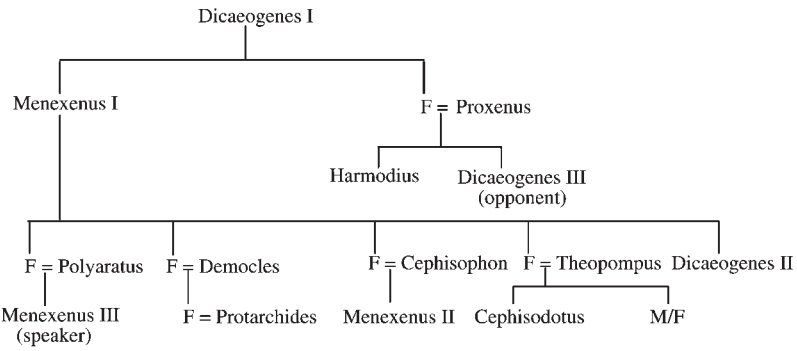
both her parents were dead,[23] Dicaeogenes III acting as her *kyrios*, and overcomes any problems as to why Leochares was able to manipulate her husband, pressuring him to return a dowry that Dicaeogenes III had not been obliged to provide in the first place.[24]

In conclusion, the above arguments produce the following revised stemma:



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[23] It seems that Democles, whose deme was Phrearrhioi, had remarried after divorcing the sister of Dicaeogenes II, since we know of a Pythodorus, son of Democles, of Phrearrhioi, who was an ephebe in 324/3. On the above reconstruction he cannot have been a son of the sister of Dicaeogenes II; *contra* Davies (n. 11), 148.

[24] I am very grateful to Professor J. B. Hall, A. Ritchie, and the anonymous referees of *CQ* for their acute observations on earlier drafts of this paper.

NEGLECTED EVIDENCE FOR DIODORUS CRONUS

There are two standard compilations of the evidence relating to Diodorus Cronus and the Megaric school of philosophers.[1] Neither contains Eustathius, *Ad Hom. Od.* 28.46–29.2, part of his note on *Odyssey* 1.107 *πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων*:

Διοδώρου δέ φησι τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ἐνάγοντος τὸν τοιοῦτον λίθον εἰς ὁμοιότητα τῆς τῶν ἄστρων χορείας, Κλέαρχος τοῖς πέντε φησὶ πλάνησιν ἀναλογεῖν.

The subject of the first *φησι* is Eustathius' main source of information about *πεττεία*. Eustathius refers to him as *ὁ . . . τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδιᾶς γράψας* and as *ὁ περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἕλληνας παιδιᾶς γράψας*. He is presumably Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, who, according to the Suda, s.v. *Τράγκυλλος*, wrote one book *περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν* (cf. Tzetz. *Chil.* 6.874, who speaks of *Τράγκυλλος Σουητῖνός* [*sic*] *τις ἐν παιδιαῖς Ἑλλήνων*). The kind of stone mentioned in *τὸν τοιοῦτον λίθον* is a piece with a special role in *πεττεία*. It was a stone that was placed on a line down the middle of the board (the so-called 'holy' line or *ἡ ἱερὰ γράμμη*), and that a player would move only as a last resort. It was a common metaphor to say that people were moving this stone when they took extreme measures of any kind

[1] Klaus Döring, *Die Megariker* (Amsterdam, 1972), 28–44, and Gabriele Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (Naples, 1990), 1.413–35.

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(e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 739a, Theoc. 6.18). The phrase *τῆς τῶν ἄστρων χορείας* stems ultimately from Plato (see *Ti.* 40c, *Epin.* 982e). The 'dance' of the stars to which it refers is the intricate and orderly system in which the heavenly bodies move. Clearchus is presumably the Clearchus of Soli who was a pupil of Aristotle, and hence a contemporary of Diodorus Cronus. The remark cited here appears as his fr. 12 in Fritz Wehrli's *Die Schule des Aristoteles* (Basel, 1967–78). He probably made the remark in a work called the *Agesilaus*. The evidence is his fr. 11 Wehrli, a scholion expounding the metaphor *καθάπερ πεττῶν ἀφ' ἱεροῦ* in Pl. *Leg.* 739a:

περὶ παροιμίας φησι τῆς "κινήσω τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς", ἣ τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν τὴν ἐσχάτην βοήθειαν κινούντων. μετείληπται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πεττευόντων· παρὰ τούτοις γὰρ κεῖταί τις ψῆφος οἷον ἱερὰ καὶ ἀκίνητος, θεῶν νομιζομένη, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν Ἀρκεσίλαι.

We learn at most two things about Diodorus Cronus from this neglected passage. First, it is our only evidence that he ever pronounced on any question of astronomy. It is, however, utterly obscure what pronouncement one might make by introducing into an analogy for the dance of the stars the piece that players of *πεττεία* would move only when desperate. Certainly, little help in the interpretation of Diodorus' analogy is provided by Clearchus' remark that the analogy was with the five planets. Presumably Clearchus was attempting to correct or outdo Diodorus, rather than merely expound him. Perhaps Clearchus drew some analogy between, on the one hand, the five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) and, on the other, the five pieces that each player had, and the five lines that were marked on each side of the board (Eust. *Ad Hom. Od.* 28.40–2). It is therefore just possible that Diodorus compared the fixed stars, or the Earth, to the stone that would be moved only as a last resort. However, our passage is so ruthlessly summarized that this can be no more than speculation.

The second thing we learn about Diodorus Cronus from this neglected passage is that as early as *c.* A.D. 100 someone—Suetonius—actually called him a Megaric. This is without parallel in our other sources. When other sources apply to Diodorus what might be a label for his school, they uniformly call him *διαλεκτικός*, and the *διαλεκτικοί*9 (perhaps it should be printed with a capital delta) were rivals from whom Megarics are reported to have recruited pupils (D.L. 2.113). It has been proposed in consequence that we should abandon the recent practice of describing Diodorus as a Megaric, and call him a Dialectician instead.[2] The proposal can still be adopted, even though we now have direct evidence of someone in antiquity calling Diodorus a Megaric. For supporters of the proposal can maintain that Suetonius too fell victim to the same confusion that has led more recent scholars to describe Diodorus as a Megaric rather than as the Dialectician that in fact he was. Nevertheless, in the light of the neglected passage of Eustathius, the proposal is perhaps less attractive than it originally looked.

Also missing from the standard collections of testimonia about Diodorus is a second passage that gives his name while relaying lore about *πεττεία* in connection

[2] D. Sedley, 'Diodorus Cronus and Hellenistic philosophy', *PCPS* 203 (n.s. 23) (1977), 74–120, at 74–7. Sedley's proposal was rejected by Giannantoni, who placed Diodorus testimonia in his section on Megarics. It was treated with some disdain by K. Döring, 'Gab es eine Dialektische Schule?', *Phronesis* 34 (1989) 293–310, and taken up enthusiastically by Theodor Ebert, *Dialektiker und frühe Stoiker bei Sextus Empiricus: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der Aussagenlogik* (Göttingen, 1991) = *Hypomnemata* 95, and N. Denyer, 'Diodorus Cronus', in E. J. Craig (ed.), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London, 1998), 2.83–6. The most recent discussion is F. De Mattia, 'Diodoro Crono: testimonianze antiche ed esegesi moderna', unpublished dissertation (Bologna, 2000), 15–39.

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with *Od.* 1.107. The passage is Athenaeus 1.16e (= Phaenias fr. 18 Wehrli), a part of the *Deipnosophistae* that survives only in epitome.[3] It runs:

καὶ οἱ μνηστῆρες δὲ παρ' αὐτῶι [sc. Homer] "*πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων*" *ἐτέρποντο, οὐ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου ἢ Θεοδώρου μαθόντες τὴν πεττείαν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Λέοντος τοῦ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀθηναίου, ὃς ἀήττητος ἦν κατὰ τὴν πεττευτικήν, ὥς φησι Φαινίας.*

Phaenias of Eresus was, like Clearchus, a pupil of Aristotle. He wrote a work called *πρὸς Διόδωρον*, and presumably directed against Diodorus Cronus.[4]

We may speculate as follows: Athenaeus was citing Phaenias as source for the entire remark about where the suitors did not learn their *πεττεία*, rather than just as an authority for the invincibility of Leo; Diodorus' analogy from *πεττεία* for the motion of the heavenly bodies aroused the scorn of Phaenias, as well of Clearchus; Phaenias expressed his scorn at Diodorus' pretensions to knowledge of *πεττεία* by remarking that the suitors learnt neither from Diodorus, nor even from somebody who did know the game, Leo the Mytilenaean.

How would the remark have been worded originally? The phrase *ἢ Θεοδώρου* is usually deleted, following Kaibel, as the trace of an indication that *Θεοδώρου* could be read as an alternative to *Διοδώρου*. It is pleasing to imagine that the phrase was suggested by the close and celebrated association between Theodorus of Mopsuestia and the Diodorus who was bishop of Tarsus in the late fourth century, and whom Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 264.7 describes as *τὸν μέγαν Διόδωρον*. At any rate, since the deletion has been found acceptable by those with no axe to grind concerning Diodorus Cronus, we may, I trust, accept it here without further argument. The deletion leaves the remark contrasting Leo with only one person, referred to by the phrase *τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου*. This phrase could have belonged in the original remark. If so, then even if Phaenias was not the originator of the remark, and even if the originator of the remark had in mind some Diodorus other than Diodorus Cronus, the adjective *μεγάλου* would be sarcastic. For there is no further trace of any Diodorus contemporary with or earlier than Athenaeus who was without sarcasm called 'the great', yet such a person might be expected to leave some further trace on the historical record. There is, however, an alternative to supposing that a sarcastic *τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου* belonged in the original remark. For that phrase might in turn be a corruption of *τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ Διοδώρου*.[5] Even this, however, may not have been the

[3] The epitomizer was, according to P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1973), 519, the Eustathius who preserved our passage from Suetonius: 'Vermutlich hat Eustathius die Epitome selbst verfaßt.' Maas's suggestion has persuaded some, but not N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 201–2.

[4] Alex. Aphr. *In Metaph.* 84.16–21 (= fr. 9 Wehrli, fr. 220 Döring, fr. II.F32 Giannantoni). This passage, our sole information about the *πρὸς Διόδωρον*, records that it had one Polyxenus presenting a version of the Third Man Argument. Neither Döring nor Giannantoni is persuaded that Diodorus was the target of Phaenias' work. However, there was a dialectician or Dialectician named Polyxenus (Gnomologium Vaticanum 194 [= fr. 218 Döring, fr. V.B 149 Giannantoni], Plu. *Mor.* 176c [= fr. 216 Döring, not in Giannantoni]). The Dialecticians, we learn from Sen. *Ep.* 117.11–12 (in neither Döring nor Giannantoni), drew, and bequeathed to the Stoics, a distinction that is essential for escaping the Third Man Argument, and that was rejected by the Peripatetics: the distinction between what is signified by a predicative expression (such as 'is wise') and what is signified by the corresponding abstract noun (such as 'wisdom'). We may infer that the *πρὸς Διόδωρον* of the Peripatetic Phaenias contained some polemic against Dialecticians' theories of predication, and that the Diodorus of its title was therefore Diodorus Cronus himself.

[5] Musurus in the *editio princeps* of Athenaeus (Venice, 1514) was dissatisfied with *μεγάλου*

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original wording, for it might well be that someone relaying Phaenias' remark added *Μεγαρικοῦ* to make it clear which Diodorus Phaenias had meant.

In consequence, Athenaeus adds little to the small amount that we can learn about Diodorus from Eustathius. For even if he shows that Diodorus' analogy with *πεττεία* aroused the scorn of another Peripatetic besides Clearchus, he shows nothing about what that analogy was. And even if we accept that *τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου* is a corruption of *τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ Διοδώρου*, we still cannot infer that Diodorus was described by one of his contemporaries as a Megaric. Indeed, we cannot even infer that some later ancient, independently of Suetonius and his source, applied the label 'Megaric' to Diodorus Cronus. On the contrary, if *τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ Διοδώρου* does belong in our passage from Athenaeus, then that only strengthens the already strong impression that both it and our passage from Eustathius are ultimately just different extracts from a single assemblage of such material.[6]

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and printed *Μεγαλοπολίτου* instead. Schweighäuser (Strasbourg, 1801–7) followed Musurus for his text, but added the footnote '*μεγάλου* dant libri nostri. *Μεγαρικοῦ* suspicari possis ex Eustathio.' Schweighäuser's conjecture is ignored by subsequent editions of this part of Athenaeus: Dindorf (Leipzig, 1827), anon. (Leipzig, 1834), Meineke (Leipzig, 1858), Kaibel (Leipzig, 1887–90), Gulick (London and New York, 1927–41), Desrousseaux and Astruc (Paris, 1956), Turturro (Bari, 1961).

[6] Luca Castagnoli, Neil Hopkinson, and David Sedley have given help and encouragement of various kinds, but cannot otherwise be blamed for the conclusions of this paper.

NOTES ON CATULLUS[1]

Nearly all these thoughts originated in a seminar which Don Fowler and I gave together some years ago. I include one conjecture which is specifically his. Characteristically, he delivered this off the cuff in conversation. Equally characteristically, and endearingly, he never bothered to lay claim to it, and so I shall make the attribution for him, and provide some back-up argument. The other notes, such as they are, are indebted to his presence and stimulus.

I. POEMS 10 AND 28

Both these poems dramatize financially unprofitable experience in a provincial governor's *cohors*.[2] In 10 a girl exposes Catullus' attempts to make the best of his

[1] My thanks to Jasper Griffin for helpful comments on this paper.

Editions and commentaries cited by name alone: H. Bardon (Stuttgart, 1973²), W. Eisenhut (Leipzig, 1983), R. Ellis (commentary, Oxford 1876; text Oxford, 1878²), G. P. Goold (London, 1983), C. J. Fordyce (Oxford, 1961), W. Kroll (with bibliography and addenda by H. Herter and J. Kroymann, 1960⁴), G. Lee (Oxford, 1990), R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1958), K. Quinn (London and Basingstoke, 1973²), H. P. Syndikus (Darmstadt, 1984, 1987, 1990), D. F. S. Thomson (Toronto, 1997).

[2] For the well-documented institution of young equestrians' serving in the entourage of a provincial governor, see M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, trans. R. Seager (Oxford, 1975), 101–2; Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.11–12 (a key text, though Gelzer and Shackleton Bailey's commentary differ slightly in interpretation of detail); Hor. *Epist*. 1.3; the amusing letters of Cicero to Trebatius Testa, *Ad Fam*. 7.6, 17, 18; and Cic. *Cael*. 73 on M. Caelius' service as *contubernalis* to Q. Pompeius Rufus proconsul of Africa in 61 B.C. (another key text) *cum autem paulum iam roboris accessisset aetati, in Africam profectus est Q. Pompeio pro consule contubernalis. . . . usus quidam prouincialis non sine*

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