

MATRO PITANEUS *CONVIVIUM ATTICUM* 1. 95–97  
AND *ILIAS* 2. 557–558\*

Our knowledge of Homeric epic texts is based on manuscripts, papyrus fragments, the earliest of which date to ca. 300 BC, and indirect sources such as quotations in ancient authors, scholia, and works of Byzantine lexicographers and scholars. In this paper, I suggest a possible additional source, Greek epic parody, namely *Attic Dinner Party* by Matro of Pitane.<sup>1</sup>

Matro flourished probably in the last quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> or at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, that is, before the activities of the Alexandrian critics Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus.<sup>2</sup> Our knowledge of the state of Homeric text in 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, before the *floruit* of the Alexandrian scholarship, depends mainly on quotations in Plato,<sup>3</sup> Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> and orators.<sup>5</sup> The question is whether Homeric text used by Matro has readings different from those of the post-Alexandrian vulgate, papyri, ancient scholia, medieval manuscripts, and editions.

Matro's hexametrical parody with a conventional title *Convivium Atticum* (*SH* 534) is preserved only in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* (4. 134 d – 137 c): a long quotation of 122 verses is the only source of our knowledge of the parody.<sup>6</sup> Very little is known about Matro himself: only his name,

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<sup>1</sup> P. Brandt (ed.), *Parodorum epicorum Graecorum et Arcestrati reliquiae* (Leipzig 1888); E. Degani (ed.), *Poesia parodica greca* (Bologna 1982, <sup>2</sup>1983); H. Lloyd-Jones, P. Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin – New York 1983) fr. 534–540.

<sup>2</sup> S. D. Olson, A. Sens, *Matro of Pitane and the Tradition of Epic Parody in the Fourth Century BCE. Text, Translation and Commentary*, American Philological Association. American Classical Studies 44 (Atlanta 1999).

<sup>3</sup> G. E. Howes, "Homeric Quotations in Plato and Aristotle", *HSCPh* 6 (1895) 153–237; C. Dué, "Sunt Manes: Homer, Plato, and Alexandrian Allusion in Propertius IV, 7", *CJ* 96 (2001) 401–413.

<sup>4</sup> A. Römer, "Die Homerzitate und die homerischen Fragen des Aristoteles", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (1884) 264–314; M. Sanz Morales, *El Homero de Aristóteles* (Amsterdam 1994).

<sup>5</sup> M. Haslam, "Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text", in I. Morris, B. Powell (edd.), *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden 1997) 74–76.

<sup>6</sup> Totally 142 verses of Matro are preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*.

a place where he came from – Pitane, and a fact that he was a parodist.<sup>7</sup> Pitane was an old Aeolian city located on the Mysian coast in Asia Minor, probably a small and insignificant place.<sup>8</sup> In his poem Matro mentions the names of real historical persons of the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC who lived in Athens or elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The poem begins with the following words:

Δεῖπνά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροφα καὶ μάλα πολλά,  
ὁ Ξενοκλῆς ῥήτωρ ἐν Ἀθήναις δειπνισεν ἡμᾶς:

D. Olson and A. Sens suggest that Matro used the text of Homer “arguably quite typical of his time, in that it seems to have diverged from Hellenistic vulgate in a number of minor but telling particulars”.<sup>10</sup> Let us consider vv. 1. 95–97, which are the most telling among the divergences:

παῖς δέ τις ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν τρισκαίδεκα νήσασα,  
λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς, μάλα πίνοντας, ἄς ὁ μάγειρος  
θῆκε φέρων, ἴν’ Ἀθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες.

A slave brought thirteen ducks from Salamis,  
From the sacred sea, very fat ones, which the cook  
Served where the ranks of Athenians were reclining

(Tr. by D. Olson, A. Sens).

The verses are a parody to *Il.* 2. 557–558,<sup>11</sup> a famous passage describing the Salamis contingent of Ajax in the *Catalogue of Ships*, one of the most problematic passages of the *Iliad*, suspected because of an alleged Athenian interpolation:

Αἶας δ’ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,  
στήσε δ’ ἄγων ἴν’ Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Verse 558 is absent from manuscripts and papyri and attested only in the ancient authors,<sup>12</sup> the earliest of which is Strabo 9. 1. 10 (the late 1<sup>st</sup> century

<sup>7</sup> Olson, Sens (n. 2) 3–5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 3–4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 19. There are five examples: fr. 1. 3 (*Od.* 6. 164); fr. 1. 20 (*Il.* 23. 61); fr. 1. 31 (*Il.* 24. 724); fr. 1, 95 (*Il.* 2. 557); fr. 1. 97 (*Il.* 2. 558).

<sup>11</sup> This similarity was noticed by Brandt (n. 1) 69; *SH* ad loc.; M. J. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Heidelberg 1980) 171–173; *apparatus criticus* of the M. West edition of the *Iliad* (Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998); Olson, Sens (n. 2) 129. Matro’s parody has also political character; for his audience, the topic of the Salamis possession must have been important, because in 318 BC, the Athenians lost Salamis again, after its inhabitants voluntarily had given it to the Macedonians: Olson, Sens, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> See the *apparatus criticus* of the *Iliad* edition by M. West (n. 11); by Th. W. Allen (Oxford 2000 = 1931).

BC – the beginning of AD). Most part of scholars consider this verse as an Attic political interpolation inserted to the *Catalogue of Ships* by Solon or Peisistratus in favour of Athens against Megara over the possession of Salamis.

In *scholia vetera* to *Iliad* Aristonicus adduces Aristarchus' arguments to justify why verse *Il.* 2. 558 should be rejected (A 3. 230 *ad loc.*):

παραιτητέον ἄρα ἐκεῖνον τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ Καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινῶν γραφόμενον στήσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον Αἴαντος Ἀθηναῖοι (4. 326).

The story about the Attic interpolation is not mentioned<sup>13</sup> either because Aristarchus does not know of it or rather because he strictly follows the principle of interpreting on the base of the internal evidence: “Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν.”<sup>14</sup> At least it is clear that the primary impulse for his *athetese* was the presence of v. 558 in some mss. but not in others. The words ὑπὸ τινῶν γραφόμενον mean that the v. 558 could be in the copies of *Iliad* before the Aristarchus edition (or editions).<sup>15</sup> If Aristonicus had in view the discrepancies in the post-Aristarchean mss., his *παραιτητέον* on behalf of Aristarchus would have been pointless.

The question whether v. 558 was interpolated into the *Catalogue of Ships* by Solon (or Peisistratus) at the end of 6<sup>th</sup> century BC is a separate and complicated question, which can not be treated in this paper.<sup>16</sup> I only

<sup>13</sup> This anecdote is absent also from the *scholia vetera et recentiora* and *scholia recentiora Theodori Meliteniotis*. It is mentioned only in the later *scholia exegetica* Didymus ad 2. 558 (H. Erbse [ed.], *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* I [Berolini 1969]): στήσε δ' ἄγων, ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες:

γράφει δὲ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος λόγον, ὅς τινες, παραλόγως, τὸ ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο· ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ οὐκ ἔειχε ποιήσειε ἢ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀκολουθία οὕτως, “οἱ δ' Ἄργος <τ'> εἶχον” (*BCE*<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>14</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 227; M. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (München – Leipzig 2001) 926–928.

<sup>15</sup> Arthorp (n. 11) 166–167 presumes that the τινες could be pre-Aristarchean.

<sup>16</sup> From extensive literature on the subject I mention several views: W. Leaf, *The Iliad* I (London 1902) 92 (“No line in the *Iliad* can be more confidently dated than this to the sixth century”); G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford 1998 = 1925) 72–73 (interpolation); Allen (n. 12) *ad loc.* (“Versus Athenis saec. sexto retractus; versus plures de Aiakis imperio resectos esse putaveris”); J. A. Scott, “Athenian Interpolations in Homer, Part I. Internal Evidence”, *CPh* 6 (1911) 419–428; idem, “Athenian Interpolations in Homer, Part II. External Evidence”, *CPh* 9 (1914) 395–409 (convincingly argues that *Il.* 2. 558 was not an interpolation); G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: Commentary* I (Cambridge 1985) 207–209 (considers this line to be pre-rhapsodic); E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart –

touch upon it considering whether v. *Il.* 2. 558 might have been attested in the Homer manuscripts in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It is commonly accepted that two pieces of evidence attest its presence, but both are indirect and questionable, as we shall see.

The earliest is found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1375 b 29–30: οἶον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρω μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμίνοσ. Aristotle refers to the authority of Homer on the possession of Salamis but he does not cite any concrete verses. Some commentators presume that Aristotle implies v. *Il.* 2. 557–558.<sup>17</sup>

The second evidence comes from Dieuchidas of Megara, a historian presumably of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the author of *Megarika* (*FGrH* 485 F 6 Jacoby).<sup>18</sup> Diogenes Laertius draws on Dieuchidas in *Lives of Philosophers* 1. 57. The text is corrupt and it is not clear what Dieuchidas actually means.

Τά τε Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψωδεῖσθαι, οἶον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος εἴληχεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρξεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὀμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, <ὅς ἔπη τινὰ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ> ὡς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· “οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθήνας εἶχον” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.<sup>19</sup>

He (Solon) legislated that the poem of Homer be recited on cue, i. e. at the point where the first recite ended, from there the next one must begin. As Dieuchidas says, in the fifth book of the Megarian Histories, Solon brought more light to Homer than did Peisistratos, <who introduced certain words to his poem>; the line most referred to is this: “Those who dwelt at Athens...” (*Hom.*, *Il.* 2. 546), and that which follows.

In 1. 48, Diogenes Laertius writes that Solon interpolated v. *Il.* 2. 557–558 into the *Catalogue of Ships*, but the testimony of Dieuchidas, whom he mentions as an ancient Megarian historian, is quite obscure and it does not cite v. *Il.* 2. 557–558 explicitly.

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Leipzig 1997) 449–454; J. Latacz (hg.), *Homers Ilias. Gesamtkommentar* II, Zweiter Gesang (B). Fasz. 2: Komm. von C. Bruegger, M. Stoevessandt, E. Visser (München – Leipzig 2003) 179–180 (*Il.* 2. 558 “nicht vom Iliasdichter stammt”); West (n. 14) 180 f. (the political interpolation).

<sup>17</sup> E. M. Cope (ed.), *The Rhetoric of Aristotle with a Commentary* (rev. by J. E. Sandys) I (London – Cambridge 1877) 274–275; C. Rapp (ed.), *Aristoteles Rhetorik*, Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung 4 (Darmstadt 2002) 515.

<sup>18</sup> U. von Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884) 239 ff; E. Schwartz, “Dieuchidas”, *RE* 5 (1903) 480–481; P. von der Mühl, *Kritisches Hypomnemata zur Ilias* (Basel 1952) 56; J. A. Davison, “Dieuchidas of Megara”, *CQ* N. S. 9 (1959) 216–222; Pfeiffer (n. 14) 6; K. Meister, “Dieuchidas”, *Brill’s New Pauly. Brill Online*; P. Liddel, “Dieuchidas”, in I. Worthington (ed.), *Brill’s New Jacoby Online* (2010).

<sup>19</sup> The text and translation according to *Brill’s New Jacoby* (n. 18). On various interpretations of Dieuchidas’ words see Davison (n. 18) 216.

Thus we see that the considered testimonies of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC are nothing but the common knowledge of the story about the authority of Homer in the solution of the conflict between Athenians and Megarians. Bolling<sup>20</sup> and Apthorp<sup>21</sup> believe that Aristotle, Dieuchidas, Matro knew *Il.* 2. 557–558 from the story about arbitration and that this verse was an interpolation originating in the anecdote. I would rather agree with those who doubt the authenticity of the story, and think that Megarians might have invented it “to try to discredit the Athenian text of Homer which so unmistakably associated Ajax with the Athenians”.<sup>22</sup> Herodotus does not mention this story when he writes (5. 66) that among the new names given by Cleisthenes to the tribes was the name of hero Ajax as a neighbour and an ally of Athens.<sup>23</sup>

Let us return to the question how Matro’s text sheds light on the problem of the interpolation of v. 588.

Matro constantly refers to the *Catalogue of Ships* (fr. 1, vv. 40, 48, 50, 69, 88, 95, 108, 119–120, 122; fr. 3, vv. 1, 4; fr. 5, v. 3),<sup>24</sup> probably because this part of *Iliad* was well-known to the audience thanks to rhapsodic recitations,<sup>25</sup> and because it can be easily parodied as a monotonous catalogue of banquet courses (for comparison: Arcestratus, the author of *Hedupatheia*, another gastronomic epic parody of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, also uses the catalogue form).

I would like to offer some observations on vv. 1. 95–97.

95 (557) **παῖς δέ** sounds like **Αἶας δ’** at the beginning of the verse; **νήσας** like **νήας** at the end (νήσσα is the epic/ionic form for Attic νήττα – “duck”).

**τρισκαίδεκα**. Why is there **τρισκαίδεκα**, and not the reading of the Homeric manuscripts **δυσκαίδεκα**?<sup>26</sup> I suggest that Matro’s **τρισκαίδεκα** is a hyperbole to produce a comic effect: there are twelve ships in Homer, whereas we have thirteen ducks. Seven verses below there is an indisputable

<sup>20</sup> Bolling (n. 16) 73.

<sup>21</sup> Apthorp (n. 11) 165–177.

<sup>22</sup> Convincing argumentation against its authenticity is in: J. A. Davison, “Peisistratus and Homer”, *TAPhA* 86 (1955) 17. Already Plutarchus’s *Vit. Solon.* 10 doubts the authenticity of the story.

<sup>23</sup> Von der Mühl (n. 18) 57 n. 75: “Für die Bezeugung von 558 ist wichtig Herodot 5, 66”.

<sup>24</sup> Olson, *Sens* (n. 2) 22.

<sup>25</sup> M. West assumes that “episodic recitation was the norm” even later in Classical period, referring to Aelian’s list of the most popular passages for recital (*V. H.* 13. 14), the *Catalogue of Ships* among them (West [n. 14] 9).

<sup>26</sup> All *Iliad* manuscripts give **δυσκαίδεκα**, moreover the ship numbers in different contingents in the *Catalogue of Ships* are 100, 90, 80, 60, 50, 40, 30, 22, 12, 11, 9, 7, 3 but never 13 (Visser [n. 16] 221–222). In Euripides’ *Catalogue of Ships* (*Iph. Aul.* 289–293) Ajax brought also twelve ships (W. Stockert, *Euripides. Iphigenie in Aulis* II [Wien 1992] 271–272).

hyperbole τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας (v. 103) in the same metrical position at the end of the verse: “sweet-faced porridge, which Hephaestus worked to boil, cooking it for thirteen months in an Attic pot”.<sup>27</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the number τρισκαίδεκα meant to Greeks the same as “a baker’s dozen” to us. So far, I could not find an answer to this question.

Possibly, more plausible is the the opinion of Olson and Sens<sup>28</sup> who believe, following Brandt<sup>29</sup> and Lloyd-Jones and Parsons,<sup>30</sup> that Matro had τρισκαίδεκα and not δυοκαίδεκα in his text of *Iliad*. They refer to the *varia lectio* of Pamphilus τρία <καὶ δέκα> known from the *scholia vetera* in *Il.* 2. 558 (Herodianus) and from Eustathius in *Iliad* 284. 40.

Between v. 95, 97 which are allusions to *Il.* 2. 557; 558 Matro puts a verse probably written *de suo*<sup>31</sup> and probably in order to adapt the verses from the *Catalogue of Ships* to the gastronomic context of his poem.

The expression λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς is puzzling because there was neither sacred nor any lake on Salamis. In their commentary, Olson and Sens propose the following explanation: “Salamis has no lakes, and λίμνη must therefore mean “sea” here, as also in v. 36... ἱερός is a seemingly largely ornamental epithet of bodies of water in early epic poetry..., but the adjective may gain some point from the fact that the island of Salamis, off whose shores these ducks were caught, was the site of a temple of Aias (Paus. 1. 35. 3) and is itself sometimes referred to as “holy” (S. *Ai.* 859–860, E. *Tr.* 1096; *CEG* 767 (ii). 2 350 BC)...”<sup>32</sup>

Brandt believes that v. 96 was *versus detorsus* of *Il.* 5. 709–710:<sup>33</sup>

λίμνη κέκλιμενος Κηφισίδι· πὰρ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι  
ναῖον Βοιωτοί...

The Kiphisidios of this verse is lake Copais in Boeotia. Referring to Pausanias (1. 36. 1), Brandt mentions a temple of Artemis on Salamis: “...fuit in insula Dianae templum, cui fortasse ut lacus Λιμναίη ille sacer erat.”<sup>34</sup>

As this is uncertain, I propose instead not to look for any lake on Salamis but to understand ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος as an attribute to παῖς δέ τις “a boy who is from Salamis” (not ἄγεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος). In this case, it does not matter where the ducks were brought from.

If v. 96 depends on *Il.* 5. 709–710, as Brandt and *SH* believe, Matro’s ducks could have been brought from Copais; see v. 38–39: “a white-armed

<sup>27</sup> Olson, Sens (n. 2) 63.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 130.

<sup>29</sup> Brandt (n. 1) 88.

<sup>30</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones, P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 265 (fr. 534 ad v. 95).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 130.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 130.

<sup>33</sup> Brandt (n. 1) 69, 88.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 88.

goddess-fish, the eel” – was also brought from there (ἐκ Κωπῶν v. 40)). I propose that λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς hints at ἱερός λιμῆν in Attica to which Strabo (9. 2. 6) refers:

Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν περιήγησιν τῆς χώρας ποιητέον ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Εὐβοίαν παραλίας τῆς συνεχοῦς τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ἀρχὴ δ' ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερός λιμῆν ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον, καθ' ὃν ἡ παλαιὰ Ἐρέτρια ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ...

This suggestion is based on the similar sounding of λιμῆν and λίμνη. My hypothesis is difficult to prove, but it is also difficult to agree with Apthorp's hypothesis,<sup>35</sup> who, based on the similar sounding μάγειρος (v. 96) and μεγαρεύς, and on the word combination λίμνης ἐξ ἱερῆς, sees here a hint at the famous Megarian variant for *Il.* 2. 557–558 with an enumeration of Megarian toponyms with preposition ἐκ:

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας, ἔκ τε Πολίχνης,  
ἐκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε.

This variant, which had never been included in the text of *Iliad*, is known only from Strabo 9. 1. 10.<sup>36</sup> Apthorp suggests that Matro could have known it and that he used both the Attic and the Megarian versions of *Il.* 2. 557–558. He argues that Matro knew them not from manuscripts but from oral tradition, from the story about the dispute between Athens and Megara over the possession of Salamis and the Peisistratus' interpolation of these verses.<sup>37</sup>

It would not be surprising, if Matro relied on his memory for Homeric text: the Panathenaic recitations of the both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in their entirety by rhapsodes, the school curricula,<sup>38</sup> and other occasions made it quite possible to know the texts well. It is common to quote Homer from memory, as Plato, Aristotle, Aeschines do.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, because of booksellers, of public and private libraries,<sup>40</sup> Matro could have access to manuscripts: during his lifetime, just like in the 3<sup>d</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, Homer's poems probably were available in a number of editions, such as commercial texts, the so-called “city” texts, “wild” copies corrected by rhapsodes, and individual texts.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Apthorp (n. 11) 165 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαύτην τινὰ σκήψασθαι μαρτυρίαν παρ' Ὀμήρου δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρῳδήσαι οὕτως.

<sup>37</sup> Apthorp (n. 11) 170–173.

<sup>38</sup> West (n. 14) 19.

<sup>39</sup> Haslam (n. 5) 74–76.

<sup>40</sup> West (n. 14) 19–21; Pfeiffer (n. 14) 29 f., 66 f.

<sup>41</sup> Olson, Sens (n. 2) 13–14; West (n. 14) 67–73; S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Papyrologia Coloniensis 3 (Köln – Opladen 1967) 26.

I propose, accordingly, that Matro had at his disposal a manuscript with vv. 557–558. My argument is based on observations of some particularities of Matro’s style. He never quotes Homer’s lines without changing them.<sup>42</sup> In v. 97 θῆκε φέρων (v. 97) he changes the verse but reproduces at the same position a rather unusual Homer’s word conjunction στήσε δ’ ἄγων (“the present participle <ἄγων, E. E.> does not go well beside στήσε, – writes Martin West).<sup>43</sup> Moreover, in this line Matro reproduces precisely Homer’s polyptoton στήσε ἴσταντο as θῆκε κατέκειντο maintaining the similar metrical position of the words. An imitation of such sophisticated stylistic features is hardly possible via oral perception only.

Finally, the words Αθηναίων κατέκειντο φάλαγγες usually are interpreted as the phalanges of Athenians, as Olson and Sens do<sup>44</sup> and as Federico Condello translates.<sup>45</sup>

It makes sense to relate the fallanges rather to ducks than to people. The arguments are as follows. First, Matro’s “ducks” parody Homer’s “ships”: when the boy from Salamis brings ducks to the feast the cook puts them near the ranks of Athenian ducks just like Ajax brought his ships and placed them near the Athenian ships. Then, in the following verses:

1. 98–99:

Χαιρεφών δ’ ἐνόησεν ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω  
ὄρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσιμα σιτίζεσθαι.

Chaerehon looked back and forth at the same time  
To recognize the birds and feed on what was allotted him.

(Tr. by Olson, Sens)

1. 99 alludes to the Homeric ὄρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσιμα μυθήσασθαι (*Od.* 2. 159), that is to an ornithomancy scene.<sup>46</sup> Thus birds’ phalanges in v. 97 better suit the context of the ornithomancy than human phalanges.

Second, the verb κατακεῖμαι is never used by Matro in relation to human beings.<sup>47</sup> In Matro the verb κεῖτο refers to “a conger eel of the sea” v. 37,

<sup>42</sup> On Matro’s style see: Olson, Sens (n. 2) 33–40.

<sup>43</sup> West (n. 14) 181. Another example of such rare conjunction is brought in Basel commentary of *Ilias*: “Zur Junktur (= h. Cer. 384) vgl. εἶσεν ἄγων *Il.* 1. 311, *Od.* 1. 130; *Il.* 21. 155 f., 23. 886” (Latacz [n. 16]180).

<sup>44</sup> Olson, Sens (n. 2) 130 (“the implicit comparison of diners to lines of troops”). Brandt’s edition and *SH* do not comment on v. 1. 97.

<sup>45</sup> F. Condello, *Matrone di Pitane. Il banchetto attico*, Testo a Fronte 33 (2005) 449–467.

<sup>46</sup> Olson, Sens (n. 2) 131.

<sup>47</sup> In Homer as well, the verb κατακεῖμαι never refers to humans, mostly to animals: “hare” (*Il.* 17. 676–677), “wild boar” (*Od.* 19. 439), “sheeps, goats” (*Od.* 10. 532); and to “pain” (*Il.* 24. 523), “pythoses” (*Il.* 24. 527).



“a casserole” v. 85, “mustard” v. 90. Referring to ranks of feasting people, he says: στίχας ἀνδρῶν (1. 7. 46). Thus in v. 97 the verb κατέκειντο can hardly refer to the ranks of people and I suggest accordingly the following translation of the passage:

A slave from Salamis brought thirteen ducks,  
From the sacred lake, very fat ones, which the cook  
Put where the ranks of Athenian ducks were lying.

Let us return to the question whether in Matro’s time existed manuscripts with *Il.* 2. 558.

Following what I said on vv. 1. 95–97, I cannot agree with the Apthorp’s opinion: “Thus if the hypothesis that he (Matro) was parodying both versions is correct, it follows that he was perfectly willing to parody material which did not stand in his text of Homer. It would be quite natural, then, to suppose that his text of Homer contained neither the Solonian nor the Megarian version but rather the unexpanded version later accepted by Aristarchus, and that he knew both expanded versions from the anecdote alone”.<sup>48</sup> Instead, I suggest that Matro used the manuscripts of *Iliad* with v. 558 and may be with τρισκοῖδεκα in v. 557; and that the primary impulse for Aristarchus to examine v. 558 and then to athetise it was its presence only in some manuscripts of *Iliad* that he had at his disposal. If this is correct, Matro’s parody is the earliest and unique witness of the presence of this verse in the manuscripts of *Iliad* at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 3<sup>d</sup> century BC.

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Стихи о контингенте Аякса в *Каталоге кораблей* (*Илиада* II, 557–558) уже в античности считались аттической интерполяцией, во всяком случае, ст. 558, который отсутствует в гомеровских рукописях и на папирусах, но попадает в текст из цитат у античных авторов (самая ранняя у Страбона). В статье обосновывается положение, что ст. 558 мог читаться в рукописях *Илиады* до аттезы Аристарха. Доказательством служит пародия *Аттический пир* Матрона из Питаны, где стт. 95–97 имитируют *Илиаду* II, 557–558. Оспаривается гипотеза М. Апторпа о том, что Матрон сочинил стт. 95–97, опираясь на устную традицию об аттической и мегарской интерполяциях.

Кроме того предлагаются наблюдения, уточняющие интерпретацию и перевод стт. 95–97 Матрона у С. Олсона и А. Сэнса (1999).

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<sup>48</sup> Apthorp (n. 11) 173.