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ATHENAEUS

VIII

LCL 519

ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOK 15 • INDEXES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
S. DOUGLAS OLSON



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PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters* and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volume 1 (LCL 204). Much of the work on this volume and the one that preceded it was completed at the National Humanities Center, where I held a fellowship during the 2008–9 academic year. Thanks are again due my research assistant Timothy Beck and my undergraduate students Joseph MacDonald, William Blessing, Cameron Ferguson, and Debbie Sugarbaker for their many hours of reference checking, proofreading, formatting assistance, and the like. Andrew Seeley played a fundamental role in the creation of the overall index that appears at the end of this volume. My most heartfelt thanks, however, go to my wife, the beautiful Rachel of Woodbury; may we be granted many more happy years together. This volume is dedicated to my intelligent, articulate, free-spirited son, Nathaniel, who has grown into a person to whom I am proud to be related.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

THE CHARACTERS

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

TIMOCRATES, Athenaeus' interlocutor

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

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

AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d–e)

ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a)

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

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

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

DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d)

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

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

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

MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c)

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

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

PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a)

CHARACTERS

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher
(1.1d)*

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

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

RUFINUS OF NICAIA, physician (1.1f)*

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

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

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

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

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

ΙΕ

665 Εἴ μοι τὸ Νεστόρειον εὐγλωσσον μέλος
 Ἄντηνορός τε τοῦ Φρυγὸς δοίη θεός,
 κατὰ τὸν πάνσοφον Εὐριπίδην, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες,
 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην

ἀπομνημονεύειν ἔτι σοι τῶν πολλάκις λεχθέντων ἐν
 τοῖς περισπουδάστοις τούτοις συμποσίοις διὰ τε τὴν
 ποικιλίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμοίτητα τῶν ἀεὶ καινῶς προσεν-
 ρισκομένων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τάξεως τῶν περιφορῶν |
 b πολλάκις ἐλέχθη καὶ περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπι-
 τελουμένων, ἅπερ καὶ μόλις ἀναπεμπάζομαι, εἰπόντος
 τινὸς τῶν ἑταίρων τὰ ἐκ τῶν Λακόνων Πλάτωνος
 ἰαμβεῖα·

(A.) ἄνδρες δεδειπνήκασιν ἤδη; (B.) σχεδὸν
 ἅπαντες. (A.) εὖ γε·
 τί οὐ τρέχων <σὺ> τὰς τραπέζας ἐκφέρεις; ἐγὼ
 δὲ

BOOK XV

If a god were to grant me the eloquent
melodiousness of Nestor or Phrygian Antenor,

to quote the insightful Euripides (fr. 899),¹ my friend Timocrates,

I would be unable

even so to recall for you what was said on every occasion at those brilliant parties, on account of both the diversity and the similarity of the ever-new topics put forward. The fact is that the conversation routinely involved the order of the dishes served and the events that followed the meal, and I can recount what was said only with difficulty, although one member of our group quoted the iambic lines from Plato's *Spartans* (fr. 71):

(A.) Have the men finished dinner yet? (B.) Almost
all of them. (A.) Good work!

Why don't you run and bring the tables out?
Meanwhile I'm

¹ The quotation continues in what follows. Nestor was the oldest Achaean at Troy and much given to long speeches, while Antenor was a Trojan elder (cf. *Il.* 3.148-53; *Pl. Smp.* 221c-d [paired with Nestor]).

νίπτρον παραχέων ἔρχομαι. (B.) καὶ γὰρ δὲ
 παρακορήσων.

(A.) σπονδὰς δ' ἔπειτα παραχέας τὸν κότταβον
 παροίσω. †

c τῇ παιδὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐχρῆν ἤδη πρὸ χειρὸς
 εἶναι

καὶ προαναφυσᾶν. τὸ μύρον ἤδη παραχέω
 βαδίζων

Αἰγύπτιον κᾶτ' ἴρινον· στέφανον δ' ἔπειθ' ἐκάστῳ
 δώσω φέρων τῶν ξυμποτῶν. νεοκράτά τις ποείτω.

(B.) καὶ δὴ κέκραται. (A.) τὸν λιβανωτὸν

d ἐπιτιθεῖς | † εἶπε †

* * *

σπονδὴ μὲν ἤδη γέγονε καὶ πίνοντές εἰσι πόρρω,
 καὶ σκόλιον ἦσται, κότταβος δ' ἐξοίχεται θύραζε.
 αὐλοὺς δ' ἔχουσά τις κορίσκη Καρικὸν μέλος

<τι>

μελίζεται τοῖς συμπόταις, κᾶλλην τρίγωνον εἶδον
 ἔχουσαν, εἶτ' ἦδεν πρὸς αὐτὸ μέλος Ἰωνικόν τι.

μετὰ ταῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ περὶ κοττάβων ζήτησις ἦν καὶ
 τῶν ἀποκοτταβιζόντων. οὗς οἰηθεῖς τις τῶν παρόντων
 ἰατρῶν εἶναι τούτων οἱ ἀπὸ βαλανείου καθάρσεως
 ἔνεκα τοῦ στομάχου πίνοντες ἄμυστιν ἀποβλύζουσιν,
 ἔφη οὐκ εἶναι παλαιὰν ταύτην παράδοσιν οὐδ' εἰδέναι

² I offer the word in this form only where it clearly functions as the name of the drinking game whose varieties are discussed below; where the sense is less clear-cut, I transliterate *kottabos*.

coming to pour the washing-water. (B.) And I'm coming to sweep up.

(A.) Then, after I pour the libations, I'll bring them the cottabus²-equipment.

The slave-girl should already have had her pipes ready at hand

and been practicing her playing. I'm going now to pour Egyptian perfume

for them, and then the kind that's scented with iris root. After that I'll bring

each guest a garland and give it to him. Someone should mix a fresh bowl of wine.

(B.) It's been mixed, in fact. (A.) After putting the frankincense on the (brazier) † he said †

* * *

The libation's already happened, and they're well into their drinking;

a skolion's been sung, and the cottabus-equipment's been removed from the room.

A little girl holding pipes is playing a Carian song for the guests; I saw another one holding a lyre, and then she started singing an Ionian song, with the lyre as accompaniment.

Afterward, I believe, there was a discussion of cottabus and cottabus-players (*apokottabizontes*). One of the physicians present took this as a reference to people who have a bath and then drink a large amount of wine and vomit it up as a way of cleaning out their stomach; he said that this was not an ancient tradition, and that he knew of no

666 τινὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ταύτῃ τῇ καθάρσει χρησάμενον. διὸ καὶ Ἐρασίστρατον τὸν Ἰουλιήτην ἢ ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῶν Καθόλου πραγματείᾳ ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς τοῦτο ποιούσιν, βλαπτικὸν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα δεικνύων καὶ τῆς κάτω κοιλίας ἐπισχετικόν. πρὸς δὲ Οὐλλπιανὸς ἔφη·

ὄρσ', Ἀσκληπιάδη, καλέει κρείων σε Χαρωνεύς.

οὐ γὰρ κακῶς τινι τῶν ἐταίρων ἡμῶν ἐλέχθη τὸ εἰ μὴ ἰατροὶ ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῶν γραμματικῶν μωρότερον. τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν οὗτος ὁ ἀποκοτταβισμὸς ἀρχαῖος; εἰ μὴ τι σὺ καὶ τοὺς Ἀμειψίου <Ἀποκοτταβίζοντας>¹ ἀποβλύζειν ὑπολαμβάνεις. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἢ ἄπειρος εἶ τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρίας, μάθε παρ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τῶν κοττάβων εὗρεσις Σικελικὴ ἐστὶν παιδιὰ, ταύτην πρῶτων εὐρόντων Σικελῶν, ὡς Κριτίας φησὶν ὁ Καλλιόσχρου ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις διὰ τούτων·

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς
ἔργον,

δὲ σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα.

Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος, Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητής, ἐν

¹ add. Meineke

³ A parody of *Il.* 4.204 ("Get up, son of Asclepius; Lord Agamemnon is summoning (you)"); assigned to Timo Philiastus by Wachsmuth, but not printed in *SH*. Asclepius was the god of heal-

BOOK XV

one in the past who cleansed himself this way. This is why Erasistratus of Iulis in his treatise *On General Practice* (fr. 152 Garofalo) criticizes individuals who behave this way, pointing out that the practice damages the eyes and arrests the movement of the lower intestine. Ulpian responded to him:

Get up, son of Asclepius; Lord Charoneus is calling you.³

For one of our fellow-guests wittily remarked that if it were not for the physicians, there would be nothing stupider than the grammarians. For who among us is unaware that this is not what the ancients meant by *apokottabismos*—unless you imagine that Amipsias' *Apokottabizontes* ("Cottabus-Players") spend their time vomiting? But since you are unacquainted with this line of research, allow me to begin by informing you that the game of cottabus was invented in Sicily, and that the Sicels came up with it, according to Critias the son of Callaeschrus in his *Elegies* (fr. B 2.1–2 West²), in the following passage:⁴

The cottabus-stand is from the land of Sicily, a
preeminent manufacture;
we set it up as a target to shoot our wine- lees
(*latages*) at.

Aristotle's student Dicaearchus of Messene in his *On*
ing, hence the reference to him here, in an attack on a physician. Charoneus is presumably an otherwise unattested form of Charon, the ferryman of the Underworld.

⁴ An excerpt from a much longer fragment preserved at 1.28b–c.

c τῷ Περὶ Ἀλκαίου καὶ τὴν λατάγην φησὶν εἶναι Σικελικὸν ὄνομα. λατάγη δ' ἐστὶν τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκποθέντος ποτηρίου ὑγρόν, ὃ συνεστραμμένη τῇ χειρὶ ἄνωθεν ἐρρίπτουν οἱ παίζοντες εἰς τὸ κοττάβιον. Κλείταρχος δ' ἐν τῇ Περὶ Γλωττῶν πραγματεία λάταγα Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ Ῥοδίουσ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποτηρίων κότταβον λέγειν. κότταβος δ' ἐκαλείτο καὶ τὸ τιθέμενον ἄθλον τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐν τῷ πότῳ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης παρίστησιν ἐν Οἰνεί λέγων οὕτως·

πυκνοῖς δ' ἔβαλλον Βακχίου τοξεύμασιν
κάρα γέροντος· τὸν βαλόντα δὲ στέφειν
ἐγὼ ἑτάγμην, ἄθλα κότταβον² διδούς. ἰ

d ἐκαλείτο δὲ κότταβος καὶ τὸ ἄγγος εἰς ὃ ἔβαλλον τὰς λάταγας, ὡς Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει δείκνυσιν.³ Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Διὶ Κακουμένῳ παιδιᾶς εἶδος παροίνιον τὸν κότταβον εἶναι ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐν ἧ ἕξιςταντο καὶ τῶν σκευαρίων οἱ δυσκυβοῦντες. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

(A.) πρὸς κότταβον παίζειν, ἕως ἂν σφῶν ἐγὼ

² But κοσσάβων (Nauck, followed by Kannicht) ought probably to be read, meaning that Athenaeus' interpretation of the word merely reflects a manuscript error.

³ Kaibel misguidedly added ὅτι δὲ καὶ χαλκοῦν ἦν, Εὐπολις ἐν Βάπταις λέγει χαλκῶ περὶ κοττάβῳ (drawn from the Σ Ar.).

⁵ Closely related fragments of Dicaearchus' discussion are preserved at 11.479d; 15.667b; cf. Alc. fr. 322 (quoted at 11.481a).

Alcaeus (fr. 95 Wehrli = fr. 106 Mirhady)⁵ says that *latagê*⁶ is a Sicilian word. *Latagê* is the liquid left in a cup after its contents have been drunk; people playing the game would twist their hand and toss it upward in the direction of the *kottabion*.⁷ But Cleitarchus in his essay *On Vocabulary* (claims that) Thessalians and Rhodians refer to the clatter (*kottabos*) produced by the cups as a *latax*.⁸ *Kottabos* was also the term for the prize awarded the winners of any contest at a drinking party, as Euripides establishes in *Oeneus* (fr. 562), where he says the following:

They tried to hit the old man's head with a barrage
of Bacchic missiles; I myself was assigned
to garland whoever hit him, offering a *kottabos* as the
prize.

The vessel into which they tried to throw the *latages* was also referred to as a *kottabos*,⁹ as Cratinus shows in *Nemesis* (fr. 124).¹⁰ Plato in *Zeus Abused* (fr. 46) proves that *cottabus* was a type of game played by drunks, in the course of which those who made bad throws lost their clothing. He puts it as follows:

(A.) to play *cottabus*, until I get dinner

⁶ A first-declension form of the word, which appears in the third-declension form *latax* in the quotation from Critias above.

⁷ Apparently "the *cottabus*-stand," i.e. "the target"; see Eub. fr. 15.2 (quoted at 15.666f).

⁸ Cf. Hsch. λ 388 "*latagê*: the *kottabos* that is thrown from the cups and produces a sound."

⁹ Referring to arrangements for the variant of the game discussed at 15.667e-f and described in the fragment of Plato Comicus below.

¹⁰ Quoted at 15.667f.

τὸ δεῖπνον ἔνδον σκευάσω. (Hρ.) πάνυ βούλομαι.
 † ἄλλα νεμος ἐστ †. (A.) ἀλλ' εἰς θυνείαν
 παιστέον.

(Hρ.) φέρε τὴν θυνείαν, αἶρ' ὕδωρ, ποτήρια |
 e παράθετε. παίζωμεν δὲ περὶ φιλημάτων.

(A.) < . . . > ἀγεννώως οὐκ ἐὼ
 παίζειν. τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγὼ
 τασδί τε τὰς κρηπίδας, ἅς αὕτη φορεῖ,
 καὶ τὸν κότυλον τὸν σόν. (Hρ.) βαβαιαῖξ· οὔτοσὶ
 μείζων ἀγὼν τῆς Ἰσθμιάδος ἐπέρχεται.

ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ κατακτούς τινὰς κοττάβους· ἐστὶν δὲ
 λυχνία ἀναγόμενα πάλιν τε συμπύπτοντα. Εὐβουλος
 Βελλεροφόντη·

τίς ἂν λάβοιτο τοῦ σκέλους κάτωθί μου; |
 f ἄνω γὰρ ὥσπερ κοττάβειον αἶρομαι.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀφροδίτης Γοναῖς·

(A.) τουδὶ λέγω, σὺ δ' οὐ συνιεῖς; κότταβος
 τὸ λυχνεῖόν ἐστι. πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν ᾧ μὲν
 < . . . > πέντε νικητήριον.

(B.) περὶ τοῦ; γελοῖον. κοτταβιεῖτε τίνα τρόπον;

¹¹ Here apparently "cottabus-prizes," as at 15.667e.

¹² I.e. the Isthmian Games, celebrated at Corinth in honor of Poseidon every other year.

¹³ Cf. 15.667d-e.

¹⁴ Probably spoken by Bellerophon himself, as he takes flight on Pegasus' back for the first time.

BOOK XV

ready for the two of you inside. (Heracles) I'm quite willing;

[corrupt]. (A.) But you have to play in a mortar.

(Heracles) Fetch the mortar! Bring water! Put cups beside us! Let's play for kisses.

(A.) . . . I'm not letting you play in such an unrefined way. I'm setting these platform shoes here that

she's wearing as *kottabeia*¹¹ for the two of you, and also your drinking cup. (Heracles) Damn! This contest

that's coming up here is bigger than the one at the Isthmus!¹²

They also referred to something known as *kottabos kataktos*; these are lampstands that are set up and then collapse again.¹³ Eubulus in *Bellerophon* (fr. 15):

Will somebody please grab my leg from down below?
Because I'm being lifted up like a *kottabeion*!¹⁴

Antiphanes in *The Birth of Aphrodite* (fr. 57, encompassing both quotations):¹⁵

(A.) I'm talking about *this*, don't you understand?

The "lampstand"

is the cottabus-equipment. Pay attention! Eggs, on the one hand

. . . five as a prize.

(B.) For what? This is ridiculous. How are you going to play cottabus?

¹⁵ Verses 5–13 are quoted also at 11.487d–e.

(A.) ἐγὼ διδάξω· καθ' ὅσον τὸν κότταβον
ἀφείδεις ἐπὶ τὴν πλάστιγγα < . . . >

<(B.) . . . >⁴ ποίαν; (A.) τοῦτο τοῦπικείμενον
ἄνω τὸ μικρὸν (B.) τὸ πινακίσκιον λέγεις; ||

667 (A.) τοῦτ' ἔστι πλάστιγξ – οὗτος ὁ κρατῶν
γίγνεται.

(B.) πῶς δ' εἴσεται τις τοῦτ'; (A.) ἐὰν θίγῃ μόνον
αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ τὸν μάνην πεσεῖται καὶ ψόφος
ἔσται πάνυ πολὺς. (B.) πρὸς θεῶν, τῷ κοττάβῳ
πρόσεστι καὶ Μάνης τις ὡσπερ οἰκέτης;

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

(B.) ᾧ δεῖ λαβῶν τὸ ποτήριον δεῖξον νόμφ.

(A.) αὐλητικῶς δεῖ καρκινουῖν τοὺς δακτύλους
οἶνόν τε μικρὸν ἐγχεῖαι καὶ μὴ πολύν· |

b ἔπειτ' ἀφήσεις. (B.) τίνα τρόπον; (A.) δεῦρο
βλέπε·

τοιούτον. (B.) <ῶ> Πόσειδον, ὡς ὑψοῦ σφόδρα.

(A.) οὕτω ποήσεις. (B.) ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν σφενδόνη
οὐκ ἂν ἐφικοίμην αὐτόσ'. (A.) ἀλλὰ μάθανε.

ἀγκυλοῦντα γὰρ δεῖ σφόδρα τὴν χεῖρα εὐρύθμως
πέμπειν τὸν κότταβον, ὡς Δικαίαιρχός φησιν καὶ Πλά-

⁴ The Scholiast to Lucian has the words ποιήσῃ πεσεῖν. (B.) πλάστιγγα, which are missing from both of Athenaeus' quotations of this passage and must therefore have been lost already in his source.

BOOK XV

(A.) I'll teach you. To the extent that someone throws his *kottabos*¹⁶ onto the disk . . .

(B.) . . . What disk? (A.) This tiny object set on top— (B.) Are you talking about the little platter?

(A.) That's the disk;—he's the winner.

(B.) How's anyone going to know this? (A.) If he just touches

it, it'll fall onto the *manês*,¹⁷ and there'll be an enormous clatter. (B.) By the gods—does the *kottabos*

also have a *Manês* to be its slave?

And shortly thereafter:

(B.) Take the cup and show me how.

(A.) You have to curl your fingers like a crab's claws, like

playing the pipes; pour in a little wine, not too much; and then let it go! (B.) How? (A.) Look here!

Like this. (B.) Poseidon! How remarkably high it went!

(A.) You can do it just like that. (B.) I wouldn't reach there

if I was using a sling. (A.) Alright—practice-time!

For you need to bend your wrist very gracefully and toss the *kottabos*, according to Dicaearchus (fr. 96 Wehrli = fr.

¹⁶ Here "wine-lees," as repeatedly below.

¹⁷ Also a common Athenian slave name, hence the joke that follows; cf. the feminine form *Mania* in Amips. fr. 2.1 (quoted at 15.667f).

των δ' ἐν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Κακουμένῳ παρακελεύεται δέ τις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μὴ σκληρὰν ἔχειν τὴν χεῖρα μέλλοντα
 c κοτταβίζειν. ἐκάλουν | δ' ἀπ' ἀγκύλης τὴν τοῦ κοττάβου πρόεσιν διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐν τοῖς ἀποκοτταβισμοῖς· οἱ δὲ ποτηρίου εἶδος τὴν ἀγκύλην φασί. Βακχυλίδης ἐν Ἑρωτικοῖς·

εὔτε

τὴν ἀπ' ἀγκύλης ἴησι τοῖσδε τοῖς νεανίαις
 λευκὸν ἀντίνασα πῆχυν.

καὶ Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν Ὀστολόγοις ἀγκυλητοὺς λέγει κοττάβους διὰ τούτων·

Εὐρύμαχος † οὐκ ἄλλος † οὐδὲν ἦσσον < . . . >
 ὕβριζ' ὕβρισμοὺς οὐκ ἐναισίους ἐμοί· |
 d ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ † κότταβος αἰεὶ † τοῦμὸν κάρα,
 τοῦ δ' ἀγκυλητοῦ κοσσάβιός ἐστι σκοπὸς
 < . . . > ἐκτεμῶν ἠβῶσα χεῖρ ἐφίετο.

ὅτι δὲ ἄθλον προὔκειτο τῷ εὖ προεμένῳ τὸν κότταβον προείρηκε μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης· ὥα γὰρ ἐστι καὶ πεμμάτια καὶ τραγήματα. ὁμοίως δὲ διεξέρχονται Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Τροφωνίῳ καὶ Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν Κύκλωσι καὶ Εὐπόλις Ἑρμιππὸς τε ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις.

¹⁸ Cf. 11.782d–e.

¹⁹ Quoted also at 11.782e.

²⁰ One of Penelope's suitors (cf. 1.17a–b, with a seemingly related fragment of Aeschylus quoted at 1.17c), suggesting that the speaker is the disguised Odysseus himself.

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107 Mirhady) and Plato in his *Zeus Abused* (fr. 47); someone there tells Heracles not to keep his wrist stiff, if he intends to play cottabus. They referred to the *kottabos* as hurled from a bent wrist (*ankulê*), because they twisted (*epankuloun*) their right hand when they played the game; but other authorities claim that an *ankulê* is a type of cup.¹⁸ Bacchylides in the *Erotica* (fr. 17 Snell–Maehler):¹⁹

when

she extends her white forearm and makes the from-
the-*ankulê* toss
for these young men.

So too Aeschylus in *Bone-Gatherers* (fr. 179) refers to *ankulêtoi kottaboi*, in the following passage:

Eurymachus²⁰ † no other † insulted me
no less . . . inappropriately.
Because my head served him † a *kottabos*
constantly †,
and his bent wrist's (*ankulêtos*) cottabus-target is . . .
Cutting away . . . , his youthful hand let fly.

That a prize was offered to anyone who threw his *kottabos* well was noted earlier by Antiphanes (fr. 57.2–3, quoted at 15.666f); for (the prizes) were eggs, pastries, and snacks. Cephisodorus in *Trophonius* (fr. 5), Callias (fr. 12) or Diocles in *Cyclopes*,²¹ Eupolis (fr. 399), and Hermippus in

²¹ Athenaeus (or his source) also expresses doubts about the authorship of the play at 4.140e; 7.306a; 12.524f, but assigns it unambiguously to Callias at 7.285e, 286a; 11.487a, as do other authorities.

τὸ δὲ καλούμενον κατακτὸν κοττάβιον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν
 e λυχνίον ἐστὶν ὑψηλόν, ἢ ἔχον τὸν μάνην καλούμενον,
 ἐφ' ὃν τὴν καταβαλλομένην ἔδει πεσεῖν πλάστιγγα,
 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πίπτειν εἰς λεκάνην ὑποκειμένην πληγέ-
 σαι τῷ κοττάβῳ καὶ τις ἦν ἀκριβῆς εὐχέρεια τῆς
 βολῆς. μνημονεῦει δὲ τοῦ μάνου Νικοχάρης ἐν Λάκω-
 σιν. ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶν εἶδος παιδιᾶς τῆς ἐν λεκάνῃ. αὕτη
 δ' ὕδατος πληροῦται ἐπινεῖ τε ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀξύβαφα
 κενά, ἐφ' ἃ βάλλοντες τὰς λατάγας ἐκ καρχησίων
 ἐπειρῶντο καταδύειν. ἀνηρεῖτο δὲ τὰ κοττάβια ὁ πλείω
 καταδύσας. Ἀμειψίας Ἀκοκοτταβίζουσιν. |

f ἡ Μανία, φέρ' ὀξύβαφα καὶ κανθάρους
 καὶ τὸν ποδανιπτῆρ', ἐγχέασα θῦδατος.

Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει † τὸ δὲ κοττάβῳ προθέντας ἐν
 πατρικοῖσι νόμοις τὸ κεινεον ὀξυβάφοις βάλλειν μὲν
 τῷ πόντῳ δὲ βάλλουσι νέμῳ πλείστα τύχης τὸ δ'
 ἄθλον. † Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιταλεῦσιν † ἔγνωκ', ἐγὼ δὲ
 χαλκίον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν κοττάβειον, ἰστάναι καὶ μυρ-
 668 ρίνας. † || Ἑρμιππος Μοίραις·

χλανίδες δ' οὔλαι καταβέβληνται,
 θώρακα δ' ἅπας ἐμπερονᾶται,

²² Cf. 15.666e, 667a with n.

²³ Either this is a hybrid version of the two forms of the game or Athenaeus' source is garbled or confused.

²⁴ Identified by Kaibel as a (partially corrupt) fragment of an adespota trochaic verse.

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his *Iambs* (fr. 7 West²) offer similar details. The so-called *kottabos kataktos* is something of the following sort: There is a high lampstand, which supports the so-called *manês*.²² When the disk was knocked down, it had to strike the *manês*; then it had to fall into the basin set underneath, after it was struck by the *kottabos*.²³ The throw involved a certain degree of dexterity.²⁴ Nicochares in *Spartans* (fr. 13) mentions the *manês*. A separate variety of the game is played in a basin. The basin is filled with water, and empty vinegar cruets are floated inside it; they threw the wine-lees from their cups (*karchêsiai*) at the cruets and tried to sink them; and whoever sank the most got the prizes (*kottabia*). Amipsias in *Cottabus-Players* (fr. 2):

Mania! Bring vinegar cruets and some large cups
 (*kantharoi*),
 along with the foot-washing basin, after you pour the
 water into it!

Cratinus in *Nemesis* (fr. 124, corrupt and unmetrical): † after setting out the *kottabos* following our ancestral rules the [corrupt] to strike with cruets, but to the sea (?) that strikes I apportion the most luck, but the prize. † Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 231, corrupt and unmetrical): † he realized, but I (said) to set up a piece of bronze—that is a *kottabeion*—and myrtle branches. † Hermippus in *Fates* (fr. 48):²⁵

The wool cloaks have been thrown off,
 and everyone's fastening on his breastplate;

²⁵ Verses 5–10 are quoted also at 11.487e–f.

κνημῖς δὲ περὶ σφυρὸν ἀρθροῦται,
 βλαύτης δ' οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἔρωσ λευκῆς,
 ῥάβδον δ' ὄψει τὴν κοτταβικὴν
 ἐν τοῖς ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην,
 μάνης δ' οὐδὲν λατάγων αἴει,
 τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν πλάστιγγ' <ἂν> ἴδοις
 παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς κηπαίας
 ἐν τοῖσι κορήμασιν οὔσαν.

Ἄχαιὸς δ' ἐν Λίνῳ περὶ τῶν σατύρων λέγων φησίν·

ῥιπτοῦντες ἐκβάλλοντες ἀγνύντες, τί μ' οὐ |
 λέγοντες· ᾧ κάλλιστον Ἡρακλείδιον >
 λάταξ.

τοῦτο δὲ “λέγοντες” παρ' ὅσον τῶν ἐρωμένων ἐμέμνη-
 το, ἀφιέντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς λεγομένους κοσσάβους.
 διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰνάχῳ Ἀφροδισίαν εἴρηκε τὴν
 λάταγα·

ξανθὰ δ' Ἀφροδισία λάταξ
 πᾶσιν ἐπεκτύπει δόμοις.

καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Πλεισθένει·

πολὺς δὲ κοσσάβων ἀραγ-
 μὸς Κύπριδος προσφδὸν ἀ-
 χεῖ μέλος ἐν δόμοισιν.

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greaves are being fitted around ankles,
and there's no longer any interest in a white slipper.
You'll see the cottabus-stand
rolling around in the dust,²⁶
and the *manês* no longer pays attention to the wine-
lees.

You'd also notice the poor disk
lying in the trash beside
the hinge of the back door.

Achaeus in *Linus* (*TrGF* 20 F 26), discussing the satyrs,
says:

Tossing me, hurling me out, shattering me, calling
me every
name imaginable! O lovely little Heracles,
wine-lees!

He uses the term "calling" because they mentioned those
they loved, throwing what are referred to as *kossaboi*²⁷ in
their honor. This is why Sophocles in *Inachus* (fr. 277) re-
fers to the wine-lees as belonging to Aphrodite:

Aphrodite's blond wine-lees
echoed throughout the house.

Also Euripides in *Pleisthenes* (fr. 631):

The loud clatter of Cypris²⁸
kossaboi produces its harmonious
tune in the house.

²⁶ Literally "the chaff, the husks."

²⁷ A variant form of *kottaboi*.

²⁸ Aphrodite's.

καὶ Καλλίμαχος δέ φησι·

c πολλοὶ καὶ φιλέοντες Ἀκόντιον ἦκαν ἔραζε |
οἴνοπόται Σικελὰς ἐκ κυλίκων λάταγας.

ἦν δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο κοτταβίων εἶδος προτιθέμενον ἐν
ταῖς παννυχίσιν, οὗ μνημονεύει Καλλίμαχος⁵ ἐν Παν-
νυχίδι διὰ τούτων·

ὁ δ' ἀγρυπνήσας < . . . >
τὸν πυραμοῦντα λήψεται < καὶ > τὰ κοττάβεια
καὶ τῶν παρουσῶν ἦν θέλει < . . . > φιλήσει.

ἐγίνετο δὲ καὶ πεμμάτια τινα ἐν ταῖς παννυχίσιν, ἐν
αἷς πλείστον ὅσον χρόνον διηγρύπνουσιν χορεύοντες·
καὶ διωνομάζετο τὰ πεμμάτια τότε χαρίσιοι ἀπὸ τῆς
d τῶν ἀναιρουμένων χαρᾶς. μνημονεύει | Εὐβουλος ἐν
Ἀγκυλίῳ λέγων οὕτως·

καὶ γὰρ πάλαι πέττει τὰ νικητήρια.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς φησιν·

ἐξεπήδησ' ἀρτίως
πέττουσα τὸν χαρίσιον.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ φίλημα ἦν ἄθλον ἐξῆς λέγει ὁ Εὐβουλος·

⁵ Καλλίμαχος Wilamowitz: Κάλλιπος A

²⁹ A papyrus preserves a more complete version of the verses.

³⁰ For the *charisios*, cf. 14.646b.

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Callimachus (fr. 69 Pfeiffer) as well says:

And many wine-drinkers, out of love for Acontius,
threw
Sicilian lees from their cups onto the ground.

There was also another type of *kottabia* that were offered as the prize at all-night festivals. Callimachus mentions them in *The All-Night Festival* (fr. 227.5–7 Pfeiffer), in the following passage:²⁹

Whoever stays awake . . .
will get the *puramous* and the *kottabeia*,
and will kiss any woman he wishes of those who are
there.

There were also pastries available at their all-night festivals, during which they stayed awake dancing for as long as they could; the pastries were referred to as *charisioi* in those days, because of the joy (*chara*) the individuals awarded them experienced.³⁰ Eubulus in *Ankulion* (fr. 1, encompassing both quotations) mentions them, saying the following:

In fact, she's been baking the victory-cakes for a long
time now.

Then immediately after this he says:

She leapt out just now
as she was baking the *charisios*.

Immediately after this, Eubulus (fr. 2) notes that kisses served as a prize:

εἶέν γυναῖκες· νῦν ὅπως τὴν νύχθ' ὄλην
 ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ παιδίου χορεύσετε.
 θήσω δὲ νικητήριον τρεῖς ταινίας
 καὶ μῆλα πέντε καὶ φιλήματ' ἑννέα.

- e ὅτι δὲ ἐσπούδαστο παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ὁ | κότ-
 ταβος δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ οἰκήματα ἐπιτήδεια τῇ παιδιᾷ
 κατασκευάζεσθαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Ἀλκαίου. οὐκ ἀπεικότως οὖν οὐδ' ὁ Καλλίμαχος Σικε-
 λὴν τὴν λάταγα προσηγόρευσεν. μνημονεύει τῶν
 λατάγων καὶ τῶν κοττάβων καὶ ὁ Χαλκοῦς καλού-
 μενος Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις διὰ τούτων·

κότταβον ἐνθάδε σοι τρίτον ἐστάναι οἱ
 δυσέρωτες |

- f ἡμεῖς προστίθεμεν γυμνασίῳ Βρομίου
 κάρυκον. οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐνείρετε χεῖρας ἅπαντες
 ἐς σφαίρας κυλίκων· καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνον ἰδεῖν,
 ὄμματι βηματίσασθε τὸν αἰθέρα τὸν κατὰ
 κλίην,
 εἰς ὅσον αἱ λάταγες χωρίον ἐκτατέαι.

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Οὐλλπιανὸς ἤτει πιεῖν μεγάλη κύλικι,
 ἐπιλέγων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἑλεγείων καὶ τόδε· ||

- 669 ὕμνους οἰνοχοεῖν ἐπιδέξια σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν
 τόν τε σὸν ἀρχαῖον τηλεδαπόν τε φίλον

31 When friends and family were invited for a celebration, and the child was given a name. 32 Quoted at 15.668c.

33 Discussed by Borthwick, *JHS* 84 (1964) 49–53.

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Alright, ladies—be sure to dance all
night long at the baby's tenth-day celebration!³¹
I'll offer three ribbons, five apples,
and nine kisses as a victory prize.

That the inhabitants of Sicily were enthusiastic about *cotabos* is apparent from the fact that they built rooms specifically intended for the game, according to Dicaearchus in his *On Alcaeus* (fr. 94 Wehrli = fr. 108 Mirhady). It was therefore not unreasonable for Callimachus (fr. 69.2 Pfeiffer)³² to refer to the wine-lees as "Sicilian." The Dionysius known as Chalcous mentions wine-lees and *kottaboi* in his *Elegies* (fr. 3 West²), in the following passage:³³

We who are unhappy in love are adding for you a
third
kottabos to stand here in Bromius' school as a
punching bag. All of you who belong to our group
must wrap your hands
in the boxing-thongs the cups represent; even
before you see it,
pace off with your eye the space from there to your
couch,
over which the wine-lees must extend.

After Ulpian completed these remarks, he asked to drink from a large cup, appending the following passage from the same *Elegies* (Dionys. Eleg. fr. 4 West²):

to pour hymns like wine from left to right for you and
us;
and we will send your old friend from another
country

ATHENAEUS

εἰρεσίῃ γλώσσης ἀποπέμφομεν εἰς μέγαν αἶνον
 τοῦδ' ἐπὶ συμποσίου· δεξιότης δὲ λόγου
 Φαίακος Μουσῶν ἐρέτας ἐπὶ σέλματα πέμπει.

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν νεώτερον Κρατῖνον, ὃς ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ
 φησίν·

πίνειν μένοντα τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα |

b κρεῖττον· μάχαι δ' ἄλλοισι καὶ πόνος μέλοι.

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύνουλκος ἀεὶ τῷ Σύρῳ ἀντικορυσσόμενος
 καὶ οὐδέποτε τῆς φιλονεικίας πανόμενος ἧς εἶχε πρὸς
 αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ θόρυβος κατέειχεν τὸ συμπόσιον, ἔφη· τίς
 οὗτος ὁ τῶν συρβηνέων χορός; καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τούτων
 τῶν ἐπῶν μεμνημένος τινῶν ἐρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς
 βρενθῆται ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τοῖς Ὀμηρίδαις
 μόνος ἀνασπάσας <λήφεται>⁶ τὰ κοττάβεια·

ἀγγελίας ἀγαθῆς δεῦρ' ἵτε πευσόμενοι, |

c καὶ κυλίκων ἔριδας διαλύσατε, καὶ κατάθεσθε
 τὴν ξύνεσιν παρ' ἐμοί, καὶ τάδε μανθάνετε,

εἰς τὴν παρούσαν ζήτησιν ἐπιτήδεια ὄντα· ὁρῶ γὰρ
 καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἤδη φέροντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους καὶ
 μύρα. διὰ τί δὲ λέγονται, τῶν ἐστεφανωμένων ἐὰν

⁶ add. Wilamowitz

³⁴ Ulpian. The same odd expression (literally “going helmet to helmet”) is used at 15.701b, again of Cynulcus’ attitude toward Ulpian.

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off to great praise with the rowing of tongues
that takes place at this party. The cleverness of
Phaeacian
speech sends the Muses' oarsmen to their benches.

For to quote Cratinus Junior, who says in *Omphale* (fr. 4):

It's better for someone who's genuinely happy to stay
at home
and drink; let other people worry about battles and
hard work!

The party descended into shouting, and Cynulcus, who was constantly butting heads with the Syrian³⁴ and never abandoned the quarrel he had with him, responded: What is this chorus of pipers (*surbênes*)³⁵ I myself too remember some of these verses and will recite them, to prevent Ulpian from acting haughty on the ground that he alone can draw on the treasures that belong to the Homeridae³⁶ and will therefore receive the prize (*kottabeia*) (Dionys. Eleg. fr. 2 West²):

Come here to hear good news;
put a stop to the quarrels that go with drinking; pay
attention to me; and learn the following,

which is relevant to the topic we are currently discussing. I see that the slaves are now bringing us garlands and perfumes. Why is it, that when the garlands people are wear-

³⁵ Perhaps part of a comic iambic trimeter line; the word is used again at 15.671c, 697e.

³⁶ An echo of Pl. *Phdr.* 252b.

λύωνται οἱ στέφανοι, ὅτι ἐρώσιν; τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν παισὶ
τὰ Καλλιμάχου ἀναγινώσκων Ἐπιγράμματα, ὧν ἔστι
d καὶ τοῦτο, ἐπεζήτουν μαθεῖν, | εἰπόντος τοῦ Κυρη-
ναίου·

τὰ δὲ ῥόδα φυλλοβολεῦντα
τῶνδρὸς ἀπὸ στεφάνων πάντ' ἐγένοντο χαμαί.

σὸν οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ μουσικώτατε, τὴν χιλιέτη μου ταύτην
ζήτησιν ἀπολύσασθαι, Δημόκριτε, καὶ διὰ τί οἱ ἐρών-
τες στεφανοῦσι τὰς τῶν ἐρωμένων θύρας. καὶ ὁ Δη-
μόκριτος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ γώ, φησὶν, μνημονεύσω τῶν τοῦ
Χαλκοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ ῥήτορος Διονυσίου - Χαλκοῦς δὲ
προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὸ συμβουλευσαὶ Ἀθηναίους
χαλκῶ νομίσματι χρῆσασθαι, καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον
e ἀνέγραψε | Καλλιμάχος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥητορικῶν Ἀνα-
γραφῇ - λέξω τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἐλεγείων. σὺ δέ, ὦ
Θεόδωρε (τοῦτο γάρ σου τὸ κύριον ὄνομα),

δέχου τήνδε προπινομένην
τὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποίησιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπιδέξια πέμπω
σοὶ πρώτῳ, Χαρίτων ἐγκεράσας χάριτας.
καὶ σὺ λαβὼν τόδε δῶρον αἰοιδὰς ἀντιπρόπιθι,
συμπόσιον κοσμῶν καὶ τὸ σὸν εὖ θέμενος. |

³⁷ PAA 336985; the speech in question was probably made around 443 BCE, when Dionysius was one of the leaders of the Athenian colony sent to Thurii.

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ing fall apart, they are said to be in love?³ Because when I read Callimachus' *Epigrams*, from which the following passage is drawn, in school, I attempted to understand this point, since the Cyrenean said (Call. AP 12.134.3-4 = HE 1105-6):

The roses all shed their petals
from the man's wreaths and lay on the ground.

Your task, therefore, my most learned Democritus, is to resolve this millennium-old question of mine, along with the problem of why people place garlands at the doors of those they are in love with. And Democritus said: Well, in order that I too may quote from the works of the poet and orator Dionysius Chalcous³⁷—he was called Chalcous because he advised the Athenians to use bronze (*chalkos*) coins, and Callimachus recorded this speech in his *List of Rhetorical Pieces* (fr. 430 Pfeiffer)—I myself will recite a passage from the *Elegies* (Dionys. Eleg. fr. 1 West²). As for you, Theodorus—for this is your given name:³⁸

Accept this poetry I am offering you
as a toast; I am sending it to you first, moving from
left to right, and I have mixed the grace of the
Graces into it.

As for you, take this gift and offer me a toast of song
in return,
adding brilliance to our party and improving your
own situation.

³⁸ Cf. 15.692b. Elsewhere the character is consistently referred to as Cynulcus; see 1.1d with n.

- f φῆς οὖν, διὰ τί, τῶν ἐστεφανωμένων ἐὰν λύηται ὁ στέφανος, ἐρᾶν λέγονται. πότερον ὅτι ὁ ἔρωσ τοῦ τῶν ἐρώωντων ἤθους περιαιρεῖται τὸν κόσμον, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς κόσμου περιαιρέσειν φρυκτόν τινα, φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρωτικῶν, καὶ σημείον νομίζουσιν τοῦ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἤθους κόσμον περιηρησθαι τοὺς τοιούτους; ἢ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς μαντικῆς
- 670 ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ τοῦτο σημειοῦνται τινες; || ὁ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ στεφάνου κόσμος οὐδὲν ἔχων μόνιμον σημείον ἐστὶ πάθους ἀβεβαίου μὲν, κεκαλλωπισμένου δέ. τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἔρωσ· οὐδένες γὰρ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἐρᾶν ὄντων καλλωπίζονται. εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ φύσις οἰονεῖ τι δαιμόνιον δικαίως βραβεύουσα τῶν πραγμάτων ἕκαστον οἶεται δεῖν τοὺς ἐρώοντας μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι πρὶν κρατήσωσιν τοῦ ἔρωτος· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὅταν κατεργασάμενοι τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀπαλλαγῶσιν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν οὖν τοῦ στεφάνου σημείον τοῦ
- b ἔτι ἐν τῷ διαγωνίζεσθαι εἶναι ποιούμεθα. | ἢ ὁ ἔρωσ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔων καθ' αὐτοῦ στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι τῶν μὲν τὸν στέφανον περιαιρεῖ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐνδίδωσιν αἴσθησιν μηνύων ὅτι ἠττῶνται ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ; διὸ ἐρᾶν οἱ λοιποὶ τοὺς τοιούτους φασίν. ἢ ὅτι λύεται μὲν πᾶν τὸ δεδεμένον, ὁ δὲ ἔρωσ στεφανομένων τινῶν δεσμός ἐστιν (οὐθένες γὰρ ἄλλοι τῶν δεδεμένων περὶ τὸ στεφανοῦσθαι σπονδάζουσιν πλὴν οἱ ἐρώοντες), τὴν τοῦ στεφάνου δὴ λύσιν σημείον τοῦ

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Your question, then, is why, when the garlands people are wearing fall apart, such individuals are said to be in love. Is it because love strips lovers of the decent behavior that normally characterizes them, and on that account people regard the stripping of the decency that is conspicuously theirs as a signal of a sort, and as evidence that such individuals have been stripped of their normal decent behavior, as Clearchus puts it in Book I of the *Erotica* (fr. 24 Wehrli, extending to the quotation from Lycophronides)? Or, as in the case of prophecy, are there many different signs, and are only some people distinguished by this one? For the decency represented by the garland has no enduring character, and it thus signifies a feeling that is fleeting, even if attractive. This is what love is like; no one is more concerned about being physically attractive than people in love. Unless nature, in fact, acting as a divine power and offering a correct assessment of all matters, regards it as necessary that lovers wear no garlands until they are victorious over love, which is to say, when they overcome the person they are in love with and escape their desire. We accordingly consider the decay of the garland evidence that someone is still involved in the struggle. Or is it the case that, because Eros himself does not allow anyone to be garlanded and proclaimed victorious over him, he strips such individuals of their garlands, while allowing everyone else to understand the situation, by informing them that he has defeated the lovers? This is why everyone else says that such people are in love (*eran*). Or is it because everything that is bound together can also be torn apart, and that when people are garlanded, it is love that binds them—for no one else who is bound this way is as enthusiastic about wearing garlands as lovers are—and that people regard the

περὶ τὸν ἔρωτα δεσμοῦ νομίζοντες ἐρᾶν φασιν τοὺς
 c τοιούτους; ἢ διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοὺς ἐρῶντας διὰ τὴν
 ποίησιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, στεφανουμένους περιαιρεῖν αὐ-
 τῶν τὸν στέφανον ἀντιστρέφωμεν τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ τὸ πά-
 θος, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦ στεφάνου περιρέοντος, εἰ μὴ
 ἤρων; ἢ ὅτι ἀναλύσεις περὶ μόνους μάλιστα τοὺς
 ἐρῶντας καὶ καταδεδεμένους γίνονται, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
 στεφάνου ἀνάλυσιν καταδεδεμένων τινῶν εἶναι νομί-
 ζοντες ἐρᾶν φασιν τοὺς τοιούτους; καταδέδεται γὰρ οἱ
 ἐρῶντες. εἰ μὴ ἄρα διὰ τὸ κατεστέφθαι τῷ Ἐρωτι τοὺς
 ἐρῶντας οὐκ ἐπίμονος αὐτῶν ὁ στέφανος γίνεται. |
 d χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ θείῳ στεφάνῳ μικρὸν
 καὶ τὸν τυχόντα μείναι. στεφανοῦσιν δὲ τὰς τῶν
 ἐρωμένων θύρας ἤτοι τιμῆς χάριν καθαπερὲί τινος
 θεοῦ τὰ πρόθυρα,⁷ ἢ οὐ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις ἀλλὰ τῷ
 Ἐρωτι ποιούμενοι τὴν τῶν στεφάνων ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ
 μὲν Ἐρωτος τὸν ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τούτου δὲ ναὸν
 ὄντα τὴν οἴκησιν στεφανοῦσι.⁸ διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ θύου-
 σιν ἔνιοι ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐρωμένων θύραις. ἢ μᾶλλον ὑφ'
 e ὧν οἴονται | τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς
 κόσμον ἐσκύλευνται, καὶ τούτοις⁹ καὶ τὸν τοῦ σώμα-
 τος κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐξαγόμενοι καὶ σκυλεύ-
 οντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀνατιθέασιν. πᾶς δ' ὁ ἐρῶν τοῦτο δρᾶ
 μὲν <παρόντος>,¹⁰ μὴ παρόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τοῦ

⁷ τὰ πρόθυρα στεφανοῦσιν αὐτῶν A: del. Wilamowitz: στεφανοῦσιν αὐτῶν tantum del. Kaibel

⁸ στεφανοῦσι τὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων πρόθυρα A: τὰ . . . πρόθυρα del. Wilamowitz

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decay of the garland as evidence pertaining to the binding associated with love, and say that such individuals are in love? Or, as a consequence of the fact that lovers, on account of their excitement, apparently, frequently pluck the petals from the garlands they are wearing, do we reverse our interpretation of the situation, reasoning that the garland would never have fallen apart, unless they were in love? Or is it that only lovers and individuals under a spell can be released, and that people who regard the decay of the wreath as connected with those who have been bound somehow say that such individuals are in love? For lovers are under a spell. Unless, perhaps, the fact that lovers have been garlanded by Eros means that their garland does not last long; since it is difficult for something small and ordinary to last when it is connected with a large garland associated with a god. They garland their lovers' doors either to honor them, as if this was the front door of some god, or else they dedicate the garlands not to their lovers but to Eros, and garland their beloved as if he were a statue of Eros, and his house as if it were the god's temple. This is why some people offer sacrifices at their lovers' doors. Or else they believe instead that they have been robbed of their soul's decency—and they actually have been!—and having been separated from physical decency by what they have suffered, they plunder themselves and make a dedication to the ones who robbed them. Every lover does this when his lover is present, whereas if his lover is absent, he makes his dedication to anyone he encounters. This

⁹ τούτοις Musurus: τούτων A

¹⁰ add. Schweighäuser

ἐμποδῶν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀνάθεσιν. ὅθεν Λυκοφρονίδης τὸν ἐρῶντα ἐκείνον αἰπόλον ἐποίησε λέγοντα·

τόδ' ἀνατίθημί σοι ῥόδον,
καλὸν ἄνθημα, καὶ πέδιλα καὶ κυνέαν
καὶ τὰν θηροφόνου λογχίδ', ἐπεὶ μοι νόος ἄλλα
κέχυται

f ἐπὶ τὰν Χάρισιν | φίλαν παῖδα καὶ καλάν.

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ ἱερώτατος Πλάτων ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Νόμων πρόβλημά τι προβάλλει στεφανωτικόν, ὅπερ ἀξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιλύσασθαι, οὕτως λέγοντος τοῦ φιλοσόφου· μῆλων τέ τινων διανομαὶ καὶ στεφάνων πλείοσιν ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἀρμοττόντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῶν αὐτῶν. ὁ μὲν Πλάτων οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐστὶν δ' ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτον· ἓνα βούλεσθαι ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν, ᾧ ἕως τοῦ τελευταίου εἰσελθόντος ἐξ ἴσου πάντες ἔξουσιν ἤτοι μῆλα ἢ
671 στεφάνους. || φημὶ οὖν τὸν τῶν ἐξήκοντα ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἐξ συμπότας δύνασθαι τὴν ἰσότητα πληροῦν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐλέγομεν μὴ συνδειπνεῖν τῶν πέντε γε πλείους· ὅτι δ' ἡμεῖς ψαμμακόσιοι ἐσμὲν δῆλον. ὁ οὖν <τῶν>¹¹ ἐξήκοντα ἀριθμὸς εἰς ἐξ συμπληρωθέντος τοῦ συμποσίου ἀρκέσει οὕτως. εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ἔλαβεν στεφάνους ἐξήκοντα· ἐπεισελθόντι τῷ δευτέρῳ δίδωσιν τοὺς ἡμίσεις καὶ ἑκατέρῳ γίνονται τριάκοντα· καὶ τρίτῳ ἐπ-
b εἰσελθόντι | συνδιαιρούμενοι τοὺς πάντας ἐξ εἴκοσιν ἔχουσι, τετάρτῳ πάλιν ὁμοίως κοινωνήσαντες ἐκ

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is why Lycophronides (*PMG* 844) represented his well-known love-sick goatherd as saying:

I dedicate this rose, a beautiful
flower, to you, along with my sandals and my cap
and the javelin with which I kill wild beasts, since my
thoughts have been turned in another direction,
toward the beautiful girl the Graces love.

The most holy Plato in Book VII of the *Laws* (819b), moreover, poses a puzzle that involves garlands, which deserves to be explicated. The philosopher puts it as follows: distributions of certain apples and garlands, with the same quantities working for both larger and smaller numbers of people. This is what Plato said, but what he means is something along the following lines: Try to identify a single number that will allow everyone, including the last person to enter the room, to have an equal number of apples or garlands. I claim, then, that the number 60 can provide up to six guests with an equal share. For I am aware that initially (1.4e, quoting Arcestr. fr. 4 Olson-Sens = *SH* 191) we said that a dinner party should consist of no more than five people; but that we are more numerous than the grains of sand is obvious. The number 60, at any rate, will be large enough for a party that includes up to six guests, in the following way. The first man came to the party and took 60 garlands; when the second man came in, he gave him half, and they each had 30; when the third man came in, they divided them all up again and had 20 apiece; so too they shared them with the fourth man and had 15 apiece, and

¹¹ add. Kaibel

δεκαπέντε,¹² πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐκ δώδεκα καὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἐκ δέκα. καὶ οὕτως ἰσότης ἀναπληροῦται τῶν στεφάνων.

Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Δημοκρίτου ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύνουσκον,

οἶψ μ' ὁ δαίμων (ἔφη) φιλοσόφῳ συνώκισεν,
κατὰ τὸ Θεογνήτου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ Φάσμα.

c ἐπαρίστερ' ἔμαθες, ᾧ πόνηρε, γράμματα· |
ἀνέστροφέν σου τὸν βίον τὰ βιβλία.
πεφιλοσόφηκας γῆ τε κοῦρανῶ λαλῶν,
οἷς οὐθέν ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τῶν σῶν λόγων.

d πόθεν γάρ σοι καὶ ὁ τῶν συρβηνέων ἐπήλθεν χορός;
τίς τῶν ἀξίων λόγου μέμνηται τοῦ μουσικοῦ τούτου
χοροῦ; καὶ ὅς, οὐ πρότερον, ἔφη, ᾧ οὗτος, διδάξω σε,
πρὶν ἂν τὸν ἄξιον παρὰ σοῦ λάβω μισθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ
τὰς ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων ἀκάνθας ὥσπερ σὺ ἀναγινώσκων
ἐκλέγω, ἀλλὰ τὰ χρησιμώτατα καὶ ἀκοῆς ἄξια. ἐπὶ
τούτοις ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς | δυσχεράνας ἀνεβόησεν τὰ ἐξ
Ἔπνου Ἀλέξιδος·

οὐδ' ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς ταῦτά γ' ἐστὶν ἔννομα·
οὐ φασὶ τὸν θύοντα τοῖς κεκλημένοις

¹² ἐκ δεκαπέντε γίνονται ACE: γίνονται del. Kaibel

³⁹ Quoted at greater length at 3.104b–c.

⁴⁰ Literally “from right to left.” ⁴¹ See 15.669b with n.

⁴² For the image, cf. 3.97c–d with n.; 8.347d with n.; 15.678f.

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with the fifth man and had 12 apiece, and with the sixth man and had 10 apiece. In this way an equal division of the wreaths can be maintained.

After Democritus completed these remarks, Ulpian glanced at Cynulcus and said:

What a philosopher the gods forced me to share a
house with!,

to quote the *Phantom* of the comic poet Theognetus (fr. 1.6–10):³⁹

You learned your letters backwards,⁴⁰ fool!
Your books turned your life upside-down!
You've offered your philosophical babbling to earth
and heaven,
and they're completely uninterested in what you have
to say.

Where did you get this "chorus of pipers (*surbênes*)"?⁴¹ What authority that deserves mention refers to a musical group of this sort? Cynulcus replied: I will offer you no answer, sir, until you pay me the appropriate amount. For I do not pick out the thorny passages from my books when I read, as you do;⁴² I look instead for those that are most useful and worth hearing. This upset Ulpian, and he shouted out the passage from Alexis' *Sleep* (fr. 243):

Not even Triballians⁴³ are allowed to act like this!
In their country, they say, someone who's making a
sacrifice shows

⁴³ A notoriously barbaric Illyrian or Thracian tribe (e.g. *Ar. Av.* 1520–9).

δείξαντ' ἰδεῖν τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς τὴν αὔριον
 πωλεῖν ἀδείπνοις ἃ παρέθηκ' αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν.

τὰ αὐτὰ ἰαμβεῖα φέρεται καὶ παρὰ Ἀντιφάνει ἐν
 e Ὑπνῳ. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος· ἐπεὶ περὶ στεφάνων | ζητή-
 σεις ἤδη γεγόνασιν, εἰπὲ ἡμῖν τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παρὰ τῷ
 χαρίεντι Ἀνακρέοντι Ναυκρατίτης στέφανος, ὃ Οὐλ-
 πιανέ. φησὶν γὰρ οὕτως ὁ μελιχρὸς ποιητής·

στεφάνους δ' ἀνὴρ τρεῖς ἕκαστος εἶχεν,
 τοὺς μὲν ῥοδίνους, τὸν δὲ Ναυκρατίτην.

καὶ διὰ τί παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιητῇ λύγω τινὲς στεφα-
 νοῦνται; φησὶν γὰρ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Μελῶν·

f <ὁ> Μεγιστῆς δ' ὁ φιλόφρων δέκα δὴ | μῆνες
 ἐπεὶ τε

στεφανοῦταί τε λύγω καὶ τρύγα πίνει μελιηδέα.

ὁ γὰρ τῆς λύγου στέφανος ἄτοπος· πρὸς δεσμούς γὰρ
 καὶ πλέγματα ἢ λύγος ἐπιτήδειος. εἰπὲ οὖν ἡμῖν τι
 περὶ τούτων ζητήσεως ἀξίων ὄντων καὶ μὴ ὀνόματα
 θήρα, φιλότης. σιωπῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναζητεῖν
 προσποιουμένου ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ

⁴⁴ Ancient authorities were unsure whether the various fragments of a play or plays entitled *Sleep* were to be attributed to Alexis or Antiphanes (cf. 13.572b), and K-A do not assign this fragment an Antiphanes-number.

⁴⁵ Ulpian responds to Cynulcus' second question (below) first and only takes up the problem of the Naucranean garland at 15.675f.

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the dinner to his guests, so they can see it; and the
next day,
after they've had no dinner, he sells them the meal he
served them to look at.

The same iambic lines are found in Antiphanes' *Sleep*.⁴⁴
And Cynulcus said: Since we have begun discussing gar-
lands, tell us what the Naucranean garland referred to by
the witty Anacreon is, Ulpian.⁴⁵ For the delightful poet
puts it as follows (PMG 434):

Each man had three garlands,
two made of roses, the other a Naucranean.

And why do some individuals mentioned by the same poet
wear garlands made of willow branches? For he says in
Book II of his *Lyric Poems* (PMG 352):⁴⁶

For ten months now the good-hearted Megistes has
been
wearing a willow-garland and drinking honey-sweet
grape-must.

Since a garland made of willow-branches is unusual; for
willow-branches are suited to tying objects up and to wick-
erwork. So offer us information on these topics, which de-
serve consideration, and do not merely hunt for vocabu-
lary,⁴⁷ my dear friend. When Ulpian remained silent and
appeared to be racking his brain, Democritus said: The
gifted grammarian Aristarchus, my friend, in his exege-

⁴⁶ Quoted again at 15.673d.

⁴⁷ Cf. 3.97f (of Pompeianus of Philadelphia); 14.649b (of
Ulpian).

- 672 γραμματικώτατος, ἑταῖρε, ἐξηγούμενος ἢ τὸ χωρίον ἔφη ὅτι καὶ λύγοις ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. † Τεναρος¹³ † δὲ ἀγροίκων εἶναι λέγει στεφάνωμα τὴν λύγον, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξηγηταὶ ἀπροσδιόνυσά τινα εἰρήκασιν περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου. ἐγὼ δ' ἐντυχὼν τῷ Μηνοδότῳ τοῦ Σαμίου συγγράμματι, ὅπερ ἐπιγράφεται Τῶν Κατὰ τὴν Σάμον Ἐνδόξων Ἀναγραφῆ, εὔρον τὸ ζητούμενον. Ἀδμήτην γάρ φησιν τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἐξ Ἄργους φυγοῦσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σάμον, θεασαμένην δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἥρας ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τῆς οἴκοθεν σωτηρίας
- b χαριστήριον βουλομένην ἀποδοῦναι ἢ ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχοντος, πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ Λελέγων καὶ νυμφῶν καθιδρυμένου· τοὺς δ' Ἄργείους πυθομένους καὶ χαλεπαίνοντας πείσαι χρημάτων ὑποσχέσει Τυρρηνοὺς ληστρικῶ¹⁴ βίῳ χρωμένους ἀρπάσαι τὸ βρέτας, πεπεισμένους τοὺς Ἄργείους ὡς, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, πάντως τι κακὸν πρὸς τῶν τὴν Σάμον κατοικούντων ἢ Ἀδμήτη πείσεται. τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὸν Ἡραῖτην ὄρμον καὶ ἀποβάντας εὐθέως ἔχεσθαι τῆς πράξεως. ἀθύρου δὲ ὄντος τότε
- c τοῦ νεῶ ἢ ταχέως ἀνελέσθαι τὸ βρέτας καὶ διακομίσαντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν εἰς τὸ σκάφος ἐμβαλέσθαι λυσαμένους δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ πρυμνήσια καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνελομένους εἰρεσίᾳ τε πάσῃ χρωμένους ἀπαίρειν οὐ

¹³ Ταίναρος Meineke

¹⁴ ληστρικῶ τε A: τε del. Schweighäuser

sis of this passage, claimed that the ancients wore garlands made of willow-branches; and † Tenarus⁴⁸ † asserts that country-people use willow-branches to make garlands, while other interpreters offer various irrelevant⁴⁹ remarks on the topic. But I stumbled upon the treatise by Menodotus of Samos entitled *A List of the Notable Objects*⁵⁰ on Samos (FGrH 541 F 1) and discovered the answer. He claims that when Eurystheus' daughter Admete,⁵¹ who had been exiled from Argos, arrived on Samos, she had a vision of Hera and wanted to make a thank-offering in return for her successful escape from her homeland, and she therefore took charge of the temple that still exists today and that was originally founded by the Leleges and the nymphs. The Argives heard about this and were upset, and they accordingly promised money to the Etruscans, who lived off piracy, and convinced them to steal the statue, since the Argives were convinced that if this happened, the inhabitants of Samos would certainly punish Admete. The Etruscans entered Hera's port, disembarked, and immediately got to work. Because the temple had no doors in those days, they quickly picked up the statue, carried it down to the sea, and loaded it into their boat; and after they loosed their mooring-cables and pulled up their anchors, they began to row as hard as they could—but were unable to leave. They therefore decided

⁴⁸ No historian or grammarian by this name (probably corrupt in any case) is known.

⁴⁹ Literally "nothing-to-do-with-Dionysus."

⁵⁰ Or "*Notable Individuals*"; see also 15.673b n.

⁵¹ Otherwise known only for having wanted Heracles to capture the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.5.9).

δύνασθαι, ἡγησαμένους οὖν θεῖόν τι τοῦτ' εἶναι πάλιν
 ἐξευεγκαμένους τῆς νεῶς τὸ βρέτας ἀποθέσθαι παρὰ
 τὸν αἰγιαλόν· καὶ ψαιστὰ αὐτῷ ποιήσαντας περιδεεῖς
 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. τῆς δὲ Ἀδμήτης ἔωθεν δηλωσάσης
 ὅτι τὸ βρέτας ἠφανίσθη καὶ ζητήσεως γενομένης
 d εὐρεῖν μὲν αὐτὸ τοὺς ζητοῦντας ἐπὶ ἰ τῆς ἡόνος, ὡς δὲ
 δὴ βαρβάρους Κᾶρας ὑπονοήσαντας αὐτόματον ἀπο-
 δεδρακέναι πρὸς τι λύγου θωράκιον ἀπερείσασθαι καὶ
 τοὺς εὐμηκεστάτους τῶν κλάδων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπισπα-
 σαμένους περιειλήσαι πάντοθεν. τὴν δὲ Ἀδμήτην
 λύσασαν αὐτὸ ἀγνίσαι καὶ στήσαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βάθρον, καθάπερ πρότερον ἴδρυτο. διόπερ ἐξ ἐκείνου
 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀποκομίζεσθαι τὸ βρέτας εἰς τὴν
 ἡόνα καὶ ἀφαγνίζεσθαι ψαιστὰ τε αὐτῷ παρατίθε-
 e σθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τόναια τὴν ἑορτήν, ὅτι ἰ συν-
 τόνως συνέβη περιειληθῆναι τὸ βρέτας ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν
 πρώτην αὐτοῦ ζήτησιν ποιησαμένων. ἱστορεῖται δ'
 ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τῶν Καρῶν δεισιδαι-
 μονία περισχεθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ παρα-
 γενομένων εἰς Ἔβλαν καὶ πυνθανομένων περὶ τῶν
 ἀπηνητημένων, θεσπίσαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ποιῆν αὐτοὺς
 ἀποδοῦναι τῇ θεῷ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐκούσιον καὶ χωρὶς
 δυσχεροῦς συμφορᾶς, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις
 f ἀφώρισεν ὁ Ζεὺς τῷ Προμηθεὶ χάριν τῆς κλοπῆς ἰ τοῦ
 πυρός, λύσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων δεσμῶν· καὶ
 τίσιν ἐκούσιον ἐν ἀλυπία κειμένην δοῦναι θελήσαν-
 τος, ταύτην ἐκείνῳ ἐπιτάξαι τὸν καθηγούμενον τῶν
 θεῶν. ὅθεν αὐτίκα τὸν δεδηλωμένον στέφανον τῷ Προ-

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that a god was involved somehow, and they took the statue out of the boat again and set it on the shore; after making cakes of ground barley (*psaista*) for it, they left, terrified. At dawn Admete spread the news that the statue had disappeared, and after a search was mounted, the people who went out looking for it discovered it on the seashore. Being barbarians, however, the Carians imagined that it had run off under its own power, so they set it on a mat made of willow-branches, pulled the longest branches around it from either side, and wrapped it up completely. After Admete untied it, she purified it and set it once again on the base where it had rested previously. This is why every year since then the statue is taken out of the temple down to the seashore, where it is purified and served barley-cakes. The festival is called the Tonaia, because the statue was tightly (*suntonôs*) wrapped by the people who searched for it originally. There is also a story that around that same time the Carians, who were deeply superstitious, visited the god's oracle in Hybla⁵² and asked about these events. Apollo prophesied that they should pay the goddess a penalty they selected themselves that involved no particular suffering. This is the same penalty that in earlier times Zeus imposed on Prometheus on account of his theft of fire, after he released him from his extraordinarily painful bonds; because Prometheus was willing to offer a satisfaction he chose himself that involved no suffering, this is the one the chief god assigned him. As a consequence, the garland Prome-

⁵² Otherwise unknown.

μηθεὶ περιγενέσθαι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοῖς εὐεργετη-
 θέϊσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δω-
 ρεάν. διόπερ καὶ τοῖς Καρσί κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον ὁ
 θεὸς παρεκελεύσατο στεφανώματι χρωμένοις τῇ λύγῳ
 673 κατέλαβον τὴν θεόν. ἢ καταλύσαι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα γένη
 τῶν στεφάνων ἐπέταξε χωρὶς τῆς δάφνης· τὴν δ'
 αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῖς τὴν θεὸν θεραπεύουσι μόνοις ἀπονέ-
 μειν δῶρον. τοῖς τε χρησθεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς μαντείας κατα-
 κολουθήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἀβλαβεῖς ἔσεσθαι δίκην¹⁵ ἐν
 εὐχάϊαις ἀποδιδόντας τῇ θεῷ τὴν προσήκουσαν. ὅθεν
 τοὺς Κᾶρας ὑπακοῦσαι βουλομένους τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ χρη-
 στηρίου καταλύσαι τὰς ἔμπροσθεν εἰθισμένας στεφα-
 νώσεις αὐτοὺς τε κατὰ πλῆθος χρῆσθαι μὲν τῇ λύγῳ,
 b τοῖς δὲ θεραπεύουσιν τὴν θεὸν ἐπιτρέψαι ἢ φορεῖν τὸν
 καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένοντα τῆς δάφνης στέφανον. μνημο-
 νεύειν δ' ἔοικεν ἐπὶ ποσὸν τι τῆς κατὰ τὴν λύγον
 στεφανώσεως καὶ Νικαίνετος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἐπι-
 γράμμασιν, ποιητῆς ὑπάρχων ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὴν
 ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν ἠγαπηκῶς ἐν πλείοσιν. λέγει δ'
 οὕτως·

οὐκ ἐθέλω, Φιλόθηρε, κατὰ πτόλιν ἀλλὰ παρ'
 Ἡρη
 δαίνυσθαι Ζεφύρου πνεύμασι τερπόμενος. ἢ

¹⁵ καὶ δίκην A: καὶ del. Wilamowitz

thus specified prevailed at once, as well as shortly thereafter among the human beings who had benefited from his gift of fire.⁵³ This is why Apollo similarly urged the Carians to wear willow-garlands and to bind their heads with the branches they had used to restrain the goddess. He also ordered them to give up all other types of garlands except for those made of laurel, and said that he personally was assigning the latter as a gift exclusively to the goddess' servants. And if they followed the prophecies his oracle issued, they would suffer no injury, provided they offered the goddess the appropriate penalty at their feasts. As a consequence the Carians, who wanted to obey the orders the oracle issued, abandoned the styles of garlanding they had practiced previously and by and large used willow-branches, although they allowed the goddess' servants to wear garlands made of laurel, as they continue to do even today. Reference of some sort to the use of willow-branches for garlands appears to be made by the epic poet Nicaenetus, who was a local poet⁵⁴ and frequently expresses his fondness for local history, in his *Epigrams* (fr. 6, p. 3 Powell = *HE* 2703–10). He puts it as follows:

I do not wish to dine in the city, Philotherus,
but with Hera instead, enjoying the West Wind's
breezes.

⁵³ Cf. 15.674d.

⁵⁴ Cf. 13.590b "Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdera." Gow–Page, *HE* ii.417, speculate that the information preserved here comes from the work by Menodotus of Samos cited at 15.672a, where see n.

- c ἀρκεῖ μοι λιτὴ μὲν ὑπὸ πλευροῖσι χάμευνα,
 ἐγγύθι γὰρ προμάλου δέμνιον ἐνδαπίης
 καὶ λύγος, ἀρχαῖον Καρῶν στέφος. ἀλλὰ
 φερέσθω
 οἶνος καὶ Μουσέων ἢ χαρίεσσα λύρη,
 θυμῆρες πίνοντες ὅπως Διὸς εὐκλέα νύμφην
 μέλπωμεν, νήσου δεσπότην ἡμετέρης.

- d ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀμφιβόλως εἰρηκῶς ὁ Νικαίνετος πότε-
 ρον στρωμνῆς ἔνεκεν ἢ στεφανώσεως ἀρκεῖται | τῇ
 λύγῳ, τῷ λέγειν¹⁶ αὐτὴν τῶν Καρῶν ἀρχαῖον στέφος
 πρόδηλον καθίστησι τὸ ζητούμενον. συνέβη δὲ τὴν
 τῆς λύγου στεφάνωσιν καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατὰ Πολυ-
 κράτην χρόνων, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσειε, τῇ νήσῳ συνηθε-
 στέραν ὑπάρχειν. ὁ γοῦν Ἀνακρέων φησὶν·

<ὁ> Μεγιστῆς ὁ φιλόφρων δέκα δὴ μῆνες
 ἐπειδὴ¹⁷

στεφανοῦταί τε λύγῳ καὶ τρύγα πίνει μελιηδέα.

ταῦτα ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ ὡς πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ καλῇ
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εὔρον κτησάμενος τὸ τοῦ Μηνοδότου
 συγγραμμάτιον καὶ ἐπιδείξας πολλοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ |

¹⁶ τῷ δὲ λέγειν A: δὲ del. Musurus

¹⁷ ἐπεὶ τε 15.671e-f

⁵⁵ Probably a willow variety of some sort.

⁵⁶ Hera, the guardian deity of Samos.

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I am satisfied with a simple pallet-bed beneath my
 ribs,
 since a bed made of *promalos*⁵⁵ that grows on the
 spot is close at hand,
as are willow-branches, the Carians' ancient garland.
 Let someone fetch
 wine and the Muses' lovely lyre,
so that we may drink as much as our hearts desire
 and sing in honor of Zeus'
 famous bride, the lady to whom our island
 belongs!⁵⁶

For although Nicaenetus does not specify in this passage whether he intends to use the willow-branches for bedding or to produce a garland, he makes the answer to the question obvious by referring to them as "the ancient garland of the Carians." The use of willow-branches for garlanding turned out to have been quite common on the island, so it seems, until Polycrates' time.⁵⁷ Anacreon, at any rate, says (*PMG* 352):⁵⁸

For ten months now the good-hearted Megistes
has been wearing a willow-garland and drinking
 honey-sweet grape-must.

The gods are my witness, that I myself was the first person in beautiful Alexandria to discover this, after I acquired Menodotus' little treatise and cited it to many people for

⁵⁷ The tyrant Polycrates controlled Samos c.535–c.522 BCE; Anacreon spent time in his court.

⁵⁸ Quoted also (with several minor variants in verse 1) at 15.671e–f.

- e παρὰ τῷ Ἀνακρέοντι ζητούμενον. λαβὼν δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ὁ πᾶσιν κλοπὴν ὄνειδίζων Ἡφαιστίων ἐξειδιοποίησατο τὴν λύσιν καὶ σύγγραμμα ἐξέδωκεν ἐπιγράψας Περὶ τοῦ Παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι Λυγίνου Στεφάνου· ὅπερ νῦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εὔρομεν παρὰ † τῇ ἀντικοττυραι Δημητρίῳ †. τοιοῦτος δέ τις καὶ¹⁸ περὶ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῶν Ἄδραστον ἐγένετο· ἐκδόντος γὰρ τούτου πέντε μὲν βιβλία Περὶ τῶν Παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ Ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἠθῶν Καθ' Ἱστορίαν καὶ Λέξιιν Ζητουμένων, ἕκτον δὲ Περὶ τῶν
- f Ἐν τοῖς Ἠθικοῖς Νικομαχείοις Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐννοίας ἀμφιλαφεῖς παραθεμένον περὶ τοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιφῶντι τῷ τραγωδιοποιῷ Πληξίππου καὶ πλείστα ὅσα καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος εἰπόντος, σφετερισάμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπέγραψέν τι βιβλίον Περὶ τοῦ Παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι Ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν Ἀντιφῶντος, οὐδὲν ἴδιον προσεξευρών, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Λυγίνου Στεφάνου. μόνον γὰρ τοῦτ' ἴδιον εἶρηκεν, ὅτι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν οἶδεν τὴν κατὰ <τὴν>¹⁹ λύγον ἱστορίαν καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τὰ Νικαινέτου || οἶδεν οὔτε τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος ὁ συγγραφεὺς. ἀπέδειξε δὲ καὶ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτὸν κατ' ἔνια τῶν

¹⁸ τοιοῦτος δέ τις καὶ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων συγγραφεὺς καὶ A: ὁ Ἡφαιστίων συγγραφεὺς καὶ del. Casaubon

¹⁹ add. Wilamowitz

⁵⁹ Adrastus of Aphrodisias was a Peripatetic philosopher of the first half of the 2nd century CE. Casaubon speculated that he might have been the historical Athenaeus' teacher.

the question involving Anacreon. But Hephaestion, who accuses everyone else of plagiarism, took the solution from me and appropriated it for himself, by publishing a treatise he entitled *On the Willow-Branch Garland in Anacreon*; I recently discovered the work in Rome at † the [corrupt] Demetrius †. He behaved in a similar fashion toward our noble Adrastus;⁵⁹ for after Adrastus published *On Historical and Lexical Questions in Theophrastus' On Manners* in five Books (= Thphr. fr. 437 Fortenbaugh), with a sixth Book *On Questions in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, in which he offered a wealth of ideas about the Plexippus⁶⁰ who appears in the tragic poet Antiphon (*TrGF* 55 F 1b), and also made numerous comments regarding Antiphon himself, Hephaestion appropriated this material for himself and produced a book with the title *On the Antiphon Who Appears in Xenophon's Memorabilia*,⁶¹ after doing no additional research of his own, precisely as he did in the case of *On the Willow-Branch Garland*. The only observation of his own that he offered was that Phylarchus in Book VII of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 14) is familiar with the story involving the willow-branches, but that this author knows neither the passage from Nicaenetus nor the one from Anacreon; he also showed that Phylarchus disagreed with

⁶⁰ Plexippus was the maternal uncle of Meleager, the eponymous hero of one of the tragic poet Antiphon's plays. This is a different Antiphon (*PAA* 138165) from Antiphon the Sophist mentioned below.

⁶¹ Cf. *X. Mem.* 1.6; the Antiphon in question is Antiphon the Sophist (*PAA* 138190), and this reference is 87 A 4 D-K = T4 Pendrick.

ιστορηθέντων παρὰ τῷ Μηνοδότῳ. δύναται δέ τις λέγειν περὶ τῆς λύγου ἀπλούστερον, ὅτι ὁ Μεγίστης τῇ λύγῳ ἐστεφανοῦτο, ὡς παρακειμένης ἐκ τοῦ δαιμλοῦς ἐν ᾧ εὐωχεῖτο τόπῳ, συνδέσεως ἕνεκα τῶν κροτάφων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλάμῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Θουσιῶν
 b γράφων οὕτως· ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς | μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑρωτικῶν καὶ Ἀρίστων ὁ περιπατητικός, Κείος δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑρωτικῶν Ὀμοίων φασὶν ὅτι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τοὺς περὶ τὸν οἶνον πόνους τῶν κεφαλαγιῶν δεσμοὺς εὑρισκόν τοὺς τυχόντας, τῆς τῶν κροτάφων συνδέσεως ὠφελεῖν δοκούσης· οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἅμα τῷ κροτάφῳ προσέβαλόν τινα καὶ κόσμον οἰκείον τῇ παρὰ τὸν οἶνον διαγωγῇ,
 c μηχανησάμενοι | τὸν στέφανον. βέλτιον δὲ διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ εἶναι ταύτην στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν ἐσκεπᾶσθαι καὶ συνδεδέσθαι τοὺς κροτάφους πρὸς τὸν οἶνον. ἐστεφανοῦντο δὲ καὶ τὸ μέτωπον, ὡς ὁ καλὸς Ἀνακρέων ἔφη·

ἐπὶ δ' ὀφρύσιν σελίνων στεφανίσκους
 θέμενοι θάλειαν ἑορτὴν ἀγάγωμεν
 Διονύσῳ.

⁶² *stlegis*; cf. 4.128e.

⁶³ The Spartan system of public education.

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some parts of the account offered in Menodotus. A less complicated comment on the willow-branches might also be offered, to the effect that Megistes used them to garland himself because there were plenty available in the place where he was feasting, and that he used them to bind his temples. The Spartans in fact wear garlands made of reeds at the Promacheia festival, according to Sosibius in his *On the Sacrificial Festivals in Sparta* (FGrH 595 F 4), where he writes as follows: What goes on at this festival is that the boys from the countryside wear a reed-garland or a tiara,⁶² while those being brought up in the *agôgê*⁶³ follow without garlands. Aristotle in Book II of the *Erotica* (fr. 41) and Ariston the Peripatetic, whose family was from Ceos, in Book II of the *Erotic Comparisons* (fr. 22 Wehrli = fr. 10 Fortenbaugh-White) claim that the ancients came up with the idea of wrapping themselves with whatever they could find to deal with the headaches caused by wine, since wrapping their temples appeared to help; those who came after them added a bit of decoration to their temples appropriate to how they spent their time when they were drinking, creating the garland. Given that all our senses reside in our heads, it is better to garland them than to have our temples covered and wrapped tight to guard against the wine because of the trouble it causes. They also wore garlands around their foreheads, as the noble Anacreon (*PMG* 410) said:

And placing little garlands of celery upon
our brows, let us celebrate a rich festival
in honor of Dionysus.

ἔστεφανοῦντο δὲ καὶ τὰ στήθη καὶ ἐμύρουν ταῦτα,
 ἐπεὶ αὐτόθι ἦ καρδία. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ οἷς περιεδέοντο
 d τὸν τράχηλον στεφάνους ὑποθυμίδας, ὡς Ἄλκαϊος | ἐν
 τούτοις·

ἀλλ' ἀνήτω μὲν περὶ ταῖς δέraisι
 περθέτω πλέκταις ὑπαθύμιδάς τις.

καὶ Σαπφῶ·

καὶ πόλλαις ὑπαθύμιδας
 πλέκταις ἀμφ' ἀπάλα δέρα.

καὶ Ἀνακρέων·

πλεκτὰς

δ' ὑποθυμίδας περὶ στήθεσι λωτίνας ἔθειντο.

Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν τῷ Λυομένῳ Προμηθεὶ σαφῶς φησιν
 ὅτι ἐπὶ τιμῇ²⁰ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸν στέφανον περι-
 τίθεμεν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀντίποινα τοῦ ἐκείνου δεσμοῦ, καί-
 τοι ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένη Σφιγγί εἰπών·

τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφος, |
 e δεσμῶν ἄριστον ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγου.

Σαπφῶ δ' ἀπλούστερον τὴν αἰτίαν ἀποδίδωσιν τοῦ
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς, λέγουσα τάδε·

σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις, ὦ Δίκα, πέρθεσθ' ἐράτοις
 φόβαισιν

²⁰ ἐπὶ τιμῇ CE: ἐπὶ τε τιμῇ A

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They put garlands around their chests as well, and covered them with perfume, since that is where the heart is located. They referred to the garlands they wrapped around their necks as *hupothumides*, as for example Alcaeus (fr. 362.1–2)⁶⁴ in the following passage:

But let someone place *upathumides* woven
of anise about our necks.

Also Sappho (fr. 94.15–16):

and many woven
upathumides around my soft neck.

And Anacreon (PMG 397):

They placed
hupothumides made of *lôtos* about their chests.

Aeschylus in his *Prometheus Released* (fr. 202) says explicitly that we place garlands about our heads to honor Prometheus, as recompense for his bondage,⁶⁵ although in his play entitled *The Sphinx* (fr. 235) he said:

But for the stranger a garland, an ancient wreath,
the best bond there is, as Prometheus put it.

Sappho (fr. 81.4–7) offers a simpler explanation of why we wear garlands, saying the following:

Wrap anise shoots together into garlands, Dica,

⁶⁴ Two additional verses of what appear to be the same fragment are preserved at 15.687d–e, where see n.

⁶⁵ Cf. 15.672e–f.

ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συναέρραισ' ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν·
 εὐάνθεα † γὰρ πέλεται † καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιραι
 μᾶλλον † προτερην †, ἀστεφανώτοισι δ'
 ἀπυστρέφονται.

ὡς εὐανθέστερον γὰρ καὶ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τοῖς
 θεοῖς παραγγέλλει στεφανοῦσθαι τοὺς θύοντας. Ἄρι-
 f στοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ φησὶν ὅτι | οὐδὲν κολο-
 βὸν προσφέρομεν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ
 ὄλα. τὸ δὲ πλήρες τέλειόν ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ στέφειν πλή-
 ρωσὶν τινα σημαίνει. Ὅμηρος·

κῶροι δὲ²¹ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.

καί·

ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει.

675 τοὺς γὰρ αὖ τὴν ὄψιν ἀμόρφους, φησὶν, ἀναπληροῖ ἢ
 τοῦ λέγειν πιθανότης· || ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ στέφανος τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν βούλεσθαι. διὸ καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη τούναντίον
 παρασκευάζομεν· ὁμοπαθεία γὰρ τοῦ κεκμηκότος κο-
 λοβοῦμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῇ τε κουρᾷ τῶν τριχῶν καὶ τῇ
 τῶν στεφάνων ἀφαιρέσει. Φιλωνίδης δ' ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ Μύρων καὶ Στεφάνων, ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς, φησὶν,
 θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Διονύσου μετενεχθείσης εἰς τὴν Ἐλ-

²¹ The traditional text of Homer has μέν.

⁶⁶ Cited also, less precisely, at 1.13e.

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with your soft hands, and place them around your
lovely hair;
with fine flowers † for it is † and the blessed Graces
more [corrupt], but turn away from those who wear
no garlands.

For she recommends that people making a sacrifice wear garlands, because whatever has more flowers is more appealing to the gods. Aristotle in his *Symposium* (fr. 48) notes that we offer the gods nothing imperfect, but only what is perfect and whole; and what is full is perfect, and the act of garlanding implies a type of filling. Homer (*Il.* 1.470):⁶⁶

And the young men crowned the mixing-bowls with
drink.

And (*Od.* 8.170):

But a god garlands his words with beauty.

Because individuals who are not good-looking, he⁶⁷ says, are filled out by the persuasiveness with which they speak, which is apparently what a garland is intended to accomplish. This is also why we make the opposite arrangements in the case of mourning; for as a way of sharing the dead person's suffering, we disfigure ourselves by cutting our hair and removing our garlands. The physician Philonides says in his *On Perfumes and Garlands*: After Dionysus introduced the grapevine to Greece from the area around

⁶⁷ Aristotle (continuing the paraphrase of the *Symposium* after the reference to Homer); the discussion as a whole is probably drawn once again from Clearchus.

- b λάδα | τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ πρὸς ἄμετρον ἀπόλαυσι τῶν πολλῶν ἐκτρεπομένων ἄκρατόν τε προσφερομένων αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν μανιωδῶς ἐκτρεπόμενοι παρέπαιον, οἱ δὲ νεκροῖς ἐφέκεσαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρώσεως. ἐπ' ἀκτῆς δέ τινων πινόντων ἐπιπεσῶν ὄμβρος τὸ μὲν συμπόσιον διέλυσεν, τὸν δὲ κρατῆρα, ὃς εἶχεν ὀλίγον οἶνον ὑπολειμμένον, ἐπλήρωσεν ὕδατος. γενομένης δ' αἰθρίας
- c εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὑποστρέψαντες | τόπον, γευσάμενοι τοῦ μίγματος προσηνῆ καὶ ἄλυπον ἔσχον ἀπόλαυσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ μὲν παρὰ δείπνον ἀκράτῳ προσδιδόμενῳ τὸν Ἄγαθὸν ἐπιφωνοῦσι Δαίμονα, τιμῶντες τὸν εὐρόντα δαίμονα²². ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ Διόνυσος. τῷ δὲ μετὰ δείπνον κεκραμένῳ πρώτῳ διδόμενῳ ποτηρίῳ Δία Σωτῆρα ἐπιλέγουσι, τῆς ἐκ τοῦ μίγματος ἀλύπου κράσεως τὸν καὶ τῶν ὄμβρων ἀρχηγὸν αἴτιον ὑπολαβόντες. ἔδει μὲν οὖν βοηθημάτων τοῖς ἐν τῷ πότῳ κεφαλὴν ἐπιθλιβεῖσιν, ἦν δὲ δεσμὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν προχειρότατος καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὀδηγούσης· ἀλγήσας γάρ τις κεφαλὴν, ὡς φησιν
- d Ἀνδρέας, εἶτα πιέσας καὶ κουφισθεὶς εὖρεν | κεφαλαλγίας δεσμὸν φάρμακον. τούτῳ οὖν βοηθήματι πρὸς πότους χρώμενοι τοῖς παραπίπτουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐδέσμευον· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κίσσινον στέφανον ἦλθον αὐτόματόν τε καὶ πολὺν ὄντα καὶ κατὰ πάντα τόπον γεννώμενον, ἔχοντα καὶ πρόσοψιν οὐκ ἀτερπῆ, χλω-

²² εὐρόντα δαίμονα A: εὐρόντα Διόνυσον CE: δαίμονα/ Διόνυσον del. Meineke

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the Red Sea, and many people misguidedly enjoyed unlimited quantities of wine and consumed it unmixed, some of them became delirious and began to act like madmen, while others grew drowsy and resembled corpses. When a group of them were drinking on the seashore, a sudden rainstorm broke up the party and filled their mixing-bowl, which contained a small quantity of left-over wine, with water. After the sky cleared, they returned to the same place, and when they tasted the mixture, they derived a soothing, painless pleasure from it. As a consequence of this, the Greeks invoke the Good Divinity when unmixed wine is distributed at their dinner parties, as a way of honoring the deity—that is, Dionysus—who discovered it. And when they are offered the first cup of mixed wine after dinner, they call upon Zeus the Savior, since they regard him, in his capacity as marshaller of the storms, as responsible for the painless mixing that results from mingling (wine and water). They accordingly needed help for those whose heads were oppressed as a result of drinking, and the handiest help of those available, and one that nature itself directed them to, was to wrap them. For when someone's head hurt, according to Andreas,⁶⁸ he applied pressure to it and got relief, and he thus discovered that wrapping cures a headache. At their drinking parties, therefore, they used this form of assistance and began to bind the participants' heads. They settled on ivy garlands because the plant grows without having to be cultivated and in large quantities; is found everywhere; has an attractive appear-

⁶⁸ Cf. 15.680d n.

ροῖς πετάλοις καὶ κορύμβοις σκιάζοντα τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ σφίγγειν τόνους ὑπομένοντα, προσέτι δὲ ψύχοντα χωρὶς ὀσμῆς καρούσης. καὶ ταύτη μοι δοκεῖ Διονύσῳ ὁ βίος ἀνεῖναι τὸ στέφος, τὸν εὐρετὴν τοῦ πώματος καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὸ ἐλασσωμάτων ἀλεξητῆρα βουλόμενος εἶναι. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ εἰς ἡδονὴν τραπέντες | τὸ μὲν εἰς συμφέρον καὶ τοῖς ἐκ μέθης παραβοηθοῦν ἐλαττώμασιν²³ τοῦ πρὸς ὄψιν ἢ πρὸς ὀσμὴν ἐπιτερποῦς ἐφρόντισαν. διὸ μυρσίνης μὲν στέφανον στύφοντα καὶ τὴν οἴνων ἀναθυμίασιν ἀποκρουόμενοι, ἔτι δὲ ῥόδιον ἔχοντά τι καὶ κεφαλαλγίας παρηγορικὸν σὺν τῷ καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν ψύχειν, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς δάφνινον οὐκ ἀλλότριον πότου ἡγητέον. λευκοῖνον δὲ κινητικὸν ὄντα κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀμαράκινον καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς καροῦν δυναμένους ἢ βαρύνειν ἄλλως κεφαλὴν περιστατέον. τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μύρων καὶ Στεφάνων <ταῖς>²⁴ αὐταῖς λέξεσι. καὶ | περὶ μὲν τούτων, ὧ ἑταῖροι, ταῦτα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ναυκρατίτου στεφάνου τίς ἐστὶ τὴν ἄνθην πολλὰ ἀναζητήσας καὶ πολλῶν πυθόμενος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐμάνθανον, ἐνέτυχον ὀψέ ποτε Πολυχάρμου Ναυκρατίτου ἐπιγραφομένῳ βιβλίῳ Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν ᾧ ταυτὶ γέγραπται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην πρὸς ταῖς εἰκο-

²³ ἐλαττώμασιν ὁ στέφανος CE: ἐλαττώματος ὁ στέφανος A: ὁ στέφανος del. Olson, ducente Kaibelo

²⁴ add. Kaibel

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ance; shades one's brow with pale leaves and berry-clusters; stands up to the tension when wrapped tight; and on top of all that, cools without producing a stupefying scent. This is why, in my opinion, our society dedicates the garland to Dionysus, in the conviction that he invented wine and protects us from the disadvantages associated with it. From that point on, they devoted themselves to pleasure, and as for what was useful and helped them with the disadvantages associated with getting drunk . . . and paid attention to what looked or smelled pleasant. As a result of which a myrtle garland, which is astringent and tends to drive away the vapors wine produces, as well as a garland made of roses, which has the power to soothe headaches, in addition to some capacity to cool, and laurel garlands in addition to these, should not be regarded as inappropriate for drinking parties. Whereas garlands made of gillyflower (which makes the head spin), marjoram, or any other flowers capable of stupefying a person or making one's head heavy in some other way, should be avoided. Apollodorus in his *On Perfumes and Garlands* offers the same observations, using identical words. But enough on this topic, my friends. As for the type of flower used in a Naucratan garland,⁶⁹ although I did considerable research on the matter and questioned many people, I learned nothing. But then eventually I came upon a book by Polycharmus of Naucratis entitled *On Aphodite* (*FGrH* 640 F 1), which contains the following passage: During the 23rd Olympiad,⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Finally responding to Cynulcus' first question at 15.671d–e.

⁷⁰ 688–685 BCE. In fact, Naucratis was only founded as a trading station well after this, during the reign of Psammetichus I (664–610 BCE).

676 σιν Ὀλυμπιάδα ὁ Ἡρόστρατος, πολίτης ἡμέτερος
 ἐμπορία χρώμενος καὶ χώραν πολλήν ἢ περιπλέον,
 προσσχών ποτε καὶ Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου ἀγαλμάτιον
 Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον, ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ, ὠνη-
 σάμενος ἦει φέρων εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν. καὶ αὐτῷ πλη-
 σίον φερομένῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπεὶ χειμῶν αἰφνίδιον
 ἐπέπεσεν καὶ συνιδεῖν²⁵ οὐκ ἦν ὅπου γῆς ἦσαν,
 κατέφυγον ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα
 σῶζειν αὐτοὺς αὐτὴν δεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ θεὸς (προσφιλῆς
 γὰρ τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἦν) αἰφνίδιον ἐποίησε πάντα
 τὰ παρακείμενα αὐτῇ μυρρίνης χλωρᾶς πλήρη ὀδμῆς
 b τε ἠδίστης ἢ ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν ναῦν ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι τοῖς
 ἐμπλέουσιν τὴν σωτηρίαν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ναυτίαν
 γενομένου τε ἐμέτου πολλοῦ, καὶ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος
 κατιδόντες τοὺς ὄρμους ἦκον εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν. καὶ ὁ
 Ἡρόστρατος ἐξορμήσας τῆς νεῶς μετὰ τοῦ ἀγάλ-
 ματος, ἔχων καὶ τὰς αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ ἀναφανείσας
 χλωρὰς μυρρίνας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
 ἱερῷ, θύσας δὲ τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἀναθεὶς τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ
 τᾶγαλμα, καλέσας δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἐστίασιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
 c ἱερῷ τοὺς προσήκοντας καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἢ ἔδωκεν
 ἐκάστῳ καὶ στέφανον ἐκ τῆς μυρρίνης, ὃν καὶ τότε
 ἐκάλεσε Ναυκρατίτην. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πολύχαρμος ταῦτα
 οἷς κἀγὼ πείθομαι, ἠγούμενος οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ εἶναι
 Ναυκρατίτην στέφανον ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῆς μυρρίνης, τῷ καὶ
 μετὰ τῶν ρόδων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνακρέοντος φορεῖσθαι. καὶ

²⁵ οὐ συνιδεῖν A: οὐ del. edd.

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our fellow-citizen Herostratus, who was involved in trade and sailed to various places, put in at one point to Paphos on Cyprus, where he purchased a small statue of Aphrodite that was less than a foot⁷¹ tall and of archaic workmanship, and headed off to Naucratis with it. As he was approaching Egypt, a sudden storm hit; since it was impossible to tell where they were, they all fled to the statue of Aphrodite and begged her to protect them. The goddess—who was well-disposed to the inhabitants of Naucratis—immediately filled all the vessels that had been set before her with fresh myrtle, and the entire ship with a delicious scent, even though everyone on board had given up any hope of surviving, because they were so seasick, and there was a great deal of vomiting. The sun came out, and they spotted the harbor basin and arrived in Naucratis. Herostratus emerged from the ship holding the statue, as well as the fresh myrtle-branches that had abruptly appeared to him, and dedicated them in Aphrodite's temple. After he made a sacrifice to the goddess and dedicated the statue to her, he invited his relatives and closest friends to a feast in the temple itself and gave them all myrtle garlands, to which he at that point gave the name Naucratan. Thus Polycharmus; and I accept his account, since I believe that there is only one type of Naucratan garland, which is the one made of myrtle, given that Anacreon wears it along with the roses (*PMG* 434, quoted at 15.671e). Philonides⁷²

⁷¹ Literally "a span," i.e. the distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the little finger when the hand is outstretched.

⁷² Quoted at 15.675e.

ὁ Φιλωνίδης δὲ εἴρηκεν ὡς ὁ τῆς μυρρίνης στέφανος τὴν ἐκ τῶν οἴνων ἀναθυμίασιν ἀποκρούεται καὶ ὁ τῶν ῥόδων ἔχει τι κεφαλαλγίας παρηγορικὸν πρὸς τῷ καὶ ἐμφύχειν. γελοῖοι οὖν εἰσιν καὶ οἱ λέγοντες Ναυκρατίτην εἶναι στέφανον | τὸν ἐκ τῆς βύβλου τῆς στεφανωτρίδος καλουμένης παρ' Αἰγυπτίους,²⁶ παρατιθέμενοι Θεοπόμπου ἐκ τῆς τρικσκαϊδεκάτης τῶν Φιλιππικῶν καὶ τῆς ἐνδεκάτης²⁷ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ὅς φησιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Λάκωνι παραγενομένῳ εἰς Αἴγυπτον δῶρα πέμψαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν στεφανωτρίδα βύβλον. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα τίνα ὠφέλειαν ἢ ἡδονὴν ἔχει τὸ βύβλω στεφανοῦσθαι μετὰ ῥόδων, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι οἱ τούτοις χαίροντες στέψονται ὁμοῦ ῥόδοις καὶ σκόροδα. παμπόλλους δὲ οἶδα λέγοντας τὸν ἐκ τῆς σαμψύχου |
e στέφανον εἶναι τὸν Ναυκρατίτην· πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἄνθος τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. διάφορος δὲ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδμὴν ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μυρρίνη παρὰ τὰς ἐν ἄλλαις χώραις, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος ἱστορεῖ.

Ἔτι τούτων λεγομένων ἐπεισῆλθον παῖδες στεφάνους φέροντες τῶν ἀκμαζόντων κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς. καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος, λέγε, καλέ, εἶπεν, Οὐλπιανέ, στεφάνων ὀνόματα· οἱ γὰρ παῖδες, κατὰ τὸν Χαιρήμονος Κένταυρον,

²⁶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους στεφόμενον A: παρ' Αἰγυπτίους tantum CE: στεφόμενον del. Kaibel

²⁷ suppl. Grenfell-Hunt ex 9.384a

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too maintains that myrtle-garlands dispel the vapors wine produces, and that rose-garlands have a soothing effect on headaches, in addition to being cooling. Sarcastic laughter is accordingly an appropriate response to those authorities who claim that a Naucranean garland is the type made of what the Egyptians refer to as "garland-papyrus," and who cite a passage from Book XIII of Theopompus' *History of Philip* and Book XI of his *History of Greece* (FGrH 115 F 106b),⁷³ where he reports that when Agesilaus of Sparta visited Egypt, the Egyptians sent him various gifts, including garland-papyrus. I myself have no idea what benefit or pleasure could be derived from wearing a garland that combines papyrus and roses—unless, perhaps, people who like garlands of this sort also intend to wear a combination of garlic and roses! I am aware that numerous authorities claim that a Naucranean garland is the type made of *sampsuchos*,⁷⁴ which is a common flower in Egypt. Egyptian myrtle has a stronger scent than the varieties found elsewhere, according to Theophrastus (*HP* 6.8.5).

In the midst of these remarks, slaves entered the room carrying garlands made of the flowers that were in season at the moment, and Myrtilus said: Offer us a list, my good Ulpian, of names of garlands! For the slaves, to quote Chaeremon's *Centaur* (*TrGF* 71 F 11),

⁷³ The same passage of Theopompus appears to be referred to at 9.384a; 14.657b (where see n.). The Agesilaus in question is Agesilaus II (Poralla #9; reigned 400–360/59 BCE).

⁷⁴ Seemingly a non-Greek word for marjoram (normally *amarakon*); cf. 15.681b, 684b, 689c; Andrews, *CP* 56 (1961) 78.

στεφάνους ἐτοιμάζουσιν, οὓς εὐφημίας
κήρυκας εὐχαίς προὔβαλοντο δαιμόνων.

καὶ ἐν τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιητῆς·

στεφάνους τεμόντες ἀγγέλους εὐφημίας. |

- f σὺ δὲ μὴ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Αἰλίου Ἀσκλη-
πιάδου Στεφάνων φέρε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀνηκόοις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
ἄλλο τι παρ' ἐκεῖνα λέγε. δεῖξαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ὅτι †
διαλελυμένως † τις εἶρηκε ῥόδων στέφανον καὶ ἴων
στέφανον· τὸ γὰρ παρὰ Κρατίνῳ κατὰ παιδιὰν εἴρη-
ται· † ναρκισσίνους ὀλίσκους. † καὶ ὃς γελάσας,
πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι στέφανος ὠνομάσθη, ὡς
φησι Σῆμος ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τετάρτῳ Δηλιάδος, τὸ παρὰ ||
677 μὲν ἡμῖν στέφος, παρὰ δέ τισι στέμμα προσαγορευό-
μενον, διὸ καὶ τούτῳ πρῶτῳ στεφανωσάμενοι δεύτερον
περιτιθέμεθα τὸν δάφνινον. κέκληται δὲ στέφανος ἀπὸ
τοῦ στέφειν. σὺ δὲ οἶει με, ἔφη,

Θετταλὲ ποικιλόμυθε,

τῶν κοινῶν τούτων καὶ κατημαξευμένων ἐρεῖν τι; διὰ
δὲ τὴν σὴν γλώσσαν τῆς ὑπογλωττίδος μνησθήσο-
μαι, ἧς Πλάτων ἐμνήσθη ἐν Διὶ Κακουμένῳ·

⁷⁵ Literally "the call for *euphēmia*" ("the use of good words only," and thus practically "the use of no words at all"), which was issued just before a sacrifice was made.

⁷⁶ Cf. 15.679b with n.

⁷⁷ The words are in fact cognate.

⁷⁸ A fragment of a dactylic hexameter line, probably borrowed

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are preparing garlands, which they set out as heralds of the call for silence,⁷⁵ to guard the prayers we offer the gods.

So too in his *Dionysus* (*TrGF* 71 F 6) the same poet said:

cutting garlands to serve as messengers of the call for silence.

Do not offer us material drawn from Aelius Asclepiades' work entitled *Garlands*,⁷⁶ as if we had never heard of it, but cite something different. For you cannot demonstrate that anyone ever referred to a garland made of roses or violets † using an uncontracted form †; for Cratinus' (fr. 394, unmetrical) † narcissus-[corrupt] † is a joke. Ulpian laughed (and said): According to Semus of Delos in Book IV of the *History of Delos* (*FGrH* 396 F 8), the Greeks originally used the term *stephanos* ("garland") to refer to what we know as a *stephos*, although some people call it a *stemma*; this is why we garland ourselves with this first, and then put a laurel-garland on our head. The noun *stephanos* ("garland") is derived from *stephein* ("to put around").⁷⁷ But do you expect me, he said,

my eloquent Thessalian,⁷⁸

to discuss pedestrian commonplaces of this sort? On account of this tongue (*glôssa*) of yours, however, I will mention the *hupoglôttis*, to which Plato referred in *Zeus Abused* (fr. 51):⁷⁹

or adapted from an oracle, as at 13.568d, where Myrtilus (who is from Thessaly) is again being addressed.⁷⁹ The second verse is referred to again (but not quoted) at 15.678d.

καίτοι φορεῖτε γλῶτταν ἐν ὑποδήμασιν,
στεφανοῦσθ' ὑπογλωττίσιν, ὅταν πίνητέ που. |

b καὶν καλλιεργῆτε, γλῶτταν ἀγαθὴν πέμπετε.

Θεόδωρος δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικάῖς Φωναῖς, ὡς φησιν
Πάμφιλος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ὀνομάτων, πλοκῆς στεφάνων
γένος τι τὴν ὑπογλωττίδα ἀποδίδωσιν. λαβὲ οὖν καὶ
παρ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην·

ἐκ παντὸς (γὰρ) ἂν τις πράγματος δισσῶν
λόγων
ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἂν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός.

Ἴσθμιακόν. οὕτως τοῦτον καλούμενον στέφανον
Ἀριστοφάνης μνήμης ἠξίωσεν ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς λέγων
οὕτως· |

c τί οὖν ποῶμεν; χλανίδ' ἐχρῆν λευκὴν λαβεῖν·
εἴτ' Ἴσθμιακὰ λαβόντες ὥσπερ οἱ χοροὶ
ἄδωμεν ἐς τὸν δεσπότην ἐγκώμιον.

Σιληνὸς δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις φησίν· Ἴσθμιον· στέφανον.
Φιλητᾶς δέ φησι· στέφανος ἤγουν ὁμωνυμία
ἀμφοτέρωθι οἶον τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ † πρώτου †
κόσμου. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος καὶ τοῦ ἐγχει-

⁸⁰ Cited again at 15.678d (under the title *Attic Glossary*, as also at 14.646c), along with a reference to the passage of Plato *Comicus* quoted above.

⁸¹ Identified by Stobaeus as coming from *Antiope*.

⁸² Silenus, like Philitas and the other scholars cited below, ap-

In fact you have a tongue (*glôtta*) on your shoes;
 you wear garlands made of *hupoglôttides* whenever
 you drink somewhere;
 and if your sacrifices produce favorable omens, you
 give tongue to your joy.

According to Pamphilus in his *On Words* (fr. XXXVII Schmidt), Theodorus in his *Attic Terms* (FGrH 346 F 3a)⁸⁰ defines a *hupoglôttis* as a style of weaving garlands. So accept from me the following passage from Euripides (fr. 189);⁸¹ for

If someone was a clever speaker, he could develop
 two sides to the argument in any situation.

Isthmiakon. Aristophanes regarded the garland referred to this way as deserving mention in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 505), where he says the following:

What should we do, then? We should've got a white
 cloak.
 So let's get *Isthmiaka*, like the choruses do,
 and sing a song of praise in our master's honor.

Silenus says in his *Vocabulary: Isthmion*:⁸² a garland. Philetas⁸³ (fr. 13 Dettori = fr. 41 Spanoudakis) says: A garland, i.e., a word with a double sense, used ambiguously to refer to the head and to the † first † ornament.⁸⁴ I also note the use of *isthmion* to refer to part of a well or a dagger.

appears to be commenting on *Od.* 18.299–300, where the suitor Pisander is said to bring Penelope an *isthmion*.

⁸³ Thus Athenaeus throughout; the correct spelling of the name appears to be "Philitas."

⁸⁴ Sc. that is placed around it.

ριδίου Ἰσθμιον. Τιμαχίδας δὲ καὶ Σιμμίας οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἀποδιδόασιν ἐν ἀνθ' ἑνός Ἰσθμιον· στέφανον. οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Καλλίξεινος ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ αὐτὸς |
d γένος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας γράφων οὕτως· < . . . >
ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐμνημόνευσα, οἶδά τινα ἐν τῇ
καλῇ ταύτῃ πόλει καλούμενον στέφανον Ἀντινόειον
γινόμενον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτόθι καλουμένου λωτοῦ. φύεται δ'
οὗτος ἐν λίμναις θέρους ὥρα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ χροιαὶ
δύο. ἡ μὲν τῷ ῥόδῳ ἑοικυῖα· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ πλεκόμενος
στέφανος κυρίως Ἀντινόειος καλεῖται· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος
λώτινος ὀνομάζεται, κνανέαν ἔχων τὴν χροιάν. καὶ
e Παγκράτης τις τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ποιητής, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς
ἔγνωμεν, Ἀδριανῶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι | ἐπιδημήσαντι τῇ
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ πολλῆς τερατείας ἐπέδειξεν τὸν
ρόδιζοντα λωτόν, φάσκων αὐτὸν δεῖν καλεῖν Ἀντι-
νόειον, ἀναπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ὅτε τὸ αἷμα
ἐδέξατο τοῦ Μαυρουσίου λέοντος, ὃν κατὰ τὴν πλη-
σίον τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Λιβύην ἐν κυνηγίῳ καταβεβλή-
κει ὁ Ἀδριανός, μέγα χρῆμα ὄντα καὶ πολλῶ χρόνῳ
κατανεμηθέντα πᾶσαν τὴν Λιβύην, ἧς καὶ πολλὰ
ἀοίκητα ἐπεποιήκει οὗτος ὁ λέων. ἤσθεις οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ
f τῆς ἐννοίας εὐρέσει καὶ καινότητι τὴν ἐν Μουσῶν
αὐτῷ σίτησιν ἔχειν | ἐχαρίσατο. καὶ Κρατῖνος δ' ὁ

⁸⁵ The quotation has fallen out of the text. ⁸⁶ Named after the emperor Hadrian's boyfriend Antinous, who accompanied him to Egypt and drowned in the Nile in 130 CE.

⁸⁷ RE (5); to be distinguished from the Hellenistic poet Pancrates of Arcadia (RE (3); quoted at e.g. 7.283a).

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Timachidas (fr. 28 Blinkenberg) and Simmias (fr. 27, p. 120 Powell), both of Rhodes, gloss it with a single word: *Isthmion*: a garland. Callixeinus, whose family was again from Rhodes, mentions it in his *On Alexandria* (FGrH 627 F 4), writing as follows:⁸⁵ . . . But since I mentioned Alexandria: I am familiar with a type of garland referred to in that lovely city as an Antinoeian,⁸⁶ which is produced from what is known there as *lôtos*. This plant grows in the marshes in the spring, and comes in two colors. One variety resembles a rose, and the garlands woven from it are properly referred to as Antinoeians, whereas the other is known as a *lôtinos* and is a dark blue color. A certain Pancrates⁸⁷ (FGrH 625 T 1), who was a local poet with whom I was personally acquainted, showed the rose-colored *lôtos* to the emperor Hadrian when he was visiting Alexandria, and presented it as a great marvel, claiming that it ought to be referred to as an *Antinoeios*, since the earth had produced it when it was drenched with the blood of the Mauretanian lion Hadrian had killed while hunting in the part of Libya near Alexandria; this lion was a huge creature, which had ravaged all of Libya for a long time and rendered much of it uninhabitable.⁸⁸ Hadrian was delighted by this novel and original idea, and rewarded Pancrates with maintenance in the Museum. So too the comic poet Cratinus in

⁸⁵ A substantial papyrus fragment of the poem (from which the claim that the lion had made much of Libya uninhabitable before the emperor intervened—probably an echo of Hdt. 1.36.1—is presumably drawn) is preserved (Pancrates fr. 2, pp. 52–4 Heitsch) and makes it clear that Antinous too was supposed to have participated in the hunt.

κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ὀδυσσεύσι κέκληκεν τὸν λωτὸν στεφάνωμα διὰ τὸ πάντα τὰ φυλλώδη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στεφανώματα λέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Παγκράτης ἐν τῷ ποιήματι οὐκ ἀγλαφύρως εἶρηκεν·

οὔλην ἔρπυλλον, λευκὸν κρίνον ἢ δ' ὑάκινθον
πορφυρέην γλαυκοῦ τε χελιδονίου πέτηλα
καὶ ῥόδον εἰαρινοῖσιν ἀνοιγόμενον Ζεφύροισιν·
οὔπω γὰρ φύειν ἄνθος ἐπάνυμον Ἀντινόοιο. ||

- 678 Πυλεών. οὕτως καλεῖται ὁ στέφανος ὃν τῇ Ἑρα περιτιθέασιν Λάκωνες, ὡς φησιν Πάμφιλος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἰάκχα τινὰ καλούμενον οἶδα στέφανον ὑπὸ Σικυωνίων, ὡς φησι Τιμαχίδας ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις. Φιλητᾶς δ' οὕτως γράφει· Ἰάκχα· ἐν τῇ Σικυωνίᾳ στεφάνωμα εὐῶδες.

ἔσθηκ' ἀμφὶ κόμας εὐώδεις ἀγχόθι πατρὸς
καλὸν Ἰακχαῖον θηκαμένη στέφανον.

- Σέλευκος δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις Ἑλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαί φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, |
b ὄντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν εἴκοσι, πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα κομίζεσθαι, ἣν ἐκάλουσαν Ἑλλωτίδα· ἀγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια.

⁸⁹ An intrusive remark, which interrupts the anecdote about Hadrian and Pancrates and presumably belongs with the lexicographical material cited above. ⁹⁰ Cf. 15.680f-1a with n.

Odysseuses (fr. 157) refers to the *lôtos* as a *stephanôma*, since the Athenians call anything that has leaves a *stephanôma*.⁸⁹ Pancrates remarks quite elegantly in his poem (fr. 3, p. 54 Heitsch):

woolly thyme, white lily, and purple
hyacinth, and the petals of the gray-blue *chelidionios*,
and the rose, which opens when the West Winds
blow in spring;
for the flower named for Antinous had not yet
appeared.

Puleôn. This is the term for the garland with which the Spartans crown Hera, according to Pamphilus (fr. XXXII Schmidt).⁹⁰ But I am also familiar with a garland the inhabitants of Sicyon refer to as an *Iakcha*,⁹¹ according to Timachidas in his *Vocabulary* (fr. 19 Blinkenberg). Philletas (Philit. fr. 12 Dettori = fr. 40 Spanoudakis) writes as follows: *Iakcha*: a fragrant garland in Sicyonian territory.

She stood close to her father, after placing a lovely
Iakchaios garland about her fragrant hair.⁹²

Seleucus in his *Glossary* (fr. 52 Müller) says that *Hellôtis* is the term for the garland woven out of myrtle that is about 30 feet⁹³ in circumference and is carried in the procession at the Hellôtia festival. They say that the bones of Europa, whom they referred to as Hellôtis, are transported in it; the Hellôtia are celebrated in Corinth.

⁸⁹ Presumably connected to the divine name Iacchus (closely associated with Dionysus). ⁹² Author unknown (= [Philit.] fr. 27, p. 95 Powell; printed by neither Spanoudakis nor Sbardella). ⁹³ Literally "20 cubits."

Θυρατικοί. οὕτω καλοῦνται τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θυσίων, ψιλίνους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων· φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς γυμνοπαι-
 c διας | ἐπιτελοῦσιν. χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶν τὸ μὲν πρόσω παίδων, <τὸ δ' ἐκ δεξίου . . . >,²⁸ τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ἀδόντων Θαλητᾶ καὶ Ἄλκμᾶνος ἄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας.

Μελιλωτίνων δὲ στεφάνων μνημονεῖει Ἄλεξις ἐν Κρατεία ἢ Φαρμακοπόλῃ οὕτως·

στεφάνους τε πολλοὺς κρεμαμένους
 μελιλωτίνους.

Ἐπιθυμῖς. Σέλευκός φησι· τὰ πάντα στεφανώματα. Τιμαχίδας δὲ φησιν τὰ παντοδαπὰ στεφανώματα ἅ |
 d τὰς γυναῖκας φορεῖν οὕτως καλεῖσθαι. ὑποθυμῖς δὲ καὶ ὑποθυμίδες στέφανοι παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν καὶ Ἴωσιν, οὓς περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους περιετίθεντο, ὡς σαφῶς ἔστιν μαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλκαίου καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήσεως. Φιλητᾶς δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀτάκτοις ὑποθυμίδα Λεσβίους φησὶν καλεῖν μυρσίνης κλῶνα, περὶ ὃν πλέκειν ἴα

²⁸ add. Wyttenbach

⁹⁴ Literally "Naked-boy (Festival)"; cf. 14.630d-e, 631c.

Thureatikoi. This is a Spartan term for a type of garland, according to Sosibius in his *On Sacrifices* (*FCrH* 595 F 5), where he claims that they are referred to today as *psilinoi* and are made of palm-fronds; the leaders of the choruses that perform at this festival, during which they also celebrate the Gumnopaidiai,⁹⁴ hold them to commemorate the victory that took place at Thyrea.⁹⁵ A chorus of boys is in front, a chorus of . . . on the right, and a chorus of men on the left; they dance naked and sing songs by Thaletas⁹⁶ and Alcman, as well as the paeans of Dionysodotus of Sparta.⁹⁷

Alexis in *Crateia or the Pharmacist* (fr. 119) mentions garlands made of *melilôt*,⁹⁸ as follows:

and many garlands made of *melilot* hanging there.

Epithumis. Seleucus (fr. 54 Müller) says: Garlands of all sorts. But Timachidas (fr. 25 Blinkenberg) claims that garlands of all sorts that women wear are referred to this way. *Hupothumis* and *hupothumides* are Aeolian and Ionian terms for the garlands they put around their necks, as is apparent from the poetry of Alcman and Anacreon.⁹⁹ Philletas in his *Miscellany* (Philit. fr. 14 Dettori = fr. 42 Spanoudakis) claims that the Lesbians refer to a twig of

⁹⁵ c. 545 BCE, when the Spartans defeated the Argives and took control of the area; cf. *Hdt.* 1.82.

⁹⁶ Thaletas of Gortyn (7th century BCE) is supposed to have founded the Gumnopaidiai Festival in Sparta (*Plu. Mor.* 1134b-c). ⁹⁷ Poralla #240; otherwise unknown.

⁹⁸ A type of clover.

⁹⁹ Quoted (along with a relevant fragment of Sappho) at 15.674c-d.

καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθη. καὶ ὑπογλωττὶς δὲ στεφάνου ἐστὶν εἶδος. Θεόδωρος δ' ἐν Ἀττικαῖς Γλώσσαις στεφάνων πλοκῆς γένος παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν Διὶ Κακουμένῳ.

e Εὐρίσκω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς | κυλιστὸν τινα καλούμενον στέφανον καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ Ἄρχιππον ἐν Ῥίνῳι διὰ τούτων·

ἀθῶος ἀποδοὺς θοιμάτιον ἀπέρχεται,
στέφανον ἔχων τῶν ἐκκυλιστῶν, οἴκαδε.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν μὲν Ἀγωνίδι ἢ Ἰππίσκῳ·

(A.) ὁ τρίτος οὗτος δ' ἔχει
σύκων κυλιστὸν στέφανον. (B.) ἀλλ' ἔχαιρε καὶ
ζῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Σκίρωνί φησι·

ὥσπερ κυλιστὸς στέφανος αἰωρούμενος.

f μνημονεῖ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἐαυτοῦ Ἐρῶν-
τι, | Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Οἰνομάῳ ἢ Πέλοπι·

περιφοραῖς κυκλούμενος

ὥσπερ κυλιστὸς στέφανος.

τίς οὖν οὗτος ὁ κυλιστός; οἶδα γὰρ τὸν Θυατειρητὸν Νίκανδρον ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Ὀνόμασι λέγοντα τάδε· ἐκκύλιστοι στέφανοι· καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ ῥόδων. καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁποῖον ζητῶ, ὧ Κύνουлке. καὶ μή μοι εἴπῃς ὅτι

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myrtle that has violets and other flowers wrapped around it as a *hupothumis*. A *hupoglôttis* is also a type of garland; Theodorus in the *Attic Glossary* (FGrH 346 F 3b) (says that) Plato in *Zeus Abused* (fr. 51.2) uses the word to refer to a style of weaving garlands.¹⁰⁰

I also find a type of garland known as a *kulistos* mentioned in the comic poets; Archippus refers to it in *Rhinion* (fr. 42), in the following passage:

He surrenders his robe and goes off home
scot-free, wearing an *ekkulistos* garland.

Alexis in *Agonis* or *The Brooch* (fr. 4):

(A.) The third guy here has
a *kulistos* garland of figs. (B.) Well, he liked
food like this when he was alive too!

And in his *Sciron* (fr. 210) he says:

hung up high like a *kulistos* garland.

Antiphanes in *The Man Who Was in Love with Himself* (fr. 53) also mentions it, as does Eubulus in *Oenomaus* or *Pelops* (fr. 73):

rolling around in circles,
like a *kulistos* garland.

So what is this *kulistos* garland? For I know that Nicander of Thyateira in his *Attic Words* (FGrH 343 F 7) says the following: *Ekkulistoi* garlands: in particular those made of roses. What I am wondering, Cynulcus, is what they look

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 15.677a-b (citing Pamphilus for this information, and giving the quotation from Plato) with n.

δεῖ τοὺς ἀδρούς ἀκούειν· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις ἀπόρρητα οὐ μόνον ἐκλέγων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνορύττων,²⁹ καθάπερ οἱ παρὰ Βάτωνι τῷ κωμωδιοποιῷ ἐν Συνεξαπατῶντι φιλόσοφοι, περὶ ὧν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Συνδείπνοις³⁰ φησίν, οὐσί σοι παραπλησίους· ||

679 οὔτοι γένειον ὧδε χρῆ διηλιφές
φοροῦντα κἀντίπαιδα καὶ γένει μέγαν
γαστρὸς καλείσθαι παῖδα, τοῦ πατρὸς παρόν.

ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἤδη καὶ σὺ πεπλήρωσαι οὐ μόνον τῶν τοῦ γλαύκου κρανίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰεζῶου βοτάνης, ἧς ὁ Ἄνθηδόσιος ἐκεῖνος δαίμων ἐμφορηθεὶς ἀθάνατος πάλιν † ητις † γέγονε, λέγε ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα ὑπολάβωμέν σε ἀποθανόντα μεταμορφωθῆναι.³¹ τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰς
b γαστριμαργίας | τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ φιλοποσίας μεμελητοκίας καὶ μὴ διευλαβουμένους εἰς τὰ τῶν ὄνων γένη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων θηρίων εἰκὸς ἐνδύεσθαι. ἀποροῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ ἕτερον, φησί, στέφανον μεταβήσομαι, ὁ Οὐλπιανός, τὸν στρούθινον καλούμενον, οὐ μέμνηται μὲν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης παρατιθέμενος τὰ ἐκ τῶν Εὐβούλου Στεφανοπωλίδων ταῦτα·

²⁹ ἀνορύττων Kassel: διορύττων ACE ³⁰ Συνδείπνοις
Musurus: Συνδείπνοι A: Συνδείπνω Casaubon

³¹ μεταμορφωθῆναι ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ψυχῆς A: ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ψυχῆς del. Schweighäuser

¹⁰¹ For the image, cf. 15.671c with n.

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like; and do not tell me that I should take this as a reference to large garlands. For you are the person who not only collects the obscure passages in his books but actively roots them up,¹⁰¹ precisely like the philosophers in the comic poet Bato's *The Partner in Deception* (fr. 6). Sophocles in *The Dinner Guests* (fr. 564) also discusses them, and they closely resemble you:

It's not right that, when you've got such a nicely-oiled chin, and aren't a boy any longer, and come from a distinguished family,
that you're called the child of someone's stomach,
when you could be called by your father's name.

Since, therefore, you are now full not just of *glaukos*-heads¹⁰² but also of the herb that brings eternal life, with which the well-known Anthedonian deity stuffed himself and became immortal [corrupt] again¹⁰³—tell us about the matter before us, so that we do not conclude that you have, as the divine Plato (*Phd.* 81e–2a) puts it, died and been transformed. For individuals who are interested in gluttony, ugly behavior, and drinking, and who are not careful, are likely to turn into donkeys or similar creatures. When Cynulcus had no answer, Ulpian said: I will move on to a different garland, the one known as a *strouthinos*, which Asclepiades refers to,¹⁰⁴ citing the following passage from Eubulus' *Female Garland-Vendors* (fr. 102):

¹⁰² The *glaukos* is an unidentified fish; cf. 7.295b–f.

¹⁰³ Apparently a reference to one of the many stories told about the sea-divinity Glaucus; cf. 7.296a–7c.

¹⁰⁴ Presumably in the work entitled *Wreaths* referred to at 15.676f.

ὦ μάκαρ ἦτις ἔχουσ' ἐν δωματίῳ
 στρουθίον ἀεροφόρητον
 λεπτότατον περὶ σῶμα συνίλλεται
 † ἡδυνότατον † περὶ νυμφίον εὐτριχα,
 κισσὸς ὅπως καλάμῳ περιφύεται
 † ἀυξόμενος ἕαρος † ὀλολυγόνος |
 c ἔρωτι κατατετηκώς.

πλέκεται δ' οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ στρουθίου καλουμένου ἄνθους, οὗ μνημονεύει Θεόφραστος ἐν ἔκτῳ Φυτικῆς Ἱστορίας ἐν τούτοις· ἀνθεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἴρις τοῦ θέρου καὶ τὸ στρουθίον καλούμενον, ὃ τῇ μὲν ὄψει καλὸν ἄνθος, ἄοσμον δέ. Γαλήνη δ' ἡ Σμυρναία στρουθίου αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει.

Πόθος. οὕτως τις στέφανος ὀνομάζεται, ὡς Νίκανδρός φησιν ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Γλώσσαις· καὶ ἴσως ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὕτω καλουμένου ἄνθους³² πλεκόμενος, οὗ d μνημονεύει ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος | ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν Φυτικῶν γράφων ὧδε· τὰ δὲ θερινὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ τε λυχνὶς καὶ τὸ Διὸς <ἄνθος>³³ καὶ τὸ κρίνον καὶ <τὸ>³⁴ ἴφνον καὶ ἀμάρακος ὁ Φρύγιος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ πόθος καλούμενος. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶ διττός, ὁ μὲν ἔχων τὸ ἄνθος ὅμοιον ὑακίνθῳ, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἄχρωσ, ἔκλευκος, ᾧ χρώνεται πρὸς τοὺς τάφους.

³² καλουμένου πόθου ἄνθους A: πόθου ἄνθους tantum CE: πόθου del. Kaibel

³³ add. Kaibel ex Theophrasto; cf. 15.680f

³⁴ add. Kaibel ex Theophrasto; cf. 15.680f

Happy girl! In your bedroom you've got
 a *strouthios* that's blown about by the breezes,
 and you twine your slender body
 [corrupt] about your bridegroom with his fine head of
 hair,
 just as ivy clings to a reed
 † growing larger in the spring †, melting
 with love for the *ololugôn*.¹⁰⁵

This garland is woven from the flower known as a *strouthios*, which Theophrastus mentions in Book VI (8.3) of the *Inquiry into Plants*, in the following passage: The iris blooms in the summer, as does the so-called *strouthion*; the latter flower looks attractive, but lacks a scent. Galene of Smyrna refers to it as a *strouthios*.¹⁰⁶

Pothos.¹⁰⁷ This is a term for a type of garland, according to Nicander of Colophon in the *Glossary* (fr. 144 Schneider). Perhaps (it is) the garland woven from the flower by this name, which the same Theophrastus mentions in Book VI of the *Botany* (*HP* 6.8.3), writing as follows:¹⁰⁸ Those that are instead summer flowers, such as rose campion, carnation, lily, spike-lavender, and Phrygian marjoram, as well as what is known as *pothos*. There are two varieties of the latter; one has a flower that resembles a hyacinth, while the other is colorless and whitish, and is used in funerary rites.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps "the nightingale," although "the tree-frog" seems just as likely; see Oliphant, *TAPA* 47 (1916) 85-106; Hunter, *Eubulus*, pp. 197-8. ¹⁰⁶ I.e., apparently, as a masculine rather than a neuter noun (as above).

¹⁰⁷ Literally "longing."

¹⁰⁸ The first portion of the passage is quoted again at 15.680f.

ATHENAEUS

Καταλέγει δὲ Εὐβουλος καὶ ἄλλους στεφάνους·

Αἰγίδιον, σὺ δὲ τόνδε φορήσεις
 στέφανον πολυποίκιλον ἀνθέων
 γρυνπότατον, χαριέστατον, ὦ Ζεῦ.

e † τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν | ἔχουσα φιλήσει; †

κὰν τοῖς ἐξῆς τάδε φησί·

(A.) στεφάνους ἴσως βούλεσθε· πότερ'
 ἔρφυλλίνους

ἢ μυρτίνους ἢ τῶν † διηυθημένων †;

(B.) τῶν μυρτίνων βουλόμεθα τουτωνί· σὺ <δὲ>
 τά <γ'> ἄλλα πῶλει πάντα πλὴν τῶν μυρτίνων.

Φιλύρινος. Ξέναρχος Στρατιώτη·

φιλύρας εἶχε γὰρ

ὁ παῖς ἀφύλλου στέφανον ἀμφικείμενον.

f Καλοῦνται δέ τινες καὶ ἑλικτοὶ στέφανοι, ὥσπερ
 παρὰ | Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μέχρι καὶ νῦν. μνημονεύει δ'
 αὐτῶν Χαιρήμων ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἐν Διονύσῳ διὰ
 τούτων·

κισσῶ τε ναρκίσσῳ τε τριέλικας κύκλῳ
 στεφάνων ἑλικτῶν.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αἰεὶ ἀνθούντων στεφάνων
 Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς οὕτως γράφει· πόλις

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Eubulus (fr. 103)¹⁰⁹ lists other types of garlands as well:

Aegidion, you're going to wear this
garland that's made of all kinds of flowers,
and that's curved and really lovely, by Zeus.

† Because who'll kiss when she's wearing it? †

And immediately after this he says the following (fr. 104):

(A.) Maybe you want garlands; the type made from
thyme,

or from myrtle, or some of the [corrupt]?

(B.) We want some of the myrtle wreaths here. Sell
all the rest, except the ones made from myrtle.

Philurinos (“[a garland] made of lime-wood”). Xenarchus in *The Soldier* (fr. 13):

Because the boy had
a garland of lime-wood (*philura*) with no leaves
around his head.

Certain garlands are known as *heliktoi* (“twisted”), as in Alexandria even today. The tragic poet Chaeremon refers to them in *Dionysus* (*TrGF* 71 F 7), in the following passage:

triple coils of *heliktoi* garlands, with ivy
and narcissus round about.

Hellanicus in his *History of Egypt* (*FGrH* 4 F 54) writes as follows on the subject of the ever-flowering garlands in

¹⁰⁹ Most likely another fragment of *Female Garland-Vendors* (cf. 15.679b–c), like fr. 104 below.

- ἐπιποταμίη, Τίνδιον ὄνομα αὐτῆ, θεῶν ὀμήγουρις, καὶ
 ἱερὸν μέγα καὶ ἀγνὸν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει λίθινον καὶ
 θύρετρα λίθινα. ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἄκανθαι πεφύκασι ||
 680 λευκαὶ καὶ μέλαιναί. ἐπ' αὐτῆσι στέφανοι ἐπιβέβλην-
 ται ἄνω τῆς ἀκάνθου τοῦ ἄνθεος καὶ ροιῆς³⁵ καὶ
 ἀμπέλου πεπλεγμένοι. καὶ οὗτοι αἰεὶ ἀνθέουσι· τοὺς³⁶
 ἀπέθεντο οἱ θεοὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πυθόμενοι βασιλεύειν
 τὸν Βάβυν, ὃς ἐστὶ Τυφών. Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 τῶν Κατ' Αἴγυπτον περὶ Ἄβυδου πόλιν τὰς ἀκάνθας
 ταύτας εἶναί φησιν γράφων οὕτως· ἔχει δὲ ὁ κάτω
 τόπος καὶ ἄκανθάν τινα δένδρον, ὃ τὸν καρπὸν φέρει
 στρογγύλον ἐπὶ τιῶν κλωνίων περιφερῶν. ἀνθεὶ δ' |
 b οὗτος ὅταν ὦρα ᾗ, καὶ ἐστὶ τῷ χρώματι τὸ ἄνθος < . . . >
 καὶ εὐφεγγές. λέγεται δὲ τις μῦθος ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
 ὅτι οἱ Αἰθίοπες στελλόμενοι εἰς Τροίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Τιθωνοῦ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸν Μέμνονα τετελευτηκέναι,
 ἐν τούτῳ < τῷ >³⁷ τόπῳ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνέβαλον ἐπὶ
 τὰς ἀκάνθας. ἐστὶ δὲ παραπλήσια τὰ κλωνία
 στεφάνοις, ἐφ' ὧν τὸ ἄνθος φύεται. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος
 Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι, ἰδι-
 ώτην ὄντα καὶ τῶν τυχόντων κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον βίον,
 διὰ στεφάνου δωρεάν, ὃν ἔπεμψεν ἀνθέων πλεξάμενος |
 c τῇ ὥρᾳ περικαλλεστάτων γενέθλια ἐπιτελοῦντι Πα-
 τάρμιδι τῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τότε βασιλεύοντι. τοῦτον
 γὰρ ἠσθέντα τῷ κάλλει τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

³⁵ ροιῆς ἄνθος A: ἄνθος del. Meineke
 νους A: στεφάνους del. Kaibel

³⁶ τοὺς στεφά-

³⁷ add. edd.

Egypt: There is a city on the river-bank, known as Tindion; the gods gather in this spot, and there is a large, holy temple made of stone, as well as a set of stone gateways, in the center of the city. White and black thorn-trees grow inside the temple. Garlands woven out of acanthus-, pomegranate-, and grape-flowers have been set on top of them. These plants are always in bloom; the gods deposited them in Egypt when they heard that Babys—that is, Typhon—was king.¹¹⁰ Demetrius in his *On the Sights in Egypt* (*FHG* iv.383) reports that these thorn-trees are found around the city of Abydus. He writes as follows: The region below this features a type of thorn-tree that produces a round fruit on some of its branches, which are curved. This tree flowers in the spring; its flowers are colored . . . and are shiny. The Egyptians tell a story, to the effect that when the Ethiopians who were sent to Troy by Tithonus heard that Memnon was dead,¹¹¹ they threw their garlands up into the thorn-trees in that spot. The twigs on which the flowers appear resemble garlands. The *Hellanicus* (*FGrH* 4 F 55) referred to above (also claims) that Amasis, who was originally an ordinary private citizen, got the throne as a result of the gift of a garland, which he wove out of the most beautiful flowers of the season and sent to Patarmis, who was the king of Egypt at that time and was celebrating his birthday. Patarmis was delighted at how beautiful the garland was, and he invited Amasis to dinner; afterward he

¹¹⁰ For the gods' flight to Egypt, cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.6.3. *Plu. Mor.* 371b-c gives Typhon's alternative (Egyptian) name as *Bebôn*.

¹¹¹ Memnon was the son of Tithonus and Eos ("Dawn") and was killed by Achilleus.

καλέσαι τὸν Ἄμασιν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν φίλων ἕνα αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἐκπέμψαι ποτὲ καὶ στρατηγόν, Αἰγυπτίων αὐτῷ πολεμούντων ὑφ' ὧν διὰ τὸ τοῦ Πατάρμιδος μῖσος ἀποφανθῆναι βασιλέα.

Συνθηματιαῖοι στέφανοι ἠργολαβημένοι καὶ ἐκδόσιμοι. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεοδοφοριαζούσαις·

πλέξαι στεφάνους συνθηματιαίους εἵκοσιν. |

- d Χορωνόν. Ἀπίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς Διαλέκτου φησὶν τὸν στέφανον πάλαι χορωνὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς χορευτὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, αὐτούς τε περικειμένους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀγωνιζομένους, καθὼς ἐν τοῖς Σιμωνίδου Ἐπιγράμμασιν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οὕτως καλουμένον·

Φοῖβον, ὃς ἀγείται <τοῖς> Τυνδαρίδῃσιν αἰοιδᾶς,
ἀμέτεροι τέττιγες ἐπεστέψαντο χορωνῶ.

- Ἀκίνινοι. στέφανοί τινες καλοῦνται οὕτως οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκίνου τοῦ φυτοῦ πλεκόμενοι, ὡς φησιν Ἄνδρων ὁ ἰατρός. παρέθετο δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν λέξιν Παρθένιος ὁ τοῦ
e Διονυσίου ἐν τῷ | πρώτῳ τῶν Παρὰ τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Λέξεων.

Στεφανωματικὰ δὲ ἄνθη καταλέγει Θεόφραστος

¹¹² Amasis became pharaoh c.570 BCE. The king before him (more often called Aprius or Apriês) was overthrown in a popular revolt that followed a disastrous expedition against Cyrene; cf. 13.560e.

made him a member of his inner circle, and sent him off at one point as a general, when the Egyptians were attempting to revolt from him. Because they hated Patarmis, they made Amasis king.¹¹²

Bespoke garlands: those that have been contracted for or farmed out. Aristophanes in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria* (458):

to weave 20 bespoke garlands.

Chorônon. Apion in his *On the Roman Dialect* (FGrH 616 F 25)¹¹³ reports that garlands were referred to in the past as *chorôna* because the dancers (*choreutai*) in the theaters used them, not only wearing them on their heads but competing for the victory garland. The term can be found used this way in Simonides' *Epigrams* (fr. 176 Bergk):

Our cicadas¹¹⁴ garlanded Phoebus, who leads
the sons of Tyndareus in song, with a *chorônon*.

Akininoi. Certain garlands woven from the *akinos* plant were referred to this way, according to the physician Andron;¹¹⁵ Dionysius' student Parthenius cited this statement by him in Book I of his *Vocabulary in the Historians*.

Theophrastus¹¹⁶ lists the following flowers used to

¹¹³ Presumably discussing the Latin word *corona*. For Latin understood to be a dialect of Greek, see 14.632a n.

¹¹⁴ Also used of Spartan choruses in Pratin. *PMG* 709 (quoted at 14.633a). Tyndareus was a mythical early king of Sparta and was also the father of Helen, Clytemestra, and the Dioscuri.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps to be identified with the equally obscure medical writer Andreas mentioned at 15.675c-d.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *HP* 6.6.11 (a list of flowers grown from seed).

τάδε Ἴον, Διὸς ἄνθος, ἴφυον, φλόγα, ἡμεροκαλλές.
 πρῶτόν τε τῶν ἀνθέων ἐκφαίνεσθαι φησιν τὸ λευ-
 κόιον, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ φλόγινον καλούμενον τὸ
 ἄγριον, ἔπειτα νάρκισσον καὶ λείριον καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων
 ἀνεμώνης γένος τὸ καλούμενον ὄρειον καὶ τὸ τοῦ
 βολβοῦ κώδουν· συμπλέκουσι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔνιοι εἰς
 τοὺς στεφάνους. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦ τε οἰνάνθη καὶ τὸ μέλαν
 Ἴον καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ὃ τε ἐλίχρυσος καὶ τῆς ἀνεμώνης ἢ
 λειμωνία καλουμένη καὶ ξίφιον καὶ ὑάκινθος. τὸ δὲ
 ῥόδον ὕστερέϊ τούτων καὶ τελευταῖον μὲν φαίνεται, |
 f πρῶτον δὲ παύεται. τὰ δὲ θερινὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ τε λυχνὶς
 καὶ τὸ Διὸς ἄνθος καὶ τὸ κρίνον καὶ τὸ ἴφυον καὶ
 ἀμάρακος <ὁ>³⁸ Φρύγιος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ πόθος καλούμενος.
 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐνάτῃ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστός φησιν· ἐάν τις τοῦ
 ἐλίχρυσου τῷ ἄνθει στεφανῶται, εὐκλειαν ἴσχει μύρῳ
 ῥαίνων. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ἀλκμᾶν ἐν τούτοις· ||

681 καὶ τὴν εὐχομαι φέροισα
 τόνδ' ἐλίχρυσω πυλεῶνα
 κῆρατῷ κυπαίρω.

καὶ Ἴβυκος·

μύρτα τε καὶ ἴα καὶ ἐλίχρυσος,
 μᾶλά τε καὶ ῥόδα καὶ τέρεινα δάφνα.

³⁸ add. Kaibel ex Theophrasto; cf. 15.679d

¹¹⁷ Abbreviated and adapted, but nonetheless representing a better version of the text than is preserved elsewhere. The final section is quoted also at 15.679d.

BOOK XV

produce garlands: violet, carnation, spike-lavender, wallflower, and daylily. The first flower to appear, he claims (*HP* 6.8.1-3),¹¹⁷ is the gillyflower; what is known as wild wallflower comes out at the same time, followed by pheasant's eye and polyanthus narcissus, and among the wildflowers by the type of anemone known as mountain-anemone, and the upper portion of the purse-tassel hyacinth; for some people weave this as well into their garlands. After these come dropwort, black violet, and among the wildflowers gold-flower, what is known as meadow-anemone, corn-flag, and hyacinth. The rose appears later than all of these, and is both the last flower to appear and the first to cease blooming. Those that are instead summer flowers include rose campion, carnation, lily, spike-lavender, and Phrygian marjoram, as well as what is known as *pothos*. In Book IX (19.3)¹¹⁸ the same Theophrastus says: If someone wears a garland made of gold-flower blossoms, he gets a good reputation if he sprinkles it with perfume. Alcman mentions the flower in the following passage (*PMG* 60):

And I pray to you, as I offer
this *puleôn*¹¹⁹ made of gold-flower
and lovely *kupairos*.

Also Ibycus (*PMG* 315):

myrtle and violets and gold-flower,
and apples and roses and delicate laurel.

¹¹⁸ Heavily adapted.

¹¹⁹ See 15.678a-b; Alcman was from Sparta. The speaker is female and is thus presumably a member of one of Alcman's choruses of young women.

Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς φησιν·

ἐρπύλλω, κρόκοις, ὑακίνθοις, ἐλιχρύσου κλάδοις.

ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἄνθος ὁμοιον λωτῷ. Θεμισταγόρας δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Χρυσῇ Βύβλῳ ἀπὸ ἰ
 b τῆς πρώτης δρεψαμένης νύμφης Ἐλιχρύσης ὄνομα τὸ
 ἄνθος ὀνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ κρίνα φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος
 εἶναι καὶ πορφυρανθῆ.

Φιλῖνος δὲ τὸ κρίνον ὑφ' ὧν μὲν λείριον, ὑφ' ὧν δὲ
 ἶον καλεῖσθαι. Κορίνθιοι δ' αὐτὸ ἀμβροσίαν καλοῦ-
 σιν, ὡς φησι Νίκανδρος ἐν Γλώσσαις.

Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θανασίμων Φαρμάκων,
 ἀμάρακον, φησὶν, ὃν σάμψουχόν τινες καλοῦσιν.

Κοσμοσανδάλων δὲ μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλ-
 θακοῖς διὰ τούτων·

κεφαλὴν ἀνθέμοις ἐρέπτομαι·

λειρίοις, ῥόδοις, κρίνεσιν, κοσμοσανδάλοις. ἰ

c Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Βίων, ὄρα, φησὶν, τοὺς τὸ
 κοσμοσαντάλον ἀνείροντας Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τὸν
 παλαιότατον τῆς πολιτικῆς κόσμον συμπατήσαντες
 ἐξετραχηλίσθησαν. διόπερ καλῶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἴρηκεν
 ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαριστῇ·

¹²⁰ Quoted at greater length at 15.685b-c; cf. 15.681b, e, 685f.

¹²¹ Cf. Nic. fr. 74.27-8 Schneider (quoted at 15.683d).

¹²² Cf. 15.676d-e with n.

BOOK XV

And Cratinus says in *Soft Men* (fr. 105.4):¹²⁰

with tufted thyme, crocuses, hyacinths, and gold-
flower stalks.

The flower resembles a *lôtos*. Themistagoras of Ephesus in his work entitled *The Golden Book* (fr. 2, *FHG* iv.512) (claims) that the flower got its name from Helichrusê, who was the first nymph to pick it. Theophrastus (cf. *HP* 6.6.3) reports that lilies have purple flowers.

Philius claims that some authorities refer to a lily as a *leirion*, others as an *ion*. The Corinthians refer to it as an *ambrosia*, according to Nicander in his *Glossary* (fr. 126 Schneider).¹²¹

Diocles says in his *On Deadly Drugs* (fr. 206a van der Eijk): marjoram, referred to by some authorities as *samp-souchos*.¹²²

Cratinus in *Soft Men* (fr. 105.1–2)¹²³ mentions *kosmosandala* in the following passage:

I crown my head with flowers:
with polyanthus narcissus, roses, lilies, *kosmosandala*.

Clearchus says in Book II of the *Lives* (fr. 39 Wehrli): Look at the Spartans, who make garlands of *kosmosandalon*, and who trampled on¹²⁴ their most ancient political arrangements (*kosmos*) and were wrecked. This is why the comic poet Antiphanes in *The Cithara-Player* (fr. 115) was right to say about them:

¹²³ Quoted at greater length at 15.685b–c; cf. 15.681a, e, 685f.

¹²⁴ As if the second element in the flower's name was *sandalon* ("sandal").

οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπόρθητοί ποτε;
 νῦν δ' ὀμηρέουσο' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς
 κεκρυφάλους.

- Ἰκέσιος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ὑλης τὸ λευκόιον φησι
 μεσότητά τινα ἔχειν ἐν τῷ στύφειν, πολὺ δ' ἀρίστην |
 d εὐωδίαν καὶ δυναμένην τέρπειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀλίγιστον.
 τὸ δὲ μέλαν, φησί, τὴν μὲν αὐτὴν θεωρίαν ἔχει, εὐῶδες
 δ' ἐστὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Θηρίων φησί· χαμαίπιτυν, οἱ δὲ ὀλόκυρον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθή-
 νησιν ἰωνίαν, οἱ δὲ κατ' Εὐβοίαν σιδηρίτιν. Νίκαν-
 δρος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν (τὰ δὲ ἔπη ὀλίγον
 ὕστερον παραθήσομαι, ὅταν περὶ πάντων τῶν στεφα-
 νωματικῶν ἀνθῶν διεξέρχωμαι), τὸ ἶον, φησίν, Ἰωνι-
 ἀδες τινὲς νύμφαι Ἰωνι ἐχαρίσαντο πρώτῳ. τὸν δὲ
 e νάρκισσον ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ Περὶ | Φυτῶν Ἰστορίας ὁ
 Θεόφραστος καλεῖσθαι φησι καὶ λείριον. εἶθ' ὑποβὰς
 ὡς διαλλάσσοντα τίθησιν νάρκισσον καὶ λείριον.
 Εὐμαχος δ' ὁ Κορκυραῖος ἐν Ῥιζοτομικῷ καὶ ἀκακαλ-
 λίδα φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν νάρκισσον καὶ κρόταλον.
 τοῦ δὲ ἡμεροκαλλοῦς καλουμένου ἀνθους, ὃ τὴν μὲν
 νύκτα μαραίνεται, ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι θάλ-
 λει, μνημονεῖει Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς λέγων οὕτως·
 < . . . > ἡμεροκαλλεῖ τε τῷ φιλουμένῳ.

¹²⁵ Sc. as a sign of their addiction to luxury (and thus, presum-
 ably, of an unwillingness or inability to continue to live in their tra-
 ditionally harsh, militaristic style).

Didn't the Spartans brag at one point that their land
 was never ravaged?
 But nowadays they wear purple head-scarves¹²⁵ and
 give hostages.

Hicesius in Book II of *On Raw Materials* claims that gillyflower is moderately astringent but has far and away the best fragrance, which is quite pleasant, although only for a very short time. The black variety, he says, looks identical but smells much better. Apollodorus says in his *On Wild Animals: chamaipitus*,¹²⁶ which some people call *holokuros*, although the Athenians call it *iônia* and the Euboeans call it *sidêritis*. Nicander in Book II of the *Georgics*—I will cite the verses a little later, after I complete my account of all the flowers used to make garlands—says: Certain Ioniad nymphs gave the violet (*ion*) to Ion first.¹²⁷ Theophrastus in Book VI (6.9) of *Research on Plants* reports that the narcissus is also referred to as a *leirion*,¹²⁸ but then later on (*HP* 6.8.1) he refers to the narcissus and the *leirion* as different plants. Eumachus of Corcyra in *The Art of Root-Gathering* reports that the narcissus is also referred to as an *akakallis* or *krotalos*. The flower of the so-called daylily, which closes at night but opens up when the sun rises, is mentioned by Cratinus in *Soft Men* (fr. 105.5),¹²⁹ where he says the following:

and with the beloved daylily.

¹²⁶ Literally "ground-pine."

¹²⁷ A rough prose summary of Nic. fr. 74.4 Schneider, quoted at 15.683a.

¹²⁸ Normally "lily"; cf. 15.681b.

¹²⁹ Quoted at greater length at 15.685b–c; cf. 15.681a, b, 685f.

τῆς δ' ἐρπύλλου, φησὶ Θεόφραστος, τὴν ἄγριον κομί-
 f ζοντες | ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν φυτεύουσιν ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ
 Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ τοῦ Ὑμηττοῦ. παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ὄρη πλήρη
 ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄνθους, καθάπερ ἐν Θράκῃ. Φιλῖνος δὲ φησιν
 αὐτὴν ζυγίδα καλεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῆς λυχνίδος λέγων
 Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῷ Ῥιζοτομικῷ φησιν ἀναφύ-
 ναι αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀφροδίτης λουτρῶν, ὅτε Ἡφαίστω
 συγκοιμηθεῖσα ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐλούσατο· εἶναι δ' ἀρί-
 στην ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ Δήμῳ, ἔτι δὲ Στρογγύλῃ καὶ
 Ἐρυκί καὶ Κυθήροις. ἢ δ' ἴρις, φησὶ Θεόφραστος,
 ἀνθεὶ τοῦ θέρουσ μόνη τε τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν ἀνθέων
 682 εὖσομος ἐστίν. ἀρίστη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς || τοῖς
 ἀνωκισμένοις τῆς θαλάσσης. Φιλῖνος δὲ φησι τὰ
 ἄνθη τῆς ἴριδος λέγεσθαι λύκους διὰ τὸ ἐμφορῆ εἶναι
 λύκου χεῖλεσι. Νικόλαος δ' ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ
 ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν περὶ τὰς Ἄλ-
 πεις λίμνην τινὰ φησιν εἶναι πολλῶν σταδίων οὖσαν,
 ἧς περὶ τὸν κύκλον πεφυκέναι δι' ἔτους ἄνθη ἡδιστα
 καὶ εὐχρούστατα, ὅμοια ταῖς καλουμέναις καλχαῖς.
 τῶν δὲ καλχῶν μέμνηται καὶ Ἀλκμὰν ἐν τούτοις·

χρῦσιον ὄρμον ἔχων ραδιῶν πετάλοισι καλχᾶν. |

b μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀγρωστίνῳ.

¹³⁰ As a blacksmith, Hephaestus was covered with soot; cf. Macho 349–75 Gow (quoted at 13.581c–f).

¹³¹ Cyprus, Eryx, and Cythera were major sites of Aphrodite worship, and Strongule and Lemnos were closely associated with Hephaestus.

BOOK XV

According to Theophrastus (*HP* 6.7.2), people gather wild thyme in the mountains and plant it in Sicyon, as they also do in Athens, where they get it from Mt. Hymettus. Elsewhere as well the mountains are full of the flower, as for example in Thrace. Philinus reports that wild thyme is also referred to as *zugis*. In his discussion of rose-campion in his *Art of Root-Gathering*, Amerias of Macedon (p. 5 Hoffmann) claims that it grows in the places where Aphrodite bathed, when she washed herself after sleeping with Hephaestus;¹³⁰ it is best in Cyprus and Lemnos, as well as in Strongyle, Eryx, and Cythera.¹³¹ According to Theophrastus (*HP* 6.8.3; 9.7.3), the iris flowers in the summer and is the only European flower with a good fragrance;¹³² it is best in the parts of Illyria that are far from the coast. Philinus claims that iris-flowers are referred to as *lukoi*¹³³ because they resemble a wolf's lips. Nicolaus of Damascus in Book CVIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 90 F 76) reports the existence of a lake near the Alps that is several miles¹³⁴ across, and says that lovely, beautifully-colored flowers, which resemble what are known as *kalchai*, grow along its edge all year long. Alcman (*PMG* 91) too mentions *kalchai* in the following passage:

holding a golden chain made of the petals of soft
kalchai.

Epicharmus also refers to them in *The Rustic* (fr. 2).

¹³² I.e. good enough to be used to produce perfume.

¹³³ Literally "wolves."

¹³⁴ Literally "many stades," a stade being roughly 200 yards.

Τῶν δὲ ῥόδων ῥόδων, φησὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ,

 πολλαί εἰσι διαφοραί. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλείεστα αὐτῶν³⁹

 πεντάφυλλα, τὰ δὲ δωδεκάφυλλα, ἕνια δ' ἐστὶ καὶ

 ἑκατοντάφυλλα περὶ Φιλίππους. λαμβάνοντες γὰρ ἐκ

 τοῦ Παγγαίου φυτεύουσιν ἐκεῖ γὰρ γίγνεται πολλά.

 μικρὰ δὲ σφόδρα τὰ ἐντὸς φύλλα· ἢ γὰρ ἔκφυσις

 αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥστ' εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἐντός, τὰ δὲ

 ἐκτός· οὐκ εὖοσμα δὲ οὐδὲ μεγάλα τοῖς μεγέθεσιν. τὰ

 c δὲ πεντάφυλλα εὐώδη μᾶλλον ὢν τραχὺ τὸ | κάτω.

 εὖοσμώτατα δὲ τὰ ἐν Κυρήνη, διὸ καὶ τὸ μύρον ἦδι-

 στον. καὶ τῶν ἴων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθέων ἄκρατοι

 μάλιστα καὶ θείαι αἱ ὀσμαί· διαφερόντως δὲ ἢ τοῦ

 κρόκου. Τιμαχίδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Δείπνοις τὸ ῥόδον φησὶ

 τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καλεῖν εὖομφον⁴⁰ ἀντὶ τοῦ εὖοσμον.

 Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ Παρθικῶν ἀνθος τι ἀνα-

 γράφει καλούμενον φιλάδελφον κατὰ τὴν Παρθικὴν

 χώραν, περὶ οὗ τάδε φησὶν· καὶ μυρσίνης γένη ποι-

 κίλα μιλᾶξ τε καὶ τὸ καλούμενον φιλάδελφον, ὃ τὴν

 d ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβε τῇ φύσει | πρόσφορον· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ

 ἐκ διαστήματος αὐτομάτως κράδαι συμπέσωσι, ἐμφύ-

 χων περιπλοκὴν ἐν τῷ < . . . > μένουσιν ἠνωμένοι

 < καὶ >⁴¹ καθάπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης μιᾶς⁴² τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνατρέ-

³⁹ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν A: corr. Kaibel ex Theophrasto

⁴⁰ εὖομφον Nauck: εὐόμφαλον ACE

⁴¹ add. Kaibel

⁴² μιᾶς καὶ ACE: καὶ del. Kaibel

According to Theophrastus in Book VI (*HP* 6.6.4–5, condensed), there are many different types of roses. The majority have five petals, but others have 12, and near Philippi there are some that have 100; people transplant them from Mt. Pangaeus, since large quantities of them grow there. The inner petals are extremely small—the way they grow is that some are on the inside, others on the outside—and they lack a strong scent and are not very large. The five-petalled varieties that have a rough lower portion are more fragrant. The varieties found in Cyrene have the best fragrance, which is why the sweetest-smelling perfume is produced there; their violets and their other flowers also have a marvellously strong scent, and the smell of their crocus is exceptional. Timachidas in his *Dinner Parties* (fr. 4 Blinkenberg = *SH* 773) claims that the Arcadians refer to roses as *euompha*¹³⁵ rather than *euosma* (“fragrant”). Apollodorus in Book IV of the *History of Parthia* (*FGrH* 779 F 1) lists a flower known as a *philadelphon*¹³⁶ that is found in Parthian territory, and says the following about it: Also numerous varieties of myrtle, including milax and what is referred to as *philadelphon*. The name of the latter reflects its growth-habit; when separate branches accidentally come into contact, an embrace of living creatures in the . . . they remain united, and thereafter they grow and produce shoots as if they were from a

¹³⁵ Cf. Hsch. ο 834 “*ompha*: an odor, (according to the) Spartans”; *euompha* is attested elsewhere only at Hsch. ε 7045 (perhaps incomplete) “*euompha*: names.” The manuscripts of Athenaeus, however, have *euomphalon* (“with a good navel,” i.e. “a substantial hip”?), which may be right.

¹³⁶ Literally “brother-loving.”

χουσιν καὶ ζωοφυτοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἡμέροις φυλακὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζουσιν· ἀφαιροῦντες γὰρ τῶν ῥάβδων τὰς λεπτοτάτας καὶ διαπλέξαντες⁴³ δικτύου τρόπῳ φυτεύουσιν κύκλῳ τῶν κηπευμάτων, καὶ ταῦτα συμπλεκόμενα περιβόλου παρέχεται δυσπάρουσαν ἀσφάλειαν.

- e Ἀνθῶν δὲ στεφανωτικῶν μέμνηται | ὁ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια Ἔπη πεποικῶς Ἠγησίας ἢ Στασίνοιο· Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ Κυπρία Ἀλικαρνασσέως αὐτὰ⁴⁴ εἶναί φησι ποιήματα· λέγει δ' οὖν ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ οὕτωςί·

εἶματα μὲν χροὸ ἔστο, τά οἱ Χάριτές τε καὶ
ᾠραι

ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν,
οἷα φέρουσ' ᾠραι, ἐν τε κρόκῳ, ἐν θ' ὑακίνθῳ,
ἐν τε ἴω θαλέθοντι ῥόδου τ' ἐνὶ ἄνθει καλῷ,
ἠδέει νεκταρέῳ, ἐν τ' ἀμβροσίαις καλύκεσσιν
αἰθέσι ναρκίσσου καλλιπνόου. ᾧδ' Ἀφροδίτη
ᾠραις παντοίαις τεθνωμένα εἶματα ἔστο.

οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων χρῆσιν εἰδὼς φαίνεται δι' ὧν λέγει·

- f ἠ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη |
πλεξάμεναι στεφάνους εὐώδεας ἄνθεα ποιῆς

⁴³ διαπλέξαντες τε A: "τε del. nescio quis" Kaibel

⁴⁴ δ' αὐτὰ A: δ' del. Hecker

single root. This is why people use them to protect their domesticated plants; for they remove the thinnest shoots, weave them together as if they were making a net, and plant them around their garden-plots. Once woven together, they produce a secure border that it difficult to penetrate.

Flowers used to produce garlands are mentioned by the author of the epic poem *The Cypria* (test. 8 Bernabé), who is either Hegesias or Stasinus, although Demodamas of Halicarnassus or Miletus in his *On Halicarnassus* (FGrH 428 F 1) claims that it was composed by Cyprias of Halicarnassus.¹³⁷ Whoever the author is, he says the following in his first Book (*Cypr.* fr. 4 Bernabé):

She clothed her skin in the garments the Graces and
the Seasons
made for her and dyed with spring flowers
of the sort the changing seasons produce—with
crocus, and hyacinth,
and flourishing violet, and lovely rose-petals,
sweet as nectar, and with the bright, immortal
blossoms of fragrant narcissus. Thus Aphrodite
clothed herself in garments that bore the scent of
every season.

This poet also makes his familiarity with the use of garlands apparent by what he says (*Cypr.* fr. 5 Bernabé):

Smile-loving Aphrodite and her attendant
goddesses, wearing silky head-scarves, wove fragrant
garlands

¹³⁷ Cf. 8.334b–c with n.

ἂν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι,
 νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ἅμα δὲ χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτην,
 καλὸν αἰεῖδουσαι κατ' ὄρος πολυπιδάκου Ἰδῆς. ||

683 Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν καταλέγων καὶ
 αὐτὸς στεφανωτικὰ ἄνθη καὶ περὶ Ἰωνιάδων νυμφῶν
 καὶ περὶ ῥόδων τάδε λέγει·

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν σπείροις τε καὶ ὅσ' ὥραϊα
 φυτεύουσιν

ἄνθ' Ἰαονίηθε. γένη γε μὲν ἰάσι δισσή,
 ὠχρόν τε χρυσῶ τε φυῆν εἰς ὦπα προσεικές,
 ἄσσα τ' Ἰωνιάδες νύμφαι στέφος ἄγνον Ἰωνι
 Πισαίοις ποθέσασαι ἐνὶ κλήροισιν ὄρεξαν.
 ἦνυσε γὰρ χλούνηνδε μετεσσύμενος
 σκυλάκεσσιν, |

b Ἀλφειῶ καὶ λύθρον ἑὼν ἐπλύνατο γυίων
 ἐσπέριος, νύμφαισιν Ἰαονίδεσσι νυχεύσων.
 αὐτὰρ ἀκανθοβόλοιο ῥόδου κατατέμενο βλάστας
 τάφροις τ' ἐμπήξειας, ὅσον διπάλαιστα
 τελέσκων.

πρῶτα μὲν Ὠδονίηθε Μίδης ἅπερ Ἀσίδος ἀρχὴν
 λείπων ἐν κλήροισιν ἀνέτρεφεν Ἠμαθίοισιν
 αἰὲν ἐς ἐξήκοντα περίξ κομόωντα πετήλοισιν·

¹³⁸ Cf. 15.681d with n.

¹³⁹ For Midas' rose-gardens in Macedon, see Hdt. 8.138.2-3.

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from the meadow flowers and placed them on their heads,
nymphs and Graces, and golden Aphrodite together with them,
singing beautifully upon the slopes of Mt. Ida with its many springs.

Nicander in Book II of the *Georgics* (fr. 74 Schneider) also offers a list of flowers used to make garlands, and says the following about Ioniad nymphs and roses:

But sow the flowers that come from Ionia, and transplant those that reach full size. There are two varieties of gillyflower: one is pale and looks like gold when you see it, while the others are those the Ioniad nymphs, in their longing, offered

Ion as a sacred garland in the land of Pisa.¹³⁸

For he had pursued and taken a wild boar with his hounds,

and was washing the gore from his limbs in the Alpheus

in the evening, intending to pass the night with the Ioniad nymphs.

But cut shoots of the thorn-producing rose and plant them in furrows, digging them two palms deep.

Begin with those that Midas of Odonia, when he abandoned his Asian

throne, raised in the land of Emathia,¹³⁹

which always have a fringe of 60 petals around them.

- c δεύτερα Νισαίης Μεγαρηίδος· οὐδὲ Φάσηλις |
οὐδ' αὐτὴ Λεύκοφρυον ἀγασσαμένη ἐπιμεμφής,
Ληθαίου Μάγνητος ἐφ' ὕδασι εὐθαλέουσα.
κισσοῦ δ' ἄλλοτε κλώνας ἐυρρίζου καπέτοισι,
πολλάκι δὲ στέφος αὐτὸ κορυμβήλοιο φυτεύσαις
Θράσκιον ἢ ἀργωπὸν ἢ ἐκλαδέεσσι πλανήτην·
βλαστοδρεπῆ δ' ἐχυροῖο καὶ εἰς μίαν ὄρσοε
κόρσην
σπεῖραν ὑπὸ σπυρίδεσσι νεοπλέκτοισι καθάπτων
ὄφρα δύο κροκόωντες ἐπιζυγέοντε κόρυμβοι |
- d μέσφα συνωρίζωσιν ὑπερφιάλοιο μετώπου,
χλωροῖς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπηρεφέες πετάλοισιν.
σπέρματι μὴν κάλυκες κεφαληγόνιοι ἀντέλλουσιν,
ἀργῆεις πετάλοισι, κρόκῳ μέσα χροισθείσαι,
ἅ κρίνα, λείρια δ' ἄλλοι ἐπιφθέγγονται αἰοιδῶν,
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀμβροσίην, πολέες δέ τε χάρμ'
Ἄφροδίτης·
ἤρισε γὰρ χροιῆ· τὸ δὲ που ἐπὶ μέσσον ὄνειδος |
- e ὄπλον βρωμήταο διεκτέλλον πεφάτισται.
Ἴρις δ' ἐν ρίζησιν ἀγαλλιάς ἢ θ' ὑακίνθῳ

¹⁴⁰ On the roses in Phaselis, cf. 15.688e.

¹⁴¹ Magnesia on the Maeander, where Artemis was worshipped under the cult-title *Leucophryênê*. Lethaeus is another city in the region, into which the Maeander flows.

¹⁴² Cf. 15.681b, citing Nicander's *Glossary*.

¹⁴³ A reference to the flower's pistil, which is taken to resemble an erect donkey-penis.

BOOK XV

Second should be those from Nisaea in the Megarid;
nor does Phaselis¹⁴⁰

or the city¹⁴¹ that reveres Leucophrys deserve your
contempt,

a flourishing settlement beside the waters of
Magnesian Lethaeus.

At times plant shoots of well-rooted ivy
in trenches, or on occasion a spray of the white-
berried ivy

that grows in Thrace, or the white variety, or the one
whose tendrils wander.

Pluck them when they are young shoots, and
strengthen them by forcing them to form a single
head,

fastening the plaited ends in freshly-woven baskets
so that two saffron-colored clusters can be joined
together,

and can merge as far as their bold crown
and be covered over with pale foliage on both sides.

From seeds arise the bud-producing lily-cups,
which have white petals but whose centers are
stained with saffron;

some poets refer to them as *krina*, others as *leiria*,
yet others as *ambrosiê*,¹⁴² and many as "Aphrodite's
triumph";

for the flower is as white as her skin. But the
disgraceful object

that grows in its middle has come to be called
"donkey-equipment."¹⁴³

The dwarf iris is grown from roots, as is the variety
that resembles

αἰαστῆ προσέοικε, χελιδονίοισι δὲ τέλλει
 ἄνθεσιν ἰσοδρομεύσα χελιδόσιν, αἶ τ' ἀνὰ κόλπῳ
 φυλλάδα νηλείην ἐκχεύετον, ἀρτίγονοι δὲ
 εἶδοντ' ἠμύουσαι αἰεὶ κάλυκες στομίοισιν.
 σὺν καὶ ἄπερ τ' ὄξεια χροῆ, λυχνὶς ἠδὲ

θρυαλλίς,

οὐδὲ μὲν ἀνθεμίδων κενεῆ γηρύσεται ἀκμῆ
 οὐδὲ βοάνθεμα κείνα τά τ' αἰπύτατον κάρη ὑψοῖ,
 φλόξ τε θεοῦ αὐγῆσιν ἀνερχομένης ἰσάουσα. |

f ἔρπυλλον δὲ † φριαλευσοτεν βώλοισι †

φυτεύσεις,

ὄφρα κλάδοις μακροῖσιν ἐφερπύζων διάηται
 ἠὲ κατακρεμάησιν ἐφιμείρων ποτὰ νυμφέων.
 καὶ δ' αὐτῆς μήκωνος < . . . >

< . . . > ἄπο πλαταγώνια βάλλοις,
 ἄβρωτον κώδειαν ὄφρα κνώπεσσι φυλάξῃ·

φυλλάσιν ἦ γὰρ πάντα διοιγομένησιν ἐφίξει
 ἔρπετά, τὴν δὲ δρόσοισιν εἰσκομένην βοτέονται ||

684 κώδειαν καρποῖο μελιχροτέρου πλήθουσας.

θρίων δ' οἰχομένων ῥέα μὲν φλόγες, ἄλλοτε
 ῥιπαὶ

πῆξαν σάρκα τυπῆσι τὰ δ' οὐ βάσιν

ἐστήριξαν⁴⁵

⁴⁵ This verse is followed in A by an intrusive gloss: *θρία δ' οὐ λέγει τὰ τῆς συκῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς μήκωνος* ("by *thria* he does not mean fig-leaves, but poppy-petals").

¹⁴⁴ I.e. leaves that resemble swords.

¹⁴⁵ The sun.

BOOK XV

the mournful hyacinth, which flourishes when the
swallows appear,
and sends up swallow-colored flowers; both produce
pitiless

leaves¹⁴⁴ in their folds, and when their flowers
first emerge, they always resemble drooping lips.
So too those that have a brilliant hue, rose-campion
and plantain;

nor shall chamomile's blossoms be proclaimed
worthless,

nor the well-known ox-eyes, which lift their heads so
high,

nor the wall-flower, which rivals the beams of the
rising god.¹⁴⁵

But you shall plant tufted thyme [corrupt],
so that the breeze blows through its long stems as it
creeps forward,

or so that it may hang down, longing for the nymphs'
water.

But of the poppy itself . . .

. . . discard the petals,

in order to preserve its seed-pod undevoured by
caterpillars;

for in fact insects of all sorts settle on the foliage
as it opens, and they feed on the seed-pods, which
resemble

drops of dew, in that they are full of fruit sweeter
than honey.

When the petals vanish, the heat or at other times the
winds with their gusts

easily harden the flesh. Then these creatures find no
firm footing

† οὔτε τι παι † βρώμην ποτιδεγμένα· πολλάκι δ'
 ἴχνη
 στιφροῖς ὠλίσθηναν ἐνιχρίμψαντα καρείοις.

* * *

b ἀδρύνει δὲ βλαστὰ βαθεῖ' ἐν τεύχεϊ κόπρος |
 σαμψύχου λιβάνου τε νέας κλάδας ἤδ' ὄσα
 κῆποι
 ἀνδράσιν ἐργοπόνοις στεφάνους ἔπι
 πορσαίνουσιν.

* * *

ἦ γὰρ καὶ λεπταὶ πτερίδες καὶ παιδὸς ἔρωτες
 λεύκη ἰσαιόμενοι, ἐν καὶ κρόκος εἶαρι μύων,
 κύπρος τ' ὀσμηρόν τε σισύμβριον ὄσσα τε
 κοίλοις

c ἄσπορα ναιομένοισι τόποις ἀνεθρέψατο λειμῶν
 κάλλεα, βούφθαλμόν τε καὶ εὐῶδες Διὸς ἄνθος, |
 χάλκας, σὺν δ' ὑάκινθον ἰωνιάδας τε χαμηλὰς
 ὄρφνοτέρας, ἃς στύξε μετ' ἄνθεσι Περσεφόνεια.
 σὺν δὲ καὶ ὑψηλὴν τε πανόσμεον, ὄσσα τε τύμβοι
 φάσγανα παρθενικαῖς νεοδουπέσιν ἀμφιχέονται,
 αὐτάς τ' ἠιθέας ἀνεμωνίδες ἀστράπτουσαι
 τηλόθεν ὄξυτέρησιν ἐφελκόμεναι χροιῆσι.⁴⁶ |
 d πᾶς δέ τις ἢ ἐλένειον ἢ ἀστέρα φωτίζοντα
 δρέψας εἰνοδίοισι θεῶν παρακάββαλε σηκοῖς

⁴⁶ After this verse, A preserves the intrusive marginal comment ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφεται ἐφελκόμεναι φιλοχροιαῖς ("some copies read 'lure with love-colors'").

BOOK XV

[corrupt] as they search for food, and often their
 footsteps
 slip as they attack the solid heads.

* * *

Deep manure in the pot encourages the growth of
 shoots
 of marjoram,¹⁴⁶ of young shoots of the frankincense-
 bush, and of all the plants that gardens
 furnish to produce garlands for the men who labor in
 them.

* * *

Indeed, delicate ferns and acanthus,
 which resembles white poplar, and crocus, which
 closes in the spring,
 as well as henna and fragrant bergamot-mint and all
 the other beautiful
 unsown plants the meadows produce in hollow, well-
 watered
 spots: ox-eye, fragrant carnation,
 and chrysanthemum, along with hyacinth and dark,
 low-growing
 violets, which Persephone abhors more than any
 other flower.
 To this same group belong lofty all-scent, and the
 corn-flags that
 encircle the tombs of girls who have recently died,
 and sparkling anemones, whose brilliant colors
 lure from a distance young women still alive.
 And everyone picks calamint or gleaming
 aster, and sets it by the roadside shrines of the gods,

¹⁴⁶ *sampsuchos*; see 15.676d–e with n.

ἢ αὐτοῖς βρετάεσσιν, ὅτε πρότιστον ἴδωνται·
 πολλάκι θερμία καλά, τοτὲ χρυσαυθὲς ἀμέργων
 λείριά τε στήλησιν ἐπιφθίνοντα καμώντων
 καὶ γεραὸν πώγωνα καὶ ἐντραπέας κυκλαμίλους
 σαύρην θ' ἢ χθονίου πέφαται στέφος
 Ἑγεσιλάου.

- e ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν δῆλον γίνεται ὅτι ἕτερόν ἐστιν | τὸ
 χελιδόνιον τῆς ἀνεμώνης· τινὲς γὰρ ταῦτὸ εἶναί φασι.
 Θεόφραστος δὲ φησι· τὰς δ' ἀνθήσεις λαμβάνειν δεῖ
 συνακολουθοῦντα τοῖς ἄστροις τὸ ἡλιοτρόπιον καλού-
 μενον καὶ τὸ χελιδόνιον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἅμα τῇ χελι-
 δόνι⁴⁷ ἀνθεῖ. καὶ ἀμβροσίαν δὲ ἄνθος τι ἀναγράφει ὁ
 Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ἵπομνήμασι λέγων οὕτως·
 Νίκανδρός φησιν ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου τὴν καλουμένην ἀμβροσίαν φύεσθαι ἐν Κῶ.
 προείρηται δ' ἄνω περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ κρίνον οὕτω
 λέγουσι. Τιμαχίδας δ' ἐν τετάρτῳ Δείπνου καὶ Θῆσει-
 ὄν τι ἀναγράφει καλούμενον ἄνθος· |

- f Θῆσειόν θ' ἀπαλὸν μῆλῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἄνθος,
 Λευκερέης ἱερὸν περικαλλέος, ὃ ῥα μάλιστα
 φίλατο.

ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ φησι τοῦ ἄνθους καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀριάδνης

⁴⁷ τῇ χελιδονίᾳ Thphr.: τῷ χελιδονίᾳ Schweighäuser ("when the Swallow-wind blows")

¹⁴⁷ I.e. at the very beginning of spring.

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or beside the statues themselves, as soon as they
see it.

Often they gather lovely lupines as well, or
sometimes gold-flower
or lilies, which wither on the tombstones of the dead,
or gray-bearded salsify, or modest cyclamens,
or cress, referred to as the garland of the chthonic
Lord of Hosts.

It is apparent from these verses that a *chelidonium* is different from an anemone; for some authorities claim that they are identical. Theophrastus (*HP* 7.15.1, condensed and with a number of variant readings) says: What are referred to as *héliotropion* and *chelidonium* must depend on heavenly objects to set their flowering-times; the latter blooms when the swallow appears.¹⁴⁷ Carystius in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 6, *FHG* iv.357) records a flower known as *ambrosia*, saying the following: Nicander (fr. 127 Schneider) claims that what is known as *ambrosia* grows from the head of Alexander's statue on Cos. Mention was made above of the fact that some authorities use this term to refer to the lily.¹⁴⁸ Timachidas in Book IV of the *Dinner Party* (fr. 1 Blinkenberg = *SH* 770) records a flower known as a *Thêseion*:

and the delicate, apple-like *Thêseion*-flower,
sacred to lovely Leucereê,¹⁴⁹ which she loved
more than any other.

He also says that what is referred to as "Ariadne's garland"

¹⁴⁸ 15.681b, citing Nicander's *Glossary*.

¹⁴⁹ An unidentified female deity.

καλούμενον στέφανον πεπλέχθαι. καὶ ὁ Φερεκράτης ἢ δὲ ἢ ὁ πεποιηκὸς τὸ δράμα τοὺς Πέρσας μνημονεύων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθῶν τινῶν στεφανωτικῶν φησιν·

ὦ μαλάχας μὲν ἐξερῶν, ἀναπνέων δ' ὑάκινθον,
καὶ μελιλώτινον λαλῶν καὶ ῥόδα προσσεσηρῶς·
ὦ φιλῶν μὲν ἀμάρακον, προσκινῶν δὲ σέλινα,
γελῶν δ' ἵπποσέλινα καὶ κοσμοσάνδαλα βαίνων,
ἔγχει κάπιβρόα τρίτον παιῶν', ὡς νόμος ἐστίν.

ὁ δὲ πεποιηκὸς τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένους Μεταλλεῖς φησιν·

ὑπ' ἀναδενδράδων ἀπαλὰς ἀσπαλάθους
πατοῦντες

b ἐν λειμῶνι λωτοφόρῳ κύπειρόν ἢ τε δροσώδη
κάνθρυσκου μαλακῶν τ' ἴων λείμακα καὶ
τριφύλλου.

ἐν τούτοις ζητῶ τί τὸ τρίφυλλον· καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δημαρέτην ἀναφέρεται τι ποιημάτιον ὃ ἐπιγράφεται Τρίφυλλον. κἀν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις δὲ Ἀγαθοῖς ὁ Φερεκράτης ἢ Στράτις φησίν·

¹⁵⁰ Presumably because Ariadne was seduced and carried away from Crete by Theseus.

¹⁵¹ Athenaeus also expresses doubts about the authorship of *Persians* at 3.78d, where see n.; 11.502a.

¹⁵² According to Harpocration and Photius (*Miners* test. i and ii), doubts were expressed about the authorship of the play by the Hellenistic scholar Eratosthenes of Cyrene.

BOOK XV

is produced from this flower.¹⁵⁰ So too Pherecrates (fr. 138)—or whoever wrote the play *Persians*¹⁵¹—mentions various flowers used to produce garlands, saying:

O you whose vomit is mallows, whose breath is
hyacinth,
whose chatter is *melilôt*, and whose grins are roses;
O you whose kisses are marjoram, whose screwing is
celery,
who laughter is horse-celery, and whose walk is
kosmosandala—
pour me a drink, and sing a third paeon, as custom
demands!

The author of the *Miners* (test. iii) attributed to the same author (Pherecr. fr. 114)¹⁵² says:

treading on delicate *aspalathoi* beneath climbing
grape-vines
in a meadow full of *lôtos*, and on dewy galingale
and a field of chervil, tender violets, and *triphullion*.

I am interested in the question of what the *triphullion*¹⁵³ mentioned in this passage might be; for a short poem entitled *Triphullon* is in fact attributed to Demarete (*SH* 372). So too in the play entitled *Good Men* Pherecrates (fr. 2) or Strattis¹⁵⁴ says:

¹⁵³ Literally "three-leaf."

¹⁵⁴ Athenaeus (or his source) also expresses doubts about the play's authorship at 6.248c; 10.415c. But Pollux twice attributes it unambiguously to Pherecrates.

λουσάμενοι δὲ πρὸ λαμπρᾶς ἡμέρας
 ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ μύρῳ
 λαλεῖτε περὶ σισυμβρίων κοσμοσανδάλων τε.

καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

παντοίοις γε μὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθέμοις ἐρέπτομαι
 λειρίοις, ῥόδοις, κρίνεσιν, κοσμοσανδάλοις, |

c ἴοις,

καὶ σισυμβρίοις ἀνεμωνῶν κάλυξί τ' ἡριναῖς,
 ἐρπύλλῳ, κρόκοις, ὑακίνθοις, ἐλιχρύσον κλάδοις,
 οἰνάνθησιν, ἡμεροκαλλεῖ τε τῷ φιλουμένῳ,

† ανθρυσκισσον φόβῃ †

τῷ τ' ἀειφρούρῳ μελιλώτῳ κἀρα πυκάζομαι
 καὶ < . . . > κύτισος αὐτόματος παρὰ Μέδοντος
 ἔρχεται.

ἡ δὲ τῶν στεφάνων καὶ μύρων πρότερον εἴσοδος εἰς τὰ
 συμπόσια ἠγείτο τῆς δευτέρας τραπέζης, ὡς παρ-
 ἴστησι Νικόστρατος ἐν Ψευδοστιγματία διὰ τούτων |

d

καὶ σὺ μὲν

τὴν δευτέραν τράπεζαν εὐτρεπῆ ποιεῖ,
 κόσμησον αὐτὴν παντοδαποῖς τραγήμασιν,
 μύρον, στεφάνους, λιβανωτόν, αὐλητρίδα λαβέ.

Φιλόξενος δ' ὁ διθυραμβοποιὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ

¹⁵⁵ Scattered verses from this fragment are quoted also at 15.681a, b, e, 685f.

BOOK XV

after they take a bath, before the sun is fully up,
in the garland-market, while others of you chatter
away
in the perfume-market, surrounded by bergamot-
mint and *kosmosandala*.

Also Cratinus in *Soft Men* (fr. 105):¹⁵⁵

I crown my head with flowers of every sort:
with polyanthus narcissus, roses, lilies, *kosmosandala*,
violets,
and with bergamot-mint and springtime anemone
blossoms,
with tufted thyme, crocuses, hyacinth, gold-flower
stalks,
dropwort, and the beloved daylily,
[corrupt]
and I wrap my head close with ever-watching *melilôt*,
and tree-medick comes of its own accord from
Medon.¹⁵⁶

Garlands and perfume used to be brought into the party just before the second table, as Nicostratus establishes in *Falsely Tattooed* (fr. 27), in the following passage:

You!

Get the second table ready!
Put all kinds of snacks on it!
And get perfume, garlands, frankincense, and a pipe-
girl!

The dithyrambic poet Philoxenus in his work entitled *The*

¹⁵⁶ PAA 637005; otherwise unknown.

Δείπνῳ ἀρχὴν ποιεῖται τὸν στέφανον τῆς εὐωχίας
οὕτωςι λέγων·

κατὰ χειρὸς δ'

ἤλιθ' ὕδωρ ἀπαλὸς
παιδίσκος ἐν ἀργυρέᾳ
πρόχῳ φορέων ἐπέχευεν,
εἴτ' ἔφερε στέφανον
λεπτᾶς ἀπὸ μυρτίδος εὐ-
γνήτων κλαδέων δισύναπτον. |

e Εὐβουλος Τιτθαῖς·

ὥς γὰρ εἰσῆλθε τὰ γερόντια τότε εἰς δόμους,
εὐθὺς ἀνεκλίνετο· παρῆν στέφανος ἐν τάχει,
ἤρετο τράπεζα, παρέκειθ' ἅμα τετριμμένη
μάζα χαριτοβλέφαρος.

τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἔθος καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, ὡς Νικόστρατός
φησιν ἐν Τοκιστῇ. Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ ὑποστησάμενος τὸν
τοκιστὴν φησιν·

καταλαμβάνομεν τὸν πορνοβοσκὸν καὶ δύο
ἑτέρους κατὰ χειρὸς ἀρτίως εἰληφότας
f καὶ στέφανον. εἰέν· καλὸς ὁ καιρὸς, | Χαιρεφῶν.

BOOK XV

Dinner Party (PMG 836(a)) represents the garland as the very beginning of the feast, saying the following:

A dainty
little slaveboy fetched
a lot of water in a silver pitcher
and poured it over our hands;
then he brought a double-plaited
garland made of lush sprays
of delicate myrtle.

Eubulus in *Wet-Nurses* (fr. 111):

Because the minute the old codgers entered the
house,
they immediately lay down. A garland rapidly
appeared;
a table was fetched; and at once a kneaded barley-
cake
with a sweet expression on its face was served.

This was also standard procedure in Egypt, according to Nicostratus in *The Loan-Shark* (fr. 26). For he presents the loan-shark as an Egyptian and then says:

We found the pimp there, along with two
other guys who had just had water poured over their
hands
and got a garland. Well! Nice timing, Chaerephon!¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Presumably a reference to the notorious parasite (PAA 975770) mentioned repeatedly in late 4th-century sources; cf. 4.134e n.

σὺ δὲ γαστρίζου, Κύνουλκε· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν εἰπέ
διὰ τί Κρατῖνος εἶρηκε τὸν μελίλωτον·

τῷ τ' αἰφρούρῳ μελιλώτῳ.

ἐπεὶ δὲ σε ὀρώ ἔξοινον ἤδη γεγενημένον – οὕτως δ'
εἶρηκε τὸν μεθύσην Ἄλεξις ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένῳ – παύ-
σομαί σε ἐρεσχηλῶν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παρακελεύομαι,
κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα, ὃς ἐν Συνδείπνοις φησί ||

- 686 φορεῖτε, μασσέτω τις, ἐγχείτω βαθὺν
κρατῆρ'· ὃδ' ἀνὴρ οὐ πρὶν ἂν φάγη καλῶς
ὄμοια καὶ βοῦς ἐργάτης ἐργάζεται.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν Φλιάσιον δὲ Ἀριστίαν· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν
ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Κηρσὶν ἔφη·

σύνδειπνος ἢ ἰκίωμος ἢ μαζαγρέτας,
Ἄιδου τραπέζεύς, ἀκρατέα νηδὺν ἔχων.

- ἐπεὶ δὲ τοσοῦτων λεχθέντων μηδὲν ἀποκρίνεται, κε-
λεύω αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλέξιδος Διδύμους χυδαίους
b στεφανωθέντα στεφάνοις ἐξάγεσθαι τοῦ | συμποσίου.
τῶν δὲ χυδαίων στεφάνων μνημονεύων ὁ κωμωδιο-
ποιός φησιν·

στεφάνων τε τούτων <τῶν> χύδην πεπλεγμένων.

158 From *Soft Men*; quoted at greater length at 15.685b–c, cf. 15.681a, b, e.

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Go on stuffing your belly, Cynulcus! But afterward, tell us why Cratinus (fr. 105.7)¹⁵⁸ refers to *melilôt* as:

ever-watching *melilôt*.

Since I see, however, that you are already *exoinos*—this is how Alexis in *The Man Who Was Moving In* (fr. 64)¹⁵⁹ refers to a drunk—I will stop teasing you, and I now order the slaves, to quote Sophocles, who says in *The Dinner Guests* (fr. 563):

Fetch (what we need)! Someone ought to knead a
barley-cake and fill a deep
mixing-bowl! This guy's just like a plow-ox; he doesn't
do any work until he's had a good meal!

And to quote Aristias of Phlius; for he in fact said in his play entitled *Goddesses of Doom* (TrGF 9 F 3):

a dinner guest, a reveler, or a barley-cake-beggar;
Hades' parasite, a man with an uncontrollable
appetite.

But since he¹⁶⁰ offers no response to anything I have said, I order him to be crowned with garlands of confusion, as Alexis puts it in *Twins* (fr. 54, quoted below), and removed from the party! When he refers to garlands of confusion, the comic poet says:

and of these garlands that have been confusedly
woven.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted at 14.613c, again in connection with the question of the sense of *exoinos*.

¹⁶⁰ Cynulcus.

καὶ γὰρ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ λέγειν ἤδη παύσομαι τὸ
τῆμερον, παραχωρῶν τε τὸν περὶ τῶν μύρων λόγον
τοῖς βουλομένοις διεξέρχεσθαι τῷ τε παιδὶ προστάτ-
των ἐπὶ τῇ στεφανηφόρῳ ταύτῃ μου διαλέξει κατὰ τὸν
Ἀντιφάνους < . . . >

- c <στεφάνους> ἐνεγκεῖν δεῦρο τῶν χρηστῶν δύο |
καὶ δᾶδα χρηστὴν ἡμέμενην χρηστῷ πυρί.

οὕτω γὰρ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἔξοδον ὥσπερ δράματος
ποιήσομαι. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὥσπερ <αὐ-
τὸς>⁴⁸ αὐτοῦ σιωπὴν καταμαντευσάμενος ἀπέθανεν
εὐτυχῶς, οὐδένα καιρὸν νόσῳ παραδούς, πολλὰ δὲ
λυπήσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐταίρους.

- Περιενεγκόντων δὲ τῶν παίδων ἐν ἀλαβάστοις καὶ
ἄλλοις χρυσοῖς σκεύεσιν μύρα, <νυστάζοντα>⁴⁹ τὸν
Κύνουλκον θεασάμενός τις πολλῷ τῷ μύρῳ τὸ πρόσω-
πον ἐπέχρισεν. ὁ δὲ διεγερθεὶς καὶ μόλις ἑαυτὸν
d ἀναλαβὼν, τί τοῦτ', | εἶπεν, Ἡράκλεις; οὐ σπογγιᾶ τίς
μου παρελθὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκκαθαρίσει μεμολυ-
σμένον μαγγανείαις πολλαῖς; ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε καὶ τὸν
καλὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ποιοῦντα τὸν Σω-
κράτην τοιαυτὶ λέγοντα: “νῆ Δί, ὦ Καλλία, τελέως
ἡμᾶς ἐστιᾶς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον ἄμεμπτον παρ-
έθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκροάματα καὶ θεάματα ἧδιστα
παρέχεις.” “τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον ἐνέγκαι τις ἡμῖν, ἵνα
καὶ εὐωδία ἐστιώμεθα;” “μηδαμῶς,” ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης·

⁴⁸ add. Kaibel

⁴⁹ add. Schweighäuser

With that, I will put an end to my own remarks for today, and I yield the floor to anyone willing to offer a systematic discussion of perfumes; and I command the slave, at the conclusion of this prize-winning¹⁶¹ speech of mine, to quote Antiphanes' . . . ¹⁶² (fr. 269):

to bring two of the good garlands here,
and a good torch burning with a good flame.

For this will allow me to conclude my speech as if it were a play. And a few days later, as if he¹⁶³ himself had foreseen the silence that settled over him, he died an easy death, having wasted no time on sickness, but bringing considerable grief to those of us who were his friends.

The slaves brought perfumes around in *alabasta* and gold containers of other sorts; when someone saw Cynulcus nodding off, he smeared a large amount of perfume on his face. Cynulcus woke up, and before he had fully recovered consciousness, he said: Heracles! What is this? Someone get over here and use a sponge to clean my face, which has been defiled with a lot of dirty tricks! Or are you unaware that the noble Xenophon in his *Symposium* (2.2-4) represents Socrates as saying the following: "By Zeus, Callias, this is a perfect feast you're offering us! For not only did you serve us a meal no one could criticize, but you're providing us with wonderful music and entertainment!" "Well, what if someone were to bring us perfume, so that we could smell nice as we feasted?" "Absolutely

¹⁶¹ Literally "garland-wearing," matching the topic of the preceding discussion.

¹⁶² The title of the play has been lost.

¹⁶³ Ulpian.

- e “ὡσπερ γάρ τοι ἐσθῆς ἄλλη μὲν γυναικεία, | ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρεία,⁵⁰ οὕτω καὶ ὄσμη ἄλλη μὲν γυναικί, ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρὶ πρέπει. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν δὴ που ἔνεκεν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεὶς μύρω χρίεται. αἶ γε μὴν γυναῖκες ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν νύμφαι τύχωσιν οὔσαι, ὡσπερ ἡ Νικηράτου τε τούτου καὶ ἡ Κριτοβούλου, μύρον μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται; αὐταὶ γὰρ τούτου ὄζουσιν. ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἐν γυμνασίοις ὄσμη καὶ παροῦσα ἡδίων ἢ μύρου γυναιξίν⁵¹ καὶ ἀπούσα ποθεινότερα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ μύρω μὲν ἀλειψάμενος δούλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος εὐθὺς ἅπας ὅμοιον ὄζει· αἶ δ' | ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλευθερίων μόχθων ὄσμαι ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε πρῶτον χρηστῶν καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ δέονται, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡδέϊαί τε καὶ ἐλευθέραι ἔσεσθαι.” καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος δὲ Χρύσιππος τὴν ὀνομασίαν φησὶ λαβεῖν τὰ μύρα ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ πολλοῦ μόρου καὶ πόνου ματαίου γίνεσθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἐξελαύνουσι τῆς Σπάρτης τοὺς τὰ μύρα κατασκευάζοντας ὡς διαφθείροντας τοῦλαιον, καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἔρια δὲ βάπτοντας ὡς ἀφανίζοντας τὴν λευκότητα τῶν ἐρίων. || Σόλων τε ὁ σοφὸς διὰ τῶν νόμων κεκώλυκε τοὺς ἀνδρας μυροπωλεῖν. νῦν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ αἶ ὄσμαι μόνον, ὡς φησιν Κλέαρχος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Βίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἶ χροιαὶ τρυφερὸν ἔχουσαί τι συνεκθη-
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⁵⁰ ἀνδρεία κάλλη A: κάλλη del. Kaibel

⁵¹ γυναιξίν ἡδίων A: ἡδίω del. Kaibel

not!" said Socrates; "Just as women's clothing is different from men's, so too a woman ought to smell one way, and a man another. For no man wears perfume in order to appeal to another man. As for married women—and in particular recent brides, like the wives of Niceratus here and Critobulus—what do they need perfume for? They already smell like it! But when the fragrance of the olive oil used in the gymnasium is on your skin, it's more pleasant than perfume is on a woman; and when that fragrance is absent, it's missed more. The fact is that the minute someone puts on perfume, he smells the same, regardless of whether he's a slave or free. But if the odors derived from the exercise engaged in by free men are going to be pleasant and appropriate to a free man's status, they require, first of all, noble pursuits engaged in for an extended period of time." The remarkable Chrysippus (xviii fr. 12, SVF iii.200) as well claims that perfume (*muron*) got its name from the fact that producing it requires a great deal of hard work (*moros*) and wasted labor.¹⁶⁴ The Spartans ban perfume-makers from their country, on the ground that they corrupt the olive oil; they do the same with wool-dyers, on the ground that they ruin the whiteness of the wool. The wise Solon (fr. 73a Ruschenbusch)¹⁶⁵ too used his laws to prevent men from selling perfume. But nowadays it is not just the fragrances people use, according to Clearchus in Book III of *On Lives* (fr. 41 Wehrli), but also their complexions¹⁶⁶ whose luxurious elements help ef-

¹⁶⁴ A false etymology. For *moros* in this sense, see Hsch. μ 1681, 1683. ¹⁶⁵ Cited also at 13.612a.

¹⁶⁶ I.e., presumably, "(the substances they apply to their skin to alter) their complexions."

λύνουσι τοὺς μεταχειριζομένους. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἴεσθε τὴν ἀβρότητα χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἔχειν τι τρυφερόν; καίτοι Σαπφώ, γυνὴ μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὔσα καὶ ποιήτρια, ὁμως ἠδέσθη τὸ καλὸν τῆς ἀβρότητος ἀφελεῖν λέγουσα ὧδε·

- b ἔγω δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροσύναν, < . . . > καί μοι
τὸ λάμπρον ἔρωσ ἀελίω | καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχε,

φανερὸν ποιούσα πᾶσιν ὡς ἡ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμία τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν εἶχεν αὐτῇ· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν οἰκεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς. Παρράσιος δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος, καίπερ παρὰ μέλος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην τρυφήσας καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐλευθέριον ἐκ ραβδίων⁵² ἐλκύσας, λόγῳ γοῦν ἀντελάβετο τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐπιγραψάμενος τοῖς ἐν Λίνδῳ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ ἔργοις·

ἀβροδίατος ἀνὴρ ἀρετὴν τε σέβων τάδ' ἔγραψεν
Παρράσιος.

- c ᾧ κομψός τις, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὑπεραλγήσας | ῥυπαί-
νοντι τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀβρὸν καὶ καλόν, ἅτε φορτικῶς
μετακαλεσαμένῳ εἰς τρυφήν τὴν δοθείσαν ὑπὸ τῆς
τύχης χορηγίαν, παρέγραψε τὸ “ῥαβδοδίατος ἀνὴρ.”

⁵² ἐκ ραβδίων ἔκ τινων ποτηρίων A: ἔκ τινων ποτηρίων
del. Kaibel

¹⁶⁷ The characterization of the author of the comment as clever does not appear in the version of the anecdote preserved in Book 12 (see next n.), and the interjection may thus be designed to mark this as an addition to Clearchus' account.

BOOK XV

feminize those who employ them. Do you believe that daintiness, if divorced from virtue, contains anything resembling luxury? Yet Sappho, who was certainly a woman as well as a poetess, was nonetheless reluctant to distinguish beauty from daintiness, putting it thus (fr. 58.25-6):

But I love daintiness, . . . and in my opinion
a longing for the sun implies what is bright and
beautiful,

making it apparent to everyone that her lust for life involved the bright and beautiful; these qualities are closely associated with virtue. Although the painter Parrhasius led a life that was inappropriately more luxurious than a painter should, and used his brushes to obtain what is referred to as "the life of a free man," in conversation he laid claim to being a decent person, and he inscribed on all the works he completed on Lindos (*FGE* 279-80):

This was painted by Parrhasius, a man who led a
dainty life (*anêr habrodiaitos*) but respected
decent behavior.

Someone clever—or so it seems to me¹⁶⁷—who was quite upset with him for debasing the daintiness and beauty associated with virtue, inasmuch as he had vulgarly recruited the opportunities his good fortune had given him to the service of luxury, wrote *anêr rhabdodiatos* ("a man who lived off his paintbrush") on the side.¹⁶⁸ But since he

¹⁶⁸ The anecdote, along with a longer version of the epigram attributed to Parrhasius, is preserved also at 12.543c-d, where the connection to Clearchus is somewhat more loosely drawn.

ATHENAEUS

ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν φῆσαι τιμᾶν ἀνεκτέον.
 ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος. Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν
 Κρίσει τῷ δράματι τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην Ἑδονὴν τινα
 οὔσαν δαίμονα μύρω τε ἀλειφομένην παράγει καὶ
 κατοπτριζομένην, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Φρόνησιν οὔσαν καὶ
 d Νοῦν, ἔτι δ' Ἀρετὴν, ἐλαίῳ χρισμένην⁵³ καὶ ἰ γυμνα-
 ζομένην. τούτοις ἀπαντήσας ὁ Μασούριος ἔφη ὦ
 δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι αἱ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ
 ἡμῶν αἰσθήσεις ὀδμαῖς ἠδέϊαις παρηγοροῦνται προσ-
 ἐτι τε θεραπεύονται, καθὰ καὶ Ἄλεξις φησιν ἐν Πονή-
 ρα οὕτως·

ὑγείας μέρος

μέγιστον ὄσμας ἐγκεφάλῳ χρῆστας ποεῖν.

καὶ ὁ ἀνδρειότατος δέ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ πολεμικὸς
 ποιητῆς Ἀλκαῖος ἔφη ἰ

e καὶ δὲ χενάτω μύρον ἄδν κατ τῷ
 στήθεος ἄμμι.

καὶ ὁ σοφὸς δὲ Ἀνακρέων λέγει πον·

τί μὲν πέται

συρίγγων κοιλώτερα

στήθεα χρισάμενος μύρω;,

⁵³ χρισμένην Nauck: χρωμένην ACE

claims to honor virtue, we must nonetheless put up with him. Thus Clearchus. The poet Sophocles, on the other hand, in his play *The Judgment*¹⁶⁹ (fr. *361.I), brings Aphrodite onstage in the guise of a deity named Pleasure, putting perfume on herself and looking at herself in a mirror, but brings on Athena, who represents Insight and Intelligence, as well as Virtue, rubbing olive oil on her skin and exercising. Masurius responded to these remarks by saying: You strange man—you seem unaware that the sensations in our brains are soothed and even cared for by pleasant smells, precisely as Alexis says in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 195.2–3),¹⁷⁰ putting it as follows:

producing smells
the brain likes is the most significant contribution to
good health.

So too the extremely courageous, as well as warlike poet Alcaeus (fr. 362.3–4)¹⁷¹ said:

and let delicious perfume be poured down over
our chest.

The wise Anacreon (*PMG* 363) as well says somewhere:

Why are you excited,
after anointing your chest, which is hollower
than a Pan-pipe, with perfume?

¹⁶⁹ Sc. of *Paris*, hence the presence of Aphrodite and Athena (and doubtless Hera as well).

¹⁷⁰ Quoted at slightly greater length at 2.46a.

¹⁷¹ Two other verses seemingly from the same fragment are quoted at 15.674c–d (where note also an observation about the chest, the heart, and perfume very similar to the one below).

τὰ στήθη παρακελευόμενος μυροῦν, ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἡ καρδία, ὡς καὶ ταύτης δηλονότι παρηγορουμένης τοῖς εὐώδεσι. τοῦτο δ' ἔπρασσον οὐ μόνον τῆς εὐωδίας ἀπὸ τοῦ στήθους κατὰ φύσιν ἀναφερομένης ἐπὶ τὴν ὄσφρηριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ νομίζειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν καθιδρῦσθαι, ὡς Πραξαγόρας καὶ Φυλότιμος
 f οἱ ἱατροὶ παραδεδώκασιν. | καὶ Ὅμηρος δέ φησιν·

στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μῦθω.

καί·

< . . . > κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει.

καί·

Ἔκτορι δ'⁵⁴ αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασσε.

ὁ δὲ καὶ σημεῖον φέρουσι τοῦ τὸ κυριώτερον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γινομένας ἀγωνίας πάλλεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν ἐπιδηλό-
 688 τата συμβαίνει. || καὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων δέ φησιν ὁ Ὀμηρικός·

αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἕξω στηθέων ἐκθρόσκει, τρομέει δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα.

καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τὰς ἀπολελυμένας τοῦ φόβου πεποίηκε λεγούσας·

⁵⁴ The traditional text of Homer has Ἔκτορί τ'.

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thus encouraging us to pour perfume on our chests, which contains our heart, as if our heart as well were, obviously, soothed by fragrant substances. They used to do this not only because the fragrance naturally moves upward from the chest to where the sense is perceived,¹⁷² but also because they believed that the soul was located in the heart, as the physicians Praxagoras (fr. 30 Steckerl) and Phylotimus teach. Homer as well says (*Od.* 20.17):

He struck his chest and rebuked his heart with a word.

And (*Od.* 20.13):

His heart within him was barking.

And (*Il.* 7.216):

Hector's heart was pounding inside his chest.

They treat this as evidence that the most important part of the soul is located there; for the fact is that the heart's beating becomes most pronounced when we suffer the agony associated with terror. So too the Homeric Agamemnon says (*Il.* 10.93-5):

Because I am terribly afraid for the Danaans, and my heart does not stay in its place, but is in anguish; it leaps out of my chest, and my glorious limbs tremble beneath me.

Sophocles (fr. 766) as well represents women who have been released from fear as saying:

¹⁷² I.e. the nose.

θυμῷ δ' οὔτις φαιδρὰ χορεύει
 τάρβους θυγάτηρ.

Ἄναξανδρίδης δὲ τὸν ἀγωνιῶντα παράγει λέγοντα: |

b ὦ ποιηρὰ καρδία,
 ἐπιχαιρέκακον ὡς εἶ μόνον τοῦ σώματος·
 ὀρχεῖ γὰρ εὐθύς, ἄν <μ' > ἴδης δεδοικότα.

Πλάτων δέ φησι τὸν τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸν καὶ τὴν
 τοῦ πλευμόνος αὐτῇ φύσιν περιθεῖναι, πρῶτον μὲν
 μαλακὴν καὶ ἄναιμον, εἶτα σήραγγας ἔχουσαν οἶον
 σπόγγου κατατετρημένας, ἵν' ἐν τῇ τῶν δεινῶν προσ-
 δοκίᾳ πολλάκις ἀλλομένη τὸν παλμὸν εἰς ὑπέικον καὶ
 μαλακὸν ποιῆται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς
 c περικειμένους τῷ στήθει ὑποθυμιάδας | οἱ ποιηταὶ
 κεκλήκασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθῶν ἀναθυμιάσεως, οὐκ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν θυμὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὡς τινες ἀξιού-
 σιν. τῷ δὲ τοῦ μύρον ὀνόματι πρῶτος Ἀρχίλοχος
 κέχρηται λέγων·

οὐκ ἄν μύροισι γρηῦς ἐοῦσ' ἠλείφεο.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δ' ἔφη·

ἔσμυριχμένας κόμην
 καὶ στήθος, ὡς ἄν καὶ γέρων ἠράσσατο.

μύρρα γὰρ ἢ σμύρνα παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολ-

173 Cf. 15.674c-d, citing Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon.

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No brilliant daughter of terror
dances in our chest.

Anaxandrides (fr. 60) brings a worried man onstage saying:

Miserable heart—
you're the only part of my body that's happy when
there's trouble!

Because you immediately start dancing, if you see I'm
frightened.

Plato (*Ti.* 70c) claims that the creator of the universe wrapped the heart in the structure consisting of the lungs, which is first of all soft and bloodless, and also contains pores that run through it, as if it were a sponge, so that when the heart leaps in anticipation of terrible events, as it often does, it can collide with something yielding and soft. The poets, moreover, refer to the garlands we wrap around our chests as *hupothumides*¹⁷³ because of the exhalation (*anathumiasis*) of vapors from the flowers, rather than from the fact that the soul is referred to as the *thumos*, as some authorities argue. Archilochus (fr. 205 West²) was the first to use the word *muron* ("perfume"), when he said:

Since you're an old woman, you wouldn't be putting
perfumes (*mura*) on yourself.

He also said elsewhere (fr. 48.5–6 West²):

her hair and chest
covered with perfume (*esmarichmenai*), so that even
an old man would have fallen in love with her.

The Aeolians refer to *smurna* ("myrrh") as *murra*, since

λὰ τῶν μύρων διὰ σμύρνης ἐσκευάζετο καὶ ἡ γε
στακτὴ καλουμένη διὰ μόνης ταύτης. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος
d τὴν μὲν χρῆσιν οἶδε τῶν μύρων, ἔλαιον δ' αὐτὰ | καλεῖ
μετ' ἐπιθέτου·

< . . . > ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρίεν ἐλαίω.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ λέγει τι τεθνωμένον. καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη
δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸν Ἔκτορος νεκρὸν ῥοδόεντι ἔχριεν
ἐλαίω ἀμβροσίω· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ ἀνθέων. περὶ δὲ τοῦ
ἐκ τῶν ἀρωμάτων σκευαζομένου, ἃ δὴ θνώματα ἐκά-
λουν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρας λέγει·

ἀμβροσίη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς ἱμερόεντος
λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν, ἀλείφατο δὲ χροά
λευκὸν⁵⁵

ἀμβροσίω ἐανῶ,⁵⁶ τό ρά οἱ τεθνωμένον ἦεν· |
e τοῦ καὶ † κινυμένοιο † Διὸς ποτὶ⁵⁷ χαλκοβατῆς
δῶ

ἔμπης ἐς γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' αὐτμή.

γίνεται δὲ μύρα κάλλιστα κατὰ τόπους, ὡς Ἀπολ-
λώνιος φησιν ὁ Ἡροφίλειος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μύρων γρά-
φων οὕτως· ἴρις μὲν ἐν Ἥλιδι χρηστοτάτη καὶ ἐν
Κυζίκῳ· ῥόδιον δὲ κράτιστον ἐν Φασήλιδι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ
Νέας δὲ πόλεως καὶ Καπύης· κρόκινον δ' ἐν Σόλοις

⁵⁵ The traditional text of Homer has λίπ' ἐλαίω.

⁵⁶ Most witnesses have ἐδανῶ, but there is support elsewhere for Athenaeus' ἐανῶ.

⁵⁷ Better κατὰ; but Athenaeus' ποτὶ is the majority reading.

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many perfumes (*mura*) are made with myrrh and what is known as *staktê* contains nothing else. Homer is familiar with the use of perfumes, but refers to them as *elaion* ("oil") accompanied by an adjective:

She anointed (him) with rose-scented *elaion*. (*Il.*
23.186)

So too elsewhere he refers to something as "fragrant" (*Il.* 14.172, quoted below), and his Aphrodite likewise anointed Hector's corpse with rose-scented ambrosial *elaion* (cf. *Il.* 23.186-7). This variety is made from flowers; as for the type made with spices, which they referred to as *thuômata*, he says in reference to Hera (*Il.* 14.170-4):¹⁷⁴

First she used ambrosia to wipe away every stain
from her lovely skin; and she anointed her white flesh
with fine ambrosial (oil), which had been scented
(*tethuômenon*) for her,
the smell of which, when it was † shaken † in the
bronze-floored
house of Zeus, went out over earth and heaven alike.

The finest perfumes are associated with specific places, according to Herophilus' student Apollonius in his *On Perfumes* (fr. 8 von Staden), where he writes as follows:¹⁷⁵ The best iris-root is found in Elis and Cyzicus, whereas the finest rose-perfume is found in Phaselis—so too the type from Neapolis and Capua—and (the finest) saffron-per-

¹⁷⁴ The final two verses are quoted also at I. 17b (where see n.) and may be drawn from the same source-document, which argued that the Homeric lifestyle was one of considerable luxury.

¹⁷⁵ Very similar material is preserved at Plin. *Nat.* 13.5-6.

τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ· νάρδιον δὲ τὸ ἐν Τάρσῳ·
οἰνάνθη δὲ ἢ Κυπρία καὶ Ἀδραμυττηνῆ· ἀμαράκινον
Κῶον καὶ μήλινον. κύπρινον δὲ προκέκριται τὸ ἐν
f Αἰγύπτῳ, δευτερεῦον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ Κυπριακὸν | καὶ τὸ ἐν
Φοινίκη καὶ ταύτης τὸ ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος. τὸ δὲ Παναθη-
ναϊκὸν λεγόμενον ἐν Ἀθήναις· τὸ δὲ μετώπιον καὶ
Μενδήσιον κάλλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σκευάζεται· σκευ-
άζεται δὲ τὸ μετώπιον ἐξ ἐλαίου τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πικρῶν
καρῶν. οἱ δὲ χορηγοῦντες, φησί, καὶ ἡ ὕλη καὶ οἱ
τεχνῖται τὸ χρηστότατον ποιοῦσι μύρον, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ
τόποι. Ἐφεσὸς γέ τοι πρότερον, φησί, τοῖς μύροις ||
689 διέφερον καὶ μάλιστα τῶ⁵⁸ Μεγαλλείῳ, νῦν δὲ οὔ.
ἤκμαζε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ
τὴν Ἀρσινόης καὶ Βερενίκης σπουδῆν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ
ἐν Κυρήνῃ ῥόδιον χρηστότατον καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔζη
Βερενίκη ἢ μεγάλη.⁵⁹ οἰνάνθινον δὲ ἐν Ἀδραμυττίῳ
πάλαι μὲν μέτριον, ὕστερον δὲ πρῶτον διὰ Στρατο-
νίκην τὴν Εὐμένους. ἢ δὲ Συρία τὸ παλαιὸν χρηστὰ
πάντα παρείχετο, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τήλινον, νῦν δὲ οὔ. ἐν
b δὲ Περγάμῳ πρότερον μὲν | ἐξόχως, νῦν δὲ οὔ, μυρε-

⁵⁸ ἐν τῶ ACE: ἐν del. Kaibel

⁵⁹ ἢ Μάγα Schweighäuser

176 Cf. 15.690f-1a.

177 Presumably referring to Arsinoe II Philadelphus, who became the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus c.270 BCE, and Berenice I, who was the wife of Ptolemy I Soter and the mother of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II.

fume is found in Cilician Soli and Rhodes; (the finest) nard-perfume comes from Tarsus; the (finest) dropwort-perfume comes from Cyprus and Adramyttium; and (the finest) marjoram- and quince-perfumes come from Cos. Egyptian henna-perfume is considered the best, while the Cyprian and Phoenician (especially the Sidonian) varieties come in second. What is known as Panathenaic perfume (is best) in Athens, and *metôpion* and Mendesian perfumes are best when produced in Egypt. *Metôpion* is made with the oil extracted from bitter almonds. But what makes the best perfume, he claims, is the people who supply the raw materials, the materials themselves, and the workers, not the locales. In the past, in fact, he says, Ephesus produced excellent perfumes, in particular Megalleian,¹⁷⁶ but it no longer does so today. The varieties made in Alexandria were also outstanding, because of the city's wealth and because Arsinoe and Berenice¹⁷⁷ took an interest in them. In addition, excellent rose-perfume was produced in Cyrene during the period when Berenice the Great was alive.¹⁷⁸ In ancient times the dropwort-perfume produced in Adramyttium was of indifferent quality, but later it became the top variety due to Eumenes' wife Stratonice.¹⁷⁹ In the past Syria was a source of excellent perfumes of all types, and in particular fenugreek-perfume, whereas nowadays it is not. Pergamum was previously—but is no longer—an impor-

¹⁷⁶ Berenice II of Cyrene, the daughter of King Magas (hence Schweighäuser's conjecture, recorded in the critical apparatus), who married Ptolemy III Euergetes in 246 BCE and died in 221.

¹⁷⁹ Eumenes II of Pergamum reigned 197–159 BCE.

ψοῦ τινος ἐκπονήσαντος τὸ παρ' οὐδενί πω γεγονὸς ἐσκευάζετο λιβανώτινον μύρον. μύρον δὲ χρηστὸν μύρω εὐτελεῖ ἐπιχεόμενον ἐπιπολῆς μένει, μέλι δὲ χρηστὸν χείροني ἐπιχεόμενον εἰς τὸ κάτω βιάζεται· λαμβάνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καθύπερθε τὸ ἦττον.

Τοῦ δὲ Αἰγυπτίου μύρου μνημονεύων Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν Ἄθλοις φησίν·

ἰσάργυρόν τ' εἰς χεῖρα Κυπρίου λίθου
δώσουσι κόσμον χριμάτων τ' Αἰγυπτίων.

μήποτε, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, τὴν καλουμένην στακτὴν |
λέγει, διὰ τὴν σμύρναν ἣν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καταγομένην
κομίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἰκέσιος δ' ἐν δευ-
τέρῳ Περὶ Ἑλλης, τῶν μύρων, φησίν, ἃ μὲν ἐστὶν
χρίματα, ἃ δ' ἀλείμματα. καὶ ῥόδιον μὲν πρὸς πότον
ἐπιτήδειον, ἔτι δὲ μύρσινον, μήλινον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν
καὶ εὐστόμαχον καὶ ληθαργικοῖς χρήσιμον. τὸ δ'
οἰνάνθινον εὐστόμαχον ὄν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπαραπό-
διστον φυλάσσει. καὶ τὸ σαμψούχινον δὲ καὶ ἐρπύλ-
λινον ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς πότον καὶ κρόκινον τὸ χωρὶς
d σμύρνης πολλῆς. καὶ ἡ | στακτὴ δὲ ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς
πότον, ἔτι δὲ νάρδος. τὸ δὲ τήλινον καὶ γλυκὺ ἐστὶ καὶ
ἀπαλόν. τὸ δὲ λευκόνιον καὶ εὐώδες καὶ σφόδρα πεπτι-
κόν. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀσμῶν συντίθεσθαι
φησι μύρα ἀπ' ἀνθέων μὲν ῥόδιον καὶ λευκόνιον καὶ

180 Perhaps an emerald; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.66.

181 *sampsouchinos*; cf. 15.676d–e with n.

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tant site for the manufacture of frankincense-perfume of a sort that had never been seen before; some perfume-maker worked hard to invent it. If good perfume is poured over cheap perfume, it remains on top, whereas if good honey is poured over inferior honey, it is forced downward; for it allows itself to be overwhelmed by the inferior variety.

Achaeus refers to Egyptian perfume in *The Games* (*TrGF* 20 F 5), saying:

In your hand they will place an ornament worth its
weight in silver,
consisting of Cyprian stone¹⁸⁰ and Egyptian
ointments.

It may be, says Didymus (pp. 305–6 Schmidt), that he is referring to what is known as *staktê*, given that the myrrh imported into Egypt is then shipped to the Greeks. Hicesius says in Book II of *On Raw Materials*: Some perfumes are poured on a person, while others are rubbed on. Rose-perfume is appropriate for a drinking party, as are myrtle- and quince-perfumes; the latter is easy on the stomach and is useful for individuals suffering from lethargy. Dropwort-perfume is easy on the stomach and also keeps the mind clear. Marjoram¹⁸¹ and tufted-thyme-perfumes are appropriate for drinking parties, as is saffron-perfume, provided it does not contain too much myrrh. *Staktê* is also appropriate for a drinking party, as is nard-perfume. Fenugreek-perfume is sweet and delicate. Gillyflower-perfume is fragrant and extremely good for the digestion. Theophrastus in his *On Odors* (27–8, condensed) reports that the perfumes made from flowers include rose-, gillyflower-,

σούσινον (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν κρίνων), ἔτι δὲ τὸ
 σισύμβρινον καὶ ἐρπύλλινον, ἐν δὲ Κύπρῳ⁶⁰ καὶ τὸ
 κρκόκλινον⁶¹ βέλτιστον δ' ἐν Αἰγίῃ καὶ Κιλικίᾳ. ἀπὸ
 δὲ φύλλων τὸ μύρρινον καὶ τὸ οἰνάνθινον· αὕτη δ' ἐν
 Κύπρῳ φύεται ὄρεινῇ καὶ πολύγονος· ἐν δὲ Ἑλλάδι οὐ
 e γίνεται διὰ τὸ ἄοσμον. | ἀπὸ δὲ ριζῶν τό τ' ἴρινον καὶ
 τὸ νάρδιον καὶ τὸ ἀμαράκινον ἐκ τοῦ κόστου.

᾽Οτι δὲ διὰ σπουδῆς ἦν τοῖς παλαιότεροις ἢ τῶν
 μύρων χρήσις δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπίστασθαι ποῖόν τι
 ἐκάστῳ τῶν μελῶν ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἐπιτήδειον. Ἀντιφάνης
 γοῦν ἐν Θορικίοις ἢ Διορύττοντί φησιν

(A.) λούται δ' † ου ο † ἀληθῶς (B.) ἀλλὰ τί;

(A.) ἐκ χρυσοκολλήτου γε κάλπιδος μύρῳ
 Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη,
 φοινικίνῳ δὲ τὰς γνάθους καὶ τιθία, |
 f σισυμβρίνῳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον βραχίονα,
 ἀμαρακίνῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὴν κόμην,
 ἐρπυλλίνῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Τροφωνίῳ·

(A.) ἔπειτ' ἀλείφεισθαι τὸ σῶμά μοι πρίῳ
 μύρον ἴρινον καὶ ῥόδιον, ἄγαμαι, Ξανθία·
 καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρίῳ μοι βάκχαριν.

⁶⁰ καὶ ἡ κύπρος Thphr.

⁶¹ suppl. Kaibel

¹⁸² Sc. to produce perfume.

¹⁸³ Quoted also at 12.553d, where see nn.

and *sousinon*- (the latter is made from lilies), as well as the bergamot-mint- and tufted-thyme-varieties, and on Cyprus the saffron-variety, although it is best on Aegina and in Cilicia. Myrtle- and dropwort-perfumes, on the other hand, are made from leaves; dropwort grows in large quantities in the mountains on Cyprus, but is not used¹⁸² in Greece, because it lacks a fragrance. Iris- and nard-perfumes, and the marjoram-perfume made from *kostos*, are produced from roots.

That people in previous times were interested in using perfume is apparent from the fact that they knew which type is appropriate for all the various parts of our bodies. Antiphanes, for example, says in *Men from Thoricus or The Man Who Was Digging a Trench* (fr. 105):¹⁸³

(A.) She's actually washing [corrupt]

(B.) What? what?

(A.) her feet and her legs with Egyptian perfume she took from a container inlaid with gold, and her cheeks and titties with palm-perfume, and one arm with mint-perfume, and her eyebrows and her hair with marjoram-perfume, and her knees and her neck with tufted-thyme-perfume.

Also Cephisodorus in *Trophonius* (fr. 3):¹⁸⁴

(A.) Then buy me iris- or rose-perfume to rub on my body, please, Xanthias; and on top of that, buy me *bakcharis* for my feet!

¹⁸⁴ The first three verses are quoted also at 12.553a.

(Ξα.) ὦ λακκόπρωκτε, βάκχαριν τοῖς σοῖς ποσὶν
ἐγὼ πρίωμαι; λαικάσομ' ἄρα. βάκχαριν;

Ἄναξανδρίδης Πρωτεσιλάω·

690 μύρον τε παρὰ Πέρωνος, οὐπερ ἀπέδοτο ||
ἐχθὲς Μελανώπῳ, πολυτελοῦς Αἴγυπτίου,
ᾧ νῦν ἀλείφει τοὺς πόδας Καλλιστράτου.

μνημονεύει τοῦ μυροπώλου τούτου τοῦ Πέρωνος καὶ
Θεόπομπος ἐν Ἀδμήτῳ καὶ Ἡδυχάρει. Ἀντιφάνης δ'
ἐν Ἀντείᾳ·

πρὸς τῷ Πέρκωνι γενόμενον κατελίμπανον
αὐτὸν μύρων μέλλει τε συνθείς σοι φέρειν
τὰ κινναμώμινα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ νάρδινα.

παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν κωμωδιοποιῶν ὀνομάζεται τι
μύρον βακκαρίς· οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἰππώναξ διὰ |
b τούτων·

βακκάρι δὲ τὰς ῥίνας
ἤλειφον † ἐστι δ' † οἴηνπερ Κροῖσος.

Ἀχαιὸς δ' ἐν Αἴθωνι σατυρικῶ·

βακκάρει χρισθέντα καὶ ψυκτηρίοις
πετροῖς ἀναστήσαντα προσθίαν τρίχα.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted also, with some minor variants, at 12.553d–e.

¹⁸⁶ PAA 772900. Melanopus (mentioned in the next verse) is PAA 638765, while Callistratus is PAA 561575; both were prominent politicians.

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(Xanthias) You pervert—I'm supposed to buy you *bakcharis* for your feet? Suck me! *Bakcharis*?

Anaxandrides in *Protesilaus* (fr. 41):¹⁸⁵

and perfume from Peron,¹⁸⁶ some of which he sold yesterday to Melanopus—an expensive Egyptian variety,
which he's now using to anoint Callistratus' feet.

This perfume-maker Peron is also mentioned by Theopompus in *Admetus* (fr. 1) and *The Hedonist* (fr. 17). Antiphanes in *Anteia* (fr. 37):

I left him at Peron's place, sampling
the perfumes; after he makes a deal, he's going to
bring you
these types made from cinnamon and nard.

Many comic poets refer to a variety of perfume known as *bakkaris*.¹⁸⁷ Hipponax (fr. 107.21–2 Degani) also mentions it, in the following passage:

I smeared *bakkaris* on my
nostrils † but is † the type Croesus (uses).

Achaeus in the satyr play *Aethon* (*TrGF* 20 F 10):

anointed with *bakkaris* and using cooling
wings¹⁸⁸ to make his hair stand up in front.

¹⁸⁷ Hsch. β 107 offers various descriptions of *bakkaris* (also spelled *bakcharis*, as in Cephisodorus fr. 3 [above]), including "a dry powder made from the root (sc. of the plant in question)."

¹⁸⁸ I.e. fans made of feathers.

Ἴων Ὀμφάλη·

βακκάρις δὲ καὶ μύρα
καὶ Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἶδέναι χρὸς
ἄμεινον ἢ τὸν Πέλοπος ἐν νήσῳ τρόπον.

ἐν τούτοις Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἶρηκε τὸ μύρον, ἐπεὶ
διαβόητοι ἐπὶ ἡδυπαθείᾳ οἱ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὸ παρὰ |
c Ἀνακρέοντι

Λυδοπαθῆς⁶²

ἀκούουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡδυπαθῆς. μνημονεύει τῆς βακ-
κάριδος καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. Μάγνης δ' ἐν Λυδοῖς·

λούσαντα χρῆ καὶ βακκάριδι κεχριμένον.

καὶ μήποτε οὐκ ἔστι μύρον ἢ βάκκαρις. Αἰσχύλος γὰρ
ἐν Ἀμυμώνῃ ἀντιδιαστέλλων φησὶν·

κάγωγε τὰς σὰς βακκάρεις τε καὶ μύρα.

καὶ Σιμωνίδης·

κῆλειφόμην μύροισι καὶ θνώμασι
καὶ βακκάρι.

Ἄριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις· |

⁶² Cited by the Scholiast to Aeschylus in the form λυδο-
παθεῖς.

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Ion in *Omphale* (*TrGF* 19 F 24):

It's better to know about
bakkaris and perfumes and Sardinian cosmetics
than about how they live in the Peloponnese.¹⁸⁹

He refers in this passage to perfume as a Sardinian cosmetic because the Lydians were notorious for their luxurious lifestyle; thus the word

Lydian-style

in Anacreon (*PMG* 481) is taken to mean "living in luxury." Sophocles also mentions *bakkaris* (fr. 1032). Magnes in *Lydians* (fr. 3):

After he bathes and anoints himself with *bakkaris*, he
has to . . .

But perhaps *bakkaris* is not a type of perfume, given that Aeschylus in *Amymone* (fr. 14) distinguishes between the two, saying:

And as for me, your *bakkareis* and perfumes . . .

Also Simonides (Semon. fr. 16.1–2 West²):

And I used to anoint myself with perfumes, scented
oils,
and *bakkaris*.

Aristophanes in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria* (fr. 336):¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ I.e. in Sparta, where such luxuries were frowned upon (cf. 15.686f). ¹⁹⁰ From the lost play by that title, rather than the preserved one of 411 BCE.

- d ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', οἶον ἐνέπνευσ' ὁ μισαρὸς
 φάσκωλος εὐθὺς λυόμενός μοι τοῦ μύρου
 καὶ βακκάριδος.

βρενθείου δὲ μύρου μνημονεύει Φερεκράτης ἐν Δήροις
 οὕτως·

ἔστην δὲ κακέλευον † ἐγχέασθαι νῶν μύρον †
 βρένθειον, ἵνα τοῖς εἰσιούσιν ἐγχέῃ.

βασιλείου δὲ μύρου μνημονεύει Κράτης ἐν Γείτοσιν
 λέγων οὕτως·

< . . . > γλυκύτατον δ' ὦζε βασιλείου μύρου. †

- e Σαπφῶ δ' ὁμοῦ μέμνηται τοῦ τε βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ
 βρενθείου, λέγουσα οὕτως·

βρενθείῳ < . . . >
 < . . . > βασιληίῳ.

ψάγδης Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν·

φέρ' ἴδω, τί σοι δῶ τῶν μύρων; ψάγδαν φιλεῖς;

Εὔπολις δ' ἐν Μαρικᾷ·

< . . . > ψάγδαν ἐρυγγάνοντα.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Στεφανοπώλισιν·

Αἰγυπτίῳ ψαγδᾶν τρεῖς λελουμένην.

¹⁹¹ Cited also, at slightly less length, at 15.691c, where see nn.

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O much-honored Zeus! What a smell the vile
bag breathed out at me the moment I opened it—
perfume
and *bakkaris*!

Pherecrates in *Frills* (fr. 105) refers to *brentheios* perfume,
as follows:

I stood there and told him † to pour the two of us
perfume †
brentheios, so he could pour it for them as they
came in.

Crates in *Neighbors* (fr. 2) refers to royal perfume, saying
the following:

She gave off the sweet, sweet smell of royal perfume.

Sappho (fr. 94.19–20) refers to royal perfume and *brentheios*
perfume together, saying the following:

with *brentheios* . . .
. . . with royal.

Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 213)¹⁹¹ (mentions) *psagdê*:

Alright—what kind of perfume should I give you? Do
you like *psagdas*?

Eupolis in *Marikas* (fr. 204.1):¹⁹²

belching *psagdas*.

Eubulus in *Female Garland-Vendors* (fr. 100):

washed three times in Egyptian *psagdas*.

¹⁹² Quoted again, in a slightly different form, at 15.691c,
where see n.

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Ἀδαῖον παρὰ Ἡλείοις φησὶ
 μύρον τι Πλαγγόνιον καλεῖσθαι, εὔρεθ' ἐν ὑπό τινος
 Πλαγγόνος. ὁμοίως ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σωσίβιος ἐν Ὀμοι-
 f ὄτησιν. | ὡς καὶ τὸ Μεγάλλειον· ὠνομάσθη γὰρ καὶ
 τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μεγάλλου τοῦ Σικελιώτου· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖον
 φασιν εἶναι τὸν Μέγαλλον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρι-
 στοφάνης ἐν Τελμησοσέυσι καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετά-
 λῃ, Στράτις δ' ἐν Μηδείᾳ οὕτως·

καὶ λέγ' ὅτι φέρεις αὐτῇ μύρον
 τοιούτου, οἷον οὐ Μέγαλλος πώποτε
 ἤψησεν, οὐδὲ Δεινίας Αἰγύπτιος
 οὐτ' εἶδεν οὐτ' ἐκτήσατο. ||

691 τοῦ Μεγαλλείου δὲ μύρου μνημονεύει καὶ Ἄμφις ἐν
 Ὀδυσσεῖ διὰ τούτων·

(A.) ἐρίοισι τοὺς τοίχους κύκλῳ Μιλησίοις,
 ἔπειτ' ἀλείφειν τῷ Μεγαλλείῳ μύρῳ,
 καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν θυμᾶτε μίνδακα.
 (B.) ἀκήκοας σύ, δέσποτ', ἤδη πώποτε
 τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο;

Ἀναξανδρίδης Τηρεῖ·

ἀλλ' οἶα νύμφη βασιλὶς ὠνομασμένη
 μύροις Μεγαλλείοισι σῶμ' ἀλείφεται.

ναρδίνου δὲ μύρου μέμνηται Μένανδρος ἐν Κεκρυ-
 φάλῳ οὕτως· |

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Polemon in his *Response to Adaeus* (fr. 74 Preller) claims that the inhabitants of Elis have a type of perfume known as Plangonion, which was invented by a certain Plangon. Sosibius in *Similarities* (FGrH 595 F 9) offers similar information. So too in the case of Megalleian; it got its name from Megallus of Sicily, although other authorities claim that Megallus was an Athenian.¹⁹³ Aristophanes refers to him in *Telmessians* (fr. 549),¹⁹⁴ as do Pherecrates in *Petale* (fr. 149) and Strattis in *Medea*, as follows (fr. 34):

And say you're bringing her perfume
of a type Megallus never
produced, and Deinias the Egyptian
never saw or owned.

Amphis in *Odysseus* (fr. 27) also refers to Megalleian perfume, in the following passage:

(A.) the walls all around with Milesian wool;
then to anoint them with Megalleian perfume,
and burn the royal *mindax*-incense.
(B.) Master—have you ever heard of this kind of
incense before?

Anaxandrides in *Tereus* (fr. 47):

But just like someone referred to as a royal bride,
she covers her body with Megalleian perfumes.

Menander in *The Headdress* (fr. 210) refers to nard-perfume, as follows:

¹⁹³ PAA 636610.

¹⁹⁴ The verse is quoted by Hsch. μ 1011.

- b (A.) ἤδὸν τὸ μύρον, παιδάριον. (B.) ἠδύ; πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
νάρδιον.

Τὸ δὲ χρίσασθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀλείμματι μυρίσασθαι εἴρηκεν Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Παλαίστραις διὰ τούτων·

μυρίσασα συγκατέκλεισεν ἀνθ' αὐτῆς λάθρα.

μυρώμασιν μέντοι, οὐ μυρίσμασιν ἔλεγεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις·

ἥτις μεμύρισμαι τὴν κεφαλὴν μυρώμασιν.

- c τῆς δὲ λεγομένης σάγδας (μύρον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ | τοῦτο) Ἐπίλυκος ἐν Κωραλίσκῳ·

< . . . > βάκκαρίς τε καὶ σάγδας ὁμοῦ.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν· < . . . > καὶ ἐν Μαρικᾷ Εὐπόλις

< . . . > σάγδαν ἐρυγγάνοντα

¹⁹⁵ Manuscript A gives the title (perhaps a courtesan's name) in the plural here, but elsewhere in Athenaeus it appears in the singular (3.107f; 9.370f, 396c).

¹⁹⁶ "to apply *muron* (perfume) to oneself"; but the verb is used in the active rather than the middle in the quotation that follows.

¹⁹⁷ Sc. despite the fact that *murismata* (< *murizō*, whence the aorist infinitive *murisasthai* noted above) might be expected as the common form of the noun.

¹⁹⁸ The entire verse is cited by Photius (Tsantsanoglou p. 117),

(A.) This is wonderful perfume, slave! (B.) It's wonderful? Of course—it's made with nard!

Alcaeus in *The Wrestling-Schools*¹⁹⁵ (fr. 23) uses the verb *murisasthai*¹⁹⁶ to refer to smearing oneself with a substance of this sort, in the following passage:

After she smeared the girl with perfume (*murisasa*), she secretly locked (her), rather than herself, up with (him).

Aristophanes in *Ecclesiazusae* (1117), moreover, uses *murômata* rather than *murismata*.¹⁹⁷

I who have had my head anointed (*memurismai*) with *murômata*.

Epilycus in *Coraliscus* (fr. 1.1)¹⁹⁸ (mentions) what is known as *sagda*—this is also a type of perfume:

bakkaris and *sagdas* together.

Also Aristophanes in *Banqueters* (fr. 213)¹⁹⁹ . . . And Eupolis in *Marikas* (fr. 204.1),²⁰⁰ saying:

belching *sagdas*.

although he refers to the substance in question as *psagdas* rather than *sagdas*; cf. below.

¹⁹⁹ The quotation (for which, see 15.690e—where all the material cited here would seem to belong) has apparently fallen out of the text.

²⁰⁰ Quoted also at 15.690e, as well as by Photius (Tsantsanoglou pp. 119–20), but in both cases with the substance in question referred to as *psagda* rather than *sagda*.

λέγων. ὅπερ ὁ Θυατειρηγὸς Νίκανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄγαν χλιδῶντος εἰρήσθαι ἀκούει, Θεόδωρος δὲ θυμίαμά τι φησιν αὐτὸ εἶναι.

Παμπόλλου δ' ἐπιπράσκετο Ἀθήνησιν ἡ τοῦ μύρου κοτύλη, καὶ ὡς μὲν Ἴππαρχός φησιν ἐν Παννυχίδι, πέντε μνῶν, ὡς δὲ Μένανδρος ἐν Μισογύνη, δέκα.
d Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Φρεαρρίῳ | στακτῆς τοῦ μύρου μνημονεύων φησίν·

στακτῆ δυοῖν μναῖν οὐκ ἀρέσκει μ' οὐδαμῶς.

οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸ τῶν Σαρδιανῶν γένος φιλόμυρον ἦν, ὡς Ἄλεξις φησιν ἐν Ἐκπωματοποιῶ·

ἀεὶ φιλόμυρον πᾶν τὸ Σάρδεων γένος,

ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ πάντων τῶν καλλίστων εἰσηγηταὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ γενόμενοι, παρ' οἷς ἀνυπερβλήτου τιμῆς, ὡς προεῖρηται, τῶν μύρων
e ὑπαρχούσης οὐκ ἀπέιχοντο τῆς χρήσεως, | ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς νῦν οὕτω πολυτίμων τῶν καλλίστων ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς λῆρον εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ Εἰσοικιζομένῳ Ἄλέξιδος ταυτί·

οὐ γὰρ ἐμυρίζετ' ἐξ ἀλαβάστου, πρᾶγμα τι γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ, Κρονικόν, ἀλλὰ τέτταρας περιστερὰς ἀφήκεν ἀποβεβαμμένας

²⁰¹ Approximately one cup.

²⁰² 1 *mina* = 100 drachmas.

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Nicander of Thyateira (*FGrH* 343 F 18) takes this as a reference to someone who lives in excessive luxury, while Theodorus (*FGrH* 346 F 5) claims that (*sagdas*) is a type of incense.

A *kotulé*²⁰¹ of perfume sold for a substantial amount of money in Athens: for five *minas*,²⁰² according to Hipparchus in *The All-Night Festival* (fr. 4), and for ten, according to Menander in *The Misogynist* (fr. 243). Antiphanes in *The Man from the Deme Phrearrhoi* (fr. 222) refers to the perfume known as *staktê*, saying:

Staktê that costs two *minas* will definitely not satisfy me.

It was not just the people of Sardis who liked perfume, as Alexis says in *The Goblet-Maker* (fr. 67):

All the people in Sardis always like perfume, but also the Athenians themselves, who introduced everything that is best into all aspects of human existence. Nor did they refuse to use perfumes, despite the fact that they cost an exorbitant amount in their country, as was noted above, just as we today do not, even though the best varieties are so extremely expensive that they make nonsense of the following passage from Alexis' *The Man Who Was Moving In* (fr. 63):

Since he didn't get perfume out of a jar, which is the usual procedure and totally old-fashioned.

Instead, he released four pigeons that had been dipped—

εἰς οὐχὶ ταῦτόν μα Δία τὴν αὐτὴν μύρον,
 ἰδίῳ δ' ἐκάστην. πετόμεναι δ' αὐταὶ κύκλω
 ἔρραινόν ἡμῶν θαϊμάτια καὶ στρώματα.
 μή μοι φθονήσῃτ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροισι |
 ἡλειφόμην ὑόμενος ἱρίνῳ μύρῳ.

- πρὸς θεῶν, φίλοι, ποία ἡδονή, μᾶλλον δ' ὑοσαλακωνία
 θαϊμάτια μολύνεσθαι, ἐξὸν ταῖς χερσίν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς
 νῦν ποιούμεν, ἀρυσάμενους ἀλείφεσθαι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα
 καὶ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν. φησὶν γὰρ ὁ Φιλωνίδης ἐν
 τῷ Περὶ Μύρων καὶ Στεφάνων τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ τὴν
 692 κεφαλὴν ἐν τοῖς πότοις λιπαίνειν ἐντεῦθεν ἢ γενέσθαι
 τοῖς ἀύχμῳσι γὰρ τὰς κεφαλὰς εἰς τὸ μετέωρον ἔλ-
 κεσθαι τὸ λαμβανόμενον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πυρετῶν
 διακαίωντων τὰ σώματα τέγγουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπι-
 βρέγμασιν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὸ ξηρόν, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ
 πολύκενον, ὀρμὴν τὰ παρακείμενα⁶³ λαμβάνῃ. τοῦτο
 δὴ λογισάμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πότων τὴν εἰς τὸ μετέωρον
 τῶν οἴνων φορὰν ὑποπτεύσαντες ἐπεσπᾶσθησαν κε-
 φαλὴν λιπαίνειν, ὡς ἐλάσσονος <τῆς>⁶⁴ βίας γενησο-
 μένης, εἰ ταύτην προτέγξαιεν. προστιθεῖς δ' ὁ βίος ἀεὶ
 b τοῖς χρειώδεσιν | καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφὴν
 ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν μύρων χρῆσιν ὄρμησεν. χρη-
 στέον οὖν, ὦ Κύνουлке Θεόδωρε, μύροις παρὰ πότον

⁶³ παρακαίόμενα Dalechamp

⁶⁴ add. Wilamowitz

203 A quotation of E. *Telephus* fr. 703.1 (the disguised Tele-

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and not all into the same perfume, by Zeus,
but each into a different one! They flew around in a
circle
and sprinkled our robes and our bedding.
Do not resent me, foremost men of Greece,²⁰³
I was anointed with a shower of iris-perfume.

By the gods, my friends, how pleasant—or rather, how boorishly pretentious!—to get your clothing dirty, when you could just as easily use your hands, as we are doing now, to dip (the perfume) out and rub it over your entire body, and in particular your head. For Philonides in his *On Perfumes and Garlands*²⁰⁴ claims that the practice of applying oily substances to one's head at drinking parties began as follows: When people's heads are dry, whatever they consume is drawn upward. As a consequence, when fevers are consuming their bodies, they protect their heads by sprinkling liquids on them, to keep the neighboring parts from attacking their dry, as well as porous parts. On the basis of this theory, since they expected that at their drinking parties the wine's movement would be upward, they were induced to apply oily substances to their heads, in the belief that the wine's force would be reduced if they moistened their heads in advance. And since human existence continually adds practices that increase enjoyment and luxury to those that are merely necessary, it moved in the direction of using perfumes. When we drink, Cynulcus-Theodorus,²⁰⁵ we ought therefore to use the perfumes that

plus addresses the leaders of the Achaean expedition against Troy).
²⁰⁴ Cf. 15.675a–e (patently part of the same discussion).
²⁰⁵ Cf. 15.669e.

τοῖς ἐλάχιστα καροῦν δυναμένοις, τοῖς στύφουσιν δὲ καὶ ψύχουσιν ἐπ' ὀλίγον. ζητεῖ δ' ὁ πολυμαθέστατος Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς Προβλήμασι, διὰ τί οἱ μυριζόμενοι πολιώτεροι; ἢ ὅτι τὸ μύρον διὰ τὰ ἀρώματα ξηραντικόν ἐστι, διὸ καὶ αὐχμηροὶ οἱ μυριζόμενοι, ὁ δὲ αὐχμὸς πολιωτέρους ποιεῖ; εἴτε γὰρ αὐανσις τριχὸς ἢ πολιά εἴτ' ἔνδεια θερμοῦ, ἢ ξηρότης
 c μαραίνει. | διὸ καὶ τὰ πιλία θάττον ποιεῖ πολίους· ἐκπίνεται γὰρ ἢ οἰκεία τῆς τριχὸς ὑγρότης. ἡδιστον δέ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἀναγινώσκων τὴν ὀγδόην καὶ εἰκοστήν τῶν Ποσειδωνίου Ἱστοριῶν περὶ μύρων τι λεγόμενον ἐτήρησα, οὐκ ἀλλότριον ἡμῶν τοῦ συμποσίου. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλόσοφος· ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς συμποσίοις ὅταν τοῖς εὐωχομένοις δοθῶσιν οἱ στέφανοι, εἰσίασιν τινες μύρων Βαβυλωνίων ἔχοντες ἀσκίδια καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐκ τούτων περιπορευόμενοι τοὺς μὲν στεφάνους τῶν κατακειμένων δροσίζουσι |
 d τοῖς μύροις, ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔξωθεν παραραίνοντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐσμέν,

συμβαλοῦμαί τι μέλος ὑμῖν εἰς ἔρωτα,

κατὰ τὸν Κυθήριον ποιητὴν, ὅτι Ἴανὸς ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν θεός, ὃν καὶ πατέρα προσαγορεύομεν, πρῶτος εὗρεν στέφανον. ἱστορεῖ δὲ τοῦτο Δράκων ὁ Κερκυραῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λίθων γράφων οὕτως· Ἴανὸν δὲ λόγος ἔχει διπρόσωπον γεγενῆσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὀπίσω, τὸ δ' ἔμπροσθεν ἔχοντα πρόσωπον. ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ τὸν Ἴανὸν

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are the least stupefying, but that are astringent and cool us temporarily. The profoundly learned Aristotle in his *Physical Problems* (fr. 763) raises the question of why individuals who use perfume go gray faster. Is it because the spices in the perfume make it parching, so that individuals who use perfume become drier, and the dryness makes them grayer? Because whether the grayness represents a drying-up of one's hair or a lack of warmth, the parching has a damaging effect. This is why felt caps rapidly make people go gray; because the cap absorbs the hair's natural moistness. But as I was reading Book XXVIII of Posidonius' *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 20 = fr. 71 Edelstein-Kidd), my friends, I noticed a very nice observation about perfumes, which will not be out of place at our party. For the philosopher says: At the king's drinking parties in Syria, at the point when garlands are distributed to the individuals attending the feast, people come in with pouches full of Babylonian perfumes and make their way around, standing at a distance and dribbling perfumes drawn from these pouches over the garlands of the guests who are lying there, sprinkling them with nothing drawn from any other source. But since we are at this point in our conversation,

I will join you in a little song about love,

to quote the poet from Cythera (Philox. Cyth. *PMG* 833),²⁰⁶ since our god Janus, whom we address as "father," invented garlands. Draco of Corcyra in his *On Stones* (*FHG* iv.402-3) preserves this information, writing as follows: The story goes that Janus has two faces, one of which looks backward, the other forward. The Janus River and

²⁰⁶ Alluded to (but not quoted) at 6.271b.

e ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρος Ἴανὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, κατοική-
σαντος | αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ στέφανον
πρῶτον εὐρεῖν καὶ σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα καὶ νόμισμα
χαλκοῦν πρῶτον χαράξει. διὸ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλ-
λάδα πολλὰς πόλεις καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ
Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐγχαράττειν πρόσωπον
δικέφαλον καὶ ἐκ θατέρου μέρους ἢ σχεδίαν ἢ στέ-
φανον ἢ πλοῖον. τοῦτον δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν γήμαντα
Καμήσην υἱὸν μὲν Αἴθηκα, θυγατέρα δὲ Ὀλιστήνην
γεννηῆσαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς μειζόνων ὀρεγόμενον πραγμά-
των εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαπλευσαι καὶ οἰκῆσαι τὸ πλη-
f σίον Ῥώμης ὄρος κείμενον | τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἴανοῦκλον
ὀνομαζόμενον.

Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ μύρων ἐλέχθη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
πλείστων τῶν μὲν Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος αἰτούντων ποτή-
ριον, τῶν δὲ Διὸς Σωτήρος, ἄλλων δὲ Ἑγείας, καὶ
ἐτέρων ἐτέρον ἐπιλεγόντων, τοὺς τούτων τῶν κράσεων
μεμνημένους τῶν ποιητῶν ἔδοξεν παρατίθεσθαι, ὧν
καὶ αὐτῶν μνησθήσομαι. Ἀντιφάνης μὲν γὰρ ἐν
Ἀγροικίσιω ἔφη·

Ἄρμόδιος ἐπεκαλείτο, παιὰν ἦδετο,
μεγάλην Διὸς Σωτήρος ἄκατον ἦρέ τις.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Τοκιστῇ ἢ Καταψευδομένῳ·

²⁰⁷ Sc. "of wine and water," i.e. "to these bowls and their contents," and thus to the deities to whom they were dedicated.

Mt. Janus get their names from him, since he lives on the mountain. He invented garlands, as well as rafts and boats, and was the first to mint bronze coins. This is why many cities in Greece, and in Italy and Sicily as well, stamp a head with two faces on one side of their coins, and a raft, a garland, or a ship on the other. Janus married his sister Camêsê and produced a son named Aethêx and a daughter named Olistênê. And because he longed to accomplish something more significant than this, he sailed across the sea to Italy and settled on the mountain that is near to Rome and that derives its name, the Janiculum, from him.

This was the extent of our discussion of perfumes. Afterward, the majority of the guests asked for a cup dedicated to the Good Divinity, but some asked for one dedicated to Zeus the Savior, or to Hygieia ("Health"), or to another god. It accordingly seemed good to cite the poets who refer to these combinations,²⁰⁷ and to whom I will refer by name. Because Antiphanes said in *Women from the Countryside*²⁰⁸ (fr. 3):

Harmodius was invoked,²⁰⁹ a paean was sung;
someone brought a large cup²¹⁰ dedicated to Zeus the
Savior.

Alexis in *The Loan-Shark or The Liar* (fr. 234):

²⁰⁸ Referred to elsewhere in the masculine as *The Rustic* or *Rustics* (e.g. 9.396b; 10.445f; 13.567d).

²⁰⁹ A reference to skolia of the sort collected at 15.695a-b, where see n.

²¹⁰ *akatos*; see 11.502a with n.

- (A.) ἄλλ' ἔγχεον ἢ
 693 αὐτῷ Διός γε τήνδε Σωτήρος, θεῶν
 θνητοῖς ἀπάντων χρησιμωτάτου πολὺ.
 (B.) ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτήρ, ἂν ἐγὼ διαρραγῶ,
 οὐδέν μ' ὀνήσει. (A.) πῆθι θαρρῶν.

Νικόστρατος Πανδρόσω·

- (A.) κἀγώ, φιλτάτη·
 μετανιπτρίδ' αὐτῷ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἔγχεον.
 (B.) λαβὲ τῆς Ὑγιείας δὴ σύ. (A.) φέρε,
 τύχ' ἀγαθῆ.
 τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγμαθ', <ῆ> πρόνοια δὲ
 τυφλόν τι κἀσύντακτόν ἐστιν, ᾧ πάτερ. !
- b ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος
 κράσεως μνημονεύει, ἧς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες οἱ τῆς
 ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιηταί. ἄλλ' ὅ γε Νικόστρατος
 οὕτως φησὶν·

ἄλλ' ἐγγέασα θᾶπτον Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος
 ἀπενεγκάτω μοι τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκποδῶν·
 ἱκανῶς κεχόρτασμαι γάρ. Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος
 δέχομαι. λαβοῦσ' ἀπένεγκε ταύτην ἐκποδῶν.

Ξέναρχος ἐν Διδύμοις·

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(A.) But pour him
this cup dedicated to Zeus the Savior, who's
far and away the most useful god for mortals.

(B.) Zeus the Savior won't do me any good
if I explode! (A.) Don't worry about that; have a
drink!

Nicostratus in *Pandrosus* (fr. 18):

(A.) Me too, dearie.

Pour him an after-washing cup dedicated to
Hygieia!²¹¹

(B.) You take some Hygieia! (A.) Alright—here's to
good luck!

Mortal existence is just luck, and foresight's
something blind and disorganized, pops!

In the same play he also refers to the bowl mixed in honor
of the Good Divinity, as do nearly all the Old Comic poets.
Nicostratus (fr. 19), at any rate, says the following:

But have her hurry up and pour me some that's
dedicated to the Good Divinity
and then get the table out of my way!
Because I'm completely stuffed. I accept the cup
dedicated to
the Good Divinity. Take this (table) and get it out of
the way!

Xenarchus in *Twins* (fr. 2):

²¹¹ An identical verse is cited in isolation at 11.487b but is attributed there to Nicostratus' *The Female Rival in Love* (fr. 3) rather than to his *Pandrosus*.

- c ὡς ὑπό τι νυστάζειν γε καὶ τὸς ἄρχομαι |
 ἢ τὰγαθοῦ <γὰρ> Δαίμονος συνέσεισέ με
 ἄκρατος ἐκποθείσα φιάλη παντελῶς.
 ἢ τοῦ δὲ Σωτήρος Διὸς τάχιστα γε
 ἀπώλεσε ναύτην καὶ κατεπόντωσέν μ', ὄρῃς.

Ἐριφος Μελιβοία·

ἐκπεπήδηκας πρὶν Ἄγαθοῦ πρῶτα Δαίμονος
 λαβεῖν,
 πρὶν Διὸς Σωτήρος.

- Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης, τὸν ἄκρατον,
 φησὶν, οἶνον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ διδόμενον, ὃν δὴ
 d λέγουσιν | Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος εἶναι πρόποσιν, ὀλίγον
 τε προσφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀναμιμνήσκοντες μόνον τῇ
 γεύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεάν, καὶ
 μετὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν διδόασιν, ὅπως ἐλάχιστον ἦ τὸ
 πινόμενον· καὶ τρίτον προσκυνήσαντες λαμβάνουσιν
 ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, ὥσπερ⁶⁵ ἰκετείαν τινὰ ποιούμενοι
 τοῦ θεοῦ μηθὲν ἀσχημονεῖν μηδ' ἔχειν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυ-
 μίαν τοῦ πότου τούτου καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ
 καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα. Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀθίδος,
 e καὶ θέσμιον, φησὶν, ἐτέθη τότε προσφέρεσθαι | μετὰ
 τὰ σιτία πᾶσιν ἀκράτου μὲν ὅσον γεῦμα καὶ δείγμα
 τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ἥδη

⁶⁵ καὶ ὥσπερ A: ὥσπερ tantum CE: καὶ del. Meineke

I'm also starting to nod off a bit myself!
 Since the bowl of unmixed wine dedicated to
 the Good Divinity totally staggered me when I
 emptied it,
 while the one dedicated to Zeus the Savior abruptly
 wrecked and drowned me as I was sailing along, you
 see.

Eriphus in *Meliboea* (fr. 4):

You raced off before you got a bowl dedicated to the
 Good Divinity,
 or to Zeus the Savior.

Theophrastus says in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 572 Fortenbaugh): As for the unmixed wine offered after dinner, which they identify as a toast in honor of the Good Divinity, they consume only a little, as if the taste was merely a reminder to them of how strong it is and of the god's generosity; and they offer it once everyone is already full, so that as little as possible of it will be drunk. After they show their respects to him three times, they remove it from the table, as if they were begging the god to guarantee that they engage in no ugly behavior and that they feel no overwhelming desire to drink this, but receive only what is good and beneficial from him. Philochorus says in Book II of the *History of Attica* (FGrH 328 F 5a):²¹² At that point a custom was established that, after they ate, just enough unmixed wine was distributed to everyone to give them a taste of it and to put the Good Divinity's power on display,

²¹² A more extended version of the passage is preserved at 2.38c-d, where see n.

κεκραμένον διὸ καὶ τροφούς τοῦ Διούσιου τὰς νύμφας ὀνομασθήναι. ὅτι δὲ δοθείσης τῆς τοῦ Ἁγαθοῦ Δαίμονος κράσεως ἔθος ἦν βαστάζεσθαι τὰς τραπέζας ἔδειξεν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσεβείας ὁ Σικελιώτης Διούσιος· τῷ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀνακειμένης τραπέζης χρυσῆς προπιῶν αὐτῷ ἄκρατον Ἁγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ἐκέλευσεν βασταχθῆναι τὴν τράπεζαν. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑμμεσηνοῖς ἰθύοντες τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, μέλι σπένδουσιν, οἶνον οὐ φέροντες τοῖς βωμοῖς, δεῖν λέγοντες τὸν τὰ ὄλα συνέχοντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα θεὸν καὶ αἰεὶ περιπολεύοντα τὸν κόσμον ἀλλότριον εἶναι μέθης.

Ἐμέμνητο δ' οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐκείνων σκολίων· ἅπερ καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιόν ἐστί σοι ἀπομνημονεύσαι διὰ τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν τῶν ποιησάντων, ἐπαινουμένων⁶⁶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδέᾳ ταύτῃ τῆς ποιητικῆς Ἀλκαίου τε καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης

694 παρίστησιν ἐν Δαιταλεύσιν ἢ λέγων οὕτως·

ἄσον δὴ μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου
κἀνακρέοντος.

καὶ Πράξιλλα δ' ἡ Σικυωνία ἐθανμάζετο ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν σκολίων ποιήσει. σκόλια δὲ καλοῦνται οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῆς μελοποιίας τρόπον ὅτι σκολιὸς ἦν (λέγουσιν γὰρ

⁶⁶ καὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων A: καὶ τῶν del. Kaibel

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and after that they drank it mixed. This is why the nymphs are referred to as Dionysus' nurses. Dionysius of Sicily²¹³ made it clear through his own impiety that the normal practice was for the tables to be removed after the wine mixed in honor of the Good Divinity had been distributed. For there was a gold cult-table dedicated to Asclepius in Syracuse, and after Dionysius drank a toast of unmixed wine dedicated to the Good Divinity in Asclepius' honor, he ordered that the table be taken away.²¹⁴ When they sacrifice to the Sun in Emesa, according to Phylarchus in Book XII of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 25), they pour libations of honey, but they bring no wine to the altars, since they say that the god who maintains and governs the universe, and who travels constantly from one end of the world to the other, has nothing to do with drunkenness.

Many of the guests also referred to the well-known Attic skolia; these deserve to be cited for you, both because of their antiquity and because of the simplicity of the men who composed them, given that Alcaeus and Anacreon were both praised for this style of poetry, as Aristophanes establishes in *Banqueters* (fr. 235), where he says the following:

Take this and sing me a skolion by Alcaeus or
Anacreon!

Praxilla of Sicyon was also regarded highly for the skolia she composed.²¹⁵ They are not referred to as skolia because the songs were composed in a *skolios* ("crooked")

²¹³ I.e. Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse from the late 400s to 367 BCE. A similar anecdote is preserved at Ael. *VH* 1.20.

²¹⁴ Sc. to his own house.

²¹⁵ Cf. *PMG* 749–50.

- τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀνειμέναις εἶναι σκολιά), ἀλλὰ τριῶν γενῶν ὄντων, ὡς φησιν Ἀρτέμων ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ Βιβλίων Χρήσεως, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἦν ἀδόκιμα, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὁ δὴ πάντας ἄδειν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὁ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἦδον, οὐ μὴν
- b ἀλλὰ γε | κατὰ τινα περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς, <τὸ>⁶⁷ τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τάξιν ἔχον, οὐ μετεῖχον οὐκέτι πάντες, ἀλλ' οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι μόνοι, καὶ κατὰ τόπον τινα εἰ τύχοιεν ὄντες· διόπερ ὡς ἀταξίαν τινα μόνον παρὰ τᾶλλα ἔχον τὸ μήθ' ἅμα μήθ' ἐξῆς γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἔτυχον εἶναι σκόλιον ἐκλήθη. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἦδεδο ὁπότε τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖα τέλος λάβοι· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἦδη τῶν σοφῶν ἕκαστον ᾧδὴν τινα καλὴν εἰς μέσον ἤξιον προφέρειν,
- c καλὴν δὲ ταύτην ἐνόμιζον τὴν παραίνεσιν | τέ τινα καὶ γνώμην ἔχειν δοκοῦσαν χρησίμην⁶⁸ εἰς τὸν βίον. τῶν οὖν δειπνοσοφιστῶν ὁ μὲν τις ἔλεγε τῶν σκολίων τόδε, ὁ δὲ τις τόδε· πάντα δ' ἦν τὰ λεχθέντα ταῦτα·

Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἀνασσ' Ἀθηνᾶ,
 ὄρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας,
 ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων
 καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, σύ τε καὶ πατήρ.

⁶⁷ add. Kaibel ⁶⁸ χρησίμην τε A: ἔχουσαν τῷ βίῳ
 χρησίμην tantum CE: τε del. Kaibel

216 Cf. Dicaearch. fr. 88 Wehrli = fr. 89 Mirhady; Plu. Mor. 615b-c.

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lyric style, since people call songs that use a particularly free meter "crooked." Instead, according to Artemon of Cassandreia in Book II of *On the Use of Books* (fr. 10, *FHG* iv.342), the various songs performed at parties belong to three categories.²¹⁶ The first was the type that everyone customarily sang; the second was the type that everyone sang, not (in a group), however, but in rotation, one after another; and the third type came after all the others, and not everyone participated at this point, but only those regarded as intelligent, regardless of where they happened to be sitting. This is why, since singing neither all together nor in a fixed sequence, but simply wherever they happened to be located, involved a certain amount of disorder—although only in comparison to the other categories—this type was referred to as a skolion. Songs of this sort were sung when those in which everyone participated and that were obligatory were over; for they thought it appropriate that everyone wise offer the entire group a beautiful song at this point, and they regarded a beautiful song as one that contained some advice or wisdom that seemed likely to be useful in human life. Individual members of the group of learned banqueters recited different skolia; what follows is a complete collection of all those that were sung.²¹⁷

Pallas, Tritogeneia, Queen Athena—
 guide this city and its citizens,
 you and your father, and allow no griefs
 or internal divisions or untimely deaths! (*PMG* 884)

²¹⁷ For other skolia, see 11.783e (= *PMG* 913); 14.625c (= *PMG* 910).

Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν αἰίδω
 Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὄραις
 σέ τε παῖ Διὸς Φερσεφόνη
 χαίρετον, εὖ δὲ τάνδ' ἀμφέπετον πόλιν.

d ἐν Δήλῳ ποτ' | ἔτικτε τέκνα Λατώ,
 Φοῖβον χρυσοκόμαν ἄνακτ' Ἀπόλλω
 ἐλαφηβόλον τ' ἀγροτέραν
 Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ γυναικῶν μέγ' ἔχει κράτος.

ὦ Πάν Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεεννᾶς,
 ὄρχηστὰ Βρομίαις ὀπαδὲ νύμφαις,
 γελάσειας, ὦ Πάν, ἐπ' ἐμαῖς
 † εὐφροσύναις ταῖσδ' αἰοδαῖς αοιδε †
 κεχαρημένος.

ἐνικήσαμεν ὡς ἐβουλόμεσθα
 καὶ νίκην ἔδοσαν θεοὶ φέροντες
 παρὰ Πανδρόσου † ὡς φίλην Ἀθηνᾶν †.

* * *

εἶθ' ἐξῆν ὁποῖός τις ἦν ἕκαστος
 τὸ στήθος διελόντ', ἔπειτα τὸν νοῦν

²¹⁸ Demeter's daughter, more often referred to as Persephone.

²¹⁹ The worship of Pan was instituted in Attica after he appeared to the runner Pheidippides, just before the Battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6.105; *ApI.* 232 = "Simon." *FGE* 700-1; *ApI.* 239), and this skolion and the one that follow are presumably connected with the decisive Athenian victory over the Persians there.

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I sing of the Olympian mother of Wealth,
Demeter, in the seasons when garlands are worn,
and of you, Phersephone,²¹⁸ child of Zeus.
Hail to you both! Keep careful watch over this city!
(PMG 885)

On Delos once upon a time Leto bore children:
Lord Phoebus Apollo of the golden hair
and the deer-shooting huntress
Artemis, who exercises great power over women.
(PMG 886)

O Pan, ruler of famous Arcadia,
dancer and companion of Bacchic nymphs—
may you smile, Pan, and take pleasure
in my † festivities these songs [corrupt]! †
(PMG 887)²¹⁹

We were triumphant, as we wished to be,
and the gods granted us victory, fetching it
from Pandrosus † to beloved Athena †²²⁰
* * * (PMG 888)

If only it were possible (to learn) what everyone is
like
by opening his chest, examining

²²⁰ "to beloved Athena" is perhaps a corrupt remnant of an ancient marginal comment on the song (originally "[Pandrosus is mentioned] since she was Athena's friend" *vel sim.*). Pandrosus was a daughter of the mythical Athenian king Cecrops and was entrusted with caring for the infant Erichthonius.

e ἔσιδόντα, κλείσαντα | πάλιν,
 ἄνδρα φίλον νομίζειν ἀδόλῳ φρενί.

ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνητῷ,
 δεύτερον δὲ καλὸν φυὰν γενέσθαι,
 τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδόλως,
 καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

ὁσθέντος δὲ τούτου καὶ πάντων ἡσθέντων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ
 μνημονουσάντων ὅτι καὶ ὁ καλὸς Πλάτων αὐτοῦ
 μέμνηται ὡς ἄριστα εἰρημένου, ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη
 Ἀναξανδρίδην αὐτὸ διακεχλευακέναι τὸν κωμωδιο-
 ποιὸν ἐν Θησαυρῷ λέγοντα οὕτως·

f ὁ τὸ σκόλιον εὐρῶν ἐκεῖνος, ὅστις ἦν, |
 τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν πρῶτον ὡς ἄριστον ὄν
 ἠνόμασεν ὀρθῶς· δεύτερον δ' εἶναι καλόν,
 τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦθ', ὀρᾶς, ἐμαίνετο.
 μετὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν γὰρ τὸ πλουτεῖν διαφέρει·
 καλὸς δὲ πεινῶν ἔστιν αἰσχρὸν θηρίον. ||

695 ἐξῆς δ' ἐλέχθη καὶ τάδε·

ἐκ γῆς χρῆ κατίδην πλόου,
 εἴ τις δύναίτο καὶ παλάμην ἔχει.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ κ' ἐν πόντῳ γένηται,
 τῷ παρεόντι τρέχειν ἀνάγκη.

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his mind, and closing him up again,
so as to regard as a friend the man whose mind
conceals no treachery. (PMG 889)

What is best for a mortal man is to be healthy;
second is to be good-looking;
third is to be rich without having cheated anyone;
and fourth is to be young and have friends.
(PMG 890)

After this song had been sung, and everyone had enjoyed it and noted that the noble Plato (cf. *Grg.* 451e) refers to it as particularly well-put, Myrtilus observed that the comic poet Anaxandrides in *The Treasure* (fr. 18) makes fun of it, saying the following:

Whoever the guy was that came up with the skolion,
he got it right when he mentioned being healthy first,
as what's best. But as for how good looks are number
two,
and being rich is number three—that, you have to
admit, was crazy!
Because after good health, being rich is what matters;
a handsome man who's hungry is an ugly creature.

Immediately after this, the following additional skolia were recited:

You should think carefully about your
voyage while you're still on land,
if you can and you're cunning.
Once you're at sea,
you have to run with whatever wind appears.
(PMG 891)

ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ᾧδ' ἔφα
 χαλᾶ τὸν ὄφιν λαβῶν·
 “εὐθὺν χρῆ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἔμ-
 μεν καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν.”

ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
 ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
 ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην |
 b ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην.

φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι', οὐ τί πω τέθνηκας,
 νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι,
 ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλεὺς,
 Τυδείδην τέ † φασι τὸν ἐσθλὸν † Διομήδεα.

ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω,
 ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
 ὅτ' Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις
 ἄνδρα τύραννον Ἴππαρχον ἐκαινέτην.

αἰεὶ σφῶν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἴαν,
 φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδιε καὶ Ἀριστόγειτον,
 ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτάνετον
 ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησατον.

²²¹ Cf. *Aes. fab.* 196, in which a crab—normally itself a proverbially “crooked” creature (*Ar. Pax* 1083 with *Olson ad loc.*)—attempts to deal fairly with a treacherous snake but is ultimately reduced to seizing the snake in his claws and killing it, making it at last stretch out “straight.”

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Thus spoke the crab,
as he held the snake in his claw:
"A friend ought to be straightforward
and not have crooked thoughts."²²¹ (PMG 892)

I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch,
like Harmodius and Aristogiton
when the two of them killed the tyrant
and made Athens a place of political equality.²²²
(PMG 893)

Beloved Harmodius, you are not dead at all;
instead, they say you are in the Isles of the Blessed,
where swift-footed Achilles is,
and Tydeus' son † they say the noble † Diomedes.
(PMG 894)

I will bear my sword in a myrtle branch,
like Harmodius and Aristogiton
when at a sacrifice in honor of Athena
the two of them killed the tyrant Hipparchus.
(PMG 895)

The story of you two will always survive in our land,
beloved Harmodius and Aristogiton,
how the two of you killed the tyrant
and made Athens a place of political equality.
(PMG 896)

²²² A reference to the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus (PAA 537615) in 514 BCE. The democracy was not in fact established until 507, and the murder of Hipparchus merely led to a political crackdown by his older brother Hippias. Aristogiton is PAA 168195; Harmodius is PAA 203425.

- c Ἄδμητον λόγον, ᾧ ἑταῖρε, ἰ μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς
 φίλει,
 τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου γνοὺς ὅτι δειλοῖς ὀλίγη
 χάρις.

παῖ Τελαμῶνος, Αἴαν αἰχμητά, λέγουσί σε
 ἐς Τροῖαν ἄριστον ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλέα.

τὸν Τελαμῶνα πρῶτον, Αἴαντα δὲ δεύτερον
 ἐς Τροῖαν λέγουσιν ἐλθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Ἀχιλλέα.

εἶθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη
 καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διούσιον ἐς χορόν.

- d εἶθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμην μέγα χρυσίον ἰ
 καί με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροίη καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον.

σύν μοι πῖνε, συνήβα, συνέρα, συστεφανηφόρει,
 σύν μοι μαινομένῳ μαίνεο, σὺν σώφρονι
 σωφρόνει.

ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίος, ᾧ ἑταῖρ', ὑποδύεται.
 φράζεν μή σε βάλῃ τῷ δ' ἀφανεῖ πᾶς ἔπεται
 δόλος. ἰ

223 Given the Attic context of almost all these skolia, this must be a reference to the time Admetus spent in exile in his old age in Athens with Theseus (ΣΥΓ Ar. V. 1238).

BOOK XV

Grasp Admetus' meaning,²²³ my friend, and associate
with brave men,
but stay away from cowards, recognizing that cowards
rarely return favors. (PMG 897)

Child of Telamon, Ajax the spearsman—they say that,
after Achilles,
you were the best of the Danaans who went to Troy.
(PMG 898)

They say that, after Achilles, Telamon ranked
first,²²⁴
Ajax second of the Danaans who went to Troy.
(PMG 899)

If only I could be a beautiful ivory lyre,
and beautiful boys could carry me in a chorus
honoring Dionysus. (PMG 900)

If only I could be a large, beautiful nugget of gold,
and a beautiful woman with a pure mind could wear
me. (PMG 901)

Drink with me; be young with me; love with me;
wear garlands with me!
Be crazy with me when I am crazy, and calm with me
when I am calm! (PMG 902)

A scorpion lurks, my friend, under every rock.
Watch that it doesn't sting you; treachery of all kinds
is connected with secrecy. (PMG 903)²²⁵

²²⁴ For Telamon at Troy, see 11.783c with n.

²²⁵ Cf. *Ar. Th.* 528–30 with Austin–Olson ad loc.

- e ἄ ὕς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται
λαβεῖν.
καγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω, τὴν δ' ἔραμαι
λαβεῖν.

πόρνη καὶ βαλανεύς τῶντὸν ἔχουσ' ἐμπεδέως
ἔθος·

ἐν ταῦτᾱ πνέλῳ τόν τ' ἀγαθὸν τόν τε κακὸν λόει.

ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
εἰ δὴ⁶⁹ χρῆ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.

αἰαὶ Λευψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
οἴους ἀνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τότε ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων κύρησαν.⁷⁰ |

- f ὅστις ἀνδρα φίλον μὴ προδίδωσιν, μεγάλην ἔχει
τιμὴν ἔν τε βροτοῖς ἔν τε θεοῖσιν κατ' ἐμὸν νόον.

σκόλιον δέ φασί τινες καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Ἰβρίου τοῦ Κρητὸς
ποιηθέν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως·

⁶⁹ Aristotle quotes the verse (correctly) without δὴ.

⁷⁰ Better (with the other witnesses) ἔσαν.

²²⁶ This line for some reason features Doric *alphas* rather than the expected *etas*.

²²⁷ Cedon (PAA 566795; perhaps an Alcmaeonid) led an unsuccessful revolt against the Pisistratids at some point; cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 20.5, where a slightly better version of the same skolion is quoted.

BOOK XV

The sow has one acorn, but wants to get another;²²⁶
I have one pretty girl, but want to get another.
(PMG 904)

A whore and a bathman behave in precisely the same
way:
they wash the good man and the bad in the same tub.
(PMG 905)

Pour a cup for Cedon,²²⁷ servant, and don't forget
him,
if we should in fact pour wine for brave men.
(PMG 906)

Alas, treacherous Lipsydrion—
the men you killed, brave
fighters from good families,
who showed on that day the sort of fathers they
had!²²⁸ (PMG 907)

Anyone who refuses to betray a friend has
tremendous
honor among both mortals and gods, in my opinion.
(PMG 908)

Some authorities also refer to the poem by Hybrias of Crete (PMG 909) as a skolion. It runs as follows:

²²⁸ During the final phase of the Pisistratid tyranny, after Hipparchus had been assassinated (15.695b n.), the Alcmaeonids went into exile and fortified Lipsydrion, on the flanks of Mt. Parnes. They were besieged there and apparently suffered serious losses (Hdt. 5.62.2; [Arist.] *Ath.* 19.3 with Rhodes ad loc.).

ἔστι μοι πλούτος μέγας δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήμιον, ἢ πρόβλημα χρωτός·
τούτῳ γὰρ ἄρῳ, τούτῳ θερίζω,
τούτῳ πατέω τὸν ἄδυν οἶνον ἀπ' ἀμπέλων,
τούτῳ δεσπότας μνοῖας κέκλημαι.
τοὶ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντ' ἔχειν δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήμιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός,
πάντες γόνυ πεπτηῶτες † ἐμὸν †
< . . . > κυνέοντι δεσπόταν < . . . >
καὶ μέγαν βασιλῆα φωνέοντες.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολυμαθεστάτου γραφὲν Ἀριστο-
τέλους εἰς Ἑρμείαν τὸν Ἀταρνέα οὐ παιᾶν ἐστίν, ὡς ὁ
τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου γραφὴν ἀπ-
b ενεγκάμενος | Δημόφιλος † εἰς αἰδωτε † παρασκευ-
ασθεὶς ὑπ' Εὐρυμέδοντος, ὡς ἀσεβοῦντος καὶ ἄδοντος
ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὀσημέραι εἰς τὸν Ἑρμείαν παιᾶνα.
ὅτι δὲ παιᾶνος οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν παρέχει τὸ ἄσμα,
ἀλλὰ τῶν σκολίων ἔν τι καὶ αὐτὸ εἰδὸς ἐστίν ἐξ αὐτῆς
τῆς λέξεως φανερὸν ὑμῖν ποιήσω·

Ἄρετὰ πολύμοχθε γένει βροτείῳ,
θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ,

²²⁹ Hermeias was the uncle and adoptive father of Aristotle's wife Pythias; he was murdered by the Persians in 341 BCE. See D.L. 5.3–11 (also quoting the poem that follows); Bowra, *CQ* 32 (1938) 182–9 (on Aristotle's poem).

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A spear and a sword represent great wealth for me,
as does my fine skin-shield, which guards my skin;
with this equipment I plow, with this I harvest grain,
with this I trample the sweet wine from the vines,
and with this I am called a master of serfs.

Those who do not dare to take up a spear and a
sword,

or a fine skin-shield, which guards their skin,
all fall to † my † knee

. . . and prostrate themselves, calling . . .
master and great king.

After these (*skolia*) were recited, Democritus said: The poem the deeply learned Aristotle (*PMG* 842) wrote in honor of Hermeias of Atarneus,²²⁹ on the other hand, is not a paean, as Demophilus,²³⁰ who brought the indictment for impiety against the philosopher [corrupt] having been egged on by Eurymedon, (claimed), alleging that he behaved impiously by singing a paean in Hermeias' honor every day when they all had dinner together. I will make it clear to you from the text itself that the song lacks any features of a paean, but is instead a variety of *skolion*:

Virtue, which mortals obtain only through much hard
work,

finest object we pursue in life—

²³⁰ *PAA* 320885. Eurymedon (below; *PAA* 444992) was an Eleusinian hierophant and thus had a strong interest in the maintenance of religious propriety.

- σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς |
 c καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος
 καὶ πόνους τλήναι μαλεροῦς ἀκάμαντας·
 τοῖον ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις
 καρπὸν ἰσαθάνατον χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσω
 καὶ γονέων μαλακαυγήτοιο θ' ὕπνου.
 σεῦ δ' ἔνεκεν ὁ δῖος
 Ἑρακλέης Λήδας τε κούροι
 πόλλ' ἀνέτλασαν ἐν ἔργοις
 σὰν † ἐποντες δύναμιν †·
 d σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς | Αἴ-
 ας τ' Αἶδαο δόμους ἦλθον·
 σᾶς δ' ἔνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς καὶ Ἀταρνέος
 ἔντροφος ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγᾶς.
 τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις,
 ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι,
 Μναμοσύνας θύγατρεις, Δι-
 ὸς Ξενίου σέβας αὔξου-
 σαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίου.
- e ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις τι κατιδεῖν ἐν τούτοις | δύναται
 παιανικὸν ἰδίωμα, σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντος τοῦ γεγρα-
 φότος τετελευτηκέναι τὸν Ἑρμείαν δι' ὧν εἴρηκεν·
 σᾶς † γὰρ † φιλίου μορφᾶς Ἀταρνέος
 ἔντροφος ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγᾶς.

²³¹ The Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, who *inter alia* joined the Argonauts on their adventures.

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it is an enviable fate in Greece,
 virgin, to die for the sake of your beauty
and to endure fierce, ceaseless labors.
Such is the crop you plant in
 our minds: a crop virtually immortal, and better
 than gold,
or distinguished ancestors, or languid-eyed sleep.
For your sake the brilliant
 Heracles and Leda's sons²³¹
performed many painful labors
 your † following power †;
out of longing for you, Achilleus and
 Ajax went to the house of Hades;
and for the sake of your lovely form the native
 of Atarneus left the sun's rays behind.
Certainly his deeds will be remembered in song,
 and the Muses, the daughters of Memory,
will elevate him to immortal status,
 exalting the majesty of Zeus Xenios
 and the place of honor that belongs to enduring
 friendship.

I cannot imagine how anyone could claim to detect any distinctive characteristic of a paeon in this passage, given that the author openly admits that Hermeias is dead,²³² in the passage where he says (*PMG* 842.15–16):²³³

† because † of your lovely form the native
 of Atarneus left the sun's rays behind.

²³² Sc. "and thus cannot be a god."

²³³ Quoted more accurately above.

οὐκ ἔχει δ' οὐδὲ τὸ παιανικὸν ἐπίρρημα, καθάπερ ὁ εἰς
 Λύσανδρον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην γραφεὶς οὕτως παιάν, ὃν
 φησι Δοῦρις ἐν τοῖς Σαμίων ἐπιγραφομένοις Ὀροις
 ἄδουσι ἐν Σάμῳ. παιάν δ' ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ εἰς Κρατερόν
 τὸν Μακεδόνα γραφεὶς, ὃν ἐτεκτήνατο Ἀλεξίνοιο ὁ
 f διαλεκτικὸς, ἢ φησὶν Ἑρμιππος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος ἐν τῷ
 πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους· ἄδεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐν
 Δελφοῖς, λυρίζοντός γέ τινος παιδός. καὶ ὁ εἰς Ἀγῆ-
 μονα δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον Ἀλκινόηος πατέρα, ὃν ἄδουσι
 Κορίνθιοι, ἔχει τὸ παιανικὸν ἐπίφθεγμα· παρέθετο δ'
 αὐτὸν Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀράνθιον
 Ἐπιστολῇ. καὶ ὁ εἰς Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν πρῶτον Αἰ-
 γύπτου βασιλεύσαντα παιάν ἐστὶν, ὃν ἄδουσι Ῥόδι-
 697 οιοὶ ἔχει γὰρ τὸ ἰὴ παιάν ἐπίφθεγμα, ἢ ὡς φησὶν
 Γόργων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Ῥόδῳ Θουσιῶν. ἐπ' Ἀντι-
 γόνῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ φησὶν Φιλόχορος Ἀθηναῖος
 ἄδειν παιᾶνας τοὺς πεποιημένους ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκλέους⁷¹
 τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ, ἐφαμίλλων γενομένων τῶν παιᾶνας
 ποιησάντων < . . . > καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκλέους προκρι-
 θέντος. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀπο-
 λογίᾳ τῆς Ἀσεβείας, εἰ μὴ κατέψευσται ὁ λόγος,

⁷¹ Ἑρμοκλέους Schweighäuser: Ἑρμίππου ACE

²³⁴ *iē paian* (see below).

²³⁵ Lysander (Poralla #504; d. 395 BCE) was Sparta's greatest military commander in the final years of the Peloponnesian War and the period that followed. The beginning of the paean in his honor is quoted at Plu. *Lys.* 18.3 (= *PMG* 867).

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Nor does the poem have the interjection typical of paeans,²³⁴ as the actual paean written in honor of Lysander of Sparta,²³⁵ which Duris in his work entitled *Samian Annals* (*FGrH* 76 F 26) claims was sung on Samos, does. The poem written in honor of Craterus of Macedon,²³⁶ which the dialectician Alexinus (*SH* 40 = *SSR* II C 15) produced, is also a paean, according to Callimachus' student Hermippus in Book I of *On Aristotle* (fr. 48 Wehrli); this song is sung on Delphi, and a boy plays accompaniment on a lyre. The poem written in honor of Agemon of Corinth, the father of Alcyone,²³⁷ which the Corinthians sing, also features the interjection typical of paeans; the travel-writer Polemon quoted it in his *Letter to Aranthius* (fr. 76 Preller). So too the poem written in honor of the first Ptolemy to become king of Egypt,²³⁸ which the Rhodians sing, is a paean, since it includes the interjection *iê paian*, according to Gorgo in his *On the Sacrifices in Rhodes* (*FGrH* 515 F *19). Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 165) claims that the Athenians sang the paeans composed by Hermocles of Cyzicus (*SH* 492) in honor of Antigonus and Demetrius,²³⁹ the poets who produced paeans participated in a competition . . . and Hermocles won. Aristotle himself, moreover, says in his *Defense Speech against a Charge of Impiety* (fr. 645 Rose)²⁴⁰—unless the speech is a forgery: Since

²³⁶ Berve i #446.

²³⁷ Agemon and Alcyone are otherwise unknown.

²³⁸ Ptolemy I Soter (d. 282 BCE; Berve i #668).

²³⁹ Cf. 6.252f–3f with n.

²⁴⁰ Not included in Gigon's edition of the fragments. The charge of impiety in question is that supposedly brought by Demophilus (15.696a–b).

φησίν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ἑρμεία θύειν ὡς ἀθανάτω
προαιρούμενος ὡς θνητῷ μνήμα κατεσκευάζον καὶ
b ἀθανατίζειν | τὴν φύσιν βουλόμενος ἐπιταφίοις ἂν
τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησα τὸ <σῶμα>. ⁷²

Τοιαῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ Δημοκρίτου ὁ Κύνουλος
ἔφη·

τί μ' ἀνέμνασας κείνων κυλίκων;

κατὰ τὸν σὸν Φίλωνα, δέον μὴδὲν τῶν σπουδῆς ἀξίων
λέγειν τι τοῦ γάστρωνος παρόντος Οὐλπιανού· οὗτος
γὰρ τὰς καπυρωτέρας ῥῥῆδας ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον τῶν
ἐσπουδασμένων. οἰαί εἰσιν αἱ Λοκρικαὶ καλούμεναι,
μοιχικαὶ τινες τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχουσαι, ὡς καὶ ἦδε·

ὦ τί πάσχεις; μὴ προδῶς ἄμμ', ἱκετεύω·
c πρὶν καὶ μολεῖν κείνον, | ἀνίστω,
μὴ κακόν <σε> μέγα ποιήσῃ
κάμῃ τὴν δειλάκραν.
ἄμέρα καὶ ἦδη· τὸ φῶς
διὰ τῆς θυρίδος οὐκ εἰσορῆς;

τοιούτων γὰρ ἁσμάτων αὐτοῦ πᾶσα πλήρης ἡ Φοι-
νίκη, ἐν ἧ καὶ αὐτὸς περιήει καλαμίζων μετὰ τῶν τοὺς
κολάβρους καλουμένους συντιθέντων· εἶρηται γάρ, ὦ
καλὲ Οὐλπιανέ, τοῦνομα. καὶ ὁ γε Σκήψιος Δημήτριος
ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου φησὶν οὕτως·
Κτησιφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ποιητῆς τῶν καλουμένων

⁷² add. Kaibel

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if I preferred to sacrifice to Hermeias as an immortal, I would never have had a tomb appropriate for a mortal constructed for him; nor, if I wanted to make him immortal, would I have honored his body with funeral rites.

As Democritus was offering remarks along these lines, Cynulcus said:

Why did you mention those cups?,

to quote your Philo (*SH* 689A); for nothing that deserves serious attention ought to be discussed in the presence of the pot-bellied Ulpian, who prefers sensuous songs to serious ones. The so-called Locrian songs,²⁴¹ which have to do with illicit sex, belong in this category, for example the following (carm. pop. *PMG* 853):

Oh—what's the matter with you? Please don't get us
in trouble!

Get up before he comes,
or he'll do something really terrible to you
and to poor little me.

It's already day; don't you see
the light coming through the window?

His Phoenicia is absolutely full of songs like this, and he himself used to make the rounds there, playing a reed pipe and accompanied by the people who compose what are known as *kolabroi*; for the word is in use, my good Ulpian. Demetrius of Scepsis, for example, in Book X of his *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 6 Gaede) says the following: Ctesiphon of Athens,²⁴² who composed what are known as *kolabroi*

²⁴¹ Cf. 14.639a (citing Clearchus).

²⁴² Stephanis #1516; *PAA* 587575.

d κολάβρων, ὃν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ Φιλέταιρον | ἄρξας
 Περγάμου Ἄτταλος δικαστὴν καθεστάκει βασιλικῶν
 τῶν περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος συγγραφεὺς
 κὰν τῷ ἔννεακαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας Μνη-
 σιπτολέμων φησὶ ποτε τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου τοῦ παρὰ
 Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ προσαγορευθέντι Μεγάλῳ πλείστον
 ἰσχύσαντος υἱὸν γενέσθαι Σέλευκον τὸν τῶν ἰλαρῶν
 ἄσμάτων ποιητὴν· οὐπερ συνεχῶς ἄδειν εἰώθασιν·

καὶ γὰρ παιδοφιλήσω· πολὺ μοι κάλλιον ἢ γαμῆν· |
 e παῖς μὲν γὰρ παρεῶν κῆν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον
 ἐπωφελεῖ.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ἔφη· ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδὴ μοι ὀργίζῃ, ἔρχομαί σοι λέξων τὸν συρβηνέων
 χορὸν ὅστις ἐστί· καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, οἷει γάρ, ἔφη,
 κάθαρμα, θυμούσθαί με ἐφ' οἷς εἴρηκας ἢ καπ' ὀλίγον
 σου πεφροντικένοι,

< . . . > κύον ἀδδέες;

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ διδάσκειν μέ τι ἐπαγγέλλῃ, σπονδὰς σοι
 ποιῶμαι οὐ τριακοντούτιδας ἀλλ' ἑκατοντούτιδας. σὺ
 δὲ μόνον δίδασκε τίς ὁ συρβηνέων χορός. <καὶ ὅς·>⁷³
 f Κλέαρχος, | ὦ λῶστε, ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Παιδείας οὕτω-

⁷³ add. Schweighäuser

²⁴³ Attalus I Soter (reigned 241–197 BCE); his great-grandfather, grandfather, father, and son were all also named Attalus.

(SSH 369A) and was made a judge in charge of the royal territory around Aeolis by the first Attalus to rule Pergamum after Philetaerus.²⁴³ This same author in Book XIX of the same work (fr. 13 Gaede) reports that the historian Mnesiptolemus (*FGrH* 164 T 1), who at one point had considerable influence with the Antiochus known as “the Great,”²⁴⁴ had a son named Seleucus²⁴⁵ who wrote amusing songs. They routinely sang the following song by him (p. 176 Powell):

And I'll love a boy. That's much better, in my opinion,
than getting married;
because if a boy's around, he's more useful in war.

After this, (Cynulcus) glanced at (Ulpian) and said: Well, since you are angry with me anyway, I am going to tell you what your chorus of *surbênes* is.²⁴⁶ Ulpian responded: Do you think, you scum, that I am upset about what you said, or that I feel the slightest concern about you,

you fearless dog?²⁴⁷ (cf. *Il.* 21.481)

But since you claim that you can teach me something, I offer you a truce not just for 30 years but for 100;²⁴⁸ all I ask is that you instruct me as to what a chorus of *surbênes* is. And (Cynulcus) replied: Clearchus, best of men, in Book II of

²⁴⁴ Antiochus III (reigned 222–187 BCE).

²⁴⁵ Stephanis #2248.

²⁴⁶ Cf. 15.669b with n., 671c.

²⁴⁷ Punning on the fact that Cynulcus is a Cynic (literally “dog-like one”).

²⁴⁸ 30 years (i.e. a full generation) was the standard term for truces among Greek states in the classical period; cf. *Ar. Ach.* 194–5 with Olson ad loc.

σί φησιν· λείπεται τίς ὁ συρβηνέων χορός, ὧν ἕκαστος τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτῷ † κατασαιδεῖ †, προσέχων οὐδὲν τῷ προκαθημένῳ καὶ διδάσκοντι τὸν χορόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πολὺ τούτων ἀτακτότερός ἐστιν θεατῆς. καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρωδὸν Μάτρωνα·

οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι πάρος ἦσαν ἄριστοι,
 Εὐβοίός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης δίοί τε Φίλιπποι,
 οἱ μὲν δὴ τεθνήασι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν· ||
 698 ἔστι δέ τις Κλεόνικος, ὃν ἀθάνατον λάχε γῆρυν,
 οὔτε ποιητῶν ἀδαήμων οὔτε θεάτρων,
 ᾧ καὶ τεθνεῶτι λαλεῖν πόρε Φερσεφόνεια.

σὺ δὲ καὶ ζῶν, καλὲ Οὐλλπιανέ, πάντα μὲν ζητεῖς,
 λέγεις δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν. καὶ ὅς, τίς ἠδέως, ἔφη, τῶν ἐπῶν
 < . . . >, ᾧ καλέ μου ἑταῖρε, ἕως ἔτι ἐμμένομεν ταῖς
 σπονδαῖς; καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος· πολλοὶ τινες παρωδιῶν
 ποιηταὶ γεγόνασιν, ᾧ ἑταῖρε· ἐνδοξότατος δ' ἦν Εὐ-
 βοῖος ὁ Πάριος, γενόμενος τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Φίλιπ-
 πον. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ Ἀθηναίους λουδορησάμενος, |
 b καὶ σφύζεται αὐτοῦ τῶν Παρωδιῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα.
 μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Τίμων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Σίλλων.
 Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Τίμαιον περὶ
 τῶν τὰς παρωδίας γεγραφότων ἱστορῶν τάδε γράφει·
 καὶ τὸν Βοιωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐβοῖον τοὺς τὰς παρ-
 ωδίας γράψαντας λογίους ἂν φήσαιμι διὰ τὸ παίζειν
 ἀμφιδεξίως καὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ποιητῶν ὑπερ-

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On Education (fr. 15 Wehrli) says the following: What remains is the question of the identity of the chorus of *surbênes*, each of whom [corrupt] whatever he likes and pays no attention to the man who directs and trains the chorus, but is a far more disorderly audience than they are. To quote the parodist Matro (fr. 7 Olson-Sens = *SH* 540):

For all those who were outstanding men of old,
Euboeus, Hermogenes, and the brilliant Philips—
they are dead and in the house of Hades.
But there is a certain Cleonicus, who has got an
immortal voice,
a man unknown neither to poets nor to audiences,
to whom Persephone granted the ability to chatter
even after death.

Whereas you, my noble Ulpian, raise questions of all sorts while you are alive, but offer no answers. And (Ulpian) said: Who would enjoy . . . of verses, my noble friend, while we are still maintaining our truce? Cynulcus (replied): Many poets have produced parodies, my friend. The most famous was Euboeus of Paros (*SH* 410), who was a contemporary of Philip.²⁴⁹ He is the one who made nasty remarks about the Athenians, and four Books of his *Parodies* are preserved; Timo mentions him in Book I of his *Silloi* (*SH* 776). Polemon in Book XII of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 45 Preller), in the course of his discussion of the authors of parodies, writes the following: I would refer to both Boeotus and Euboeus, who wrote parodies, as learned men, since they make witty remarks that can be understood several ways and are better than the poets of earlier

²⁴⁹ Presumably Philip II of Macedon (382–336 BCE).

ἔχειν ἐπιγεγονότας. εὐρετὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους Ἰππώ-
νακτα φατέον τὸν ἰαμβοποιόν. λέγει γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τοῖς
ἑξαμέτροις· |

- c Μοῦσά μοι Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεω τὴν ποντοχάρυβδι,
τὴν ἐγγαστριμάχαιραν, ὃς ἐσθίει οὐ κατὰ
κόσμον,
ἔννεφ', ὅπως ψηφίδι <κακῇ> κακὸν οἶτον ὀληται
βουλῇ δημοσίῃ παρὰ θίν' ἀλὸς ἀπρυγέτιο.

κέχρηται δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τισὶ τῶν
δραμάτων ἐπ' ὀλίγον καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας
κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐν Εὐνείδαις καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
Ἠγήμων ὁ Θάσιος, ὃν ἐκάλουν Φακῆν. λέγει γὰρ
οὕτως· |

- d ἐς δὲ Θάσον μ' ἐλθόντα μετεωρίζοντες ἔβαλλον
πολλοῖσι σπελέθοισι, καὶ ᾧδέ τις εἶπε παραστάς·
“ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν βδελυρώτατε, τίς σ' ἀνέπεισε
καλὴν <ἐς> κρηπίδα ποσὶν τοιοῖσδ' ἀναβῆναι;” |
e τοῖσι δ' ἐγὼ πᾶσιν μικρὸν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἔπος εἶπον·
“μνῆ μ' ἀνέπεισε γέροντα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντ'
ἀναβῆναι
καὶ σπάνις, ἧ πολλοὺς Θασίων εἰς ὀλκάδα
βάλλει

²⁵⁰ Cratinus' floruit is c.455–423 BCE. For Hegemon's dates, cf. 9.407a–c with nn.

²⁵¹ Most of the final four verses is quoted also at 9.406e–f, along with additional anecdotes about Hegemon (PAA 480870).

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generations, despite coming later. It must be acknowledged, of course, that the genre was invented by the iambic poet Hipponax; for he says in his hexameters (fr. 126 Degani):

Muse, as for the son of Eurymedon, the sea-
 Charybdis,
 the knife in the gut, who eats in a disorderly fashion,
 tell me how the wretch will die a wretched death by
 stoning
 by the popular will beside the shore of the barren
 sea.

Epicharmus of Syracuse (test. 20) also uses parody in some of his plays, to a limited extent, as do the Old Comic poet Cratinus in *Euneidae* (test. i) and, among his contemporaries,²⁵⁰ Hegemon of Thasos, who was nicknamed Lentil-Soup. Because he says the following:²⁵¹

When I came to Thasos, they hoisted numerous
 lumps of shit
 and began to pelt me with them, and one of those
 present spoke thus:
 "O foulest of all men—who convinced you
 to go up onto the lovely stage with feet like these?"
 But I addressed this one little word to all of them:
 "A *mina* of silver²⁵² convinced me, old and unwilling
 though I am, to go up,
 along with my poverty, which drives many Thasians
 into cargo-ships,

²⁵² = 100 drachmas, which must have been the prize for first place; that Hegemon came home with only 50 drachmas (below) makes it clear that he took second place, at best.

εὐκούρων βδελυρῶν, ὀλλύντων τ' ὀλλυμένων τε
 ἀνδρῶν, οἳ νῦν κείθι κακῶς κακὰ ραψφδοῦσιν·
 οἷς καὶ ἐγὼ σιτοῖο μέγα χρηΐζων ἐπίθησα.
 αὐθις δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ κέρδος ἀπέισομαι, εἰς Θεασίους
 δὲ

f μηδένα πημαίνων κλυτὸν ἄργυρον ἐγγυαλίξων,
 μή τίς μοι κατὰ οἶκον Ἀχαιιάδων νεμεσήσῃ |
 πεσομένης ἀλόχου τὸν ἀχαιῖνον ἄρτον ἀεικῶς,
 καὶ ποτέ τις εἶπη σμικρὸν τυροῦντ' ἐσιδοῦσα,
 ὡς φίλη, ὠνήρ μὲν παρ' Ἀθηναίοισιν ἀείσας
 πεντήκοντ' ἔλαβε δραχμάς, σὺ δὲ μικρὸν
 ἐπέψω.”

ταῦτά μοι ὀρμαίνονται παρίστατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
 χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἔχουσα καὶ ἤλασεν εἰπέ τε
 φωνῇ· ||

699 “δεινὰ παθοῦσα, Φακῆ βδελυρά, χῶρει ᾿ς τὸν
 ἀγῶνα.”

καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσησα καὶ ἤειδον πολὺ μᾶλλον.

πεποίηκε δὲ παρωδίας καὶ Ἑρμιππος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας
 κωμωδίας ποιητής. τούτων δὲ πρῶτος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς
 τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς θυμελικοὺς Ἠγήμων καὶ παρ' Ἀθη-
 ναίοις ἐνίκησεν ἄλλαις τε παρωδίαῖς καὶ τῇ Γιγαντο-
 μαχίᾳ. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ κωμωδίαν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον
 τρόπον, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Φιλίην. ὁ δὲ Εὐβόιος πολ-

253 An echo of *Il.* 4.451.

254 An echo of *Od.* 2.101 = 19.146 = 24.136.

255 *achaïnon*; cf. 3.109e-f.

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well-barbered wretches, destroying and destroyed,²⁵³
 who now do a bad job of performing bad songs there;
 this is what convinced me, in my desperate need for
 food.

But I will not go away after profit again, but will hand
 over

glorious silver to the Thasians, doing no one harm,
 lest one of the Achaean women in my house express
 resentment against me²⁵⁴

when my wife bakes Demeter's bread²⁵⁵ too
 meagerly,

and then one of them says, seeing the tiny cheese-
 cake,

"My dear, your husband got 50 drachmas in Athens
 by his singing—but you baked something small!"

And as I was pondering these things, Pallas Athena
 stood beside me

with a gold wand in her hand, and she struck me with
 it and made a speech:

"Although you have suffered terrible things,
 wretched Lentil-Soup, enter the contest."

And then I got my courage up and sang much louder.

The Old Comic poet Hermippus (test. 7) also composed
 parodies.²⁵⁶ The first of these men to enter competitions
 onstage was Hegemon, who took the prize in Athens with
 various parodies, including with his *Gigantomachy*.²⁵⁷ He
 is also (test. 2) the author of a comedy in the old style; the
 title given to it is *Philinê*. Euboeus makes many witty re-

²⁵⁶ Cf. fr. 63 (quoted at 1.27e–8a); 77 (quoted at 1.29e–f).

²⁵⁷ Cf. 9.407a–b.

- b λὰ μὲν εἶρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν χαρίεντα, | περὶ μὲν
τῆς τῶν βαλανέων μάχης·

βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ λοιδορουμένου κουρέως τῷ κεραμῆϊ τῆς
γυναικὸς χάριν·

μήτε σὺ τόνδ' ἀγαθὸς περ ἔων ἀποαίρεο, κουρεῦ,
μήτε σύ, Πηλεΐδη.

ὅτι δὲ ἦν τις περὶ αὐτοὺς δόξα παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ὁ τραγωδοδιάσκαλος ποιή-
σας ἐλεγείων τρόπον τοῦτον δηλοῖ· |

- c ὡς Ἀγαθοκλείος λάσσαι φρένες ἤλασαν ἔξω
πατρίδος. ἀρχαίων ἦν ὄδ' ἀνὴρ προγόνων,
εἰδὼς ἐκ νεότητος αἰεὶ ξείνοισιν ὀμιλεῖν
ξείνος, Μιμνέρμου δ' † εἰς ἔπος ἄκρον ἰὼν
παιδομανεῖ σὺν ἔρωτι ποτὴν ἴσον †· ἔγραφε δ'
ὠνὴρ
εὖ παρ' Ὀμηρεῖην ἀγλαίην ἐπέων
πισύγγους ἢ φῶρας ἀναιδέας ἢ τινα χλούνην
φλύοντ' ἀνθηρῇ σὺν κακοδαμονίῃ,

²⁵⁸ = *Il.* 18.534 = *Od.* 9.55, but with a key word to be taken in a different sense than in Homer.

²⁵⁹ A slightly altered version of *Il.* 1.275, 277 (Nestor intervenes in the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles over Briseis). For "son of Mud" (punning on the name Peleus), cf. 11.474d–e n.

²⁶⁰ Tyrant of Syracuse 316–289/8 BCE.

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marks in his poems; about the battle of the bathmen, for example (*SH* 411):

They hurled bronze-edged bowls at one another.²⁵⁸

And about the barber who called the potter names on account of the woman (*SH* 412):

Neither do you, brave man though you are, rob this
fellow, barber,
nor do you, son of Mud . . .²⁵⁹

That these authors had a reputation of some sort in Sicily is made clear by the tragic poet Alexander Aetolus, who produced an elegy along the following lines (fr. 5, p. 125 Powell):

when Agathocles²⁶⁰ coarse mind drove (him)
out of
his native land. This man traced his ancestry far
back,
and even as a youth he always understood how to
behave as a stranger
among strangers, and Mimnermus' † to the
extreme word going
with a mad lust for boys balanced flight. † The man
used to write,
in a lovely parody of the Homeric splendor of epic
verses,
about shoemakers, or shameless thieves, or some
other robber
babbling with flowery baseness,

οἶα Συρηκόσιος, καὶ ἔχων χάριν· ὃς δὲ Βοιωτοῦ
ἔκλυεν, Εὐβοίῳ τέρπεται οὐδ' ὀλίγον. |

- d Πολλῶν οὖν ἐκάστοτε τοιούτων λεγομένων, ἐπεὶ
ποτε ἐσπέρα κατελάμβανεν ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν τις ἔλεγεν,
παῖ, λυχνεῖον, ὁ δὲ λυχνέα, ὁ δὲ λοφνίδα, οὕτω καλεῖ-
σθαι φάσκων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φίλοιου λαμπάδα, ὁ δὲ πανόν,
ἄλλος δὲ φανόν, ὁ δὲ λυχνούχον, ὁ δὲ λύχνον, καὶ
δίμυξον δὲ λύχνον ἕτερος, ἄλλος δὲ ἐλάνην, ὁ δὲ τις
ἐλάνας, τὰς λαμπάδας οὕτω φάσκων καλεῖσθαι παρὰ
τὴν ἑλλην· οὕτω δ' εἰπεῖν Νεάνθην ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Περὶ
Ἄτταλον Ἱστοριῶν· καὶ ἄλλος ὃ τι δὴ ποτε, ὡς τάρα-
e χον γίνεσθαι οὐ τὸν τυχόντα τῶν | ἐπὶ τούτοις
πίστεων παρὰ πάντων λεγομένων. Σιληνὸν μὲν γάρ
τις τὸν γλωσσογράφον ἔφασκεν Ἀθηναίους λέγειν
τὰς λαμπάδας φανούς. Τιμαχίδας δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος δέλε-
τρον τὸν φανὸν καλεῖσθαι, οἶον, φησὶν, οἱ νυκτερευ-
όμενοι τῶν νέων ἔχουσι, < . . . > οὕς οὗτοι ἐλάνας
καλοῦσιν.⁷⁴ Ἀμερίας δὲ γράβιον τὸν φανόν. Σέλευκος
δὲ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· γράβιον ἐστίν

⁷⁴ Everything that follows from Ἀμερίας to πρίνι- (about 4½ lines of the text) is now missing from A. The damage has apparently occurred since Kaibel's time, and I give the text as he prints it.

²⁶¹ Cf. 15.701a, citing Cleitarchus.

²⁶² Apparently to be understood as a variant form of *hela/heilê* ("the sun's heat").

²⁶³ Thus also Hsch. δ 589. The word is attested elsewhere only

as Syracusans do; and he got a good reception.

Anyone who listened
to Boeotus will take considerable pleasure in
Euboeus.

We routinely discussed numerous topics similar to these, and when evening began to overtake us, one member of the group said, Slave! (Get me) a *luchneion*!, while others asked for a *luchneus*, a *lophnis* (insisting that this was the term for a torch made of bark),²⁶¹ or a *panos*, while yet others called for a *phanos*, a *luchmouchos*, or a *luchnos*, and someone else demanded a *dimuxos luchnos*, and yet another person requested a *helanê* or used the plural *helanai* (claiming that this was a term for torches derived from *helê*,²⁶² and that Neanthes used it in Book I of his *History Involving Attalus* [FGrH 171 F 1]). Other members of the group used various other terms, producing extraordinary confusion, as testimonia in support of all the words were cited from authors of all sorts. Someone claimed that the lexicographer Silenus argued that the Athenians referred to torches as *fanoi*. Whereas Timachidas of Rhodes (fr. 23 Blinkenberg) says that a torch (*phanos*) of the type young men carry when they are out at night is referred to as a *deletron*²⁶³ . . . which these people call *helanai*. Amerias (p. 10 Hoffmann) (claims that) a torch (*phanos*) (is known as) a *grabion*.²⁶⁴ Seleucus (fr. 46 Müller) glosses this word as follows: A *grabion* is a piece of holm oak or

at Numen. SH 570.2 (quoted at 7.287c); 574.1 (quoted at 7.306c) (both emendations), where it means "bait, a lure."

²⁶⁴ Cf. Hsch. γ 757, where the word appears in the form *gobriai*.

τὸ πρίνινον ἢ δρύινον ξύλον, ὃ περιεθλασμένον καὶ
κατεσχισμένον ἐξάπτεσθαι καὶ φαίνειν τοῖς ὀδοιπο-
f ροῦσιν. Θεοδωρίδας γοῦν ὁ | Συρακόσιος ἐν Κενταύ-
ροις διθυράμβῳ φησίν·

πίσσα δ' ἀπὸ γραβίων ἕσταζεν,

οἶον ἀπὸ <..⁴⁶.. λαμ>πάδων.⁷⁵ μνημονεύει δὲ > γρα-
βίων κατὰ Στράτις > ἐν Φοινίσσαις. ὅτι δὲ λυχνούχοι
οἱ νῦν καλούμενοι φανοὶ ὠνομάζοντο Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
Αἰολοσίκωνι παράστασι·

καὶ διαστίλβονθ' ὀρώμεν,
ὥσπερ ἐν καινῷ λυχνούχῳ,
πάντα τῆς ἐξωμίδος.

ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Νιόβῳ προειπὼν λυχνούχον

οἴμοι κακόδαιμον (φησίν), ὃ λύχνος ἡμῖν
οἴχεται.

εἶτ' ἐπιφέρει·

καὶ πῶς ὑπερβὰς τὸν λυχνούχον ἔλαθέ σε;

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς καὶ λυχνίδιον αὐτὸν καλεῖ διὰ τούτων·

⁷⁵ The material that follows (to the beginning of 700a) is omitted in Casaubon's edition and therefore lacks further section-designations.

oak, which has had its bark stripped off and been split,²⁶⁵ and which is then set alight and shows travelers their way. Theodoridas of Syracuse, for example, says in his dithyramb *Centaurs* (SH 739):

Pitch was dripping from *grabia*,

which is to say, from . . . torches. Strattis in *Phoenician Women* (fr. 53) also refers to *grabia*. That what are known today as *phanoi* were called *luchnouxi*²⁶⁶ is established by Aristophanes in *Aeolosicon* (fr. 8):

And we see them all
shining through her dress,
as if they were set in a new *luchnouchos*.

And in *Niobe II*²⁶⁷ (fr. 290, encompassing both quotations) he first mentions a *luchnouchos*, and then says:

Oh no! Damn! We're losing our *luchnos*!

Then he continues:

How could you not have noticed that he'd got ahead
of the *luchnouchos*?

But in the section that comes next he refers to it as a *luchnidion*,²⁶⁸ in the following passage (fr. 291):

²⁶⁵ Allowing flammable material to be inserted between the pieces of wood, which were then bound together again.

²⁶⁶ Properly "*luchnos*-holders," i.e. "lanterns."

²⁶⁷ Presumably the play elsewhere referred to as *Dramas* or *Niobus* (e.g. 7.301b).

²⁶⁸ Properly a diminutive form of *luchnos*, but clearly to be taken "lampstand" in the quotation that follows.

ATHENAEUS

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ λύχνος
ὁμοιώτατα καθηῦδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λυχνιδίου.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Νυκτὶ Μακρᾷ·

ἔξουσιν οἱ πομπεῖς λυχνούχους δηλαδῆ.

Φερεκράτης Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ·

ἄνυσόν ποτ' ἐξελθών, σκότος γὰρ γίγνεται,⁷⁶
καὶ τὸν λυχνούχον ἔκφερ' ἐνθεῖς τὸν λύχνον.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Κηρυττομένῳ·

ὥστ' ἐξελὼν <ἐκ> τοῦ λυχνούχου τὸν λύχνον
μικροῦ κατακαύσας ἔλαθ' ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ μάλης
τῇ γαστρὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος προσαγαγών.

Εὐμήδης δ' ἐν Σφαττομένῳ προειπών·

ἡγουμένην⁷⁷ δὲ λυχνὸν εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' ἰδὼν
[.]ατο . υμένιδι[.],

ἐπιφέρει·

[. . . λυχνο]ύχῳ . . . κο[

Ἐπικράτης δ' ἐν Τριόδοντι ἢ Ῥωποπώλῃ προειπών·

(Α.) λαβὲ τριόδοντα καὶ λυχνούχον,

⁷⁶ Everything that follows from καὶ τοῦ λυχνούχου- or so (about 4½ lines of the text) is now missing from A. The damage has apparently occurred since Kaibel's time, and I give the text as he prints it.

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But he was sleeping
just like a *luchnos* on its *luchnidion*.

Plato in *The Long Night* (fr. 91):

Our escorts will have *luchnouchoi*, obviously.

Pherecrates in *The Slave-Teacher* (fr. 44):

Hurry up and get out here; it's getting dark!
Put the *luchnos* in the *luchnouchos*, and bring it out!

Alexis in *The Man Who Was Named in a Proclamation*
(fr. 107):

so that after he took the *luchnos* out of the
luchnouchos,
he accidentally almost burned himself, by furtively
holding it closer to his belly than he should have.

Eumedes in *The Man Who Was Murdered* (fr. 1, encompassing both quotations) begins by saying:

When he saw . . . being led forward,
he [indecipherable],

and then continues:

with a [*luchno*]*uchos* . . .

Epicrates in *The Trident or The Frills-Vendor* (fr. 7, encompassing both quotations) begins by saying:

(A.) Take a trident and a *luchnouchos*,

⁷⁷ K-A do not accent the word, noting that the letters might instead be divided ἡγοῦ μέν ἦν ("Lead the way! If . . ."; thus Kaibel).

ἐπιφέρει·

(B.) ἐγὼ δὲ δεξιᾷ γε τόνδ' ἔχω τινά,
σιδηρότευκτον ἐναλίων θηρῶν βέλος,
κερατίνου τε φωσφόρου λύχνου σέλας. ||

700 Ἄλεξις Μίδωνι·

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρὼν μετὰ λυχνούχου περιπατεῖν
τῆς νυκτὸς ἦν τις κηδεμῶν τῶν δακτύλων.

ἐν δὲ Θεοφορήτῳ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἄλεξις·

οἰμαί γ' ἐπιτιμᾶν τῶν ἀπαντώντων τινὰς
ἡμῖν, ὅτι τηνικαῦτα μεθύων περιπατῶ.
ποῖος γάρ ἐστιν φανός, ὃ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
τοιούτος οἶος ὁ γλυκύτατος ἥλιος;

Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ἐν Ἔτβρει·

b οὐκουν λαβὼν τὸν | φανὸν ἄψεις μοι λύχνον;

ἄλλοι δὲ ἔφασκον φανὸν λέγεσθαι τὴν λαμπάδα, οἱ δὲ
τὴν ἔκ τινων ξύλων τετμημένων δέσμη. Μένανδρος
Ἀνεψιοῖς·

ὁ φανός ἐστι μεστὸς ὕδατος οὔτοσί·
δεῖ τ' οὐχὶ σείειν, ἀλλ' ἀποσείειν αὐτόθεν.

Νικόστρατος ἐν Πατριώταις·

²⁶⁹ This quotation and the one from Anaxandrides that follows belong to the discussion of the word *phanos* below.

and then continues:

(B.) I've got this in my right hand, whatever it is:
an iron-forged missile intended for aquatic beasts,
and the gleam of a light-bearing *luchnos* made of
horn.

Alexis in *Midon* (fr. 152):

Whoever came up with the idea of wandering around
at night
with a *luchnouchos* was concerned about his toes.

The same Alexis in *The Man Who Was Possessed by a God*
(fr. 91):²⁶⁹

I imagine some people we meet will criticize
me for wandering around drunk at this time of day.
But what *phanos*, by the gods, is
as good as the sun we love so much?

Anaxandrides in *Outrageous Behavior* (fr. 49):

Won't you take the *phanos* and light it for me as a
luchnos?

But other members of the group claimed that a *lampas*
("torch") can be referred to as a *phanos*, while some in-
sisted that *phanos* is a term for a number of pieces of split
wood of some sort that have been bundled together. Me-
nander in *Cousins* (fr. 60):

This *phanos* here's full of water.
It's not a matter of shaking it—you have to shake it
out!

Nicostratus in *Men from the Same Country* (fr. 22):

ὁ κάπηλος γὰρ οὐκ τῶν γειτόνων
 ἄν τ' οἶνον ἄν τε φανὸν ἀποδῶταί τι
 ἄν τ' ὄξος, ἀπέπεμψ' ὁ κατάρατος δοὺς ὕδωρ. |

c Φιλιππίδης Συμπλεούσαις·

(A.) ὁ φανὸς ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔφαιεν οὐδὲ ἓν.

(B.) ἔπειτα φυσᾶν δυστυχῆς οὐκ ἠδύνω;

Φερεκράτης δὲ ἐν Κραπατάλλοις τὴν νῦν λυχνίαν
 καλουμένην λύχνειον κέκληκεν διὰ τούτων·

(A.) τίς τῶν λυχνείων ἡργασία; (B.) Τυρρηνική.

ποικίλαι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἐργασίαι,
 φιλοτέχνων ὄντων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν. Ἀντιφάνης δ' Ἰπ-
 πεύσι·

τῶν δ' ἀκοντίων
 συνδούντες ὀρθὰ τρία λυχνείῳ χρώμεθα.

d Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἰ' Ἀγνοία·

ἄψαντες λύχνου
 λυχνείον ἐζητοῦμεν.

Εὐφορίων δ' ἐν Ἰστορικοῖς Ἰπομνήμασιν Διονύσιόν
 φησι τὸν νεώτερον Σικελίας τύραννον Ταραντίνοις εἰς
 τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἀναθεῖναι λυχνείον δυνάμενον καίειν

²⁷⁰ Poll. 9.30 (citing fr. 17) calls the play *The Woman Who Sailed off with Others*, and Meineke suggested that the actual title might be *Women Who Sailed off with Others*.

BOOK XV

Since whether the neighborhood bartender
sells someone wine, or a *phanos*,
or vinegar, the bastard gives him water and sends him
off.

Philippides in *Women in a Boat Together* (fr. 16):²⁷⁰

(A.) Our *phanos* wasn't shedding any light (*ephainen*)
at all.

(B.) So couldn't you blow on it, you fool?

Pherecrates in *Small Change* (fr. 90) uses the term *luchneion* ("lampstand") for what is known today as a *luchnia*, in the following passage:

(A.) Where were these *luchneia* made? (B.) They're
Etruscan.

A wide variety of goods were manufactured in Etruria, since the Etruscans were interested in crafts of all sorts. Antiphanes in *Knights* (fr. 109):

We tie three of our javelin-shafts
together, stand them up, and use them as a
luchneion.

Diphilus in *Ignorance* (fr. 2):

After we lit a *luchnos*,
we started looking for a *luchneion*.

Euphorion in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 5, FHG iii.72) says that the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Younger²⁷¹ dedicated a *luchneion* in the *prytaneion* ("town-hall") in

²⁷¹ Reigned 367–357 BCE.

τοσούτους λύχνους ὅσος ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. Ἑρμιππος δὲ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ἰάμβοις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν λυχνεῖον σύνθετον οὕτως ὀνομάζει, ἐν δὲ Φορμοφόροις δράματι·

τῆδ' ἐξιόντι † δεξιᾷ †, ὦ λυχνίδιον.

πανὸς δ' ὀνομάζεται τὸ διακεκομμένον ξύλον καὶ |
e συνδεδεμένον· τούτω δ' ἐχρῶντο λαμπάδι. Μένανδρος
Ἀνεψιοῖς·

εἰσιῶν

πανόν, λύχνον, λυχνουῆχον, ὃ τι πάρεστι· φῶς
μόνον πολὺ ποίει.

Δίφιλος Στρατιώτη·

ἀλλ' ὁ πανὸς ὕδατός ἐστι μεστός.

πρότερος δὲ τούτων Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι μέμνηται τοῦ πανοῦ <καὶ Εὐριπίδης>⁷⁸ ἐν Ἴωνι. ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτον οἶ>⁷⁹ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ ξυλολυχνουῆχον,⁸⁰ οὗ μνηκμονεύει Ἀλεξίς>⁸¹ ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένῳ⁸² οὕτως⁸³·

⁷⁸ add. Meineke ⁷⁹ suppl. Kaibel ⁸⁰ suppl. Kaibel

⁸¹ suppl. Meineke ⁸² suppl. Meineke

⁸³ add. Kaibel. Most of the right-hand column of the recto of folio 381 of manuscript A is missing, as is therefore most of the left-hand column of the verso. Kaibel was apparently able to read more letters than can be seen today, and I print the text as he gives it, with a few minor corrections. Each line in this section of the text originally contained 17–20 letters.

BOOK XV

Tarentum that could hold as many lighted *luchnoi* as there are days in the year. The comic poet Hermippus in the *Iambs* (fr. 8 West²) refers to the sort of *luchneion* soldiers use specifically as *suntheton* ("compound"), whereas in his play *Porters* (fr. 62) (he says):

as one exits here † on the right †, my *luchnidion*.

Wood that has been cut up and then bound together is referred to as a *panos*; they used this as a torch (*lampas*). Menander in *Cousins* (fr. 59):

Go inside (and get)
a *panos*, or a *luchnos*, or a *luchnouchos*, or whatever's
available! Just
generate a lot of light!

Diphilus in *The Soldier*²⁷² (fr. 6):

But the *panos* is full of water!

Even earlier than these authors, Aeschylus mentions a *panos* in *Agamemnon* (284),²⁷³ as does Euripides in *Ion* (195). Our predecessors also referred to this as a *xuloluchnouchos*.²⁷⁴ Alexis in *The Man Who Was Moving In* (fr. 66) mentions one of these, as follows:

²⁷² For the title of the play, see 11.496f–497a with n.

²⁷³ Most of two columns of text has been lost from manuscript A at this point, leaving only a few letters in each line. Some of what has been lost can be restored from Pollux and the Epitome (below).

²⁷⁴ Literally "a wood-*luchnouchos*," i.e. "a lantern made of wood."

ATHENAEUS

ὁ δὲ ξυλο[λυχνουῶχος . . .

πυρὸς[. . .

γῖ[

χ[

ο[

κ[. . . μνημο]νε[ύει δὲ Θεόπομπος ἐν Εἰρή]ν[η λέγων
οὕτωςί·

ἡμᾶς δ' ἀ]παλ[λαχθέντας ἐπ' ἀγαθαῖς] τύχα[ις
ὀβελισκολυχνίου] καὶ ξ[ιφομαχαίρας πικρᾶς].⁸⁴

επακ[

επισ[

ασελ[

ωτι[

πῶς[

μεν[

δαίν[υ

γωδ[

οισπ[

φη[

ενο[

νειμ[

απτ[

⁸⁴ Restored by Kaibel from Poll. 10.118. The absence of marginal carats (marking verbatim quotations of ancient authors) suggests that this section was mostly a summary of grammarians' comments and the like.

BOOK XV

But the *xulo*[*luchnouchos*] . . .
of fire . . .

Theopompus in *Peace* (fr. 8) mentions (an *obeliskoluchnion*²⁷⁵), saying the following:

we who were lucky enough to escape
the *obeliskoluchnion* and the bitter dagger.

²⁷⁵ Literally "a spit-*luchnion*," i.e. presumably "a spit used as a *luchnion*"; here clearly a piece of makeshift equipment used by soldiers in the field. Cf. Antiph. fr. 109 (quoted at 15.700c).

Φιλύ[λλιος⁸⁵

π[

δι[

λα[

φ[

φ[

τ[

ξ[

δ[

. [

. [

. [

ζον δαΐδας . . .] μετὰ χερσὶν
ἔχοντες.⁸⁶ . . .] δὲ τῶν ἄλλων

]ὡς ἐβάδι

έμενον ἔν

δέοι κατα

ὄπερ ἔτι

νι

. ρων

ιη

.

.

.

.

κάν

ἦμι

⁸⁵ suppl. Schoell

⁸⁶ suppl. Kaibel

BOOK XV

Phily[llius] (fr. 29)²⁷⁶

how they made their
way, holding torches (*daïdes*)
in their hands (adesp. com. fr. *126) . . . But of the
others

which very thing still

²⁷⁶ See the text of the Epitome below.

ATHENAEUS

ο φησὶ
λεί
οδω
ι εἰς
ωλι
δ' ἐνι
λύ
υθέ
υτί
όν
ἦσ
εκ
ου
ψη
χρυ
αφά
ει |
ον
υ
διμύ]ξου⁸⁷
ει
ὰ
σ
αἶ
·
α
·
·

BOOK XV

says

with two oil-chambers

87 suppl. Kaibel

Ξυλολύχνον δὲ μέμνηται Ἄλεξις· καὶ τάχα τούτῳ ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τὸ παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ ὀβελισκόλυχνον. Φι-
 f λύλλιος δὲ τὰς λαμπάδας δᾶδας καλεῖ. οὐ παλαιὸν | δ'
 εὔρημα λύχνος· φλογὶ δ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τῆς τε δαδὸς καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ξύλων ἐχρῶντο. † κοιμίσαι λύχνον † Φρύ-
 νιχος φησί.

IE

< . . . >σω καὶ θρυαλλίδ', ἦν δέη.

καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Νυκτὶ Μακρᾷ·

ἐνταῦθ' ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν κροτάφων ἕξει λύχνον
 δίμυξον.

701 μνημονεύει τοῦ διμύξου λύχνου καὶ Μεταγένης ἐν
 Φιλοθύτῃ καὶ Φιλωνίδῃς ἐν Κοθόρνοις. || Κλείταρχος
 δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις λοφνίδα φησὶ καλεῖν Ῥοδίους
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου λαμπάδα. Ὅμηρος δὲ
 τὰς λαμπάδας δετὰς ὀνομάζει·

καϊόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ.

²⁷⁷ The text that follows represents the—unfortunately extremely laconic—portion of the Epitome that overlaps with the damaged portion of manuscript A.

²⁷⁸ A more complete and metrical version of the line is quoted at Poll. 7.178.

BOOK XV

FROM BOOK XV²⁷⁷

Alexis (fr. 66) mentions a *xulolouchnos*, which is perhaps to be identified with what Theopompus (fr. 8) calls an *obeliskoluchnos*. Philyllius (fr. 29) refers to *lampades* as *daides*. The *luchnos* was unknown in ancient times; instead, the ancients used flame produced by a torch or by wood of another sort. Phrynichus (fr. 25.1, unmetrical)²⁷⁸ says: † to put a *luchnos* to sleep. †

BOOK XV²⁷⁹

and a wick, if necessary. (Philyll. fr. *25)

Also Plato in *The Long Night* (fr. 90):

There at the highest point of his temples he'll have a
luchnos
with two oil-chambers.

Metagenes in *The Man Who Loved Sacrifices* (fr. 13.1) mentions a *luchnos* with two chambers,²⁸⁰ as does Philonides in *High Boots* (fr. 3.1). Cleitarchus in his *Glossary* says that the Rhodians refer to a lamp made of grape-vine bark as a *lophnis*.²⁸¹ Homer (*Il.* 11.554 = 17.663) calls torches (*lampades*) *detai*:

and burning *detai*, which he fears, eager though he is.

²⁷⁹ Two more columns of text are preserved in manuscript A at this point; but see 15.701e n.

²⁸⁰ I.e. with two nozzles and thus two wicks. Poll. 6.103 quotes the verse and also offers a slightly corrupt version of it at 10.115, along with Philonid. fr. 3 (below). ²⁸¹ Cf. 15.699d.

ἐλάνη δὲ ἢ λαμπὰς καλεῖται, ὡς Ἀμερίας φησίν. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐλάνην τὴν τῶν καλάμων δέσμη. λύχνα δὲ οὐδετέρως εἴρηκεν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν
 b δευτέρᾳ Ἱστοριῶν. λυχνοκαυτίαν | δὲ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν λυχνασίαν Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ἰτί.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλος αἰεὶ ποτε τῷ Οὐλπιανῷ ἀντικουρσοσόμενος ἔφη, ἐμοὶ δέ, παῖ δωρόδειπνε, ἀσσαρίον κανδήλας πρίω, ἵνα καγὼ κατὰ τὸν καλὸν Ἀγάθωνα ἀναφωνήσω τάδε τὰ τοῦ ἡδίστου Ἀριστοφάνους·

ἐκφέρετε πεύκας κατ' Ἀγάθωνα φωσφόρους.

καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν·

οὐρὰν ὑπίλας ὑπὸ λεοντόπουν βάσιν,

ὑπέξῃλθεν τοῦ συμποσίου ὑπνηλὸς κάρτα γενόμενος.

c Τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τὸ ἰὴ παιῶν ἐπιφθεγγομένων | ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· τὸ ἰὴ παιῶν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, μαθεῖν βούλομαι εἴτε παροιμία ἐστὶν εἴτε ἐφύμνιον εἴτε τι ἄλλο. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς οὐδενὸς ὦν δεύτερος τῶν τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητῶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ Περὶ Παροιμιῶν τὴν Λητῶ

²⁸² Cf. 15.699d with n.

²⁸³ I.e. the neuter plural.

²⁸⁴ Cf. 15.669b with n.

²⁸⁵ A Latin word (*candela*, “candle, taper”), presumably intended to irritate Ulpian, who routinely objects to the use of Latin loan-words (cf. 3.121e–f; 8.362a; 9.376d), one final time. An *assarius* is a small Roman coin (an *as*, a fraction of a denarius).

BOOK XV

According to Amerias (p. 10 Hoffmann), a torch (*lampas*) is referred to as a *helanê*; but Nicander of Colophon (fr. 89 Schneider) (claims that) a *helanê* is a bundle of reeds.²⁸² Herodotus in Book II (62) of the *History* uses the neuter form²⁸³ *luchna*. Cephisodorus in *The Pig* (fr. 11) refers to what many authorities call *luchnapsia* (“*luchnos*-lighting”) as *luchnokautia* (“*luchnos*-burning”).

Cynulcus, who was constantly butting heads with Ulpian,²⁸⁴ said: Waiter! Buy me an assarius’ worth of *candélai*,²⁸⁵ so that I can quote the following passage from the delightful Aristophanes (fr. 592.35), who is in turn citing Agathon (*TrGF* 39 F 15):

Bring forth light-bearing pine-torches, as Agathon
put it!

After he said this,

He wrapped his tail beneath his lion-footed stride²⁸⁶
and left the party, very eager to go to sleep.

Many of the guests were beginning to pronounce the *iê paian*, and Pontianus said: I would like to be informed, my friends, as to whether the phrase *iê paian* is a proverb, a refrain appended to hymns, or something else. Democritus replied: Clearchus of Soli, who was at least as important as any of the wise Aristotle’s other students, says in Book I of *On Proverbs* (fr. 64 Wehrli) that as Leto was bringing

²⁸⁶ Adapted from E. *Oed.* fr. 540.1.3 (referring to the Sphinx), where the participle is feminine. Ael. *NA* 12.7 quotes the first word of the next line, *kathizet(o)* (better *kathezet(o)*, “she sat down”), which is inappropriate here and has accordingly been omitted.

φησιν ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀνακομίζουσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ τοῦ κληθέντος Πύθωνος σπήλαιον. καὶ φερομένου τοῦ Πύθωνος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ Λητώ τῶν παίδων τὸν ἕτερον |
d ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσα, ἐπιβάσα τῷ λίθῳ τῷ νῦν ἔτι
κειμένῳ ὑπὸ τῷ ποδὶ τῆς χαλκῆς εἰργασμένης Λη-
τοῦς, ὃ τῆς τότε πράξεως μίμημα γινόμενον ἀνάκειται
παρὰ τὴν πλάτανον ἐν Δελφοῖς, εἶπεν, “ἴε παῖ.” τυχεῖν
δὲ τόξα μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. τοῦτο δ'
ἐστὶν ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, “ἄφιε παῖ” καὶ “βάλε παῖ.”
διόπερ ἀπὸ τούτου λεχθῆναί φασιν τὸ ἴε παῖ καὶ ἴε
παιῶν. ἔνιοι δὲ παρεγκλίνοντές τε τὴν λέξιν καὶ
e <ψιλῶντες>⁸⁸ ἐπὶ τοῖς⁸⁹ δεινοῖς ἀλεξητήριόν τινα παρ-
οιμίαν | λέγουσιν “ἰῆ παιῶν” καὶ οὐχὶ “ἴε παῖ.” πολλοὶ
δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέλοσ ἔχουσιν ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι οἱ μὲν
ἐν παροιμίᾳ φασὶν οὕτως τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰῆ
παιῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ λίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι σύνηθες λαυθάνον ὄν
ἐν παροιμίᾳ, οἱ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο λέγοντες οὐχ ὡς παρ-
οιμίαν < . . . > τὸ δὲ ὑφ' Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ
λεχθὲν φανερώς πέπλασται, ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦτο πρῶ-
τον εἰς τρεῖς εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν οὕτως “ἰῆ παιᾶν, ἰῆ παιᾶν,
<ἰῆ παιᾶν>.”⁹⁰ ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πίστεως τὸ τρί-

⁸⁸ add. Kaibel, cf. Σ II. 15.365 ⁸⁹ Everything that follows from δεινοῖς to Σώπα- (in Σώπατρος) in 15.702b has now either been lost from manuscript A, or is so blotted and stained as to be illegible. The damage has apparently occurred since Cobet's time, and I give the text as he transcribed it.

⁹⁰ add. Kaibel, ducente Casaubone

Apollo and Artemis back to Delphi from Euboean Chalcis, she came to the cave of the creature known as Pytho.²⁸⁷ When Pytho attacked them, Leto, who was holding her son in her arms, got on top of the stone that even today rests beneath the foot of the bronze statue of her—it recalls what went on then, and stands beside the plane-tree in Delphi—and said: "*Hie pai!*" ("Let it go, child!"); for Apollo happened to have a bow in his hands. This is the equivalent of saying "Send it forth, child!" or "Shoot, child!" This is the origin, they say, of the phrase "*hie pai*" or "*hie paiôn*." But some people alter the word by giving it a smooth breathing, and say "*iê paiôn*,"²⁸⁸ which serves as a sort of proverb intended to evade²⁸⁹ danger, rather than "*hie pai*." Many people also say this at the conclusion of a task, and some claim that the phrase "*iê paiôn*" is proverbial when used this way, but that our over-familiarity with it means that we fail to recognize it as such, whereas others say something along the following lines, that it is not a proverb . . . But the thesis of Heracleides of Pontus (fr. 158 Wehrli = fr. 110 Schütrumpf)—that when libations were being made, the god originally pronounced the phrase three times, "*iê paian, iê paian, iê paian*"—is patently made up. As a consequence of this theory, he assigns

²⁸⁷ A giant snake.

²⁸⁸ Thus Crates of Mallos (fr. 23 Broggiatto); Aristarchus preferred the rough breathing.

²⁸⁹ The next two columns of text in manuscript A are now either lost or so badly damaged as to be illegible. Although some of this damage had already occurred by Cobet's time, he was able to read far more than we can today, and I print the text as he transcribes it.

f μετρον καλούμενον ἀνατίθησι | τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦθ' ἑκάτερον εἶναι τῶν μέτρων, ὅτι μακρῶν μὲν τῶν πρώτων δύο συλλαβῶν λεγομένων "ἰγ παιάν" ἤρῳον γίνεται, βραχέως δὲ λεχθεισῶν ἰαμβεῖον· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν χωλίαμβον ἀναθετέον αὐτῷ· βραχειῶν γὰρ γινομένων εἰ δύο τὰς ἀπασῶν τελευταίας συλλαβὰς εἰς μακρὰν ποιήσει τις, ὁ Ἴππώνακτος ἰαμβος ἔσται.

Μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη μελλόντων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀνίστασθαι ἐπεισηλθον παῖδες φέροντες ὁ μὲν τις θυμιατήριον, ὁ δὲ [. . .]

τοῦ συμποσίου [. . .] δε

<λιβ>α<κ>ωτοῦ [. . .] ἱμποῖ

[. . .] δῆ[. . .]

[. . .] ἠιθυταυ

[. . .] τὰ τὸν

[. . .] αν. τήν

[. . .] ενορ...οι

[. . .] ὁ...καὶ τόδε

ε[. . .] ε. τοῦ θ[υμ]ιατηρίου

[. . .] καὶ ἐ. τοῦ [λι]βανωτοῦ, τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις εὐξάμενος, ἐπισπείσας τοῦ οἴνου καὶ δούς

²⁹⁰ I.e. what we would call two spondaic feet of a dactylic hexameter (long-long long-long). ²⁹¹ I.e. what we would call a

single iambic metron (short-long-short-long).

²⁹² Clearly intended as a reference to choliambic lines, which end short-long-long-long (rather than short-long-short-long); but the argument is difficult to follow.

what is known as a trimeter to the god, claiming that both variations on the meter belong to him, since if the first two syllables are both pronounced long, "*iê paian*," it is a heroic metron,²⁹⁰ whereas if they are pronounced short, it is iambic.²⁹¹ This makes it apparent that the choliamb should also be assigned to (Apollo); for if the initial syllables are short, but one makes the final two syllables of each metron long, it becomes the sort of iambic metron Hipponax used.²⁹²

After this, as we were just at the point of getting up and leaving, slaves came in, one of them carrying a censer, another²⁹³ . . .
of the party . . .
of frankincense

and this
of the censer

. . . and . . . of the frankincense, after offering²⁹⁴ a prayer to all the gods and goddesses, pouring a libation of wine,

²⁹³ Manuscript A has again suffered damage at this point; the Epitome is of no assistance in filling in the gaps.

²⁹⁴ The subject of the participles must be Larensius, and the song that follows serves *inter alia* as a final blessing for him and his counterpart in the real world, the historical Athenaeus' patron (see vol. I pp. viii-ix), whose library and personal support made production of the work that comes to an end here possible.

702 κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον <τὸ> ἐπιχώριον τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ
ἀκράτου τῷ διδόντι ἐκπιεῖν παιδὶ ἢ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑγί-
ειαν παιᾶνα ἄσας τὸν ποιηθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρίφρονος τοῦ
Σικυνωγίου τόνδε·

Ἑγίεια, < . . . > πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ
ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον βιοτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι

πρόφρων ξυνείης·

εἰ γάρ τις ἢ πλοῦτου χάρις ἢ τεκέων

<ἢ> τᾶς ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις βασιληίδος

ἀρχᾶς ἢ πόθων

οὓς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἔρκεσιν θηρεύομεν, |

b ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλα θεόθεν ἀνθρώποισι τέρψις ἢ πόνων
ἀμπνοὰ πέφανται,

μετὰ σεῖο, μάκαιρ' Ἑγίεια,

τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ὄαροις·

σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων < . . . >.

καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἡμᾶς φιλοφρό-

[νωσ...] ἀπομάττοντας [...]

[...] οἶδασιν οἱ παλαιοί. Σώπατρος γὰρ ὁ φλυ-
ακογράφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Φακῆ λέγει
οὕτως·

κρεανομοῦμαι, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Τυρρητίας

οἶνον σὺν ὀκτῶ λαμβάνειν ἐπίσταμαι.

BOOK XV

following the local custom of giving the rest of the unmixed wine to the slave who had offered it to him to drink, and singing the following paean, composed by Aripbron of Sicyon (*PMG* 813) in honor of Hygieia ("Health"):

Hygieia, most august of the blessed gods—may I
dwell

with you for the rest of my life, and may you always
willingly remain with me!

For if any pleasure can be got from wealth, children,
royal power (which human beings regard as almost
like a god), or the longings

we pursue using Aphrodite's hidden nets,
or if the gods have revealed any other pleasure or
respite

from their labors to human beings,
all of these flourish with you,

blessed Hygieia, and shine in the Graces'
conversation.

No one is happy when you are absent.

And after embracing us warm-
ly²⁹⁵ . . . were wiping clean . . .

. . . the ancients are familiar with. For the phylax-author Sopater in his play entitled *Lentil-Soup* (fr. 19) puts it as follows:

I carve my own meat, and I know how
to consume Etruscan wine with eight guests.

²⁹⁵ The subject is still Larensius, to whose consistent hospitality the quotation from Sopater (below) must be intended to apply.

ATHENAEUS

ε ταῦτα, φίλτατε Τιμόκρατες, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα | οὐ
Σωκράτους νέου καὶ καλοῦ παίγνια, ἀλλὰ τῶν δειπνο-
σοφιστῶν σπουδάσματα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Χαλκοῦν Διο-
νύσιον·

τί κάλλιον ἀρχομένοισιν
ἢ καταπαυομένοις ἢ τὸ ποθεινότατον;

BOOK XV

The preceding, my dearest Timocrates, were not the witty remarks of Plato's young and handsome Socrates,²⁹⁶ but the earnest conversation pursued by the learned banqueters. For to quote Dionysius Chalcous (fr. 6 West²),

What is finer, as we begin
or end, than what we desire the most?

²⁹⁶ Cf. *Epist.* II 314c.

INDEX OF AUTHORS, TEXTS, AND PERSONS

This index supersedes those at the end of the first seven individual volumes of the new Loeb Athenaeus, which were prepared by different research assistants working under my supervision, and which accordingly vary somewhat in format, coverage, citation style, and the like. Almost every personal name in the index is followed by a brief identifier. Individuals of primarily historical rather than literary interest are further identified, where possible, by reference to one or more of the relevant standard prosopographies. In the case of obscure homonyms, I have generally chosen to split rather than to combine entries, although absolute consistency in this matter—as in many others—is impossible. Fragmentary authors and texts are identified by the modern editor or editors on whose numbering I have relied; for clarity's sake, I have attempted to follow the individual preferences of such editors in the use of the designations *fr.*, *F*, and the like. Occasional parentheses around numbers indicate that while the editor of the standard edition of the author or work in question regards this as a legitimate fragment or testimonium, I do not. Lowercase Roman numerals at the beginning of entries refer to page numbers in the introduction in Volume 1 (LCL 204).

Gulick included a separate index of Greek words in the final volume of his Loeb. The ongoing development of digital search tools has made a printed—and thus inevitably selective—Greek index less necessary or useful than one might have been in his day. I have accordingly chosen instead to catalog material less easily accessible via a simple TLG search or the like.

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