

I leave it to others to judge whether it is 'in accord with Achilles' character as we see it elsewhere in the *Iliad* for him to run himself down by calling himself *παναώριος* in the sense of a misfit or failure', as Pope claims. My concern is simply to set out the considerations that lead one to accept the usual interpretation of the word, and also perhaps to shed some new light by exploring them more fully than has been done in the commentaries.

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ΜΑΡΙΚΑΣ

A. C. Cassio has recently pointed out¹ that *Μαρικᾶς*, the name which Eupolis applied to the demagogue Hyperbolus, is a transliteration of the Old Persian word *marika*^h. In fact, a Persian origin of *μαρικᾶς* was suspected long ago. The seventeenth-century English scholar Edward Bernard, whose notes were used by J. Alberti in his edition of Hesychius,² connected *μαρικᾶς* with the Modern Persian *mardekeh*, which literally means 'a little man' and has the connotation 'a vile person', 'a scoundrel'.³ A. Meineke followed Bernard's derivation of *μαρικᾶς* from Persian,⁴ as did K. Latte in his recent edition of Hesychius.⁵ These references should be added to Cassio's citation of E. Maass' quotation of K. F. Geldner's opinion.⁶

One aspect of Hesychius' note

Μαρικᾶν· κίναιδον. οἱ δὲ ὑποκόρισμα παιδίου ἄρρενος βαρβαρικόν

(*βαρβαρικόν* Meineke: *βαρβαρικοῦ* cod. Marcianus gr. 622 (s. XV), the *codex unicus* upon which Hesychius' text rests) deserves further consideration:

It is clear that *marika*^h, a contracted form of **mariyaka*^h, 'little man',⁷ is an *ὑποκόρισμα παιδίου ἄρρενος βαρβαρικόν*, a 'barbarian diminutive' of a male child'; however, it is much less clear that the Old Persian *marika*^h or its Greek transliteration *μαρικᾶς* ever meant *κίναιδος*.⁹ Hyperbolus was accused of many faults, but never so far as we know of being a *κίναιδος*, nor is this the meaning of the cognate Modern

¹ *CQ* 35 (1985), 38–42.

² *Hesychii Lexicon* (Leiden, 1766), ii. col. 541.

³ Cf. S. Haïm, *New Persian-English Dictionary* (Tehran, 1936), ii.864. In Modern Persian *mard* means 'man', and *-ak* and *-ekeh* are diminutive suffixes.

⁴ *Fragmenta Comitorum Graecorum* (Berlin, 1839), i.137.

⁵ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (Copenhagen, 1966), ii.629.

⁶ *Festgabe Hugo Blümner* (Zürich, 1914), pp. 267–71.

⁷ Cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*² (New Haven, 1953), p. 202.

⁸ Cassio, *op. cit.*, 38, translates *ὑποκόρισμα* as 'term of endearment', but there is no evidence that the abusive and contemptuous *μαρικᾶς* was ever used this way. Surely in this context *ὑποκόρισμα* means simply 'diminutive'.

⁹ Cassio, *op. cit.*, 38, notes that *βάταλος*, which Demosthenes' nurse bestowed on him as a nickname, also meant *κίναιδος*, but the circumstances regarding the multiple meanings of *βάταλος*, which were extensively reviewed by Meineke, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–6, are quite different from those involving *μαρικᾶς* and no more provide an analogy for a word literally meaning 'little man' acquiring the sense *κίναιδος* than does either of the Americanisms cited by Cassio in n. 6.

To my mind the least improbable way by which *μαρικᾶς* might have acquired the meaning *κίναιδος* would be by assimilation with the cognate Greek *μείραξ*, which can have this meaning (Lucian, *Soloec.* 5, [Draco Stratonicensis], *Περὶ μέτρων ποιητικῶν*, p. 18.21–2 Hermann). However, there would be no direct evidence to support this hypothesis.

Persian *mardak* and *mardekeh*,¹⁰ which rather mean ‘a rogue’, ‘a scoundrel’, ‘a knave’, epithets which cohere closely with Hyperbolus’ having been called *πονηρός* and *μοχθηρός* and *φαῦλος* (Thucydides 8.73.2, Plutarch, *Nicias* 12.4, *Alcibiades* 13.4–5, *Aristides* 7.3, Plato com., fr. 166 Kock, Aristophanes, *Equites* 1304). Hence I suspect that Hesychius’ gloss on *μαρικᾶς* should reflect the well-established meaning of *mardak/mardekeh* and Hyperbolus’ notorious reputation, and so I should emend it to read

Μαρικᾶν· κίναδος. οἱ δὲ ὑποκόρισμα παιδίου ἄρρενος βαρβαρικόν.

The corruption of *κίναδος* to the more common *κίναιδος* would of course be very easy (cf. the identical corruptions in the text of Lucian cited a little below), and the subsequent alteration of *κίναιδος* to *κίναιδον* so that it would agree in case with *Μαρικᾶν* would be no less so. The derogatory epithet *κίναδος*, which LSJ translate as ‘a cunning rogue’, is both an accurate rendition of the Modern Persian *mardak/mardekeh* and a marvellously succinct description of Hyperbolus. The use of *κίναδος* in the sense ‘rogue’ is fairly common in classical Greek; cf. for example Sophocles, *Ajax* 103, Aristophanes, *Aves* 429, *Nubes* 448, Andocides 1.99, Demosthenes 18.162, Dinarchus, in *Demosth.* 40, Theocritus 5.25, and Lucian, *Pseudolog.* 32, where F. Guyet’s emendations of *κίναιδος* to *κίναδος* in the phrases *ὦ παιπάλλημα καὶ κίναδος* and *τὸ παιπάλλημα καὶ τὸ κίναδος* are secured by the fact that Lucian was imitating Aristophanes, *Aves* 429–30

*πυκνότερον κίναδος,
σόφισμα κύρμα τρῖμμα παιπάλημ’ ὄλον.*

In postclassical Greek *κίναδος* seems to be less common, but since Hesychius’ lemma is the oblique case *Μαρικᾶν*, it seems very likely that the ultimate source of this entry was a scholion to a play in which the accusative of *Μαρικᾶς* occurred, quite possibly Eupolis’ *Μαρικᾶς* itself. Hence *Μαρικᾶν· κίναδος* may well have a classical origin, and so it is unnecessary to assume that *κίναδος* was a member of the vernacular of s. V/VI Alexandria.

The Old Persian *marika*^h may well have acquired its pejorative meaning in the same manner as the English word ‘knave’, as Cassio has mentioned. The original sense of the Old English *cnafa*, like the Old High German *knabo*, *chnabe* → the modern German *Knabe*, was ‘a male child, a boy’; this is the literal meaning of **mariyaka*^h → *marika*^h = ‘little man’. Next ‘knave’ acquired the sense ‘a boy or lad employed as a servant; hence a male servant or menial in general’;¹¹ one of low condition’; the vocative *marikā* on Darius’ tomb, which is translated by the Akkadian LÚ *qal-la* ‘slave’, is used in just this sense.¹² In the 13th century ‘knave’ came to mean ‘one of low or ignoble character’, ‘a mean person’, ‘an unprincipled man, given to

¹⁰ Bernard apud Alberti, op. cit., claimed that Modern Persian *mardekeh* could mean ‘cinaedus, catamitus’. However, I am specifically assured by experts at the University of Chicago that this is not so, and Bernard does not inspire confidence in his claim when he maintains that this is also the meaning of *φθονερόν* . . . *ἀνδρίον* at Theocritus 5.40.

¹¹ Cassio, op. cit., p. 40, observes that ‘in many languages the same term is used for “boy, young man” and “attendant, servant”’ and cites the examples of Greek *παῖς*, Latin *puer*, Elamite *puhu*, Aramaic *lym*, French *garçon*, and Italian *garzone*.

¹² Kent, op. cit. (n. 7), 109, 138–40; *marikā* is preserved in lines 50 and 55 of the inscription and restored in line 59. The inscription is quadrilingual, with its Old Persian text translated into Elamite, Aramaic, and Akkadian; Kent, p. 202, in his entry for the stem *marika-* records the Akkadian equivalent ^{LU}*qal-la*, of which a more modern transcription would be LÚ *qal-la*. The symbol LÚ means ‘man’ and *qal-la* means ‘slave’; cf. *The Assyrian Dictionary* XIII (Chicago, 1982), s.v. *qallu*.

dishonourable and deceitful practices';¹³ this description precisely fits Hyperbolus' character and the common meaning of Modern Persian *mardak/mardekeh*, so it is quite likely that Old Persian *marika*^h had already acquired this sense.

Let us now review the evidence for why Eupolis selected the Persian word *Μαρικᾶς* to designate Hyperbolus. Cassio has cited several passages (Plato com., fr. 170 Kock, Polyzelos, fr. 5 Kock, Scholia in Aristophan. *Pacem* 692) in which Hyperbolus was variously accused of being a Lydian, a Phrygian, and a Syrian, and he has also noted that the scholion *πρὸς τ[ὸν] δεσπότην ὁ Ὑπέρβολος* in a recently published papyrus commentary on Eupolis' *Μαρικᾶς* shows that Hyperbolus was portrayed as a slave, as indeed had been inferred from Plato's *Hyperbolus*, fr. 166–7 Kock, where a servant tells his master

ὅτι πονηρῶ καὶ ξένῳ
ἐπέλαχες ἀνδρί, οὐδέπω γὰρ ἐλευθήρῳ,

and a little later the master says

ἄπερρ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὸ πράγμα δὴ φράσω·
'Υπερβόλῳ βουλῆς γάρ, ἄνδρες, ἐπέλαχον.

Similar allegations were made by Andocides, fr. 3.2 = Scholia in Aristophan. *Vesp.* 1007: *περὶ Ὑπερβόλου λέγειν αἰσχύνομαι, οὐδ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐστιγμένος ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀργυροκοπείῳ δουλεῖται τῷ δημοσίῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ξένος ὢν καὶ βάρβαρος λυχνοποιεῖ*. Furthermore, as we have already seen, Hyperbolus was notorious for his knavish character. The single word *μαρικᾶς* conveyed all three charges: its Persian origin alluded to Hyperbolus' Asiatic background, its meaning 'slave' conveyed the allegation that Hyperbolus was a slave, and its connotation 'scoundrel' reflected Hyperbolus' notorious reputation for deceitfulness. We may admire Eupolis' brilliance in choosing *μαρικᾶς* to designate Hyperbolus, and the sophistication of his Athenian audience for its ability to appreciate all the nuances of the Persian word.¹⁴

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¹³ These definitions are from the *Oxford English Dictionary* v (Oxford, 1960), s.v. *knave*.

¹⁴ Eupolis would hardly have given the principal character of his prize-winning play a name which his audience could not understand. B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* II.3 (Berlin, 1933), p. 127, no. 1512, have published the base of a *skyphos* bearing the possessor's inscription *Μαρικᾶδος*. Was this *Μαρικᾶς* an Asiatic slave whose master gave him this name under the influence of Eupolis' comedy?

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THEOCRITUS OF CHIOS' EPIGRAM AGAINST ARISTOTLE

In the *Vita Aristotelis* of Diogenes Laertius and elsewhere¹ we come across an epigram of Theocritus of Chios directed against Aristotle. I cite the poem in the form in which it has most recently been published by D. L. Page:²

Ἑρμίου εὐνοῦχου τε καὶ Εὐβούλου τόδε δούλου
σῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων τεύξεν Ἀριστοτέλης,
ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρός φύσιν εἴλετο ναίειν
ἀντ' Ἀκαδημίας βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς.

¹ Diog. Laert. 5.11, Didymus, in *Demosth. comm.* 6.45–9, Aristocles ap. Eusebius *PE* 15.2.12, Plutarch, *Mor.* 603e.

² *Epigrammata Graeca* (Oxford, 1975), 56.