fragments of papyrus of over thirty letters have received some adjuncts and been placed in their columns: except those to which I give the name of column xi. (*e.g.*) and col. viii. 9. The remainder, with one possible exception, appear, as long as they remain separate, of little interest. The following meliambic fragments must be added to those read, or cited, above.)

1. (2 Bgk. ii. P.)

οὐ μὰν ὁ πάρος <γα> Σινωπεύς,  
 τῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρο>ς,  
 διπλοτεΐματος, αἰθεριβόσκας,  
 ἀλλ' ἀν' <~ - ~> ἔβα  
 χ<ῆ>λος ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρείσας  
 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακῶν·  
 <Ζανὸς γόνος> ἦς γὰρ ἀλαθέως †Διογένηστ †  
 †Ζανὸς γόνος† οὐράνιός τε κύων.

(Diog. L. vi. 76 οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα συγκρατήσαντα, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Κερκίδας ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἢ Κρής (? ἀντίκρυς) λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως (1).) So perhaps *fr.* 19 αταν|(ο)υ(μα) above which is a note which *might* be expanded into ἐκ τούτων ἀκριβ]ῶς γν(ῶ)[ναι . . . . . ὁποί](αν δ)[ῆ τοῦ βίου τελευτήν εἶχεν ὁ Διογέν]ης.

2. (5 Bgk., 15 P.) Θέσσαλος δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σοφισταῖς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος ἐν κριομύξ<α>ις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ὁ Κερκίδας φησίν, εὐδοκιμήσει. Galen (x. 406). C. may have written

ἐν κριομύξ<α>ις  
 ἀνδράσιν εὐδοκιμῶν.



## FRAGMENTS

1. Others say that he committed suicide by holding his breath : among these is Cercidas of Megalopolis [or Crete ?], who says <plainly ?> as follows in his *Iambi* :—

Not so did the old Sinopean  
     Famed for the cudgel he bore,  
 The double-cloaked liver in ether ;  
     Nay but he rose to the sky  
 By clipping his lips with his grinders,  
     Thereby biting off his breath :  
 Zeus' son was he rightly entitled,  
     Rightly ' the heavenly dog.'<sup>1</sup>

(*Diogenes Laertius's Lives.*)

2. But Thessalus sitting among his sophists on a lofty seat will, as Cercidas says,

find favour  
 'mong sheepishly-drivelling<sup>2</sup> folk.

(*Galen.*)

<sup>1</sup> From the Dog (κύων) the Cynics took their name.

<sup>2</sup> -μνξης is the common form, *e.g.* Anon. c. Synes. 32 fin. The writer like Synes. may have read Cercidas.

1. 1. γεα codd. : corr. Bgk.      2. φoρas codd.      3. ο  
 seclisit A.      4. *e.g.* <"Ολυμπον>.      χείλος codd.

5-6. Διογένης seclisit et Ζ. γ. transtulit A.

2. 1. κριομύξοις codd.

## CERCIDAS

3. (1 Bgk., 15 P.)

ἦν καλλιπύγων ζεύγος ἐν Συρακούσαις.

(Ath. xii. 554 d αἴται ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καλλιπυγοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ὡς καὶ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης Κ. ἐν τοῖς λάμβοις ἱστορεῖ λέγων (3).)

4. (7 Bgk., 16 P.) Greg. Naz. ii. 213 is a mere paraphrase of portions of [Cercid.] προοιμίον.

5\*. (10 P. : Cronert, *Rh. Mus.* lxii. 311.)

τῷ περι<σσαν>-  
θηροπέπλου μανίας  
ὑβρεός τε περιστάσιμον  
στοὰν ἔχοντι  
Πυθαγόρου πελάτα

5

(Ath. iv. 163 e πρὸς δὲν ἐπιστέλλων ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἀπαίροντα τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαγγέλλαι (5).)

6. (28 H.)

αρσε  
ρέθος βλε[π  
β]λοσυρομ[ματ

7. See above (on col. ii.).

4. See my *First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1922.

5. 1-2. σσαν inserui (cf. Eur. *I.A.* 73). 5. πελαιτα cod. The metrical agreement of this *fr.* with that of poem iv. is extraordinary: but it should be remembered that the metre is also that of Philoxenus and no doubt others. Chronological considerations preclude the authorship of Cercidas, unless we suppose that the characters Strat. and Demetrius Aspendius (πρὸς δὲν) are wrongly given by Athenaeus.

## FRAGMENTS 3-7

3. These girls were called 'fair-rumped' by their fellow-citizens as <pseudo-?>Cercidas of Megalopolis narrates in his *Iambi*. Here are his words:—

There was a fair-rumped pair in Syracuse.  
(*Athenaeus*.)

4. (*Fr.* 17 Bgk., 16 Powell from *Gregory of Nazianzus*: see over and n.)

5. Stratonicus sent a message to Demetrius of Aspendus and told the messenger dispatched to deliver his words to the

Pythagorean expert  
Whose portico ever is thronged  
With pride and over-  
Gorgeously-raimented crowds.  
(*Athenaeus*.)

(These verses—older than C.—are interesting as showing that his style and one at least of his metres had previously been applied to kindred topics.)

6. (See n.) It is not probable that he will brace himself up and

with austere eyes

look gold in the face: nay rather would he be struck with awe thereof and yield and finally embrace it. (*Synesius*.)

7. (See col. ii.).

6. 3. Supp. H. ?ὁ βλοσυρομματίας. I subjoin this fragment which might belong to our second column in order to call attention to a possible adaptation of it in *Synesius, de Regno*, p. 54 Krabinger οὐκ εἰκός γε αὐτὸν διαράμενον βλοσυροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀντιβλέψαι χρυσίῳ· τὸνναντίον μὲν <οὖν> αἰδεσθῆναι τε καὶ ἐνδοῦναι καὶ τελευτῶντα περιπτύξασθαι.

## APPENDIX

THE last column of the papyrus of Cercidas' *Meliambi* provides several problems of difficulty : of some of these I have attempted to provide a solution. But the gravest difficulties lie in the first few lines. Scanty as the remains are, they should be sufficient to guide us as to the general sequence of thought and metre ; and this they fail to do.

Here are the traces as I see them :

[ ]ηθρασ[ ] κὼπτίλλ, .αὐ·(λη)[  
 [ . . . . . ]ιδ[ . . ]ως · βλαβαν(ακλ)η  
 [ . . . . . ]ετ[ . . ]μοφλ(ν)ακεί(ν)  
 τοπος ηφ[ . ] (β)οσαντοσυ(μ)[ . . . . ]  
 ρων[ . ]ποστ(ο)μ[ . ] τας διητο[ . ] κτλ.

5

1. *αὐ* by correction from *αὐ.λη* or *ση.ηθρας* may or may not join *κὼ*.
2. parts of two letters below *ηθρα* (*ν*.) visible.
3. no room for *αι* after *φ*. *υ(μ)* or *υ(δ)* only.
4. *τόπος* certain.

Hunt read *ν*. 4. *τόπ(ο)ς ἢ φόβος*. As to the second *ο* of *τόπος* his doubts are to me unintelligible. The fragment fits close up not as in the facsimile and *ο* is as certain as any letter in the papyrus (and that is a high order of certainty). Further Hunt, disregarding *ὑπὸ στόμα* which we know now to be metrically false, rightly read *ἀποστομοῖ*.

It may safely be predicted of the metre of this

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poem (especially if *frr.* 5 and 6 belong to it) that it follows the common metre of Cercidas, that is

$$A \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}^1 \\ \text{or } \text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}^2 \end{array} \right. + B \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup^1 \\ \text{or } \cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup^2 \end{array} \right.$$

Whether this is the *whole* law we do not know.

Now these verses flagrantly transgress this rule. At  $(\sigma)\nu\mu\ .\ .\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$  we are in  $A^2$  and at  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \delta\eta\ \tau\omicron\iota\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  in  $B^2$ . Hence at  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\ \acute{\phi}\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}(s)$  we are at the end of  $B^1$ . But immediately before this

$\tau\ .\ .\ .\ \mu\omicron\phi\lambda$ . or  $\tau\ .\ .\ .\ \mu\omicron\phi\lambda\nu\alpha\kappa\eta\nu$  is also an end of  $B^1$ . In view of the punctuation—for Cercidas always unites

metre and sense in cola— $\iota\delta\ .\ .\ \omega\varsigma\ \cdot\ \beta\lambda\alpha\beta\alpha\nu$  is clearly the end of  $A^1$  or  $A^2$  and beginning of  $B^1$  or  $B^2$ . Line 1 is hopeless.

Of this phenomenon (the complete disappearance of two As running) there can be three solutions:—

(a) One A is really B. This is secured in current texts by three errors (or wholly improbable corrections):—

( $\alpha$ ) Reading  $\tau\delta\ \pi(\acute{\omega})s$ : this is impossible.

( $\beta$ ) Followed by  $\eta\ \acute{\Phi}\omicron\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$ : this is impossible.

( $\gamma$ ) By the metre  $\text{---}\cup\phi\lambda\nu\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\ \tau\delta\ \pi\acute{\omega}s$ : this is unheard of.

(b) Extensive lacunae. But why should these lacunae be so regular?

(c) The only theory which seems conceivable is that the *Meliambi* of Cercidas in the papyrus from which this is copied ended the roll: that a square piece was torn out: and that the writer simply missed the letters which he did not see. It is a simple calculation that a gap averaging ten syllables

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would account for all difficulties after line 1. If the letters ( $\lambda\eta$ ) there are an adscript, there is a certain improbability, since, *ex hypothesi*, the parent papyrus had no adscripts here. They would have either to be text or an adscript ( $\lambda\epsilon$ )[ίπει . . . .] due to the actual scribe.

Clearly we must consider on independent grounds of language whether the view (*a*) with its corrections of text is more or less probable than (*c*). We have to choose—since  $\tau\delta$  and even  $\tau\delta$   $\pi[\tau$  can well follow  $-\phi\lambda\nu\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ —between (*c*)  $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  ἢ φόβος αὐτὸ (for H.'s αὐτὸς is meaningless)  $\sigma\nu\mu[ ]\omega\nu$  ἀποστομοί, and (*a*) ἡ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς ὑμ' [ὄ]ρῶν ἀπ., always remembering that the papyrus in no way favours this reading.

Now to (*a*) there are three further several objections.

(i) It appears that here as in *fr.* 5 and 6 only one person is addressed (*l.* 9 εὔρης). Probably H. was right in reading  $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta[αι$  in 7.

(ii) Phoebus is never spoken of, as far as I know, as blunting anything or anybody.

(iii) ὄρῶν is wholly pointless.

To (*c*) I can only see one reason why it should fail here of general acceptance. That is that it falls in line with a commonplace figure in Greek poetry which has no exact counterpart in modern languages. I will take the words singly.

(i)  $-\omicron\varsigma$  ἢ φόβος. Fear has several companions, *e.g.* Menand. *fr.* 418 λύπη (so often) φόβος φροντίς, Callim. *fr.* Anon. 176 αἰδὼς καὶ δέος ἀλλήλων, φόβοι καὶ πόνοι, Plat. *Legg.* 635 c, Plut. *M.* 128 c (so that you can go as far back as κ]όπος), Plat. *Symp.* 197 D, ἐν πόνῳ, ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν πόθῳ, ἐν λόγῳ.

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(ii) φόβος συμπαρῶν. In certain writers, especially Xenophon and Plutarch, συμπ. means little more than συνείναι (*Thest. s.v.*). Compare *Rep. Lac.* 2. 2 ὥστε πολλήν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλήν δὲ πειθῶ ἐκεί συμπαρ-εῖναι, *Cyrop.* viii. 7. 7 φόβος μοι συμπαρομαρτῶν. But this is of an ever-haunting fear and probably the sense is nearer 'reverence.' For the Greek συνών we use some wholly different metaphor such as 'ingrained.' If κ]όπος be right we should think of some rather strained sense such as 'pain': *Soph. Phil.* 880 ἡνίκ' ἂν κόπος μ' ἀπαλλάξῃ ποτε. *Ar. Plut.* 321 has τῷ κόπῳ ξυνεῖναι.

(iii) Fear blunts. *Pind. Nem.* iii. 39 οὐδέ νιν φόβος ἀνδροδάμας ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν—just as in old age αἰ φρένες ἀπαμβλύνονται *Hdt.* iii. 134. Conversely courage sharpens: so expressly *Christodor. Ecp̄hr.* 295 θάρσει τολμήεντι τεθηγμένος.

(iv) What is blunted? Clearly anything that has an edge on which fear operates unfavourably. Edged tools are:—

(a) The person sharpened: *Ar. Nub.* 1107 εἶ μοι στομώσεις αὐτόν (*Blaydes*), *Poll.* ii. 100 Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ στ. εἶρηκε τὸ λάλον ἀπεργάσασθαι.

(b) γνώθος: *ibid.*

(c) ὀδόντες: *Ar. Ran.* 815 ἡνίκ' ἂν ὀξύδαλον τπερτ ἰδῆ θήγοντος ὀδόντας.

(d) γλώσσα: *Soph. Aj.* 584, *Pindar, Ol.* vi. 82 δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα ἀκονᾶς λιγυρᾶς, *Trag. Fr. Anon. Adesp.* 423 γλώσσαν ἠκονημένους.

(e) λόγοι: *Lucian,* ii. 517, *Aesch. P.V.* 327.

(f) φρένες: *Eur. Hipp.* 689.

(g) ψυχὴν: *Xen.*; see *Index s.vv.* ἀκονᾶν, θήγειν.

Thus we see that speakers, instruments of speech,

or words spoken are most commonly sharpened whether by courage or anger. But we are seeking a neuter noun (αὐτό) and the choice lies between λῆμα Eur. *Or.* 1625, or, what seems more suitable, στόμα :—

Soph. *O.C.* 794 τὸ σὸν . . . στόμα πολλὴν ἔχων στόμωσιν.  
*Trach.* 1176 μὴ πιμείναι τοῦμὸν ὄξῦναι στόμα.

(v) Can fear blunt the mouth or tongue? Though this exact metaphor does not occur we have—

Soph. *Ant.* 180 ὅστις . . . ἐκ φόβου του γλῶσσαν ἐγκλήσας ἔχει, 505, *Ajax* 171 σιγῇ πτήξειαν ἄφωνοι : whence it may be questioned whether Sappho's texts (p. 16 Lobel) had not once ἀλλὰ κάμ μὲν γλῶσσοα ττέθ>αγε† by error for τέθαπε : if such be possible in Aeolic.<sup>1</sup> So interlinked are the ideas of fear, silence, confidence and loquacity.<sup>2</sup>

A case has, I hope, been made out for a lacuna -μοφλυακῆν τὸ [στόμ'                      κό]πος ἢ φόβος—the intervening words being e.g. εἶ τεθαγμένο—; τίς ἢ . . . For the rest we can hope for little. But βλάβαν (ἀκλ)η strikes no obvious note and it might be considered whether λη is not part of the same verse as -φλυακῆν (e.g. λήρημα δὲ τρισμοφλυακῆν—with κί)(να)ιδ[ικ]ῶς above), and whether ἀκ does not belong to βλάβαν. Certainly ἀκ- sharp gives us a wide field of choice, with ἀκμά, ἀκονά (Pind. *ll.*cc.), ἀκι-, or even ἄκμων : *P.* i. 86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμοι χάλκειε γλῶσσαν. But I prefer ἀκονα- in view of those two difficult sayings of Aeschylus :—

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius's gloss θάπαν shows that the root is not only found in Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> *E.M.* s.v. βοή . . . ἢ μὲν γὰρ δειλία θραύουσα τὸ πνεῦμα βραχίστην ἀπεργάζεται τὴν φωνήν. *Ach. Tat.* ii. 25.



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*Ag.* 1537 Δίκη δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θήγεται βλάβησ  
 πρὸς ἄλλαισ θηγάναισι Μοῖρα,  
*Eum.* 861 αἵματηρὰσ θηγάνασ, σπλάγχνων βλάβασ  
 νέων,

where, however you read or explain, it seems to me that some subtle and lost connexion between βλάβη and θηγάνη lies—as if, for instance, βλάβη could bear the sense of a good or true sharpening surface. As to the first lines of the column in Cercidas palaeographical difficulties are so grave that it seems idle to make suggestions: on metrical grounds it would be

desirable to separate (σ)κωπίλλ . . . and αὐ̄ . . . But κ(αὶ ὀ)πίλλ ∪ ∪ also gives sense and, if the theory of a considerable gap is right, it is useless to attempt precision.

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THE following verses appear to be continuous and to have been attributed to Cercidas at least as early as the end of the fourth century A.D. The evidence is produced and considered in a work by the present writer (*The First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1922). They clearly formed the beginning of an Anthology. But it is difficult to believe they actually were by Cercidas, though the anthology may have been due to his efforts. The chief discrepancy lies not so much in style, as Mr. W. E. Barber thinks, but in metre. For style may easily be assumed but, once a metrist as skilful as the writer of the *Meliambi*, always a metrist. Not that the metre is irregular (see on Phoenix *fr.* 4). It is the norm of the moralist, admitting the spondee freely in the fifth foot, and rigidly limiting resolution. But the adaptation of sense to metre is careless and clumsy. As I find it impossible to represent such metrical shortcomings, I translate into prose.

Such an unfavourable verdict could not fairly be given on evidence of the text of the two English papyri<sup>1</sup> which is very unsound: but what remains of the Heidelberg<sup>2</sup> papyrus is excellent. On this

<sup>1</sup> Lond. 155 verso, Bodl. ms gr. class. f, 1 (p).

<sup>2</sup> No. 310.

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magnificent<sup>1</sup> work was done by Dr. G. A. Gerhard of Heidelberg (*Phoenix von Kolophon*, Teubner, 1909): full illustrations being given of the moral ideas underlying these lines of doggerel verse. Dr. Gerhard's work is also of great bibliographical value for other choliambic writers: but it loses to some extent by a failure to recognize essential metrical differences, and by a theory that the metre was used especially by moralist writers (see on Phoenix). Recently I have visited Heidelberg and with the subsequent aid of Prof. F. Bilabel solved one or two doubtful points. Professor Bilabel has also very kindly examined many doubtful passages. Where he has confirmed my reading I use the symbol (K.-Bi.); where he has detected flaws and helped with sketches to the establishment of a new reading, I use the symbol (Bi.-K.). Where the suggestion is due entirely to him, it is so accredited.

Later leaves of our anthologist may be found at Strassbourg (*Wiss. Ges. Pap.* 304-7: see Phoenix, *fr.* 4).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gerhard, however, was not a skilled palaeographer. Among several errors one may especially mention his failure to allow for the form of  $\tau$  used by the scribe. The text of the London papyrus is almost entirely due to Milne, assisted, or hindered, by the present writer.

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..... ](οὐδ)εἰς οὐ[. . . . . ἀνθ](ρ)ώποις  
 ..... ](ι) κ(ατ)εἶδ(ε)[ν . . . . ᾶ](ν)θρώπων  
 ..... ]σα(ς) οὐς κα(τ)[εἶδεν] ἀνθρώπο(υ)ς  
 ..... ](δ)έ (π)ρός (σ)ε χ[ρήσο]μαι πάση  
 ..... ](π)ο[ιή](μ)α(τ) οὐ μάτ[. . .] ἀκούοντα· 5  
 ..... ] . (παρνεσωσπα)[. . .] ἀνθρώπων  
 ..... ](καιδ)[. . .]εν καλή κεί(ται)  
 ..... κυλλ]όχειρες ὦ[σπ]ερ Ἄρπυϊαι  
 ..... ἄναγ]νον κέρδος ἐκ λίθου παντός  
 ..... ἔ]καστος ἔνθεν ἀρπάξῃ 10  
 ..... κ]υβιστᾶ κήπινήχεται πᾶς τις  
 ..... ἔ]ταῖρον καὶ (κασί)γν[ητ]ον κ[αί] ὦρα  
 ..... ἔ]αυτοῦ τὴν τρισο[ιζύρη]ν ψυχὴν  
 ..... οὐ] (δέν) [. . . ἦ] θά[λασσα μέ]ν πεζή  
 ..... ἀν]θρώποι[σιν ἢ δέ] (γ)ῆ πλωτή· 15  
 ..... περ]ιφέρουσι τήνδ[ε τ]ὴν ῥῆσιν  
 κέρδαιν' ἔτα]ῖρε καὶ θέρευσ κ(αι) χειμῶνος  
 . . . . πάντοθε]ν κέρδ(αι)νε· μηδέν' αἰσχύνου  
 ..... α]ἰδοῦ· τοῦτ' ὄνειδ(ι)εἶτα(ί σοι).

1. *e.g.* τοῖς νῦν μὲν and καταρᾶται.    2. *e.g.* δς κἂν ὄσον and ἦθος.  
 3. *e.g.* ἀποστυγήσας : fin. supplevi.    4. *e.g.* προθυμίη (Πάρνε vix legi potest).    suppl. G(erhard).    5. supplevi.  
*e.g.* χρηστῶν and μάτην.    6. *e.g.* ἐὰν διδάξω, Πάρνε σ' ὡς παρ'.  
 7. *e.g.* οἰχωκεν Αἰδῶς κοῦδ' ἐφ' ἐν.    8. suppl. Hdl.    *e.g.* αὐτοὶ δέ.  
       ὥσπερ Kenyon.    9. suppl. Cr.    *e.g.* ζητοῦσ' id.

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There is no one who has glanced <for a moment> on the <character> of mankind at present, without <cursing> mankind, and <hating> mankind on whom he has glanced : but to you I shall display all <zeal>, since you are no idle listener to poems of <worthy> writers, <if, maybe, I might teach> you, Parnos, that from mankind <Shame has departed> and in no respect is considered fair : while <men themselves> with <crooked> fingers like Harpies seek from every stone an unholy gain : and each <hunting> for a stretch to pillage, dives thither and swims to his prey, <destroying> comrade, brother or wife, but <preserving> his own thrice wretched life. <To them> nothing is <sacred> : <by such> of mankind the sea is trodden under foot and the land sailed over : all alike they carry on their lips this saying : ' win gain, my friend, summer and winter alike : from everywhere win gain : have no reverence or shame of any man : he will merely mock you for it.' ' Un-

- 
10. *e.g.* διζήμενος δ'.      11. suppl. Cr.      *e.g.* ἐκεῖ *id.* or εὐθύς.  
 12. *e.g.* ἄλλύς.      13. *e.g.* σῶζων δ' cett. ex P Bodl.  
 14. *e.g.* οὐδ' ἐν ἱρὸν (Mn.), and τοῖς δ'.      ἠθαλλα(σ)α P Bodl. :  
 corr. *id.*      15. *e.g.* τοίοισιν Mn.      (σηδετυ) P Bodl. : corr.  
*id.*      16. *e.g.* πάντες δὲ.      τουτο το ρη P Bodl.      17. κην  
 κερους P Bodl. : see Sext. Emp. *adv. Dogm.* v. 122.  
 18. ἀπαντόθεν Sext. Emp. rightly. ? P habuerit ἀπανταχόθεν.  
 19. *e.g.* καὶ μηδένα.      See Addenda.

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..... ](ν) τὴν χεῖρ' ὄκου λαβεῖν δεῖ τι 20  
 ὄκου [δ]έ δοῦναι μηδ' ὄλως φόρει χεῖρα  
 ἐρουσι πολλοί· πολλὰ σαυτὸν ἀσπάζου  
 ἐπὴν ἔχῃς τι· πάντα σοι φίλων πλήρη· 23  
 πένητα δ' ὄντα χῆ τεκοῦσα μισήσει· 25  
 πλουτοῦντα γάρ σε χοῖ θεοὶ φιλήσουσι,  
 ἐὰν <δὲ> μὴ ἔχῃς μηδέν, οὐδὲ κηδεσταί· 26  
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, αἵτα, καὶ καταρῶμαι 27  
 τοῖς νῦν βίοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους μισῶ  
 τοὺς ζῶντας οὕτω, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον μισήσω,  
 ἀνεστρόφαν γάρ τὴν ζ<ό>γην ἡμῶν οὗτοι· 30  
 τῇ γὰρ πάροιθεν ἦν δ' [ᾗ]χρ[ι [ν]ῦν (ἐστὶν σεμνή)  
 δ]ικαιοσύνης ᾧ(χωκεν) ἔ(νθ)ε[ν ο]ὔχ ἤξει·  
 ἀπιστίη ζῆ· π(ίστι)ς (ε). . . . .  
 ἴσχυκεν ἡ (ἀναί)δεια (τ)οῦ [Δ]ιὸς μείζον·  
 ὄρκοι τεθ[ν]ήκα]σιντ· οἱ θ(εο)ὶ δ' (εἰά)κασ(ιν)· 35  
 ἡ δυσγένεια κριθ(ι)ᾶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους  
 τῆς δ' εὐγενεί[ας ἀ]λμυρὸν κ(ατ)έπτυσ(ται).  
 τγῆμαι δ' ἂν οὐ[δ]εῖ](ς) ο[ὔ]δὲ τὴν (Ἦρ) <η>ν θέλοι·  
 πτωχὴν (εἰ)οῦσα)ν τ[. . . . .](ε). . .(ο)ντο(ς),  
 μᾶλλον δ' ἔλοι(τ)[ο τὴν ](ἐ)[π](ι) [σ](τέ)γους Λυδῆν  
 ἔχων ὀπυῖειν (ἐνδ)ο[ν ἦ]ν φέρη χαλκοῦς. 41  
 κα(ι) [  
 οἱ τὰ [  
 (ἐὰν) [  
 ο. . .] 45  
 μο.[  
 αι.[  
 ε(χ).[  
 κα(ι).[  
 ὄτα[ν 50

fold your hand when you are to receive anything; but when you are to give have no hand at all,' is what many will say: 'embrace yourself heartily when you have anything: then the world is full of friends for you: but if you are poor even your mother will hate you. For if you are rich even the gods will love you: if you have nothing, not even your relatives will love you.' I then, my comrade, curse the lives men lead now, and hate all mankind who live thus, and shall hate them even more. For these have overturned our life; for justice, holy until now, has departed beyond recall. Faithlessness flourishes, faith <has left the earth>: shamelessness has won greater strength than Zeus. The sanctity of oaths has perished, while the gods suffer it. Low birth runs riot among mankind and men spit salt on noble birth. And none now would wed even Hera herself, were she poor, and bereft of all that might profit him; rather would he choose to keep in his house as wife a Lydian harlot, if he<sup>1</sup> get brass with her.

<sup>1</sup> *Not* 'she bring,' which would be *φέρηται*.

20. *e.g.* διπλῆν φορεῖ: better perhaps ἀναπέτ(α)σο]ν.  
 fin. ἔκου(τι) δεῖ λαβεῖν P Lond. ἔκου λαβεῖ[ P Bodl.  
 which has the middle portions of 22, 23, 26 in this  
 order. I follow J. U. Powell. 21. suppl. Kenyon.  
 26. corr. id. δε om. P Lond. P Bodl. χεῖς μηδεν ο(ιη) ab-  
 surdly. 27. αἰτεῖα P: corr. J. U. Powell. 29. l. καὶ ἐπὶ.  
 30. ζωνη P: corr. C. 31. supplevi. fin. (lectio vix dubia)  
 Mn.: *e.g.* del. ἦν δ Mn. 32. suppl. Mn. 33. *e.g.* ἐκ τῆς  
 γῆς ἔρρει. 34. suppl. Mn. l. μέζον. 35. suppl. Mn.  
 (there are vague traces of (νηκα)). 37. suppl. Mn. κ(ατ)  
 ἐπτυσ(. .) P: text Sitzler, dubitante Mn. 38. suppl. Mn.  
 -αν P. *e.g.* γ. θ. δ' ἀν. οὐδὲ τ. "Η. οὐδελς. 39. εουσαν  
 K.-Mn. *e.g.* τοῦ νιν ὠφελήσοντος. 40. suppl. Mn.  
 (ἀπὸ). 41. supplevi: ἦν Cr. οπουεν P.

CERCIDEA

κ[ (π)[λήν  
 .[ γα](σ)τρος  
 ..[ (υ)]σεν  
 χρ[  
 α.[.]ν[ 55

]σων  
 ]α  
 ο](υ)τοι 60  
 ]  
 ]φης

.....[  
 ὄσ.[  
 ..[  
 ὄν ... (α)[ 65  
 κε(ν) .....[

PHeid ἔοικ' ἐνεῖναι· π[αντό](θ)εν γὰρ ἔλκουσιν  
 κούκ ἔστιν οὔ[τ]ε [σ]υγγενῆς οὔτε ξεῖνος  
 ὄ[ς ο]ύχ[ι λα]μᾶ τ[οῦδ'] (ὄ)κως ἔξει μέζον·  
 χ[ω]ρὶς δέατος ὁ (θ)εσ[μὸς ο]ὔδὲ μέμνηται  
 θεοῦ Δικαίης ἀλλ(ὰ) [...](χλ)ευάζουσιν· 71  
 ὄκως δὲ χ(ρ)ῆ ζῆν [...] (ἔγ)ωγε θαν-  
 μ(ά)[ζω·

ἐν θηρίοισιν; ἀλλὰ δ.[.]..(ζ)ωαί·  
 ἀπιστή γε παντα[...].[...]αι[  
 τὸ τῆς (ἄχ)....[.]†πειαι τ' ἴσως πάντα[ 75  
 τὸ μειλιχῶδες κ(α)ὶ προσηγές δὴ τοῦτο.  
 ἐκείνο μ[ἐ]ν γὰρ ο[ἰδ]α, σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν,  
 ὅπερ κ(ρά)[τιστ](όν) [ἐ]στιν, οὐ νενίκημ(α)[ι  
 [...].[...] καὶ γαστ[ρὸ](ς) ἀλλ' ἀπ-  
 (α)ρ[κ]εῦμαι  
 [...] (ἔχ)εις γὰρ πρῆ(ον, ἦ) τ(ί) κερδαί(ν)[εις



<51. How well could I have spared, for thee, young swain,  
 Enow of such as for their bellies' sake  
 Creep and intrude and climb into the fold ;  
 Of other care they little reckoning make  
 Than . . .

MILTON, *Lycidas*, 112 sqq.>

Such goad <of avarice> is in their souls : they drag gain from every source : and there is neither kin nor friend but ventures all in quest of gain. Divine Law has no terrors, nor are they mindful of the goddess of justice but mock at her. I wonder only how one should live among these beasts : nay here life is unlivable. All around faithlessness overcomes the cause of spotless faith and all things, perchance, riot on this comfortable and attractive doctrine. Nay, but, by heaven's grace, I know that old rule which is best : I am no slave of pleasures or of my belly, but am content with little. What<sup>1</sup> civil-

<sup>1</sup> One is tempted to conjecture *πρῆξιν* or *πλείον* 'profit,' but neither can be read.

55. A mark of corruption. If the equation with P Heid. is sound five *vv.* have dropped out. The endings of *vv.* from P Heid. are *v.* 38 and *v.* 40 *ην* etc. 55. ? *χρόνος δὲ φευγέτω σε μηδὲ εἰς ἀργός* (p. 6). 57-61. ? om. P Lond., which marks corruption. 59, 61. So Bi. 66. *e.g.* *κέντρον* : or *κε(ί)νοῖς* ? (Mn.) 67. . . . *κ.ε(ν)* [ (optime quadrat *εοικε εν* vel *εοικε εν*) P Lond. : *εοικεν* P Heid. suppl. G. 68. *καὶ οὐκ* P Heid. : vestigia P Lond. cum *κουκ εστιν* quadrant. suppl. G. 69. non fuit *το[λμ]ᾶ π[άνθ'* Bi.-K. : supplevi. 70. *θεσμὸς* supplevi probante Bi. : cett. Gerhard. 71. suppl. Hense: *praccessit e.g. νιν.* 72. *supplevimus ego et Powell* : *e.g. τοῖσδε.* 73. (K.-Bi.) *e.g. δ(ύσβιοι).* 74. *e.g. πανταχοῦ πίστεως νικᾶ.* 75. *e.g. ἀχράντου* Sitzler : *nullum spatium ante πενία* G.-Bi. : *στρηνιᾶ reposui*, coll. *v.* 36. fin. *legi rectissime* (iudice Bi.). 77, 78, 79. suppl. G. 79. *init. e.g. λαιμαργίης.* 80. *πρηον* Bi. : ad *v.* 73 refero : *init. e.g. τί δῆτ'*. cett. leg. K.-Bi.

CERCIDEA

ἰδῶ]ν γ)έ πως κἀνδ(υλ)ον (ῶ)ς οὔτως εἰ-  
 π(ῶ†ν†); 81

εἰς] (γ)ὰρ στόμ' ὡς ἔοικ[εν] (ἴ)στ(α)[τ]αι  
 μο(ῦ)νον

χρό]νον τοσ[οῦ]τον [ᾧ]σσον ἄν] τις ἔσθη [τι],  
 (ᾧ)τα)ν δ' ἀμείψητα[ι αὐτ](ὸ) καὶ τ(ὸ)[ν ἦκι-  
 σ](τ)ον

εἰς ζῆν χ(ά)ρυβδ(ιν) [ . . . . . ]. οἴχεται πά[ν-  
 τ](α). 85

καὶ ταῦτα τεν[ . . . . . ].[.].ε καὶ ἔτερ(ο)  
 [ . . . . . ]

ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων [μ]ῆ πάτει λίνων [ . . . . . ]  
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὔν, ᾧ Π[άρ]γε, (τα)ῦτ' οὐχὶ ζ[ηλῶ]  
 ἀλλ' ἐν χαλ[ινοῖς .].[.] ἐ(μ)αυτὸν ὡ(ς) [ . . . . . ]  
 γαστρὸς κατ(ί)σ(χ)[ω.].[. . .] βιά[ζ]ομαι τ[οῦ-  
 τον 90

πρὸς εὐτέλε(ια)ν τ[ὸ]ν [βί](ον) κα(θ)ίστασ(θ)[αι]  
 καὶ μῆν ᾧτ[α]ν γε (θῆ)δ).[. .] σ(π)έν(δ)ειν .[  
 κἀμνω· με[γ]ίσ(τη) δ') [ . . ] .[ . . ] .[ . . ] .(μοι) χό(ν)-  
 [δρος

τέρπει δέ μ' οὔτως (ο)[ῦ](δ)[ἐ]ν ὡς τὸ κερ-  
 δ(αί)[νειν

ἐκ] τοῦ δικαίου το[ . . . . . ]. [τ]οῖς ἀν[θ]ρώ-  
 (π)[οις] 95

. . λαμ]βάνειν [ . . ] .[ . . ] ἐκ τρόπ[ων] ἀ[ί]-  
 σχρῶν

. . . . .[. .](νενο)ν .[ . . . . ]. ουθεν .[ . . ] .[

. . . . . χρ]όνω π[λ]ο(υ)τοῦντας ἐξ ᾧ[ . . . . . ]

. . . . .[. .](τ) .[ . . ] (ᾧ)σπ(ερ) ουδ(ο) .[

ἔστιν γάρ, ἔστιν, ᾧ(ς) τ)ά(δε) σ)κοπεῖ (δ)αίμων

ᾧ(ς) ἐ)ν χρόνω τὸ θεῖον οὐ καταισχύνει, 101

νέ]μει δ' ἐκάστω τὴν καταίσιον μοῖραν.

ization is it, what boots it, to glimpse, so to say, a *bonne bouche*? For what is set in the mouth remains only for the moment of eating: after it has passed through but a moment, all goes into a live<sup>1</sup> abyss. Eat then cheerfully just so much as I do and no more: beyond this walk not as a bird into the net. These maxims, Parnos, I not only admire, but keep myself obedient as <a horse> in belly-bands, and force myself to order my life to simplicity. Aye and when I must sacrifice to some pleasure I am weary of it, since a pinch of salt is enough pleasure for me, and nothing delights me so much as to win from just dealing that <which never> comes to men from base courses, <as I now see many> for a short while enriching themselves by shamelessness, <though their wealth vanishes> as if <it had never come>. For there is indeed a divinity who looks on these things and in time's course brings not to shame the god-head, but gives to each his due portion. So I,

<sup>1</sup> γαστήρ is derived (*E.M.*) to mean ἡ πάντα τὸν βίον λαμβάνουσα μὴ πληρουμένη.

81. init. leg. Bi.-K.	supplevi. fin. leg. εἶπω.	82. supplevi: ἴσταται K.-Bi.	83. init. supplevi ex Greg. Naz.
(ii. 444).	ἔσθη . . vel ἔσθη Bi.	supplevi.	84. supplevi.
85. suppl. G. init. K.-Bi.	med. e.g. δὴ τιν'.	86. e.g. τένδειν χρῆ σε καὶ ἐτέρῳ δοῦναι.	87. πατ. K.-Bi.
[ὄρνις.	88. suppl. G.	89. suppl. G.	e.g. νῦν]
ἔμαντὸν ὡς (leg. K.-Bi.) [πῶλον.	90. e.g. καὶ ἐκβ. Hense.	91. suppl. G.	92. suppl. G.
τοῦτο G.: τοῦτον Hense.	93. supplevi e.g. ἐσθ' ἀλὸς γ'	94. suppl. Kroll, Powell, ed.	
θῆδονη K.	σπένδειν K.-Bi.	95. suppl. G.	e.g. οὐ, ἔξεστιν.
ἔμοι: praecesserit (92) χρήζω.	e.g. τοῦθ' ὄπερ.	96. init. suppl. G.	
95. suppl. G.	fin. supplevi. Cf. e.g. Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 570	97 sqq. I translate	
e.g. οὐ, ἔξεστιν.	πλουτοῦσιν ἀπὸ πραγμάτων αἰσχροῶν.	102, 103. suppl. G.	102. κατασιαν
as <i>F.G.A.</i> p. x.			

P. After this *v.* follows Ἰαμβὸς Φοῖνικος, another citation (from Phoenix?), then a comic *fr.*

CERCIDEA

ἐγ]ὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πά(ρ)νε, βουλοίμην εἶναι  
 τὰρκεῦντ' ἐμαυτῷ καὶ νομίζεσθαι χρηστός  
 ἢ πολλὰ πρήσσειν, καὶ ποτ' εἰπεῖν τοὺς  
 - ἐχθρούς 105  
 ' ἄλῶν δὲ φόρτος ἔνθεν ἦλθεν ἔνθ' ἦλθεν.'

106. αλων ex αλλων.

CERCIDEA, 103-105

Parnos, would wish to have just what sufficeth me,  
and to be considered worthy, rather than to busy  
myself and give my enemies scope for saying 'The  
salt cargo returns whence it came.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A proverb of wasted labour—with a gibe at the Cynic's  
diet (*v.* 93).



FRAGMENTA  
CHOLIAMBICA

## EUPOLIS

Ἄνοσια πάσχω ταῦτα ναὶ μὰ τὰς νύμφας.  
πολλοῦ μὲν οὖν δίκαια ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας.

(Priscian *de metr. Com.* 415 K. Eupolis Βάπταις . . . hos  
. . . posuit in fine habentes spondeos (1, 2).

## PHOENIX

### IAMBOC A. NINOC

*fr.* 1 (1 Powell)

Ἄνῆρ Νίνος τις ἐγένετ' ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω  
Ἄσσύριος ὅστις εἶχε χρυσοῦ πόντον,  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα πολλῶ πλε<ϕ>να Κασπίης ψάμμου·  
ὅς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίξ]ων ἐδίξητο,

1. ἐγὼ 'κούω Bgk. 3. τάλαντα πολλῶ E: καὶ τἄλλα πολλὸν  
cod. A. The above reading seems to explain the variants,  
but it may be Ph. wrote τὰ δ' ἀγαθά: cf. the proverb πόντος  
ἀγαθῶν. 4. e.g. οὐχ ἄλων.



## EUPOLIS

Unholy wrongs I bear by Nymphs swear I!  
Nay rightfully by cabbages swear I.

(Eupolis in the *Baptae* wrote the following verses with spondees at the end (1, 2). *Priscian on Comic Metres.*)

## PHOENIX

### POEM I. NINOS<sup>1</sup>

#### 1

There was a man called Ninos, I am told,  
Assyrian, who possessed a sea of gold  
And all things else more than the Caspian sand :  
Who ne'er the stars nor orb of heaven scanned

<sup>1</sup> The song is one of many variants of an alleged inscription on the tomb of Sardanapallus in the Chaldaean tongue, of which two translations, one in verse and one in prose, were current in Greek. The poise of the fingers of the statue was interpreted as dismissing everything else as worth no more than a flick. I do not think that Phoenix wrote *books* of Iambi. This was the first poem in his book.

οὐ παρὰ μάγοισι πῦρ ἱερὸν ἀνέστησεν, 5  
 ὥσπερ νόμος, ῥάβδοισι τοῦ θεοῦ ψαύων.  
 οὐ μυθιήτης οὐ δικασπόλος κείνος·  
 οὐ λεωλογεῖν ἐμάνθαν' οὐκ ἀμιθρήσαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἦν ἄριστος ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν 9  
 κήρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ πετρῶν ὤθει.  
 ὡς δ' ἀπέθαν' ὠνήρ, πᾶσι κατέλιπε ῥῆσιν,  
 ὄκου Νίνος νῦν ἐστί τκαὶ τὸ σῆμ' αἰδέεσσι·  
 "Ακουσον εἴτ' Ἀσσύριος εἴτε καὶ Μῆδος  
 εἰς ἣ Κοραξός, ἣ 'πὸ τῶν ἄνω λιμνῶν  
 <Σ>ινδὸς κομήτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κηρύσσω· 15  
 ἐγὼ Νίνος πάλαι ποτ' ἐγενόμην πνεῦμα,  
 νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ γῆ πεποίημαι·  
 ἔχω δ' ὀκόσον ἔδαισα [χῶκόσ' ἤεισα],  
 χῶκόσ[σ]' ἠράσθην,  
 τὰ δ' ὄλβι' ἡμέων δήιοι συνελθόντες  
 φέρουσιν ὥσπερ ὠμὸν ἔριφον αἰ Βάκχαι· 20  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐς Ἀιδην οὔτε χρυσὸν οὔθ' ἵππον  
 οὔτ' ἀργυρῆν ἄμαξαν ὠχόμην ἔλκων  
 σποδὸς δὲ πολλὴ χῶ μιτρηφόρος κείμαι.

(Ath. 530 e Φοῖνιξ δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ποιητῆς περὶ Νίνου λέγων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἰάμβων γράφει οὕτως (1).)

7. μυθιήτης codd. : corr. Schweighäuser. 12. is often regarded as an insertion. σῆμα (ἴδει cod. A. 15. corr. by Schweig. 18. χῶκοσσ' ἐράσθην cod. : corr. Bgk. Perhaps we should write two verses : so translation. Hdl. read ὀκόσσ' ἐπαισα (Kaibel), χῶκ. ἤεισα, χῶκόσσ' ἐδ<κκα γαστρί>, κτλ. (v.l. ὀκόσσον ἐδ.). For this I would compare exactly Greg. Naz. Carm. (ii. 780 Colon) ἐπαιξεν, ἦσε, γαστρὸς ἐπλησεν νόσον.

## PHOENIX

Nor duly at his magi's side with rod  
Stirred up the holy fire and touched his god.  
No spokesman was, nor counsellor this man,  
No marshal, no reviewer of his clan ;  
Wine, food, and lust of all men he adored  
The most : aught else but these went by the board :  
And when he died he left, to all to say  
(Where town and tomb alike are hid to-day)<sup>1</sup> :—  
' Assyrian and Median, give ear  
Unto my preaching ! hear Koraxian ! hear  
Thou long-haired Sindian from the Upper Mere :  
I Ninos once of yore was living breath :  
And now am nought but common earth in death.  
All that I ate <or drank> †and all my song†  
And all my lechery to me belong.  
But all my goods my foes have ravished  
And sundered as a Maenad doth a kid.  
And I to Hades neither gold did bring  
Nor horse, nor car of silver panelling :  
I that did wear the diadem on my brow  
A far-flung scattering of ash<sup>2</sup> am now.'

(Phoenix the poet of Colophon speaking of Ninos in his first Iambus says (1). *Athenaeus*.)

<sup>1</sup> See Addenda.

<sup>2</sup> πολλή whether "wide-spread" as I take it, or "a heap" as Mr. J. U. Powell suggests to me, is probably right. To my ear it suggests ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοί, which is the point of the poem. I have introduced this in v. 16 (transl.). Ninos did not have the grand burial of the old Assyrian princes, as to which we are learning new details. For the earliest burials with jewelled cars and asses see C. L. Woolley in the *Times*, p. 11, Jan. 12, 1928.

## ΚΟΡΩΝΙΚΤΑΙ

fr. 2 (2 Powell)

Ἐσθλοί, κορώνη χεῖρα πρόσδοτε κριθέων,  
 τῇ παιδί τῷπόλλωνος, ἢ λέκος πυρῶν  
 ἢ ἄρτον, ἢ ἡμαιθον, ἢ ὅτι τις χρήζει.  
 δότω, ἄγαθοί, τις, τῶν ἕκαστος ἐν χερσίν  
 ἔχει, κορώνη. χᾶλα λήψεται χονδρόν· 5  
 φιλεῖ γὰρ αὕτη πάγχυ ταῦτα δαίνυσθαι·  
 ὁ νυν ἄλας δούς αὕθι κηρίον δώσει.  
 ὦ παῖ, θύρην ἀγκλιε, Πλούτος τῆκουσετ,  
 καὶ τῇ κορώνη παρθένος φέρ<ο>ι σῦκα. 10  
 θεοί, γένοιτο πάντ' ἀμεμπτος ἢ κούρη  
 κάφνειὸν ἄνδρα κῶ<υ>νομαστὸν ἐξεύροι  
 καὶ τῷ γέροντι πατρὶ κοῦρον εἰς χεῖρας  
 καὶ μητρὶ κούρην εἰς τὰ γούνα κατθείη, 13  
 < . . . . . > 13a  
 θάλος, τρ<ό>φ[ε]ιν, γυναῖκα, τοῖς κασιγνήτοις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὄκο<ι> πόδες φέρ<ω>σιν, ὀφθαλμούς  
 τὰμείβομαι Μούσησι, πρὸς θύρησ' ἄδων, 16  
 καὶ δοντὶ καὶ μὴ δοντί, πλεῦνα <тет>τίγων. 17

ἀλλ', ὦγαθοί, ἰπορέξαθ' ὦν μυχὸς πλουτεῖ· 18  
 δός, ὦ <ἄ>ναξ, δός καὶ σὺ πότνα μοι νύμφη·

1 (and 20). <ς> χεῖρα? 4. τις after ἕκαστος codd.  
 Ath. 7. αὕθις codd. 8. e.g. l. ἦκει σοι.  
 9. φέρει codd.: corr. Bgk. 14. τρέφειν codd.  
 15. ἔκου, φέρουσι codd.: corr. Dind., Bgk. 16. -αισι,  
 -αις codd.: corr. Cr. 16. See on Herodas (C.E.), p. 395,  
 where add Opp. *Cyn.* iv. 199, ii. 222. e.g. ἐρείδομαι;  
 Greg. Naz. *Or.* i. 477 β οἱ μὲν πόδες ἐφέρον[το] ἢ δὲ ὄψις εἶχε  
 τὴν θάλατταν fixes the sense and punctuation. 17. τωνγεω  
 codd. 19. so Cr.

# PHOENIX

## THE CHOUGH-BEGGARS

### 2

Good sirs, give to Apollo's child the chough  
 A fist of barley, crock of loaves, enough  
 Of bread, a farthing. Each give what he will  
 Of what he has in hand, kind sirs, to me  
 The chough. Coarse salt will not distasteful be. 5  
 On all these things she loves full well to thrive.  
 Who now gives salt a honeycomb shall give.  
 Sir slave ! open the door. Let wealth come in  
 What time the girl brings figs from store within.  
 Pray God the maiden lead a virtuous life 10  
 And to a famous man and rich be wife.  
 And set a son upon her father's knee, 12  
 A daughter on her mother's ; and may she  
 As child or girl or woman <bring delight,  
 When forth she ventures> <sup>1</sup> to her brothers' sight.  
 I, as I wander over dale and hill,  
 Keep my eyes fixed upon the Muses still ; 15  
 And, be ye churl or lavish, at your wicket  
 More blithely will I sing than any cricket. 17  
 . . . . .  
 Kind sirs, set forth what cupboard has in store, 18  
 Kind master give, kind mistress give me more.

<sup>1</sup> Clearly a verse is missing. The sense is secured by Hom.  $\zeta$  154 *sqq.* *τρισμακάρες μὲν σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι· μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν λαίνεται εἵνεκα σεῖο λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχευῆσαν.* The line lost was something like *κῆρ εὐφρανεύουσαν ἤνικ' ἐς χορὸν φοιτῆ.* The Greeks (in literary tradition) were very fond of their sisters. We are not.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

νόμος κορώνη χεῖρα δοῦν' ἐπαιτούση. 20  
 τοιαῦτ' εἰδῶσ'τ δός τι καὶ καταχρήσει.

(Ath. viii. 359 e οἶδα δὲ Φοῖνικα τὸν Κολοφώνιον λαμβοποιὸν μνημονεύοντά τινων ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀγειρόντων τῇ κορώνη καὶ λέγοντα (? -ων) ταῦτα (vv. 1-17). καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ Ἰάμβου φησὶν (vv. 18-21).)

It is remarkable that these verses differ (metrically) *toto caelo* from those of I and III: perhaps they are written after Callimachus' criticisms in his *Iambi*. More probably Phoenix varies metre with subject.

21. e.g. τοσαῦτ' αἰείδω Bgk.

### <ΝΕΟΠΛΟΥΤΟΙ>

*fr. 3 (6 Powell)*

π(ολ)λοῖς γε θνητῶν τὰ γ[ά]θ', ᾧ Ποσειδίππε,  
 οὐ [σύ]μφορ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοιαῦτ' αὐτούς  
 τ](έμν)ειν, ὅκοῖα καὶ φρονε[ῖ]ν ἐπίστανται·  
 (νῦν) δ' ο[ἰ] (μ)έν [ῆ]μῶν κ(ρη)[γυ]οι καθεστῶτες  
 (π)ολλὴν ἀ(φ)ειδέως ν(η)[σ](τήν) ἐρεύγοντα[ι 5  
 (οἰ) δ' οὔτε σῦκα, φασίν, οὔτ' ἐρίν' εὔντες  
 (π)λουτοῦσι. τῷ πλούτῳ δὲ πρ(ὸς) τί δεῖ χρῆ[σθ]αι  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πάντων πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστανται,  
 ἀλ(λ)' (ο)ἰ(κ)[ία]ς μὲν ἐκ λίθου σμαραγδίτου,  
 εἴ πω[ς] ἀνυστόν ἐστι τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς πρήσσει(ν) 10  
 π[ά]το(ν) [τ'] ἐχούσας καὶ στοὰς τετραστύλους  
 πολλῶ]ν τ(α)λάντων ἀξίας κατακτῶ(ν)ται.  
 . . . . .](δ)' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἀναγκαίην (ψυχ)ήν  
 . . . . .]η σκ[ωρή] το]ύτων πάντων·  
 . . . . .].ρα [πλου] (τ)[ο]ν ἐκπορίζουσιν 15  
 . . . . λ(ό)γοις χρηστοῖ(σ)ι σωφρονηθεῖσα

1, 2. so Gerhard. 3. suppl. Bi.-K.; cf. Poseidippus  
*A.P.* ix. 359. 4. νῦν etc. Cr. κρήγνοι G. 5. νησίην  
 Bücherer-Cr. 6. ερινα Papyrus. 7, 9, 10. so G.

## PHOENIX

So give the chough a fistful as is fit. 20  
 So sing I. Give. You 'll ne'er repent of it.

(I recall that Phoenix the (chol)iambist of Colophon mentions certain men as collecting for the chough, and says (saying?) as follows (1-17). At the end of the Iambus he says (18-20). *Athenaeus.*)

### [THE PROFITEERS]

3

Unto full many mortals goods are not  
 Good, Poseidippos : such should be men's lot  
 As is their power to stomach. Now, God wot,  
 Our nobles belch not save on sorry fare,  
 Those who nor garden figs nor wild figs are, 5  
 Are rich. But how their riches they should spend  
 They know not. An they gain their dearest end,  
 Houses they buy for millions houses bright  
 With colonnades and floor of malachite.  
 But for the food whereon their souls should feed, 10  
 They mix it with the scourings of their greed.  
 For base are gains when men seek wealth alone  
 And listen not to words of righteous tone,  
 To learn precisely what is right and fit.  
 O Poseidippos let us say of it : 15  
 Their houses costly are and fair of note

---

11. . .](στου)[.] Heidelb. legere visus sum : sed "besser ]τον["  
 monet Bi. 12. so G. 13. see G. and read with him  
 ψυχῆ. Beginning e.g. τροφήν. 14. το]ύτων G. be-  
 ginning (for sense) ἐφύρεν ἀργή. 15. e.g. κέρδη γὰρ αἰσχρά.  
 πλουτων dubium (Bi.). 16. e.g. οὐ μὴ. λόγοις G.

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

.....] (τ)ὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντ' εἶδῆ.  
 [. . . . .] τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν, Ποσειδίππε,  
 . . σ]υ(μ)βέβηκεν (οἰκ)ίας μὲν κεκτῆσ(θ)α(ι)  
 κ](α)λὰς καταξίας τε χρημάτων πολλῶν, 20  
 α]ὐτοὺς δ' ὑπάρχειν ἀξίους τ[ρι]ῶν χ(α)[λκῶ]ν;  
 κ]αὶ μάλα δικαίως, ἣν τις ἐνθυμῆτ' [ὀρ]θῶς  
 .....]ν γὰρ καὶ λίθων φροντίζουσιν.

(In Cercidas' Anthology with lemma Ἰαμβος Φοῖνικος (η').  
 Follows at once (? τοῦ αὐτοῦ))

3\*

..... (μ') [οἰ]κι. [. .] (ἀ)νιστᾶσιν

17. e.g. ὀρθῶς. 18. e.g. τοῖς οὖν G. 19. οὐ συμβ. G.  
 20, 21, 22, 23. So G.

<sup>1</sup> The anthology does not add materially to the reputation of the poet. Athenaeus would appear to have selected his two best pieces. But it gives us their scope—say twenty to fifty lines—and shows us that 1 and 2 may be nearly complete. Moreover, Poseidippus gives us a clue as to date: that is that this poem may be later than 275, if this (Gerhard)



## PHOENIX

But they themselves are worth not half a goat.<sup>1</sup>  
And rightly, too, such verdict may we give,  
<For stones they are and> unto stones they live.<sup>2</sup>

(The first citation in *Cercidas*' anthology, 'One of *Phoenix*' *Iambi*.' The citation which follows in the same metre—the title has been lost—runs :)

3\*

. . . set up hous. . .

is the Poseidippus who was then studying in Athens under Zeno and Cleanthes. Another identification (see below) is with the comic poet who lived later. But again, if my reading in *v.* 2 is rightly approved by Bilabel, the epigrammatist (of the same date as the comic poet) must also be considered. Indeed the piece might be a commentary on the epigram *ποίην τις βύτιοιο τάμοι τρίβον* ;

<sup>2</sup> Such seems to be the most apposite ending but it is somewhat hard to fit in. See Gerhard pp. 134, 140. Perhaps *λίθοι τ' ἔφυν* (Pind. *P.* i. 42), written *ἔφυσαν*.



## PHOENIX (?)

A Papyrus at Strassburg (*W.G.* 304-307)<sup>1</sup> contains on the recto an anthology of lyrics from tragedy. On the verso is what appears undoubtedly to be part of the Cercidas anthology. In general the metres are iambic and the subjects chosen for their ethical value. There are no names of authors given. The date of the hand, according to Bell, Lobel, and Bilabel, is the middle of the third century B.C. It can hardly be doubted that the author of the choliambi given below is Phoenix. The metre is identical with that used by Phoenix in the Heidelberg fragment; and the loose flowing repetitive style is typical of all we have of him. Another reason, observed by W. Crönert, is that the name Lynceus occurs in this, and Poseidippus in the Heidelberg fragment. Lynceus is known to have written letters to Poseidippus, possibly those of an elder to a pupil. If, as may be, it is Lynceus who is dead, the verses may have been written about 280 B.C.: for Lynceus is called a contemporary of Menander, Poseidippus being younger, or at least younger as a writer: see Suid. *s.vv.*, Ath. viii. 337 d. The anthology, then, is almost contemporary with the verses, if these names are those of the well known writers of Attic comedy.

<sup>1</sup> *Gött. Gel. Nachr.*, 1922, i. 31.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

This may be a convenient place to note two points: *firstly*, the metre of the fragment. There are two licenses employed by Greek writers as a variant of the rigid form  $\asymp - \cup - \cup - \asymp - \cup - \cup - - -$ . One is to allow many resolutions. Phoenix adopts this in two pieces. The other is to allow the ending  $- - - -$ . This is adopted by Phoenix in two pieces; also by the author of the anthology whom Gregory calls Cercidas. Callimachus eschews both licences, though occasionally admitting an undivided trochee: Herodes uses both. *Secondly*, we may now place the anthology collector, who contributed the preface, as writing about 250 B.C., and roundly assert that this metre was as far as we know and in all probability not used between 200 B.C. and the Christian era. Earlier columns of the Strassburg portion of the Anthology are not well re-assembled yet. Below this poem we have the verses (already edited by Crönert):

ἀγαπάτε τοῦτον πάντες ὃς ἔχει τὰγαθά<sup>1</sup>  
 ἅπαντ' ἐν αὐτῷ, χρηστός, εὐγενής, ἀπλοῦς,  
 φιλοβασιλεύς, ἀνδρείος, εἰ<sup>2</sup> πίστει μέγας,  
 σώφρων, φιλέλλην, πραῦς, εὐπροσήγορος,  
 τὰ πανοῦργα μισῶν, τὴν ἀλήθειαν σέβων.

Next column contains three pseudo-Epicharmic verses, ἐπιστα . . . | τιμαν θεοι . . . | αὐτὸν κυβερ(ν)[—clearly of ruling the tongue. At the bottom is a fragment of Attic comedy of which I give the beginnings of the last nine verses: Ἄπολλον Ἄ(γρ εὔ? ?) | οὕτως δ' ἂν ἐμ | ἡμῖν ὑβρις . . . | καὶ τρίποδες ἀλ. . | καὶ μὴν ἀδικεῖται ψ. . . . . | νῦν μοι διακόνουν . . παιδίον | ἀστέιον οὐχ ὄμ. . . . ἐκ κει. | ἂ δ' ἂν λάβω τοι δεῖ

<sup>1</sup> a horrid pun, αγαπα and αγα(θα) πα(ντ).

<sup>2</sup> for εμ.

## PHOENIX (?)

διπλό' ἀπο[δοῦναι | τὰ πάτρια γὰρ δι' τῆς τέχνης |. In  
between are the interesting verses :

οὔτ(ω) τὰ πρόσθιν[  
κοινῆς τραπ[έξης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,  
ἀκόλαστον ἔσ[χε γλώσσαν αἰσχίστην νόσον.  
κορυφῆς ὑπε[ρέλλοντα δειμαίνων πέτρον<sup>1</sup>  
τυχ. . .ετα[  
ἦ που τ[

These I quote, (a) since they give clearly the subject of this section of the anthology—praise or blame of the tongue: (b) since, as will be seen, the three verses taken from the first ten lines of Euripides' *Orestes* may be choliambic (*ἴσον, νοῦσον, πέτρον*).

We must consider briefly the subject matter. A poet is dead. The speaker (Phoenix or, as in the Ninos poem, another) wishes consolation for the loss. He longs to see Lynceus, and will render him famous by iambs at feast of bowls (and in the country? ?). For us there is an unfortunate ambiguity. Does Apollo or some representative of poetry mourn a dead writer, *e.g.* Menander, and beseech Lynceus to replace him, with promises to inspire him at the Dionysia in city (see *ap.* Dem. 531) and country? Or is the request for the robe merely an aside to a slave, and is "that which was my robe" Lynceus, and the iambs those of Phoenix who speaks? On the whole, I believe this is so, but have no confidence in either interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 2, 3, 4 suppl. E. Iobel.

〈ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΣ〉

fr. 4

.....]. . . ο.[ο.] (ελπ)[. . . .] δεινοῖς  
 .....] . . (μι)[. . .](π)ε[. . . .]ν λέσχη  
 .]. . .[. . . .]. . . (συ).[.] (ν) δὲ (λ)αιψηρήν  
 .]. . .[. . .]. . . (ι)δαι [. . .] (ἀσφαλ)ῆ 'π(οῦ)ρ(α)ς  
 .]. . .[. . .]. . . ην.(φ). [έν]αύεσθαι λύχρον. 5  
 .]. . . . .(ε).(αλ)ος, καὶ πα(νοι)κίη θάλλων  
 ἔτοιμον †. .τον κ(τῆσι)ν ὦ(ν) ἐ(κ)εῖτ τήρει,  
 καὶ κάε χρεῖην καὶ π[έν](η)τος ἐμβλέψας.  
 . . .[. . .]. . ε(ς) τ. (θοιλπα) τῆς τύχης κρίων  
 . . . . .] τὸ μηδὲν καὶ κενῶ προσεμβ(α)[. . . . . 10  
 . . . . .](ω)δεστ.ν[ε](ξ)αγ. . πάρ σευ  
 . . . . .]. . .[. . . . .]. . .[. . . . . 12  
 (duo versus desunt)  
 . . . . . ἄ](φν)εα [. . .] (μηδ)[. . . . . 15  
 . . . . . .δ]εξιῆς ἤψ(ω) τ' ἡμῶν  
 . . . . . .]τι τ(ῶ) θεῶν ξείνω  
 .](α)[. . .]οι(το) (σοὶ) μὲν (X)εῖος (ῆ) (ἀ)πὸ τῆς  
 Σμύρνης

3. e.g. σεαυτὸν ἴσθι τὴν τύχην . . . 4. e.g. δαίμων'  
 (init. ἐνταῦθα μίμνε). 5. e.g. ἐνθεν εἰ σ' ἐχρῆν ὀψ'. 6. e.g.  
 πρόφαινε καλός: l. -οικίη. 7. . . . τογ P: ? l. αὐτοῦ. Deīn  
 suspicor ὡς ἔχει. 8. εβλ. P with μ superscr.: l. χρεῖη.  
 9. e.g. τὰ κοινά, τὰ δεινά cett.: init. e.g. σὺ δ' ἤλιτες.

<EPITAPH (ON LYNCEUS?)>

4

Full often would I say in idle] talk,  
 "Beware of] dangers [if abroad you walk.  
 Know you are mortal] and swift Fate is not:  
 Abide at home where] safety is your lot. 4  
 There are the fires] from which your lamp to light,  
 Flourish both you and yours, and shining bright  
 Keep it a ready vessel there<sup>1</sup> with heed  
 And burn it, apt to serve the poorest's need.  
 Alas! you] scoffed at Fate's alarms, and found  
 Faring abroad] your [feet] on hollow ground. 10  
 No profit is there more of you for me

. . . . .  
 . . . 'rich' . . . . . 15  
 . . . 'my right hand clasped' . . . . . 16  
 . . . 'the host of gods' . . . . . 17  
 Praise you in Smyrna, †Cretet, or Chios<sup>2</sup> bred 18

<sup>1</sup> In *v.* 7 I translate *αὐτοῦ* . . . *ὡς ἔχει*. P seems to have *ωνεκει*. There may be an allusion here to Lynceus as a poet: Callim. *Iamb.* 334 "Ἐφεσον ὄθεν πῦρ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες τὰ χωλὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται. *v.* 8 'Give a light even to the poorest' encourages this interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly Homer who was born at Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodes, Argos or Athens. The reading 'Crete' is an error, perhaps for ἡ Ἀκτῆς—'from Smyrna or Attica.'

10. *e.g.* εἶναι and προσεμβαίνων. 16. ? ἡμέων. 18 *e.g.* κληῖται.

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

(ῆ) (Κρής) ὄ,τ' εἶη καὶ κεν(ὸν κεν)ῶ (β)ά(ξ)α(ι).  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑπ' Ἄιδου (δὴ σε πε) [ί]θομαι γλῶσσαν 20  
 . . . . [ . . . . . ] (τα π) [ερί] πασ(ῶ)ν χελιδόνων.  
 ὁ δ' (εὐκο) [ . . . . . ] (π) [ . . . . ] (φ)η(μ) [ . ] (μυστα)ισι [ . ]  
 (σὺ)ν εὐλαβείῃ τ(ρι) [ . . . . ] . [ . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 τί πόλλ' αἰίδω; μ(ω)ρίη γὰρ ἦ λέσχη.  
 στεῖλόν μ(ε χ)λ(αί)νη· κῶς δ' ἔχω ποθέω(ν) βλέψαι  
 Λυγκεῦ σε; . . . . σὺ· νῦ(ν γ)ὰρ ῶ κατέσταλμαι 26  
 κατερρῦηκε καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδη βαίνει.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἰάμβ(οι)ς κῆπι Κρητῆρων Θοί(ν)η  
 θήσω σε τιμήεντα καὶ ἐν χώρῃ παντί.

19. Beginning very uncertain. (ἄκρω) would fit traces better. 21. read *περὶ χ. π.* 25. *στειλομ P.* 26. *lectio incertissima: μή olim dedi: fort. ἄγρει.* *νυγ ex νῦν?* 29. *εγ P.*

*fr. 5 (3 Powell)*

Νίνου κάδοι μάχαιρα καὶ κύλιξ αἰχμή,  
 κ<ύ>μ<β>η δὲ τόξα δήιοι δὲ κρητῆρες,  
 ἵπποι δ' ἄκρητος κάλαλῆ ' μύρον <χ>εῖτ<ε>.'

(Ath. x. 421 d καὶ ὁ Κολοφώνιος δὲ Φοῖνιξ φησιν (5).)

5. 2. *κόμη* corrected by Haupt. 3. *κείται* by Lachmann.



## ANECDOTUM ARGENTINENSE

Some empty singer to an empty head <sup>1</sup> :	
But you have ta'en below, I wot, a tongue	20
That has all twittering swallows far outsung. <sup>2</sup>	21
. . . . .	22
' with caution '	23
Why sing I long ; for idle talk is folly.	24
Robe me ! How suffer I, who long to see	25
You, Lynceus, once again ! Come ! robe thou me.	
For that which was my robe has vanished quite <sup>3</sup>	
And treads the path to Hades out of sight.	
But I at country-side and Feast of Bowls <sup>4</sup>	
Will win your verses honour from all souls.	30

<sup>1</sup> See *Paroem.* κενοὶ κενὰ βουλευόνται and πρὸς κενὴν (or -ὄν) ψάλλεις.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 20 and 21 echo Phoenix *fr.* 1 *v.* 21 and *fr.* 2 *v.* 17 .

<sup>3</sup> See Headlam's note on Herodes ii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 'Feast of Bowls' : conceivably two mixing-bowls, one for the living and one for the dead. Ionic has no dual. As Phoenix lived at Ephesus, the probable scene for Mime V. of Herodes, this appears as a *possible* name of the feast which Herodes paraphrased with the words ἐπεὰν δὲ τοῖς καμῶσιν ἐγχυτλώσωμεν (84). But see above.

### 5

For casks were Ninus' sword and jugs his spear,  
 Cups were his arrows, bowls his enemy,  
 Ho ointment ! his alarm, liqueurs his cavalry.

(And Phoenix of Colophon says (5). *Athenaeus.*)

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### fr. 6 (4 Powell)

Θαλῆς γὰρ ἴσστις ἀστέ[ρ]ων ὀνήσιτος  
καὶ τῶν τότε, ὡς λέγουσι, πολλκὸν ἀνθρώπων  
εἶν ἀριστος, ἔλαβε πελλίδα χρυσῆν.

(Ath. xi. 495 d Φοῖνιξ δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἐπιφιάλης τίθησι τὴν λέξιν λέγων οὕτως (6). καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ μέρει φησὶν (7).)

### fr. 7 (5 Powell)

Hippon. fr. 76\*.

### fr. 8

ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡσυχῆ τε καὶ ῥύδην  
θύνητον τε καὶ μυττωτὸν ἡμέρας πάσας  
δαινύμενος ὥσπερ Λαμψακηνὸς εὐνοῦχος  
κατέφαγε δὴ τὸν [σ]κλήρον, τῶστε χρῆτ  
σκάπτειν

6. 1. ἴσστις: read e.g. ἀστοῖς. ἀστέων (from false mss. of Hdt.): Casaubon's certain correction (quam nemo umquam dubitavit literarum Graecarum vel minime peritus). Here are the disjecta membra in Hdt. alone:—τῶν τότε + superlative i. 23, viii. 8, ix. 72, cf. iii. 125: ἀνθρώπων + sup. i. 24, 45, iv. 91, viii. 68: τῶν ἀστῶν + sup. or δόκιμος i. 158, iii. 20, iv. 14, 161, v. 63, 97, 126, vi. 61, 101, vii. 118, viii. 46, ix. 93. It is true that the expression is intolerably diffuse, but so is all that we have of Phoenix. Compare Theogn. v. 23. On ἀστεύς see my *First Greek Anthologist*, p. 24. 2. -ῶν Λ: corr. by Toup. 3. v.l. πελλιίδα.

## PHOENIX (?)

### 6

For Thales, to his townsmen usefulest  
Of townsmen, and, say they, by far the best  
Of men then living took the paillet gold.

(Phoenix of Colophon in his *Iambi* uses the word (paillet) of a cup as follows (6). Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> he says (7). *Athenaeus*.)

### 7

Hippon. *fr.* 76.

### 8

One day by day luxuriously dined  
In ease on cheese-cake spiced and tunny brined,  
Like eunuch Lampsacene : his portion done  
He fain would dig 'mid mountain rocks and stone ;

<sup>1</sup> It is clearly impossible to suppose these words are right. In what other part? For these are iambi like the others. But we know of various books of Hipponax, and if we transfer the text of Athenaeus (or of Lysanias behind it) we get a natural sequence *καὶ πάλιν* (495 d) . . . *καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ μέρει* (495 e). The gravest stylistic argument is that Phoenix was wholly incapable of such compression as the three verses show.

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8. 2. *θύναν* A, *θύνον* C, *θυνηίδα* Meineke. 4. *σκληρὸν*  
cod. Ath.: corr. Dalecamp. ὥστε χρῆ cod. Ath.: leg.  
*χρηῖ*: Soph. *Ant.* 887 (Jebb). So ten Brink.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

5

πέτρας [τ'] ὀρείας σῦκα μέτρια τρώγων  
καὶ κρίθινον κόλλικα δούλιον χόρτον.

(Ath. vii. 303 c θυννίς . . . 304 b Ἴππῶναξ δὲ ὡς Λυσανίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ <τῶν> λαμβοποιῶν παρατίθεται, φησὶν (8).)

The evidence for attributing this fragment to Hipponax appears faulty. On the one hand Athenaeus' attribution is plain, the divisions and the breaks are good, and the connexion with *fr.* 17 (so most edd.) attractive. Against this we have (a) ῥῦδην so typical of later choliambists (ἐμπτύοι Hrd., καταπτῦ (?) Cercid., κλύω Phoenix). (b) The moral tone. (c) Three cases of resolution in the first foot—for Athenaeus seems to have read θυννίδα in *v.* 2. Of course his text may have been corrected from better codd.,

## AESCHRION

- fr.* 1. μῆνη τὸ καλὸν οὐρανοῦ νέον σίγμα  
2\*. στενὸν καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἐμπόρων χώρην  
ναῦται θαλάσσης ἐστρέφοντο μύρμηκες.  
3\*. ὁ δ' ἐξελὼν ἰμάντα φορτίου ζώνην  
4\*. Ἴρις δ' ἔλαμψε καλὸν οὐρανοῦ τόξον.  
5\*. καὶ πίσσαν ἐφθῆν ἦν θύραι μυρίζονται

(Tzetz. *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 650 Walz ὡς τὴν σελήνην οὐρανοῦ πάλιν Αἰσχυρίων σίγμα· οὕτω γὰρ λέξεσιν αὐταῖς αὐτὸ Αἰσχυρίων λέγει (1)· τὸν λόγον ἐκτραχύνουσι, σκληρύνουσι δὲ πλέον ἢ μᾶλλον εἰς ψυχρότητα σύρουσι γελαστέαν, ὡς καὶ ὁ γράψας τὰ ψυχρὰ ταυτὶ τῶν λαμβείων (2) καὶ πολλαχοῦ δυστηνὰ τοιαυτὶ λέγει (3-5).

## AESCHRION

And peck at fodder whereon slaves are fed,  
A modicum of figs and barley bread.

(Tunny . . . ; Hipponax, as Lysanias says in his work on the (chol)iambic poets, remarks (8). *Athenaeus.*)

---

if these were extant. Again, v. 4 is wholly unsatisfactory though the resolution is not objectionable. (*d*) The fact that the citation is second-hand. If genuine we should have to read *e.g.* v. 1 ῥύβδην (B<sub>gk.</sub>), v. 2 μυσσωτὸν *id.*, v. 3 ὥστε, v. 4 κατ' ὦν φαγῶν and ὥστε θῆς σκάπτει and in v. 2 keep θυννόν C (θύνναν A). Even so μέτριᾶ τρώγων is wrong for Hipponax, but right for Phoenix (2. 1, 6. 3).

## AESCHRION

1. O Moon the heaven's pretty new sigma<sup>1</sup>
- 2\*. Sea-ants the sailors swarmed, where their  
business  
The merchants have in Hellespont's narrows.
- 3\*. So he unloosed a strap, a bale's girdle
- 4\*. A rainbow shone, the heaven's fair iris.<sup>2</sup>
- 5\*. And boiling pitch, a portal's anointment

(Or again as Aeschion calls the moon the heaven's pretty sigma. Here are his exact words (1). Thus style is rendered 'rougher,' I should rather say 'harsher,' or better still 'diverted to a ridiculous bathos,' as is the case with the author of these iambs which are typical of bathos (2). With him these unfortunate effects are common (3-5). *Tzetzes in Rhetores Graeci.*)

<sup>1</sup> C, not Σ.

<sup>2</sup> Transposing the original.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

## fr. 6

ἐγὼ Φιλαινὶς ἠπίβωτος ἀνθρώποις  
 ἐνταῦθα γήρα τῷ μακρῷ κεκοίμημαι.  
 μή μ', ὦ μάταιε ναῦτα, τὴν ἄκρην κάμπτων  
 χλεύην τε ποιεῦ καὶ γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην·  
 οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὸν Ζῆν', οὐ μὰ τοὺς κάτω Κούρους, 5  
 οὐκ ἦν ἐς ἄνδρας μάχλος οὐδὲ δημώδης·  
 Πολυκράτης δὲ τὴν γενὴν Ἀθηναῖος  
 λόγων τ(ε) παιπάλημα καὶ κακὴ γλῶσσα  
 ἔγραψεν <ὄ>σ' ἔγραψ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα.

(Ath. viii. 335 b Φιλαινίδος εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρεται τὸ περὶ  
 Ἀφροδισίων ἀκόλαστον σύγγραμμα ὅπερ φησὶ ποιῆσαι Αἰσχρίων·  
 ὁ Σάμιος λαμβοποιὸς Πολυκράτη τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῆς  
 ἰνθρώπου σωφρονεστάτης γενομένης. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως τὰ λαμβεῖα (6).  
*A.P.* vii. 345 ἀδέσποτον· οἱ δὲ Σιμωνίδου.)

## fr. 7

καὶ θεῶν <βρῶσιν>  
 ἄγρωστιν εὖρες ἦν Κρόνος κατέσπειρεν.

(Ath. vii. 296 e Αἰσχρίων δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τινι τῶν λάμβων  
 Ἔδνης φησὶ τῆς Σκύλλου (cf. *A.P.* ix. 296)(Hdt. viii. 8) τοῦ  
 Σκιωναίου κατακολυμβητοῦ θυγατρὸς τὸν θαλάσσιον Γλαῦκον  
 ἐρασθῆναι. ἰδίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς βοτάνης λέγει ἣν φαγῶν  
 ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο (7).)

6. vv. 11. 4 λάσθην, 5 Ζεῦν, οὐδὲ, 6 ἦν, 7 γυνῆν, 8 οἶα  
 and ἄσσα. 8. τι Ath., *A.P.*

7. 1. so Haupt.

## AESCHRION

### 6

Philaenis I, the whole wide world's byword,  
Lie resting here after a long old age.  
O idle sailor, rounding the headland,  
Spare me your jeers, derisions and mockings,  
For so I swear by Zeus, and by Hell's Youths<sup>1</sup>  
Ne'er was I common woman, nor lustful.  
Polycrates, Athenian native,  
Evil of tongue and crafty word-monger,  
Wrote of me what he wrote : for I know not.

(Philaenis, to whom is ascribed the obscene work on erotics, said by Aeschion of Samos, the writer of iambi, to have been written by Polycrates the sophist to libel the woman, who was, in fact, a model of chastity. *Athenaeus*. Also in the *Palatine Anthology* with lemma "On Philaenis the courtesan from Elephantiné who painted on a tablet the famous *γυναικείας μίξεις* on account of which she is lampooned by the Athenian wits." A scholiast (*A.P.*) repeats the charge quoting Lucian (*Amor.* 28).

### 7

And agrostis

Did'st find, the Gods' repast, sown by Kronos.

(Aeschion of Samos in one of his iambi says that the sea deity Glaucus was enamoured of Hydna, daughter of Scyllus<sup>2</sup> the Scionean diver. And he has an original statement about the food which he ate and became immortal (7). *Athenaeus*.)

<sup>1</sup> The Dioscuri. For the ellipse of (Dios) compare Herodes, i. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Scyllus or Scyllies was (Hdt. viii. 8) the famous diver who deserted to the Greeks before the naval fighting round Artemisium in connexion with the battle of Thermopylae. He swam ten miles under sea! Agrostis is a kind of grass. Glaucus was originally a fisher of Anthedon.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### THEOCRITUS

ὁ μουσοποιὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἰππῶναξ κείται·  
εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχεν τῷ τύμβῳ·  
εἰ δ' ἔσσι κρήγγός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν,  
θαρσέων καθίζεν, κῆν θέλης ἀπόβριξον.

(A.P. xiii. 3 and one cod. Theocr.)

2. A.P. ποτέρχεν: cod. Med. προσέρχου.  
A.P. 4. καθίζου cod. Med.

3. χρηστῷ

### DIPHILUS

στρωφᾶς δὲ πώλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς Σῆμος  
ὄς πρῶτος ἄρματ' ἤλασεν παρ' Ἀλφειῷ.

(Scholl. Pind. Ol. x. 83 (a) παρατίθεται δὲ (Δίδυμος) καὶ τὸν γράφοντα τὸν Θησηίδα μαρτυροῦντα τῷ Ἡρωὶ τὴν τοῦ ἄρματος ἠνιοχεντικὴν ἀρετὴν· τρέψας δὲ πώλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς Ἡρως. (b) Ἀριστόδημος δὲ φησι μὴ δύνασθαι συγχρονεῖν Ἀλιρρόθιον τὸν κατὰ Κέκροπα Ἡρακλεῖ ἀλλὰ μηδὲ Ἀρκάδα εἶναι ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖον. Σῆμον δὲ τινα νῦν νενικηκέναι ἄρματι ὡς φησι Δίφιλος ὁ τὴν Θησηίδα ποιήσας ἐν τινὶ ἰάμβῳ οὕτω τρέψας δὲ κτλ. (vv. 1-2).

1. v.l. τρέψας, Ἡρως schol. (a).



## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### THEOCRITUS

Stranger, here lies the poet Hipponax :  
If thou art wicked, to his tomb come not ;  
If thou art goodly and thy sires gentle,  
Be bold : sit here : and if thou wilt, slumber

(In the *Anthologia Palatina* and one ms. of *Theocr.*)

### DIPHILUS<sup>1</sup>

And swerdest colts like Mantinese Semus  
Who won the car race first by Alpheus.

((a) Didymus cites the author of the *Theseis* as witness to the driving skill of the Hero (v. 1). (b) Aristodemus says that Halirrhothius being contemporary of Cecrops cannot have been alive with Heracles, nor was he an Arcadian but an Athenian. In fact the victor in the car race was a certain Semus, as is stated by Diphilus the author of the *Theseis* in a (chol)iambic verse as follows (vv. 1, 2). Two *Commentators* on an *Olympian Ode* of Pindar.)

<sup>1</sup> Of Diphilus nothing is known beyond the statements above. In the second verse it is not clear whether *πρῶτος* means 'was first to' or 'to victory.' The second schol. suggests that this was part of a fugitive epigram. Quite possibly a quotation from the *Theseis* is lost and these iambs are by another hand. The Diphilus of schol. Ar. *Nub.* 96 might be the same, but this is improbable.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### RHINTHON

(fr. 10 Kaibel)

A. ὁ σὲ Διόνυσος αὐτὸς ἐξώλη θείη.

B. Ἰππωνά[κ]τ(ειον) τὸ μέτρον.

A. οὐδέν μοι μέλει.

(Hephaest. p. 9 Ῥίνθων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἰάμβῳ ἐπισημασίας ἤξιωσε τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἐν γὰρ Ὀρέστη δρᾶματι φησιν (v. 1), εἴθ' (v. 2). So Choerob. in Theodos. ii. 796 Hillgard πολλάκις εὐρίσκονται καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέτροις ἀποτελοῦντα κοινὴν τὸ κ̄τ̄ καὶ π̄τ̄, . . . ὡς παρὰ τῷ P. (v. 2).)

1. θείης εἴθ' cod.

2. Ἰππωνᾶκτος codd.: correxi.

The apparent choliambic fragment in Clement of Alexandria, p. 14 Potter, attributed to Rhinthon, is really a trimeter: see Potter's citations. For another fragment of Rhinthon see my *First Greek Anthologist*, p. 22.

## ASCLEPIADES OF SAMOS

fr. 1

ὁ καὶ κυνὸς καλοῦσι δυσμόρου σῆμα

(Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 1273 περὶ δὲ τοῦ κυνὸς σήματος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης φησὶν ὅτι κυνὸς καλοῦσι δυσμόρου σῆμα. Schol. Lyc. 315 σκύλαξ' . . . σκύλακα τὴν Ἐκάβην λέγει, ὅτι κύων ἐγένετο ὡς φησὶ μυθικῶς Εὐριπίδης (*l.c.*). . . καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης περὶ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἀνηρέθη (1).)

1. δ καὶ om. schol. *Hec.*

## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### RHINTHON

A. May Dionysus be thy perdition.

B. A Hipponactean<sup>1</sup> verse!

A. I do not mind.

(Rhinthon in an iambus calls attention to this practice. In his play *Orestes* he says (v. 1) and proceeds (v. 2). *Hephaestion*. *Kt* and *pt* often have the syllable before them either short or long: e.g. Rhinthon (v. 2). *Choeroboscus*.)

<sup>1</sup> Rhinthon is satirizing the scansion  $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$  (Hephaestion) and  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau$ - (Choeroboscus). The latter depends on the false reading  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\eta\pi\lambda\eta$  in Hipponax (p. 14).

### ASCLEPIADES OF SAMOS

#### 1

The luckless 'bitch's tomb' they now call it.

(About the 'bitch's tomb' Asclepiades says that (1). *Commentator* on *Euripides' Hecuba*. 'Whelp': . . . Lycophron gives this name to Hecuba since she was turned into a bitch according to Euripides' legend. Asclepiades says about the place where she was killed (1).)

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

*fr. 2*

κούφη κεραί<η> κεύσταλεῖ παρήνευκεν

(Plut. *Mor.* 476 A κἄν τις ἔξωθεν ἀρχὴ πάθους ὥσπερ διαδρομὴ γένηται σπιλάδος (ε. καὶ κ. κ. π.) ὡς φησιν Ἀσκλ.)

## APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

CANOBUS

*fr. 1*

Κορινθιουργές ἐστι κίωνων σχῆμα.

(Steph. Byz. Κόρινθος· . . . καὶ σύνθετον Κορινθιουργῆς ὡς Ἀττικουργῆς. Ἀπ. ὁ Ῥόδιος Κανώ†π†φ [δευτέρω] (1).)

*fr. 2*

τρέπει δὲ νηὸν ὁ γλυκὺς σε χωρίτης  
πλόος κομίζων δῶρα πλουσίου Νείλου.

(Steph. Byz. χώρα· . . . Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῷ Κ. (2).)

1. δευτέρω del. Meineke. In text ?? σῆμα.

2. 1. τέρψει δὲ νηῶν Pinedo, which I translate. χω-  
ρίτης : em. Meineke. 2. Νείλου πλουσιου codd. : em.  
Gavel.

## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### 2

Rides out the storm with light and bare yard arm

(And if from outside comes the beginning of any evil like the passage of a storm<sup>1</sup> he as Asclepiades says (2). *Plutarch on Tranquillity.*)

<sup>1</sup> σπιλάς 'storm': see *J.Th.S.* xiv. 56, xvi. 78. Add *Plut. Dio* 10 τοῦ χειμῶνος παραφερομένου.

## APOLLONIUS OF RHODES

### CANOBUS

#### 1

A pillared group Corinthian-fashion

('Corinth': . . . there is a compound 'Corinthian-fashion' like 'Attic-fashion.' Apollonius of Rhodes in his [second] *Canobus*.<sup>1</sup> *Stephanus of Byzantium.*)

#### 2

Thou shalt delight in the ships' sweet passage  
That brings the countryfolk rich Nile's presents.

('Country' . . . : compound 'countryfolk.' Apollonius in his *Canobus*. *Id.*)

<sup>1</sup> Canobus was the steersman of Menelaus who was turned into a star. The Corinthian pillars marked his alleged grave. Out of Helen's tears for him grew, as Apollonius no doubt did not fail to mention, the plant ἐλένειον. *E.M. s.v.* Neither Apollonius nor Asclepiades seem to have written more than one choliambic poem.

# FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

## PARMENO

### fr. 1 (1 Powell)

ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἔλκων οἶνον, ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος,	1
Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ	2
οὐδὲ κόππα γιγνώσκων	3
κεῖται δ' ἀναυδος ἐν πίθῳ κολουμβήσας	4
κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακ<ο>ν πίνων.	5

(Ath. v. 221 a (1) φησὶν ὁ Βυζάντιος Παρμένων.)

### fr. 2 (2 Powell)

ἦλθον μακρὴν θάλασσαν, οὐκ ἄγων σῦκα
Κα[ι]ν<αῖ>α φόρτον.

(Ath. iii. 75 f Παρμένων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις τὰ ἀπὸ Κανῶν τῆς Αἰολικῆς πόλεως ὡς διάφορα ἐπαινῶν φησὶν (2).)

### fr. 3 (3 Powell)

Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ Νεῖλε
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(Ath. v. 203 c. Schol. Pind. P. iv. 97.)

### fr. 4 (8 Powell)

παῖδ' οὔτε γέν<ουσι> πυρρὸν οὔθ' ὑπηγήτην
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(Schol. Theocr. vi. 3 πυρρός· ὁ ἀρτίχρους . . . Παρμενίσκος (-ων Haupt) (4).)

1. 3. κόππα A: κάππα cett. 5. φαρμάκων AC: corr. Cas.  
 Meineke saw that the order was unsatisfactory. For sense lost e.g. πρῶτον· εἰτά που πλείον πιῶν σεσίγηκ'  
 2. 2. Καινεα A: corr. Palmerius. φόρτου A: corr. Cas. Sense ἀλλὰ — πύρνας?  
 4. γένειον sch.: corr. Bücheler.

## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### PARMENO

#### 1

For one that drinketh wine, as horse water,  
First speaks like Scythians: <then when drunk  
deeper>

Silent he lies, and cannot say 'Koppa,'<sup>1</sup>  
Since he has fallen to a tub's bottom,  
As with some opiate, with sleep druggéd.

(Parmeno of Byzantium says (1). *Athenaeus*.)

#### 2

<Crossing>

Far seas I came hither, no figs bringing,  
Produce of Canae, <but some fair ladies>.

(Parmeno of Byzantium in his iambi praises figs from Canae the Aeolian city as of superlative quality. *Athenaeus*.)

#### 3

O Nile, Egyptian Zeus,

(*Athenaeus*. A Commentator on a Pythian ode of Pindar.)

#### 4

A boy nor yellow-chinned nor yet downy

('Yellow': used of one whose beard is just beginning to grow. . . . Parmeniscus (4). *Commentator on Theocritus*.)

<sup>1</sup> To the Greeks the northern tongues appeared to have an undue preponderance of ugly guttural sounds (Hdl. on Hrd. vi. 34). *ko* is both the 'first' letter of the Scythian or as the hiccup of the drunkard's alphabet. The Greeks said οὐδ' ἀλφα.

# FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

## HERMEIAS

(p. 237 Powell)

Ἄκούσατ', ὦ Στοίακες, ἔμποροι λήρου,  
 λόγων ὑποκρ<ι>τῆρες, οἳ μόνοι πάντα  
 τὰν τοῖς πίναξι, πρὶν <τι> τῷ σοφῷ δοῦναι  
 αὐτοὶ καταρροφέετε, κᾶθ' ἀλίσκεσθε  
 ἐναντία πράσσοντες οἷς τραγωδεῖτε.

5

(Ath. xiii. 563 d τούτων τῶν Ἀλέξιδος ἀπομνημονεύσας ὁ Μυρτίλος κᾶτα ἀποβλέψας εἰς τοὺς τὰ τῆς Στοῖς αἰρουμένους τὰ Ἑρμείου τοῦ Κουριέως ἐκ τῶν ἰάμβων προειπῶν (vv. 1-5), παιδοπίπαι ὄντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξηλωκότες τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ὑμῶν τῆς σοφίας Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα, ὃς οὐδέποτε γυναικί ἐχρήσατο παιδικοῖς δ' αἰεὶ, ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ.)

1. στάκες A : στοίακες (E). 2. ὑποκρητῆρες corr. Mus.  
 3. πρηνή: corr. Porson. Read προεῖπεν in Ath. Perhaps continue (for otherwise there is no construction), e.g.

ὡς παιδοπίπαι τ' ἐστὲ καὶ μόνον τοῦτο  
 Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα εἰοίκατε ζηλοῦν  
 ὃς οὐδ' ὄναρ γυναικί, παιδικοῖς δ' αἰεὶ  
 ἐχρήσατ'.

## CHARINUS

Ἐρροῖς πλανῆτι καὶ κακῇ πέτρῃ Λευκάς·  
 Χαρίνον, αἰαῖ, τὴν ἰαμβικὴν Μούσαν  
 κατηθάλυσας ἐλπίδος κενοῖς μύθοις.  
 τοιαῦτ' Ἐρωτος Εὐπάτωρ ἐρασθείη.

(Ptolemaeus Chennus (Phot. Bibl. p. 153. 5) Χαρίνος δὲ ἰαμβογράφος ἠράσθη Ἐρωτος εὐνούχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος οἰνοχόου, καὶ πιστεύσας τῷ περὶ τῆς πέτρας λόγῳ κατέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβαλὼν τὸ σκέλος κατεάγη καὶ ὑπὸ ὀδύνης ἐτελεύτα ἀπέρριψε τὰδε τὰ ἰαμβεῖα (vv. 1-4).)



## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### HERMEIAS

Hear me, ye Stoics, merchants of twaddle,  
Verbiage-fakers : you yourselves gulp down  
All that is in the dishes, ere wise men  
Can get a sup or bite : and your actions  
Belie your fair pretences :<sup>1</sup> †you're caught out 5  
In lust unnatural, herein Zeno  
Your founder, and herein alone, aping :  
For this Phoenician never knew woman.†

(After quoting these verses of Alexis, Myrtilus stared round at those of the Stoic persuasion present and quoted the words of Hermeias of Curium (*vv.* 1-8), as Antigonus the Carystian states in his *Life. Athenaeus.*)

<sup>1</sup> Verses 5-8 are merely paraphrased in Athenaeus : see *crit. n.* Of Hermeias of Curium (in Cyprus) nothing more is known.

### CHARINUS

Damn thee, Leucadian rock,<sup>1</sup> thou vile truant :  
Alas the Muse iambic Charinus  
Thou didst burn up with flattering tales empty.  
Eupator's love for Love I pray end thus.

(Charinus a (chol)iambic poet fell in love with Love, a eunuch who was cup-bearer to Eupator, and trusting in the tale about the rock threw himself over the edge. In falling he broke his leg and just as he was dying in agony threw off these iambic verses (*vv.* 1-4). *Ptolemaeus Chennus* in *Photius's Catalogue.*)

<sup>1</sup> Diving over the Leucadian precipice into the sea was supposed to have the effect of winning the love of a reluctant loved one. The whole of the narrative of Ptolemaeus is suspect : but these verses can hardly be later than A.D. 100 or 200. *πλανήτης* seems to mean 'deceitful.' See [Ovid], *Heroid.* xv. 163 *sqq.*

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### APOLLONIDES (NICAENUS)

Γλῆνιν παρηουίτις ἀμπέχω χερμάς  
πικρῆ κατασπασθέντα κύματος δίνη,  
ὄτ' ἰχθυάζετ' ἐξ ἀκρῆς ἀπορρῶγος·  
χῶσαν δέ μ' ὄσσοσ λαὸσ ἦν συνεργήτης,  
Ποσειῖδον, οὓσ σὺ σῶζε καὶ γαληναίην 5  
αἰὲν διδοίης ὄρμηθόλοισ θίνα.

(*A.P.* vii. 693 'Απολλωνίδου ἰαμβικόν.)

4. ὄσσοσ ἦν συνεργάτης λαὸσ conj. Jacobs.

### HERODIANUS

Ἑρωδιανὸσ Νι[κί]ου πα[τρ]ρὸσ [σ]τῆσεν  
χαλκεῖον ἀνδρίαντα πατρίδος ψήφω  
γνώμησ τ' ἔκ<η>τι, μείλιχος γὰρ ἦν [π]ᾶ[σιν]  
τερπνῶν τε μ[ί]μων οὓσ ἔγραψεν ἀσ[τ]ε[ί]ωσ.

(Cougny, *A.P.* iii. p. 589, from a grave-stone at Ergissa (Eski-Zaghra).)

3. τε ἔκατι lapis.

### PARDALAS

Ὁ Σαρδιηνὸσ Παρδαλαῦσ δισ ἤκουσα·  
μεμνήσομαί σου κὰν ἐμῆσι βύβλοισι.

(Cougny, *A.P.* iii. p. 30. One of a number of inscriptions on the left leg of the famous statue of Memnon in Egypt.)

2. Num σευ?

## VARIOUS FRAGMENTS

### APOLLONIDES (OF NICAEA ?)

Here, sea-side cairn, do I embrace Glenis,  
In woeful whirl of wave to death sucked down,  
What time he sat on rugged cliff fishing.  
His mates did pile me here, O Poseidon :  
Them save thou : evermore give calm weather  
To all who from this sea-board their lines cast.

(In the *Anthologia Palatina*.)

### HERODIAN

Herodianus set this bronze statue  
To Nicias his sire by his town's vote  
Memorial to his character gentle  
And to his pleasant mimes with wit written.

(On a grave-stone : see *Couigny's Appendix to A.P.*)

### PARDALAS OF SARDIS

I, Pardalas of Sardis, twice heard thee  
And in my books I promise thee mention.<sup>1</sup>

(*Appendix to the Palatine Anthology*.)

<sup>1</sup> Ancient tourists who listened for the sound of Memnon's statue at dawn scrawled their semimetrical testimonies all over the statue and base. Couigny i. 175, 184, 185 are mainly in pure iambs and I omit them despite an occasional choliambus, due to the incompetent author or authoress. Pardalas seems to have had some knowledge of the metre and appropriate dialect.

# FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

## ANON. I

Ὁ κλεινὸς ἴνις βασιλέως Ἀμάζασπος,  
 ὁ Μιθριδάτου βασιλέως κασίγνητος,  
 ᾧ γαῖα πατρὶς Κασπί<οι>ς παρὰ κλήθρ<οι>ς,  
 Ἰβηρ Ἰβηρος ἐνθαδὶ τετάρχεται  
 πόλιν παρ' ἱρὴν ἦν ἔδειμε Νικάτωρ 5  
 ἐλαιόθηλον ἀμφὶ Μυγδόνοιο νᾶμα.  
 θάνεν δ' ὀπαδὸς Αὐσόνων τὰ γήτορι  
 μολῶν ἀνακτι Παρθικὴν ἐφ' ὑσμίνην,  
 πρὶν περ παλάξαι χεῖρα δητῶ λύθρω,  
 ἴφθιμον, αἰαῖ, χεῖρα δουρὶ τκανοζωρτ 10  
 καὶ φασγάνου κνώδοντι, πεζὸς ἰπ<πέυς τε>.  
 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἴσος παρθένοισιν αἰδοίαις . .

(Cougny, *A.P.* iii. p. 132. In Rome? Non inveni.)

3. -ιας -ρας corr. by Meineke. 7. ? ταγήτορι and  
 ἀναξι (8). 10. καὶ τῶς M. Haupt. 11. supplied  
 by Scaliger.

## ANON. II

. . . . . ]ιων ἴχνος, εἰ θέλεις γνῶναι  
 . . . . . ]ις τῆδε λαίμη στήλη.  
 . . . . . ] ἐν φθιτοῖς ἀνὴρ χρηστός,  
 . . . . . ] λέλοιπεν ἡλίου φέγγος,  
 . . . . . ]ων μηδέπω τελειώσας. 5  
 πάντ' . . . . . ]ι δέδοκτο, μῦθος ἀνθρώπων,  
 καὶ πάντας] ἀρετῇ τοὺς ὀμήλικας προὔχεν  
 εἰς πᾶν δίκαιος, θεοσεβής, φιλόφρων.  
 τίς οὐχ ἐ]ταίρων τὸν τεὸν μόρον κλαίει;

- 1-5. I translate the general sense given by Cagnat (so  
 7, 9, 10, 12, 13 (δεινόν) and 14). 3. χρ. ἐν φθ. ἀν. lapis.  
 6. δέχοιτο lapis : corr. Cagnat.

## ANONYMOUS FRAGMENTS

### ANON. I

The famous son of a king, Amazaspus,  
And of king Mithridates own brother,  
Who by the Caspian gates was born, here lies,  
Iberian of Iberian, balméd,  
By holy city <sup>1</sup> built by Nicator 5  
On the Mygdonian stream 'neath grey olives.  
Unto the Roman emperor <sup>2</sup> fighting  
Against the Parthian he went ally,  
(And fell his hand not yet in foes' blood steeped,  
That hand alas ! both with the bow mighty 10  
And with the sword-hilt) horse and foot leading.  
Withal he was of modesty maiden . . .

<sup>1</sup> Nisibis.

<sup>2</sup> The emperor seems to have been Trajan.

### ANON. II

<Halt passing> if thou wouldest learn, stranger,  
<Who buried lies> beneath this stone pillar.  
Once was he <so and so>, a man righteous,  
<But now hath gone and> left the fair sunlight  
And left unfinished <his life's due course>. 5  
Alone of men was he <in all blameless>  
<And all> his fellows he in worth outdid.  
<In all things> just, humane, and god-fearing  
<Which of> thy comrades at thy fate weeps not ?

ἅπας] μὲν ὄχλος οἰκετῶν σε δακρύει, 10  
 ἐν παν]τὶ δ' ἦσθα σεμνὸς ὡς δοκεῖν εἶναι  
 ἔτ' ὄν]τα παῖδα τοῖς νοήμασιν πρέσβυν.  
 . . .]ον, ποθητὴ μῆτερ, εὐνασον θρῆνον,  
 πέ]νθους τιθηνόν, ὃς μάτην σε πημαίνει·  
 οὐδεις γὰρ ἐξήλυξε τὸν μίτον Μοιρῶν, 15  
 οὐ θνητός, οὐκ ἀθάνατος· οὐδ' ὁ δεσμώτης  
 οὐδ' αὖ τύραννος βασιλικὴν λαχὼν τιμὴν  
 θεσμοὺς ἀτρέπτους διαφυγεῖν ποτ' ὤθηθη.  
 Φαέθοντα Τιτὰν οὐκ ἔκλαυσ' ὅτ' ἐκ δίφρων  
 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατέπεσεν εἰς πέδον γαίης; 20  
 Ἐρμῆς δ' ὁ Μαίας οὐκ ἔκλαυσεν ὄν παῖδα  
 [Μυρτίλον ἄπὸ δίφρων] κύμασιν φορούμενον];  
 οὐδ' αὖ Θέτις τὸν σ<θ>νεαρὸν ἔστενεν παῖδα  
 ὅτ' ἐκ βελέμνων θνήσκε τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος;  
 οὐδ' αὖ βροτῶν τε καὶ θεῶν ἄναξ πάντων 25  
 Σαρπηδόν' οὐκ ἔκλαυσεν, οὐκ ἐκώκυσεν;  
 οὐδ' αὖ Μακηδῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ὄν τίκτεν Ἄμμων θέμενος εἰς ὄφιν μορφὴν . . .

(Cougny, *A.P.* iii. p. 123. In Alexandria.)

16. read οὐδέ.      22. is corrupt.      23. στεναρόν lapis.  
 25. πάντων ἄναξ lapis.      28. incomplete.

## ANONYMOUS FRAGMENTS

<Aye all> thy household servants are mourners ; 10  
 And always wast thou dignified, seeming,  
 Though yet a boy, in intellect man-like.  
 O yearning <sup>1</sup> mother, thy lament cease thou :  
 It doth but nurse the grief that hurts idly.  
 For none have yet escaped from the Fates' thread,  
 Nor mortal nor immortal : nor pris'ner <sup>2</sup> 16  
 Nor tyrant borne to consequence kingly  
 Has ever thought to flee their laws fixé.  
 Titan did mourn for Phaethon fallen  
 Out of his car from heaven to earth's plain. 20  
 And Hermes Maea's son his own son wept,  
 Myrtilus, thrown to waves <that his name bear>.<sup>3</sup>  
 Thetis lamented 'or her son valiant  
 When by Apollo's darts he lay stricken.  
 Aye and the king of all gods and all men 25  
 Bewailéd and lamented Sarpedon.  
 Aye Alexander, Macedon's ruler,  
 Whom Ammon did beget disguised snakewise . . .

<sup>1</sup> *ποθητή* must mean weeping. Read *ποθητι*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps.-Call, pp. 290 *sqq.* for these and following verses. They might actually be by the same writer.

<sup>3</sup> I suppose the author to have written something like *Μυρτίλον ἰαφθέντ' εἰς φερώνυμον κῦμα. φορηθέντα* would suffice.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS

## 1 (1 Meineke)

Τί δὴ γέρων ὦν καὶ φάλανθος, ὦ ῥίστων,  
τὸ βρέγμα δῶκας ἠλίῳ κατοπτῆσαι;  
τκοι>γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν πλείον ἢ δέον ζητῶν  
τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄντως εὔρες οὐ θέλων Ἄιδην.

(Diog. L. vii. 164 τοῦτον λόγος φαλακρὸν ὄντα ἐγκαυθῆναι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι . . . (1).)

## 2 (2 Meineke)

Οὐκ ἄρα μῦθος ἦν ἐκείνος εἰκαῖος  
ὡς ἀτυχῆς τις ἐών  
τὸν πόδα κολυμβῶν περιέπειρέ <πως> ἦλω·  
καὶ γὰρ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ,  
πρὶν Ἄλφεόν ποτ' ἐκπερᾶν, Ἄλεξιῖνος 5  
θνήσκε νυ<γ>εῖς καλάμῳ.

(Diog. L. ii. 109 ἔπειτα μέντοι νηχόμενον ἐν τῷ Ἄλφειῳ  
νυχθῆναι καλάμῳ καὶ οὕτω τελευτῆσαι . . . (2).)

## 3 (3 Meineke)

Εἰ καὶ σέ, Ξενοφῶν, Κραναοῦ Κέκροπός τε πολῖται  
φεύγειν κατέγνων τοῦ φίλου χάριν Κύρου,  
ἀλλὰ Κόρινθος ἔδεκτο φιλόξενος, ἥ σὺ φιληδῶν  
οὕτως ἀρέσκη· κείθι καὶ μένειν ἔγνωσ.

(Diog. L. ii. 58 ὡς ἐτελεύτα (3). A.P. vii. 98 (3) ἐκ τῆς  
βίβλου τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης Βίων Φιλοσόφων. υν. 3, 4 Suid.  
s.v. φιληδῶν from A.P.)

1. 3. τὴν γὰρ corr. Meineke.

2. 3. τὸ cod. : em. Stephanus. 6. νυχθεῖς corr. Hermann.

3. 2. φευγέμεναι A.P. 4. ? ὅκως.



DIOGENES LAERTIUS

DIOGENES LAERTIUS

1

Why, O Ariston old and bald-headed,  
Did'st to the sun to bake give thy noddle?  
Withal didst thou, excess of heat seeking,  
Discover that cool death which thou shunnédst.

(It is said that Ariston, who was bald, was scorched by the sun and so died. Here is an epigram of mine (1).  
*Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers.*)

2

That witty jest was no mere jest random  
How an unfortunate wight,  
In swimming, on a nail his foot piercéd :  
So did that reverend man  
Named Alexinus crossing Alphéus  
Pierced by a bulrush expire.

(Later while swimming in the Alpheus Alexinus was pierced by a reed and so died. Here is my epitaph (2).  
*id.* See Addenda.)

3

Xenophon, though by the townsmen of Cecrops  
and Cranaus dooméd  
To exile since thou followedst Cyrus,  
Yet did Corinth receive thee hospitable : where  
both in comfort  
Thy life thou passed'st and wast there buried.

(On Xenophon's death *id.* Also in the *Palatine Anthology* whence *Suidas* quotes the last two verses.)

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

4 (om. Meineke)

Καὶ σὲ Πρωταγόρῃ σοφίης ἴδμεν βέλος ὀξύ  
 ἄλλ' οὐ τιτρώσκον<τ>', <ὄντα> δὲ γλυκὺ  
 <χ>ρ<ι>μα.

(A.P. vii. 132. Not in our codd. of Diog. L.)

5 (om. Meineke)

Ἰλιγγίασε Βάκχον ἐκπιῶν χανδόν  
 Χρύσιππος, οὐδ' ἐφείσατο  
 οὐ τῆς Στοᾶς, οὐχ ἧς πάτρης, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς,  
 ἄλλ' ἦλθε δῶμ' ἐς Ἀΐδεω.

(Diog. L. vii. 184 τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ σχολάζοντά φησιν  
 Ἐρμιππος ἐπὶ θυσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν κληθῆναι· ἔνθα προσ-  
 ενεγκάμενον γλυκὺν ἄκρατον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεμπταῖον ἀπελθεῖν  
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων . . . (5). A.P. vii. 706.)

4. 2. -ον, -ων corrected by Jacobs. κρῆμα corrected  
by Boissonade.

· 5. 3. οὐχ ἧς A.P.: οὐδ' ἧς some codd. D.L. (vitiosissime):  
 Jacobs οὐ τῆς perhaps rightly. πάτρας A.P.

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS

### 4

Thee too Protagoras do we know, sharp spear-  
point of wisdom,  
Not wounding us but sweet as an ointment.

(In the *Palatine Anthology* only.)

### 5

Chrysippus had a fit upon gulping  
A drink, and spared not anyone,  
Nor Stoa, nor his land, nor his own self,  
But into Hades passed away.

(Hermippus says that Chrysippus was resting in the Odeum when he was summoned by his pupils to a sacrifice: there he took a liqueur and had a fit and five days later departed this life . . . (5). *Diog. L.* Also in the *Palatine Anthology*.)



## ANON. AP. PSEUDO-CALLISTHENEM

Poems I and II and those later ones which concern the death of Darius were edited by Kuhlmann, a pupil of W. Kroll (Munster, 1912). Since then Kroll has produced a text of the one best codex, or recension of the life of Alexander (Berlin, 1926). This is codex A (Paris Graec. 1711). Some other codices present quite different versions, B and C (codd. dett.): and I have constantly referred to the Bodleian cod. Barocc. 20, a ms. in the main of type C. Further we have the excellent Armenian version (Arm.) translated into Greek by Richard Raabe<sup>1</sup> (Leipzig, 1896), the Latin translation of Valerius (Val. : printed by Müller-Didot: Arrian etc. 1865), and the Byzantine version (Byz.) into politic verse (W. Wagner,<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1881), all of which preserve something of value. Of the recensions A (only preserved in one bad codex) is by a stylist more or less faithful to his original: B and C represent a version into the vulgar language. In a way they are more helpful, since wherever a literary metrical phrase peeps out that is necessarily original.

Besides the verses in i. 42 preserved only in the Latin of Julius Valerius, Kuhlmann recognized only three

<sup>1</sup> To whom most of the improvements in the text of i. 46 are due.

<sup>2</sup> *Trois Poèmes grecs du moyen âge.*

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

choliambic portions : and to these Kroll in his critical notes adds an oracle (which is quite separate) and an account of Darius' appearance when Alexander goes to the Persian camp as his own herald. But, as the verses in i. 46 show, there is far more. For we have no mere song of Ismenias the flute-player : the narrative between his verses and those of Alexander—and indeed, though obscuredly, the narrative before—is all choliambic. Further, in the fable of the mice and wasps, which I give below in verse for the first time,<sup>1</sup> the conclusion is

ὡς δ' εἶπε[ν ὁ] βασιλεὺς πάντες αὐτὸν ἠϋφήμουν

and the verses continue. It is clear that for large portions this life of Alexander rests on a choliambic basis : and we may hazard a guess that the whole is based on an anthology of Alexander's deeds in which the choliambic verses (as far as they extended) occupied pride of place. The only known poet who wrote of the fall of Thebes was Soterichus, who lived under Diocletian ; but he seems to have been an epic poet.<sup>2</sup> There are difficulties in placing our choliambist later (when the art of the iambus was beginning to be lost), or earlier (when Soterichus must have merely copied the theme of the fall of Thebes). But the first appears the less unlikely hypothesis. The coincidence of parts of the story with far earlier sources is by no means fatal to this. It is best merely to give what can be found of these verses and leave entirely the question as to when this curious narrative—compound of Egyptian and

<sup>1</sup> So with many other portions.

<sup>2</sup> For another epic poem on this subject introduced into a history see *P. Oxy.* 1798.

Aethiopian fable, anecdote, forged letters and choliambic verse, with some traces of sound historians as sources—finally took shape. The only certain test of a very late date does not apply to our author, who uses words like the nominative Ἀλέξανδρος in which the accent does not fall on the penultimate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the verses have to be picked from various sources I use the following signs:—

- i. The reading of Codex A is given without mark.
- ii. Insertions from codd. dett. are given in round brackets ( ).
- iii. Insertions or corrections whether conjectural or from the versions are marked < >. When they are from the versions the source is given in the crit. app.
- iv. Where I indicate omissions (. . .), I give the general sense in italics on the English side. Often one or two isolated traces of metre are omitted. Where no traces of metre occur I give a résumé in English in italics and round brackets.

# I

i. 42. 9 καὶ παραγίνεται εἰς Φρυγίαν καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν Ἴλιον τὴν πόλιν ἔθυσεν Ἑκτορι καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥρωσιν. praecipue tamen Achillem veneratur ac rogat uti sibi et ipse faveat et dona quae ferret dignanter admittat; haec enim a sese non ut ab externo ac superstitioso verum ut consanguineo ac religioso dedicari;

hinc primus exstat Aeacus Iovis proles,  
 atque inde Peleus Phthiae regna possedit,  
 quo tu subortus inclyta cluis proles.  
 Pyrrhusque post id nobile adserit sanguem,  
 quem subsecuta est Pierique fama non dispar; 5  
 Pierique proles Eubius dehinc regnat.  
 post Nessus ardens excipit domus nomen,  
 Argusque post id, qui potens fuit Xanthi;  
 ex hoc Arete nobilis genus ducit.  
 Areta natus Priami nomen accepit, 10  
 Tryinus unde et Eurymachus post illum,  
 ex quo Lycus fit dives et dehinc Castor.  
 Castore natus est Dromon qui dat Phocum;  
 atque hinc suborta est Metrias, quae susceperit  
 Neoptolemei nominis vicem dignam, 15  
 cui substitutus Charopus. hic Molossorum

5. Pieri *codd.*: *corr. Mai.*



# I

i. 42. 9<sup>1</sup> Alexander arrived in Phrygia and entered the city of Ilium itself and sacrificed to Hector and Achilles and the other heroes. Most of all he honoured Achilles and asked him to favour him and deign to accept the gifts he bore. These he dedicated not as a superstitious stranger, but as a relative and a religious man.

Aeacus son of Jove your race founded,  
 Next Peleus held the Phthian dominion,  
 Whose world-famed progeny you are called  
 Next Pyrrhus vindicates thy blood nobly,  
 And Pielus of equal fame follows. 5  
 Thereafter Eubius, Pielus' son, reigns.  
 Next glorious Nessus name of thy house bore ;  
 Thereafter Argus, master of Xanthus,  
 From whom Arete noble her race drew.  
 Priamus was the son of Arete, 10  
 Tryinus and Eurymachus next came ;  
 Whence wealthy Lycus and anon Castor.  
 Dromon was Castor's son and bore Phocus ;  
 Hence Metrias was born, and her son bore  
 The name Neoptolemeian with full worth ; 15  
 Charopus, his successor, the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> All our Greek mss. omit this poem.

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

regni potitus auctor extitit stirpis  
nostrae <

> eritque viscus inclytum matris,  
e qua subortus vestro sanguini adnector, 20  
quaesoque nomen adseras tuum nobis,  
bellisque praestes gloriasque subtexus  
velut feracis seminis < > fructum,  
quod cuncta late spatia terrae pervadat ;  
unaque metis nostra fac Phaethonteis 25  
regna explicari mundus adserat cunctus.

II

(ii. 46. 11)

χειρ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ οὐκ ἔκαμε τὸν  
πολυσφαγῆ σίδηρον αἵματώσασα. 1

(46a. 3)

Ἰσμηνίας Θηβαῖος, τῆς αὐλομελωδίας ἔμπειρος  
ἄνθρωπος, . . . . . τὴν χεῖρα προτείνας  
ἄρχεται λέγειν οὕτως. 2

(Βασιλεῦ μέγιστε, φεῖσαι ἡμῶν εὐτελῶν· μὴ τοιού-

Molossian gat, and of our race founder  
 Became . . .<sup>1</sup>

    will be his mother's famed offspring.  
 Whose son I, with your race thus connected, 20  
 Beg that your name by us be asserted,  
 Given to wars and crownéd with glories :  
 For fruit are we of a seed right fertile,  
 A seed to range over the whole wide earth.  
 Grant the whole world declare that our realm be 25  
 By Phaethontean goals alone bounded.<sup>2</sup>

*(Alexander wins over the cities on the Black Sea, and enters Greece. The first resistance comes from Thebes.)*

<sup>1</sup> Here should follow the names of Alcetas and Neoptolemus (Kuhlmann).

<sup>2</sup> As we should say, 'the sun should never set on it.'

## II

*(The Thebans close their gates but Alexander forces an entrance.)*

The hand of Macedon tired not

    Dipping in gore its sword all blood-spattered. 1

    . . . . .

(A certain Ismenias of Thebes, a flute-player, stretched forth his hand and with many tears)

    did thus begin speaking :— 2

Spare, Alexander of all kings greatest,<sup>1</sup> our sorry

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 1 was *e.g.* φείσαι μέγιστε βασιλέων 'Αλέξανδρε. Where we can see a basic verse I drop into verses in the translation.

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

τω κινδύνω τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εἰς τέλος ἀφανίσῃς).  
 Ἄλέξανδρε, νῦν πείρα μαθόντες τὸ σὸν (ισόθεον)  
 κράτος σεβόμεθα<sup>α</sup>. ἐπίσχεσ τὰς ἀνικήτους χεῖρας  
 ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἀγνοία μήπως ἀσεβεῖν δόξεις  
 τὰ συγγενῆ σου. Ἡράκλεος, Διόνυσος, οὔτοι  
 θεοὶ Θηβαῖοι,<sup>β</sup> ἐπιδοξότατοι θεοὶ καὶ προγονικῆς  
 μίξεως ἀρχέγονον βλάστημα. Διὸς τε καὶ Σεμέλης  
 πυριλοχευτὸς Διόνυσος ἐν Θήβαις ἐτέχθη<sup>β</sup>.  
 Ἡρακλῆς <παρὰ><sup>β</sup> Διὸς τε καὶ Ἀλκμήνης  
 ἐσπάρη<sup>γ</sup>. οὔτοι<sup>α</sup> πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις <βοηθοὶ καὶ  
 εἰρηνικοὶ><sup>ε</sup> σωτηρίας φύλακες ἐφάνησαν

σου δὲ τυγχάνουσ' [ιν] Ἄλέξανδρε 3  
 προπάτορες ὄντες. 4

τούτ<ους><sup>δ</sup> σε χρὴ μιμήσασθαι καὶ εὐεργετεῖν,  
 ὥσπερ ἐκ θεῶν γενόμενος. μὴ ὑπερίδῃς τὰς  
 Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους τροφούς Θήβας ἀπολ-  
 λυμένας μηδὲ τὸ βοόκτιστον ἄστυ κατασκάψῃς.  
 ὄνειδος γὰρ ὕστερον Μακεδόσι γενήσεται.

ἀγνοεῖς Ἄλέξανδρε 5  
 < > Θηβαῖον [καὶ] οὐχὶ Πελλαῖον. 6

<ὄλη><sup>ε</sup> σε Θηβαίων χώρα λιτανεύει

<θρηνοῦσα>, τοὺς σοὺς προπάτορας κομίζουσα 7  
 θεοῦς, Λυαῖον 8

εὐφροσύνης καὶ χορείης θιασώτ<ην>,<sup>β</sup> Ἡρακλέα  
 δίκαιον ἔργοις καὶ βοηθὸν ἀνθρώποις. 9

<sup>α</sup> from σεβόμεθα we have only the versions as a check on the readings of cod. A.    <sup>β</sup> Byz.    <sup>γ</sup> Byz.: κατέσπειραν A.  
<sup>δ</sup> οὔτω A.    <sup>ε</sup> Arm. (Byz.)    <sup>δ</sup> Byz.: τούτῳ A.    6. e.g.

persons. Do not in such a disaster destroy our city completely.

Taught by experience your divine puissance<sup>1</sup>  
 We worship thee : keep off from us Thebans  
 Your hands unconquered,

lest you appear in ignorance to wrong your kin. Heracles and Dionysus are the gods of Thebes, most glorious gods and ancestral offspring of earliest union between Zeus and Semele. Dionysus,<sup>2</sup> with fire for his midwife, was gotten in Thebes. In Thebes was born Heracles, offspring of Zeus and Alceme. These appeared to all the world preservers, as helpers and peaceful guardians of safety. (3, 4) And they are your ancestors, Alexander. As you are born of gods, you should imitate these and do good. Do not allow the continuance of the destruction of Thebes which nursed Dionysus and Heracles, nor raze the ox-founded city. For hereafter it will be a reproach to the Macedonians. (5, 6) Do you not know, Alexander, that you are a Theban and not a citizen of Pella? The whole land of Thebes calls on you wailing and entreats you through my mouth, (7, 8) Thebes that displays your ancestral gods, Lyaeus, god of delight and revel-leader of the dance, and Heracles

Righteous of deed and all mankind's helper. 9

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *ισόθεον τὸ σὸν κάρτος*.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius Zagreus, distinguished thus by later writers from D. the late-born.

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ἔχων γένος                      <sup>9</sup> πόλις A : ὅλη Byz. : e.g. ὅλη δὲ λιτανεύει σε  
 Θ. χ.                      7. Byz. : διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς A.                      Num νομίζουσα ?  
 8. Byz. : λῦσαι οὖς A.                      <sup>h</sup> -as A.

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ἦδη καὶ μιμητῆς τῶν προγόνων <φαινόμενος><sup>a</sup>  
καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὄντων τὸ πλεῖον, εἰς εὐεργεσίαν  
μετατρ<απεῖς ἐκ> τῆς ὀργῆς, 10

[πρὸς]<sup>b</sup> τὸ προχειρότατον <πρὸ><sup>c</sup> τοῦ κολάζειν  
τὸ ἐλεεῖν ἔχε.

μὴ θῆς ἐρήμους 11

τούς σε σπεύραντας θεούς,

τῶν σῶν γεν[ε]αρχῶν <ἄστν> μὴ καθαιρήσης,  
ἰδίαν πατρίδα σου μὴ ἀγνοῶν κατασκάψης.

ὄρας τὰ τείχη ταῦτα; <ταῦτα δέδμηνται>  
Ζῆθός <θ'> ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ ὁ λυρωδὸς Ἀμφίων, 15  
οἱ Ζην[ων]οὺς υἱοί, <τ>οὺς λάθρα ἔτε<κ>εν νύμφη  
ἢ Νύκτεως <παῖς> ἐν χοροῖς πλανηθεῖσα.

[τὰ] θεμέλια ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πλούσιον δῶμα  
πύργωσε Κάδμος. ὦδε λαμβάνει νύμφη<ν> 16  
<τῆν> Ἀρμονίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν ἀφρογενῆς Κύπρις  
τῷ κλεψικοίτῃ Θρηκίῳ συνελθοῦσα.

τὴν σὴν ἄρουραν μὴ ἀκρίτως ἐρημώσης,  
μη<δὲ> καταφλέξης πάντα Θηβαίων τείχη.  
<τῆ Λαβδακοῦ> ἴ[ε]στι [α]δῶμα<θ'>. ὦδε δυσ-  
δαίμων

<ὁ> Λαῖτο<ς> <γυναῖκα λαμβάνει>. τίκτει 25  
<τὸν> πατρο[s]<φ>ό[γο]ντην <Οἰδίπουν> λυγρὰ  
μήτηρ.

τοῦ<θ> Ἡρακλ<ῆ>ος τέμενος ἦν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος οἶκος. <ὦ>δ' ἐκοιμήθη  
τρεις νύκτας ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς μί<κ>ην ἀριθμήσας.

<sup>a</sup> ἂν φαίνη Byz. 10. Byz.: -τρέπε τὰ Α. <sup>b</sup> del. Kroll.  
<sup>c</sup> Müller, Arm. 12. καθ. πόλιν Α. 13. σου π. Α.  
14. δεδομημένα Α. Α verse is lost 'with poems, lyre and  
lute': Byz., Arm. 15. Kroll. λοίδορος Α; cf. Arm.

Do you too imitate your ancestors, persons of  
general excellence ;

Turn your anger to benevolence, 10  
prefer pity to over-hasty punishment.

Desolate not 11  
the gods that begat you,

The city of your ancestors raze not : 12  
Nor thine own land in ignorance ruin.

Seest thou yon walls ? they are the walls builded  
By shepherd Zethus, poet Amphion, 15

The sons of Zeus, whom at a feast erring  
The child of Nycteus secretly brought forth.

And these foundations here, and the rich house  
Were built by Cadmus, who to wife took once

Harmonia nymph, child of foam-born Cypris, 20  
By union with ravishér Thracian.

Lay not thine own demesne thus unjudged waste  
Nor burn down all the walls of us Thebans.

This is the house of Labdacus : here took  
A wife the ill-starred Laius ; here bore 25

Oedipus patricide his poor mother.

Here shrine of Heracles : it was erstwhile  
Amphitryon's house : here on a time Zeus slept  
Three nights which he did turn to one only.

- 
16. Müll., Arm. ἔτεμεν A. 17. Arm. χοροῖς Byz.,  
Arm.: χρόνοις A. 18. Byz., Arm.: δόγμα A. 19. Kroll  
ex Byz. προσεπύργωσε: πύργος καὶ A. ὧδε Arm. τὴν ν.  
'A. A: corr. Kroll. 21. κλεψοκύτει θρησκεῖω A: corr. Müll  
22. ἀκρίτως μὴ A. 24. πλαγίου τε A. ὅδε A.  
25. πλαγίου τε. A. τίκτει: τί δὲ A, which gives one verse:  
suppl. et corr. ex Byz., Arm. 26. -ψ- A. 27. Kroll.  
-κλέος A. 28. Arm.: Ἀμφικτύονος A, Byz. ὅδε A.  
29. εἰς μίαν ἀθροίσας A: ἀριθμήσας Arm., Byz.

- ὄρας ἐκείνους τοὺς πεφλεγμένους οἴκους 30  
 ἀκμὴν ἔτ' ἐκ<σταζ>οντας οὐρανοῦ μῆν<ι>ν;  
 ἐκ<εῖ> κεραυνῶ τὴν ποθουμένην βάλλει  
 Σεμέλην ποθ' ὁ Ζεὺς· <ῶ>δε τοῦ πυρὸς μέσ<σ>ου  
 τὸν Εἰραφιώτην ἀπεκύησε <Ληναῖον>.  
 <ῶ>δ' Ἑρακλῆς μέμνηεν· ἔνθεν οἰστρηθεῖς 35  
 Μεγάραν ἀνεῖλεν τὴν γυναῖκα τοξεύσας.  
 ὁ βωμὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν βλέπεις Ἦρας,  
 <ῆ τις> λόφου τέτμηκε βῶλον ἀρχαῖον,  
 ἔνθ' Ἑρακλῆς κιθῶνι σάρκα δαρδάπτων 40  
 κατηθαλώθη, χερσὶ τῆς Φιλοκτῆτου  
 <δοὺς τόξα βαφθένθ' αἵματι δρακοντείῳ>.  
 ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Φοῖβου λόγια, Τειρεσίου δῶμα·  
 ὁ τρισιγέρων <ἐν τοῖσδε> γίνεται μάντις  
 ὃν εἰς γυναῖκα μετετύπωσ<ε> Τριτων<ίς>. 45  
 Ἀθάμα<ς> μανεῖς ἐνταῦθα παῖδα Λε<ί>αρχον  
 τόξοις ἀνεῖλεν εἰς νε<β>ρὸν τυπωθέντα·  
 ἐνθένδε <δ'> Ἴνῶ <φ>ήλατ' εἰς βυθοῦ κῦμα  
 σὺν τῷ Μελικέρτῃ τῷ νεογνῷ λυσιώδης.  
 ἐνθένδε πηρὸς Οἰδίπους ἀπηλάσθη 50  
 ταγ<αῖ>ς Κρέοντος· οὐ τὸ βάκτρον Ἴσμήνην  
 <ἔπεφνε Τυδεὺς· ἧς ἐπώνυμος κρήνη>

31. Byz.: -ταξ- A. -ην A: μῆμιν Arm., Byz. 32. ἐκεῖ  
 Arm.: ἐκ A. κεραυνῶ Kroll: -νοῦ A. 33. ὅδε A. μ. τ. π.  
 A. 34. ἦρα- A, Byz. Ληναῖον Byz., Arm.: λιβεόχην A.  
 35. ὅδε A. 38. ῆ τις inserui: conf. HPHC et HITIC.  
 λ. τ. β. Byz. fere: ὑψηλὰ κέκμηκεν βῶμον ἀρχαῖον A. A verse  
 is missing, e.g. βάθροισιν ὑψηλοῖσι χωρὶς ἰδρύσας; cf. Arm.  
 40. κιθῶνα A. δαρδάπτειν A: corr. Maas. 41. καθηλώθη  
 A: corr. Maas. 42. supplēvi e.g. ex Arm. 43. ταύ-  
 ταις τῆ A: corr. Müller. 44. ἐν οἷς Byz. 45. -α -α  
 A: corr. Müller. 47. Arm.: νεῦρον A. 48. ἐκεῖνο  
 A: δ' Müll. (Arm.). 49. λυσιώτην A: corr. Müll.



Beholdest over there those burnt houses, 30  
 That even now do heaven's wrath ooze out ?  
<sup>1</sup> There Semele belovéd did Zeus once  
 With levin smite ; and in the fire's own midst  
 Th' Eiraphiot Lenaeon from thigh brought forth.  
 Here was to madness Heracles goaded 35  
 And Megara his wife slew with arrow.  
 This altar that thou see'st is of Hera,  
 Where the hill's ancient sod is by man cut  
 With lofty steps apart : Heracles here,  
 In anguish of the shirt his flesh burning, 40  
 Was burnt on pyre : unto Philoctetes  
 His arrows steeped in dragon's blood leaving.  
 See here is Phoebus' pulpit ; three ages  
 Teiresias living in this house outlived ;  
 Tritonis changed to woman his manhood. 45  
 Here Athamas went mad and Leiarchus  
 His child did shoot with bow a deer deeming.  
 Hence Ino leapt into the sea's depths down  
 With Melicertes her young child frenzied.  
 Hence Oedipus was driven, at Creon's 50  
 Behest, all lame : his staff, his Ismene,<sup>2</sup>  
 <Did Tydeus slay : from whom this spring gat  
 name >

<sup>1</sup> *vv. 14 sqq.* may be older. Not once is 'O Alexander'—useful padding in this metre—introduced. The sack is only mentioned in 22 and 23. The diction is not so late, the style high-faluting instead of prosaic, the catalogue straightforward, and the metre excellent. But it is very poor stuff. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* provides an easy model for translation.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 53 Ἰσμήνη ἦν ἀναιρεῖ Τυδεὺς ἐπὶ κρήνης καὶ ἡ κρήνη ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἰσμήνη ἐκλήθη.

l. τ. ν. τ. M. 50. ἀπελάσθην A : corr. Müller. 51. ταγες,  
 οὔτω A. 52. supplevi ex schol. Eur. *Phoen.*

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οὗτός <θ> ὁ ποταμὸς ἐκ μέσου Κιθαιρῶν <ο>ς  
 Ἴσμηνός ἐστι Βάκχιον φέρων ὕδωρ.  
 ἐλάτην ὄρᾱς κλάδοισιν ὑψόσ' ἀρθεῖσαν; 55  
 ἐν τ<ῆ>δε Πενθεὺς[ιν] τοὺς χοροὺς κατοπτεύων  
 πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης δυστυχῶς διεσπάσθη.  
 πηγὴν ὄρᾱς βρῦουσαν αἰμόχρουν ὕδωρ,  
 ἐξ ἧς βοὸς μύκημα δεινὸν ἠχεῖται;  
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αἶμα τ<ῆς> σεσυρμένης Δίρκης. 60  
 ὄρᾱς ἐκείνην κῦ>στάτην ἀκρώρειαν  
 τὴν ἐξέχουσαν τῆς ἀταρπιτοῦ <τ>αύτης;  
 ἢ Σφιγξ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔζεθ' ἢ τεραστ<ε>ία  
 πρόσταγμα προστάπτουσα δημ<ό>ταις πᾶσιν  
 ἦν Οἰδίπους ἀνεῖλε πολλὰ μερμήρας. 65  
 αὕτη θεῶν πηγὴ ἔστι καὶ ἱερὰ κρήνη,  
 ἐξ ἧς ἀναβλύζουσ<ιν> ἀργυραὶ νύμφαι.  
 εἰς <ταῦ>τα λιβάδι' Ἄρτεμις κατελθοῦσα  
 φαίδρυν<ε> χρώτας· ὁ δὲ δύσαγνος Ἀκταίων  
 ἂ μὴ θέμις κατέιδε λουτρά <Λη>ώας. 70  
 <μετ>αλλαγεῖς <δ' ἐς> ἔλαφον ἀκλεῶς σῶμα  
 κυ<σ>ὶν <ῶ>μοδ[ι]αίτοις διὰ τὸ λουτρὸν ἠγρεύθη.  
 <ὄρ>ᾱς ἴν' Ἄρης ἐπολέμησε τὰς Θήβας,  
 ἐνθά Πολυνεΐκης ἠρξεν Ἀργείου λ<η>οῦ>, 74  
 στράπτων λοχαγὸς <ἐπτά> θ<ο>υρίων λόγχη<ς>;  
 ἐνταῦθα Κα[μ]πανεὺς παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος ἐφλέχθη.  
 τὰς μὲν πύλας καλδῦσι <ταῦ>τας Ἥλέκτρας.

53. οὕτω ἀπότομος A: ποταμ. Kroll. eis μέσον and -νωσ  
 A: corr. Müll. 54. -εον φέρον corr. id. 55. eis ὑψος  
 ἀρ. κλ. A. 56. τιδε A. 57. τῆ -ση and -χοις A: corr.  
 Müll. 58. τὴν Ἀγήνορος A: πηγὴν ὄρᾱς Müll. (Arm., Byz.)  
 ἔμοχθον A: αἱματέεν Arm.: αἶμα χρυσοῦ κτλ. Byz.: ita Kroll.  
 60. τι A. 61. Müll.: ὕ om. A. 62. σατάρπη τοῦ  
 A: corr. Müller, Arm. αὐτῆς A: ταύτης Sitzler.  
 63. εἰσφήξ A: corr. Müll., Arm. 64. -ώταις A.

And eke Ismenus from mid Cithaeron  
 In his stream bearing Bacchian water.  
 Dost see that fir with branches aloft borne ? 55  
 Thence Pentheus Dionysus' rites witnessed  
 Whom did his mother tear apart sadly.  
 Dost see the fount whose waters are bloody  
 And echo up a dreadful bull's bellow ?  
 This is the blood of Dirce, by bull dragg'd. 60  
 Dost see that ridge upon the horizon  
 That juts from out the path of man trodden ?  
 Upon it sat the Sphinx, that great marvel,  
 And bade the townsfolk all do her bidding,  
 Till she was slain by Oedipus crafty. 65  
 This is the Gods' Well and the spring sacred  
 From which do silver nymphs gush out water.  
 Unto these pools did Artemis climb down  
 To wash her body ; impious Actaeon  
 Saw the Letoan's bath that none may see. 70  
 His form uncouthly to a stag's changéd,  
 Slain by his ravening hounds he paid dearly.<sup>1</sup>  
 See'st thou, when Ares fought 'gainst Thebes' city,  
 Where Polynices led the host Argive,  
 Gleaming of seven spear hosts commander ? 75  
 There Capaneus was burnt at wall's coping,  
 Where are the gates men call the Electrae.

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ λουτρὸν can hardly be correct. A phrase like δι' ἀσέβειαν, 'for his impiety,' is needed. I translate λουτρὸν.

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65. μερμήνας A : corr. Müll., Arm. 66. π. θ. ἐστὶ A :  
 corr. Müll. 67. -σα A. 69. Byz. : -αι A. 70. Arm. :  
 διστ. A. 71. ins. Kroll : -αγῆς A. 72. κυριν A : corr.  
 Müll. ὀμοδι- A : corr. Sitzler ex Arm. 73. ἐν πᾶσιν  
 A : παλῶδες Arm. 74. λεῶς A (Byz.). 75. Byz. :  
 ἐνθα A. -ην A. 77. Kroll. δε υλοκορας A : corr. Müll.,  
 Kroll.

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πύλαις δὲ ταύταις Προίτισιν <τὸν> ἄρρηκτον>  
'Αμφιάραιον χαί<ν>ουσα δέχ<νυται> γαῖα.

'Ωγωγίαις πύλ<αι>σιν ἐν τρίταις κλήθρ<ω> 80  
<'Ιπ>πομέδοντα <παῖς> Μεγα[νευ]σθέν<ους>  
κτείνει.

ἔπασε <δὲ> Νηίσταισι παρὰ πύλαις <ταύταις>  
Παρθενοπαῖος· ὁ δ' 'Ομολωῖσιν γαί<ων>  
πύλαισ<ι> <Τυδεὺς> μυρί<οι>σιν ἐ<β>λήθη. 84  
<φεύγει δ' "Αδραστος· ἐβδόμαι πύλαι δ' αὐται>.

θάν<ο>ντα [ἐ]θάψ<αι> τὸν λ<οχ>αγὸν 'Αργείων  
[ἦ] διώ<ρι>σ' [α] ἀγνά <πα>ῖς ἔτ' εὖσα[ι] Καδ-  
με<ί>α[ν],

αὐται Λυ<αί>ου τοῦ φιλενίου Θῆβαι 90  
αὐ<λ>αὶ πέφυκαν ἄς ἐπ<έκτ>ισ' Αἰσώπω,  
< > Βακχίους < > 91α

ἄς <νῦν> κελεύεις ἐκ βάρων ἀναιρεῖσθαι.  
ὄρας σὺ σηκὸν 'Ηρακλέους πυρὸ<ς> μεστόν>;  
τοῦ σοῦ γεν[ε]άρχου καὶ πατρὸς φιλ<ανθρῶ>που  
τεμένη σεαυτὸ<ν> ἀγνοῶν θέλεις φλέξει. 95

τί τοὺς γον<ῆ>ας τοὺς τεκόντας ὑβρίζεις,  
'Ηρακλέους γένος <τε> καὶ κλυτοῦ Βάκχου;

'Ισμηνίας μὲν ἰκέτευσε τος<σ>αὐτα  
πεσῶν παρὰ ποσὶ βασιλέως 'Αλεξάνδρου.

78. προστεθείσαις ἡμῖν: corr. Müller, Kroll. -τες Α: corr. Müll. 79. Arm.: χαιρ- Α. Kroll: δεχοίετε Α. 80. -εσιν Α. -ρε Α. 81. παῖς Arm.: τὸν Α. εἰ' Α: ἀναιρεῖ Arm. 82. ἔπασε Arm.: εἶπεν τὲ Α. δὲ suppl. Sitzler. Νηίσταισι Arm.: κεδίστεσιν Α. 83. Arm.: ὅτε ἦν μόλην Α. γαίης Α: cf. θαρρῶν Arm. 84. Arm.: -εσιν Α, ἐκλ. Α, Arm. 85. supplevi e Byz., Arm. 86. e.g. ἐνταῦθα πόλεως 'Αντιγονή παρὰ γνώμην. 87. -ψε Α.

At these the Proetid gates the unshatter'd 78  
 Amphiarauus was by earth swallow'd.  
 At third Ogygian gates with the gate-bar<sup>1</sup> 80  
 Hippomedon Megasthenes' son felled.  
 Fourth at the Neistean gates perish'd  
 Parthenopaeus ; at th' Homoloid  
 Slain Tydeus was, struck down by darts countless.  
 Adrastus fled : these are the gates seventh. 85  
 <Here notwithstanding the townsfolk's bidding,>  
 Antigone, unwedded maid Theban,  
 The leader of the Argive host buried,  
 <And with her love in living tomb perished>.  
 These Thebes upon Asopus are founded 90  
 Courts of Lyaeus that doth love 'Evoc,'  
 <That> Bacchic <revelry once supported> 91a  
 Which now to be uprooted thou biddest.  
 Dost see the shrine of Heracles song-famed ?  
 Homes of thine ancestor and sire, lover  
 Of all mankind, would'st burn ? 'Thyself know'st  
 not ? 95  
 Why dost insult thy parents, thy fathers,  
 Scion of Heracles and famed Bacchus ?  
 Ismenias did supplicate thuswise  
 Falling at feet of King Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> I translate κλήθρω and what the Armenian version suggests, *παῖς Μεγασθένους* for slayer of Hippomedon. But I find no warrant for either guess.

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-έντα and λαι- A : corr. Müll. 88. λιστευσαι A. From  
 this verse to end of speech we have only A. 89. see  
 translation. 90. Λυεου τοῦ φιλέα υἱὸς ὡς οὐ A : corr. Kroll.  
 91. αὐται A. ἐσωπω A : corr. Müll. 92. σὺ A :  
 corr. Kroll. 93. πυρούμενον A. 94. σ ευγενεαρχου A.  
 Φιλίππου absurde A. 95. σεαυτοῦ τεμ. A. 96. -εας A.  
 97. 'Ηρ. γεν. A : corr. Müll. 98. -τος αὐτὸς μὲν ἱκετεύσας  
 'Ισμ. ἔπεσεν π. π. 'A. β.

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ὁ δὲ Μακεδῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄμμα <τρηχ>ύνας 100  
καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τοῖς ὀδοῦσι συντρίζων  
ὄργην ἀναπ<ν>έων τοῖον εἶπε τὸν μῦθον·  
ὦ παγκάκιστ<ον> ἐκλόχευμα Καδμείων,  
ὦ παγκάκιστον ζῶον, <ὦ> θεοῖς μῖσος,  
ὦ δῆμι<ο>ν βλάστημα βαρβάρου ρίζης, 105  
ὦ τῆς ἐπ' Ἴσμήνη σ<ὺ> λείψανον λύπης,  
< . . . . . >,  
σοφιστικούς μοι καὶ πεπλασμένους μύθους  
εἰπὼν ὑπέλαβες ὅτι πλανᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον;  
<ἦν> γὰρ προ[σ]πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καθαιρήσω, 110  
καὶ πυρὶ τεφρώσω < . . . . . >,  
καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς μετὰ πάτρας κατασκάψω,  
<πῶς> τῶν <γενεαρχῶν ἐξέκοψα τὴν ρίζαν>;  
εἰ γὰρ σὺ πᾶσαν τὴν σπορὰν <ἐ>γίνωσκε[ι]ς  
[καὶ] πόθεν <π>έφυ<κ>α, καὶ τίνες λοχεύσαντες,  
οὐκ ἦν σε Θηβαίοισ<ι> ταῦτα κηρύ<σ>ειν; 116  
ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῖν συγγενῆς Ἀλέξανδρος,  
μὴ πρὸς πολίτην [α]πο<λέμιοι> καταστῶμεν·  
<θ>ῶμεν στρατηγ<ὸ>ν· σύμμαχοι γενηθῶμεν·  
ἡμεῖς πολῖται, συγγενεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου. 120  
δόξ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τῆς γεραι[ο]τάτης ρίζης,  
<ἦ>ν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπιπλακῶσι Θηβαίοις.  
ὅτ<ε> δ' εἰς ἄμυναν οὐδὲν τάτονησατεῖ  
καὶ τὸ θράσος ὑμῶν τῆς μάχης κατησχύνθη,  
τότε <δῆ> μεταβολὴ καὶ δέησις ἀγνώμων, 125

100. Kroll?: δ. π. αὐ. Α. μηκύνας Α. 102. Byz.:  
-πτειων Α. 103. Arm., Byz.: -τε Α. 104. καὶ Α:  
(ὅτ ἀνθρωπε καὶ θ. Arin.: τῶν κακίστων Byz.). 105. -ων

The latter gave at him a glance savage, 100  
 And gnashing upper teeth upon lower  
 Spake out as follows his irate answer :  
 Most evilly begotten of Thebans !  
 Most evil beast ! Of heaven's hate object !  
 Of root barbarian a growth common ! 105  
 Last relic of the woe of Isméne !  
 <O dotard of blind mind and of blind eyes> ! 107  
 With barrister-like cunning of false tales  
 Didst thou expect to cheat Alexander ? 110  
 Suppose that I destroy the whole city  
 And burn to ashes <all the walls Theban>  
 And raze you all to earth with your township,  
 How do I then root out my forefathers ?  
 If thou hadst known of my descent truly  
 Whence I was born and who they were gat me, 115  
 Should'st not have told the Thebans as follows ?—  
 ' Since Alexander is our own kinsman,  
 Let us not go to war 'gainst our fellow :  
 Let 's make him general, be his allies :  
 Kin are we, fellow-citizens are we. 120  
 To us the honour of the branch eldest  
 If Macedonians join with us 'Thebans.'  
 Now when you 've shown no spirit in combat,  
 And all your boast of battle disgraced lies,  
 Now you revert to prayers and pleas idle, 125

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A. 106. -νησι A. 107. Arm.: see transl.  
 110. εν A : recte Arm. (Byz.). 111. om. A, Arm., Byz.:  
 e.g. πάντα Θεβαίων τείχη. 113. τήν A, Byz. cett. Byz.:  
 γονέων A. 114. σύ μου γ. τ. σ. π. A. 115. -σα A.  
 ? κάκ τίνων -ων. 116. -ττ- A. 118. παραταχθῶμεν Byz.:  
 λ  
 πο for άπο. 119. δῶμεν -ίαν A. 122. ἐάν A. 123.  
 Arm.: ὅτι A. ἠύτονῆσατε Raabe ex Arm.: λ. -άντων τῶ  
 θάρσ. 125. Müller.

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<οῦ, μὴ δυνάμενοι νο>ῦν ἔχοντ<ες αἰρείσθαι 126  
 δόξῃ> ὀδύνασθε πρὸς μάχην Ἀλεξάνδρου>. 126a  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Θηβαίοι[ει]σιν οὐδέ σ<οι> πρ<ῆξις>,   
 κάκιστα <ἐφ' ὑμᾶς> τοῦ τέλους <ἐπ>ελθόντος  
 Θήβας <μὲν> αὐτ<ὰ>ς <αὐτόθεν> καταφλέξω.  
 [καὶ] Ἰσμηνίαν <δ>ὲ τὸν κράτιστον αὐλητήν 130  
 τ<ῶ>ν ἡμιφλέκτ<ω>ν δωμάτων ἐφειστώτα  
 οὕτω [σε] κελεύω δίδυμ<ο>ν ὀργάνων ἦχος  
 βοιωτιά<ζει>ν <τὴν θ'> ἄλωσιν αὐληῆσαι.  
 <οὕτω>[ς εἰπὼν ἐ']κέλευσε τοῖς στρατοῖς κατα-  
 σκάπτειν

ἐπτάπυλα τείχη καὶ πόλισμα Θηβαίων. 135  
 πάλιν <Κιθ>αιρῶν ἐπεχόρευε Θηβαίοις·

Ἰσμην[ι]ος αὐτὸς αἰμόφυρτος <ἔρ>ρευσ<ε·  
 βέβλητο τείχη καὶ πόλισμα Θηβαίων.  
 καὶ πᾶσα γαῖα ταῖς σφαγαῖς κοπωθεῖσα, 139  
 κατα<ρ>ριφέντων δωμάτων πολυκ<λ>αύστων,  
 βαρὺ σ<τ>ένουσα τ',> ἀπ' ἐ<δαφ>ῶν ἐμυκάτο.

Ἰσμηνίας δὲ δίδυμον ὀργάνων ἦχος  
 ἦν ἄρμοσάμενος, τ<ῶ>ν <ἐ>ρειπί<ω>ν ἐστῶς  
 <ῆ>περ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος.

ἐπεὶ δὲ τείχη πάντ' ἐπιπτ<ε> Καδμείων 145  
 καὶ μέλαθρα <τὰ> Λύκου καὶ τὸ <Λα>βδάκου  
 δῶμα,

εἰς εὐσέβειαν τῆς πάροιθε παιδείας  
 τὴν Πινδάρου <τῆρῃσεν οἶ>κ<ί>αν <μούνην>,

126, 126 a. iniuria desperat Kroll: ita Arm., nisi quod  
 σφρονοῦντες et ἠβούλεσθε τὴν δόξαν vertit Raabe: μὴ δυνα-  
 μένη συνεχόντων ἀναιρῆσαι ὅτι οὐ δύνασθε πρ. μ. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 Α. 127. Arm.: σὺ Α. πρωτο Α: συμφέρει  
 Arm. 128. Byz.: sive ὑμῖν κάκ. αὐθέντος Α: ἐλθ.  
 Byz.: ἐπιφανέντος Arm. 129. δὲ Α: μὲν Byz., Arm.: ὃς  
 Α. Kroll e Byz. (ἐκ ριζῶν): Arm. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ.



Who, since before you could not choose rightly, 126  
 Imagined you could fight Alexander. 126a  
 But neither do the Thebans, nor dost thou  
 Avail : and now the evil end cometh,  
 When I will burn the town of Thebes wholesale.  
 And bid Ismenias, ' best flute-player,' 130  
 Standing upon the half-consumed houses,  
 The double harmony of pipes <pouring>  
 Boeotian-wise<sup>1</sup> to play the town's sacking.  
 Thus did he bid his hosts to earth raze down  
 The seven-gated walls and fort Theban. 135  
 Once more Cithaeron raved and Ismenus  
 With stream of blood did rush on Thebes' city.  
 Fallen the walls and fort of the Thebans.  
 And all the earth was by the spade harassed,  
 As were cast down the houses much wept for, 140  
 And bellowed from its very foundations.  
 Ismenias stood there on the ruins,  
 The harmony of his twin pipes fitting,  
 Where he was bidden by Alexander.  
 But as fell all the walls of the Thebans, 145  
 And Lycus' halls and Labdacus' mansion,  
 In pious mem'ry of his young training  
 The house of Pindar did he spare only,

<sup>1</sup> The Boeotian νόμος here alluded to was symbolical of an unhappy ending.

130. σε A.	Arm., Byz. : κάκιστον A.	131. Arm. :
τήν -ιν A.	132. Byz. : -ων A, Arm.	133. δύο τι ἀναλ.
A : recte Arm., Byz. : σive Βοιώτιον χεῖν.		134. Byz. :
αὐτὸν A.	136. Arm., Byz. : ἐκεῖ χαίρων A.	137. Byz. :
Ἴσμηνίας Arm., νιος A.	ῥεύσας A.	140. cf. Arm.
141. Arm. : γένους A.	ἀπελθών A.	142. τῆς μηνίας
A : corr. Müll.	143. τὸν ἠρίπιον corr. Müll.	144. ἔπερ A :
ὡς Arm	145. -ον corr. Müll.	146. λαβ. Arm.
148. codd. dett. i. 27 (Arm. ἐπῆρεν).		codd. dett. ibid.

μόνην : A κατανα τύμβον, Arm. πύργον : fort. οἰκίας πύργον

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ἐν<θ' > ἦλθε παῖς ὦν καὶ μετέσχε ταῖς Μούσαις  
 πρὸς τὸν λυρ<ω>δὸν τὸν γέροντα φοιτήσας. 150  
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας περὶ πάτραν κατασφάξας  
 ὀλίγους κατέλιπε παντελῶς ἔτι ζῶντας,  
 καὶ τοῦνο<μ>' αὐτῶν τοῦ γένους ἀπήλειψεν.  
 Θήβας γὰρ εἶπε μή<τιν' > ἔτι <κ>αλεῖν Θήβας  
 ἀλλ' ἄπολιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν γεν[ν]ηθῆναι, 155  
 ὡς <οὐ>νομ<ῆ>ναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον.

(ii. 14. 5.)

ἔξω<θην> ἐπὶ λόφου (γὰρ) ἦν ὁ Δαρεῖος  
 (τάφρους) ὀρύσσων καὶ φάλαγγα[s] συντάσσω  
 [ὡς] δέ<κει> [τῶν] Μακεδόνων <οὐ> μενούσαν >  
 ὑσμίνην.  
 ὁ δὲ <τότ' > ἀθρήσας τὸ πολὺ θαῦμα Δαρείου 160  
 παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν ὡς Μίθραν  
 θεὸν νομίζων οὐρανοῦ κατελθόντα  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις πέπλοισιν ἐγκοσμηθέντα.  
 ἦν γὰρ <καθάριον> τῶν τύπων τὸ προσχῆμα·  
 <ἀνήρ μεσηλιξ>· <καὶ> λίθοι πολύτιμοι 165

149. ἐνθ': ἐν φ̄ A. παῖς ὦν Arm.: πεσῶν A. 150. -οδὸν  
 A. 153. Arm.: τοῦ νοῦ A. 154. μηκέτι λαλεῖν A :  
 recte Arm. καλεῖν. 156. ὡς ἔννομον εἶναι A : ἄνομον Arm.  
 Fuit ds ἂν ὀνομήνη vel εἴ τις . . . -ῆναι. 157. Byz.: order  
 varies in A, B, C: γὰρ C. 158. Byz.: τάφους cod.  
 Barocc. 20: στρατούς cett. ὑποτάσσω A. 159.  
 ὡς δὲ ὁ A. συνεισημνιοδῶ (i.e. φόβῳ) A: recto propius  
 Byz.: καὶ φόβῳ συστελλόμενος πολλῶ τῶν M. 160. Arm.  
 161. θεὸν Μίθραν A: Μιθρ. om. cett. Hic demum usque ad  
 σῶμα Δαρείου choliambos agnovit Kroll. 163. στολαῖς

Where as a boy he went to learn music—  
 His master the old lyrical poet.<sup>1</sup> 150  
 Many he slew around their own city,  
 And very few indeed he left living,  
 The very name of all their race rubbed out.  
 He bade that Thebes should be on no man's lips,  
 And that their city should be no city, 155  
 When anyone should speak of such fellows.

(Here the traces of choliambi cease for the time till ii. 13, when Alexander is in Persia. But, as the last verse shows, the story of the refounding of Thebes, and much else, was in this metre once.)

(ii. 13-14. 5 *Alexander sees a vision of Ammon in guise of Hermes with wand and cloak (and staff) and Macedonian felt hat and is told to proceed in this disguise as his own herald. He crosses the frozen Strangas and tells the outposts of his errand. They take him to Darius.*)

Apart upon a hill sat Darius 157  
 Deep ditches digging, and his hosts training  
 That feared the Macedonian combat.  
 When he saw Darius, that wonder, 160  
 He very nearly worshipped him; Mithras  
 He thought to see from heaven descended,  
 Adornéd with barbarian raiment;  
 For holy was the monarch's appearance.  
 He was of middle age. With stones precious 165

<sup>1</sup> Comment is perhaps superfluous.

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- διαδήματος [τὸ] κάρηνον ἔσκεπ<ο>ν σφιγχθέν[τος].  
πέπλω δ' ἐχρῆτο <όπ>οῖον ἄλλον οὐκ εἶδ<ε>ν.  
Βαβυλωνί<ω>ν (ὑφασμα) χρυσί<ω>ν νῆμα  
σειραὶ δὲ χρυσ[ει]αῖ καὶ πέδιλα [χρυσέων]  
φοινικ<ᾶ>, 169  
<σκέποντα> δε<ιρ>ήν καὶ δυοῖν ποδοῖν κνήμα[ι].  
(χρύσεια δὲ λυχνίδια ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἤπτοντο.  
ἕτερα δὲ περὶ τοῖς πόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ κύκλω περι-  
έστραπτον λυχνία.)
- λοχαγέται <δὲ> μυρίοι<σι> κηρύκων 171  
(σκήπτροισιν) ἐκατέρωθε[ν] μυρίων φωτῶν  
κυκληδὸν ἐστέψαντο σῶμα Δαρείου.
- σοὶ μνηύω ἄγών, (ὡς) παρῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, 174  
βασιλεὺς βραδύνων εἰς μάχην <κατέρχεσθαι> 175  
ἤδη πρόδηλός ἐστιν ἀσθενῆ ψυχὴν  
<κεκτημένος καὶ δειλός>. ὥστε μὴ μέλλε,  
<πότε δὲ συνάπτεις τὸν πόλεμον>, (ἀνάγ-  
γειλον). 178
- οὐ μὴ [με] ταράξης <. . .> ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δεῖπνον  
[τὸ] συνηθὲς [τοῖς] ἀγγέλοισι <ι> δεῖ τελειοῦ-  
σθαι, 180  
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος (δεῖπνον ἐποίησε τοῖς  
ἐμοῖς γραμματοφόροις, συνδείπνησόν μοι. καὶ)  
χειρὸς (κρατήσας) δεξιᾶς (Ἀλέξανδρον) 181

166. A δ. σ. τὸ κ. ἔσκεπεν : φορῶν cett. 167. A (ο)λον οὐκ  
εἶδον ἄ. 168. A -ιον (bis) et εὑφασιν. 169. -κων A :  
codd. dett. give the colours *vice versa*. 170. σκήπτρον A.  
171. ἀλλ' οἱ λ. A. 172. ἔθνεα ταῖς A : σκήπτρα (and στίφη)  
cett. 174. ἐγὼ σοι μνηύω omnes : ὡς om. A. 175.

A diadem his head around girded.  
 A robe he wore,—the other had ne'er seen  
 Its like, of Babylonian gold lace :  
 Necklets of gold he wore and shoes crimson  
 Cov'ring his neck and calves of his two legs. 170

Golden lamps were alight above him, and larger  
 lamps shone at his feet and around him.

While generals with countless heraldic 171  
 Sceptres arrayed on this and on that side  
 Circled around the form of Dareius.

*(Alexander is brought to Darius and delivers his  
 message :—)*

I tell thee, as I were <sup>1</sup> Alexander, 174  
 A king who is sloth to enter the combat, 175  
 At once is shown to have a weak spirit  
 And cowardliness of heart. Without halting  
 Announce to me when combat may open. 178

*(Darius, after commenting on A.'s boldness, says :—)*

Thou shalt not trouble me. But, since dinner 179  
 Must be prepared as usual for heralds, 180

for so did Alexander himself give dinner to my envoys,  
 dine with me. So

He took the right hand of Alexander 181

<sup>1</sup> ὡσπερ ὦν.

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ὀφείλεις εἰδέναι βασιλεῦ Δαρεῖε ὅτι βρ. ε. μ. β. πρ. ε. τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ :  
 τῷ ἀντιδ. om. Byz. recte. 176. ἀσθενῆ ἔχων τὴν Α.  
 177. κεκτημένος Byz. : καὶ ἀνανδρον Arm. : δειλ- and μαλθακ-  
 Byz. 178. init. Byz. (exc. δέ) : codd. dett. ἀλλὰ ἀνάγ-  
 γειλόν μοι πότε βούλη σύναψαι . . . 180. τὸ σ. δ. τοῖς ἀγ. Α :  
 sim. Byz. 181. τῆς δ. χ. Α.

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[εἶσ] ἦνεγκεν αὐτὸν <τῶν ἀνακτόρων εἴσω>  
 ὁ δ' [ε Ἀλέξανδρος] (ἀγαθὸν) ἔσχ' ἐν καρδίᾳ τὸ  
 σημεῖον

ἦδη κρατήσκειν > τῶν τυραννικῶν <ἐδρῶν>.  
 ὁ δὲ <οὔν> ἐ[ι]σελθὼν εἰς τὰ μέλαθρα Δαρείου  
 καὶ τέπιτ τὸ[ν] δεῖπνον εὐθέως ἐκηρύχθη. 186  
 πρῶτος δ' ἄνω κλινηῆρος ἦν ὁ Δαρείου <ς> ,

δεύτερος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ὁξυάθρης <ὁ> Δαρείου ,

τρίτος δὲ <Δίοχος> σατράπης Ὁξυδράκων > , 188

εἶτα πάλιν <Ἄ>δου<λ>ίτης<sup>a</sup> ὁ ἐπὶ Σούσης,<sup>b</sup> καὶ  
 Φραόρτης<sup>c</sup> <. . .>

μετ' αὐτὸν <ἐκλίθη δὲ> Μιθριδάτης ἕκτος 189

καὶ Τιριδάτης τοξοτῶν <ὅς ἦν> πρῶτος, 190

ἔτι τε Κανδαύλης ὁ νυκτίχρως †Μένωπος†,<sup>d</sup> εἴτ'  
 ἀνέκειτο Αἰθιοπῶν ἄναξ ,

καὶ Πολυάρης ἔγγιστος > ἠγέμων 191

μέγας,<sup>e</sup> Ὀρνιράτης, Διόσιος, Καρδερωκέτης, Σουλ-  
 βάτης, Ἀλκίδης ,

τοῖς <ι> δ' ἀντίκρυς 192

ἀνέκειτο μο<ὑ>νος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ μιᾶς κλίνης

ὁ πάντ' ἄριστος ὁ Μακεδῶν <Ἀλέξανδρος> . 194

ch. 15 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

182. Byz. (except for εσω): ἔνδον τῶν βασιλείων A. 183.  
 better <ἐνήν δὲ> (καλὸν). 184. -ήσης A. τόπων Byz.: δε-  
 σποτῶν absurde Arm.: τὸν τύραννον νικῶν A. 185. οὔν inserui.  
 186. e.g. πρὸς (πρῶτος codd. dett.). 187. Arm., Byz.: -ου

- And led him by it into his palace ;  
 The other treasured up the fair omen,  
 That he would take the tyrant's throne right soon.  
 So to Darius' halls did he enter 185  
 And even unto dinner was summoned.  
 Now first on couch aloft lay Darius, 187  
 second came Oxyathres brother of Darius,  
 Third Diochus the Oxydrak's satrap, 188  
 then next Adoulites warder of Susa, and Phraortes  
 < . . . >,  
 And Mithridates next to him lay sixth 189  
 And Tiridates chief of the archers, 190  
 and Menops' son the dusky Candaules, then the king  
 of the Ethiopians < . . . >,  
 And Polyares nearest great general, 191  
 Ornirates, Diosius, Carderocetes, Sulbates, Alcides.  
 over 192  
 Against them lay alone on one divan  
 Hero of Macedon Alexander. 194

*(The Persians marvelled at his small size, not knowing  
 that a drop of heavenly soul resides in a small vessel.  
 Now the cupbearers plied the cup freely.)*

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A. 188. Byz.: δὲ ὦχος A. Kroll: -ησαν A.  
<sup>a</sup> δουρίτης A: -λίτης Byz.: Ἄνδ- Arm. <sup>b</sup> Arm.: ἐκ πισσ- A.  
<sup>c</sup> Here and elsewhere the forms differ in our three authorities  
 between whom I choose: all miss the description of Ph.  
 189. συνανεκλ. post ἔκτος A. 190. τρέξων τῶν A. <sup>d</sup> Per-  
 haps ὁ νυκτίχρως παῖς Μέροπος ὁ Κανδαύλης. 191. ἔγ-  
 γιστα A. <sup>e</sup> e.g. δεινός. 193. αὐ. μ. ἀν. A. 194.  
 Ἄλ. Byz.

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μεσάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πότου ἐπινοεῖ τι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος·  
 (ὄσους σκύφους <γὰρ> ἔλαβ') ἔσωθεν ἔκρυ<π-  
 τ>εν· 195

οἱ δὲ [πινεγχύται] βλέποντες ἐνεφάνιζον Δαρείω.  
 ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ἐκ τοῦ κλινηῆρος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· ὦ  
 γενναῖε

πρὸς τί ταῦτ' ἐγκολπίζ[η]; 197

(νοήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς  
 ψυχῆς <τὴν μωρίαν><sup>a</sup> εἶπε· μέγιστε βασιλεῦ,

οὕτω <γὰρ> (ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης Ἀλέξανδρος 198  
 ὅταν δεῖπνον ποιῇ τοῖς ταξιάρχαις καὶ ὑπερ-  
 ασπισταῖς)

τὰ κύπελλ' <ἐν οἷσιν ἂν πίωσι> δωρεῖται 199

<αὐτοῖσιν>· (ὑπενόουν δὲ καὶ σε τοιοῦτον, 200

καὶ) ὡς παρὰ τῷ ἐμῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεκολπισάμην . . .

πρὸς ταῦτα [. . .] ὀρώντες <τῶν λόγων Ἀλεξ-  
 άνδρου> 201

(τὴν πιθανότητα) <πάντες ἦσαν ἔκθαμβοι>·

πλαστὸς (γὰρ) αἰεὶ μῦθος <ἦ>ν (ἔ)χη πίστιν

(εἰς ἔκστασιν) πεποίηκε τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

[. . .] σιγῆς γενομένης <οὖν τις> ἀνεπόλησ[εν]  
 αὐτόν 205

ὄνομα[τι] (Πασάργης), [. . .] ἠγεμῶν γῆς Περ-  
 σίδος·

195. ἔκρυβε A. <sup>a</sup> Arm. 199. ἐνσιπῆνοις A (i.e. ἐν <οἷ>σι  
 πίνουσιν). 200. Arm., Byz. 201. [οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφ] delen-  
 dum. fin. Byz., Arm. 202. πιθανότητι (misplaced)  
 codd. dett.: τῆ π. Arm., Byz. Byz. (ἀπ-). 203. ἐάν codd.  
 σχῆ A. 204. Better ἐξιστάναι πέφυκε. 205. [ ]: πολλῆς



And when the drinking was well started Alexander  
devised a ruse.

As the cups came to him, in his bosom 195

He hid them : which was shown to Darius. 196

Darius leaping up from his couch said, ' Good sir,

Why put these in your bosom ? 197

Alexander, diagnosing from his appearance the folly  
of his soul, said, ' O most mighty King,

My master even so, Alexander,<sup>1</sup> 198

if he gives a feast to his own spearmen and  
colonels

Gives them the cups whereof they have drunken<sup>2</sup> ;

And I supposed you had the same custom, 200

and put them in my bosom as I would at my king's  
table. (*But if you have not this custom, take them  
back.*)

Wherefore they when they saw the persuasion 201

Of Alexander's words were astonished.

For ever lying tale if it wins faith

Drives to bewilderment all its hearers.

Silence ensuing, one, the embassy's 205

Chief leader, called Pasarges, remarked him.

<sup>1</sup> Om. 'Αλέξ. et lege ὅτ. δ. τ. τ. καὶ ὑ. ποιῆ.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Kroll adds to our difficulties by reading  
*ἐκείνοις* for *ἐνσιπήνοις*. What A copied badly was *ἐν οἷσι πίνουσι*  
and the original perhaps *κύπελλ' ἐν οἷσιν ἂν πῖωσι*. See also  
crit. n.

οὖν codd. : ἦς A. 206. A : ὀνόματι ἀσάργης : παράγης C.  
[ ] : ὅς ἦν γενόμενος. Notandum *Περσίδος*. ? *τῆς πρεσβείας*.

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ἦδει γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον, εἰς Πέλλην  
 ἠνίκα τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθε[ν ὑπὸ] Δαρεί[ω] > πεμφθείς  
 Μακεδονίας <γ>ῆς (τοὺς) φόρους ἀπαιτῆσαι.  
 (ἔσθη δ' ἐπιστὰς ἀντίκρυς Ἀλεξάνδρου). 210

καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν,

οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος ὃν λέγουσ'[ιν] Ἀλέξανδρον; 211

ἔστιν <γε>. δεῖ με τοὺς τύπους ἐπιγνώναι. 212

καὶ κατανοήσας ἐκ δευτέρου εἶπεν· αὐτός ἐστιν  
 ἀσφαλῶς·

ἡ φωνὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤλεγξε 213

<εἰ καὶ πλανᾷ τύπος με>. 214

(πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῇ φωνῇ γινώσκονται κἂν  
 ἐν σκότει διαύωσιν). . . . παρανακλιθεὶς δὲ τῷ  
 Δαρείῳ εἶπε· [μέγιστε]

(βασιλεῦ <τε> καὶ δυνάστα <Περσικῆς> χώρας)  
 οὗτός <γ' > ὁ πρεσβεὺς αὐτὸς ἔστ'[ιν] Ἀλέξανδρος

(ὁ παλαὶ Φιλίππου <γενόμενος> ἀριστεύων) 217

. . . . .

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθούμενος

ᾤξυνε ([τὸν] πῶλον τὴν ὁδὸν διευθύνων). 218

νύξ γὰρ βαθεῖα (καὶ σκότος κατ' Ο <ῦ>λυμπου).·

<πλείστοι δ' ἐφ' ἵππων βάρβαροι διώκοντες> 220

<ἴσχυσαν οὐδὲν καταλαβεῖν> <Ἀλέξανδρον>·

(ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὴν ὀδευτικὴν) πεύκην

207-8. order ἠνίκα . . . ἦλθεν εἰς Πέλλην τῆς Μ. ὑπὸ  
 Δαρείου π. 209. Better ἀπαιτήσων. 210. so codd.  
 Barocc. 20 (ἐπιστὰς ἔσθη). 212. ἀσφαλῶς ἐστι Α. 213. ἔστιν  
 γάρ? 214. ita fere Byz.: sim. codd. dett. 215. πάσης

For by his face he knew him, since erstwhile  
 He came to Pella town, for Darius  
 Demanding Macedonian tribute.  
 He took his stand facing Alexander 210

and said to himself

Is not this he they call Alexander ? 211

'Tis he. I ought to recognize full well. 212

And observing again he said : Certainly it is he ;

His voice so betrays him, 213

Even if his shape trick me. 214

For many people even in the dark are recognized  
 by their voice. (*Pasarges then concluding certainly  
 that he was Alexander himself*) lay down beside Darius  
 and said,

The envoy, King and Lord of all Persia, 215

Is none but Philip's son Alexander

Who among Philip's sons (?) showed most manhood

(*Alexander seeing he is recognized escapes with the  
 cups and a torch which he snatches from a sentry.*)

And with God's aid 217

He spurred his colt and held on a straight course.

The night was deep, and dark was Olympus.

And many following him on horseback 220

Entirely failed to catch Alexander.

For he held out, unto himself shining,

---

B: Περσ. Byz. 217. γεγονώς B (num τῶν γόνων!?)

Μοχ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος. 218. δι. τὴν δ. αὐτῷ B; cf. Byz.

219. ἦν γὰρ ν. β. A. \*Ολ. C, Byz. 220. Byz.: πλ.

δὲ τοῦτον β. δ. μεθ' ἴπ. κατ. οὐκ ἴσχ. sim. B. 222. C, Arm.

γῆν C: πεύκην A, Arm.

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- λάμπ<ων> εαυτῶ, (φῶ<ς> ἄπειρον ἔμπροσθεν).  
 (ἦν δ' ὡσπερ ἀστῆρ <τῶν ἐν> οὐρανῶ φαιδρός  
 μόνος τ' ἰὼν εἰς οὐδὲν ἦγε[ιτο] τοὺς Πέρσας), 225  
 οἱ δ' εἰς φάραγγας <ῆ> ἔτυχον <διώλοντο>. 226
- ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος συνεφοράζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ κλινηῆρος  
 καθεζόμενος· ἐθεάσατο δὲ [τι]<sup>a</sup> ἐξαίφνης
- κρήγυόν τι σημείον· 227
- <Ξέρξου> γὰρ εἰκὼν τοῦ ὀρόφου διαστάντος  
 κατέπεσε<ν> ἦνπερ ἠγάπ<ησε> Δαρεῖος. 229
- · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 · · · · ·<sup>b</sup>
- μηδὲν δυνάμενοι τῶν τόπων ἀπέστησαν, 230  
 ποταμὸς γὰρ οὗτος πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἄπλευστος. 231
- καὶ οἱ μὲν Δαρείῳ ἔλεγον
- τὸ εὐτύχημ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. 232
- ch. 16 · · · · ·
- · · · ·
- ἔωθεν τὸν στρατόν συναθροίσας 233  
 (ἐξ ὀνόματος καθώπλις'), ἐν μέσ<οις> ἐστὼς  
 ὁποῖος <ὁ> Ζεὺς [. . .] δαίμονας διακρίνων. 235  
 καὶ πάντας [τοὺς ἐ]αυτοῦ <τοὺς στρατούς>  
 ἀριθμήσας 236
- (εὗρεν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδας ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντι,<sup>c</sup> καὶ  
 στὰς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τόπου τινὸς παραινεί αὐτοὺς  
 λέγων· ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται,
- εἰ καὶ <παρ' ἡμῖν>) ὁ ἀριθμὸς βραχὺς λίαν, 237

223. κατέλαμπεν A. φῶτ' B, which places this after next  
 verse. 224. ἐξ codd. dett. 225. ἀνύων τὴν ὁδὸν μόνος C:  
 ἀνιῶν B. 226. ῆ: or ἐν [τῷ] σκότει Byz.: A καὶ οἱ μὲν διώκοντες  
 εἰς δὲ μέρος ἔτυχον ἐδίωκον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ . . . οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰς φάραγγας

The guiding torch of infinite splendour,  
 And was as one of heaven's stars radiant,  
 Lone traveller outwitting the Persians, 225  
 Who perished in the dells, as chance led them. 226

Now Darius bemoaned his fate, seated on his divan ;  
 where he

Saw suddenly a trustworthy omen. 227  
 The roof cracked and a picture of Xerxes,  
 By King Darius treasured much, fell down. 229

*(Alexander escapes over the river just before it thaws :  
 the Persians arrive too late and)*

Retreating from the riverside baffled, 230  
 (For this is an impassable river)  
 Of Alexander's luck told Darius. 232

*(Alexander next day)*

Full early did assemble his hosts all, 233  
 Armed them and called by name, in midst standing,  
 Like Zeus the heavenly deities counting. 235  
 And having counted up all his soldiers 236

found there were 120,000. He stood on a high hill,  
 and harangued them :

Fellow soldiers and friends !

Full small, as well I know, are our numbers, 237

---

κατεκρημνίζοντο.      <sup>a</sup> del. Kroll.      228. Arm. : *εἰκὼν*  
 γὰρ ἔξω A.      κατ. δι. A.      229. -πα A.      <sup>b</sup> There  
 are only isolated traces of verses in Alexander's escape  
 across the river, e.g. τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔρριψεν ἑρρύσθη <δὲ>  
 γῆς ἐπὶ στερρᾶς.      230. ἀπ. τῶν τ. ὁ γὰρ π. οὐ. ἄ. ἐ. π. A.  
 233. συν. τ. σ.      234. ἐκέλευσεν ἐ. ὁ. καθοπλισθῆναι C, Arm.  
 μέσῳ A.      235. τοὺς οὐρανίους A, ἐν οὐρανῳ Arm.      <sup>c</sup> e.g.  
 δις ἑξήκοντα χιλιάδας εἶδεν.      237. A in false place : B  
 εἰ καὶ β. ὁ ἄ. ἀλλὰ φρ. μεγάλη παρ' ἡμῶν κτλ.

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ἀλλὰ φρόνησις μεγάλη [παρ' ἡμῖν] καὶ θράσος καὶ  
δύναμις

ὑπέρ <γε> Πέρσας τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῶν· 238

ἡμῶν δὲ μηδεῖς ἀσθενέστερόν . . . 239

τι λογίσηται

< . . . . . > θεωρῶν τὸ <μέγα> βαρβάρων  
πλήθος· 240

εἰς γὰρ τις ἐξ ἡμῶν <γε> χεῖρα γυμνώσας)  
τῷ νῶ θεωρῶν† (χιλίουσ ἀναιρήσει. 242

μηδεῖς οὖν ὑμῶν δειλιάση·

πολλαὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ μυριάδες < . . . . . > μυιῶν 243

λειμῶνας < . . . . . > θλίβουσαι·

ὅποτὰν δὲ ταύταις ἐμπέσωσιν <αἰ> σφῆκες 245

σοβοῦσιν αὐτὰς ταῖς πτέρυξι) κλά<ζ>οντες·

οὕτω τὸ πλήθος οὐδέν ἐστι πλὴν πλήθος·

σφηκῶν γὰρ ὄντων οὐδέν εἰσιν (αἰ μυῖαι).

ὡς δ' εἶπε[ν ὁ] βασιλεύς, πάντες αὐτὸν ἠυφῆμουν.

πολλὰς <δὲ> χέρσους καὶ τστόμους† διευθύνας 250

<ἤγεν> τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα τοῦ Στράγγου.

Δαρεῖος <οὖν> ὡς (εἶδε) τόν <τ' > Ἀλέξανδρο <ν>

ὀλιγοστόν ὄντα, (καὶ παγέντα) < . . . . . >

[ ] τὸν ποταμὸν εὐρῶν διεπέρασ[εν], ἐπιστῆναι

βουλόμενος . . . . . τοῖς στρατοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου· 255

. . . . . κήρυκας εἰς (μέσον) πέμπει

καλεῖν <ἀνώγων> (εἰς μάχην [τούς] ἀριστ<ῆ>ας)

(ὁ δὲ στρατός Δαρείου

238. τοὺς B. 239. μηδ. οὖν ἡμ. B. ἀσθενέστερον : -os  
φανείη Byz. : e.g. -ραν ψυχὴν ἔχει. 240. Byz. : τὸ πλ. τῶν  
β. B. 242. τῶν ἀντιμάχων codd. dett. ; verss. : τῶν

but we have great resource and courage and personal strength

Beyond our adversaries the Persians. 238  
 Let none of us display the least weakness  
 Seeing the vast barbarian numbers. 240  
 For one of us even with hand empty  
 Of idle fools like these will slay thousands.  
 For there are flies < . . . > in thousands  
 Thronging in days of summer the meadows ;  
 But when the wasps attack them in battle 245  
 They rout them merely by their wings' whistle.  
 So numbers count as nothing but numbers.  
 When there are wasps mere flies count for nothing.  
 The king spoke and his soldiers all cheered him. .  
 And after many lands and paths traversed 250  
 He led them to the borders of Strangas.  
 Darius when he saw the commander  
 Had few with him, and saw the stream frozen,  
 Crossed it in haste, desiring to surprise  
 By stealth the armies of Alexander, 255  
 Yet heralds sent to summon to combat  
 The chosen men of all the brave foemen.

Now Darius' host

---

ἀντιδίκων οὕτω τῷ νῶ θεωρῶν (οὕτω τι νωθρῶν Kroll). Vestigiis  
 propius τῶν ὠδε μωρῶν, which I translate. 243. e.g. αἰί.  
 244. ἡμέρα θερινῇ Arm., e.g. -να θερινῆς' ἡμέρησι: θλίβουσαι λει-  
 μῶνας B: αἰσκοποῦσαι τὸν ἀέρα misere cod. A. 246. κλαγόντες  
 A. 247. πλὴν πλῆθος: πρὸς ἡμᾶς or σύνεσις codd. dett.  
 248. codd. omnes?: παρόντων inepte Kroll. 250. οὖν  
 omnes. ὁδοὺς καὶ ἄκρα Arm., στίβους Kroll. 251. εὗρεν A.  
 252. ὁ δὲ Δ. omnes. ἰδῶν: ἐθεάσατο A. στρατόν -ρου A.  
 254. A ἐχλεύασεν ὡς μηδὲν (om. cett.) καὶ εὖ. ἐπιπήκτον τ. π.  
 255. e.g. ἀφνω: πρῶτος dett. 256. καὶ A: e.g. ὅμως  
 (Byz.) γε μήν. ἐκπέμπει A. 257. καλεῖν τὴν μάχην A:  
 καλοῦντας κτλ. cett. -εας codd. dett.

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<πᾶς ὄπλοις ἐθωρήχθη>.

ὁ δὲ ἄρματος Δαρείος ἦν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ  
καὶ οἱ σατράπαι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δρεπανηφόρων ἄρμάτων  
ἐκαθέζοντο). τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων προῆγεν ὁ  
'Αλέξανδρος ἐγκαθίσας τὸν Βουκέφαλον ἵππον·  
προσεγγίσει δὲ τούτῳ οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο. . . .

ὡς δ' ἑκατέρους ἔκληζε πολέμιος σάλπιγξ 260  
πολὺς δέ τις θροῦς συνεκλονεῖτο καὶ κλαγγ<ή>  
στράτων, προθυμία <γὰρ> ἦλθον εἰς δῆριν,  
(οἱ μὲν λίθους ἔβαλλον, οἱ δὲ τόξ. . . . . 263

ἔπεμπον ὡς ὄμβρον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ φερόμενον,  
ἕτεροι δ' <ἔκρυπτον> βέλεσιν (ἡμέρας φέγγος),  
ἄλλοι δ' <ἄρ' > ἐξοιστροῦντο <ταῖς> μαχαίραισιν·  
[καὶ] ὦλοντο πολλοί, πολὺς ὄδυρμὸς ὠρώρει·  
<ὡς> οἱ μὲν ἐσφάζοντο (βέλεσι τρωθέντες),  
ἡμισφαγεῖς δ' ἔκειντο . . . . . (ἄλλοι· 268  
γνοφερός δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀῆρ καὶ αἱματώδης).

πολλῶν δὲ Περσῶν ὀλεθρίως τελευτώντων, 269  
ὁ Δαρείος ἔστρεψε τὰς ἡνίας τοῦ ἰδίου ἄρματος,<sup>a</sup>  
καὶ πᾶν τὸ Περσῶν πλῆθος εἰς φυγὴν ὤρμα. 270  
δρεπανηφόρων <οὔν> ἄρμάτων τροχαζόντων  
(ἐθέριζ<ο>ν αὐτο<ι>) τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Περσῶν  
ὄχλους ὡς [ἐπὶ]

258. ἐθωρακίσαντο πανοπλίαν codd. dett.: π. δ. ἐθωρακίσθη Byz.  
259. ὁ δὲ Δ. ἦν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὑψηλοῦ A. 260. ἐκλαγγε codd.  
dett.: οὔν -ους ἔκλιζε A (Kr.). 261. κλαγγέων A: ἰ.ε.  
κλαγγῆ τῶν Kroll. 262. δὲ A. 263. e.g. οἱ δ' ἐτόξευον  
πέμποντες — ὡς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ὄμβρον. 264. βολιδας ἐσφεν-  
δόμιζον ὥστε ἐπικαλύπτειν codd. dett.: ἐσκέπασαν A. τὸν  
ἀέρα A: ἡμέρας φέγγος codd. dett., Byz. (Arm.). 265. δ.  
δὲ μ. ἐξ. A. 266. πολλοὶ μ. ὦ., πολὺς δὲ A. 267. καὶ  
538



was all in arms ready. 258  
 Darius sat on chariot lofty

and his satraps were seated on scythed chariots.  
 The Macedonians were led by Alexander on his  
 horse Bucephalus that none could approach.

Now when the martial trumpet called both sides 260  
 And mighty din and shouting of armies  
 Clattered together, eagerly fighting, 262  
 Some hurled great stones, and others shot arrows,

like rain falling from heaven,

Others with missiles the daylight clouded, 264  
 Others with swords to frenzy were goaded. 265  
 Many did fall, and many cries rose up.  
 As some were slain of wounds from thrown missiles  
 Or lay half slain . . .

The air was thick and blood-tainted.

When many Persians were by doom taken,  
 Darius turned the reins of his car,

And the whole Persian host to flight urgéd. 270  
 Then on their chariots scythed, in haste wheel-  
 ing,<sup>1</sup> 271

the satraps mowed down the common herd of the  
 Persians like

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 271-2 may be continuous, *e.g.* περὶ τοὶ 'θερίζονθ' ὡσπερ ὑπ' ἀγροτῶν σίτος, which is nearer the A version.

codd. 268. ἕτεροι δὲ ἡ. ξ. A, Byz.: ἄλλοι δὲ ἡ. ξ. codd.  
 dett. <sup>a</sup> *e.g.* Δ. ἐφυγεν ἡμιστροφῶν ἄρμα. 270. τὸ πλ.  
 τῶν II. A. 271. δὲ πολλῶν A. <sup>b</sup> So in general  
 codd. dett.: -εν -ος codd. dett.: *e.g.* ἐθέριζον ὄχλους ὡσπερ  
 ἐν θέρους ὥρη.

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στάχνας ἀρούρης ἀγρόται ἐπικείροντες). 272

κάτωθε[ν] δ' [ι] ἐλύθη κῦμα καὶ ἤρπασε <ν> πάντας  
οἱ δὲ μὴ φθάσαντες διαπερᾶσαι τὸν ποταμόν

ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων (νηλεῶς) ἀνηροῦντο. 274

ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος φυγὰς γενηθεὶς καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ  
βασιλεια<sup>a</sup>

(ρίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς [τὸ] ἔδαφος, ἀνοιμώξας, 275

σὺν δάκρυσι ἐθρήνει ἑαυτὸν ἀπολέσας πολὺ πλῆθος  
ἀνδρῶν

καὶ τὴν Περσίδα ὅλην ἐρημώσας). 276

.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
ch. 20	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

(οἱ δὲ σατράπαι Δαρείου ἔγνωσαν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
ἐγγίζοντα ὃ τε Βῆσσοσ καὶ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης· καὶ

παρατραπέντες [οὔτοι] τὰς φρενοβλαβεῖς γνώμας  
ἐβουλεύσαντο Δαρεῖον ἀναιρῆσαι . . . . .) οὕτως  
ἐπήνεγκαν Δαρείῳ

ἐξιφωμένας [τὰς] χεῖρας. 278

ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἰδὼν εἶπεν·

ὦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότηι [οἶ] τὸ πρὶν [μου] δοῦλοι,  
τί τοσοῦτον ἠδίκησα (βαρβάρῳ τόλμη[ματι]) 280

272. ἀρούρης στάχνας ἀγρότητι κείροντες cod. Barocc.: first ἐπὶ rightly omitted by Byz.: ὡσπερ σῖτος ὑπ' ἀρότρῳ, ne murmurante quidem Krollio, A: nostrates aratris haud ita utuntur: στ. ἀρούρας etiam Byz. <sup>a</sup> e.g. φ. γ. δ' εἰς δόμους ὁ Δ.

276. e.g. ἑαυτὸν ἐθρήνησεν ἀπολέσας πλῆθος μέγιστον ἀνδρῶν γῆν θ' ὅλην ἐρημώσας. 280. β. τολ. after ἀνέλητε codd. dett.

The husbandmen the plough-land corn reaping.

*(The Persian host attempt to flee across the Strangas but)*

The ice gave way and the wave engulf'd them. 273

Those who failed to cross in time

Were by the men of Macedon butcher'd.

Darius fled to his palace and

Casting him on the floor, with a loud groan, 275

and floods of tears wept for his loss of so numerous  
a host,

And desolation of his own country. 276

*(Darius after vain appeals<sup>1</sup> flees to Ecbatana and the  
Caspian gates. Alexander pursues.)* Now the satraps  
of Darius Bessus and Ariobarzanes learnt that Alex-  
ander was approaching, and,

By evil stroke from God their hearts smitten, 277

they plotted to kill Darius. . . They attacked Darius,

swords in their hands holding. 278

When he saw the villains he said :

My masters, my slaves once ! 279

How have I wronged you that with cruel spirit 280

<sup>1</sup> Darius cites some pure iambic verses : and one letter in his correspondence with Alexander which ensues, unlike the rest of the letters of which this history is full, shows traces of pure iambs. These, like others (i. 33, iii. 24. 3), have no place in this collection.

ἵνα με ἀνέλητε;

(μὴ πλε<ι>ον ὑμεῖς Μακεδόνων τι δράσητε·) 281  
 εἶσατ' [ε με] οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ μέλαθρα ρίφ<θ>έντα  
 ἀναστενάξειν τὴν (ἀνώμαλον <μοῖραν>).  
 εἴαν γὰρ ἔλθων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος  
 εὖρη σφαγέντα ἱβασιλέατ ληστρικῇ γνώμη, 285  
 ἐ<π>εκδικήσει <μ' >· οὐ θέμις γὰρ ὀφθῆναι 286

βασιλέα<sup>a</sup> δολοφονηθέντα οἰκτίστω<ς>.<sup>b</sup>

οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς μαθόντες τὴν εἴσοδον (Ἀλεξάνδρου)  
 . . . προλείψαντες τὸν Δαρεῖον ἡμίπνου ἀπο-  
 φεύγουσιν . . . καὶ (εἰσελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος

<... > εὖρεν αὐτὸν <αἰμόφυρτον> ἡμίπνου), 287

καὶ (ἀνοιμώξας

<ἐλέου γέμοντα> θρήνον ἄξιον λύπης 288

δάκρυα ἐξέχεεν [καὶ]

τῇ χλάμυδι <δ' > ἐσκέπα<ζ>ε [τὸ] σῶμα  
 Δαρείου), 289

ἐπιθεῖς δ' ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸ Δαρείου 290

στήθος τοίους ἔλεξε συμπαθεῖς μύθους·

ἀνάστα, φησί· τῆς τύχης, ὦ Δαρεῖε,

καὶ τῶν σεαυτοῦ δεσπότης πάλιν γίνου.

δέξαι σ[ο]ὺ τὸ διάδημα Περσικοῦ πλήθους,

ἔχε σοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τυραννικῆς δόξης. 295

ὄμνυμί (σοι) Δαρεῖε τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας

<ὡς ταῦτ' > ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ πεπλασμένως (φράζω).

281. δράσηται cod. Barocc. : -σετε codd. dett. ?? 283.  
 ἀνώμαλόν μου (ἀνομαλῇ cod. Barocc.) τύχην: δυσέκβατον Λ.

you come to kill me ?

Excel not Macedon in your actions. 281

Suffer me thus upon the earth rolling

To weep aloud at my fate's injustice.

For if there come the king Alexander,

And find a king by pirates slain lying, 285

He will avenge me : Right doth not suffer 286

that a king should be seen slain by guile most pitifully.

(After a struggle they decamp leaving Darius half dead. Alexander arrives and)

found him half alive with blood spatter'd. 287

With a loud groan he uttered

A lamentable dirge and right piteous, 288

shed tears

And with his cloak Darius' form veiling, 289

Upon Darius' breast his hands laid he, 290

And words of sympathy spoke as follows :—

Arise, quoth he ; Darius, of fortune

And of your own be once again master.

Receive the Persian diadem once more,

The might of all your kingly fame keeping. 295

I swear to you, Darius, by heaven,

I speak this truly with no feigned utt'rance,

285. ἀνακτα Kroll. 286. ἐπ- : εἶ A : cett. ἐκδικ. τὸ αἷμά μου<sup>a</sup> <βασιλεῖ> β. Ausfeld ; but sterner measures are needed.  
<sup>b</sup> -των A. 287. Byz. : ἐκκεχυμένον . . . τὸ . . . αἷμα C.  
 288. θρ. ἄ. λ. C : ἐλ. γέμ. B later. 289. -ασε C. 290. τὰς  
 χεῖρας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπ. A. 296. σε A. 297. Kroll (ὡς Byz.,  
 ταῦτα Arm.) : ὅτι ἐγὼ A.

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μόνος παρέ<ξ>ω τὸ διάδημα τῶν σκήπτρων.  
 μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ τροφῆς ἐκοινών<ουν>  
 ἐπὶ <σ>αῖς τραπέζαις <σ>ῆν ἄν' ἐστίαν, χ<ρ>εῖαι  
 ἡνίκα παρήμην ἀγγελ<ῶν> Ἀλεξάνδρου. 301  
 ἀλλ' ἐξανάστα καὶ κράτυνε τῆς χώρας.  
 οὐ δεῖ βασιλέα δυστυχοῦντα λυπεῖσθαι.  
 ἰσότης γὰρ ἀνθρώποις <ι> περὶ τέλους μοίρης>.  
 τίνες δέ σ' οἱ τρώσαντες, εἶπε, Δαρεῖε; 305  
 μήνυσον αὐτοὺς (ἵνα σε νῦν, ἀνα<ξ>, τί<σ>ω.)  
 ταῦτα <οῦν> λέγοντος [ ] ἐστέναξ[εν] ὁ Δαρεῖος  
 καὶ ἐπισπασάμενος (τάς <τε> χεῖρας ἐκτείνας)  
 στῆθος φιλήσας <τ'> εἶπε· τέκνον Ἀλέξανδρε  
 μη<δ<ε>ποτ' ἐπαρθῆς (τῇ τυραννικῇ δόξῃ). 310  
 (ὅποτάν) γὰρ ἔργον ἰσόθεον κατορθώ<σης>, 311  
 καὶ χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς οὐραν(οῦ θέλ)ῆς ψαύειν,  
 σκόπει τὸ μέλλον· ἢ τυχὴ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν  
 < > (βασιλέ' οὔτε μὴν πλήθος),  
 ἀκρίτῳ δὲ ροίζῳ πάντ<α> (πανταχ)ῶς (ρέμβε-  
 [τα]ι). 315

ὄρα(s) τίς ἤμην καὶ τίς ἐγενόμην πλήμων·  
 ὁ τῆς τοσαύτης ἄρτι <κύριος γαίης>  
 νῦν οὐδ' ἔμαντοῦ δεσπότης ἀποθνήσκω.  
 θάψον με ταῖς σαῖς εὐσεβεστάτ<α>ις χερσίν·  
 κηδευσάτωσαν Μακέδονες (με) καὶ Πέρσαι· 320

· · · · ·  
 · · · · ·  
 μί<η> γενέσθω συγγένεια Δαρεῖω. 321  
 τὴν δ' ἐμὲ τεκοῦσαν παρατίθημί σοι πλήμων,

298. -έχω A. 299-300. Kroll: -νουν, ταῖς, τὴν A. 300.  
 χεῖραν A (χειρὶ Arm.). 301. ἄγγελος A. 304. ἢ π. τ. μύρις  
 A: corr. Kroll ex Arm. 306. ἀναπαύσω B: ἵνα με ἐκδικον  
 ἔχης A. 307. Ἀλεξάνδρου. 308. καὶ codd. dett., Byz.

That you may have again the sole sceptre.  
 For I myself at meat with you sat once  
 At table by your hearth, when I came here 300  
 To bring you message from Alexander.  
 But now arise and be your land's master :  
 A king should suffer not nor be wept for.  
 For all are equal at their last hour's end.  
 Who are they who did wound you, Darius ? 305  
 Tell me their names, O King : I 'll avenge you.  
 As Alexander spake thus, Darius 307  
 Groaned, drew him nigh to him, his hands stretch'd  
 forth,  
 And kissed his breast and quoth : Alexander,  
 Be not elated by your proud kingship : 310  
 When you have wrought a deed of god worthy  
 And fancy with your hands to touch heaven  
 Think of what is to be : for fate knows not  
 Or king or commoner : all things cruelly  
 In undistinguished eddy she whirls round. 315  
 See what I was, and what my fate now is ;  
 I, who was once of all this land owner,  
 Am master now not even of myself.  
 Me with your hands most pious here bury,  
 Let Macedonians tend me, and Persians :<sup>1</sup> 320

Let all as kindred do my kin's functions.  
 Alack for me, I give you my mother !

<sup>1</sup> Probably the account in C, according to which the king summons his harem is, for the choliambic writer, original. But, as usual in this version, traces of metre are few.

310. Kroll. 311. -σεις A. 312. οὐρανοὺς A, οὐρανὸν  
 codd. dett. (φθάσαι). 314. e.g. ἔδωκε τιν' οὐτε: A βασιλέα  
 ἢ ληστὴν οὐτε πλήθος. 315. παντὶ κακῶς A: πανταχόθεν  
 cett. 317. Arm. (om. cett.): κύρον γύης A. 319. -οις  
 A. 321. μία codd.

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα <δ' > ὡς σύν<αι>μον οἴκτειρον  
καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα σοι δίδωμι Ῥωξάνην,  
ἵν' εἴ τι κἄν φθιτοῖσι λείπεται γνώμη<ς> 325  
<οἱ δύο γονῆες> ἐπὶ τέκνοισ<ι> κα(υ)χῶνται.  
σ<οἱ> μὲν Φίλιππος, Ῥωξάνη[s] δὲ Δαρεῖος>.  
τοσαῦτα λέξας ὁ βασιλεὺς <ὁ> Δαρεῖος  
τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔλεψε<ν> ἐν χερ<οῖ>ν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

323. Kroll. σύνεμον A : corr. Raabe ex Arm. 324. Ῥ.  
δ. σοι A. 325. γνώμη A. 326. Kroll: σὺ δυὸ  
γενεαῖς A. κάχονται A : καύχ. cett. 327. σὺ, -πφ,  
-ης, -ίω codd. : corr. Kroll. 329. ε. τὸ π. and χερσὶν A.



Pity my wife here as a kinswoman !  
My daughter give I also Roxanes,  
That if sense liveth yet among dead men                    325  
Two parents in their offspring may glory,  
Philip in you, and I in Roxanes.  
After this utterance King Darius  
In Alexander's hands the ghost gave up.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Further traces of metre are few : and it is very doubtful whether Book III. containing Alexander's expedition into Judea, his journey to Candace, and his death, owes anything to the versifier. See p. 573.

## ORACULUM

ap. Ps.-Call. i. 3. 4.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀφανοῦς γενομένου  
 τοῦ Νεκτανεβῶ ἠξίωσαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν προ-  
 πάτορα τῶν θεῶν Ἡφαιστον τί ἄρα ὁ τῆς Αἰ-  
 γύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῖς  
 χρησμὸν πρὸς τὸν ἀόρατον τοῦ Σεραπείου<sup>α</sup> στήναι<sup>β</sup>  
 ὅς χρησιμοδοτεῖ αὐτοῖς οὕτως·

Αἴγυπτον ὁ φυγῶν κρατερὸς ἄλκιμος πρέσβυς  
 βασιλεὺς δυνάστης τῆξειτ μετὰ χρόνον νέος,  
 τὸ γηράλαιον ἀποβαλὼν τύπων εἶδος,  
 κόσμον κυκλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον Αἰγύπτου,  
 ἐχθρῶν <ἀπάντων> ὑποταγὴν διδοὺς ἡμῖν. 5

οὕτω δοθέντος . . .

<sup>α</sup> Σεραπείου: v.l. Σινωπείου. <sup>β</sup> στήσαι A. iambos no-  
 tavit W. Kroll. 1. ἐκφυγῶν [cod.] L[eid]. κραταιὸς A :  
 -ερὸς L. 2. e.g. μ. χ. ν. θ' ἦξει. 3. γηράλαιον A, L.  
 τύπον εἶδον κόσμον A. 4. Αἰγ. π. A, L (Αἴγυπτον L).  
 5. ἐλθῶν διδοὺς L.

## ORACLE

*Ps.-Call. i. 3. 4*

Now in Egypt after Nectanebos' disappearance the Egyptians saw fit to ask Hephaestus the grandsire of the gods what had happened to the king of Egypt. And he sent to them an oracle to go to the recess of the Serapium. And Serapis delivered an oracle to them as follows :—

The strong, brave sire that has fled Egypt  
 Monarch and king will come again youthful,  
 Having put off his features old semblance,  
 Circling the world to Egypt's plain once more,  
 Giving of all our enemies conquest. 5

After this oracle had been thus delivered, [failing to discover its meaning they wrote the verses on the base of Nectanebos' statue, as a memorial against such time as the oracle should come to pass.]

## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

The search for anonymous choliambics has met with but little success. It is very easy for prose passages to appear to belong to such a metre. An excellent instance of this kind appears in Polyb. i. 32 :

*τοὺς ἀπολογισμοὺς παρὰ τί νῦν σφαλείησαν  
καὶ πῶς δύναιτο τοὺς ἐναντίους νικᾶν;*

as quoted by Suidas. Under the heading 'Spuria' I give a few instances of verses which, it appears to me, are either fortuitous, or belong to another metre. But there is another class, not yet noted by editors, as to which, it seems, some room for doubt exists. The collectors of Greek proverbs normally threw these into the rhythm of the end of a verse, or indeed a whole verse; and where the choliambic rhythm predominates it seems possible to claim a few of these, not indeed from writers in choliambi, but as conscious choliambi produced by the editor of proverbs. This is why I have ventured to give the late fifteenth-century choliambi of Arsenius, who after the fall of Constantinople augmented Apostolius' (his father's) collection of proverbs; and drawn attention to a place where a far earlier writer, Synesius, bishop of Cyrene, deliberately casts a proverb into this metre, or uses a metrical authority. Thus Hesiod's δῶρα θεοῖς πέθει degenerates into a verse-end δῶρα

## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

καὶ θεοὺς πείθει and ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥήσις assumes an illogical accusative. Since distinction is not always possible I include a certain number of cases where there may actually be a quotation from a choliambic writer (other than a proverb-collector); but I do not suppose that there are more than four or five of these. The division into (a) Dicta and (b)<sup>1</sup> is unsatisfactory. It is further possible that of the four or five some like ἀεὶ με κτλ. and μύωπι κτλ. are from lost fables of Babrius. Where all is so hypothetical detailed discussion is unnecessary; and this warning must suffice.

<sup>1</sup> Proverbs proper.

## FRAGMENTA INCERTA

(1-10, *vid.* pp. 2-7)

*Inc.* 11 (B<sup>gk.</sup> 25)

ὁ τὸν κυσὸν τρωθείς  
ἦδ<ει>ς <ὄ>που μάλιστα τοῦ κράνουσ χρεί<η>.  
(Photius, ii. 33 Naber.)

*Inc.* 12 (B<sup>gk.</sup> 26 A)

A. βαύ, βαύ.

B. καὶ κυνὸς φωνὴν ἴεις;

(Joan. Alex. *de ton.* p. 32. 23 βαὺ . . . δξύνεται (12).)

*Inc.* 13

στροβεῖς σεαυτὸν κοχλίου βίον ζώ<ω>ν.

(Plut. *Mor.* p. 525 E σὺ δὲ τοσαῦτα πράγματα συγχεῖς καὶ ταράττεις καὶ (13).)

*Inc.* 14 (B<sup>gk.</sup> 27)

ἐγὼ μὲν ὦ Λεύκιππ<ε> δεξίη σίττη

(Schol. Ar. *An.* 704 Δίδυμος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ σίττη καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ὄρνεον δεξιὰ πρὸς ἔρωτας φαίνεται (14). Suid. ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐρώσιν.)

- |                       |                         |                              |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 11. 2. ἦδη Αἰσώπου :  | corr. Dobree.           | χρεία corr. B <sup>gk.</sup> |
| 12. interpunxi.       | 13. ζῶν :               | corr. Crusius.               |
| Suid. : ὡς schol. Ar. | Λευκίππη corr. Bentley. | 14. ὦ                        |
| corr. Meineke.        |                         | -η -η                        |

## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

(For 1-10 see above)

11

In the rump wounded  
Thou knewest where a helmet was needed

(*Photius's Lexicon.*)

12

A. Bow! Wow!

B. Do'st bark dog-like?

(*John of Alexandria on Accents.*)

13

You lead a shell-fish life of inquietude.

(You confound all these matters <sup>1</sup> and in your worry (13).  
*Plutarch on Avarice.*)

14

Leucippus, I with favouring parrot

(Didymus' explanation rests on the ground that parrots and suchlike birds are favourable to lovers (14). *Commentator on Aristophanes' Birds*: also in *Suidas' Lexicon.*)

<sup>1</sup> The reading is uncertain and unsatisfactory.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### Inc. 15

τέπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκίδας ἀπέκτεινεν.

(Arist. 673 a 13 τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς ἀποκοπεῖσα φθέγγεται. . . τοῦ γὰρ ἱερέως τοῦ Ὀπλοσμίου Διὸς ἀποθανόντος . . . ἔφασάν τινες ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκεκομμένης λεγούσης πολλάκις (15), διὸ καὶ ζητήσαντες ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Κερκίδας ἔκριναν.)

### Inc. 16

ἐγὼ μέντοι ἢ τοσαύτη τρεῖς ἦδη  
καθεῖλον ἰστοὺς ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τούτῳ.

(Strabo, p. 378 μνημονεύεται τις ἑταῖρα πρὸς τὴν ὄνειδίξοισαν ὅτι οὐ φιλεργὸς εἶη οὐδ' ἐρίων ἄπτοιο εἰπεῖν (16).)

### Inc. 17

μὴ πάντοθεν κέρδαινε σαυτὸν αἰσχύνων.

(Greg. Naz. περὶ ἀρετῆς ii. 432. v. 387 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπαίνει τῶν σοφῶς εἰρημένων (17) . . .)

### Inc. 18

τέττιγα <μέντοι> τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας.

(Lucian, iii. 162 τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκέينو ἦδη σοι λέγω ὅτι (18). Apostol. xvi. 32.)

15. I doubt whether there be a verse at all, and whether the head said more than Κερκίδας ἀπέκτεινεν. The first two words are anyhow corrupt. The obvious correction of ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΣ is (Ε)ΗΜΙΑΡΟΣ, which I translate. 17. The verse is expressly attributed by Gregory to an older writer. However, it may well have been an ordinary iambus (αἰσχυνῶν). The next citation is from Eur. (*fr.* 20). See my *F.G.A.* p. 4.



## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

15

Foul Cercidas his fellow-man murder'd.<sup>1</sup>

(The story of the head speaking when severed from the body. . . . When the priest of Hoplosmian Zeus was mysteriously slain, some alleged that the head though cut off kept on repeating (15). So they hunted out one of this name there and accused them. *Aristotle.*)

16

I at my age three times  
In this brief space have undone three pieces.<sup>2</sup>

(A certain courtesan is said to have remarked to a lady who rebuked her for idleness nor putting her fingers to the loom (16). *Strabo.*)

17

Gain not from every source thyself shaming.

(You must approve the following wise utterances ' (17) . . . ' *Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus.*)

18

You've taken by the wing a grasshopper.

(It is time for me to tell you of Archilochus'<sup>3</sup> dictum (18). *Lucian's Liar.* Also in *Greek Proverbs.*)

<sup>1</sup> Some have actually sought to connect this with Cercidas (the law-giver of Megalopolis or the cynic) or a relative!

<sup>2</sup> Should probably be classed among paroemiatic dicta: it may not occur in any literary writer.

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer has recently shown that Archilochus wrote *τέττιγος ἐδράξω περοῦ*: so this fragment belongs to p. 347.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

*Inc.* 19

λευκὴν

μᾶζαν φυρῶ σοι;

(Diogen. vi. 12 ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλως ὑπισχνουμένων. Other references *Paroem. Gr.* i. 271.)

*Inc.* 20

ζῶον ἐν πυρὶ σκαῖρον

(Cram. *An. Ox.* ii. 371. 19.)

*Inc.* 21

<τέρψιν> ἦν χαρίζονται νύκτες

(*Ibid.* 483. 3.)

19. *vv. ll.* φύρῳσιν, μεγάλους, μεγάλα.  
vit Headlam.

20, 21. indica-

## UNCERTAIN FRAGMENTS

19

May I

A white cake mix you ?

((19) refers to those who make lofty promises. *Greek Proverbs.*)

20

An animal in fire leaping

(*Grammarian in Cramer's Anecdota Oxoniensia.*)

21

That pleasure which nights give

(*Ibid.*)

## PAROEMICA

### (a) *Dicta*

1. φιλεῖν ἀκαίρως ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ μισεῖν.

(*Paroem. Gr.* ii. 778.)

2. εἰ τυρὸν εἶχον οὐκ ἂν ἐδεόμην ὄψου.

(*Apostol.* vi. 76 ἐπὶ τῶν ὀλίγοις ἀρκουμένων καὶ ἐγκρατῶν from *Plut. Mor.* 234 E εἰς πανδοκεῖον (Λάκων τις) καταλύσας καὶ δοῦς ὄψον τῷ πανδοκεῖ σκενάσαι, ὡς ἄτερος τυρὸν ἤτει καὶ ἔλαιον, 'εἶτ', ἔφη (2).)

3. ζημίαν αἰροῦ μᾶλλον  
ἢ κέρδος αἰσχρόν· τὸ μὲν [γὰρ] ἅπαξ σε λυπήσει  
τὸ δὲ διὰ παντός.

([*Apostol.*] viii. 34 b from *Stob. Fl.* v. 31 (i. 20 H.). *Χίλωνος.*)

4. ἡ βραχυλογία ἐγγύς ἐστι τοῦ σιγᾶν.

([*Apostol.*] viii. 41 c from *Stob. Flor.* xxxv. 9 Λυκούργος πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'διὰ τί Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν βρ. ἀσκούσιν;' εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγγύς κτλ.)

1-5. It is possible that at some period before Plutarch (or Stobaeus) certain dicta may have been given in a metrical choliambic form. 4. e.g. τὸ γὰρ βραχυλόγον if the story is adopted from a metrical writer.

## PROVERBS

(a) *Sayings* (cf. *Inc.* 16)

1. Untimely love 's than hatred no better.

(*Greek Proverbs.*)

2. If I had cheese what use to me were meat?

(*Greek Proverbs* from the story in *Plutarch*: A certain Spartan put up at an inn and gave meat to the innkeeper to cook: when the latter asked for cheese and oil, he rejoined (2).)

3. For loss is far better  
Than gain with shame; the one for one moment,  
The other aye will irk.

(*Greek Proverbs* from *Stobaeus' Anthology*, where it is attributed to *Chilon*.)

4. For brevity to silence is next door.

(*Greek Proverbs* from *Stobaeus' Anthology*: *Lycurgus* when asked why the Spartans practised brevity replied (4).)

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

5.

ἕξ ἴσου δίδου πᾶσιν.

(Plut. *Mor.* 208 B (Agesilaus is the speaker) is thus given by Apostol. vii. 51, with the lemma ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρθῶς διανεμόντων καὶ δικαίως κρινόντων.)

6. ἀκραῖς ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖσιν Εὐξείνου πόντου

(Plut. *Mor.* 602 A διὸ καὶ Διογένης ὁ Κύων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'Σινωπεῖς σου φυγὴν ἐκ Πόντου κατέγνωσαν,' 'ἐγὼ δέ,' εἶπεν, 'ἐκείνων ἐν Πόντῳ μονήν' (6).)

6. Diogenes was well-read but is not likely to have cited Hipponax or Ananius or a contemporary. It is usual to read πόρου.

(b)<sup>a</sup>

'Αεὶ με τοῖ[ου]τοι πολέμοι διώκοιεν, 'Ακάνθιος τέττιξ, "Αλμη <γὰρ> οὐκ ἔνεστ' αὐτῶ, 'Ακαρπότερος εἶ <τῶν> 'Αδωνίδος κήπων, 'Ακόλω [τὰ] χειλ<έ>' οὐ σύκω βῦσαι, 'Απὸ ξύλου καλοῦ<sup>δ</sup> <γε> κᾶν ἀπάγξασθαι, 'Αρουραία μάντις, Βία πένήτων πλουσίων παράκλησις, Γύης <μέν> οὐκ ἔνεστ' αὐτῶ,<sup>ε</sup> Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ, Δίκτυου φυσᾶς,<sup>α</sup> Δῶρα καὶ θεοὺς πείθει, 'Εγένετο καὶ Μάνδρωνι συκίνη ν<ῆ>υς, Εἴληφεν ἠ παγὶς τὸν μῦν, 'Εμπεδοκλέους ἔχθρα, 'Εν θέρει [τὴν] χλαῖναν<sup>ε</sup> κατατρίβεις, 'Εξ ἐνὸς πηλοῦ, 'Εχεται δ' ὥσ<τε> πο<υ>λύπους πέτρ<η>ς, 'Η τρις ἕξ ἢ τρεῖς οἶνας, Θρᾶκες ὄρκι' οὐκ ἐπίστανται, Κάκιον ἢ Βαβῦς (?)

<sup>a</sup> References will readily be found in the Indexes of Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, Gottingae 560

## PROVERBS

### 5 Equal shares all round.

(*Greek Proverbs* : ‘ applies to fair and just apportionment. *Plutarch* is the source where it is part of a saying of *Agesilaus*.)

### 6. Upon the furthest shores of the Euxine

(Hence *Diogenes the Cynic* when told that the *Sinopeans* had condemned him to exile beyond the *Euxine sea* rejoined ‘ But I condemn them to remain in *Pontus* (6).’)

(b)<sup>1</sup>

Such<sup>2</sup> enemies be e'er my pursuers, A hedge-cricket, Therein is no saltness, Less fruitful than *Adonis* (his) gardens, No mere fig but a good mouthful, If hang I must, hang me from strong gallows, A seer rustic, The poor perforce the rich by persuasion, This plough has no tree to 't, *Delian diver's*, A net you 're inflating, Even the gods take bribes, For *Mandron* too a ship had—of figwood, The mouse in trap 's taken, *Empedocles' hatred*, In summer why thy overcoat wearest ?, Of one clay founded, *Octopus* to rock clinging, Thrice six or three aces, Oaths in *Thrace* run not, Than *Babys* worse player, Than

<sup>1</sup> For *Πέρδικος καπηλείον* see on *Hippon*. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Greek text corrected by *Sauppe*.

1839, or in *Suid. s.v.*

<sup>d</sup> *Suid. s.v. δίκτυον.*

<sup>b</sup> cf. *Suid. ἀπο καλοῦ.*

<sup>e</sup> *χλ. ἐν θ.*

<sup>c</sup> *Suid.*

FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

αὐλεῖ, Καλλικυρίων πλείους, Καρική Μοῦσα,  
 Καρικὸν θῦμα, Κατὰ λίθων σπείρειν, Κατὰ πε-  
 τρῶν σπείρειν, Κίσαμις Κῶος, Κρωβύλου ζευγος,  
 Κωδάλου χοῖνιξ, Λίνον λίνω κλώθεις, Λυδὸς ἐν  
 μεσημβρία παίζει, Λύκου πτερόν ζητεῖς, Μάρτυς  
 ἐκ Διὸς δέλτων, Μὴ νεκρῶν θήκας κίνει, Μύωπι  
 τὸν <τ>ρ<έχ>οντα <πῶλον> ἤγειρας, Ὀδοῦ παρ-  
 ούσης τὴν ἀτ<αρ>πιτὸν ζητεῖς<sup>a</sup>; Οὐ σχολῆ  
 δούλοις, Παρθένος τὰ πατρῶα, Πρὸς σῆμα μη-  
 τριᾶς κλαίει, Τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπτεύεις, Τὴν ἀπὸ  
 Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν, Φάων ὑπάρχεις τῷ κάλλει καὶ  
 τὸν τρόπον.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Pseudoem. ἀτραπὸν μὴ ζῆτει: Suid. best cod. ἀτραπιτὸν

<sup>b</sup> e.g. τὸν τρ. καὶ τ. κ.



## PROVERBS

Callicurians are more num'rous, Carian music, Carian victim, Seed upon stones sowing, Seed upon rocks sowing, Cissamis Coan, Crobylus' couple, Codalus' pint-pot, Thread with thread spinning, A Lydian at noon playing, As one who seeks a wolf's feather, Witness Zeus' tablets, Let dead men lie quiet, The willing horse whip not, Seek not the by-way when thou hast the highway, Slaves have no leisure, Spends like a virgin, Weeps at the tombstone of his stepmother, The Samians' fate fearing, The Scythian saying, As fair of fame and favour as Phaon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In cod. Urbin Gr. 125 a fifteenth-century hand gives on the fly-leaf *δρυὸς πεσοῦσης ἀκαμάτως ξυλιζέσθαι*, 'small search for fuel when the oak 's fallen.' The alternative version is a pure iambic.

## SPURIA

1. αἰσχύνομαι μὰ τὴν φιλότητα γηράσκων  
ἵππος ὑπὸ ζυγὸν θήλειάν τε τροφήντ  
ἔχων ὀράσθαι.

(Diog. ii. 53, [Apostol.] i. 67 d, Prov. Bodl. 171.)

2. Χίος παραστὰς Κῶον οὐκ ἐᾷ τσώ[ζειν].

(*App. Prov.* v. 28 gives the right form: this is from Schol. Plat. p. 320 Bekk., Eust. 1397. 39.)

3. ἄρκτου παρούσης ἔχνη μὴ ζήτει.

(Zenobius, ii. 36 ἐπὶ τῶν δειλῶν κυνήγων. *Paroem. Gr.* i. 42.)

4. ὁ τὸν πάτερα εὐρῶν . . . χαλκοῦ χρεία

(Phot. ii. 33 Naber.)

5. ὑπερδεδίσκευκας πονηρία πάντας.

(Bekk. *An.* 67. 27. No choliambic writer entirely neglects the caesura. It is clearly from an orator.)

6. ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον ὕδατι συζῶν

(See Nauck, *Tr. Gr. Fragm.* p. 11: attributed to Aeschylus by Phrynichus, 5. 21. Read ὕδ. συζ. θηρ. and attribute to an Attic comedian.)

## SPURIOUS

1. In friendship's name, it shames me to grow old  
Like horse in harness and to be seen  
Nurtured like woman.

(In the *Proverb-Collections*.)

2. A Chian speaking may a Coan drown.

(*Ibid.*)

3. When bear is near seek not his traces.

(*Ibid.*)

4. Who with no farthing left found his father.

(*Photius' Lexicon*.)

5. You have o'ershot in villainy all men.

(*Harpocration's Lexicon*.)

6. A human form living in water

(Concerning Glaucus appearing from the sea. *Aeschylus*  
quoted by *Phrynichus* (*Bekk. An. v. 21*.)

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1. Meineke indicated this: if genuine read τὴν τρ. τε θήλ.  
v. 2. But probably in all these seven cases the vague  
resemblance to metre is wholly fortuitous. 2, 3 and 5  
Sauppe. 2 is really λέγειν.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

7. πολλά[κι] τοι μῦθος  
 εἰς καιρὸν <ἐλθὼν> ῥαδίως κατορθοῖ τι  
 ὅπερ βιαίως <οὐκ ἔπραξεν> ἢ ῥώμη.

(Choricus, p. 15, Graux, *Textes inédites*.)

(Diehl, *fr.* 7)

8. ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ [τοι] τὸ ἐντὸς [ἔφη] σκοπῶν,  
 ὦ δικαστά, ποικιλώτεράν με τῆσδ' ὄψει.

(Plut. *Mor.* 500 c ἡ μὲν οὖν Αἰσώπειος ἀλώπηξ περὶ ποικιλίας  
 δικαζομένη πρὸς τὴν πάρδαλιν . . . (8).)

7. So Weil. 8. is iambic, e.g. δικάστ', ἐμ' ὄψει κτλ.  
 Otherwise omit ὦ and τῆσδ'.

## SYNESIUS

οἱ πάτταλοι γὰρ παττάλοις ἐκκρούονται.

(*Ep.* 45 Ολυμπίῳ λυποῦσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀλλότριον πονηροί.  
 διάβηθι κατ' αὐτῶν (. . .).)

## SPURIOUS

7. For persuasion<sup>1</sup>  
Well timed doth often guide aright business  
Where strength, employing force, achieves nothing.

(*Choricus* in *Graux' Textes inédites*.)

8. But look at my inside,  
Good sir juryman : you 'll find me more spotted.<sup>2</sup>

(The fox of Aesop in his case against the pard. *Plutarch* on *Mental or Bodily Affliction* (8).)

<sup>1</sup> Conceivably, however, this might be from a lost fable of Babrius, or from part of the life of Alexander, or even written in the metre by Choricus. See on Synesius below. *ἐλθῶν* is Graux' suggestion for *εἰρημένος*.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'spotted' implied to the Greek both variety of colour and cunningness of disposition.

## SYNESIUS<sup>1</sup>

For wedges must with wedges be knocked out.

(To Olympius. The church is suffering from evilstrangers. Attack them ( . . .).)

<sup>1</sup> Synesius bishop of Cyrene either took this proverb from a collection in which it was adapted to the choliambic metre (see below) or so adapted it.

## FRAGMENTA CHOLIAMBICA

### ARSENIUS

οὕτω σε τανῦν ἔστιῶ τὸν κράτιστον  
νηκτοῖς πετεινοῖς, κτήνεσιν ἔρπυστοῖς τε.  
αὖθις δέ σοι τράπεζαν, εἰ δοίης, θήσω,  
εἰς ἐκτύπωσιν, πορισμὸν τὸν ἀρκοῦντα,  
λαμπροῖς στρατηγήμασι τοῦ Πολυαίνου,  
οἷς κείνος εἰστίασε τῷ βασιλῆι  
πάλαι τὸν Οὐῆρόν τε καὶ Ἀντωνῖνον.

Κύων ἐγὼ σὸς καὶ γλυκὺς σὺ δεσπότης·  
οὐκοῦν ὑλακτῶ καὶ φαγεῖν ζητῶ βρώμα.  
Ἄναξ λεοντόθυμε τὸν κύνα τρέφε·  
θρέμματα γὰρ θηρᾶν σε βλέπω βαρβάρου.

(Phile, p. 1 Didot. These verses end the dedication.)

## ARSENIUS

### ARSENIUS <sup>1</sup>

So now most noble one herein find food.  
Herein are birds and fishes, beasts, serpents.  
If you will pay enough, I 'll get printed  
Later a second course, and Your Highness  
Regale with Polyænus his tactics,  
Whereon he once feasted the two rulers  
Verus and Antoninus of old Rome.

I am thy dog and thou my master art.  
So do I bark and wish for my dog-food.  
O lion-hearted king feed thou thy dog.  
I see thou huntest the barbarian beasts.

<sup>1</sup> Arsenius had lived in Constantinople before its capture and edited his father's collection of proverbs. His choice of metre may be significant.





## ADDENDA

P. 376, *fr.* 68. Add the variants: *v.* 1 *κατωμόχαιε, καταμόχανε* and *κακομήχανε*: *v.* 6 *τὸν τεκνοῖμενον* and *τῶν τικείμενον*. The verses are also quoted by Tzetzes on his *Antehomerica*, *v.* 168. For *τῶντικείμενον* a good case could be made out, but it has little ms. support.

P. 379, *fr.* 70. In order not to confuse the reader I have given what I believe may have been the Lycophron-Tzetzes view of these verses. It has been suggested to me that *πυθμένοι στοιβῆς* may have been taken as a ‘bunch of straw.’ But I believe the whole to be nonsense and it is superfluous to trouble much over a patent error. *στοιβή* means a paving, perhaps as Photius, p. 539. 15 (from Eupolis) explains it, an inlaid paving. *ῥφέλλω* and *ῥφελμα* are simply used of raising the ground-level or of adorning. *πυθμήν* has its natural sense of foundation.

And found a man adorning the mansion,

Yet unadorned, with an inlaid pavement.

On the word see also Herwerden, *Lex. Suppl.*

P. 447. The readings of the Bodleian papyrus not noted are as follows:

Above *υρην* in *v.* 13 at distance of one verse is visible (*ημο*): certainly not any words in *v.* 11 (Lond). Where *εκλιθου* should come (*v.* 9) we have . . . (*τα . αυ*) *πολε*. . . . In *v.* 13 the *τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ* is fairly clear. In *v.* 15 fin. *πλωιτηρ* is clear. In *v.* 22 *ολλοι* is as easy as *αλλοι*, and in 26 *χεις* easier than *υεις*. In 14 my reading *ηθ* on which is based Mr. Milne's clever correction is, I think, certain.

Pp. 460–1. There are three main points of difficulty associated with this poem.

In the first place the whole story is associated by all other

## ADDENDA

Greek and Latin writers with Sardanapallus, not with Ninos. As to this I suspect that Phoenix is influenced solely by metrical considerations. I do not think it credible that *-os* is throughout corrupt—'son of Ninos,' 'at Nineveh,' *ἴνις Νίνου, κτλ.*

Secondly, there are two legends as to the inscription, both given in Athenaeus. According to one, the famous saying, 'Eat, drink, and be merry: the rest is not worth *that*,' is part of an inscription on Sardanapallus' memorial (not tomb) at Anchialé, which, with Tarsus, Sardanapallus built in one day. The other contains the words, 'I drank, I ate, I satisfied my lust.' This was given to Greece by Choerilus. It was once inscribed on a stone pillar on a mound at Nineveh; but the mound was pulled down by Cyrus. In one account Sardanapallus had no regular tomb but burnt himself with his wives and concubines, not at Nineveh (*Nίνος*). . In another, he was murdered in his palace. He was the last of his dynasty. See Mayor's Juvenal, ii. 178.

The decisive point as to which legend Phoenix followed is in *v.* 12; but unfortunately this ends with a *vox nihili, αἰδεῖ*. Editors have generally read *ᾄδει* which is precisely the one thing that we cannot read. *αἰδέες* which I give is, in a sense, certain from Hes. *Sc.* 477 *τοῦ δὲ τάφον καὶ σῆμ' αἰδέες ποίησεν Ἄναυρος*. We may then either (*a*) regard *καὶ . . . αἰδέες* as an illustrative adscript and read what we will (*e.g.* *καὶ τὸ σῆμ' ἴζει*), 'for all men writ Where Ninos on his monument doth sit.' The *σῆμα* might be the Anchialé monument and the quotation given to show that *σῆμα* is not the same as *τάφος*. This seems to me all very unlikely. (*b*) We may suppose that Phoenix actually scanned the word *αἰδέες* and that the diaeresis was put in, as so often in papyrus texts, by editors to call attention to irregularity. (*c*) We may suppose that Phoenix wrote (*e.g.*) *ἔκου Νίνος νῦν καὶ τὸ σῆμ' αἰστωθέν*, and that the adscript gave the same sense as the original. Either (*b*) or (*c*) seems to me certainly right; but it is quite doubtful whether *Nίνος* is Ninos or Nineveh. I prefer the latter, the destruction of Nineveh (*c.* 600 B.C.) being famous and proverbial. As in the Greek I leave it doubtful in my translation whether *ἔκου* is locative or not.

P. 465, 3. 9. Malachite—darkish green, rare, beautiful, and brittle—would be a suitable extravagance to allege rather than a sober fact. In the grand hundred-marbled church of St. Paul outside the Roman walls it appears only in the altars

## ADDENDA

presented by the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas the First. It is given as a material for a palace floor (*πάτος*: Sophocles *Lex. Byz.*) in the Septuagint version of Esther.

P. 499. 2. To the Greek humourists appropriate misfortune was an enthralling joke. The Greek book of jests called *Philogelos* says: "A drunkard who had bought a vineyard died before vintage." We are not amused. Or rather we use different forms, 'as unlucky as the man who . . .,' 'Why he couldn't even . . . without . . .,' 'Have you heard about poor old X?'

P. 547, v. 329. I am inclined to think the choliambic versifier wrote three poems about Alexander, an "Iliad," a "Thebaid," and a "Dareiad." In editing these verses I have made no attempt to estimate how far the Ionic dialect was employed. The writer of cod. A, otherwise our only good guide, atticizes ruthlessly throughout the history. Slight indications would seem to show that the original was in an Ionic dialect at least as strict as that of the Mimes of Herodes.

P. 566, *Adde* 9. Choliambos Scythini ap. Stob. *Ecl.* i. 8. 43 non recte agnovit Meineke.

### CALLIMACHI NOVAE LECTIONES

The following verses of Callimachus have lately been recovered by G. Vitelli (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* No. 24) from scholia. They are verses 99 *sqq.* (see the late Professor Mair's *Callimachus*, p. 272, lines 96 ff.).

They afford an admirable illustration of Callimachus' art in his use of this metre. Essentially lyric in cadence and metre, and strict in their Ionic versification, his verses yet give, as those of no other Greek poet do, the essential illusion of natural speech. A wide and versatile imagination, an use of deft touches to depict the crowd surging round the dead poet Hipponax, who is supposed to be speaking, a breathless but clear and distinct narration—all these mark out the genius of Callimachus as something infinitely higher than that of his rivals.

ὦ Ἐκάτη πλήθεις! 99  
ὁ ψιλοκόρησος τὴν πνοὴν ἀναλώσει 100

## ADDENDA

φύσεων ὄκως μὴ τὸν τριβῶνα γυμνώσῃ.  
 σωπὴ γενέσθω καὶ γράφεσθε τὴν ῥῆσιν.  
 ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκάς—οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω—  
 ὦ λῶστε, μὴ σιλλαινε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτός  
 μέγα σχολάζ[ων εἶμι . . ρμεσ(ον) δινεῖν,  
 (ὦ) Ζεῦ Ἀχέροντος!—τῶν πάλαι τις εὐδαίμων  
 ἐγένετο, πάντα δ' εἶχ' ἐν οἴσιν ἀνθρωποὶ  
 θεοὶ τε λευκὰς ἡμέρας ἐπίστανται.

105

I translate:

He'll lose his breath, will my bald-head comrade,  
 In panting to keep cloak on his shoulder.  
 Let there be silence! write ye my words down!  
 In Arcady Bathycles—cease mocking,  
 Sirrah! I fly not far: a brief moment  
 Have I to spend with you: how stern, great Zeus,  
 Is Acheron!—the patriarch thrice blest  
 Did live, nor lacked in aught of such riches  
 Wherewith endowed men live white days ever.  
 (He was about to finish his last lap, etc.)

In v. 108 'white days' are 'days of white-raiment,' 'feast days'; see Hippon. *fr.* 65.

v. 103 αξω P: correxi. v. 105 non fuit παρμεσον. v. 106  
 num χάζευ . . . !





888 T343c tR89  
Theophrastus.  
Characters

888 T343c tR89  
Theophrastus.  
Characters



