

## Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

*Volume 2: Comedy, Herodotus, Hellenistic and Imperial Greek Poetry, the Novels*

In this book one of the world's leading Hellenists brings together his many contributions over four decades to our understanding of major genres of Greek literature, above all the Greek novel, but also Attic Comedy, fifth-century historiography, and Hellenistic and Imperial Greek poetry. Many are already essential reading, such as the chapter on the figure of Lycidas in Theocritus' *Idyll 7*, or two chapters on the ancient readership of Greek novels. Discussions of Imperial Greek poetry published three decades ago opened up a world almost entirely neglected by scholars. Several chapters address literary and linguistic issues in Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, complementing the author's commentary published in 2019; two contribute to a better understanding of the enigmatic *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus; and many explore important questions arising from examination of the form of the Greek novel as a whole. This is the second volume of a planned three-volume collection.

EWEN BOWIE is Emeritus E. P. Warren Praelector and Fellow in Classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Emeritus Professor of Classical Languages and Literature at the University of Oxford. He writes on early Greek poetry; Old Comedy; Hellenistic poetry; and the Greek literature and culture of the Roman Empire. He co-edited volumes on *Philostratus* (Cambridge, 2009) and *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (2011), edited one on Herodotus (2018), and published a commentary on Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge, 2019).

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## Essays on Ancient Greek Literature and Culture

**Volume 2**

Comedy, Herodotus, Hellenistic and Imperial  
Greek Poetry, the Novels

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EWEN BOWIE

University of Oxford



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## Contents

*List of Illustration and Tables* [viii]

*List of Places of Original Publication* [ix]

*Preface* [xv]

*List of Editions and Abbreviations* [xvi]

Introduction [1]

1. Who is Dicaeopolis? (1988) [26]
2. *Marginalia Obsceniora*: Some Problems in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1990) [33]
3. Wine in Old Comedy (1995) [42]
4. Ionian *Iambus* and Attic *Komoidia*: Father and Daughter, or Just Cousins? (2002) [60]
5. Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* and the Audience of Attic Comedy (2007) [78]
6. Aristophanes' *Clouds*: An Agonistic Note (2015) [95]
7. The Lesson of Book 2 (2018) [105]
8. Theocritus' Seventh *Idyll*, Philetas and Longus (1985) [129]
9. Frame and Framed in Theocritus Poems 6 and 7 (1996) [164]
10. The Reception of Apollonius Rhodius in Imperial Greek Literature (2000) [174]
11. Time and Place, Narrative and Speech in Philicus, Philodamus and Limenius (2015) [184]
12. Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry in the Second Sophistic (1989) [215]
13. Poetry and Poets in Asia and Achaea (1989) [270]
14. Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age (1990) [283]

15. Hadrian and Greek Poetry (2002) [320]
16. Dionysius of Alexandria: A Greek Poet in the Roman Empire (2004) [346]
17. Luxury Cruisers? Philip's Epigrammatists between Greece and Rome (2012) [357]
18. Doing Doric (2016) [394]
19. The Novels and the Real World (1977) [414]
20. The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World (1994) [418]
21. Philostratus: Writer of Fiction (1994) [444]
22. Names and a Gem: Aspects of Allusion in the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus (1995) [461]
23. The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novels (1996) [473]
24. Phoenician Games in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (1998) [493]
25. The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels since B. E. Perry: Revisions and Precisions (2002) [511]
26. The Function of Mythology in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (2003) [528]
27. Metaphor in *Daphnis and Chloe* (2005) [546]
28. The Construction of the Classical Past in the Ancient Greek Novels (2006) [566]
29. Viewing and Listening on the Novelist's Page (2006) [584]
30. Direct Speech in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (2006) [606]
31. Pulling the Other? Longus on Tragedy (2007) [628]
32. Links between Antonius Diogenes and Petronius (2007) [642]
33. Literary Milieux (2008) [655]
34. The Uses of Bookishness (2009) [675]
35. Country Virtues, City Vices in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*? (2009) [686]

36. Socrates' Cock and Daphnis' Goats: The Rarity of Vows in the Religious Practice of the Greek Novels (2012) [696]
  37. Caging Grasshoppers: Longus' Materials for Weaving 'Reality' (2013) [743]
  38. 'Milesian Tales' (2013) [760]
  39. A Land without Priests? Religious Authority in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* (2015) [777]
  40. Poetic Elements in the Greek Novelists' Prose (2017) [791]
  41. Captured Moments: Illustrating Longus' Prose (2018) [825]
  42. Λέξεις Λόγγου (2019) [851]
  43. Animals, Slaves and Masters in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (2019) [865]
  44. The Demotion of the Literary Cowherd (2019) [884]
  45. Callimachus and Longus (2019) [891]
  46. Silence in Chariton, Xenophon, Achilles Tatius and Longus (2020) [905]
- Bibliography* [928]  
*Index locorum* [982]  
*Index of Greek Terms* [1022]  
*General Index* [1027]

## Illustration and Tables

Figure 1 Lesbos [159]

Table 30.1 Number of words in each speech and in each sentence in speeches in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* [619]

Table 35.1 Virtues of ἡθος in country and city in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* [693]

Table 35.2 Virtues of πρᾶξις in country and city in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* [694]

Table 37.1 πόνος, τὸ ἀληθές, τὸ ὠφέλιμον and τὸ τερπνόν in pre-Thucydidean writers, Thucydides, Theocritus and Longus [759]

Table 40.1 Words in Longus listed by Valley 1926, 56–8 as poetic in the classical period but as also found in prose of the Hellenistic and imperial periods [793]

Table 40.2 Words listed by Valley 1926, 58–9 as poetic ('Poetische Ausdrücke') [798]

Table 40.3 Some words in Longus with a claim to be 'poetic' but not in Valley's lists [799]

Table 40.4 Words with a claim to be 'poetic' in Achilles Tatius 1.1 [812]

Table 40.5 Words with a claim to be 'poetic' in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 1.1 [814]

Table 40.6 The lexicon of Marcellus' poem on Regilla from the Via Appia, Rome: *IG* xiv 1389 stele A (= *IGUR* iii 1155 A, cf. *SEG* 29.999) ca. AD 161 [817]

Table 40.7 The lexicon of the poets who composed five elegiac epigrams for the tomb-obelisk of Sacerdos of Nicaea, ca. AD 130, *AP* 15.4–8 = *GVI* 1999, some examples [820]

Table 40.8 Ps.-Oppian *Cynegetica*: some of Ps.-Oppian's words that do appear in the novelists [823]

Table 41.1 Scenes chosen for illustration by Austen, Berg, Chagall, Collin and Champollion, Ellis, Maillol, Sadolin, Scheurich, Schwimmer, and Sintenis [838]

## Places of Original Publication

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- 1 ‘Who is Dicaeopolis?’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988) 183–5.
- 2 ‘*Marginalia obsceniora*: some problems in Aristophanes’ *Wasps*’, in E. M. Craik (ed.), ‘*Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1990: 31–8.
- 3 ‘Wine in Old Comedy’, in O. Murray and M. Tecuṣan (eds.), *In Vino Veritas*, London, British School at Rome 1995: 113–25.
- 4 ‘Ionian *iambos* and Attic *Komoidia*: father and daughter, or just cousins?’, in A. Willi (ed.), *The Language of Greek Comedy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2002: 33–50.
- 5 ‘Le portrait de Socrate dans les *Nuées d’Aristophane*’, in M. Trédé and P. Hoffmann (eds.), *Le rire des anciens: actes du colloque international, Université de Rouen, École normale supérieure, 11–13 janvier 1995*, Paris, Presses de l’École normale supérieure 1998: 53–66.
- 6 ‘Aristophanes’ *Clouds*: an agonistic note’, in C. N. Fernández, J. T. Nápoli, and G. C. Zecchin de Fasano (eds.), *ΑΓΩΝ: Competencia y cooperación de la antigua Grecia a la actualidad. Homenaje a Ana María González de Tobia*, La Plata, EDULP 2015: 95–109.
- 7 ‘The Lesson of Book 2’, in E. K. Irwin and T. Harrison (eds.), *Interpreting Herodotus*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2018: 53–74.
- 8 ‘Theocritus’ Seventh Idyll, Philetas and Longus’, *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985) 67–91.
- 9 ‘Frame and framed in Theocritus poems 6 and 7’, in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Theocritus. Hellenistica Groningana 2*, Groningen, Egbert Forsten 1996: 91–100.
- 10 ‘The reception of Apollonius Rhodius in imperial Greek literature’, in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Hellenistica Groningana 4*, Leuven, Peeters 2000: 1–10.

- 11 'Time and place, narrative and speech in Philicus, Philodamus and Limenius', in A. Faulkner and O. Hodkinson (eds.), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, Leiden and Boston, Brill 2015: 87–118.
- 12 'Greek Sophists and Greek poetry in the Second Sophistic', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* ii 33.1 (1989) 209–58.
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- 14 'Greek poetry in the Antonine Age', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1990: 53–90.
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- 16 'Denys d'Alexandrie: un poète grec dans l'empire romain', *REA* 106 (2004) 177–85.
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- 21 'Philostratus: writer of fiction', in J. R. Morgan and R. Stoneman (eds.), *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context*, London, Routledge 1994: 181–99.
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*List of Places of Original Publication*

xi

- 24 'Phoenician games in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*', in R. L. Hunter (ed.), *Studies in Heliodorus*, Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Vol. 21, Cambridge, Cambridge Philological Society 1998: 1–18.
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- 35 ‘Vertus de la campagne, vices de la cité dans le *Daphnis et Chloé* de Longus’, in B. Pouderon and C. Bost-Pouderon (eds.), *Passions, vertus et vices dans l'ancien roman: actes du colloque de Tours, 19–21 octobre 2006, organisé par l'université François-Rabelais de Tours et l'UMR 5189, Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques*, Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux 2009: 13–22.
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- 41 ‘Captured moments: illustrating Longus’ prose’, in T. S. Thorsen and S. J. Harrison (eds.), *Dynamics of Ancient Prose: Biographic, Novelistic, Apologetic*, Trends in Classics Supplementary Volume 62, Berlin and Boston, de Gruyter 2018: 195–222.
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*List of Places of Original Publication*

xiii

*Reardon, Ancient Narrative Supplementum* 26, Groningen, Barkhuis Publishing and Groningen University Library 2019, 99–112.

- 43 ‘Animals, slaves and masters in Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*’, in S. Panayotakis and M. Paschalis (eds.), *Slaves and Masters in the Ancient Novel, Ancient Narrative Supplementum* 23, Groningen, Barkhuis Publishing and Groningen University Library 2019, 107–26.
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- 46 ‘Silence in Chariton, Xenophon, Achilles Tatius and Longus’, in E. Papadodima (ed.), *Faces of Silence in Ancient Greek Literature*, Trends in Classics Supplementary Volume 100, Berlin and Boston, de Gruyter 2020: 51–72.

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## Preface

I wish to use this preface, like that of Volume 1, to express my deep gratitude to the many institutions and individuals without whom these volumes could not have seen the light of day, albeit I thank institutions more briefly than there: Corpus Christi, Pembroke, St John's and Merton Colleges, Oxford; the École normale supérieure, Paris; Ormond College, the University of Melbourne; Stanford University; the University of Washington, Seattle; the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, DC; and the University of Crete, Gallos campus, Rethymno. I owe much to the friendship and help of very many colleagues in Europe, the Americas, South Africa, and Australasia who are too numerous to list here. In scanning papers not accessible online I was greatly helped by George Tsimpoukis. Others who have given me assistance of various sorts, whether in writing my introduction or in preparing versions of the papers suitable for submission to Cambridge University Press, and whom I would like particularly to thank here, are: Lucia Athanassaki, Julien du Bouchet, Stephen Harrison, Richard Hunter, Roland Mayer, Silvia Montiglio, John Morgan, Peter Parsons, Janette Reardon, Gareth Schmeling, Tim Whitmarsh, Mary Whitby, and Graciela Zecchin. From Cambridge University Press I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Sharp, Katie Idle, Liz Davey and my indefatigable copy-editor Lesley Hay for their hard work and vigilant eyes in the many stages of production. Finally, the *corpus sanum* and *tranquillitas animi* which are needed for sustained work I owe both to my supportive sons, Orlando and Ben, and, above all, to my wife Lucia.

## Editions and Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated, references to fragments of early elegy and iambus are to M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2nd ed., vol. i Oxford 1989, vol. ii Oxford 1992. References to fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus are to E.-M. Voigt, *Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta*. Amsterdam 1971, whose numeration was followed by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric. Vol. i. Sappho and Alcaeus*. Cambridge MA and London 1982 and G. Liberman, *Alcée. Fragments*. 2 vols. Paris 2002. For fragments of Stesichorus references are given both to PMGF and to Finglass (see the abbreviations listed below). Modern works cited by author and date only are listed in the Bibliography. Abbreviations of journal titles are those of *L'Année philologique*. Greek literary and epigraphic texts are generally referred to by the abbreviations of LSJ (H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, and R. Mackenzie (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1968. Revised Supplement, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford 1996), with the following exceptions or additions:

<i>adesp.</i>	<i>adespoton/adespota</i>
<i>Aes.</i>	<i>Aeschylus</i>
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Ancient Narrative Supplementum</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>Bacchyl.</i>	<i>Bacchylides</i>
<i>Bull.</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique in Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>CA</i>	J. U. Powell, <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> . Oxford 1922.
<i>CEG</i>	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. Berlin and New York 1983, 1989.
<i>Ch.</i>	<i>Chariton</i>
<i>CHCL</i>	B. M. W. Knox and P. E. Easterling (eds.), <i>The Cambridge History of Classical Literature</i> , vol. 2. Cambridge 1985.
<i>D-K</i>	H. Diels (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 3 vols. 6th ed., revised by W. Kranz. Berlin 1951–2.
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> . Bonn 1983–.

*List of Editions and Abbreviations*

xvii

<i>EGM</i>	R. L. Fowler, <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> , 2 vols. Oxford 2000, 2013.
<i>Eur.</i>	Euripides
<i>FdD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , vol. iii. <i>Épigraphie</i> . Paris 1909–.
<i>FGE</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek epigrams: epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other sources not included in 'Hellenistic epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'</i> , revised and prepared for publication by R. D. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge 1981.
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> Leiden, Boston and Köln 1922–.
<i>GCN</i>	<i>Groningen Colloquia on the Novel</i> . Groningen 1988–98.
<i>GGM</i>	C. Müller (ed.), <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> . Paris 1861.
<i>GP</i>	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams</i> , 2 vols. Cambridge 1968.
<i>GVI</i>	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , vol. i. <i>Grab-Epigramme</i> . Berlin 1955.
<i>HE</i>	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams</i> , 2 vols. Cambridge 1965.
<i>IAph2007</i>	J. M. Reynolds, C. M. Roueché and G. Bodard (eds.), <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> , 2007, available at <a href="http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/">http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/</a> .
<i>IByzantion</i>	A. Lajtar (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens</i> , 58. Bonn 2000.
<i>Id.</i>	<i>Idyll</i>
<i>IDidyma</i>	A. Rehm and R. Harder (eds.), <i>Didyma, vol. ii. Die Inschriften</i> . Berlin 1958.
<i>IEleus.</i>	K. Clinton (ed.), <i>Eleusis, the inscriptions on stone: documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and public documents of the Deme</i> , 3 vols. Αθήνα 2005–8.
<i>IEph.</i>	H. Wankel, H. Engelmann, and J. Nollé (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , 7 vols. <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens</i> 11–17. Bonn 1979–84.

- I*Erythrai u. Klazomenai H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 1 and 2.* Bonn 1972, 1973.
- IGLSyr.* L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* Paris 1929.
- IGUR* L. Moretti (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae,* 4 vols. Roma 1968–90.
- Ilion* P. Frisch (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ilion. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 3.* Bonn 1975.
- IKyzikos* E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung. i. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 8.* Bonn 1980.
- IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* M. Barth and J. Stauber (eds.), *Inschriften Mysia & Troas. Mysia, Kyzikene, Kapu Dağ,* nos. 1401–1856. München.
- IMT LApollon/Milet.* M. Barth and J. Stauber (eds.), *Inschriften Mysia & Troas. Mysia, Lacus Apolloniatis & Miletupolis,* nos. 2150–2417. München.
- IMT MittlMakestos* M. Barth and J. Stauber (eds.), *Inschriften Mysia & Troas. Mysia, Mittlerer Makestos,* nos. 2501–2578. München.
- INikaia* S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia) / İznik Müzesi antik yazitlar kataloğu. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens 9–10.* Bonn 1979–87.
- IOlymp.* W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Olympia,* vol. v. Berlin 1896.
- IOrop.* B. C. Petrakos (ed.), *Hoi epigrapheis tou Oropou.* Αθήνα 1997.
- IPergam.* M. Fraenkel and C. Habicht (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Pergamon. Altertümer von Pergamon viii.1–3.* Berlin 1890–5, 1969.
- IPerge* S. Şahin (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Perge. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens, 54.* Bonn 1999.
- IRT* J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania.* Rome and London 1952.

*List of Editions and Abbreviations*

xix

<i>ISelge</i>	J. Nollé and F. Schindle (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Selge. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens</i> 37. Bonn 1991.
<i>ISmyrna</i>	G. Petzl (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . 3 vols in 2. <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasiens</i> 23–4. Bonn 1982, 1990.
K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae comici Graeci</i> . Berlin 1983–2001.
Kaibel	G. Kaibel (ed.), <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta</i> . Berlin 1878.
KP	K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer and Hans Gärtner, <i>Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i> , 5 vols. Stuttgart 1964–75 (paperback München 1979).
LBW	P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, and P. Foucart (eds.), <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure</i> . Paris 1847–77.
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, R. Catling, T. Corsten, et al., <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Oxford 1987–.
LIMC	H. C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler (eds.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zürich 1981–92.
ML	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Revised ed. Oxford 1988.
PG	J.-P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> . Paris.
PIR <sup>2</sup>	E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, W. Eck, et al. (eds.), <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. i, ii, iii</i> , 2nd ed. Berlin 1933–2015.
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford 1962.
PMGF	M. Davies (ed.), <i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Vol. i. Oxford 1991.
<i>pr.</i>	preface
RE	A. F. von Pauly et al. (eds.), <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart 1893–1970, München 1972–.
RPC	A. M. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. P. Ripollés Alegre, I. Carradice, and M. S. Butcher, <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . London and Paris 1992–.

SH	P. J. Parsons and P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> . 2 vols. Berlin and New York 1983, 2005.
Soph.	Sophocles
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger (ed.), <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed. Leipzig 1915–24.
test.	testimonium
tri	trimeter
X.Eph.	Xenophon of Ephesus
Xen.	Xenophon of Athens