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MIME, *KINAIDOI* AND *KINAIDOLOGOI* (II)

To Diana Haas,
for all the years at Patras

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to examine both the mimic specialisation of *kinaidoi* and the correlated literary productions of the *kinaidologoi* and *ionikologoi*. Within this framework, relative sub-genres, such as *hilarodia*, *magodia*, *simodia* and *lysiodia* are discussed. In the present second part, the literary sources for all the aforementioned sub-genres are examined, as the archaeological evidence has already been dealt with in the first part. The general conclusion is that not only lyric mime (in the framework of which the solo performance was significant) existed in Antiquity, but also that, from the fourth century BC onwards, a large variety of entertainment genres developed, similar to those encountered in the modern music hall and cabaret performance.

I N THE FIRST PART of this study (*Logeion* 4 [2014] 202-226) we touched on a number of general issues concerning the categorisation of mime into prose and lyric, in addition to the sub-genres of the latter (*hilarodia*, *simodia*, *magodia*, *lysiodia*, *kinaidoi*). We also examined the surviving archaeological testimonies, especially in the form of a relief skyphos showing *kinaidoi* at a mill. Having done so, we shall now move on to look at the literary sources. It should be noted from the outset that the literary sources are scanty and that the information yielded is meagre and often far from clear. Furthermore, the differences between sub-genres of mime are hard to discern and span several centuries. Precisely on account of this hazy landscape, we shall examine all genres of mime associated with *kinaidoi*, aiming to detect differences and, where possible, the evolution of mime-related phenomena over time.

Our main source on *kinaidoi* and related genres of mime entertainment is Athenaeus. In the fourteenth book of his *Deipnosophistae*, having made mention of γελωτοποιοί, πλάνοι and φιλοσκώπται, he deals with various types of aural entertainers: those concerning flute-playing, ῥαψῳδοί and then — possibly drawing on Aristocles' work *On Choruses* and thereby from Aristoxenus[1] — ἱλαρῳδοί, δεικιλισταί and other related mime specialisations. On ἱλαρῳδοί and associated artists he has the following to say (XIV 620D-F):

[A]   καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ ἱ λ α ρ ῳ δ ο ί, οὓς νῦν τινὲς σ ι μ ῳ δ ο ὺ ς κα-
       λοῦσιν, ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς φησιν ἐν α′ Περὶ χορῶν (*FHG* IV 331), τῷ τὸν
       Μάγνητα Σῖμον διαπρέψαι μᾶλλον τῶν διὰ τοῦ ἱλαρῳδεῖν ποιητῶν,
       συνεχῶς ἡμῖν ἐπεφαίνοντο. Καταλέγει δ᾽ ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ τούσδε ἐν
  5   τῷ Περὶ μουσικῆς γράφων ὧδε· "Μ α γ ῳ δ ό ς· οὗτος δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς
       τῷ λ υ σ ι ῳ δ ῷ. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησι (fr. 111 Wehrli) τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα
       καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυ-
       ναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις λυσιῳδόν· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μέλη ᾄδουσιν, καὶ τἄλλα πά-
       ντα δ᾽ ἐστὶν ὅμοια. ὁ δὲ ἰ ω ν ι κ ο λ ό γ ο ς τὰ Σωτάδου καὶ τῶν πρὸ
  10   τούτου ἰωνικὰ καλούμενα ποιήματα Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ
       Πύρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀλέξου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων ποιητῶν προ-
       φέρεται. καλεῖται δ᾽ οὗτος καὶ κ ι ν α ι δ ο λ ό γ ο ς. ἤκμασεν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ
       εἴδει τούτῳ Σωτάδης ὁ Μαρωνείτης, ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ὁ Περγα-
       μηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ {Σωτάδου} συγγράμματι (*FHG* IV 359) καὶ ὁ
  15   τοῦ Σωτάδου υἱὸς Ἀπολλώνιος.

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1 σιμῳδοί et 3 σῖμον cod. E, "fort. recte" Wilamowitz   2-3 τῷ τὸν Μ. Σ.] διὰ τῷ τὸν Μ.
Σ. cod. E : "fort. διαπρέψαι τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τοῦ ἱλαρῳδεῖν ποιητῶν" Kaibel   4 ἐπιφαίνονται
A : corr. Kaibel   7 καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα] γυναικείοις προσώποις Salmasius : καὶ γυναι-
κεῖα πρόσωπα ⟨γυναικείοις ἐνδύμασιν⟩ ὑποκρινόμενον Hiller   7-8 γυναικεῖα ⟨μὲν γυναικεί-
οις, ἀνδρεῖα δὲ⟩ ἀνδρείοις Hiller   9 ἐστὶν ὅμοια : fort. εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι Kaibel   ἰονικολόγος
AE, corr. Dobree   καὶ τῶν Kaibel : καὶ τὰ A   11 Πύρρον vocat Suidas   "fort.
Ἀλεξίου" Kaibel   14 glossam del. Wilamowitz

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1.   On Aristocles (late 2nd century BC) see *Logeion* 4 (2014) 202 n. 1; also Susemihl
      (1891) 526-31; Wentzel (1895) 936-37. Given that the passage contains one refer-
      ence to Aristocles' work *On Choruses* and one to his *On Music,* we shall have to accept
      that he referred to *hilarodoi* and *simodoi* in one work, and to *magodoi* in the other. On
      that account, Rohde (1870) 43 n. 1 speculates that this may be due to a mistake by
      the copyist, who wrote Ἀριστοκλῆς instead of the correct Ἀριστόξενος (who we know
      wrote a work *On Music*). While this view is not inconceivable, it seems just as likely to
      me that the supposed *On Choruses* was part of a more wide-ranging work by Aristocles
      entitled *On Music*, as posited by Bapp (1885) 98. Although Reich (1903) 238 was
      right to stress the importance of Aristoxenus as a source on lyric, further on we shall
      see that he was wrong to regard the same author as the earliest source on *ionikologoi*
      and *kinaidologoi*. For more general information on the quotations from Aristoxenus in
      Athenaeus see Villari (2000).

Before examining the information relating to our topic, we should stop to consider a number of fundamental difficulties. The first of these lies in the fact that it is unclear precisely what the phrase *συνεχῶς ἡμῖν ἐπεφαίνοντο* refers to when talking of *hilarodoi*. Is it a reference to symposia or to something else? A greater problem is created by the following important quotation from Aristoxenus: *τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις λυσιῳδόν*. What word is to be understood by *ἀνδρείοις*? In commenting on *Od.* 23.134, Eustathius draws on this particular passage from Athenaeus, adding the word *προσώποις* obviously in the sense of a mask.[2] However, he overlooks the fact that the word is previously used in Aristoxenus in the sense of a dramatic part. On the other hand, Salmasius' correction (*τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα γυναικείοις προσώποις …, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις …*) is unsatisfactory, since it completely overlooks the ensuing information, i.e. that *magodoi* and *lysiodoi* sang the same songs and had everything else in common. A shared stock of songs is perhaps understandable in the case of *magodoi* and *lysiodoi* if both categories played female roles (as was the case according to the surviving text of Athenaeus), but not if (as Salmasius' correction would have it) there was a clear distinction between the roles each category performed. Further still, there are serious doubts as to whether mime actors performed songs wearing masks. A more compelling correction is suggested by Hiller (73): *τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ⟨γυναικείοις ἐνδύμασιν⟩ ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ⟨μὲν γυναικείοις, ἀνδρεῖα δὲ⟩ ἀνδρείοις λυσιῳδόν*. The meaning this lends is more satisfactory, if far from obvious in its details, but constitutes a major intervention in the text. Though the difference between *lysiodoi* and *magodoi* may well have concerned dress, the remaining details are hard to define.[3] There obviously is a serious problem with the text here, probably linked to the fact that we are dealing with quotations within quotations (Aristoxenus is quoted by Aristocles, and he in turn by Athenaeus). In any case the second part of Hiller's conjecture doesn't seem likely, that is that the *lysiodos* played male parts in male outfits and female parts wearing female outfits. It is hard to imagine the actor of such a solo performance changing clothes during the show. Furthermore, there is nothing particularly funny in playing parts and changing clothes according to the sex of the role; it seems more reasonable that the text which has been handed down to us is right on this point, that

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2. *Comm. ad Hom. Odyss.* II 299, 38 St.: *ἔτι καλεῖτο δέ τις μελικὸς καὶ μαγῳδός, ἀνδρεῖα, φησί, καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενος. καί τις ἄλλος λυσιῳδός, ἐν ἀνδρείοις προσώποις γυναικεῖα φασὶν ὑποκρινάμενος.*

3. In any case, Hiller regards his own speculation as "im höchsten Grade unsicher".

in the case of *lysiodos* female parts were played by the male actor wearing a male outfit. Hence, I believe that the text ought to be restored as follows: τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα πρόσωπα ⟨γυναικείοις ἐνδύμασιν⟩ ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρείοις λυσιῳδόν.

For all its problems, the content of the passage is in general easily understood. Athenaeus mentions six related categories of mime entertainers: ἱλαρῳδοί, σιμῳδοί, μαγῳδοί, λυσιῳδοί, ἰωνικολόγοι and κιναιδολόγοι. According to Aristocles, however, these categories overlap, forming three pairs in descending order of seriousness: *hilarodoi* "are now known to some as" *simodoi*; *magodoi* "are the same" in essence as *lysiodoi*, while the *ionikologos* "is also called" a *kinaidologos*. At least in the time of Aristocles, i.e. around the end of the 2nd century BC, it is clear that new terminology had emerged owing to the further specialisation and evolution of mime, making it necessary to provide clarifications of terms and the relationships between sub-genres. Though Aristocles cites Aristoxenus, this does not mean that Aristoxenus knew all of the sub-genres mentioned. In my view, the quotation from Aristoxenus ends with the phrase τἆλλα πάντα δ' ἐστὶν ὅμοια. For reasons relating to issues of chronology, I find it rather unlikely that Aristoxenus is referring to Sotades and *kinaidologoi*, as some believe.[4]

Nevertheless, a clearer picture of all these sub-genres can only be gained by combining the above passage with one following shortly afterwards in Athenaeus (XIV 621B-D):

[B]   σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ ἱ λ α ρ ῳ δ ὸ ς καλούμενος.
      οὐδὲ γὰρ σχινίζεται· χρῆται δ' ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στεφανοῦται
      χρυσοῦν στέφανον, καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρῆτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ
      Ἀριστοκλῆς (*FHG* IV 331), νῦν δὲ κρηπῖσιν. ψάλλει δ' αὐτῷ ἄρρην ἢ
    5 θήλεια, ὡς καὶ τῷ αὐλῳδῷ. δίδοται δὲ ὁ στέφανος τῷ ἱλαρῳδῷ καὶ τῷ
      αὐλῳδῷ, οὐ τῷ ψάλτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ αὐλητῇ. ὁ δὲ μ α γ ῳ δ ὸ ς καλούμενος
      τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύματα γυναι-
      κεῖα· σχινίζεται δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἔξω κόσμου, ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ
      μὲν γυναῖκας {καὶ} μοιχοὺς καὶ μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα
   10 καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον παραγινόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀριστόξε-
      νος (fr. 110 Wehrli) τὴν μὲν ἱ λ α ρ ῳ δ ί α ν σεμνὴν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν
      τραγῳδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μ α γ ῳ δ ί α ν παρὰ τὴν κωμῳδίαν. πολλάκις
      δὲ οἱ μ α γ ῳ δ ο ὶ καὶ κωμικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ

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4.   So Reich (1903) 238 and Wüst (1932) 1733. According to the Suda *a* 3927, Aristoxenus reached his peak at the 111th Olympiad (*336–333* BC), and so would have been born around 370 BC, while Sotades must have died at least a century later.

τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἔσχεν δὲ τοὔνομα ἡ μ α γ ῳ δ ί α ἀπὸ
15 τοῦ οἱονεὶ μαγικὰ προφέρεσθαι καὶ φαρμάκων ἐμφανίζειν δυνάμεις.

2 οὐδὲ A : οὐδὲν E   4 ἄρρην ἢ A : ἢ ἄρρην ἢ E   8 δὲ Wilamowitz : τε AE   9 γυ-
ναῖκα καὶ A : γυναῖκας καὶ E : καὶ del. Kaibel   10 παραγενόμενον A E : corr.
Meineke   13 κωμικὰς] τραγικὰς coni. Wilamowitz

The above two passages from Athenaeus give us a rudimentary picture of the
mime sub-genres we are concerned with here. At some points, this image is
completed by a passage from Strabo on Magnesia in Asia Minor (*Geogr.* XIV
1, 41 Radt):

[C]   Ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο γνώριμοι Μάγνητες Ἡγησίας τε ὁ ῥήτωρ ...
     καὶ Σῖμος ὁ μελοποιὸς παραφθείρας καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν προτέρων
     μελοποιῶν ἀγωγὴν καὶ τὴν σ ι μ ῳ δ ί α ν εἰσαγαγών (καθάπερ ἔτι
     μᾶλλον λ υ σ ι ῳ δ ο ὶ καὶ μ α γ ῳ δ ο ὶ καὶ Κλεόμαχος ὁ πύκτης, ὃς εἰς
5   ἔρωτα ἐμπεσὼν κιναίδου τινὸς καὶ παιδίσκης ὑπὸ κιναίδῳ τρεφομένης
     ἀπεμιμήσατο τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς κιναίδοις διαλέκτων καὶ τῆς
     ἠθοποιίας· ἦρξε δὲ Σωτάδης μὲν πρῶτος τοῦ κ ι ν α ι δ ο λ ο γ ε ῖ ν,
     ἔπειτα Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλός· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐν ψιλῷ λόγῳ, μετὰ
     μέλους δὲ Λῦσις, καὶ ἔτι πρότερος τούτου ὁ Σῖμος).

2 Σῖμος Tzschucke : σίμων codd.   4 ὃς Casaubonus : ὁ codd.   5 ⟨ἢ⟩ καὶ Madvig
(*Adv. crit.* I 561)   ὑπὸ ⟨τῷ⟩ Korais   9 Σῖμος Tzschucke : σίμος codd.

In my view, the fact that certain information is only to be gleaned either
implicitly or by combining the above sources calls for a more detailed, sys-
tematic treatment. In what follows I shall attempt to clarify what emerges for
each of these genres.

1. *Hilarodoi*

(*i*) Artists in this genre were the most prestigious in the entire category,
as they did not even number among artists associated with the verb σχινίζε-
σθαι (for what that might mean, see below). *Hilarodoi* mimed serious sub-
jects, singing in solo, so song and music in general were an important element
of the performances they gave. They wore white men's garments, with a gold
wreath on the head and (in earlier times) plain sandals on their feet, though
they later sported footwear known as κρηπῖδες (netting-type sandals).[5] Dur-
ing performances they were accompanied by a man or woman playing a

5.   On the luxury κρηπῖδες as footwear for entertainers see Bieber (1922) 1712.

stringed instrument (ψάλλει, Athen. [B]); the *hilarodoi* themselves played the main role, and are thus explicitly mentioned as being given the wreath.

(*ii*) The fact that *hilarodoi*, like flute players, were crowned with a gold wreath does not mean that they participated in music competitions where prizes were awarded.[6] At least at the time Aristocles was writing, mime artists appear to have taken part in ἐπιδείξεις on the fringe of competitions, but without competing (and thus winning) themselves.[7] The wreath was not a victory prize but part of their outfit as artists (like the rhapsode in Plato's *Ion* 535d), since they took part in processions and worship.[8] This is entirely in line with the emphasis Aristocles places on the attire of *hilarodoi* in general. In contrast, evidence of participation in competitions only exists for the period after the 2nd century AD.[9]

(*iii*) *Hilarodia* was, according to Aristoxenus, "beside" tragedy (text [B]: σεμνὴν οὖσαν παρὰ τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἶναι), i.e. in a sense it relied on tragedy.[10] But in what sense did *hilarodia* 'rely' on or 'derive' from tragedy (as *magodia* derived respectively from comedy)? One might consider that the preposition παρά here suggests parody. But if this might be plausible concerning *hilarodia*, it seems difficult to infer such a thing in the correlating case of *magodia*, since the themes mentioned as popular in the case of *magodia* are not derived from comedy. It seems that something else is at work here.

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6. This is apparently how Athenaeus' text is interpreted by both Christ – Schmid (1920) 202 and Louis Robert (1938) 9-10 n. 1: "Mais la phrase même d'Athénée donne la réponse: δίδοται δὲ στέφανος κτλ. signifie certainement, non point que cet homme porte une couronne dans ses concerts [...] mais que la couronne lui est accordée dans les concours". Robert wrote the above to dispute Frei's claim (1900) 24 that there was no evidence of contests involving *hilarodoi* and *magodoi*.

7. See e.g. the inscription on the games held in the city of Oenoanda, Lycia, in 125 AD, *SEG* 38.1462B l. 44/45: μεῖμοι καὶ ἀκροάματα καὶ θεάμα[τα, οἷς ἆ]θλα οὐ κεῖτα[ι]. See also Wörrle (1988) 352; Maxwell (1993) 85-86; Fountoulakis (2000) 137; Hillgruber (2000) 70-71.

8. See Blech (1982) 145. In some cases the wreath may of course also have been a form of remuneration, cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 19.1 and Arnob. *Adv. nation.* IV 36, 1; see also Maxwell (1993) 87.

9. See *IEph* 1135 + 1135A (Ephesus, 2nd century AD) and *ITralleis* 130 (2nd or 3rd century AD). On this see Maxwell (1993) 86-87 and inscription Nos. 58-59.

10. See Sieckmann (1906) 37, who renders the preposition παρά correctly as "in Anlehnung an". Hiller (1875) 68 follows Schweighäuser, interpreting the preposition as if it denoted parody ("parodiam sive iocosam quandam imitationem tragoediae"). Hunter (1995) 162 translates παρὰ τὴν τραγῳδίαν here as "derives from tragedy". I do not disagree in substance, even though this translation conveys what was on Athenaeus' mind rather than what he wrote.

Referring to the Mimiambs of Herodas, R. Hunter observes that they "distort comic ideas and scenes by re-staging them at a 'low' level of society; the result is perhaps better described as a kind of para-comedy than as 'parody of comedy', although the formal dramatic genre can hardly emerge unstained from this deformation. To what extent this strategy was assisted by the Hellenistic practice of re-performing bits of plays (especially Euripides and Menander) rather than whole plays we can only guess".[11] According to Hunter the same "strategy" is followed by Plautus, and — what is of more interest to us here — "[t]his notion of 'para-comedy' might seem to bring us very close to (or even be derived from)" the present passage of Athenaeus. However, it isn't necessary, at least in the case of mime, for us to consider this as a particular "strategy" of specific sub-genres or creators, and therefore no particular term (in this case "para-comedy") is needed, indeed one which gives a limiting picture of the phenomenon. In my view what we are seeing is the way in which very often popular literature and theatre (but perhaps the sophisticated types of texts which imitate them as well) appropriate and exploit 'high' literature. In the case of mime, a characteristic example is the way in which the author of *Charition* borrows not only themes and motifs but also the basic structure of the plot from *Iphigenia in Tauris*, while remaining within the framework of the conventions of mime.[12] This is precisely what Athenaeus states with the phrase κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν, i.e. "in line with their own style and mode of performance".[13] One could mention of course other examples from antiquity (from the novel, for instance) and even more from our own age, but the topic is beyond the scope of our discussion.[14]

The comic element of *hilarodia*, which is clearly indicated by ἱλαρ-, may have arisen mainly (but not only!) from imitating the high lyric parts of tragedy — monodies such as those of Euripides, for instance — in a comic or at least merely light manner.[15] It is therefore difficult for one to consider *hilarodia* as closely resembling *hilarotragodia* ('burlesque tragedy'), which

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11. Hunter (1995) 160.
12. See Tsitsiridis (2011) 203 ff.
13. On the meaning of the word διάθεσις see LSJ s.v. I 2b and Immisch (1923) 10 ("Vortragsweise").
14. I cannot, however, resist the temptation to mention the characteristic example of the modern Greek *karagiozis*, which presented works of Greek tragedy, while following the διάθεσις and the conventions of shadow theatre.
15. With regard to *hilarodia*, Crusius (1894a) 383 n. 22 believes that the rhythmic and musical parts of high lyric poetry and drama were used for more lowly subjects, "etwa wie man jetzt den Stil der großen Oper auf Scenen aus der Bauern- und Vagabundenleben überträgt".

was created later by Rhinthon and was associated with the *phlyakes* (see Su-
da ϱ 171; *A.P.* VII 414): *hiloarotragodia* was a sophisticated literary genre
based on the parody of tragedies (something already familiar from Middle
Comedy).[16] One could perhaps join Wilamowitz in hypothesizing that one
example of *hilarodia* is the so-called *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* (or what
Wilamowitz calls "Des Mädchens Klage"), preserved on a papyrus written
in 174 BC (*Mim. pap.* fr. 1 Cunningham), though the text itself is probably
older. It is a polymetric *paraklausithyron* without strophic correspondence,
with the lines arranged into sections in a new manner, intended to be sung
(as the preponderance of dochmiacs shows) by a *hilarodos* or a *lysiodos*.[17]
Together with its intensely dramatic character, these features link the *Frag-
mentum* to the monodies of Euripides.[18] Similar elements bringing it close to
hilarodia are also to be seen in the canticum by Sosia in Plautus' *Amphitruo*
(153-262).[19]

(*iv*) One question that arises is whether *hilarodia* was exclusively lim-
ited to tragedy, or whether, as Hiller (70) supposes, Aristoxenus may have
had a particular type in mind when he was writing. The word ἱλαρῳδός itself
generally points to 'merry songs' (without any specialisation whatsoever) and
so does not exclude broader subject matter. But if it rested mainly on paro-
dizing form and style, as we hypothesized above, then tragedy would be its
domain of choice — as was true of Ancient Comedy. I see the *hilarodoi* as be-
ing the equivalent of the ὁμηρισταί, the difference being that the former per-
formed excerpts principally from tragedy in their very own way.

(*v*) As regards subject matter, style and spectacle, *hilarodoi* were more
dignified and serious (as indicated by the comparative adjective σεμνότερος
in Aristoxenus) than the *ionikologoi* and *kinaidoi* performers. However, this
does not mean that the entertainment they put on was devoid of obscene ele-
ments (besides, Aristoxenus himself only uses the comparative σεμνότερος).

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16. See Hiller (1875) 71. Among others, a different stance is taken by Susemihl (1891)
    239, who characterises *hilarotragodia* as "eine kunstgerechte Ausgestaltung der Hi-
    larodie". On *phlyakes* and surviving pottery with associated scenes see mainly Bieber
    (1961) 127-46; Trendall (1967); Dearden (1988); Taplin (1993) 48-54. On Rhinthon
    see Völker (1887); Gigante (1971).
17. See mainly Wilamowitz (1896) 117-18.
18. On the *Fragmentum* in general see Wilamowitz (1896); Esposito (2005). For the de-
    bate about the relationship between these songs with Plautus' *cantica* see mainly Leo
    (1897) 3 f. 76 ff. 111 ff. and Fraenkel (1922) 321-75; for a general survey of views see
    Duckworth (1994) 375-80. The subject remains open, but cannot of course be entered
    into here.
19. See Benz (1999) 78-80.

Athenaeus (XV 697D) makes mention of Seleucus (nr 2248 Stephanes), who was *ἱλαρῶν ἀσμάτων ποιητής,* and quotes the following couplet from his poems, claiming it was doing the rounds (p. 179 Powell):

κἀγὼ παιδοφιλήσω· πολύ μοι κάλλιον ἢ γαμεῖν·
παῖς μὲν γὰρ παρεὼν κἢν πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἐπωφελεῖ.

The fact that *hilarodoi* were not apparently all that far removed — at least in some cases — from other categories of what Reich termed 'lyric mime' not only emerges by comparison, but is also confirmed by the familiar entry in the *De verborum significatu* lexicon of Festus p. 90, 10 Lindsay (which is an epitome of the much earlier 1st century BC lexicon by Verrius Flaccus): *h i l a r o d o s lascivi et delicati carminis cantator.*

2. *S i m o d o i*

Aristocles mentions [A] that "some people" in his time (*νῦν*) referred to *hilarodoi* as *simodoi*, and that Simos from Magnesia excelled in *simodia*. The logical conclusion to be drawn is that *simodia* did not differ from *hilarodia*, or differed very little from it, at least at some period in time. The information in Strabo [C] that Simos originally hailed from Magnesia in Asia Minor appears to fit in with the type of music and entertainment he cultivated.[20] All the same, one is left wondering whether the reference to Simos altering the "musical style" (*ἀγωγήν*) of earlier songwriters and "introducing" *simodia* is reliable information, or whether it was simply made up by some scholar, possibly a grammarian, who resorted to an inventor in an attempt to account for the etymology of the word *simodia* (just as in the case of *lysiodia*).[21] Unlike the literary genres based on them, stories about the 'first inventors' of popular entertainments are suspect, particularly when they concern opaque genre names.[22] Suffice it to say that if Simos came earlier than Lysis (cf. [C]), and *lysiodia* was known from as early on as Aristoxenus, then we can only suppose that the individuals concerned lived no later than in the 4th centu-

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20. Nevertheless, see Maas (1927) 159.
21. On the meaning of the word *ἀγωγή* see LSJ s.v. III, cf. Immisch (1923) 10. On the music of the various theatrical genres in the Hellenistic period see Sifakis (1967) 75-80.
22. Eustathius' reference (*Comm. ad Hom. Odyss.* II p. 299, 38) to *Σῆμον (sic)* is based on Athenaeus, and is of no particular value. In Hsch. *μ* 28 *μαγῳδία* too is associated with a certain *μάγος* named Chrysogonos. For Antipater's epigram to Antiodemis see below.

ry, and consequently that the even older *magodia* and *hilarodia* date back to the 5th century BC at the latest.[23] As regards the substance of *simodia*, all that can be said is that it was a combination of mimicry and song. Whatever the case may be, K. Tsantsanoglou put forward the interesting hypothesis that like *hilarodia*, *simodia* consisted of "sombre, sad and plaintive songs, possibly about love".[24]

3. *Magodoi*

(*i*) From the writings of Aristoxenus and Aristocles [A], it emerges that *magodoi* performed both male and female roles, but generally dressed either effeminately or as women (even when performing male roles).[25] The statuette in the Fleischman Collection (F233) at the J. Paul Getty Museum (FIG. 1) could be a mime artist of this type.

(*ii*) Aristocles relates that *magodia* made use of drums and cymbals, i.e. percussion instruments. If the phrase ὁ δὲ μαγῳδὸς καλούμενος τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ κύμβαλα [B] means that the *magodos* himself carried the instruments, then at least occasionally there may well also have been a flute accompaniment.[26]

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23. See Reich (1903) 533-34.

24. See Tsantsanoglou (1968) 403, who bases his interpretation on a proposed etymological relationship to the Modern Greek word τσιμουδιά.

25. See above for the textual problem on the passage in Athenaeus containing the quotation from Aristoxenus. Immisch (1923) 8 translates γυναικεῖα (ἐνδύματα) as "weibisch", not "weiblich". This distinction does not appear simple in practice; on the other hand, I see it more likely as being a case of plain transvestism, which remains common in such entertainments to this day. As for men using women's clothes in combination with dancing and comic masks in Laconia, interesting information is given by Hesychius: β 1243 βρυδαλίχα· πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον παρὰ τὸ γελοῖον καὶ αἰσχρὸν †ὄρρ(ος) τίθεται †ὁ Ῥίνθων (Schmidt : ὀρίνθῳ M) τὴν †ὀρχίστραν· καὶ γυναικ(εῖα) ἱμάτια ἐνδέδυται· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς †μαχρὰς βρυλλίχας καλοῦσι Λάκωνες. β 1245 βρυλλιχισταί· οἱ αἰσχρὰ προσωπεῖα περιτιθέμενοι γυναικεῖα καὶ ὕμνους ἄιδοντες. See also Nilsson (1906) 186-87.

26. Bernini (1915) 33 thinks it more likely that the *magodos* held the instruments himself. He refers to the grammarian Diomedes (*GL* I p. 490, 6 Keil), who writes of *planipedes*: *olim non in suggestu scenae sed in plano orchestrae positis instrumentis mimicis actitabant*. However, beyond the fact that mime actors and *planipedes* are not always identical, I do not think that the word *instrumentis* is to be taken as meaning musical instruments in this passage. Bernini's hypothesis certainly did not apply in the case of *lysiodoi* with a flute accompaniment (see the information on Hierax below). Evidence of particular *magodoi* is unfortunately very thin on the ground. To be precise, only one 1st century BC inscription mentions a *magodos* called Publius, who gave a performance at Delphi, see Robert (1938) 7-13; Sifakis (1967) 104-105; Garton (1972) 260. In any

FIG. 1 (a, b). A terracotta statuette from Taras of S. Italy, dated at about 225-175 BC. The theatrical pose and the facial characteristics show that it is a male mime actor, who is not wearing a mask, playing a female role (a *magodos*?). The J. Paul Getty Museum, 96.AD.166.

Rhythm was thus an important element in the entertainment they provided, which must have included dancing.[27] The use of the instruments in question most probably points to the genre deriving from the East.[28]

(*iii*) In referring to the *magodoi* and *lysiodoi*, Aristoxenus' phrase τὰ αὐτὰ μέλη ᾄδουσιν leads to the conclusion that performances by them may have consisted of a series of songs rather than a single, unbroken one. If this was the case, then the songs must have been interspersed with spoken rather than sung speech joining them together as a whole.[29] In other words, *magodia* would have resembled modern ballad opera and Singspiel, i.e. genres of musical theatre in which the sung part (often popular songs or well-known

case, in Athenaeus V 206 D πᾶς δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου πλοῦτος ... φυλαχθεὶς κατελύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου Πτολεμαίου ..., οὐκ ἀνδρὸς γενομένου ἀλλ' αὐλητοῦ καὶ μάγου Wilamowitz's correction of the word μάγου to μαγῳδοῦ seems convincing.

27. See also Hsch. μ 28: ⟨μαγῳδία⟩· ὄρχησις ἁπαλή.
28. See also Sieckmann (1906) 39.
29. See Immisch (1923) 9.

tunes — rather than arias, as in opera) is combined with short spoken dia-
logues (rather than recitative).[30]

(*iv*) As one indecent element of performance, Aristocles mentions the
fact that a *magodos σχινίζεται*. According to Athenaeus this also applied to
kinaidoi, though not to *hilarodoi*. But what did *σχινίζεσθαι* actually involve?
The word may well have denoted the use of *σχῖνος* (*pistacia lentiscus*, the
lentisk or mastic tree) for cleaning the teeth, while *σχινοτρώξ* (adesp. *429
K.-A.) was the name given to those who chewed mastic for the same reason.[31]
This use gave rise to the meaning "delicate, molliter, effeminate agere" (P.
Victorius).[32] While this cannot be regarded as an entirely satisfactory inter-
pretation, a more convincing one has yet to be proposed. Whatever the case
may be, it is fair to assume that *magodoi* made various effeminate, indecent
gestures and movements, as did (later) *kinaidoi*.

(*v*) According to Aristocles, *magodoi* often acted the part of wom-
en committing adultery, pimps, or drunkards participating in a *κῶμος* and
serenading their beloved (the last of these is identical with the content of
paraklausithyra).[33] As we have already discussed above in connection with
hilarodoi, what Aristoxenus writes is not to be taken metaphorically, for he

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30. The best known ballad opera is The *Beggar's Opera* (1728) by John Gay. Examples of
Singspiel include Mozart's *Zaide* (1780), *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) and
Die Zauberflöte (1791). On these two sub-genres see the relevant entries in *The New
Grove Dictionary of Opera*.

31. Cf. the proverb *σχῖνον διατρώγων*: Hsch. σ 302 (*εἰώθασι τὴν σχίνον τρώγειν οἱ καλλω-
πιζόμενοι, ἕνεκα τοῦ λευκοῦν τοὺς ὀδόντας*); Zenob. V 96; Diogen. VIII 13; Apost. XV
86; Suda σ 1793. See also Schweighäuser (1805) 375-77; Hiller (1875) 73-74. Immisch
(1923) 8 n. 3 believes that *σχινίζεσθαι* was limited to "Kaubewegungen", even pointing
out the similarity with the description of Manducus in Festus 115 Linds.: *Manduci ef-
figies in pompa antiquorum inter ceteras ridiculas formidolosasque ire solebat
magnis malis ac late dehiscens et ingentem sonitum dentibus faciens, de qua
Plautus ait* [*Rud.* 535]: "*Quid si ad ludos me pro manduco locem? Quapropter?
Clare crepito dentibus*". This comparison does not seem right to me: the mask
worn by Manducus had a large mouth, a long jaw and large gnashing teeth. At some
point in the fabula Atellana it may have been identified with Dossenus, but its form
must originally have had characteristics that were somewhat frightening (in a comic
way), and in any case had nothing to do with obscene behaviour. On the comic tradi-
tion of this particular figure see Nicoll (1931) 70-72.

32. Cf. Suetonius *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* 3, 17 Taillardat: *σχινοτρώξ· ὁ μαλακός*. Lucian.
Lexiph. 12: "*Μῶν ἐκεῖνον,*" ἦν δ' ἐγώ, "*φὴς Δίωνα τὸν καταπύγονα καὶ λακκοσχέαν, τὸν
μύρτωνα καὶ σχινοτρώκταν νεανίσκον, ἀναφλῶντα καὶ βλιμάζοντα, ἤν τινα πεώδη καὶ
πόσθωνα αἴσθηται; μίνθων ἐκεῖνός γε καὶ λαικαλέος*".

33. It is worth noting that these themes continue to be very popular in the mime during the
period of the Roman Empire.

then goes on to explain that *magodoi* take "plots" (ὑποθέσεις) from comedy, which they present κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν.[34] In all probability, then, *magodoi* borrowed popular motifs, scenes or even plots from comedy, paring them down and adapting them for solo performance, which also allowed them to choose which songs to sing. We know that mime borrowed plots from comedy thanks to a clay lamp from the second half of the 3rd century BC found in Athens. This has a depiction of a mime troupe, explicitly stating that the play (ὑπόθεσις) was performed by mime artists and was entitled Ἑκυρά.[35]

(*vi*) As regards the word μαγῳδία itself, Athenaeus' source (possibly Aristoxenus) interprets it on the basis of similarity with the incantations used by magicians. This reeks of improvisation, but Crusius' (1894) proposal linking the word etymologically to μαγ[αδ]ῳδός (a player of the μάγαδις, cf. κιθαρῳδός, αὐλῳδός), is far less persuasive. The word genuinely is more likely to have been linked to magic, though precisely how the term came about was not even known by the time Athenaeus' source was writing, nor is it easy for us today to surmise that it arose owing to mime actors imitating ἀγῦρται or in some other way.[36] It is true that magic does not seem to appear in Comedy (cases in which ghost stories are presented — for example, in Men. *Phasma* or in Plaut. *Mostellaria* — seem to be different and can only in a very broad sense be considered as magic). On the other hand, it is worth recalling that the topic of magic rites is encountered both in one of Sophron's female mimes (*Ταὶ γυναῖκες αἶ τὴν θεόν φαντι ἐξελᾶν*, fr. 3-*9 K.-A.) and in Theocritus' second Idyll; and that we saw a relief depicting *kinaidoi* at a magic rite in the first part of this study (Fig. 6).

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34. Obviously, Fraenkel (1922) 331 n. 2 is incorrect in thinking that what Aristoxenus writes is "eine Konstruktion des Theoretikers, der den ihm auffallenden Unterschied in der Höhenlage des Stils mit Hilfe einer schematischen Formel geschickt symbolisierte". In this regard we may mention that in the distinction drawn by Aristoxenus, Reich (1901) 531 sees the two general tendencies discernible in all of mime: the biological (women committing adultery, pimps etc.) and the mythological.

35. See also Tsitsiridis (2014) 202 n. 3. At least two New Comedy poets wrote a comedy by that title: Apollodorus of Carystus (*PCG* II pp. 491-94) and, in imitation of him, Terence.

36. Dieterich (1897) 30 n. 2 postulates a link with an older meaning of the word μάγος, cf. Aeschin. *c. Ctesiph.* 157, Apul. *Apol.* 87. Hiller (1875) 75 explains the use of the word μάγος with the fact "dass Gaukler, Taschenspieler und Künstler ähnlicher Art ihr Publicum auch mit dem Vortrag von Spässen und mit mimischen Vorstellungen unterhielten". However, the terms used for such spectacles are θαύματα, θαυματοποιοί, etc. or γόης/γόητες. To my knowledge, the word μάγος is not mentioned in such contexts.

4. *Lysiodoi*

Even in the 4th century, Aristoxenus knew of at least one difference between *lysiodoi* and *magodoi*: in contrast with the latter, the former acted out female roles in male attire. Aristocles does of course mention that *lysiodoi* did not differ from *magodoi*, but he may only be referring to his own time. It is difficult to say what reason there was for the difference Aristoxenus mentions between the two genres as regards dress, whether practical (i.e. financial) or other. In any case, some change may have occurred by the 2nd century at the latest, since Athenaeus (V 211c) mentions a woman *lysiodos* with whom Diogenes of Seleucia fell in love, while a similar insinuation also appears in a later epigram.[37] Of course, if women *lysiodoi* had existed in Aristoxenus' time, he would not have needed to make specific reference to men in women's clothing. At any rate, it is curious that Aristoxenus too only thought it important to mention the difference in dress: at around the same time, Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 3 = Athen. IV 182c) appears to speak of a kind of "lysiodic" flute. Later on, Posidonius (F 88 Theiler = *FGrHist* 87 F 4 = Athen. VI 252e) also mentions a certain Hierax from Antioch, who accompanied *lysiodoi* on the flute.[38] This information indicates *lysiodia* did not rely solely on percussion instruments, like *magodia*, but also made use of the flute.

All of the above creates a very muddled picture, which is not solely due to the fragmentary nature of the sources or other problems they may have. In my view, the reason for the confusion is linked to the character and spatio-temporal spread of *lysiodia*. In the 2nd century BC, Antipater (probably from Sidon) wrote a fine epigram (61 Gow – Page = *A.P.* IX 567) on Antiodemis, a *lysiodos* (Λύσιδος ἀλκυονίς) from Paphos in Cyprus, who left her war-torn homeland for Rome. As we have already seen, both the *lysiodos* whom Diogenes fell in love with and Hierax the flute player also had links with the East.[39] Thus wherever it originated, the genre in question was cultivated from at least the fourth to the first centuries and (at least in some periods) from the East to as far as Rome.[40] As a genre, it was no more than a

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37. *A.P.* IX 567.
38. On this type of flute see West (1992) 93-94.
39. Cf. Liv. XXXIX 6, 8 (187 BC); see also Hiller (1875) 76; Sieckmann (1906) 39.
40. In *Sulla* 2, 4 and 36, 1, Plutarch mentions that Sulla had a great weakness for a *lysiodos* named Metrobius, who must have made a career in Rome mainly around 90-80 BC, see Garton (1972) 257. Mention of *lysiodoi* is also made by Philodemus in the *Index Stoicorum* VII 1-2 Dorandi. The problem surrounding the etymology of the word is difficult to unravel. In passage [C] cited above, Strabo obviously links its creation to a

variant of *magodia* (in my view, that is the meaning of Aristocles' claim that *magodoi* were "the same" as *lysiodoi*). Thus variety and evolution were in the nature of the genre, and should be regarded as self-evident.

Since comparison often aids understanding, I would now like to call to mind a number of parallel phenomena from modern music theatre. As is well known, from the 18th century onwards various forms of 'comic opera' appeared in reaction to opera seria: opera buffa in Italy; opéra comique in France; Singspiel in Germany; ballad opera in Britain; and operetta (in the 19th century). These genres emerged either as offshoots of each other (e.g. Singspiel originated from opéra comique) or as contrasting forms (opera buffa in contrast with opéra comique). They did of course display both similarities and differences (mainly as regards the number of acts and the alternation of sung parts either with spoken dialogue — e.g. Singspiel — or with recitative). As with the ancient genres of concern to us here, there was considerable confusion over terminology both when they first appeared and later on. In the first place, the artists themselves did not necessarily use the same words. For instance, librettists did not characterise their work as opera buffa, but used other terms ('dramma giocoso', 'dramma bernesco', 'dramma comico', 'divertimento giocoso' and 'commedia per musica').[41] Furthermore, genre names did not always correspond to what they initially appeared to denote.[42] Lastly, since the genres evolved considerably over time, the names we now use only correspond to one phase in their development, or refer to such different things as to be redundant.[43]

Let us now return to the epigram by Antipater, which I believe can offer further information on a closer reading. Here it is in full:

> Ἥ καὶ ἔτ' ἐκ βρέφεος κοιμωμένη Ἀντιοδημὶς
>   πορφυρέων, Παφίης νοσσίς, ἐπὶ κροκύδων,
> ἡ τακεραῖς λεύσσουσα κόραις μαλακώτερον ὕπνου,

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certain Lysis. We thus have the equivalent of Simos for Simodia, i.e. a 'first inventor', which is precisely what makes it suspicious. Dieterich (1897) 30 associates the name with the theonym Lysios, though that too is no more than speculation.

41. See also the interesting examples of how the term Singspiel was used, as cited by Koch (1974) 25-26.

42. To give two examples: (*i*) Bizet's *Carmen*, quite possibly the epitome of opéra comique, is a tragedy, not a comedy; (*ii*) few of the songs in ballad opera are true ballads.

43. Koch (1974) 28 refers to the tendency in recent research to entirely avoid using the term Singspiel, "der alles und nichts bedeuten kann". On the genres in musical theatre mentioned above, see the relevant entries in the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (1992).

$$Λύσιδος ἀλκυονίς, τερπνὸν ἄθυρμα Μέθης,$$
5   ὑδατίνους φορέουσα βραχίονας, ἢ μόνη ὀστοῦν
         οὐ λάχεν — ἦν γὰρ ὅλη τοὖν ταλάροισι γάλα — ,
         Ἰταλίην ἤμειψεν, ἵνα πτολέμοιο καὶ αἰχμῆς
         ἀμπαύσῃ Ῥώμην μαλθακίνῃ χάριτι.

According to the epigram, Antiodemis sang as beautifully as a kingfisher.[44] She was obviously dressed in luxurious garments (the *lysiodos* in the tale of Diogenes wore a purple gown) and was extremely graceful and sensuous. She was exceptionally lithe ("her arms flowed like water", "alone among women she had no bones"), which means that the performances she gave involved movement (here we should recall the ὄρχησιν ἁπαλὴν mentioned by Hesychius on *magodia* — see note 27 above). The phrase "the delightful toy of Methe" surely indicates symposia as the context (by contrast, Metrobius the *lysiodos* may have appeared on stage, given the description of him as τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς τις, Plut. *Sull.* 2, 4). A man or woman *lysiodos* of this type may have been more appropriate than a *hilarodos* for performing songs such as the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* mentioned above.[45]

5. Kinaidoi

Judging from the wider relevant section in Athenaeus (620C-621F) there can be no doubt that the *kinaidoi* are to be included in mime, just like the *hilarodoi*, the *simodoi*, the *magodoi* and the *lysiodoi*, as well as the δείκηλον and the φλύαξ.[46] Besides, they bore many similarities to those categories of artists. I shall now deal with the *kinaidoi* in greater detail. No further reference will be

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44. On the song of the kingfisher see Tymnes in *A.P.* VII 199; Dion. Perieg. *Ixeut.* 2, 8 (τῶν ἀλκυόνων δ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις εἰς φωνὴν ὄρνεις ἡδίους). On Antiodemis see also Garton (1982) 593, with additional bibliography. Wiseman (1985) 35 postulates that she may have sung "in Marius' triumph in 101".

45. See also Reich (1903) 344. 535; Wilamowitz (1912) 124-25.

46. See Reich (1903) 233 (he refers also to the identification of 'cinaedic poetry' with the *phlyax*, i.e. the italian mime, in Suda σ 871 = text [D] below). The fact that Varro also cites the *kinaidoi* together with various kinds of actors (*Sat.* fr. 356 Büch. [= Nonius p. 259 Linds.] *cómici cinaédici scaenátici*) shows that he too included *kinaidoi* in mime. In my opinion, the same emerges (almost four centuries later) from the words of Firmicus *Math.* VIII 20, 8: *Tauri quicumque habuerint horoscopum, erunt pantomimi sed cinaedi.* All of the above is overlooked by Wiemken (1972) 23, who holds that there was no "lyric Mime", and that like the *hilarodoi* etc., the genres incorporated into it by Reich belong to literature, not the theatre. For criticism of Wiemken's overall views (particularly on mime as "Stegreiftheater") see Tsitsiridis (2011) 198 ff.

made to some of the features mentioned in the first part of this article, such as the archaeological evidence and the meaning of the word κίναιδος.[47] But we do need to examine the remaining evidence on the activities of *kinaidoi* and the entertainment they offered in slightly more detail, even if that involves repeating some of the things said earlier. Prior to that, it is worthwhile listing all the n o n - l i t e r a r y attestations, including references to μαλακόν when used in place of the word *kinaidos*. In chronological order, the attestations are as follows:[48]

1. *PSI* V, 483.1 (257 BC). A private letter from the archive of Zeno, in which the recipient is warned of an individual called Callianax. He is described in demeaning, insulting terms as a "drunken *kinaidos*" (κίναιδος παροινήσ[ας).

2. *O.Camb.* I 4-5 = *Pros. Ptol.* VI 17052 (Thebes 251 BC). A tax payment receipt (on an ostracon) for a *kinaidos* named Ψεναμοῦνις, from which we can conclude that as early as the 3rd century BC the term κίναιδος had professional status in Egypt.

3. *P.Hib.* I 54 (ca. 245 BC). A private letter from a functionary in Hibeh to one of his subordinates, in which among other things he asks for a μαλακός (clearly an alternative for the term κίναιδος) with a drum, rattles and cymbals, who should have "the finest attire possible" (ἱματισμὸν ὡς ἀστειότατον).

4. *P.Enteux.* 26.9 (221 BC). An appeal from a certain Ctesicles to King Ptolemy IV Philopator, in which among other things he denounces a κίναιδος by the name of Dionysius for seducing his daughter.

5. *P.Col.Zen.* 94 I 2 (3rd century BC). Payments to various individuals, among whom is a *kinaidos* (κιναίδῳ ἱλ[αρῷ ?]) receiving the far from insignificant sum of 3 drachmae and 4 obols.[49]

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47. On the basic characteristics of the word *kinaidos* in the broader sense (i.e. not the particular type of entertainer), see esp. Tsitsiridis (2014) 211 n. 22, with basic bibliography on the subject. To properly comprehend this meaning (which some regard as secondary), it should once again be stressed that *kinaidos* does not correspond to the present-day concept of the homosexual. Anthony Shay, a scholar of Middle Eastern societies, puts it succinctly as follows ([2014] 47): "But for those scholars who argue that sexual identities did not exist before the late nineteenth century, the figure of the *kinaidos* comes very close, and he constitutes an identity that includes a lewd sexuality, a desire to be penetrated by another male, among other negative attributes such as committing adultery, and too much sex with women – definitely not a modern homosexual."

48. See also Perpillou-Thomas (1995) 228-29; McGing (1995) 80; Sapsford (2015).

49. As Sapsford [2015] 109-10 observes: "This is more than each of twelve workers at cutting received and the difference between the amount paid to the *kinaidos* and the flute player is great indeed."

6. *P. Tebt.* I 208 (95 or 62 BC). A bill of expenses, with a particularly interesting reference to "*kinaidoi* musicians" (κιναίδοις μουσικ(οῖς)), which may indicate that *kinaidoi* either performed music or were accompanied by it.[50]

7. *SB* III, 7182.96 = *C.Ptol.Sklav.* I 91 (2nd-1st century BC). Reference to payments made to to three flute players, with an isolated reference to a *kinaidos*, which may imply that it was not such a cheap form of entertainment.[51]

8. *Inscr. Philae* 154 (AD ?5). A dedicatory inscription at the temple of Isis on the island of Philae, where an individual named Tryphon identifies himself as [θ]εοῦ κίναιδος, showing that he was in some way linked to religious activities.[52]

9. *Inscr. Philae* 155 (AD 6). A dedicatory inscription as immediately above, in which an individual named Strouthein identifies himself as a *kinaidos*. In common with Tryphon in the previous inscription, the name Strouthein points to effeminacy; both were stage names linked to their activity as *kinaidoi*.[53]

10. *P.Fouad* I, 68.23 (late 2nd century AD). An inventory of tax payments, providing further evidence that the state accorded professional status to activity of a *kinaidos* (as in *O.Camb.* I 4-5). At least in the particular instance of Ἁτρῆς, however, they belonged to the lower classes.

11. *P.Dub.* 14 (2nd/3rd century AD). Probably an inventory of stolen objects, including a κιναιδάριον περ[ι]σίδ[ηρον.]. This may have been some kind of iron musical instrument used by *kinaidoi*.[54]

A number of interesting details about *kinaidoi* clearly emerge from the above attestations. Firstly, we can conclude that in Egypt they were recognised as a distinct tax-paying profession from as early as the 3rd century BC. We also learn that they participated in (occasionally religious) festivities, most probably often together with flute players, and that the rates they charged

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50. See Sapsford (2015) 109.

51. Cf. Sapsford's observation (2015) 111: "In light of these documents [sc. *P.Col.Zen.* II 94 and *C.Ptol.Sklav.* I 91] it might be inferred that for mixed audiences of villages in the chora, including slaves, it was a special event to see a *kinaidos* perform".

52. Cf. Firm. Mat. II 270, 29 (*cinaedos efficient templorum cantibus servientes*); see also Vesterinen (2007) 41.

53. See Vesterinen (2007) 41. On the name Στρούθειν (= Στρουθ[ε]ῖον) and its link to lewdness see Tsitsiridis (2014) 233 n. 13. On proper names in –ιον (generally only applied to women when no longer a diminutive) as well as on the parallel between *kinaidoi* — on account of the way they moved their behind — and the wagtail (σεισοπυγίς, Modern Greek σουσουράδα, also identical to the ancient κίγκλος or ἴυγξ) see also Letronne (1848) 102.

54. See McGing (1995) 77-82.

FIG. 2. *Kinaidos*, dancing. Rome, Columbarium of the Villa Doria Pamphili.
(Archivio Fiorenzo Catalli.)

were not particularly low. Lastly, they performed holding percussion instruments, preferably wearing fine clothes.

Let us now move on to l i t e r a r y attestations. In most cases, *kinaidoi* are here linked to dance, as can be seen in Plautus (*Mil.* 668, cf. *Aulul.* 378; *Pers.* 804; *Stich.* 772); in an excerpt from Scipio Aemilianus (*Oratio contra legem iudiciariam* 21, 30 Malcovati[4] [= Macrob. *Saturn.* III 14, 6-7]); in Polybius (V 37, 11, cf. Plut. Κλεομ. 56, 3-4); in Lucilius (fr. 32 Marx = 30 Krenkel); and in Varro (*Sat.* fr. 356 Büch.). Precisely how they danced is not easy to say, but if we combine the archaeological evidence we saw in the first part of the article with pointers from the texts and comparative material from more recent periods, it may be possible to state a number of things.

Their dance was highly erotic in nature, and must have been based on movements of the waist and (mainly) the buttocks in various directions (hence the association with the wagtail or σεισοπυγίς). Performers danced to the sound of the flute, also holding a kind of clappers (the pairs of sticks seen in FIG. 2 and 3), which gave the beat while also stressing the dance figures (σχήματα).[55] There were of course similar dances or σχήματα in antiquity based on κινεῖν τὴν ὀσφῦν (ΣᵀʳAr. *Nub.* 1540d) — ὀσφῦν euphemistically, of course, for the 'buttocks' — such as ἴγδις, μακτρισμός, ἀπόκινος, ἀπόσεισις, of dance

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55. Similar kinds of "clappers" are seen in dances in the Greek East in modern times, such as the "spoon dance" or *konialis* (in Asia Minor and some Aegean islands).

FIG. 3. Terracotta relief plaquette from Rome, dated at the era of Augustus. It features a scene from the Nile with typical arches. The characters presented are wearing high pointed hats, while the characters underneath the central arch are dancing holding sticks. Paris, Louvre, 827. (Versluys [2002] 90)

performed by the *kinaidoi* belonged to the category of Ionian dance (Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις) also mentioned by Athenaeus (XIV 629ᴇ), but which is best known from Horace. In one of his odes (III 6), he rails against the moral degradation of his Roman contemporaries, one feature indicative of decadence being the fact that "as soon as girls grow up they delight in learning Ionian dances" (21-22 *Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos / matura virgo*)[56]. A rough impression is gained from Plautus, three of whose comedies conclude with an on-stage dance linked to the *kinaidoi*.[57] At the end of Stichus, two slaves named Stichus and Sangarinus organise a celebration in honour of Stephanium, their mistress. When the closing *canticum* begins, Sangarinus says (769):

> *qui Ionicus aut cinaedicus⟨t⟩, qui hoc tale facere possiet?*

And slightly further on, when dancing with Stichus, he adds (772):

> *nunc pariter ambo. omnis voco cinaedos contra.*

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56. On Ionian dancing see mainly Lawler (1943); also Göbel (1915) 106-107. From several perspectives, one particularly noteworthy phrase is to be found in Lucian, *De merc. conduct.* 27 κίναιδός τις ἢ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος ἢ Ἰωνικὰ συνείρων Ἀλεξανδρεωτικὸς ἀνθρωπίσκος.

57. See also Moore (2012) 106-14.

As can be seen, Ionian dancing and *kinaidoi* are almost synonymous. Likewise, towards the end of *Pseudolus*, when the eponymous hero describes the celebration he took part in and mentions that he was asked to dance, he demonstrates how he did so and claims that he danced correctly, having learnt "the Ionian dance" very well (1274ᵃ-75 *quippe ego qui / probe Ionica perdidici*). Note that once again this is the same lustful, sensual dance, once again in the context of a symposium where the overall atmosphere is one of voluptuousness. Lastly, in the closing scene of *Persa*, when Toxilus, Sagaristio and Paegnium the slaves make fun of Dordalus the pimp, Toxilus addresses Dordalus and orders Paegnium to dance (804-805):

> *vin cinaedum novom tibi dari? Paegnium*
> *quin elude, ut soles, quando liber locust hic.*

Slightly further on, Toxilus' claim that he himself wishes to perform the dance "Diodorus once did in Ionia" (826: *Diodorus quem olim faciebat in Ionia*), he yet again (indirectly) reveals the link between the *kinaidoi* and the "dance of the Ionians".

The Ionian dance mentioned in relation to the *kinaidoi* brings to mind the sensuous dance of the *Gaditanae*, girls from Gades in Spain, who danced using castanets of a sort (κροῦμα), also accompanying their movements with song.[58] An image of their dance is conveyed in one of Martial's epigrams (V 78, 26-8):

> *Nec de Gadibus inprobis puellae*
> *Vibrabunt sine fine prurientes*
> *Lascivos docili tremore lumbos*

Like the Syrian *copa* ("dancing-girl") described at the beginning of the poem by the same name in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, the dance of the Gauditanae was based on swaying the hips. As far as that feature is concerned, the Gauditanae, the *copa* and the *kinaidoi* would have been reminiscent of modern-day belly-dancers.

All the same, we should not imagine the *kinaidoi* dancing solely by swaying their hips. In a letter to Julius Genitor, Pliny (IX 17, 2) refers to the effeminate behaviour (§ 2 *quid molle*) of the *kinaidoi* wandering around at symposia tables (*mensis inerrabant*), describing what they do as "in bad taste" and "not unexpected". Of more interest is a reference in the same

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58. See Martial. V 78, 26; VI 71, 2; VIII 203; Juven. XI 162-64. For detail see Fear (1991).

letter to *kinaidoi* together with a jester (*scurra*) and a fool (*stultus*) as enter-
tainers at symposia. As regards details, an even more interesting description
of behaviour by a *kinaidos* appears in Petronius' *Satyricon*. In the "Quartilla
episode" — staged as a mime farce by Quartilla, priestess of Priapus — a girl
appears (22.6) holding a cymbal (an instrument closely linked to the worship
of Cybele), followed by a *kinaidos* (23.1), who is described as *omnium insul-
sissimus* ("the most tasteless of all").[59] He is heavily made-up and sings a *ki-
naidos* song in the appropriate metre:

> ʻhuc huc ⟨cito⟩ convenite nunc, spatalocinaedi,
> pede tendite, cursum addite, convolate planta,
> femore ⟨o⟩ facili, clune agili, [et] manu procaces,
> molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi.ʼ

The 'aria' sung here is the only pure instance of *kinaidos* poetry in Sotadean
verse.[60] Both the variety of rhythms and the lexical emphasis on the eroti-
cally provocative movements of the invited *kinaidoi* (*pede tendite, ... femore
⟨o⟩ facili, clune agili, manu procaces*) point to the way in which the *kinaidoi*
themselves would have imitated sexual movements as performers.[61] Having
finished his song, the *kinaidos* jokes around with his fellow dinner guests.
So instead of being restricted to dance, just as in modern varieté routines,
kinaidoi put on a show combining several elements. In my view, that is how
to interpret Strabo's reference (text [C] above) to the "particular expres-
sions" of the *kinaidoi* and their "manner of self-presentation" (τῶν παρὰ τοῖς
κιναίδοις διαλέκτων καὶ τῆς ἠθοποιίας) mimicked by Cleomachus.

   The poem lines recited by the *kinaidos* in the "Quartilla episode" and
the make-up he is wearing highlight another aspect of the image we have of
kinaidoi: their association with the γάλλοι.[62] The latter were "servants" of
the *Mater Magna* (in the East) and of Cybele (in the West) who castrated

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59. On the mime character of the "Quartilla episode" see Sandy (1974) 340 and, chiefly,
    Panayotakis (1995) 32 ff.; a *kinaidos* also appears earlier on (21, 2), wearing a *myrtea
    gausapa*.
60. Sotadean metre is also used in *Satyr.* 132.8, but the poem points to Sotades' parody of
    the epic.
61. Cf. the observation in Barnes (1971) 288: "This song adds to the amusement of the
    scene by its teasing emphasis of physical *mollitia* [...]. It embodies a parallel to the
    modern phenomenon called 'strip-tease,' and would presumably today elicit a re-
    sponse of cheers and applause from the onlookers."
62. Cf. line 4 (*molles, ... Deliaci manu recisi*) with Schmeling (2011) *ad loc.* On *galloi* and
    make-up see Sanders (1972) 992.

themselves at some point in their initiation, and spent the remainder of their lives wandering the streets singing litanies to the beat of drums. Their similarity to the *kinaidoi* was so obvious that before long *galloi* were presented as *kinaidoi*, mentioned in the same breath (e.g. Diog. *Epist.* 11, 4 γάλλοις καὶ κιναιδολόγοις), or at any rate associated with them.[63] This is also seen in a further example of poetry in Sotadean verse, contained in the fragmentary Iolaus romance. The extant papyrus fragment (P.Oxy. 3010 [2nd c. AD]) is a *prosimetrum*, a third-person prose narrative punctuated by verse text; despite comprehension difficulties owing to its fragmentary nature, the overall plot lines are more or less clear: at the start we are told that an individual X (whose name is not mentioned in the fragment) has been initiated into the mysteries of Kybele with the aid of a certain friend named Neikon; using Sotadean verses, X then addresses the narrative's central hero Iolaus and someone called "*kinaidos*", asking that Iolaus be initiated into the argot of the *galloi*, which X himself now knows, to better enable Iolaus to approach his beloved in the guise of a eunuch.[64] Whether or not the *kinaidos/gallos* is to be identified with Neikon[65], as a clown of sorts the "*kinaidos*" mentioned is a member of the group, and the *kinaidoi* in the narrative are linked to the initiation of the *galloi*.[66] So just as in the Petronian *Satyricon*, *kinaidoi* and *galloi* are closely linked in the narrative of Iolaus. In all cases, however, it is in my view an association based on somewhat superficial similarities (among other things, both would perhaps have been regarded as *semiviri*) in regard to the East, too, but an association that offers little when it comes to understanding *kinaidoi* as entertainers.

6. *Kinaidologoi*

That being said, literary interest in the *kinaidoi* does not begin with the *galloi*; as we saw in the excerpt in Athenaus from Aristocles [A] and the passage in Strabo [C], Sotades, a poet who reached his peak in around 280–270 BC

63. Plaut. *Poen.* 1318; Mart. IX 2, 13; Suet. *Aug.* 68, 2; Sch. Ar. *Av.* 877; [Lucian.] *Asin.* 35-40; Apul. *Met.* VIII 24-29; Firm. Mat. VI 31, 5, VII 25, 4. 10. 12; Sch. Iuven. II 15. See Cumont (1910) 676-77; Kroll (1921) 461; Sanders (1972) 1024.

64. On this see Parsons (1971) and (1974); also Stephens – Winkler (1995) 358-73.

65. This view is adopted by Stephens – Winkler (1995) 373.

66. On the *kinaidos* as clown see Parsons (1971) 61: "The clown took part somehow in Iolaus' previous adventures, and still accompanies him. He shows stock characteristics: a joker (27), to be silenced on solemn occasions (14)".

had already excelled at such compositions. Before looking at the remaining *kinaidologoi* and discussing the phenomenon in more general terms, we should dwell briefly on Sotades, since he is generally acknowledged in ancient sources as having played a decisive role in creating such poetry, and as having had a significant influence on subsequent writers.[67] Rather than going into his biographical details (especially his stance towards Ptolemy II Philadelphus) or his oeuvre in general, my only intention here is to look at what relates to the moulding of *kinaidos* poetry.[68] All the same, it may be useful to give the Suda's entry on Sotades (σ 871, cf. φ 547), as it offers important information on the titles of some of his works in addition to the names of other *kinaidologoi*:

[D]   Σωτάδης, Κρής, Μαρωνείτης, δαιμονισθείς, ἰαμβογράφος. ἔγραψε
        Φλύακας ἤτοι Κιναίδους διαλέκτῳ Ἰωνικῇ· καὶ γὰρ Ἰωνικοὶ λόγοι ἐκα-
        λοῦντο οὗτοι. ἐχρήσατο δὲ τῷ εἴδει τούτῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς
        καὶ Πύρης ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Τιμοχαρίδας καὶ Ξέναρχος.
        εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἴδη πλεῖστα· οἷον Εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασις· Πρίηπος· Εἰς
    5   Βελεστίχην· Ἀμαζών· καὶ ἕτερα.

        4 *Πύρης* M^γρ : *Πύρρος* GVM^ac   *Θεόδωρος*] *Θεοδωρίδας* Reiske et Toup   *Τιμοχαρίδας*]
        Τιμοχάρις uel *Τιμοχάρης* Flach

Little is known on the topics of Sotades' poetry, though one of his two basic contributions concerned subject matter — to be more precise, he is credited with bringing *kinaidoi* into poetry. Yet here we need to look at precisely which *kinaidoi* he introduced and what his aim was. They were obviously not portrayed as passive homosexuals, since these were not held in particularly high regard, and in such a case it would be difficult to explain how they were linked to Sotades' παρρησία towards rulers, the moralistic element (which may have been the inspiration for the lines found in Stobaeus)

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67. See the noteworthy appraisal by Wilamowitz (1962) I 168 n. 3: "Unbedeutend ist nicht gewesen, wer so nachhaltig gewirkt hat".

68. Almost all that is known to us on the life and work of Sotades is to be found in the relevant entry in the Suda. To this we should add the poems entitled Ἰλιάς and Ἄδωνις respectively. The latter probably began with the interesting line: *Τίνα τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν θέλετ' ἐσακοῦσαι;* The excerpts are to be found in Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 238-45 (those cited from Stobaeus are most probably not genuine). Escher's dissertation (1913) remains a key work in any study of Sotades and his oeuvre. See also Aly (1927); Hendriks – Parsons – Worp (1981) 76-78; Pretagostini (1984) 139-47 and (2007) 135-47; Magnelli (2008).

and certain Cynical features.[69] He obviously introduced *kinaidoi* as enter-
tainers, as he knew them mainly from Egypt, where he lived. As far we can
deduce from the extant fragments, a *kinaidos* was for Sotades a kind of fool
or clown, whose contribution lay in the kind of poetry he was characteris-
tically interested in: he was over-the-top, indecent, disrespectful and free of
taboos (especially regarding sex), yet at the same time merry and capable
of being outspoken. As we saw in the first part of this paper in connection
with the archaeological evidence, here we should remember that in terms of
appearance too, the *kinaidoi* genuinely were clowns of a sort: they wore high
pointed hats and loincloths, held sticks and had painted faces.[70] As regards
subject matter, then, Sotades turned to a popular entertainment just as Rhin-
thon before him had turned to the *phlyakes* and Herodas to more widespread
forms of mime.

As for metrical form, Sotades also belongs to the Hellenistic poets. Just
like others in his time (Callimachus, Theocritus, Herodas, etc.), he attempt-
ed to make up for the loss of strophic poetry by using various metres previ-
ously employed in lyric poetry. Sotadean verse took his name because, as in
the case of Phalaecus, Simmias, Archebulus, Philicus, Cleomachus and oth-
ers, Sotades was the first to use it in a systematic manner *κατὰ στίχον*.[71] Sota-
dean verse is a 14-syllable catalectic tetrameter of major (*ἀπὸ μείζονος*) Ionics
($-- \cup \cup$).[72] At its purest, it takes the following metrical form:

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69. On the Cynical characteristics of Sotades' poetry see Gerhard (1909) 243-44, backed
up by Aly (1927) 1208-9. These characteristics may also explain why Timon of Phlius,
a Sceptic, also wrote *kinaidoi*. One far from compelling hypothesis is that made by
Hunter (1996) 78-79: "it is not improbable that he [*sc.* Sotades] presented himself
in some of his verses as *kinaidos*, that is a man whose enjoyment of the passive rôle in
homosexual intercourse represented an overturning of all the ordinary assumptions of
human conduct".

70. On the characteristics of clowns in general see the succinct entry for "Narr" by H.
Ettl in M. Brauneck and G. Schneilin's *Theaterlexikon* (³1986). With regard to mime,
Hail's (1913) dissertation is unfortunately limited to repeating Reich. In reality, it is not
possible to draw a distinction between the terms *βωμολόχος, μωρός/stupidus, clown,
fool, jester* etc. A broader treatment referring to various different cultures is provided
by Charles (1945), and a more historical one by Welsford (1961). Paradoxically, in
modern times, too, "sex and gender are prominent themes in clown acts", see Bouissac
(2015) 144 ff. and 145 ff.

71. Cf. Leo (1897) 65-70; Wilamowitz (1921) 71-72; Maas (1962) § 15.

72. Hephaest. *Ench.* XI 4 p. 36 Consbr.: *Τῶν δὲ τετραμέτρων ἐπισημότατόν ἐστι βραχυκα-
τάληκτον τὸ καλούμενον Σωτάδειον· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς χώρας δέχεται ἰωνικὴν συζυ-
γίαν, ἢ τροχαϊκήν, ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἀναπαίστου καὶ πυρριχίου, ἢ τὴν ἐκ τριβράχεος καὶ τροχαίου,
ἢ τὴν ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ τεσσάρων βραχειῶν, ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἓξ βραχειῶν, οἷον Ἥρην ποτέ φασιν
Δία τὸν τερπικέραυνον.* On Sotadean metre in general see Podhorsky (1895), including

– – ⏑ ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – – ⏑ ⏑ | – – .

That being said, Sotades permits resolution of a longum, contraction of short syllables, use of 'irrational longum' and, finally, anaclasis (– ⏑ – ⏑ instead of – – ⏑ ⏑). The result is a "Protean metre" (West) of unmatched variety in Greek poetry (in my view, only dochmiacs are comparable). According to West, the resultant form is as follows:

$$
\left.\begin{matrix}
\underline{\smile\smile} - \overline{\smile\smile} \\
- - \smile - \\
\underline{\smile\smile}\ \underline{\smile\smile} - \smile \\
\underline{\smile\smile} \smile\ \underline{\smile\smile}\ \overline{\smile}
\end{matrix}\right\}
\left\{\begin{matrix}
\underline{\smile\smile} - \overline{\smile\smile} \\
- - \smile - \\
- - - \smile \\
- \smile\ \underline{\smile\smile}\ \overline{\smile}
\end{matrix}\right\}
\left\{\begin{matrix}
\underline{\smile\smile} - \overline{\smile\smile} \\
- - \smile - \\
- \underline{\smile\smile} - \smile \\
\underline{\smile\smile} \smile\ \underline{\smile\smile}\ \smile
\end{matrix}\right\}
- - \parallel
$$

While this description may be correct, the question is what kind of poetic metre can show such multiformity. In my opinion, classifying it among the πολυσχημάτιστα — as Hephaestion calls a more general category of metres — does not greatly aid our understanding of the phenomenon.[73] On the other hand, Friedländer's view that Sotadean verse shows the subsequent Ionisation of initially non-Ionic cola, or the adaptation of similar cola to the Ionic metre (as indicated by the frequent ithyphalloi at the end), and the hypothesis that Sotades possibly changed the form of an earlier line into an Ionian one may be of value for historical comprehension, but do not greatly assist us in understanding its cross-sectional function. The same applies to Snell's view that Sotadean verse is nothing more than a headless phere-

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a collection of texts in such verse; Friedländer (1909) 341-42; Escher (1913) 42-50 (p. 45 n. 1, adding texts to Podhorsky's list); Snell (1962) 38; Merkelbach (1973) 90-92; Hendriks – Parsons – Worp (1981) 76-78; Bettini (1982); West (1982) 144-45; on Sotadean verse in Latin poetry see Lindsay (1922) 305-6. The galliambic metre (a catalectic Ionian tetrameter with several anaclases) is a type of metre which, excepting the transfer of the line end by one position, has precisely the same rhythm as Sotadean verse.

73. This view is expressed by Sicking (1993) 132. On πολυσχημάτιστα, Hephaestion gives the following definition (cited for simplicity from Ophujsen's translation): "Multiform are called all those (metra), which admit a multitude of forms according to no accountable method but according to nothing but the arbitrary preference of the poets who have used them." To my knowledge, the only specialist study on πολυσχημάτιστα is Velke's (1877) outdated and scarcely satisfactory dissertation.

cratean internally expanded via two choriambs ($_\wedge pher^{2c}$), and that this basic form gives rise to five different yet genuine Aeolian 14-syllable lines:

$$_\wedge pher^{2c} = {}_\wedge gl^c \ ba = {}_\wedge gl \ ia \ ba = gl \ pher^c = cr \ gl \ ba$$

And since no version escapes reduction to these five forms, Snell concludes that to Sotades the ancient Aeolic system still applied. Nevertheless, neither these nor any other interpretations (see especially Bettini's [1982] observations) can lead to true comprehension of the metre as long as the music and dancing clearly linked to it remain unknown to us, since Sotades obviously took both for granted when composing his poems. In other words, exactly the same thing was true of Sotadean verse as of dochmiacs, which were likewise accompanied by music and dancing.[74] We can also be certain that Sotades opted to compose in that particular rhythm because it had a highly distinctive character befitting the type of poetry he wished to write. In antiquity, people hearing Ionian music and Ionian rhythm associated them with specific things: laxity, voluptuousness, indulgence and the exotic.[75] Yet those characteristics were most especially linked to particular features of the metre, such as the contrast between equal long and short syllables in each colon and anaclasis (which probably meant a change of rhythm). Until we arrive at a full understanding of certain basic characteristics of Sotadean verse such as anaclasis, it will be difficult to truly apprehend its preconditions and function.

The fact that the metre in Sotades' poetry was particularly closely linked to dancing, and more generally to its performance mode, emerges from a highly interesting passage on rhythm in the first book of Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica* (1, 13):

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74. Cf. Dion. Hal. *De comp. verb.* 11, 88 p. 39 U.-R.; cf. Plut. *Crass.* 33, 4-6. The famous *P.Vindob.* G 2315 papyrus with musical notation in dochmiacs from Euripides' *Orestes* stands as clear evidence. Writing on the large number of intervals in instrumental music, and before citing a number of dochmiacs from Euripides' *Orestes* (140-42), Dionysius observes: ἡ δὲ ὀργανική τε καὶ ᾠδικὴ μοῦσα ... τάς τε λέξεις τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑποτάττειν ἀξιοῖ καὶ οὐ τὰ μέλη ταῖς λέξεσιν.

75. Cf. Hephaest. fr. II p. 77 Consbr.: ἰωνικοὶ δὲ καλοῦνται, ἐπειδὴ Ἰώνων εἰσὶν εὕρημα μαλακὸν τὸ μέτρον καὶ τρυφερώτατον, ᾧ καὶ Σωτάδης ἐχρήσατο, ὥς φησιν Λογγῖνος. Abert (1899) 145-48 collates all of the relevant material. On the context in which Sotadean verse is encountered see Hendricks – Parsons – Worp (1981) 76-78. On Ionian rhythm in general see West (1992) 145-47.

ῥυθμὸς δὲ καθ' αὑτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ψιλῆς ὀρχήσεως, μετὰ δὲ μέλους ἐν κώλοις, μετὰ δὲ λέξεως μόνης ἐπὶ τῶν ποιημάτων μετὰ πεπλασμένης ὑποκρίσεως, οἷον τῶν Σωτάδου καί τινων τοιούτων.

This passage from Aristides reveals that poems by Sotades and other similar compositions may not have had a musical accompaniment (cf. Strabo [text C above] *ἐν ψιλῷ λόγῳ,* Athen. 620E *ἰωνικολόγος*), but that performance of them was combined with particular expressive gestures and body movements. This reference brings to mind what we earlier saw Strabo saying about Cleomachus (text [C]: *ἀπεμιμήσατο τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς κιναίδοις διαλέκτων καὶ τῆς ἠθοποιίας*), one of whose two surviving fragments happens to involve two speakers.[76] The passage from Aristides also agrees with a detail in the Petronian description of performance seen above: the *kinaidos* only begins to sing once he has rubbed his hands together in a threatening, theatrical manner and given a sigh (*ut infractis manibus congemuit*), so as to draw everyone's attention.[77] These gestures are obviously not made at random. Lastly, a reference by Gregory of Nyssa inspired by the preambles of Eunomius hints at just how important rhythmical body movements were in the performance of Sotades' poems.[78] Therefore such poetry was not solely about *kinaidoi*, but — perhaps even more importantly — p r e-s u p p o s e d the *kinaidos* performance mode.

As for the remaining *kinaidologoi*, the following names (listed in chronological order) are mentioned in ancient sources:

STRABO (XIV 1, 41) = [C]	Simus
	Lysis
	Cleomachus
	Sotades
	Alexander of Aetolia

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76. *SH* 341 = Herod. *Mim.*, ed. O. Crusius, ⁵1914, 130: ⟨A⟩ *'τίς τὴν ὑδρίην ἡμῶν | ἐψόφησ';'* ⟨B⟩ *'ἐγὼ πίνων.'* See also Crönert (1909) 440.
77. This is an interpretation of the movements described in Jorio (2000) 276-77. Cf. Panayotakis (1995) 39-40 on the theatricality of similar movements in Petronius.
78. Greg. Nyss. *Contra Eunomium* I 1, 17 Jaeger: *τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστι μετὰ πολλῶν ἑτέρων καὶ τὰ ἐν προοιμίοις αὐτοῦ τερετίσματα, τὰ βλακώδη ταῦτα καὶ παρατεθρυμμένα σ ω τ ά δ ε ι α, ἅ μοι δοκεῖ τάχα μηδὲ ἠρεμαίῳ διεξιέναι τῷ σχήματι, ἀλλ' ὑ π ο κ ρ ο τ ῶ ν τ ῷ π ο δ ὶ κ α ὶ ἐ π ι ψ ο φ ῶ ν τ ο ῖ ς δ α κ τ ύ λ ο ι ς λιγυρῶς ἅμα πρὸς τὸν ῥυθμὸν ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι.* Incidentally, it would appear that the Arian Divine Liturgy, involving clapping, popular songs and mime gestures, was very similar to mime, and at least according to the criticisms levelled by certain Fathers of the Church the rhythm was at times reminiscent of performances of Sotadean poems; see Reich (1903) 135-36.

ATHENAEUS (XIV 620E) = [A]	Sotades
	Alexander of Aetolia
	Pyres the Milesian
	Alexus
DIOGENES LAERTIUS (IX 110)	Timon of Phlius
SUDA (σ 871) = [D]	Sotades
	Alexander of Aetolia
	Pyres the Milesian
	Theodorus
	Timocharidas
	Xenarchus

The source from which the names for this list derived was not necessarily only one. As we saw above, Aristoxenus and other Peripatetics studied lyric mime from early times; one highly striking fact is that *kinaidologoi* in particular received especial attention extremely early on. By the 3rd century BC Sotades was already being written about by his son Apollonius, followed in the 2nd century by Carystius of Pergamum and Hegesandrus.[79] Of the individuals mentioned, Simus, Lysis and Cleomachus were linked to the prehistory of *kinaidos* poetry. The first two are encountered in association with *lysiodia* and *simodia* respectively. As we have seen, Cleomachus — whom Strabo mentions not as hailing from Magnesia, as is often believed, but as a *kinaidologos* — mimicked the manners and language of the *kinaidoi*, though he is also mentioned in connection with a specific poetic metre.[80] Given that he is referred to as a "boxer", one can only suppose that all of the above are linked to performance, and that the use of the verse in question related to song rather than poetic texts.[81]

Of the remaining names, Alexander of Aetolia was of course the major tragic poet of the time (numbered among the Alexandrian Pleiad), though whether or not he also wrote with a satirical disposition is not known.[82] He

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79. Athen. XIV 620F-621A.
80. Hephaest. *Ench.* XI 2 p. 35 Consbr.; Σ Heph. 145, 22.
81. See Wilamowitz (1921) 394. In this instance, the reference to ποιητικήν in the comment by Georgios Choeroboscus (p. 243, 28 Consbr.) and Trichas (p. 392, 15 Consbr.) is not of any particular importance.
82. On Alexander Aetolus see Magnelli (1999), esp. fr. 18 (pp. 98-99 and 260). As for passage [A] in Athenaeus, we should here clarify that the names Alexander, Pyres, Alexus "and other similar poets" could be regarded as explaining the phrase τῶν [Kaibel : τὰ A] πρὸ τούτου (sc. τοῦ Σωτάδου), leading one to consider that it refers to poets prior to Sotades. Yet it does not seem reasonable that all of them were (clearly) earlier than

may have composed in the same metre as Sotades, or at any rate in Alexandria.[83] The same goes for the sceptic Timon of Phlius.[84] The other individuals are nothing more than names to us. At times we cannot even be certain of them: Ἄλεξος (or Ἀλέξας, in any case not Ἀλεξᾶς or Ἀλεξίας [cf. *SH* 41]) is mentioned by Athenaeus but not by the Suda, which has led to the suspicion that it was a double entry on account of the preceding name Ἀλεξάνδρου (the Aetolian) or an abbreviated form of the name Alexandros.[85] All the same, the existence of a *kinaidologos* called Alexos cannot be ruled out.[86]

Pyres (Athen., text [A] = *SH* 714b) or Pyrrhus (Suid. GVMᵃᶜ, text [D] above = *SH* 714a) of Miletus was probably both a poet and a lyric song composer, if of course Meineke's hypothetical identification of him as Pyrrhus in Theocritus IV 31 is correct.[87] Theodorus the *kinaidologos* could be Theodorus of Colophon,[88] though we should not rule out the possibility of him being Theodorides, the well-known composer of epigrams.[89]

Lastly, nothing is known of Timocharidas or Xenarchus beyond their appearance in the Suda list.

Sotades. In my view, we should revert to the MSS reading τὰ and regard the phrase τὰ Σωτάδου καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου ἰωνικὰ καλούμενα ποιήματα as referring to a category of poems overall.

83. On this last possibility see Wilamowitz (1962) I 169 n. 1.
84. See also Tsitsiridis (2014) 226 n. 68.
85. Dittography: Susemihl (1891) 243; "Koseform zu Ἀλέξανδρος": Crusius (1891) 387 and (1894b) 1471.
86. See Lehnus (1995).
87. See Meineke (1843) 246 who also considers that Πυρρῆς, not Πύρης, is another form of the name Πύρρος. See Sommerbrodt (1875) 25-26; Susemihl (1891) 201 n. 14 and 246. As regards Pyres' descent from Miletus, the following is noted in *SH* 714: "fabulas Milesias, id est obscenas, primus scripsit Aristides (s. II a.C.); possunt autem seriores auctorem Erythraeum ideo 'Milesium' appellasse quod Sotadea, id est obscena, scripserit". In relation to the possible reference to the specific *kinaidologos* in Theocritus IV 31 see Wilamowitz (1962) I 169 and R. Hunter *ad loc.* ("a reference to such lascivious verse would fit the humour here").
88. On Theodorus cf. what Athen. XIV 618ᴇ cites from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Colophonians* (fr. 515 Rose³), where he is mentioned as τρυφῶν τις from Colophon in Ionia, and linked to the song known as ἀλῆτις (Pollux IV 55); see also Christ – Schmid (1920) 202 (where, for incomprehensible reasons, he is mentioned as hailing "von Syrakus"); also Diehl (1934).
89. This correction has already been proposed by Toup, Reiske and Meineke, and adopted by Sommerbrodt (1875) 27; Susemihl (1891) 246; Maas (1934) 1804. In this case it may not even be necessary to correct the text, since proper names (e.g. Θεόδωρος) often alternate with expanded forms ending in –ίδης (e.g. Θεοδωρίδης) when referring to the same individual, see Seelbach (1964) 133 and 5 n. 12.

There would of course have been several other *kinaidologoi* in addition to those mentioned in the above sources. For instance, the musician (κρουματο-ποιός) Glauce mentioned by Theocritus (IV 31) together with Pyres (or Pyrrhus) probably also belonged to the world of the Music Hall and may have written similar poems.[90] The same applies to a certain epic poet named Menelaus of Aegae (probably from the Imperial period).[91] A 2nd-century AD epitaph from Illyrian Apollonia referring to someone "Proclus the *kinaidologos*" (*I.Apollonia* 226: Πρόκλῳ κιναιδολόγῳ) is a slightly different case.[92] Here the term *kinaidologos* must denote the profession, which is highly unlikely to have been no more than a poet cultivating a very limited poetic genre. Proclus must have been a performer, so (at least at that era, and probably also in earlier times) the term did not simply denote a poet. This interpretation fits in with what we said earlier about the way in which *kinaidologoi* performed their poems.

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Following discussion of the individual details, and bearing in mind the archaeological evidence cited in the first part of this study, we are better positioned to see the overall picture that emerges of *kinaidoi* and *kinaidologoi*. The former appeared as professional mime entertainers from the 3rd century BC onwards, initially in the East and principally in Egypt, where the increase in feasts and symposia may have provided an opportunity for the presentation of sensuous dancing (what the Greeks termed "Ionian dancing") in a more professional way, within the context of mime entertainments.[93] The show they presented may have had some similarities to that of the *magodoi* and *lysiodoi*. To be precise, it constituted a development of those entertainments in one particular direction (*magodoi*, for instance, must have offered a superior and "more dramatic" show, relying far less on dancing). As in modern variety and cabaret numbers, the entertainment offered by *kinaidoi* combined dance, song and speech as well as mime, which would as a rule have centred on sex scenes, even if there was a narrative framework. In common

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90. See Wilamowitz (1962) 169; Webster (1964) 127.
91. Johann. Sikel. p. 399, 4 Walz = *FGrHist* 384 T 2b: *ποιητικὴ γὰρ ἥ Ἰὰς καὶ ἡδεῖα· ὡς τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεμία, διὸ καὶ τὰ Ἰωνικὰ ποιήματα ἐξαίρουσι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὥσπερ τὰ Σιμωνίδου* [*Σίμου* Jacoby: *Σωτάδου* Meineke] *καὶ Μενελάου.* See also Susemihl (1891) 406.
92. See Cabanes – Ceka (1997) 60.
93. On the multitude of public and private festivals in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see the first half of Perpillou-Thomas (1993).

with other mime entertainments, *kinaidoi* were transferred from the East to the state capital in Rome, which was the hub of all public spectacles[94]. Their performances would mainly have been staged at symposia, though also in other open air venues by professionals who travelled alone or in groups.

Alongside the spread of *kinaidoi* and once mime had become fashionable in literature, in the early 3rd century *kinaidos* poetry was created first by So-tades and then by other poets living either in Alexandria or more generally in the East. With regard to certain basic elements, this was essentially a continu-ation of the obscene Ionian songs and Locrian odes, "of which", as Athenaeus (XV 697C) writes, "all Phoenicia is full".[95] The difference is that Sotades put *kinaidoi* at the centre of his poetry, mainly incorporating them into a mytho-logical narrative framework (see above the extant titles of his works), though on occasion with satiric jibes. One peculiarity of Sotades' poems was that they were intended to be recited rather than sung. Both metre and performance mode followed that of *kinaidos* performances, thus combining poetry with mime and dance movements to a kind of rhythm that must have been consid-ered familiar from song music.

Taken individually, these conclusions may be of some significance for our overall understanding of the history of mime. As to the questions we raised in the previous part of this study, it would appear that (in following Wilamowitz's observations) Reich was right to argue that solo mime had ex-isted from very early on, in addition to the purely dramatic form performed by two or more burlesque actors.[96] His view that "halbgesprochene, halbge-sungene Cinädologie und Jonicologie" (13) lay between the two categories is also correct. Of course, the distinction he draws between "Doric mimolo-gy" and "Ionian mimody" is somewhat schematic: the professional *kinaidoi* of Egypt and later of Rome show that the relationship with Ionia was in their cases indirect or secondary. But Wilamowitz was right to say that there was a strong tradition of recited solo mime, which was in essence an offshoot of the rhapsodist's tradition. All the same, at least with regard to the simplistic way

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94. For a 'documentary text'-based perspective of how mime moved from East to West more generally, see Maxwell (1993) 62. The words of King Cleomenes III of Sparta to Nicagoras of Messene in Alexandria in 219 BC regarding the 'need' to import *kinaidoi* (Plb. V 37, 11, cf. Plut. *Cleom.* 56, 3-4 *"ἐβουλόμην ἄν σε" ἔφη "καὶ λίαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἵππων κιναίδους ἄγειν καὶ σαμβύκας· τούτων γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς κατεπείγεται"*) confirm the link with the East (nobody would of course have expected *kinaidoi* or women sambyke players from Greece in the East).

95. On Ionian songs see Ar. *Eccl.* 883; Plat. Com. fr. 71, 14 K.-A. Ionian songs were not of course limited to Ionian metres, see Wilamowitz (1921) *336*.

96. Reich (1903) 539 ff. For Wiemken's views see note 46 above.

it is put, his view that Theocritus and Herodas probably followed this tradition rather than that of dramatic mime does not seem so compelling.[97] Songs from these sub-genres of mime may have passed in their entirety into longer dramatic mimes (Reich's "Hypothesen") of the Imperial period. From these sub-genres Plautus may also have drawn his *cantica*.[98] In any case, Antiquity knew of an extremely wide variety of mime spectacles, which were very close not only to modern comic opera genres (Singspiel etc.), but also to entertainments such as Music hall and cabaret.

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97. Wilamowitz (1899) 207-208 (= *Kl. Schr.* IV 49-50) and (1912) 124-25.
98. Reich (1903) 536.

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