

three-sided tripod bases to Halia Numphe, whose sanctuary is thought to have been in the town near the sea. 520–34 are catalogues of victors, most of which are substantial.

The end of 351 is puzzling, [Κίμ][ω]ν[α κα]ὶ Κλεο[φά]νην Ἀναγυρά[σιους] Ἀθήνησιν τον[—]. The photograph suggests that πον[οῦντας] may be possible; that is, the dedicatees, Kimon and Kleophanes, while sick in Athens, were cured by the intervention of Amphiaraios. (Cf. *IG* 4² 1, 122, lines 1–6, Arata, cured in Sparta, when her mother sleeps in the Epidaurian Asklepieion.)

364 invites the restoration of the ethnic of the dedicator, Aristoboulos, as Τα[ναγρ]εὺς for the usual Ταναγραῖος (cf. *IG* 2² 10,405). Though perhaps only a coincidence, 681 is the gravestone of the daughter of a Tanagraean Aristoboulos, in the third century B.C., whereas this stone dates from the end of the fourth century. In part 4, the gravestones (535–745) are arranged alphabetically; included are two unpublished curse tablets (745 and 745a).

The penultimate item (769), also the oldest, is an owner's name on a stone disk, thought to have been part of fishing tackle, that was found recently in a stratum from the second half of the eighth century in the excavations at Skala Oropou: Π(or Γ)ειθαλίμο, in an alphabet that could be either Boeotian or Euboean.

These volumes with their many rewarding texts remind us that new information on Greek society, and especially religious practice, can come from the reexamination and bringing together of texts long known to scholars as well as from striking new discoveries.

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ARISTOPHANES *PEACE* 1265–1304: FOOD, POETRY, AND THE COMIC GENRE

In this paper I examine the intersection of two themes that dominate Aristophanes' *Peace*: food and poetry. The *Peace* is stuffed full of food, from military rations and dung cakes to the considerably more appealing abundance of food and fertility that accompanies the restoration of peace.¹ Likewise, *Peace* is chock-full of poetic morsels. Aristophanes incorporates direct quotation from his own earlier play *Wasps* into the parabasis, and also interweaves poetic texts from other authors and genres into his own.² In the passage on which I will focus, Trygaeus encounters two boys who come on stage to sing. The first sings martial lines from epic; the second sings a famous passage of Archilochus. By presenting these brief "performances" and Trygaeus' reaction to them, Aristophanes takes his own stand in a poetic debate about the proper topics of song. His position is entirely in keeping with the overall theme of *Peace*, in which war is rejected in favor of peace and feasting.

As the final celebration of *Peace* is getting underway backstage, the first of the two boys comes out and begins to sing about war. Three times (1270, 1273–74,

1. On food in *Peace*, see Reckford 1979. Unfortunately, this article was completed before the appearance of S. Douglas Olson's edition of *Peace* (Oxford, 1998).

2. Hubbard 1991, 148–53 on Aristophanes' self-citation in the parabasis and other allusions to *Wasps* in *Peace*. On the incorporation of other poets' work into *Peace*, see Bremer 1993, 150–53.

1276) the boy sings a martial-sounding line or two, quoted from epic, only to be interrupted by Trygaeus' objections.³ Soon Trygaeus has an opportunity to suggest a positive alternative to such military language, when the boy asks what Trygaeus would like to hear (1279). Trygaeus' suggested topic is food (1279–90):

1280	Π. α	Ἀλλὰ τί δῆτ' ἄδω; Σὺ γὰρ εἰπέ μοι οἷσσισι χαίρεις.
	TP.	“Ὡς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα,” καὶ τὰ τοιαυτὶ “ἄριστον προτίθεντο καὶ ἄσος ἥδιστα πάσασθαι.”
1285	Π. α	Ὡς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα, καυχένας ἵππων ἔκλυον ἰδρώοντας, ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκόρεσθεν.
	TP.	Εἴέν· ἐκόρεσθεν τοῦ πολέμου κᾶτ' ἦσθιον.
	1285	Ταῦτ' ἄδε, ταῦθ', ὥς ἦσθιον κεκορημένοι.
	Π. α	Θωρήσονται ἄρ' ἔπειτα πεπαυμένοι.
	TP.	Ἄσμενοι, οἶμαι.
1290	Π. α	πύργων δ' ἐξεχέοντο, βοῇ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει.
	TP.	Κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιο, παιδάριον, αὐταῖς μάχαις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄδεις πλὴν πολέμου. Τοῦ καὶ ποτ' εἶ;
	Π. α	Ἐγώ;
	TP.	Σὺ μέντοι νῆ Δί'.
	Π. α	Υἱὸς Λαμάχου.

This section follows the same pattern as the previous one: the boy makes three attempts at his song (1282–83, 1286, 1287), with interjections by Trygaeus after each. Like the previous group of three epic snippets, this set is composed of one non-Iliadic quotation (1282–83 = *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 107–8 Allen⁴), followed by two Iliadic lines (1286 = *Il.* 8.53–54; 1287 = *Il.* 16.267). This time Trygaeus voices approval (1284, 1286), until he realizes that the boy has slipped back into battle narrative, at which point he puts an end to the boy's singing with a two-line outburst (1288–89, cf. 1277–78). Finally in 1290, the real punchline to this sequence, we learn the reason for the boy's affinity for military subjects: he is the son of Lamachus. Trygaeus' attempt to reform this boy's choice of song has proved hopeless, so he chases the boy offstage.

This passage is one of several in Aristophanes in which a disagreement about what should be sung or recited is an expression of the play's central themes. In both *Clouds* and *Wasps*, conflicts between fathers and sons about after-dinner entertainment reflect the generational and cultural oppositions that are at the center of the

3. The scholia tell us that line 1270 is excerpted from the cyclic epic *Epigonoι*. Lines 1273–74 are a condensed form of *Il.* 4.446–49 (= 8.60–63); line 1276 = *Il.* 4.450 (= 8.64). *Peace* 1273 is also exactly equivalent to *Il.* 3.15 = 13.604 = 16.462. The line from *Epigonoι*, “Offspring,” is doubly appropriate as the boy's first utterance. First, the overarching joke of this passage is about offspring—namely, that the sons of two famous Athenians choose songs befitting their fathers' characters. Secondly, a song about the sons of the Seven against Thebes is appropriate from the mouth of a boy whose name is reported to have been Tydeus (Sommerstein 1985 ad loc.). On the name of Lamachus' son, see Mattingly 1977, 238. At *Ach.* 965, Lamachus himself is described in a line half of which is taken from Aesch. *Sept.* 384, part of a description of Tydeus.

By condensing the martial action of *Il.* 4.446–49 (= 8.60–63) at *Peace* 1273–74, Aristophanes makes the tautology in the *ῥῖνοι* and *ἀσπίδες* of the original even more obvious and therefore ridiculous (Sommerstein 1985 ad loc.), and calls attention to the center-bossed shields (*ἀσπίδας ὀμφαλοέσσας*), redundant and prominent at the end of line 1274. Trygaeus will immediately pick up on and emphatically object to *ἀσπίδας* (1275), and to their epithet (1278). The significance of this emphasis on the *ἀσπίς* will not be fully evident until the second boy begins his song with the word *ἀσπίδι*.

4. To be precise, *Peace* 1282a = *Cert.* 119a Allen; *Peace* 1282b–1283 = *Cert.* 107b–108 Allen.

plays.⁵ In *Peace*, too, the dispute over what is to be sung reflects the larger opposition, this time between war and peace, that drives the plot of the play. Line 1284, one of Trygaeus' interjections, seems to encapsulate particularly well the action of *Peace*: "Very well. They had their fill of war and then they ate." In the war/peace opposition, food and feasting are unquestionably on the side of peace. In *Peace*, the fertile abundance of food that accompanies the return of Peace is highlighted in contrast to the military rations and starvation brought by war. The alignment of food and peace together as opposed to war is familiar from the ending to *Acharnians*, where the sensual pleasures, including food, enjoyed by Dicaeopolis are contrasted with the pain and deprivation suffered by Lamachus. In his disagreement with Lamachus' son, Trygaeus extends the familiar food/war opposition to the question of topics for song.

By focusing on food as the preferred alternative to war as a topic for song, and by making it a gesture embodying not only the theme of *Peace*, but also the food-obsessed comic world in general, Aristophanes appropriates a sympotic topos. Xenophanes, for example, bans from his symposium the topic of battles of the Titans or the Giants or the Centaurs, or στάσις σφεδανός, "violent quarrels" (frag. 1 W, lines 21–23).⁶ Anacreon (eleg. frag. 2 W) disapproves of one who speaks about νείκεα and πόλεμος at a symposium; the gifts of the Muses and of Aphrodite are more appropriate subjects for such an occasion.

In sympotic poetry, the avoidance of polemical subjects is directly related to the desire to avoid drunken violence at the symposium itself.⁷ In Anacreon frag. 356 *PMG* the speaker discourages "Scythian drinking" in favor of moderation, with the participants drinking καλοῖς . . . ἐν ὕμνοις. Aristophanes, in contrast, is not worried about his revelers getting too drunk to behave properly; comedy is not troubled by such consequences. The emphasis in *Peace* is on the rejection of war in favor of feasting. Here, too, Aristophanes can turn to a lyric precedent for the replacement of martial topics with songs about feasting. The scholia tell us that *Peace* 774–79 is a quotation from Stesichorus' *Oresteia* (33 *PMG*), in which Stesichorus calls on the Muse to push aside wars and instead to celebrate the "marriages of the gods and the feasts of men and the banquets of the blessed ones."⁸ Aristophanes' quotation of Stesichorus is a clear signal that he is aware of his affinity with the lyric tradition.

Elsewhere in *Peace*, Aristophanes is clearly putting an Aristophanic twist on sympotic material. In lines 1130–39, the chorus pronounces that it takes pleasure not in battles, but in drinking by the fire with friends (μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἐταίρων φίλων), roasting

5. At *Clouds* 1353–75, Strepsiades recounts the incident in which he asked Pheidippides to sing some Simonides; when Pheidippides refused, calling the singing of poetry after dinner passé, Strepsiades suggested Aeschylus as an alternative; Pheidippides mocked Aeschylus and proceeded to recite a rhesus from Euripides, to his father's strong disapproval. Similarly in *Wasps* (1174–1207), father and son disagree about proper topics of conversation at a symposium, with Philocleon preferring Aesop's fables and Bdelycleon suggesting something a bit more sophisticated. On Philocleon's fondness for Aesop, see Rothwell 1995.

6. οὐ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτῆων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων / οὐδὲ () Κενταύρων, πλάσμα(τα) τῶν προτέρων, / ἢ στάσις σφεδανός· τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν. For the topos see Slater 1981; Richardson 1981, 3.

7. Slater 1981. We find a variation of this theme at *Ar. Ach.* 978–87, where war is portrayed as a bad dinner companion.

8. Stesichorus 33 *PMG*: Μοῖσα σὺ μὲν πολέμους ἀπωσαμένα μετ' ἐμοῦ / κλειῖσθα θεῶν τε γάμουσ' ἀνδρῶν τε δαίτας / καὶ θαλίας μακάρων. How these lines can introduce an *Oresteia* is a perplexing problem, but not relevant to the matter at hand.

chickpeas and acorns, and kissing the slave girl while the wife is washing up. This is a rustic version of the traditional symposium, containing all the important elements—food, wine, male friends, servant girls for sexual pleasure, the absence of married women. The sympotic tone of this passage in *Peace* is confirmed by its resemblance to a sympotic fragment of Xenophanes (18 = 22 DK):

πᾶρ πυρὶ χρῇ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ὥρῃ
ἐν κλίνῃ μαλακῇ κατακείμενον, ἔμπλεον ὄντα,
πίνοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον, ὑποτρῶγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους·

The fire (*Peace* 1131, πρὸς πῦρ; Xen. 18.1, πᾶρ πυρὶ), the drinking of wine (*Peace* 1133, διέλκων; Xen. 18.3, πίνοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον), and the chickpeas (*Peace* 1137, τοῦρεβίνθου; Xen. 18.3, ἐρεβίνθους) link these two passages.⁹ Even the reference to the season is parallel: Xenophanes explicitly sets his scene in winter (line 1, χειμῶνος ἐν ὥρῃ), while in *Peace*, the mention of firewood gathered in the summer (*Peace* 1135, τοῦ θέρους) implies that this rustic gathering in *Peace* takes place in winter, when the wood is burned for warmth. An Aristophanic flavor is added by a possible sexual double entendre in the roasting of chickpeas and acorns;¹⁰ the sexual undertones become explicit with the kissing of the slave girl. Rustic details like the gathering of the firewood, the acorn, and the Thracian girl turn the elegance of Xenophanes' symposium into a more earthy, poor, and typically comic event.

Trygaeus' rejection of war in his encounter with the two boy singers suggests not only a privileging of theme, but also a preference with regard to genre: war poetry, like war itself, is rejected, and poetry of peacetime feasting takes its place. Trygaeus' enactment of the sympotic topos makes this gesture clearly enough. Yet within *Peace* 1265–94 a further reference to the opposition between poetry of war and poetry of peace reinforces the point. *Peace* 1282–83, the lines which the boy speaks at Trygaeus' prompting, are found also as a riddle in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*. The significance of the coincidence of these two lines in the *Certamen* and here in *Peace* depends of course on how we date the material in the *Certamen*; here matters are complex and ultimately unresolvable. The extant form of the *Certamen* dates to the Antonine period, and has been shown to have been taken at least in part from the *Mouseion* of Alcidas, a fourth-century B.C.E. author.¹¹ It is less certain whether Alcidas invented the *Certamen* from scratch, or compiled it from previously existing material. Even if the *Certamen* did not exist in anything like its present form at the time of the production of *Peace*, it remains possible that Aristophanes

9. It is intriguing that Xenophanes 18, like the other sympotic poetry mentioned above, is concerned with what one ought to say at a symposium. Here, though, the topics suggested have a Homeric tone (18.4–5): τίς πόθεν εἷς ἀνδρῶν; πόσα τοι ἔτε' ἔστί, φέριστε; / πηλίκος ἦσθ', δθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο;

10. Henderson 1991, 120, 143, 177, but also 246.

11. For a good summary of the evidence, see O'Sullivan 1992, 63–64 and West 1967, 431. That the material in the *Certamen* dates at least to the Hellenistic period is shown by its close agreement with the Flinders Petrie papyrus (*PLond. Lit.* 191), which dates to the third century B.C.E. The connection with Alcidas is made by the Michigan papyrus 2754, which gives the end of a narrative closely resembling the end of the *Certamen*; after an epilogue, the papyrus contains the subscription Ἰδαμαντος περὶ ομηροῦ.

West 1967, 438–41 denies any evidence for a *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* before Alcidas. Richardson 1981, 1–3 disagrees, citing the tendency of sophists like Alcidas to compile, not invent from scratch. Richardson also argues the closeness in themes between the *Peace* 1282–83, sympotic poetry, and the *Certamen* as evidence for a sixth-century origin for the contest.

was drawing on a tradition in which these lines were part of an ἀγών between Homer and Hesiod.

In the section of the *Certamen* in which these lines appear, Hesiod proposes a series of apparently absurd hexameter lines, and Homer adds to each a second line that makes sense of the first line. So in the first line of the riddle, *Peace* 1282 (= *Cert.* 107 Allen), the horses' necks at first appear to be a second object of δαίνονται, but with the addition of 1283 (= *Cert.* 108 Allen) it becomes clear that they are the object of ἐκλυσθαι instead. The "contest" between Trygaeus and the boy is not precisely parallel in form to that between Hesiod and Homer, but Trygaeus does in a sense play the role of Hesiod, by posing the verse containing the idea of feasting. The boy, like Homer in the *Certamen*, completes the line. There is a further piece of evidence linking the boy to Homer in the *Certamen*. Line 1270 of *Peace*, delivered by the boy, is found also in the *Certamen* (line 259 Allen), where it is spoken by Homer as his own.¹²

In the *Certamen*, Homer as the poet of war and Hesiod as the poet of peace and farming are explicitly contrasted. The king crowns Hesiod victor εἰπὼν δίκαιον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ γεωργίαν καὶ εἰρήνην προκαλούμενον νικᾶν, οὐ τὸν πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς διεξιόντα (*Cert.* 207–10 Allen). Aristophanes was certainly aware of the classification of Homer as a poet of war and Hesiod of peace, for the same opposition underlies *Frogs* 1033–36, where Homer is a teacher of strategy, Hesiod of farming. In *Peace*, Aristophanes reaches the same verdict as the king in the *Certamen*: it is right for the poet of peace (and therefore of food, Aristophanes would add) to prevail against one who, like Lamachus' son, sings of wars and slaughters.

After Trygaeus dismisses the son of Lamachus, he calls for a second boy, the son of the notorious glutton Cleonymus (*Peace* 1295–1304). This boy sings the famous Archilochean lines beginning ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται (frag. 5 W). The shield, so objectionable to Trygaeus in lines 1274–78, receives its proper treatment in this song—it is thrown away. While Cleonymus' son is jeered by Trygaeus, it is significant that this boy, in contrast to Lamachus' son, is not asked to change his tune. The antiheroic ethic expressed in the ἀσπίς poem matches the mood of *Peace*. Furthermore, the two characteristics for which Cleonymus is mocked throughout Aristophanic comedy, gluttony and fleeing from battle, are consistent with the play's valuing of feasting above war, and so are seen as less objectionable than those for which Lamachus was known.¹³

Through Trygaeus' reaction to the two boys, Aristophanes establishes his own generic stance in a characteristically complex and ever shifting manner. He is at one moment aligned with the sympotic poets, then with Hesiod, then with Archilochus, all at least momentarily in opposition to Homer.¹⁴ Yet by translating the sympotic topos of rejection of war and praise of feasting into Aristophanic terms and enacting it on stage, *Peace* 1265–1304 makes its point seem self-evident. Given the choice

12. The scholia attribute the line to the *Epigonoí* of Antimachus; Herodotus 4.32 tentatively credits Homer with a poem titled *Epigonoí*. See Platnauer 1964 on *Peace* 1270. The line appears in a section of the *Certamen* that is thought to derive not from Alcidas, but possibly from a Life of Homer (so West 1967, 449).

13. For a discussion of Cleonymus' reputation for gluttony and βίψασπία, and the events provoking the latter charge, see Storey 1989.

14. See Fowler 1987, 3–52 on the complicated relationship between lyric and epic.

between war and food, any sound-minded person would, like Trygaeus, choose the feast that is Aristophanic comedy.¹⁵

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CATULLUS 59: RUFIA AMONG THE GRAVES

Though it may at first seem unworthy of extensive comment—indeed Quinn held it up as a sign of just how pointless Catullus could be—poem 59 deserves a closer look.¹ The brevity and relentlessness of the text, as well as its apparently artless obscenity, have rendered it nearly impervious to interpretation. Even though it consists of seemingly pointless vulgarities, this brief poem contains, in fact, a sophisticated

1. Quinn 1959, 32–34, especially 33: "We have not to guess the precise intent of poems like this one to see the level of poetry they represent. Sometimes it will be the private working-off of fury, sometimes this shared