ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ
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Socrates in Love (Herodicus *Suppl. Hell.* 495)

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Abstract This paper considers two surviving extracts from a hexameter poem in which Socrates apparently narrated the story of his love for Alcibiades and Aspasia's role in the pursuit of the young man. The author of the poem was very likely Herodicus (second century BC), known for other anti-Platonic writings. The paper considers some of the linguistic and textual problems of the fragments, the probable structure of the poem as a whole, the debt of the work to Plato and Aeschines, and the importance of Socratic literature more generally to the development of erotodidactic themes in later poetry.

Keywords Aeschines. Alcibiades. Aspasia. Athenaeus. Erotodidaxis. Herodicus. Plato. Socrates. Xenophon.

Athenaeus preserves two extracts from a hexameter poem in which, to judge from what survives, Socrates narrated the story of his love for Alcibiades and Aspasia's role in it:[1]

This essay is a poor return for the intellectual and social hospitality which Willy Cingano has offered to me over many years, but it is also a brief note of acknowledgement for the great debt our discipline owes to his tireless efforts in organising the *Advanced Seminar in the Humanities* in Venice.

1 There are many uncertainties of text (I print the text of *Suppl. Hell.*, and it is not to be assumed that readings which are not discussed here are secure) and interpretation; cf. further below. A full apparatus is given by Broggiato 2014, 98 and Lloyd-Jones-Parsons in *Suppl. Hell.*, and most of the little modern bibliography is cited in Burzacchini 2017. The translation offered here is at best provisional.

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Ἀσπασία μέντοι ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ Σωκράτους διδάσκαλος τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔπεσιν, ἅπερ Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος παρέθετο, φησὶν οὕτως

> ‘Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔλαθές με πόθῳ δηχθεὶς φρένα τὴν σὴν
> παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. ἀλλ’ ὑπάκουσον,
> εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά, μηδ’ ἀπιθήσῃς
> ἀγγέλῳ, ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ, καί σοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἔσται.’
> κἀγὼ <ὅ>πως ἤκουσα, χαρᾶς ὕπο σῶμα λιπαίνω
> ἱδρῶτι, βλεφάρων δὲ γόος πέσεν οὐκ ἀθελήτως.
> ‘στέλλου πλησάμενος θυμὸν Μούσης κατόχοιο,
> ᾗ τόνδ’ αἱρήσεις, ὠσὶν δ’ ἐνίει ποθέουσιν·
> ἀμφοῖν γὰρ φιλίας ἥδ’ ἀρχή, τῇδε καθέξεις
> αὐτόν, προσβάλλων ἀκοαῖς ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ.’

κυνηγεῖ οὖν ὁ καλὸς Σωκράτης ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλον ἔχων τὴν Μιλησίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτὸς θηρεύεται, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη, λινοστατούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου. καὶ μὴν οὐ διαλείπει γε κλαίων ὡς ἄν, οἶμαι, δυσημερῶν. ἰδοῦσα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ ἦν καταστήματι Ἀσπασία φησίν·

> ‘τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες; ἦ σ’ ἀνακινεῖ
> στέρνοις ἐνναίων σκηπτὸς πόθος ὄμμασι θραυσθεὶς
> παιδὸς ἀνικήτου; τὸν ἐγὼ τιθασόν σοι ὑπέστην
> ποιῆσαι…’

ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦρα τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου δῆλον ποιεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, καίτοι μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. λέγει δ’ οὕτως κτλ.

The wise Aspasia, Socrates’ teacher in rhetoric [cf. Plato, *Menexenus* 235e8-10], speaks as follows in the verses which circulate as hers and which Herodicus the Cratatean (*Suppl. Hell.* 495) cited:

> “Socrates, you did not manage to conceal from me that your heart is bitten with desire for the son of Deinomache and Kleinias. But listen, if you want to have your boyfriend well disposed, and do not disobey the messenger, but believe me, and things will go much better for you”.
> When I heard this, for joy my body glistened with sweat, and tears fell from my eyes not against my will.
> “Prepare yourself by filling your spirit with the Muse which possesses; with this you will capture him, and let her into his ears which are full of desire. This will be the beginning of friendship for both of you, and by her you will possess him, by offering his ears gifts for the revelation of his spirit”.

> The fair Socrates is hunting [cf. Pl. *Prt.* 309a2-3, below] with the Milesian woman as his teacher in love; it is not that he himself is being pursued, as Plato claimed [cf. Pl. *Symp.* 217a-219d], net-hunted by Alcibiades. Indeed, he does not stop weeping just like, I imagine, someone down on his luck. When Aspasia saw what condition he was in she says:
>
> > "Why are you crying, dear Socrates? Does desire dwelling in your heart from the eyes of a boy who is not to be conquered rouse you?[2] I promised you that I would make him tame…"
>
> In the *Protagoras* Plato makes plain that [Socrates] really was in love with Alcibiades, though Alcibiades was little short of thirty years old. His words are: [citation of *Prt.* 309a1-b2] (Ath. 5.219b-20a = Herodicus fr. 4 Düring, 12 Broggiato = *Suppl. Hell.* 495)

We know nothing else of the form or extent of the original poem; Ingemar Düring's view that Athenaeus' knowledge of Herodicus' anti-Socratic and anti-Platonic treatise Πρὸς τὸν φιλοσωκράτην was not direct, but limited to excerpts in an earlier miscellany has never seriously been challenged, though Düring's poor view of Athenaeus' technique in putting together these chapters has.[3] Düring held that Herodicus (late second century BC) was the ultimate source of this whole passage of Athenaeus, not just the citation of the verses, and we shall see some linguistic features of the prose which perhaps support this view. The explicit reference to Herodicus in 219c guarantees, if nothing else, that we do not, in any case, have an exact reproduction of his text.

It is usually (though not universally) held that Herodicus himself is very likely the author of the verses, despite the manner in which the deipnosophist Masurius, a very learned polymath (cf. Ath. 1.1c), introduces them. It is hard to see how anyone could claim (even jokingly) that the verses were by Aspasia, as long as vv. 5-6 (Socrates' first-person statement) were included in the citation, unless we are to imagine (not perhaps completely impossible) a poem in which Aspasia 'plays Plato', i.e. writes a first-person account of a conversation in the past which is narrated by Socrates, but (unlike Plato) gives herself a prominent role in the narrated events. More prosaically, however, Athenaeus or an intermediate source may not have noticed (or reflected upon the consequences of) the presence of vv. 5-6 in the quotation. The natural interpretation of ἐν τοῖς φερομένοις ὡς αὐτῆς ἔπεσιν is 'in the verses which circulate as hers', an expression which allows

2 Translation and text quite uncertain.

3 Düring 1941, 58-9, cf. Broggiato 2014, 49-51; Trapp 2000, 358-60 offers a helpful account of how difficult it is in these sections of Athenaeus to determine how he has used his sources.

Athenaeus and the learned Masurius to suggest their scholarly doubt on the matter; these verses were 'cited' (παρέθετο) by Herodicus, presumably to bolster his anti-Platonic case.[4] If Herodicus himself wrote them and claimed them to be by Aspasia, this would certainly not be the only case of citational fraud known from antiquity.[5] There is also the real possibility that vv. 1-10 were not originally in this sequence or that the preserved citation is lacunose; we might, for example, have expected a quasi-Homeric verse introducing Aspasia's further speech in vv. 7-10. Moreover, the relationship between the two verse-citations, which are curiously close to each other in sense, allows for more than one explanation. But for the past tense in ὑπέστην (v. 13) and the order in which Athenaeus places the quotations, there might have been a temptation to position vv. 11-14 earlier in the exchanges between Socrates and Aspasia than vv. 1-10; without, however, knowledge of the extent of the poetic narrative (were there different 'scenes'?), we are simply making guesses in the dark.

The text offers a significant number of linguistic and metrical oddities; even after due allowance for the normal processes of textual corruption, which often produce greater damage in verses preserved in anthologies and citations than in those with their own manuscript tradition, the remarkable style of the verses has never really been properly explained. The standard explanation, namely the incompetence of the poet (for Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, for example, the verses are "nugae insulsae", the work of a "poetunculus", and for Düring "the metaphors are dull, overloaded and artificial"),[6] merely begs the question of the nature of the poem from which the verses come. For all we know, the composer sought a particular, perhaps characterising, effect through what indeed are, by any standards, some very unusual verbal usages. What follows are brief notes on features of some of the verses (not, of course, a proper commentary), before I turn to the nature of the fragment more generally.

1 οὐκ ἔλαθές με κτλ. Although not strictly necessary, the implication of Aspasia's words is probably that Socrates was trying to conceal his desire;[7] Aspasia sees through Socrates, as the Platonic Socrates claims to see through so many of his interlocutors. οὐκ ἔλαθες occurs in fact only twice in the Platonic corpus, once addressed to Socrates (*Resp.* 5.457e5) and once in Socrates' reaction to Alcibiades' speech in the *Symposium*. Socrates claims that he has understood the real purpose of Alcibiades' speech, namely to cause a rift between

4 Cf. *LSJ* s.v. "παρατίθημι" B5.

5 Broggiato 2014, 51, 98-9, 103 asserts that Herodicus 'attributed' the verses to Aspasia; he very likely did so, but this is not in fact what Athenaeus' Greek says.

6 Düring 1941, 65.

7 So rightly, e.g. Henry 1995, 65.

Socrates and Agathon so that Alcibiades should be the only object of Socrates' love, whereas Agathon should be loved only by Alcibiades and no one else:

> ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαθες, ἀλλὰ τὸ σατυρικόν σου δρᾶμα τοῦτο καὶ σιληνικὸν κατάδηλον ἐγένετο. (Pl. *Symp.* 222d3-4)
>
> But I realised what you were up to, and this satyric, indeed silenic, drama has been laid bare.

Given the context in the *Symposium*, namely Socrates' alleged love for Alcibiades, we may suspect that Aspasia is here made to echo this passage of the *Symposium*, or that the composer was here influenced by the fact that this Platonic scene was clearly in his mind. The erotic situation implied by the verses is also familiar from erotic epigram. We think perhaps particularly of Callimachus' famous poem:

> ἕλκος ἔχων ὁ ξεῖνος ἐλάνθανεν· ὡς ἀνιηρόν
> πνεῦμα διὰ στηθέων (εἶδες;) ἀνηγάγετο,
> τὸ τρίτον ἡνίκ' ἔπινε, τὰ δὲ ῥόδα φυλλοβολεῦντα
> τὠνδρὸς ἀπὸ στεφάνων πάντ' ἐγένοντο χαμαί·
> ὤπτηται μέγα δή τι· μὰ δαίμονας οὐκ ἀπὸ ῥυσμοῦ
> εἰκάζω, φωρὸς δ' ἴχνια φὼρ ἔμαθον.
> (Callim. *Epigr.* 43 Pf.)[8]
>
> The stranger is wounded and we did not notice. How distressed was the sigh he heaved through his chest – did you see? – when he drank the third toast, and the roses have dropped from the man's garlands and all lie on the floor. He has been burned very badly. By the gods, my diagnosis is no idle one – a thief myself, I have learned to recognize the tracks of a thief.

We might even speculate that the scene of Aspasia and Socrates, which Socrates here reports, was set, as is Callimachus' epigram, at a symposium, perhaps indeed at Aspasia's house. Such a speculation would fit comfortably with the general debt of the verses to Plato's *Symposium* (cf. further below).

2 παιδὸς Δεινομάχης καὶ Κλεινίου. Plato's *Alcibiades* begins with Socrates addressing Alcibiades as ὦ παῖ Κλεινίου and referring to himself as the brilliant politician's πρῶτος ἐραστής; at 105d2 of the same dialogue Alcibiades is addressed as ὦ φίλε παῖ Κλεινίου καὶ Δεινομάχης. The *Alcibiades* played an important role, alongside

8 For other aspects of, and bibliography on, this poem cf. Hunter 2018, 124-5.

the *Symposium*, in Hellenistic imaginings of the relations between Socrates and Alcibiades.

3 εἰ βούλει σοι ἔχειν εὖ παιδικά. The meaning seems to be along the lines of the translation offered above, cf. Broggiato 2014, 98 "se vuoi che il tuo amore per lui vada a buon fine"; Burzacchini 2017, 550 "se vuoi che il tuo amasio ti sia compiacente". In the Loeb edition of Athenaeus, Olson's "if you want to be successful at seducing boys" seems both very hard to get from the Greek and contrary to the sense of the passage as a whole. At the opening of Plato's *Protagoras*, immediately following the dialogue's initial exchange which Masurius cites in Athenaeus straight after the 'Herodican' verses, Socrates replies to his friend's teasing question about his relationship with Alcibiades:

> Ἑταῖρος. Τί οὖν τὰ νῦν; ἦ παρ' ἐκείνου φαίνῃ; καὶ πῶς πρός σε ὁ νεανίας διάκειται;
> Σωκράτης. Εὖ, ἔμοιγε ἔδοξεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῇ νῦν ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἶπε βοηθῶν ἐμοί, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι. (Pl. *Prt.* 309b3-7)
>
> *Friend*. How do things stand now [with Alcibiades]? Is it from him you have come? How is the young man treating you?
> *Socrates*. Very well, I think, and not least on this very day, for he said many things on my side which were helpful to me; and, yes, I am just now coming from being with him.

The opening of the *Protagoras* is certainly in the mind of Masurius/Athenaeus in quoting the Herodican verses, and we can hardly rule out that this was also an important Platonic intertext for the poet of Socrates' distress.

4 ἀγγέλῳ is puzzling. Aspasia is presumably referring to herself, rather than to a character or an event lying outside the cited verses; Broggiato's "non disobbedire alle mie parole" makes very good sense, but is not quite what the text says, and emendation to, e.g. τῷ λόγῳ or εὐνόῳ (with μοι understood) does not carry conviction. An adverb, 'obstinately, proudly' (e.g. σεμνῶς), or an abstract noun in the dative, 'though pride, self-will', would be welcome, but no convincing suggestion occurs. I mention here one further (remote) possibility which I have considered. In a famous passage at the beginning of the *Phaedo*, Socrates relates a repeated dream (ἐνύπνιον) which told him to 'make *mousike* and work at it';[9] Socrates decided 'not to disobey (μὴ ἀπειθῆσαι) the dream' (61a7),[10] which he interpreted as

9 There is, of course, more than one possible interpretation of μουσικὴν ποίει καὶ ἐργάζου.

10 Cf. also 61b1 πιθόμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ.

an injunction to write poems. Perhaps, then, the motif of a dream ('a messenger') was transferred in the 'Herodican' poem to an earlier stage of Socrates' life.

5 λιπαίνω is taken by *LSJ* as transitive, i.e. 'I cause my body to glisten with sweat', whereas there is an obvious temptation to understand it as intransitive, with σῶμα as the accusative of respect or of the 'part affected'; as far as possible, one would want to remove any sense of purposive agency from an outbreak of sweat, cf., e.g. Sappho fr. 31.13 Voigt (which the present passage evokes) and Theoc. 2.106-7 (Simaitha's 'Sapphic' attack at the appearance of Delphis). The only alleged example of the intransitive which *LSJ* cite is Plut. *Mor.* 1101a = Epicurus fr. 120 Usener, where however λιπαίνειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (of crying), if correctly read, seems more likely to be a transitive use. Nevertheless, an intransitive use, even if unattested elsewhere, is hardly implausible; Düring compares the much more common use of στάζω, as at Soph. *Aj.* 9-10 κάρα | στάζων ἱδρῶτι. Kaibel cut the knot with λιπάνθη.

6 γόος is another surprise. *LSJ* offer no example of the meaning 'tears' (of joy); Düring's claim that this is "elegiac usage in imitation of Homer" is not supported by any evidence.[11] Meineke suggested ῥόος.

7 Μούσης κατόχοιο 'the Muse which possesses'; for discussion cf. below.

8 The text of the second half of the verse must be considered very doubtful. The manuscript offers ωσιδεινηποθοισιν. Cf. further below.

10 ὀπτήρια θυμοῦ is another puzzling phrase. ὀπτήρια are gifts given to celebrate the 'sight' of someone new and important; the word is used for the gifts which a bridegroom offers to his bride at her unveiling and gifts offered to (or in thanks for) a new child (cf. Eur. *Ion* 1127, Callim. *Hymn* 3.74). Aspasia *might* then be saying that Socrates' 'music' will not just be the means of capturing Alcibiades, but also the gifts he offers in return for 'seeing Alcibiades' θυμός', i.e. finding Alcibiades willing to satisfy his desire. If something along these lines is correct (and the matter is very uncertain), then we might recall the way in which Alcibiades, in Plato's *Symposium*, explains his decision to offer Socrates sexual access in return for 'hearing everything [Socrates] knew' (217a4-5); Aspasia would here be suggesting an exchange along similar lines. However we understand the phrase, there is clearly a play here between 'hearing' and 'sight': Socrates' words, placed into Alcibiades' ἀκοαί, his 'hearings', are a way of 'seeing' Alcibiades' desire. Somewhere in the background here may lie what is, at least for us, the most famous 'paederastic' scene in Plato, namely the opening of the *Charmides*. There, Socrates responds to

11 Düring 1941, 65.

the lavish praise of Charmides' physical beauty by saying that everything depends on the state of his ψυχή, and that rather than stripping him off to admire his body, they should first strip him and 'look at' (θεᾶσθαι) his soul, by – of course – holding philosophical conversation with him (154d-e). Aspasia here is perhaps not as high-minded as the ironical Socrates of Plato, but the analogy of the two situations is clear. It may in fact be worth noting the possibility of substituting ψυχῆς for θυμοῦ at the end of v. 10; the latter might have arisen from θυμόν in v. 7. Meineke's θελκτήρια cuts another knot.

A quite different interpretation is suggested by Olson's translation "glimpses of your soul".[12] The thought presumably would be that the 'music' which Socrates offers Alcibiades' ears are gifts which allow the latter to 'see' Socrates' θυμός; this would be a rather freer extension of meaning for ὀπτήρια, but one which could hardly be deemed impossible within the style of these verses. In favour of such an interpretation might be Pl. *Symp.* 216e7-17a2, where Alcibiades tells the symposiasts that he once 'saw' the marvellous images inside Socrates, a sight which led him to the conclusion that he should 'do whatever Socrates asked'. A memory of that passage would be a very persuasive rhetoric from Aspasia: the Socrates of the poem, as opposed to Plato's Socrates, would very much welcome an Alcibiades who did anything he asked.

11 τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, φίλε Σώκρατες. The echo of *Iliad* 16.7 (Achilles to Patroclus), τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, Πατρόκλεις κτλ., is perhaps the only such evocation of a specific Homeric text in the extant verses,[13] and is doubly appropriate in context. Achilles and Patroclus were the most famous, almost the original, paederastic couple, and as such are suitably evoked in this poem. Secondly, Achilles goes on to compare Patroclus to a little girl asking to be picked up and comforted by her mother. Aspasia here thus casts herself in the role of the mother who will comfort the crying girl; this well catches the 'power relationship' between Aspasia and Socrates and the ironically negative portrayal of Socrates in the poem.

12 The text of this verse is very uncertain, though the sense, in its most general terms, is clear enough. It may be worth noting that there are a number of overlaps between the erotic imagery and language of this poem and Pindar's paederastic poem for Theoxenos (fr. 123 M), which is also cited twice by Athenaeus and twice by Plutarch, a pattern suggestive of its fame in antiquity:[14]

12 That the θυμός is Socrates', not Alcibiades', is also the view of Burzacchini 1999, 182, though he understands ὀπτήρια in its nuptial sense.

13 Düring 1941, 65 is quite misleading on the Homeric texture of the verses.

14 The most obvious shared elements are πόθῳ, δηχθείς, and ἐνναίων, but note also σκηπτός alongside Pindar's ἀκτῖνας and ὄμμασι alongside πρὸς ὄσσων. Some of these

χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώ-
των δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἁλικίᾳ·
τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὄσσων
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακείς
ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν
ψυχρᾷ φλογί, πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-
τας ἀτιμασθεὶς ἑλικογλεφάρου
ἢ περὶ χρήμασι μοχθίζει βιαίως
ἢ γυναικείῳ θράσει
ψυχρὰν† φορεῖται πᾶσαν ὁδὸν θεραπεύων.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τᾶς ἔκατι κηρὸς ὣς δαχθεὶς ἕλᾳ
ἱρᾶν μελισσᾶν τάκομαι, εὖτ' ἂν ἴδω
παίδων νεόγυιον ἐς ἥβαν·
ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ Τενέδῳ
Πειθώ τ' ἔναιεν καὶ Χάρις
υἱὸν Ἁγησίλα.
(Pind. fr. 123 M)

One should cull love, my heart, as appropriate during youth, but whoever has seen those rays flashing from Theoxenus' eyes and is not flooded with desire has a black heart forged from adamant or steel with a cold flame, and is dishonoured by bright-eyed Aphrodite, or toils compulsively for money, or with womanly courage is carried in service to an utterly cold path. But I, because of her, melt like the wax of holy bees bitten by the sun's heat, whenever I look upon the new-limbed youth of boys. So, after all, in Tenedos Persuasion and Grace dwell in the son of Hagesilas. (trans. Race 1997, 353-5)

An attempt to echo what appears to have been a 'classic' paederastic text may in fact account for some of the stylistic peculiarities of the hexameters.

13 παιδὸς ἀνικήτου is presumably still Alcibiades, rather than another ἐρώμενος.

The prose which separates the two verse quotations is also marked by some striking diction. ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος occurs again at Ath. 13.567a as a term of abuse directed by the cynic Cynulcus against the grammarian Myrtilus; the latter is περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινός, knowledgeable, according to Cynulcus, only in matters of sex. Used in the present passage of Aspasia, the word seems rather more neutral, but it may be significant that this term could appear in a hexam-

shared elements are of course commonplaces. The Pindaric fragment offers problems of both text and interpretation, but these do not affect the simple point being made here.

eter: might Aspasia have used this term of herself or Socrates of her in a verse which has not been transmitted to us? If the term is not found before Athenaeus (and/or Herodicus), however, the idea itself is, at least later, very familiar,[15] and Herodicus is here clearly drawing on a long pre-existing tradition. When Ovid proclaims himself *praeceptor Amoris* (*Ars am.* 1.17, repeated with a difference at *Tristia* 1.1.67) he means both 'teacher in (matters of) love' and 'teacher of (the boy) Love', but it is tempting to think that his phrase offers a wittily ambiguous 'translation' of the Greek compound noun. At the beginning of Callimachus' 'Acontius and Cydippe' the poet declares that αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον... | ... | τέχνην, 'Eros himself taught Acontius the art [of catching Cydippe]' (fr. 67.1-3 Pf.); the words gesture to the theme of erotodidaxis (and perhaps also to the term ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος), here put to a new point, as 'Eros himself' is the teacher, and no mortal 'expert' or human τέχνη is required. Ovid may, therefore, have in mind, not merely the term ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος, but specifically the opening of 'Acontius and Cydippe', a narrative whose importance for Roman love elegy has long been identified: whereas in Callimachus Eros himself is the teacher, Ovid goes one better and teaches Eros himself.

Herodicus' verses (if indeed they are his) bear indirect witness to the very important role which Socratic literature seems to have played in the development of erotodidactic themes in Greek and Latin literature; it is perhaps no accident that ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος first occurs in a Socratic context. Xenophon's *Memorabilia* offer several suggestive exchanges about *philia*, one of the terms which Aspasia uses for the relationship with Alcibiades which Socrates desires (v. 9), but two in particular stand out. In 2.6 Socrates discusses with Critoboulos what qualities one should look for in a friend (φίλος) and how then might one set about acquiring as a friend someone who has been identified as suitable. The passage is marked by the language of 'hunting' (2.6.8, 28), including a contrast between the 'hunting' of animals and the 'hunting' of humans (2.6.9); when Socrates observes that 'it is hard work to capture (ἑλεῖν) a friend against his will and difficult once you have bound him to keep him like a slave' (2.6.9), we might hear echoes of Ovid's didactic voice not too far away. When, then, Critoboulos subsequently begs Socrates δίδασκε τῶν φίλων τὰ θηρατικά (2.6.33), we are very close to an explicit acknowledgement that Socrates is here cast in the role of *philiadidaskalos*. The main lesson we learn in fact is that Socrates himself is an excellent match-

15 At Aristaenetus 1.4.40 Mazal a character boasts of being an ἐρωτικὸς διδάσκαλος; the figure or situation itself is common enough in later Greek literature, cf., e.g. Wheeler 1910, 445-6; Jolowicz 2021, 131-2. Aristaenetus also has a female πορνοδιδάσκαλος who teaches πόρναι how to extract the most money etc. (1.14).

maker and, if one wishes to acquire friends, the best thing to do will be to entrust yourself to him; his own teacher in this role seems to have been Aspasia (2.6.36, cf. further below). Socrates is ἐρωτικός, someone who is 'not without experience in the hunting of men' and therefore able to assist in the hunt for καλοὶ κἀγαθοί (2.6.28-9), and he is also someone who privileges the effect of the enchanting spells of the Sirens over the violence of a Scylla (2.6.31); many of these themes are of course familiar from Plato's *Symposium*, and particularly from Alcibiades' speech. Socrates himself disavows knowledge of such magical effects (2.6.10-13), but the whole discussion might suggest otherwise.

If Socrates' conversation with Critoboulos is about 'friendship' between males and *eros* remains largely, though not exclusively, a flickering sub-text, Socrates' well known discussion with the hetaira Theodote on the subject of *philia* and *philoi* (*Mem.* 3.11), one with some striking similarities to the discussion with Critoboulos, is very explicitly heterosexual, and part of the pleasure of the text lies in our recognition of the ambivalence of *philia* and of the sexual nature of the exchange between Theodote and her *philoi*.[16] Here the hunting imagery, complete with talk of Theodote's 'nets', is much extended from the discussion with Critoboulos (3.11.6-9), and Socrates explains the necessary 'friend-catching' technique to Theodote with such apparent knowledge that she asks him to become her συνθηρατὴς τῶν φίλων (3.11.10-15); in this passage Socrates, who uses forms such as δεῖ with the infinitive and the optative as a polite imperative in explaining to Theodote what she 'should' do, is almost the forerunner no less of Plautus' Scapha (*Mostell.* 157-292) than of Ovid's didactic voice. One detail deserves special note. Socrates' talk of Theodote's 'nets' might be thought to point forward to λινοστατούμενος in the prose which divides the two verse citations from Herodicus. Although the image of love's nets goes back for us at least to Ibycus, *PMG* 287 (and cf. Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 5.177.8 = *HE* 4197), this is (I think) the only example of this verb used in an erotic sense and the only example of the passive. The image, of course, is at one with the hunting image of the opening of the *Protagoras* (πόθεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, φαίνῃ; ἢ δῆλα δὴ ὅτι ἀπὸ κυνηγεσίου τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ὥραν; 309a1-2) which is here evoked and is about to be quoted (perhaps again from Herodicus); here too, then, we may wonder whether an image from the poem has been brought into the prose in Athenaeus' source.[17]

If these passages of the *Memorabilia* lead us to suspect that there was much more in Socratic literature which has also fed into the lat-

16 There is a helpful discussion of *Mem.* 3.11 in Goldhill 1998.

17 Although passive forms of λινοστατεῖν would not fit a hexameter, some active forms and forms of λινοστασία could be made to fit.

er erotodidactic tradition, another extant text which takes a central role in this development is, of course, Plato's *Symposium*. Two speeches take pride of place here. First, there is Diotima, introduced by Socrates as 'σοφή in matters of Eros and in many other things as well' (201d3, cf. σοφή of Aspasia in Ath. 5.219b above). Socrates narrates how Diotima was his 'teacher in love': ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ ἐδίδαξεν (201d5), ταῦτά τε οὖν πάντα ἐδίδασκέ με, ὁπότε περὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν λόγους ποιοῖτο (207a5-6); Socrates knew that, in order to be δεινός… τὰ ἐρωτικά (207c3), if not necessarily quite as Athenaeus' Myrtilus was, he needed 'teachers' (207c6). Diotima's lessons to the young Socrates in τὰ ἐρωτικά are probably far from anything in the Hellenistic portrayal of Socrates in love, but Diotima stands at the head of the tradition as a fully-fledged 'teacher of love'. Nevertheless, Socrates' teacher in the Hellenistic verses is not Diotima, but Aspasia, a much more appropriate teacher of τὰ ἐρωτικά, when the latter refers to carnal pursuit, because of the rich tradition of Aspasia as a hetaira who taught Socrates rhetoric (and much else besides, if, for example, Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.36 (above), is to be believed). An anti-Platonic agenda, moreover, is served much better by Aspasia than by Diotima. There is, however, a complementary explanation for Aspasia's role. The idea that Diotima in Plato's *Symposium* is, at some level, derived from Aspasia in Aeschines' dialogue named after her has often been floated in modern scholarship (aspects of the two figures often seem combined in later literature),[18] and this raises the possibility that the poem cited by (and perhaps composed by) Herodicus derives its principal inspiration from Aeschines' work, not from Plato's *Symposium*.[19] On this scenario, both the Hellenistic poem and Plato will have borrowed from Aeschines. More likely, perhaps, both Plato and Aeschines have been exploited in the satirical poem, whatever Plato's relationship to Aeschines.

The other crucial speech from Plato's *Symposium* in this regard is, of course, Alcibiades'. An apparent debt to Alcibiades' speech seems to run very deep in Athenaeus' text, both in the verses and in the surrounding prose. In Plato, Alcibiades describes Socrates' words in terms of the ecstatic effects of music; he is Marsyas but with simple, unaccompanied words, not with *auloi*. The effect of his words is a true corybantic possession – ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἐσμὲν καὶ κατεχόμεσθα (215d5-6) – and tears flow spontaneously at Socrates' words, just as in the Herodican verses Socrates weeps at Aspasia's words:

> ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούω, πολύ μοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κορυβαντιώντων ἥ τε καρδία πηδᾷ καὶ δάκρυα ἐκχεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τῶν τούτου, ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχοντας· (Pl. *Symp.* 215e1-4)

18 Cf., e.g. Halperin 1990, 122-4.

19 So, e.g. Dittmar 1912, 37, 56-7; Ehlers 1966, 96-7.

> When I hear them, much more than those taking part in Corybantic rites, my heart leaps and tears are made to flow by this man's words, and I see that very many others have this same experience.

This, then, is perhaps what Aspasia means by the Μούση κάτοχος, 'the possessing Muse', with which she encourages Socrates to capture Alcibiades, namely that power in his words which is so vividly described by Alcibiades in the *Symposium*, that μουσική which is philosophy. Socrates' threat to Alcibiades lies through the ears (τὰ ὦτα, 216a3, 7), and the repeated emphasis in the poem on Alcibiades' ears as the route to his heart (so to speak), vv. 8 (with the most likely reconstruction) and v. 10, may find its origin in this passage of the *Symposium*. The reference to a Μούση κάτοχος has alternatively been explained as a reference to Socrates' interests in poetry and music which are alleged in various ancient sources,[20] but this seems too far from the mainstream of Socratic tradition to be convincing. Finally, at *Symp.* 218a2-5 Alcibiades uses passive forms of δάκνειν three times to describe his condition: he is 'bitten' in his heart or soul by Socrates' words, as the Socrates of the Herodican verses is 'bitten' in his φρήν with desire; the usage is common enough, but it may be added to the cumulative (and of course unsurprising) case for a significant debt of the verses to Plato's *Symposium*.

The state in which this passage has reached us places very strict limits both upon how much we can intervene in the text and how much we can guess about the (presumably fuller) work from which it was taken. Nevertheless, certain features of it turn out not only to shed light on the less trodden byways of ancient Socratic literature, but also to help us see one important way at least in which Socratic literature seems to have influenced non-philosophical Greek and Latin prose and poetry from later ages. How conscious of that heritage, for example, Roman erotic poets or Greek erotic novelists were is another very hard question, but 'Herodicus' shows, I hope, that it is at least worth asking.

20 So Broggiato 2014, 102, citing Segoloni 2003. Gibson 2003, 14-15 seems to interpret Aspasia's instruction similarly.

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