may be added that neither *μεθίστημι* nor *μεθεστηκότας* seem to be found in other Athenian inscriptions down to 403 B.C., at least judged from the indices of *IG* 1^3 (fasc. 3).

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CYCLOPEA: PHILOXENUS, THEOCRITUS, CALLIMACHUS, BION[1]

The four passages I discuss here are linked by their treatment of the Polyphemus–Galatea story, first introduced to Greek literature by Philoxenus of Cythera, probably in the early fourth century B.C. and certainly before 388, when his dithyrambic *Cyclops* was parodied in Aristophanes' *Wealth*.[2] Subsequent versions of the story, however they develop the theme, all depend wholly or in part on Philoxenus' poem. His dithyramb, unusually for the period, was a humorous piece; other contemporary dithyramb was primarily concerned with heroic narrative.[3] However, the element of romantic fantasy finds parallels in other fourth-century lyric. Somewhat similar seem Licymnius' lyric *Nanis* and the erotic poems (*Calyce*, *Rhadine*, *Daphnis*) attributed to Stesichorus, but in fact almost certainly by his fourth-century namesake, also from Himera and the author of a dithyrambic *Cyclops* (*PMG* 841).[4] Philoxenus' *Cyclops* possibly contained an element of political satire aimed at his patron, the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius; several sources, of doubtful reliability, claim that the three main characters in the love-drama—Polyphemus, Odysseus, Galatea—stood respectively for Dionysius, Philoxenus, and an auletris, also called Galatea. The evidence for this is, however, by no means strong,[5] and the love-story was evidently no more than a sub-plot; Philoxenus largely retained the framework of the familiar Homeric narrative, the character and central role of Odysseus (cf. *PMG* 823–4), and the blinding of Polyphemus (*PMG* 920; *Σ* Ar. *Pl.* 290).

1. Synesius of Cyrene, *Epist*. 121 (Philox. *PMG* 818)

Ἀθανασίωι ὑδρομίκτηι. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔπειθε τὸν Πολύφημον διαφεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου· "γόης γάρ εἰμι καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἄν σοι παρείην οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντι τὰ εἰς τὸν θαλάττιον ἔρωτα· ἀλλ' ἐγώ τοι καὶ ἐπωιδὰς οἶδα καὶ καταδέσμους καὶ ἐρωτικὰς κατανάγκας, αἷς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀντισχεῖν οὐδὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τὴν Γαλάτειν. μόνον ὑπόστηθι σὺ τὴν θύραν ἀποκινῆσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν θυρεὸν τοῦτον· ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀκρωτήριον εἶναι φαίνεται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπανήξω σοι θᾶττον ἢ λόγος τὴν παῖδα κατεργασάμενος· τί λέγω κατεργασάμενος; αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἀποφανῶ σοι δεῦρο πολλαῖς ἴυγξι γενομένην ἀγώγιμον. καὶ δεήσεταί σου καὶ ἀντιβολήσει, σὺ δὲ ἀκκιῆι καὶ κατειρωνεύσηι. ἀτὰρ μεταξύ μέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθραξε, μὴ τῶν κωδίων ὁ γράσος ἀηδὴς γένηται κόρηι τρυφώσηι καὶ λουομένηι τῆς ἡμέρας πολλάκις· καλὸν οὖν εἰ πάντα εὐθετήσας ἐκκορήσειάς τε καὶ

[1] The following works are cited by author's name alone: R. Hunter, *Theocritus. A Selection* (Cambridge, 1999); J. H. Hordern, 'The *Cyclops* of Philoxenus', *CQ* 49 (1999), 445–55; G. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford, 1988); K. J. Dover, *Theocritus. Select Poems* (London, 1971); A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* (Cambridge, 1952^2).

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[2] Cf. Hordern, 445; A. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes. Wealth* (Warminster, 2001), 1.

[3] Cf. my *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford, 2002), 17ff. (hereafter *Timotheus*).

[4] Licymn. *PMG* 772; Stesich. *PMG* 277–9. Lamynthius' lyric *Lyde* (*PMG* 839) may be another example.

[5] Hordern, 445–8.

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ἐκπλύνειας καὶ ἐκθυμιάσειας τὸ δωμάτιον· ἔτι δὲ κάλλιον εἰ καὶ στεφάνους παρασκευάσαιο κιττοῦ τε καὶ μίλακος, οἷς σαυτόν τε καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ ἀναδήσαιο. ἀλλὰ τί διατρίβεις; οὐκ ἐγχειρεῖς ἤδη τῇι θύραι;" πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Πολύφημος ἐξεκάγχασέ τε ὅσον ἠδύνατο μέγιστον καὶ τῶ χεῖρε ἐκρότησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ὤιετο αὐτὸν ὑπὸ χαρμονῆς οὐκ ἔχειν ὅ τι ἑαυτῶι χρήσαιτο κατελπίσαντα τῶν παιδικῶν περιέσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπογενειάσας αὐτὸν, "ὦ Οὖτις", ἔφη, "δριμύτατον μὲν ἀνθρώπιον ἔοικας εἶναι καὶ ἐγκατατετριμμένον ἐν τράγμασιν. ἄλλο μέντοι τι ποίκιλλε· ἐνθένδε γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδράσεις."

To Athanasius, diluter of wine. Odysseus was trying to persuade Polyphemus to let him out of the cave: 'for I am a sorcerer', he said, 'and I could give you timely help in your unsuccessful marine love: I know incantations and binding charms and love spells which Galatea is unlikely to resist even for a short time. For your part, just promise to move the door—or rather this door-stone: it seems as big as a promontory to me—and I'll return more quickly than it takes to tell, after winning the girl over. Winning her over, do I say? I'll produce her here in person, made compliant by many enchantments. She'll beg and beseech you, and you'll play coy and hide your true feelings. But one thing worries me in all this: I'm afraid the goat-stink of your fleecy blankets may be offensive to a girl who lives in luxury and washes many times a day. So it would be a good idea if you put everything in order and swept and washed and fumigated your room, and better still if you prepared wreaths of ivy and bindweed to garland yourself and your darling girl. Come on, why waste time? Why not put your hand to the door now?' At this Polyphemus roared with laughter and clapped his hands, and Odysseus imagined he was beside himself with joy at the thought that he would win his darling; but instead he stroked him under the chin and said, 'No-man, you seem to be a shrewd little fellow, a smooth businessman; start work on some other elaborate scheme, however, for you won't escape from here.'[6]

I passed rather rapidly over this passage in my earlier discussion of Philoxenus' poem; a closer examination is certainly worthwhile. The letter belongs to the period between Synesius' appointment to the episcopacy of Ptolemais in *c.* A.D. 410 and his death (?414); Roques dates it more precisely to 412.[7] Athanasius, the recipient, is otherwise unknown, but the epithet which Synesius gives him, ὑδρομίκτης, and the contents of the letter itself, indicate that he was a fraudulent wine-seller, imprisoned for diluting his wares with water. He had evidently appealed to Synesius for intercession on his behalf, and the letter is the bishop's negative response.

The narrative clearly plays on Odysseus' reputation for persuasive rhetoric, doubly comic here because of his lack of success. In this connection, there may be a play on the word γόης, not simply 'sorcerer', but by extension a charlatan or fraud, often appearing in collocation with the term σοφιστής;[8] if so, the secondary sense is appropriate not only to Odysseus, but to the deceitful Athanasius. Synesius provides no source for the story, but the absence of any introductory remarks may suggest that he expected Athanasius to be familiar with it, and it seems unlikely that he was just inventing the details to create a suitable parable. While Odysseus' imprisonment in Polyphemus' cave is a neat parallel to Athanasius' own incarceration, love-charms are not especially relevant to his situation, and Synesius goes on to suggest that Odysseus was ultimately successful (ᾐδικεῖτο γὰρ ὄντως, ἔμελλεν ἄρα τῆς πανουργίας ὀνήσεσθαι), whereas Athanasius clearly has no right to expect salvation. Sommerstein takes this to mean that Odysseus succeeded in encouraging Polyphemus to prepare the

[6] Trans. D. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* 5 (Cambridge, MA and London, 1993), 159. Interestingly, Polyphemus' closing words slightly recall Timotheus, *PMG* 781 οὗτοι τόν γ' ὑπεραμπέχοντ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβήσει (the Cyclops is speaking to Odysseus); on his *Cyclops*, which probably pre-dated Philoxenus' and evidently lacked the love-motif, see my *Timotheus* (n. 3), 106–16.

[7] D. Roques, in A. Garzya and D. Roques, *Synésios de Cyrène* 3 (Paris, 2000), 378. For the date of Synesius' bishopric and death, cf. B.-A. Roos, *Synesius of Cyrene. A Study in his Personality* (Lund, 1991), 3–4; he was probably born *c.* A.D. 365.

[8] Cf. especially Pl. *Symp.* 203D δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστής, Dem. 18.276 δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων.

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wreaths for himself and Galatea, calling attention to the 'damp wild greens' (*λάχανά τ' ἄγρια δροσερά*) found in Polyphemus' bag at Ar. *Plut*. 298,[9] but Synesius may simply be referring to Odysseus' eventual escape rather than the success of the particular stratagem he has just outlined. *πεινῶντα* of the Cyclops at *Plut*. 297 (which Sommerstein rightly defends against the reading *πινῶντα*, found in a few late MSS) suggests that we should instead regard the *λάχανα* as an alternative food for Polyphemus' lean periods: Lucian's Cyclops in *DMar*. 1 (Galatea and Doris), for instance, though happy to eat meat if any stranger should happen by (1.291 *σιτούμενος τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ζένων*, an obvious allusion to Odysseus and his companions), is more used to cheese and milk (1.289; cf. *Od*. 9.219ff.). However, in *DMar*. 2 (Polyphemus and Poseidon) the Cyclops complains that Odysseus drugged him (*δίδωσί μοι πιεῖν φάρμακόν τι ἐγχέας, ἡδὺ μὲν καὶ εὔοσμον*); Polyphemus is clearly being a little disingenuous in thus explaining his drunken stupor,[10] and Lucian otherwise relies strictly on the Homeric narrative in this dialogue, but this may nevertheless point to an another version, perhaps Philoxenus', in which the wine really was drugged.

Bergk thought Philoxenus the most probable source for Synesius' story, and this is likely to be right, even if the motif filtered through to Synesius through one of the treatments of the Cyclops–Galatea myth in Middle Comedy.[11] Certainly the source should be pre-Hellenistic; Odysseus disappears from the picture in all extant versions of the story later than the fourth century B.C., corresponding to an increased focus on the romantic and comic elements.[12] There were comedies by Antiphanes, Nicochares, and Alexis; all probably depended on Philoxenus' poem, but the presence of Odysseus in any of them cannot be definitely proved. And that the scene is set indoors implies a non-dramatic treatment.[13] There is nothing surprising in Synesius having first-hand knowledge of Philoxenus' poem; he was a traditionally educated member of the upper class, and shows familiarity with an impressive array of archaic, classical, and Hellenistic authors.[14] Although he cites no other dithyrambist of the late fifth century, the *Cyclops* was evidently one of the more famous works of that period, and we know that poems by Philoxenus' rough contemporary Timotheus were still being performed at least as late as the third century A.D., even though they have left little trace in post-classical literary culture.[15] Certainly Philoxenus seems to have been popular well into the Hellenistic period, and his work, like Timotheus', may easily have survived in performance until a much later date. Odysseus' adventures of course make him a very suitable character to associate with magical charms, especially those to do with love, and though I know of no other instance in ancient literature where he is portrayed as a

[9] Sommerstein (n. 2) on *Plut*. 297, 298.

[10] Cf. his explanation that he ate Odysseus' companions, *ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, . . . ληιστάς γε ὄντας*.

[11] T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (Leipzig, 1853[2], 1867[3], 1882[4]); cf. Hordern, 450–1. G. R. Holland, *Leipziger Studien* 7 (1884), 192–6, argues that Synesius knew the story through Middle Comedy.

[12] In addition to the versions by Theocritus, Callimachus, and Bion, discussed below, cf. Prop. 3.2.5, Ovid, *Met*. 13.750, Lucian, *DMar*. 1; Hermesianax's version is lost, but fr. 1 Powell may suggest a treatment very similar to Theocritus'.

[13] Cf. R. A. S. Seaford, *Euripides. Cyclops* (Oxford, 1988), 51.

[14] Cf. J. Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene* (Berkeley, 1982), 18–19. For an overview of the authors cited by Synesius, cf. A. Hauck, *Welche griechischen Autoren der klassichen Zeit kennt und benützt Synesios von Cyrene?* (Friedland in Mecklenburg, 1911), and the index to A. Garzya's edition of the letters (*Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae* [Rome, 1979]).

[15] *Timotheus* (n. 3), 78–9.

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magician, the idea becomes more familiar in the Renaissance and later.[16] His use of the magical moly, his sexual associations with the supernatural figures Circe and Calypso, his necromantic activities in Book 11, and indeed the fantastical character of his adventures generally, will all have contributed something to the picture. Philoxenus' step, turning him into an itinerant purveyor of no doubt dubious love-potions, is a simple and humorous one.

Odysseus' occult knowledge will only have been a minor motif if Synesius is anything to go by (nor, interestingly, does it feature in Aristophanes' parody); this, together with the omission of Odysseus from later versions of the Cyclops–Galatea story, could easily account for its almost complete absence in later literature. However, traces of the motif, albeit in somewhat altered form, seem to survive in at least two poems of the Hellenistic period: Theocritus 11 and Callimachus, *Epigr*. 46.

2. Theocritus, 11.1–3

> *Οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,*
> *Νικία, οὔτ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, οὔτ' ἐπίπαστον,*
> *ἢ ταὶ Πιερίδες . . .*

There is no other remedy for love, Nicias, neither unguent, I think, nor salve, except for the Muses . . .

Theocritus wrote two poems on the Cyclops–Galatea theme, 6 and 11, but the latter is probably the earlier of the two.[17] It consists largely of Polyphemus' love-sick lamentations, but opens with an introduction addressed to Theocritus' friend Nicias, whom we know as a doctor from *Id*. 28.19–20 and *Epigr*. 8.1–3; he was also a poet, and probably to be credited with the poems assigned to 'Nicias' in the Anthology.[18] The Cyclopes were standardly located in Sicily at least by the late fifth century,[19] and this, together with the traditions, established at least as early as the fourth/third-century Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76F58), linking the poem's composition with Dionysius' court, makes Philoxenus' *Cyclops* a natural source for Theocritus, who had an evident liking for local, Sicilian models, such as Sophron (*Id*. 2, 15) and perhaps Epicharmus (*Id*. 22),[20] for his own poems. Apart from the general motif, the idea of a singing Cyclops also belongs to Philoxenus, who had introduced a cithara-playing Polyphemus trying to cure his love *Μούσαις εὐφώνοις* (*PMG* 822). This innovation was startling enough for Aristophanes to parody it in his *Wealth*, where Carion pretends to be the Cyclops singing to his flocks (lines 290ff.; *PMG* 819), and the chorus responds by playing the part of Odysseus' companions plotting their escape

[16] Cf. W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme. A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero* (Oxford, 1963[2]), 182–3, 189.

[17] On the relationship between the two poems, see especially A. Köhnken in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Theocritus* (Groningen, 1996), 171–86.

[18] Arg. Theocr. 11c (p. 240 Wendel); *HE* 2755–86, cf. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965), 2.428–9. See further Hunter, 215; Dover, 173.

[19] For example, Thuc. 6.2, Eur. *Cyc*. *passim*; and see Seaford (n. 13), 55–6. Philoxenus clearly followed this tradition, and the lost *Cyclops* by the second Stesichorus was no doubt also set in Sicily.

[20] On Sophron's influence, cf. most recently *CQ* 52 (2002), 164–73; *ZPE* 140 (2002), 1–2; I also discuss the subject at greater length in *Sophron's Mimes* (Oxford, forthcoming). The relationship between Polydeuces' boxing-match with Amycus in Theocr. 22 and Epicharmus' lost *Amycus*, which dealt with the same subject, is uncertain, but Theocritus' use of stichomythia suggests a dramatic model.

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(296ff.; *PMG* 820). Theocritus turns Philoxenus' cithara into the bucolically more appropriate pipe (11.38),[21] but retains his idea that Polyphemus' song is in some way a remedy for love. Odysseus' advice in Synesius/Philoxenus that the Cyclops should clean and air his cave and prepare garlands for himself and Galatea may also have an echo in the attempts of the Theocritean Polyphemus to turn his cave into an ideal *locus amoenus*, an obviously humorous touch.[22]

In the opening lines of poem 11 Theocritus tells Nicias that there is no other remedy (*φάρμακον*) for love than song, certainly not the medicines which Nicias, as a doctor, might be expected to prescribe. The case of Polyphemus is adduced as an example, and this paves the way for the main part of the poem. Discussion of the word *φάρμακον* has largely focused on how what is a cure for love in lines 1–3 and 17 can also be a symptom at 13–16,[23] though the aptness of the word given Nicias' status as a medical man has also been widely recognized (cf. esp. *Id.* 28.19–20 *νῦν μὰν οἶκον ἔχοισ' ἄνερος ὃς πολλ' ἐδάη σόφα | ἀνθρώποισι νόσοις φάρμακα λύγραις ἀπαλάλκεμεν*, i.e. Nicias).[24] A *φάρμακον* is of course a medical remedy, more specifically herbs or drugs, but can also refer to magical charms, and occasionally to spoken spells. At Theocr. 2.15–16 Simaetha's *φάρμακα* may be her incantations rather than 'drugs' (so Gow), despite the fact that she names Circe and Medea, witches primarily famous for their skill with magical potions, in the same lines. (The *φάρμακα* that Simaetha keeps in a box at 2.161 are clearly drugs, but in lines 15–16 she seems to be talking about the spell which takes up the bulk of the poem.)[25] *φάρμακον* is used in connection with love elsewhere in the Theocritean corpus (14.52, 23.24), where it simply means 'remedy, cure'. While this is also obviously the sense here, an audience familiar with Philoxenus' poem and alert to Theocritean allusiveness, may well have picked up on the reference, especially in line 17, after the case of the Cyclops has been adduced. It is therefore significant that Theocritus' *φάρμακον* in poem 11 is not easy to find, *εὑρεῖν δ' οὐ ῥάιδιον* (11.4), a phrase that directly recalls the enchanted *μῶλυ, χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν | ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι* (*Od.* 10.305–6), given by Hermes to Odysseus as protection against Circe's spells. Theocritus' use of *φάρμακον* thus appears to conflate Philoxenus' presentation of song and magic as *alternative* remedies for erotic obsession,[26] and so functions almost as a response to his model: Polyphemus did indeed find a magical solution to his condition, but it was not the one which would be offered to him by Odysseus. The allusion, though it occurs in the poem's introduction rather than in Polyphemus' song itself, thus also acts as another element which evokes Polyphemus' future downfall (cf. note 26).[27]

[21] By contrast, Lucian, *DMar.* 1, in which Galatea and Doris discuss the merits of having Polyphemus as a lover, retains the lyre (1.290), though it is of exceptionally primitive manufacture, and Doris (but not Galatea) finds his attempts at song comically atrocious. Lucian's models here seem to be Philoxenus and Theocritus in equal part.

[22] Although Theocritus' description also recalls Calypso's cave at *Od.* 5.64ff. (cf. Hunter on 11.42ff.).

[23] See the commentators, and especially H. Erbse in B. Effe (ed.), *Theokritos und die griechische Bukolik* (Darmstadt, 1986), 286–92 (= *MH* 22 [1965], 232–6).

[24] For example, Hunter on 11.2; Hutchinson, 179; Dover, 173.

[25] Cf. Men. fr. 274 *λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα*.

[26] Interestingly, M. Fantuzzi (*PCPS* 41 [1995], 16–35; cf. Hunter, 219) has argued that the Cyclops' echoing of Homeric lines which allude to his own fate may recall the use of verses from Homer in later magical charms (11.51 ~ *Od.* 9.375; 61 *τις . . . ξένος* 'evokes Odysseus-*Οὔτις* and the theme of *xenia* that is central to the Homeric Cyclops episode' [Hunter ad loc.]).

[27] There is no evidence that love-magic was a theme in Nicias' poetic reply to Theocritus, two hexameters of which are preserved by the introductory note to poem 11 (*SH* 566; Arg. Theocr.

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3. Callimachus, *Epigr*. 46.1–6 Pf. (*HE* 1047–52)

> Ὡς ἀγαθὰν Πολύφαμος ἀνεύρατο τὰν ἐπαοιδάν
> τὠραμένωι· ναὶ Γᾶν, οὐκ ἀμαθὴς ὁ Κύκλωψ·
> αἱ Μοῖσαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατισχναίνονται, Φίλιππε·
> ἦ πανακὲς πάντων φάρμακον ἁ σοφία.
> τοῦτο, δοκέω, χἀ λιμὸς ἔχει μόνον ἐς τὰ πονηρά
> τὠγαθόν· ἐκκόπτει τὰν φιλόπαιδα νόσον.

How good an incantation Polyphemus discovered for the lover! By Earth, the Cyclops was no fool! The Muses take the swelling out of love, Philip; poetry is the universal *pharmakon* for everything. This, I think, is the sole good which hunger also brings in wretched circumstances: it knocks out the disease of desire for boys.

Here the Cyclops' song is a specifically magical remedy. The application of the motif to pederastic love is clearly humorous, and may encourage us to think of the homosexual inclinations of Euripides' satyric Polyphemus (e.g. *Cyc*. 583–4). While the precise chronological relationship between Callimachus' and Theocritus' poems is unknown, Callimachus' use of Doric is suggestive of Theocritus, and Hunter has plausibly proposed that *οὐκ ἀμαθὴς ὁ Κύκλωψ* may recall *τὸ πρὶν ἀμούσους* in Nicias' reply to Theocritus (above, note 26). The medical language (*κατισχναίνονται*, *φάρμακον*, *ἐκκόπτει . . . νόσον*, and so on[28]) also evokes Theocritus, and though there is perhaps a very slight possibility that Callimachus' addressee, Philip, was also a doctor, the evidence for this is insubstantial.[29] Callimachus' epigram thus seems likely to be a response to Theocritus' poem in much the same way that Nicias' was. The word *ἐπαοιδά* in line 1 is therefore particularly striking: *ἐπαοιδαί* are of course spoken spells or incantations, and while these had some medical use,[30] the context which the word primarily evokes is magical. Both magic and medicine are again suggested in the closing lines of the epigram (*Epigr*. 46.9–10):

> αἱ γὰρ ἐπωιδαί
> οἴκοι τῶ χαλεπῶ τραύματος ἀμφότεραι.

I have both spells [i.e. hunger and poetry] at home against this troublesome sickness.

φάρμακον in line 4 is evidently another echo of Theocritus, but it also suggests the subplot of magic found in Philoxenus. And might it be significant that the Aristophanic, and so perhaps Philoxenean, Polyphemus is characterized as hungry at *Plut*. 297? Callimachus, like Theocritus, appears to be adapting different strands of the tradition to his own purpose. It should also be noted that while *φάρμακον* does not

11c, p. 240 W): *ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθὲς τοῦτο, Θεόκριτε· οἱ γὰρ Ἔρωτες | ποιηταὶς πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξαν τὸ πρὶν ἀμούσους*. Indeed, even whether Nicias went on to deal with the Cyclops' love for Galatea is unknown, though the possibility is tantalising, and his answer certainly alludes to Polyphemus in part. Hexameters are obviously the most appropriate metre for a response to Theocr. 11, and the hypothesis seems to differentiate this poem from Nicias' epigrams (*ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ὁ αὐτός*). But it is worth wondering whether a pentameter (e.g. a parenthesis describing the Loves?) has dropped out; *Σ*1–3b quotes only lines 1 and 3 of Callimachus' epigram without indicating that a line has been omitted.

[28] See Gow and Page ad loc.; Hutchinson, 197, n. 92.

[29] A contemporary papyrus mentions a doctor called Philip practising in Alexandria (*PMich. Zen.* 55.19), but there is no real reason to identify him with the Philip of Callimachus' poem; cf. Gow and Page (n. 18), 2.157; Hutchinson, 197–8.

[30] Cf. *Od*. 19.455ff., where the sons of Autolycus use an *ἐπαοιδή* to staunch the flow of blood after Odysseus has been wounded in the leg by a wild boar, and see R. Renehan, *AJP* 113 (1992), 1–4.

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appear in Synesius, his is doubtless a liberal paraphrase, and its absence is not therefore of much significance.

A further point: why should Callimachus swear by Earth? He does not do so anywhere else, and I wonder whether we should not emend to Doric *Zâν'* (cod. *τωρραμενωναιγαν*, corr. van Eldick, Hecker). Polyphemus swears by Zeus in Euripides (*Cyc*. 586), despite his traditional contempt for divinity in general and Zeus in particular (cf. *Od*. 9.275–6, Eur. *Cyc*. 320ff.), Theocritus (11.29), and probably Epicharmus (fr. 71; also, more appropriately, by his father Poseidon in fr. 70), and, though 'Callimachus' rather than Polyphemus is obviously the speaker here, an oath by Zeus would neatly evoke these predecessors.[31]

4. Bion, fr. 16 Reed

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν βασεῦμαι ἐμὰν ὁδὸν ἐς τὸ κάταντες
τῆνο ποτὶ ψάμαθόν τε καὶ ἀιόνα ψιθυρίσδων,
λισσόμενος Γαλάτειαν ἀπηνέα· τὰς δὲ γλυκείας
ἐλπίδας ὑστατίω μέχρι γήραος οὐκ ἀπολείψω.

But I will make my way down the hillside yonder to the sand and to the shore, whispering, beseeching cruel Galatea. And my sweet hopes I shall never abandon until uttermost old age.

Bion's poem on the Cyclops–Galatea story was presumably one of his more popular pieces; it is not only mentioned in the *Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος* ([Mosch.] 3.58–63), but may be alluded to in [Bion] 2.2–3.[32] Only fr. 16 can be firmly ascribed to the poem, though a good case can also be made for fr. 3 R, where song is once again described as a *φάρμακον* for love:[33]

Μοίσας Ἔρως καλέοι, Μοῖσαι τὸν Ἔρωτα φέροιεν.
μολπὰν ταὶ Μοῖσαί μοι ἀεὶ ποθέοντι διδοῖεν,
τὰν γλυκερὰν μολπάν, τᾶς φάρμακον ἄδιον οὐδέν.

Let Eros call the Muses, let the Muses bear Eros. Let the Muses give me song while I forever desire, sweet song, than which no medicine is sweeter.

Reed (on fr. 16) compares especially Theocr. 2.164 *ἐγὼ δ' οἰσῶ τὸν ἐμὸν πόθον ὥσπερ ὑπέσταν*, and guesses that Bion has here conflated the story of Theocr. 11 with elements from Theocr. 2. The necessity of enduring love is, as Reed (p. 10) points out, a common enough theme, but endurance in love (for Penelope) is one of the most notable characteristics of *πολύτλας* Odysseus, and I suspect that Bion playfully combined the Philoxenean(/Theocritean) Cyclops with aspects of the Homeric portrayal of his nemesis, Odysseus. Bion's Polyphemus sits by the shore and laments, a typical pose for him since Galatea naturally inhabits the sea (Philox. *PMG* 822; Theocr. 11.17–18; Hermesian. fr. 1 P), but also characteristic of Odysseus yearning for Ithaca and Penelope (*Od*. 5.82–3, 156ff.), and note particularly *Od*. 5.219–20 (Odysseus

[31] For the form *Zâνα* in Callimachus, cf. fr. 191.10 Pf., a Doric form deliberately chosen to echo Euhemerus of Messene (cf. A. Kerkhecker, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* [Oxford, 1999], 25; Dawson emends to *Zῆνα*, cf. fr. 202.62, but genitive *Ζανός* is attested at fr. 400.2).

[32] Cf. J. D. Reed, *Bion of Smyrna. The Fragments and the Adonis* (Cambridge, 1997), 10, n. 22. The translations of Bion are also Reed's.

[33] Cf. Reed (n. 32), 10. Reed wonders whether frs. 4 and 17 should not also be ascribed to the work, but rightly points out that their themes are general ones, and so could easily belong to other poems.

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addressing Calypso) *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐθέλω καὶ ἐέλδομαι ἤματα πάντα | οἴκαδε τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι.*

The love of Polyphemus for Galatea, a minor motif in Philoxenus' dithyramb, was nevertheless the element which captured most strongly the Hellenistic imagination, and as a productive literary theme it swiftly outstrips the original Homeric story. Yet the Hellenistic versions, however they manipulate and play with the motif, nevertheless seem to keep Philoxenus' poem firmly in mind throughout. We must remain suspicious that if we had more of the poetry written in the late fifth and fourth centuries, Hellenistic verse would begin to look far less innovative than it does at the moment.

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WHAT DID HE DO? CLEARCHUS ON PHILOXENUS (AP. ATH. 1.5f–6a = CLEARCH. FR. 57 WEHRLI)*

Among the hundreds of Greek texts preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* is a quotation from Clearchus of Soli which offers a detailed picture of Philoxenus' practice of attending banquets, in his own city[1] as well as in others, and of his behaviour at table. According to Athenaeus—or rather the epitomator to whom we owe the text of the first two and part of the third books—Clearchus relates the exploits of Philoxenus the *opsophagos*[2] as follows (1.5f–6a), portraying him as an uninvited guest and parasite offering the seasonings in exchange for a place at the meal:

Κλέαρχος δέ φησι Φιλόξενον προλουόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κἂν ἄλλαις πόλεσι περιέρχεσθαι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀκολουθούντων αὐτῷ παίδων καὶ φερόντων �έλαιον οἶνον γάρον ὄξος καὶ ἄλλα ἡδύσματα· ἔπειτα εἰσιόντα εἰς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίας τὰ ἑψόμενα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρτύειν, ἐμβάλλοντα ὧν ἐστι χρεία.

The next section of the text after this quotation is unclear. The two manuscripts[3] of the Epitome provide the version: *εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνακάμψαντα εὐωχεῖσθαι*, whereas the

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[1] Uncertainty surrounds the name of the city since it is not clear whether Philoxenus of Cythera, the composer of dithyrambs, or Philoxenus of Leucas, the author of the *Deipnon*, is the hero of this story. The confusion between the two poets, deeply rooted in ancient tradition, has been taken over by modern scholars. On the discussion of the question see E. Degani, 'Filosseno di Leucade e Platone comico (fr. 189 K.-A.)', *Eikasmos* 9 (1998), 90–9; J. Wilkins, *The Boastful Chef. The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy* (Oxford, 2000), 345–50. It should also be noticed that Athenaeus (6.239f, 241e, 242b–c, 246a) mentions a certain Philoxenus nicknamed Ham-cleaver, a parasite and glutton, who cannot be identified with either of the two poets called Philoxenus.

[2] On the meaning of *opson*, *opsophagia*, and *opsophagos*, see J. Davidson, '*Opsophagia*. Revolutionary eating in Athens', in J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson (edd.), *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter, 1995), 204–13. See also L. Romeri's polemical remarks on Davidson's interpretation, 'The *λογόδειπνον*. Athenaeus between banquet and anti-banquet', in D. Braund and J. Wilkins (edd.), *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter, 2000), 266 and 566, n. 24.

[3] C = Parisinus suppl. Gr. 841 and E = Laurentianus LX 2. On the textual tradition of the *Deipnosophistae*, see G. Arnott, 'Athenaeus and the Epitome. Text and early editions', in Braund and Wilkins (n. 2), 41–52.

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